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THE MILITANT

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Carter registration drive a huge fiasco

By Suzanne Haig

At the end of the first week of registration for the draft, it was clear that the program was in shambles. Large numbers have declined to register. Of those who did, it was mainly to avoid possible penalties.

Officials refuse to state how many people actually registered. In this age of the computer, where election results are tabulated in hours, a spokesperson for the Selective Service said it would be *sixty days* before the result of the registration period is known. In Atlanta, a Selective Service official upped the ante. He said there would be no figures for six months!

More disclaimers are being added. Since Carter first proposed registration in January, the government has consistently estimated that there were four million youth in the nineteen-to-twenty age bracket.

Suddenly, at the end of the first week, the Selective Service finds that no one really knows how many registration-age youth there are. The 1970 census figures, they say, are obsolete, and the figures for 1980 not available.

All of this adds up to a lot of squirming and weaseling intended to cover up the fact that a very large number of youth have decided, to hell with it. They don't want registration, they don't want a draft, and they don't intend to die in a war for Exxon.

Off to bad start

The registration drive was in trouble from the outset. Soon after Carter proposed it as a means of showing that Americans were over the "Vietnam syndrome," and its youth ready to fight in new wars of aggression, protests spread across the country.

By the time registration was due to begin, the administration was so concerned about not further stirring up the

hornets' nest, that it had difficulty in getting it under way.

A token budget was allocated for TV and radio commercials to let people know they were supposed to register. And a number of these were so apologetic that they almost sounded like they were antiregistration.

Nor was the government's plight helped any when, on the eve of registration, a three-judge federal panel ruled the Selective Service Act unconstitutional.

The New York *Daily News* quoted a Selective Service official as admitting that even though Supreme Court Justice Brennan had stayed the order, until it was actually vacated, no one could be prosecuted for not registering.

Root cause

But underlying these immediate problems is the real cause of the government's disarray—the profound antiwar sentiment that still prevails in this country particularly among draft-age youth.

While the government tries to cover up the actual results of the first period of registration, reports from around the country confirm it was a heavy blow to conscription. This is even inadvertently admitted by some press accounts that are deliberately misleading.

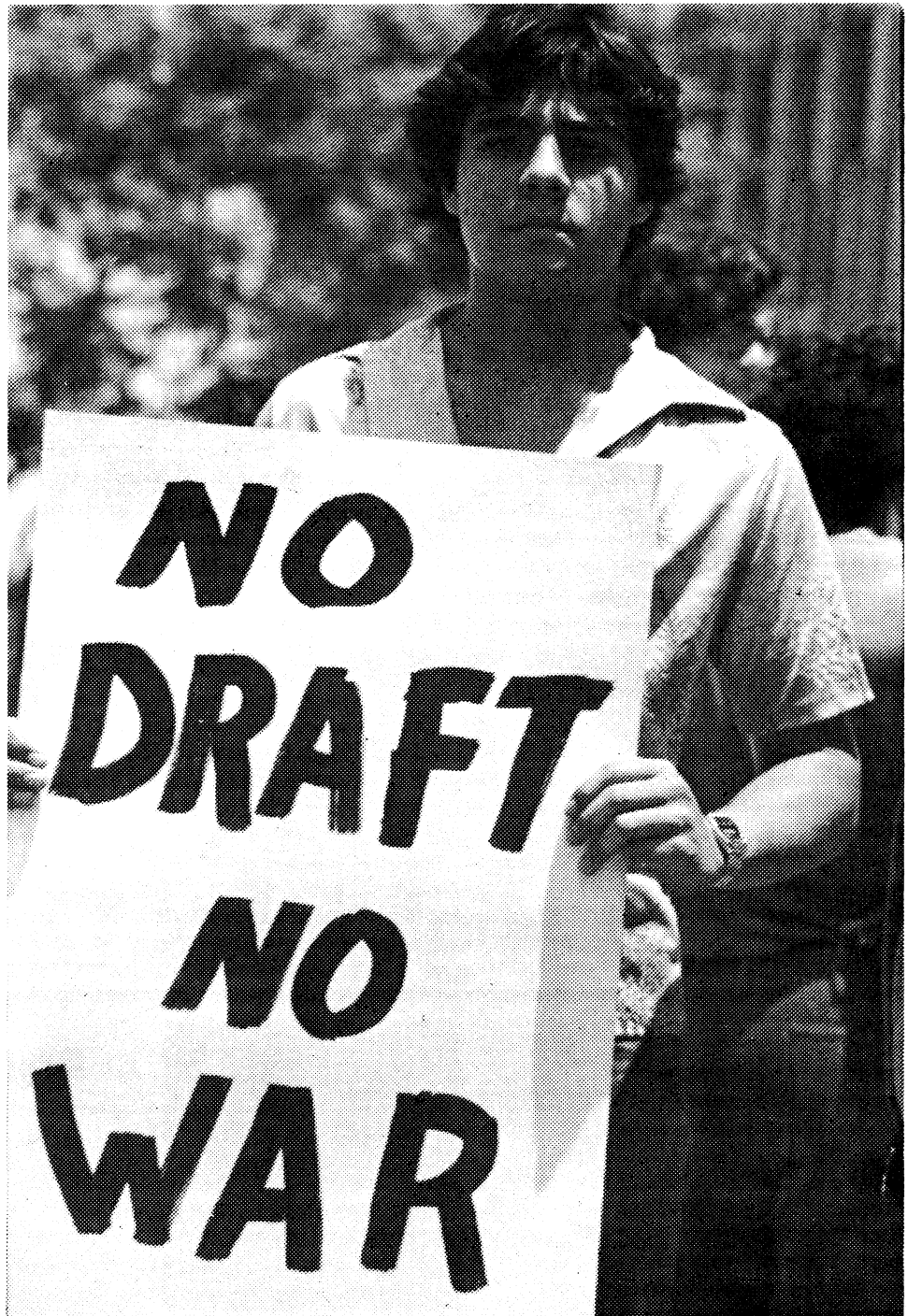
For instance, the July 22 Cleveland *Plain Dealer* stated that 3,000 people filled out forms in the first day. But in another part of the same article, it gave a breakdown of all the post offices, including those in the suburbs, with the numbers registering at each.

The total was 552.

Spot checks around the country, and talks with antidraft activists confirm there is extensive defiance of the registration program.

Jon Landau, staff attorney for the Central Committee for Conscientious

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Militant/Della Rossa

**A firsthand
report: Cuba
celebrates
July 26**

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Militant/Diane Wang
VINCENT NOEL

**Special interview
with key leader of
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The Hitler of Iran--and his masters

The former shah of Iran has gone to his grave, his hands steeped in the blood of tens of thousands.

The response of the vast majority of Iranians was typified by a Tehran radio broadcast July 27. It proclaimed, "Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the bloodsucker of the century, has died at last."

The ex-shah inspired undying hatred among the Iranian people, and for good reason. His regime was characterized by the complete suppression of basic human rights.

Thousands were executed and hundreds of thousands were jailed for criticizing him. Countless dissenters passed through the shah's Nazi-like torture chambers, where many died or were permanently maimed.

The shah and his family stole billions of dollars from the Iranian people.

When his opponents took to the streets in demonstrations of millions, the shah responded with massacres. Helicopter gunships and tanks mowed down peaceful demonstrators by the thousands.

All this brutal repression proved of no avail in the face of the heroic resistance of Iran's workers, farmers, students, and youth. The monarchy went down and the Iranian revolution began.

The ex-shah did have some mourners. Condolences came in from the Carter administration and from the likes of Henry Kissinger, Chase Manhattan Bank chairman David Rockefeller, and Ronald Reagan.

Their sadness was understandable. Although the shah proclaimed himself "king of kings" and told reporters that god had chosen him to rule, he was really only their servant.

From the time he was placed on the throne in a 1941 coup sponsored by Washington and London, the shah acted as an enforcer for the big oil companies and other U.S. corporations.

And his crimes were their crimes.

When a popular revolt in 1953 drove the shah into exile and installed a reform-minded government, the Central Intelligence Agency organized a second coup to put him back on the throne.

In hopes of crushing opposition, the CIA organized SAVAK, the shah's hated secret police force. U.S. agents trained his torturers in "interrogation techniques."

The Pentagon gave the shah billions in weaponry to use against the Iranian people. His officers were trained in the United States, and 40,000 U.S. advisers staffed his military machine.

As popular opposition stepped up, Jimmy Carter went to Tehran in December 1978 to hail the shah as a friend of human rights. He described this regime as "an island of stability."

From the standpoint of the U.S. government and big business, the shah's operation was a model of how to reap a profit bonanza for big oil, the arms manufacturers, and the banks by intimidating and beating down the common people.

To the bitter end, Washington tried to keep the shah in power. In January 1979, Carter sent Gen. Robert Huyser to Tehran with orders to engineer a military coup to crush the revolution. The plan failed when rebellion spread to the ranks of the armed forces.

And the Carter administration prevented the shah from being tried and punished for his crimes by providing him with hideouts in Morocco, the Bahamas, the United States, Panama, and Egypt.

The fall and subsequent death of the crowned hit-man did not mark an end to Washington's attempts to reimpose a tyranny on Iran.

That was the goal of the April 24 military raid; that is the goal of the economic boycott against Iran; and that is the reason for CIA support to forces like Shahpour Bakhtiar, the shah's last premier, and General Oveissi, commander of his ground troops, who are plotting to impose a military dictatorship on Iran.

Little wonder then that the U.S. embassy has become the target of the justified anger of the Iranian people!

Little wonder that they insist on an end to Washington's intervention, an apology for the U.S. government's role in imposing the shah

Summer Schedule

This is the last issue of the 'Militant' before our summer break. We will skip two weeks. Our next issue will be dated August 29.

on Iran, and the return of the tyrant's ill-gotten wealth.

It's high time that these reasonable demands were granted.

It would be a fitting way to bury the shah.

Olympic boycott fizzles

As the Moscow Olympics headed for the finale, their success, despite Carter's boycott, marked another blow to Washington's efforts to rally public opinion for new Vietnam-type wars.

The International Olympic Committee reports that teams from eighty-one countries are competing in Moscow. Eighty-eight participated in the 1976 games.

According to the Carter administration, the boycott was supposed to show that the people of the world were ostracizing the Soviet Union for sending troops to bar a right-wing takeover in Afghanistan.

But the boycott ran into heavy resistance everywhere.

Teams from Great Britain, France, Australia, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and other U.S. allies went to Moscow—sometimes defying governments that wanted to go along with Washington.

The U.S., Canadian, and West German Olympic committees voted not to attend, under heavy political and financial pressure. U.S. athletes were told that they might be banned from travelling to Moscow.

But even in these instances, the overwhelming majority of athletes opposed the boycott, which aroused no popular enthusiasm.

The defiant participation of Puerto Rico's Olympic team in both the games and the official ceremonies was particularly embarrassing to Washington.

The collapse of Carter's boycott is an indication of the depth of opposition to Washington's war moves that exists throughout the world.

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PUSH convention assails draft

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...Carter registration drive a huge fiasco

Continued from front page

Objectors, told the *Militant* that more than 25,000 people have already filed with their organization as conscientious objectors. Since Carter's January 23 announcement of registration, CCCO has received 24,000 letters and phone calls requesting the CO card and further information. Staff members who worked there during the Vietnam era cannot remember a single period when the mail and phone calls came close to the 1980 levels.

'Turnarounds'

Antidraft activists in cities across the country offer firsthand accounts of young men who went to the post office, talked with the picketers, saw posters, took leaflets, and decided not to register. Some joined the protesters.

On an average day at a post office in Dorchester, Massachusetts, there were two registrants and twenty "turnarounds." In Washington, D.C., on July 22 at one post office fifteen registered and five returned home.

In Austin, Texas, up to 20 percent of the people coming to register went home to think it over.

On the Iron Range in northern Minnesota thirty-four registered on the first day and six changed their minds. A majority signed a petition against the draft, and four joined the picket line.

In Chicago, media coverage could not have helped registration. The *Chicago Tribune* estimated that not enough jail cells were available for even the 2 percent Carter said would not register. And local TV news programs interviewed youth who said that as a result of the court challenge they had adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward signing up.

The *Daily Defender*, a major Black paper, reported that the Chicago Black United Committee, an organization of fifty Black groups, had called for the exemption of Black men and women from registration and the draft because Blacks have suffered a disproportionate number of casualties in recent wars and are not yet free and full citizens.



Militant/August Nimitz

Pickers protest registration at post office in Atlanta. Some draft-age youth who came to register changed their mind. Many others who signed up did so unwillingly.

The group plans to have draft counseling by Blacks in the community.

It was estimated in Morgantown, West Virginia, prior to registration that 800 to 1,200 would sign up. Patriotic ads and warnings of penalties for non-compliance were repeated in the media throughout the week.

Those who sat at antidraft tables at post offices during the week, however, set the figure at 220. One hundred and forty "registration against the draft" cards were signed, many by registrants.

In Portland, 238 registered on July 21 at thirty-five post offices. Twice as many demonstrated. After that nothing more on registration figures appeared in the papers there.

The small numbers in the major

areas of New Jersey on the first day of registration—fifty in Camden County, 100 in Passaic County, fourteen in Ocean County, twenty-five in New Brunswick—were attributed by officials to the heat wave.

The Boston Alliance against Registration and the Draft estimates that 50,000 draft-age youth are in the city. From what they've gathered, 40 percent are not registering.

In mid-Ohio, of the 30,000 eligible to register, 15,000 are supposed to register in Columbus. On the first day, 100 had registered.

Socialist workers in plants around the country told the *Militant* that discussions with co-workers show strong opposition to registration and the draft.

At the Lockheed Aircraft plant in

Atlanta, most workers who have already registered oppose the draft. Others intended to wait until the end of the first week—or maybe later.

At one plant in the Piedmont area of North Carolina, a twenty-three-year-old worker, who just spent four years in the air force, said that his two cousins who are bikers had told him they weren't registering.

"Fuck 'em. They're going to have to come get us" was their attitude.

At Cleveland Crane, a nineteen-year-old Black worker told co-worker Bob Rowand, "They'll have to throw me in jail before I'll register."

"No draft, no war, no way" comes through loud and clear from the factories, the Black and working-class communities, the campuses—and the post offices.

In Minneapolis, registration didn't go well at all

By Randy Furst

TWIN CITIES, Minn.—President Carter's draft registration is in trouble in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Many young people who went to post offices here to sign up the first week of registration changed their minds after talking to antidraft pickets.

News reports of antidraft demonstrations both here and nationally have helped encourage open opposition to the draft.

Seventy-five youth turned up to register at a small post office in northeast Minneapolis in a white working-class neighborhood. About fifty decided not to register after talking to antiwar leafleters.

Charles Wilkins, one of the leafleters, said a number of those who regis-

tered told him they would leave the country before they would submit to the draft.

In St. Louis Park, a Minneapolis suburb, a youth came to register, changed his mind, and joined with other picketers to oppose registration. Antidraft activists say that in a three-day period in St. Louis Park, fifty persons who came to register for the draft said they were reconsidering after talking to post office pickets.

In St. Paul, John Jay Tilsen, eighteen, a draft opponent, kept a running total of persons who came to register at a post office branch where he was picketing during a four-day period.

Tilsen said that seventy-four persons registered after talking to leafleters while thirty-six decided not to register and went home.

"Of those who registered, about 80 percent did it out of fear of prosecution," said Tilsen.

At the main post office in Minneapolis only 300 persons signed up during the first week of registration, a postal supervisor told the *Militant*.

At the post office near the University of Minnesota campus, a postal worker said registration had been light. "We figured we'd get 100 to 150 a day, but only 30 a day are showing up," he said.

"Those who sign up seem divided. About half seem enthusiastic. The other half don't like it at all."

The *Militant* interviewed eight nineteen- and twenty-year-olds on the university campus.

Of the eight, only one was pro-draft. Two said they were not going to register, and two others said they probably

wouldn't.

Three others said they plan to register but said they were seriously considering draft resistance if they were drafted. The one draft supporter had doubts if he'd go if it was for "another Vietnam."

At the student union, two students sat in the lobby and talked about the draft.

One, a twenty-year-old, said he was at the university's business school studying for a managerial career. He said he was supposed to register the week before, but hadn't and was now thinking he wouldn't do it at all.

"I just don't believe in killing," he said. "I don't mind fighting to defend my country, but I don't like going somewhere else to keep gas flowing into the U.S."

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Interview with YSA activist

'Why I'm not registering for the draft'

By Paul Mailhot

John Wood graduated from high school this June and is now working on the docks in Baltimore.

Wood is nineteen, and the government expected him to register for the draft the last week in July. But like many others who were expected to do so, Wood did not register.

Wood is a socialist and an antidraft activist. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance last March and has played a leading role in the Maryland Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

In an interview, he explained why he decided not to cooperate with draft registration.

Back in January, when Carter first proposed registration, Wood's reaction was, "They can stick me in jail if they want to. I'm not going to register."

"I never trusted the government," he explained. "I had some fleeting hope in Jimmy Carter in '76, but that died quickly. I liked the Nicaraguan revolution and the Iranian revolution.

"When the hostages were taken in Iran," he continued, "and the anti-Iran hysteria was being whipped up, my reaction was to support Iran. I knew Washington had provoked this by backing the shah and by being hostile to the revolution there.

"Anyway, when Carter called for registration, I knew exactly why he was doing it. He wanted to send us to Iran. Or Nicaragua. And I had no desire to go to either place—at least not as an enemy."

Some rethinking

Did his views go through any changes on this?

"Yes. In the course of helping build the March 22 antidraft demonstration in Washington, I joined the Young Socialist Alliance. And while I was still as much, maybe more, against registration and the draft, I began to look at the question of whether or not I should register as less of a personal question and more from the standpoint of being a revolutionary socialist who wants to build a mass workers movement against conscription.

"In general, the YSA has held the view that focusing on individual resistance to the registration is not the most effective way of building a broad movement against the draft. We knew most young people were against the draft. But it seemed to us that to avoid the penalties, most would register."

How does he feel about it now?

Wood replied, "Well, I haven't registered, and I'm not going to.

"As the time for registration approached, it was clear to us in the YSA that something new and important was happening.

"It's clear that very large numbers of young people, young working people and others, see this as an effective way to oppose the whole thing.



John Wood, Young Socialist Alliance activist, at socialist campaign rally in Baltimore

Militant/Eric Simpson

"I know it was clear to me when I went to the May 17 Washington jobs demonstration called by Jesse Jackson, that many young Black people would not be barging over to the post office to register. And it's a lot more widespread than that." Many young white workers are saying no too. Not a select few.

"So I think it's not a matter of a relatively few people taking this stand and inviting the government to come after them. I think a lot of working-class people—the backbone of the country—are behind us on this."

Wood made another point. A big factor for many people in deciding not to cooperate with registration, he said, was the fact that the government is clearly not in a strong position on this. They seem to have a lot of doubts and hesitation about pushing too hard on the registration. There's too much opposition.

Also, Wood added, a big factor in making up a lot of people's minds was the federal court decision that the whole registration law was unconstitutional.

"Like, here's a clipping someone sent me from the New York Daily News. They talked to people in Selective Service. The clipping says that 'privately they conceded that the registration effort had been a disaster, both practically and politically.'"

Wood quoted one Selective Service official who told the News, "You have to understand that no administration can get away with mass prosecution of nineteen- and twenty-year-olds in this

country."

The official continued: "The other hangup, of course, is that the damned thing's been declared unconstitutional. And that ruling has not been overturned. . . . How can we prosecute somebody for violating an unconstitutional law?"

Good legal grounds

Wood commented, "So, you see, people have a strong legal reason, as well as a moral and political one, for not signing up."

How does Wood feel about those who are registering?

"Well, we have to give them 100 percent support. Very few are registering because they want to. It's that threat of five years and \$10,000 fine. I'm convinced that a majority of those who did register are against it too. It's not something they're doing of their own free will.

"I think it's important for the antidraft movement to keep that in mind," he added. "There's an equally great potential for growth among those who didn't register and those who did. There may have been a million or more people who didn't register last week. But there's no million people active in the antidraft movement. So right there we have a big potential.

"And the people who signed, really under protest, will be even more worried now about war and the draft than they were before they signed up. It makes the threat much more real when you know you are signed up. You're on the list.

"People will take a much closer look at the world situation. They'll want to ask questions about it, talk about it. An awful lot of them can be won to the antidraft movement too. Many of them are going to see the movement as their best hope.

"The last thing we want to do," Wood emphasized, "is to pit one against the other, to say that only those of us who are not cooperating with registration are really against all this. That would be playing into Carter's hands.

"You know," Wood observed, "some people argue that young people are against the draft because they're scared and just want to get out of it. That they're not really concerned about the big issues involved in the draft. Like the kind of war this government wants to fight and so on."

Big propaganda drive

"But that's impossible. There's been a campaign for months to build up war hysteria in this country—ever since the U.S. embassy was seized in Tehran, before even.

"This stuff has filled TV, the radio, newspapers, speeches by politicians, campaign rhetoric.

"You can't help thinking about these things, even if you don't want to.

"There's the hate-Iran propaganda, the screaming about Afghanistan, the scare stories about Cuba, Nicaragua, about Central America.

"And yet people aren't registering, or they're doing it under pressure. It's clear they know what the government claims are. They just aren't buying them."

Wood said: "We need to build a movement that will reach out to all these people. It means explaining not just that we don't want to go into the army, but *why* we don't. Why we don't want another Vietnam. What the real issues are in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Iran or Kampuchea. People sense the government's lying about all this stuff. But we have to give them the facts, the explanation of why and what."

Wood is very optimistic. "I think history is on our side," he said. "Before we went into Vietnam, we didn't have a movement against registration and the draft.

"But now we have the beginnings of a really big movement. And even before the government has taken us into a war—or actually even started the draft—we already have massive refusal to register.

"Things are looking up."

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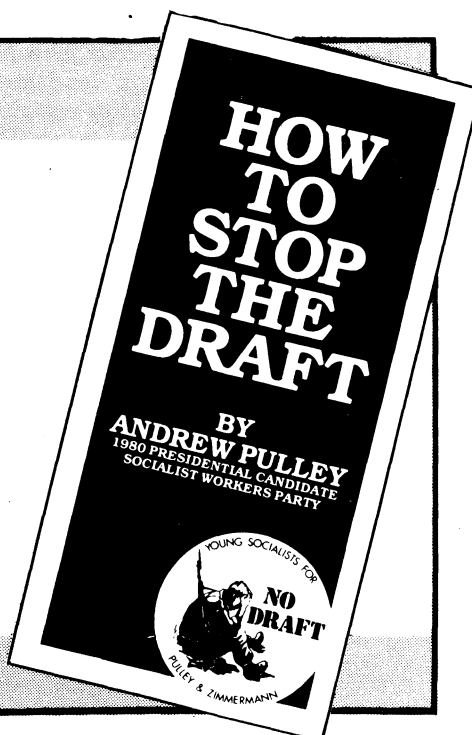
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Cuba's July 26 celebration

Fidel, Nicaragua leader, stress solidarity

By Fred Murphy

CIEGO DE AVILA, Cuba—More than 100,000 Cubans gathered here on July 26 for celebrations marking the twenty-seventh anniversary of the 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks, the opening battle of the Cuban revolution.

Participants came from throughout Ciego de Avila Province, an area of big sugar plantations and cattle farms in the central part of the island. Once part of Camagüey Province, Ciego de Avila was established in Cuba's 1976 geographic and administrative reorganizations. The national celebrations of July 26, Cuba's most important holiday, are held in a different provincial capital each year. This time the honor fell to one of the newest and smallest, Ciego de Avila.

'A Sandinista event'

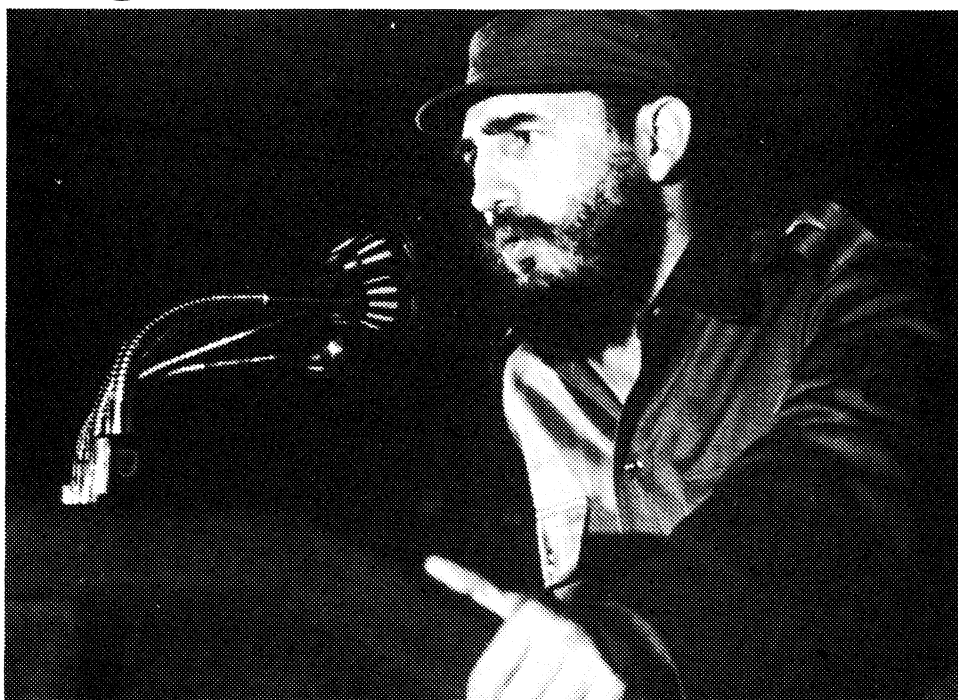
Just as last year's celebrations in Holguín had been, this one too was, as Cuban President Fidel Castro put it in his speech, a "Sandinista event."

Castro had returned to Cuba only one day earlier after a week's stay in Nicaragua. While there he not only addressed a rally of half a million in Managua July 19—the first anniversary of the Sandinista revolution—but also visited workplaces and farms, spoke to thousands at impromptu rallies at several cities, and held meetings with trade-union activists, militants of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and with a large group of Catholic priests and nuns who support the revolution.

The theme of Castro's speeches in Nicaragua—the history of solidarity between the two revolutions and the growing bonds of friendship between the two peoples—was echoed in FSLN Commander Jaime Wheelock's speech to the July 26 rally in Ciego de Avila. Wheelock was part of a Nicaraguan delegation that also included junta member Arturo Cruz, Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardinal, and the renowned Nicaraguan folk singers Carlos and Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy.

July 26, 1953, represented not only the beginning of "the end of tyranny in Cuba," Wheelock said, but also "the beginning of the new revolutionary wave in Latin America."

In the FSLN's early guerrilla front of the 1960s, the Sandinista leader went on, "in Pancasán, in Río Coco-Bocay,



FIDEL CASTRO

in Zinica, the Cuban revolution and the example of the Cuban revolution were also present."

Solidarity with Nicaragua

Even at the moment when the Sandinistas were reduced to a handful of militants, Wheelock went on, Cuba's solidarity never wavered. When political differences caused the FSLN to divide into three tendencies, "the support and advice of our brother, Fidel, was of great importance for the unity of the Sandinistas."

"And when our people—children, youth—were confronting a superior and well-trained army with pistols and contact bombs and were ready to fight with stones and even with their own teeth, we also had the concrete solidarity of Cuba and of Comandante Fidel Castro. Because we know that revolutions are not made with one's teeth."

Wheelock was repeatedly interrupted by applause and chants of "Cuba, Nicaragua, united will win!"

But the crowd's loudest and most prolonged response came when the FSLN leader spoke of the "extraordinary housecleaning here in Cuba in recent days"—a reference to the exodus of some 100,000 Cubans to the United States, which began after the events at the Peruvian embassy in Havana in April—"which is going to enable the revolutionaries to work much better,

firmly united with your party and with the revolution in Latin America."

"The Cuban people have kept the revolution alive despite all the difficulties," Wheelock concluded, "and we can say that for us Nicaraguans this made our own revolution much easier."

"There is much to be done among our people. We have just seen a few days ago how a military coup has struck the people of Bolivia. We see how the people of El Salvador and the armed people of Guatemala are being massacred. But we also know that somehow, very soon, just as Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win."

After Wheelock spoke, greetings were read to the rally from the newly formed United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) of El Salvador.

Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba

Fidel Castro was the final speaker. He discussed the Nicaraguan revolution and its significance for Cuba and Latin America, the world political situation, and Cuba's economy and domestic tasks.

Having just arrived from "the second Latin American country to be liberated from imperialism," Castro began, it was "almost obligatory that we say something about Nicaragua." In the hemisphere as a whole, "there are now not only two of us, but three, because we have to include Grenada."

Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba were not the only "progressive countries," Castro said, citing regimes such as those in Mexico, Jamaica, and Panama that maintain cordial diplomatic relations with Cuba. "But we are the three that have really shaken things up in a radical and definitive way."

"By the imperative of history, one day it will have to be all of us. . . . The slogans of 'Patria Libre o Morir' 'Patria o Muerte, Venceremos,' will have to be the slogans of all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean."

The Cuban leader went on to recount what he had learned on his visit to Nicaragua, citing details of the country's geography, economy, history, and current political situation. He reviewed the deep-going measures, taken by the Sandinista government, as well as its efforts to get Nicaragua's remaining capitalists to invest and resume production.

Unlike what happened in Cuba, Castro said, strong unions and mass organizations have already been built in the Nicaraguan revolution in the first year. He noted the existence of "the multiparty regime" and a "broad form of government," which he considered "very beneficial when it comes to continuing to enjoy the broadest possible support internationally."

"Well now," Castro asked the crowd, "is there or is there not a revolution in Nicaragua?"

"Yes!" came the answer.

Castro continued the exchange: "Does the existence of a bourgeoisie, of private property, perhaps mean there is a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua?"

"No!" the crowd shouted back louder than before.

"No," Castro agreed. "There is no bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua. It is a people's revolution—the fundamental forces are based on the workers, the peasants, the students, the middle layers of the population. . . ."

"The fundamental thing in a revolution is to have the people and to have the army. A Chile cannot happen in Nicaragua, because the people have the power and the people have the army. The revolution is guaranteed."

Vietnam in Central America?

Castro went on to talk about El Salvador and the attempts of the rightist regime there to crush the mass upsurge through terrorism. He asked: "Where are the democratic voices to save this heroic people? They are talking about possible interventions. I don't want to mention governments, but at the moment when some are condemning the coup in Bolivia, where there is a ferocious repression against students and peasants, these same governments support the genocidal government of El Salvador. And in the first place is the United States, sending arms and offering economic aid to the fascist/Christian-Democratic junta."

They speak of intervening, Castro added, but "let's see what they get into if they intervene. Let's see what they get into if they intervene in El Salvador. The imperialists should not underestimate the Salvadoran people. I am convinced that if the United States commits the stupidity of intervening in El Salvador, it will create a Vietnam in Central America."

Big stick policy

Turning to the response of the U.S. ruling class to the revolutionary upsurge in Central America, Castro singled out the Republican Party platform, which he described as "extremely dangerous and reactionary," and as an effort to return to the policy of the big stick.

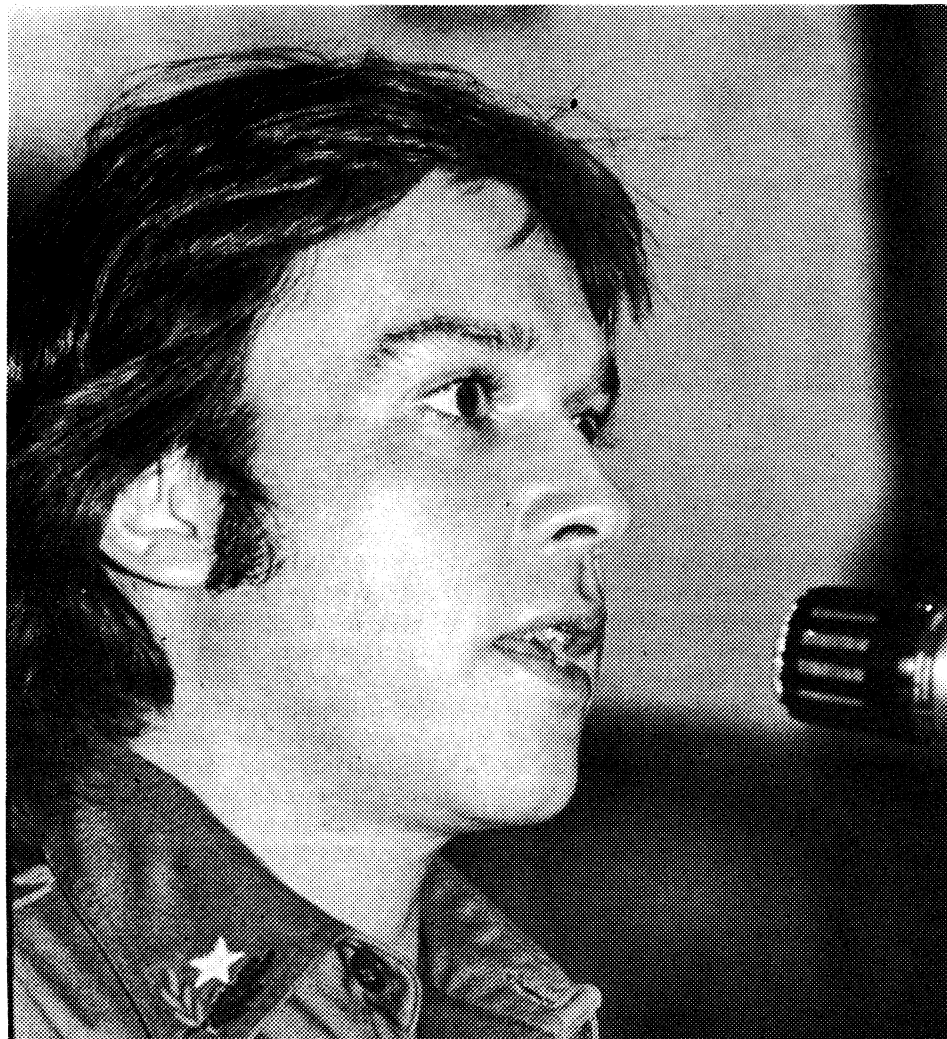
Castro said that some Americans had warned him that if he criticized Reagan publicly he might improve the Republican candidate's chances. But Castro said he rejected such warnings because, "What is at stake here is not a presidential election in the United States. The fate of humanity, the destiny of the world, war and peace may be at stake."

In regard to the Cuban economy, Castro said that the three agricultural diseases that plagued the country last year—sugar cane rust, blue mould in the tobacco crop, and swine fever—are being brought under control. The tobacco mould and swine fever have been practically eliminated, and the cane rust is being overcome by replanting new varieties of cane.

Finally, Castro took up the great efforts made by the Cuban people in sending doctors, teachers, technicians, and other skilled personnel to help other countries combat the legacy of imperialist exploitation. Looking to the future, he declared:

"It's necessary to think about what will happen when the revolution triumphs in El Salvador, when the revolution triumphs in Guatemala and other countries, because sooner or later they will triumph. They will need more internationalist doctors, more internationalist teachers, more internationalist technicians. I think I interpret correctly the sentiment of our people when I say that this must be our consciousness and this must be our conduct—foreign to all chauvinism, foreign to all national egoism."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



JAIME WHEELOCK

Militant/Lou Howort

An inspiration to Central America

UAW official hails Nicaragua revolution

In cities all over the country on July 19 people came together to celebrate the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution; to assess the impact of the revolution on other countries of the region; and to discuss further activities in support of the Nicaraguan and Central American peoples.

Following, in abridged form, are remarks by Robert Lopez, international representative of the United Auto Workers. He spoke at the Nicaragua celebration in Detroit.

The Nicaraguan revolution, like the Cuban revolution twenty years before it, was an event that was rich in political, as well as in military experiences; and its full impact was felt in the course of events, particularly in Guatemala and in El Salvador in this past year.

The most important development is the unity of all opposition and resistance forces, both in Guatemala and in El Salvador. Mass organizations, all political parties, organizations of all types have united in a single national front of resistance, and have come together around a national program.

Unity has also been achieved in the armed struggle. They have joined forces, under one command, and now compose one army of liberation in each of these countries.

Another important development, perhaps decisive, is the growing participation of the rural population—the peasants—including the native Indian population.

Today the landowners, the native and foreign exploiters, and their political servants can no longer fool the people with phony political parties or fake elections. These developments

have excluded middle-of-the-road, liberal, center, reformist solutions.

In the case of El Salvador the struggle is no longer one of resistance. There the people are now engaged in a struggle to take power and liberate their country.

These developments represent positive advancements, victories for the people. At the same time they present the imperialists and their regimes with a new set of conditions. The only option left open to them, in order to keep their repressive regimes in power and to secure "their vital interests," is the use of military power. Military power made in the USA; paid by the USA; and, if necessary, employed by the USA.

Guatemala has been selected for training and supplying the main counterrevolutionary forces in Central America and the Caribbean region. Under U.S. military supervision, a force is being trained, made up of mercenaries from Cuba, from Honduras, from Guatemala, from El Salvador, and 5,000 ex-Somoza National Guards.

In Honduras three large so-called refugee camps are in reality military camps where ex-Somoza National Guards are in training.

In El Salvador U.S. Army teams are stationed in more than forty installations covering the entire country.

And Costa Rica, the so-called neutral country, this year has given permission to stationing of U.S. Army helicopters.

To properly set the stage for any military actions, there are also maneuvers on the political front. Strong pressure is applied to Mexico and to Panama to be neutral. There's a push to form a Costa Rica-Honduras axis to support the junta in El Salvador. And



Militant/Nancy Cole
Robert Lopez, international representative of United Auto Workers, denounced U.S. aid to repressive regimes in Central America.

in the case of Venezuela the administration has succeeded. Venezuela is openly supporting the junta to the extent of supplying armaments and personnel.

As part of the military policy, the administration is also supplying direct economic and military aid to prop up the regime in Honduras, in Guatemala, and in El Salvador.

It is a desperate policy by madmen who are boxed in by history. They have been boxed in by the people's struggles. They have never accepted the victory of the Nicaraguan people. And in their madness they are determined that there shall not be a second anniversary, or a second victory, of any people.

It is in this context that we join millions around the world to celebrate

the victory and the achievements of the Nicaraguan people, and hail the growing unity and strength of the fighting people of Guatemala and El Salvador.

It is also in this context that we here in our country must develop our activities if we are to be an effective force. We too need unity, like the people of Guatemala and El Salvador.

We can direct our activities to stop all military and economic aid to repressive regimes, and to withdraw all U.S. forces from military bases in the Caribbean and in Central America.

This, I believe, is the most effective support that we can give to the people of Nicaragua today, to the people of Guatemala, El Salvador, to all the people of Central America and the Caribbean region.

Raul Roa addresses New York July 26 rally

By Bruce Lesnick

NEW YORK—Raúl Roa Kouri, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, was the featured speaker at a celebration here of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the event that began the Cuban revolution: the July 26, 1953, attack on Moncada Garrison in Santiago de Cuba by the forces of Fidel Castro.

Roa described the gains made by the Cuban revolution, including free medical care and education, jobs for all, low rents, adequate nourishment for all, human dignity regardless of race or sex, and full control for Cubans over their national destiny.

"We shall never forget how much we owe to international solidarity," Roa declared, referring to aid from the USSR and other workers states that helped Cuba survive the imperialist blockade. He also thanked all those in the U.S. and around the world who had fought the blockade. "We are ourselves devoted to offer whatever solidarity we can to just causes, in every corner of the world."

The 500 people attending were solidly united around four demands: down with the blockade; end the spy flights; U.S. out of Guantánamo; and stop U.S. war moves in the Caribbean and Central America.

Angelo Alicea, an official of the hospital workers union Local 1199, in whose hall the celebration took place, told the crowd of the importance of the current struggles by the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America.

Representatives of Vietnam and Nicaragua received ovations on being introduced, as did a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Roy Brown, the noted singer of Puerto Rican protest songs, received an enthusiastic response.

In his concluding remarks, Roa put into words what many people the world over have come to know.

"There are those who, on the wrong

side of history, wish to turn back the clock. . . . Cuba, for twenty-one years, has resisted the policies of the U.S. government and is stronger now than ever. The Cuban people are firmer than ever in their convictions, and more devoted than ever to revolutionary internationalism."

A scheduled showing of Cuban films could not be held. The film was confiscated by U.S. Customs officials.

Because of difficulties with right-wingers at previous gatherings, participants in the sponsoring coalition, the Committee for July 26, organized an effective monitoring system. The celebration proceeded without incident.



Raúl Rao Kouri, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations

Militant/Harry Ring

U.S. gov't to prosecute Cuban boat hijackers

Three Cubans who hijacked a Cuban boat and brought it to this country were charged in Miami July 18 with transporting stolen property into the United States.

It is the first time since the Cuban revolution in 1959 that Cuban hijackers have been prosecuted here.

The three, Omar Fabelo Blanco, Epifanio Mantilla Herrera, and Luis Hernández Collazo, bound and kidnapped the boat's captain and sailed the vessel here on July 8, evidently expecting a warm welcome. Such welcomes have traditionally been extended to Cuban hijackers by the U.S. government. But the present crew face a possible maximum prison sentence of ten years and a \$10,000 fine.

The U.S. government's failure to prosecute boat hijackers has long been a sore point with the Cuban government, particularly the U.S. excuse that

it lacked the legal jurisdiction to prosecute a crime committed outside of U.S. territory. The Cubans have condemned this as a provocative incitement to hijackers.

For its part, Cuba has prosecuted airplane hijackers from the U.S. Cuba's position fits in with its stand in favor of normalizing U.S.-Cuba relations.

U.S. officials claim that the present move to prosecute the three Cubans was unrelated to the recent boatlift from Cuba, and that Washington's current aim was limited to this one issue rather than an overall normalization of relations.

"We have a genuine concern that the world not gain the impression that the United States condones hijacking of vessels or boats under any circumstances," asserted a federal official in Washington.

Denounce U.S. aid to dictatorship

El Salvador opposition leaders in U.S.

By Gus Horowitz

NEW YORK—A delegation from the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador said at a July 29 press conference here that the government and army are conducting "an extermination war to destroy all the popular democratic and revolutionary movements" of that country.

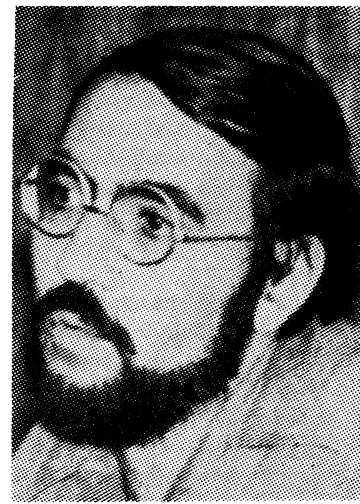
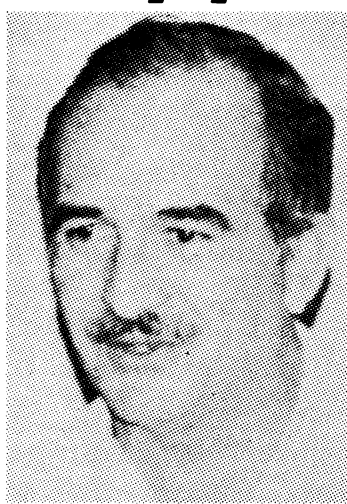
In the first half of the year 3,425 people have been killed, said Enrique Alvarez Cordova, president of the front, and one of several FDR representatives who have been touring the world seeking support for their struggle against the dictatorship. Other members of the delegation that arrived in the United States are José Salvador Arias, Guillermo Manuel Ungo, and Rubén Ignacio Zamora.

Despite the fierce repression, the front is optimistic, said Alvarez, "because we have the support of the great majority of the people of our country."

Alvarez denounced Washington's backing for the dictatorship, as manifested in a \$50 million U.S. loan to the ruling junta that was approved a couple of months ago. Another loan, of about \$170 million, is currently being worked out by the Carter administration through the World Bank and other agencies, he declared.

The front has pledged to recognize El Salvador's foreign debt, Alvarez said, but it objects to inheriting bankruptcy, as occurred in Nicaragua. "And we won't repay any loans related to buying arms that are used to kill our people."

Ungo said that the front has information about U.S. arms shipments to the dictatorship from ports in California, New Jersey, and the Canal Zone in Panama. The latter shipment, he said, "was supervised by one of the military attachés of the U.S. embassy in El Salvador."



Delegation from the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador, left to right, Enrique Alvarez, Salvador Arias, Guillermo Ungo, and Rubén Zamora.

"We don't know if the shipments are sent by the U.S. government or private sources, but we believe that the U.S. government has ways of knowing it and stopping it."

In talks with State Department officials here the front stated its case against U.S. backing for the dictatorship. But Washington refused to budge, the FDR delegates reported.

Zamora denounced the Guatemalan and Honduran dictatorships for intervening on behalf of the Salvadoran regime. "In wealthy and governmental circles in Guatemala the talk is that the war in Guatemala ought to be fought in El Salvador. In some places near the frontier camps have been set up to train mercenaries. Some of these mercenaries are ex-National Guards from Nicaragua."

Some Guatemalan military personnel have also participated in the repression of Salvadoran peasants.

The Honduran army, he said, "is playing the role of a rearguard for the

Salvadoran army," for example, driving Salvadoran peasants who flee repression back across the border. The U.S. government is giving considerable military help to the Honduran army.

The Mexican and Ecuadoran governments have declared their opposition to any intervention. But the Venezuelan government is lined up with Washington in backing the tyranny.

As for Nicaragua, Zamora said, "we have seen in the Nicaraguan revolution a great example of how a people can fight against dictatorship."

"We have learned a lot from the example of our brothers in the Sandinista front. We have learned the lesson of unity, the lesson of how important it is to work in the international field, and the lesson of how it is possible to defeat a regular army through popular insurrection."

But the Salvadorans, he added, do not seek more than solidarity. "We have to fight our own war. We have to

defeat the enemy. We have enough strength to do that because the majority of the people of El Salvador support us."

If there is foreign intervention, however, the Nicaraguans have pledged to consider it as intervention against the people of Nicaragua.

In the United States the FDR delegation met with representatives of the Black and Hispanic congressional caucuses and with the leadership of several major trade unions. Statements expressing opposition to current U.S. policy are expected, Zamora declared.

"We consider ourselves friends of the American people. And we consider the American people as friends of the Salvadoran people."

"But the policy that the State Department is following with regard to El Salvador is against the wishes of the people of El Salvador. It will only prolong the bloodshed and suffering of our people."

Carter plan: no relief for jobless auto workers

By Osborne Hart

The job situation for auto workers is desperate. Already some 300,000 are out of work, with more being laid off daily. SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) have expired for Chrysler workers and for Ford workers with less than ten years seniority.

With plant shutdowns and closings, prospects for the rest of the summer are bleak.

Last month the Carter administration disclosed its plan to bail out the depressed auto industry. Auto workers were left out.

The government package will allocate \$1 billion in direct funds, tax breaks, and savings from relaxed safety regulations to assist U.S. companies as they revamp to produce smaller and more fuel-efficient cars.

This includes: easing car exhaust pollution standards; allowing auto workers to be exposed to more toxic lead and arsenic on the job; eliminating certain safety tests; prohibiting new Department of Transportation regulations for the rest of 1980; granting big tax writeoffs to the companies for equipment; and providing \$400 million in loans to auto dealers.

In addition, \$50 million will be parceled to areas hit by plant closings.

As part of the plan, Carter will seek a speedy ruling from the U.S. International Trade Commission on Japanese auto imports.

The leadership of the United Auto Workers filed a petition with the commission requesting a sharp cutback in imports. UAW President Douglas Fraser has mounted a campaign blaming Japanese cars—not U.S. auto companies—for the massive layoffs that plague the union.

President Carter claims his plan was conceived out of a "deep concern" for

the several hundred thousand unemployed auto workers.

But Stuart Eizenstat, Carter's domestic affairs adviser, acknowledged that the plan "won't provide any real help" for laid-off workers.

During the news conference announcing the plan, Carter said that his intention is to establish "a very close-knit permanent partnership, within the bounds of propriety in the free-enterprise system" with government, auto barons, and union officials.

Carter's plan is not designed to alleviate unemployment or create jobs for auto workers. Quite the contrary.

The plan is a vast handout—at the expense of workers and taxpayers—for the auto companies as they retool to compete on the world market.

Easing pollution standards, both on autos produced and in the workplace,

will save \$500 million for the industry. But it will not guarantee any jobs and it will make the remaining jobs more hazardous.

In fact, jobs that involved installing safety or pollution control devices could be eliminated.

Smaller cars are lighter and less safe than the larger autos. In 1979, fatalities in small cars versus larger cars were eight-to-one. By relaxing safety and pollution regulations to increase profits, the auto companies are making it more hazardous to drive and forcing us to breathe more pollutants.

The "community assistance fund" is not compensation for workers who are the victims of plant closings. Rather, the fund will be used by the companies to rebuild outmoded plants.

Speedup

As the retooling and rebuilding plans are completed, auto workers who still have jobs will face speedup and forced overtime as the auto companies push to drastically increase productivity.

Taxbreaks for the companies will only mean higher taxes for working people.

The Carter program is virtually identical to the one proposed by Ronald Reagan. The Republican platform also calls for incentives to business in the form of taxbreaks and reducing safety standards. Both Democrats and Republicans attack the role that OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) has played.

UAW President Fraser praised Carter's program as a "good first step."

Fraser's stance is consistent with the union leadership's position that the interests of the companies and auto workers are one and the same.

The Chrysler bailout plan was a

good example. The UAW leaders agreed to renegotiate the contract to "save" the company. That meant lower wages, fewer benefits, and unemployment for auto workers. The results: 40,000 Chrysler workers are on indefinite layoff as the company closes plants and moves closer to bankruptcy.

Senate resolution

Accepting the company line on imports leads to giving up the fight for job safety, shorter hours, higher wages, or anything else that would cut into profits.

The UAW president hailed as "an important first step" a recent Senate resolution "to promote the competitiveness of U.S. industry in the world automobile and truck markets."

The resolution calls for:

- Policies to "create adequate capital"—the corporations' code word for higher profits.

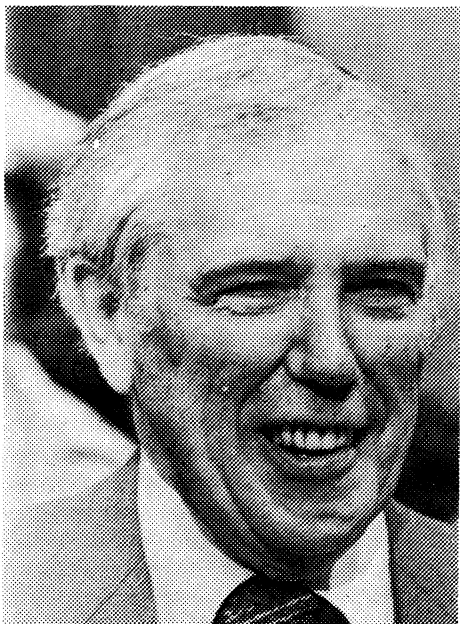
- "The Administration and the Congress should review regulatory and import policies"—that is, fewer safety standards, and curbing Americans' right to buy lower-cost, higher-quality cars if they are made in Japan or Europe.

- "Restraint should be exercised by all affected parties with respect to prices and wages."

Support to such a plan by UAW leaders assumes jobs can only be provided and cars built if it is profitable for the companies. But the profit drive by the auto industry means fewer jobs.

The kind of plan needed to solve the problems of auto workers and other working people is one that will provide jobs and safe and efficient transportation.

A shorter work week with no cut in pay and a nationalized auto industry would offer the answers.



DOUGLAS FRASER

Militant/Henry Snipper

How unions helped make a free Grenada

By Diane Wang

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—One day during his week-long visit here in early July, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley stopped to eat at the Peppers snack bar. A young woman in the kitchen smiled, waved, and explained she had met Pulley a few days earlier at a trade-union seminar.

"What a difference from the United States!" Pulley said later. "You'd never expect to find a union militant at MacDonald's." But in Grenada, where more than 80 percent of the work force is organized, it is not so surprising.

This massive unionization is one result of the island's March 1979 revolution. After dictator Eric Gairy was thrown out, workers were free to join the unions of their choice. Employers who resisted organizing drives faced heavy fines or imprisonment. As Grenadians would say, the bosses were "put under heavy manners."

It is only right that the unions and workers should benefit so quickly from the revolution, since they played a major role in the fight against Gairy.

"In a sense, the tone, the mood for the revolution was actually set by a labor dispute," Vincent Noel said in an interview with Andrew Pulley, myself, and Steve Clark, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Noel is secretary of home affairs in the People's Revolutionary Government and president of the Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU) and the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU).

Barclay's Bank struggle

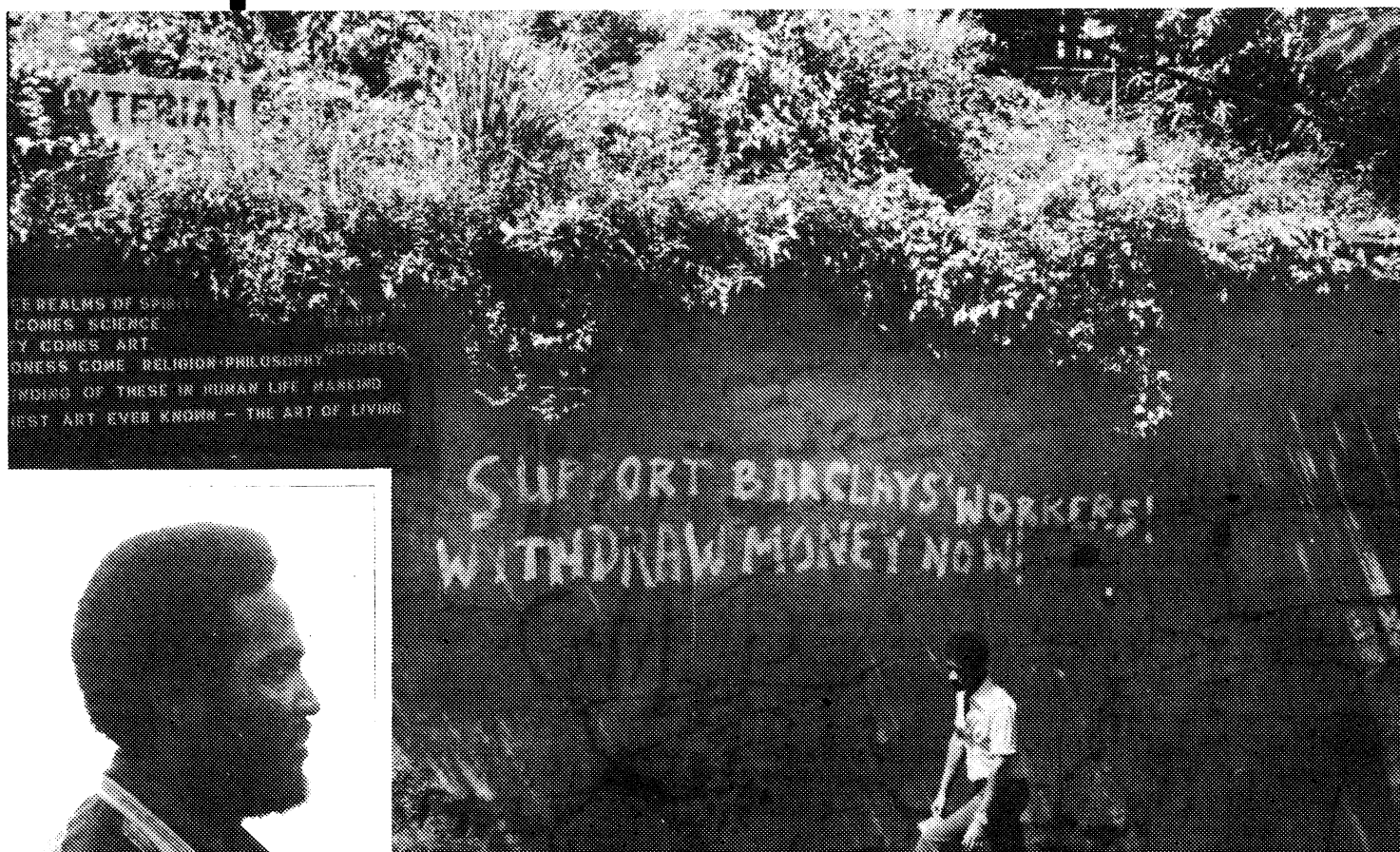
The labor dispute referred to by Noel was the BGWU organizing drive at Barclay's Bank. Gairy resisted the drive, Noel explained. "He and Barclay's together refused to allow the union to be recognized and to bargain."

This was despite the fact that more than 90 percent of bank workers had voted for the BGWU in a poll conducted by Gairy's own commissioner of labor. When Gairy ordered a new vote, the workers again backed BGWU recognition.

At that point, Gairy ordered Barclay's not to recognize the union—an order the bank was more than willing to obey.

For six months, from October 1978 until the revolution, the struggle went on. Between December 15, 1978, and January 10, 1979, the bank workers were on strike to press their demand for recognition.

The New Jewel Movement (NJM), the party that led the revolution, championed the union's fight. "The whole party was behind the struggle, put its prestige behind it. The population supported this struggle," Noel recalled.



Vincent Noel (inset) explained how union recognition strike at Barclay's Bank set the stage for March 13 revolution.

"We went into the region, to quite a few of the [Caribbean] islands, and also raised the question at Barclay's headquarters itself, in Britain." The bank is Britain's largest.

Gairy responded by branding BGWU leaders as a "handful of Communists who want to take control of our banking institutions." He stepped up harassment of NJM supporters and jailed several BGWU leaders, including Danny Roberts, who is today the union's general secretary.

Only following the revolution, two days after the bank could no longer count on Gairy as its henchman, did Barclay's finally grant union recognition.

Although the BGWU "had to wait until after the revolution to be recognized by the management, the union's prestige was heightened among the working class" as a result of the long battle, explain Richard Jacobs and Ian Jacobs in their book, *Grenada: The Route to Revolution*.

"The activities of the BGWU also enhanced the reputation of the NJM as an uncompromising champion of the cause of the workers and for the first time provided the NJM with a reliable institutional link to the organized working class."

The intensity of the fight, the militancy of the union, the determination of the NJM to back the workers—all fueled the island's temper and set the stage for the March 13 revolution.

Workers also played a major role in

fighting British colonialism. Gairy himself rose to power on his record as a trade-union organizer. In 1950 he founded the Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union (GMMWU), which primarily organized agricultural workers against the plantation owners.

The union's mass demonstrations and actions in the fields won better wages and improved some working conditions. Gairy became a hero.

The upsurge alarmed the British government, convincing it to begin laying the basis for a neocolonial solution. In 1951, when the colonial rulers allowed the country to elect a legislature, Gairy formed the Grenada United Labor Party. It won by a landslide.

While holding onto economic power, the British rulers gradually turned political reins over to local figures. In 1967 everything except defense and foreign relations came under local authority, and independence was declared in 1974.

Gairy fit right into this neocolonial scheme. He used his position in government to dip into public funds, bought several businesses, and joined the Chamber of Commerce. At the same time, he used populist demagoguery to portray himself as an anticolonial fighter.

Gairy proclaimed himself "president for life" of the GMMWU. Using his political clout, he reached sweetheart agreements with employers, even when the workers wanted to be represented

by another union. Contract settlements would depend on kickbacks to Gairy and on his relations with a particular employer at a given time.

As Gairy's popularity slipped, he became more repressive and corrupt. He was twice voted out of office, but managed to make a comeback each time because of the dismal performance of the rival bourgeois Grenada National Party (GNP).

Opposition mounts

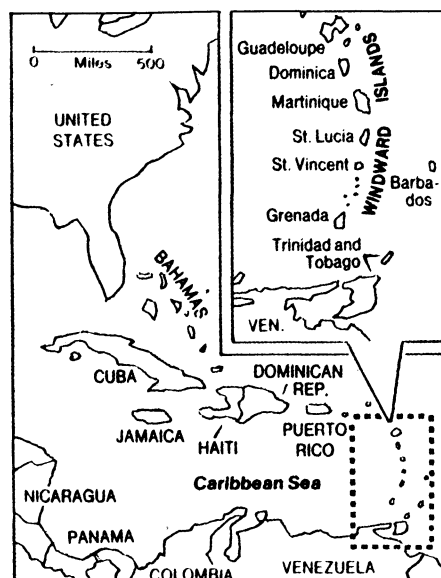
In 1970 Black Power demonstrations rocked the Caribbean. On May 10 of that year, about 300 young people marched in St. George's demanding "more jobs now." Several months later, a strike by nurses over working conditions mushroomed into a major social protest. Thousands demonstrated in support of the nurses and were tear gassed.

Gairy responded to the demonstrations by recruiting what he called the "toughest and roughest of roughnecks" into his private goon squad—the "Mongoose Gang"—to terrorize opponents.

1973 saw strikes and big demonstrations against police brutality and killer cops. These came to a climax at the end of the year. The New Jewel Movement, formed that year, called for a general strike.

"In the struggles in 1973-74 the unions played an important role, led of course by the NJM," said Noel. "Some of the labor union leaders did not want

Grenada and its revolution



Grenada, a small island of 110,000 people, is the scene of big revolutionary developments whose effects are being felt throughout the Caribbean. It is likely to have a special significance here in the United States as well. The Grenadian people are Black and English-speaking. Thousands live and work in this country.

Washington is hostile to the Grenada revolution and has threatened it for establishing close ties to Cuba. The U.S. government has provided a haven for the ousted dictator Eric Gairy to organize a right-wing mercenary invasion force.

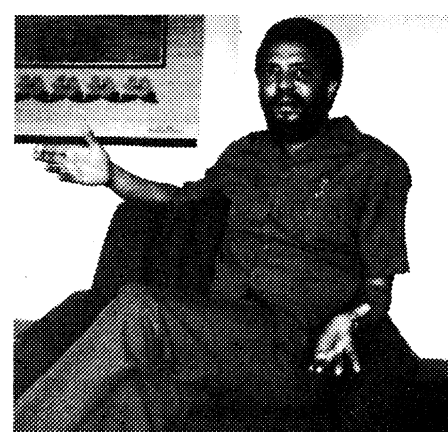
This week, the *Militant* continues its special, on-the-scene coverage of the Grenada revolution.

Maurice Bishop on politics in Grenada, the Caribbean, and United States

—an exclusive interview with Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

The August 4 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* contains an important and extensive interview with Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Bishop discusses the U.S. war drive in the Caribbean, the gains of the Grenada revolution, and the relationship of that revolution to the Black community and working class in the United States. Don't miss it!

Send \$1 to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Subscription information is available on request.



A beautiful island, a liberated people

By Diane Wang

When the security man went into his office at Grenada's Pearl's Airport, I peeked in. On the wall were two posters for the Nicaraguan literacy crusade. They went well with the Sandinista flag in the airport window and the poster in the lobby calling for revolutionary unity in the Caribbean.

The drive from Grenada's only airport to the capital in St. George's goes across the mountainous island, giving visitors an hour's tour.

Picture this: beaches with pure white sand, a sea so clear and blue you can see the bottom fifteen feet below. Think of swimming next to exotic fish you've only seen in an aquarium. Look at your houseplants and imagine they've grown into bushes—flowering bushes—that cover the mountains.

That's Grenada.

The countryside is all the more interesting because various communities have put up banners and billboards proclaiming the 1979 revolution.

"There can be no liberation without education," said one sign across the road from a school that the community had fixed up and painted this spring.

"Workers and farmers unity," urged another.

Several others had the slogan of the revolution, "Forward ever, backward never!"

The flag of the revolution, white with a solid red circle, flies from small houses with tin roofs. It is painted on nearly every post, every fence.

What's so good about the revolution? You get as many answers as people you ask:

"People feel more free now," one man told me. "Before, if you said something against the government, you lost your job." He stopped and thought for a moment, maybe remembering the old dictator's goon squad. "You don't have to be afraid of the Mongoose Gang now."

"Now it's easier for people to get loans. It used to be that only the rich could get loans," said another.

"A lot of people who didn't have jobs are working now," one young man said. "People who didn't go to school before can go to night classes. We didn't have that before."

"In our country now women can get equal pay for equal work," said another. "That's a good policy," he added.

The Grand Anse beach is rightfully described as one of the most beautiful in the world. As part of our thorough fact-finding tour, I thought it necessary to visit.

"You want a palm hat?" a young

man, Tery Pascal, asked. "I'll make it right here." Once we explained that we were socialists, he dropped his act for tourists. Tery made the hat, but he also talked about the revolution and his job as an apprentice auto mechanic.

Tery recently joined the militia. When terrorists bombed a June 19 rally in Grenada, they killed two young women and hurt dozens of other people, including Tery's girlfriend.

"Before that I went to the meetings and listened to the speeches, but I didn't think about joining the militia."

Were people frightened by the terrorists? "No one is afraid from that," Tery answered emphatically. "Not even the youngest child is afraid. We got belly."

The main difficulty in visiting Grenada is the transportation. Only LIAT, a small commercial outfit, flies into Pearl's Airport. The service is unreliable. Many people suggest it is deliberately unreliable to disrupt Grenada's tourism.

The day we left the country was spent at the airport. One flight, then another was cancelled. By midafternoon, some tourists were bitterly complaining they'd never come back to the island. A seaman was watching the clock, hoping to meet his boat in Barbados. One family was in

near hysteria, maybe from the heat.

As evening came, the anxiety grew. Since Pearl's Airport has no lights for its runway, there are no flights after dark. About 150 people were pressing forward in lines, hoping to get on any plane that arrived.

Just before sundown, three planes finally arrived. A cheer went up. "This won't happen once we have our own airport," people began to say happily. With \$30 million (East Caribbean currency) in equipment and materials from Cuba and 250 Cuban construction workers, Grenada has begun to build its own international airport to end the dependency on LIAT. Grenadians are buying bonds to help the project, and being trained to complete the airport construction.

"Once we have our own airport, we'll have planes from everywhere coming," the woman next to me announced.

My only advice is that working people in this country not wait the two or three years it will take to build the new airport. Write the Grenadian Mission, 141 East Forty-fourth Street, Room 905, New York, New York 10017 for information and visit soon.

Do what most Grenadians urge when asked about their revolution, "Come see for yourself."

to support it, but the groundswell was so great they had to come along." At the time, the NJM itself had little direct influence in the anti-Gairy unions.

A total general strike lasted from December 1973 to March 1974. "Farmers refused to grow anything," Noel said. "All the shops, all the factories, the electricity company, the phone company—everything was closed."

"There were 25,000 people in the streets virtually every day. In January there were nineteen demonstrations."

Solidarity came from neighboring islands. Dockworkers in Trinidad, Barbados, and Curaçao refused to handle goods bound for Grenada.

But at the crucial moment, when the workers were nearing victory, some of the trade-union leaders backed down. The repression had become too fierce for them, and they feared the mounting political explosion. The NJM had popular influence among the teachers and public workers, but the leaders of the largest unions, such as the Technical and Allied Workers Union, were loyal to the bourgeois opposition party, the Grenada National Party.

Nonetheless, the 1973-74 general strike was a turning point for the anti-Gairy struggle and for the NJM.

"From that time on the party grew, grew in prestige, in organizational skills, and in ideological development," Noel said.

Not only did the party hold rallies and run successfully in the 1976 elections, it took the initiative in forming the BGWU, led by Noel, a member of the NJM's political bureau. By 1977 the NJM had also increased its support among members of the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union; Noel was elected vice-president, although the presidency and executive board were still dominated by GNP members.

The bank workers, led by the NJM, did not grow rapidly during Gairy's regime. "It was only the most serious, the most militant workers who would join," said Noel. But through drives such as the one at Barclay's Bank, the NJM showed Grenadians how serious it was about defending workers.

The insurrection

On March 10, 1979, Noel was arrested by Gairy's police and held without charge. Two days later, some elements in the police warned him that he should escape by that night if he was

to survive. Gairy had gone to New York, leaving behind orders that all the NJM leaders be murdered.

The NJM leaders gathered forty-six activists and prepared a daring plan of self-defense. Before sunrise on March 13, the forty-six attacked an army barracks and scattered the troops.

As Grenadians woke up that morning, they heard Radio Free Grenada announce the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship. People were urged to help capture and disarm the police stations. Thousands turned out to help complete the insurrection. By that evening the Mongoose Gang, police officers, and officials of the dictatorship were in custody. The only casualty was the army commander, who was shot in self-defense.

"By the time of the revolution," Noel said, "a lot of workers were still not organized. They didn't want to join Gairy's union. They would not be forced into Gairy's union."

Pro-worker measures

But the People's Revolutionary Government quickly changed conditions. "New legislation was passed making it mandatory that if 50 percent of a workforce in any place was represented by any union—which could be tested by a simple secret ballot—then the company had to recognize the union."

"Most people are now organized," Noel continued. He said that the largest union is now the BGWU, followed by the Technical and Allied Workers Union, still led by non-NJM forces.

But the new pro-working class government didn't stop with union recognition.

"Labor unions are now free to make suggestions to the government on any matter," Noel said. "A number of important laws have been passed, and the 1980 budget, we believe, is a working-class budget, certainly different than anything we have seen before."

"Quite a lot of taxes have been removed from the low-income people. New taxes have been put on the larger companies. Approximately 21 percent of the budget will go toward health and education."

Thirty percent of workers who paid taxes under Gairy will no longer pay any taxes, while others will have their taxes cut by an average of 21 percent.

Since the revolution, the government has intervened on behalf of the workers in numerous labor disputes. In one

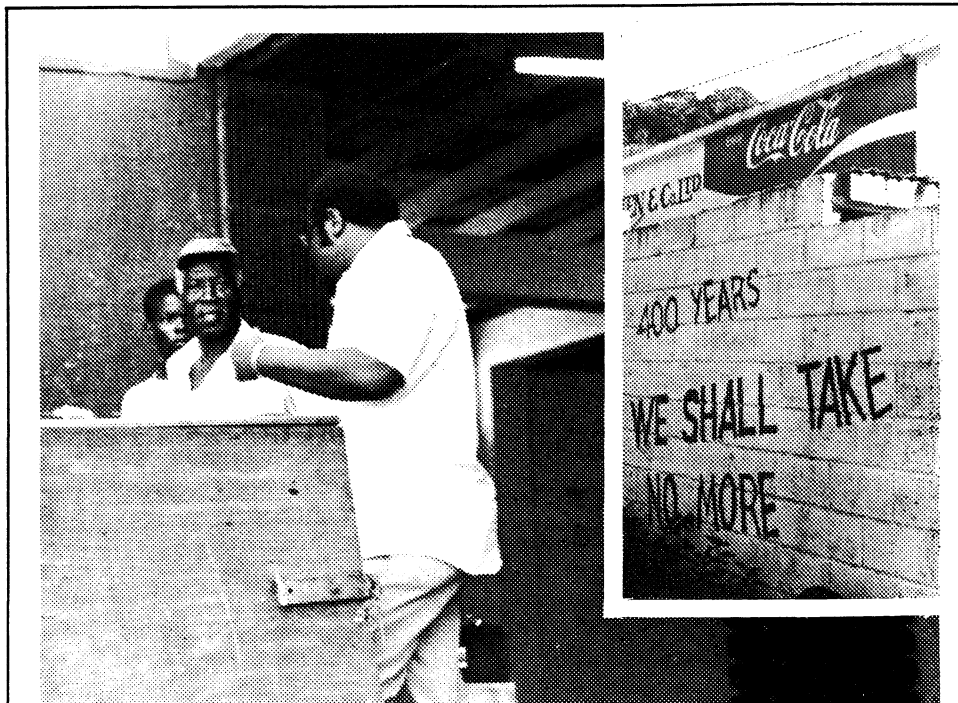
case, the PRG put a factory under workers control to settle a strike (see box).

In another case, women at Barclay's Bank complained about sexual harassment. When the offending manager was questioned, he bragged that since he was in charge of personnel, he could do as he pleased. The government revoked his work permit and, since the man was from St. Vincent, asked him to leave Grenada.

Reporting on the incident, Grenada's weekly *Free West Indian* pointed out that the PRG has "consistently stressed" that it will not "tolerate victimization of workers in any form."

The PRG has also instituted equal pay for equal work and issued a maternity benefits law to improve the conditions of women workers.

After fighting for decades, Grenadian workers finally have a government that defends their interests.



Militant photos by Diane Wang

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, stopped by a special Coca Cola bottling plant here during his July solidarity visit.

Last September, workers at the plant went on a forty-eight-day strike demanding that two co-workers be rehired. When the management dragged its feet, the People's Revolutionary Government settled the dispute by putting the company under workers' control.

Selwyn Strachan, Grenada's minister of labor, explained in an interview last fall that "the economy was suffering. But not only the economy. As a whole, the public was also denied the right to have a drink. More than that, the workers and their families—and that is extremely important—were denied a right to their wages and salaries because of the senseless attitude of the employers."

The Coca Cola workers told Pulley that the factory was doing "so far, so good."

Pulley commented to the workers on how different their government's action was from that of the repressive Guatemalan regime. There, six members of the National Workers Federation at the Coca Cola plant have been murdered and two kidnapped as the military regime tried to wipe out its working-class opponents.

Grenadians—who fought British colonial rule for 360 years and dictator Eric Gairy for 30—put an end to such oppression with their 1979 revolution.

Socialist view of how to fight the klan

The following are excerpts from a recent speech given in Los Angeles by Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

Most people in the United States are not particularly interested in who is running for United States Congress outside their own district. Many people couldn't care less who's running inside their own district. It's understandable why they feel that way.

But when the Democratic Party in the San Diego area chose Thomas Metzger as its candidate in the 43rd Congressional District—the biggest congressional district in the United States—it sent shock waves throughout southern California and the entire country.

Democratic Party candidate Metzger is a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. He is an up-front, out-of-the-closet Ku Klux Klanner. He's not the type who wears only three-piece suits or blue uniforms. He's the type who wears white sheets. That is the way he is pitching his campaign for Congress.

The Socialist Workers Party hit the news in San Diego and Los Angeles when we announced that we are running Mark Friedman against Metzger.

Friedman is a twenty-eight year old machinist, a member of the International Association of Machinists, and an anti-racist fighter.

Metzger's theme

Metzger has been quoted in the San Diego press as saying that Blacks, Mexicanos, and Chicanos are subhuman. He wants to wipe women's liberation activists, antinuclear activists, gays and socialists off the face of the earth. Metzger's campaign has one simple theme: The economic crisis is caused by Mexican undocumented workers, by Blacks rebelling in Miami, by Cubans, by Iranians.

To show you how he proposes to solve this "problem," he wears a miniature noose hanging from his belt loop.

The Socialist Workers Party says no! The people that Metzger says are the problem are not the problem. They are a big chunk of the solution to the problem.

Metzger says he's sticking up for whites. He has pretensions of leading white workers and farmers. He thinks whites are an oppressed race today.

Metzger's road would lead white workers and small farmers into a death trap. He wants to pit them against everybody who has dark skin, everybody who doesn't speak English, everybody who doesn't buy his racist ideas—in other words, against the overwhelming majority of the human race.

He's preaching race hatred against American Blacks, Chicanos, and Latinos, and war against other countries. White workers have nothing to gain and everything to lose on this road.

The theme of our campaign is exactly the opposite. You can put it in one word. Solidarity. Labor solidarity and solidarity with the most oppressed.

That's why we put the proposal for the unions to launch a labor party at

the center of our anti-Klan campaign. We say that working people need to unite against our real enemies—the profiteering corporations and the government they run—and against the racist scum of the Ku Klux Klan, who serve the capitalist rulers by attacking unions, Blacks, and Latinos.

The Democratic Party was having some image problems before Metzger won. It was having a harder time passing itself off as a party of workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women.

And then something crawled out from under a corner of the Democratic Party rug. It was a type of lizard—a big, ugly Grand Dragon. That was very bad for the image of the Democratic Party. All kinds of Democratic Party politicians are embarrassed now. They're trying to wriggle out of the association.

But what is Metzger saying that is so different from what the other Democratic Party politicians are saying? Stripped of its Ku Klux Klan mumbo-jumbo, Metzger's message is very familiar.

Who's responsible for unemployment? Mexicans, Cubans, Japanese, Metzger tells us.

Why do we have inflation? Those thieving Arabs, he says in chorus with the big oil companies.

Who's depriving Americans of a secure, prosperous future? Those nasty revolutionaries, not quite white, who are kicking Americans around.

That's not only Metzger's line. It's not only the line of a lunatic right fringe. It is the official political line dished out in the newspapers and on television every single day. The racism is sometimes disguised and sometimes open. It is blatant in the case of anti-Arab and anti-Iranian cartoons, especially the ones that feature Khomeini.

There was a headline in the San Diego *Union* a few days ago that read, "Aliens Gouge Huge Holes in Border Fence."

As if Mexican workers are some kind of animal that burrows through fences, or as if they came from another planet.

This racism is shown in the characterization of angry Black youth—whether in Miami or South Africa—as "rioters," "looters," or "hoodlums."

Democrats & klanocrats

President Carter is the head of a party that has as its standard bearer in the 43rd Congressional District the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. President Carter has said nothing about this. He brushed it off. He said, "I'm opposed to the Klan. Everybody knows that."

Can you imagine what would happen if some racist dog like Metzger suddenly announced that he was running for Congress as a Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 43rd Congressional District? I'll tell you. No matter where we were, Andrew Pulley and I would be on the first plane out here to explain to the people of California that we did not consider Metzger even a member of the same biological species with us, much less of the same political party.

Metzger is not the first or the only Klansman to be a Democratic Party politician. If he is elected, he will not



Left, Mark Friedman and Matilde Zimmermann. Below, February 1980 march against Ku Klux Klan and Nazi terror in Greensboro, North Carolina. Civil rights organizations, students, unionists, and others joined coalition that led this protest to the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators.



Militant/Michael Baumann

be a Klan caucus of one in the United States Congress.

But he is the most open "klanocrat" to come out in a long time. The Democratic Party and the Ku Klux Klan have been tight for over a century. During its early days, the Ku Klux Klan was organized out of Democratic Party clubs in the South to lynch and terrorize Blacks as well as white workers and small farmers who had worked with Blacks during Radical Reconstruction. The alliance between the Klan and the Democrats has never been broken.

Malcolm X used to say, "If you scratch a Democrat you'll get a Dixiecrat." Sometimes you don't even have to scratch. You just have to take a whiff.

More Metzgers

Metzger's not the only one. There's a guy who's running for the United States Senate in Georgia, J.B. Stoner. His name may sound familiar. The reason is because Stoner was recently convicted of a racist church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama in 1958. It took twenty-two years to convict him because the cops and the FBI covered for him. But he was finally convicted.

Last week in Illinois I was talking to Linda Jenness, who was our candidate for president in 1972. She told me that she ran against J.B. Stoner for Governor of Georgia. Stoner went on television and said, "I don't want any Jew votes, I don't want any nigger votes, I only want white supremacist votes." He's running in the Democratic party primary now for the U.S. Senate.

I don't think we can leave it to the Democrats and Republicans to stand up to the Klan. No more than we can leave it to the cops to stop racist terror. We saw what happened in Greenboro, N.C. last November, when the cops stood by while Klan and Nazi thugs shot down five members of the Communist Workers Party in cold blood.

The Democrats aren't doing anything about Metzger. They didn't try to stop him from winning, and they aren't doing anything about him now. Some of them are mumbling about a write-in campaign. Some of them are recommending that people vote for the Republican candidate, who is an out-

front representative of California agribusiness.

You cannot fight Metzger by saying to white workers, as the Democrats and Republicans do, "Well, of course, Metzger has a point. The problem is Blacks, Mexicanos, Cubans. But please don't lynch them."

You can only fight Metzger by telling the truth. That we're losing jobs because it's more profitable for the corporations to lay off millions of us and force the rest to work harder and longer hours. That our schools and communities are falling apart because the government spends our tax dollars on the Pentagon instead of human needs. That prejudice and discrimination only help the capitalists and hurt working people.

To fight Metzger you have to explain the solutions that working people need to fight for—white, Black, and Latino together. Solutions like a shorter work week with no cut in pay, like spending government funds for jobs, like nationalizing basic industry in this country.

The only ones who are standing up to Metzger in this campaign are the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

Mark Friedman is campaigning to build a movement that can stop the Klan. He's going to be out there in the 43rd Congressional District, and he'll be touring up and down the state of California explaining that unionists, farmworkers, Blacks and Chicanos have a stake in beating back the Klan. He's going to urge the labor movement throughout California to respond to the threat that Metzger poses.

If ever there was proof that we need a labor party now, Metzger gives us that proof. He is anti-union to the core. And he is welcomed in the Democratic Party.

It hurts the union movement to be tied to the Democratic Party. The whole purpose of the trade union movement is to unite workers—Black workers and white workers, immigrant and native-born workers, male and female workers—to represent their common interests. But the policies of the Democrats try to divide us.

The labor movement in California should get out of Metzger's party and build a party of its own.

Friedman ballot drive over top

Socialist Workers campaign supporters fanned out over the western part of San Diego's Forty-third Congressional District July 26. They were collecting signatures to place SWP candidate Mark Friedman's name on the November ballot.

Friedman is contesting against the Ku Klux Klanner Thomas Metzger, the Democratic nominee.

The day's petitioning, culminating a two-week ballot drive,

brought the total to 18,055 signatures. The law requires 11,000 to place Friedman's name on the ballot.

Petitioners report other encouraging results from the petitioning effort. Already 100 people have signed up with Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann to volunteer to help out the campaign. And every day people call or stop by the campaign headquarters to offer their support or to find out more about the socialist campaign.

Brown tries to keep SWP off Calif. ballot

By Sara Gates

OAKLAND—The administration of Gov. Jerry Brown is trying to keep Socialist Workers Party candidates off the 1980 California ballot.

State election law demands that presidential



Militant/Peter Seidman

Top, Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president. Bottom, George Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

candidates other than the Democrats or Republicans collect 101,300 signatures of registered voters to qualify for ballot status, and an additional 101,300 signatures for senatorial nominees.

On July 9, the SWP filed 145,000 signatures for its presidential slate, and 139,000 signatures to place senatorial candidate George Johnson's name on the ballot.

Since filing the signatures, however, the party has been confronted with a series of maneuvers designed to lay the basis for denying certification of the petitions.

In a letter dated July 25, Anthony Miller, chief counsel for the secretary of state, stated that "preliminary reports" indicate that the total number of valid signatures filed by the SWP as of that date would "not be adequate to place the names of these candidates on the ballot."

This finding is based on a random check of only 5 percent of the signatures turned in by the socialists. Campaign supporters throughout the state have checked those signatures invalidated by the election officials and have found many irregularities. In San Francisco alone, out of a sample of 200 signatures invalidated by election officials, 62 were in fact registered voters.

Valid signatures filed by socialist campaigners

have been disqualified. Signatures of registered voters who have changed their address, for example, have been invalidated. Other signatures have been disqualified because the state refuses to use updated lists of registered voters. This means that the signatures of thousands of Californians who have registered by mail will not be counted.

In Los Angeles, campaign supporters were barred from the election board office for two weeks when they tried to check their own petitions.

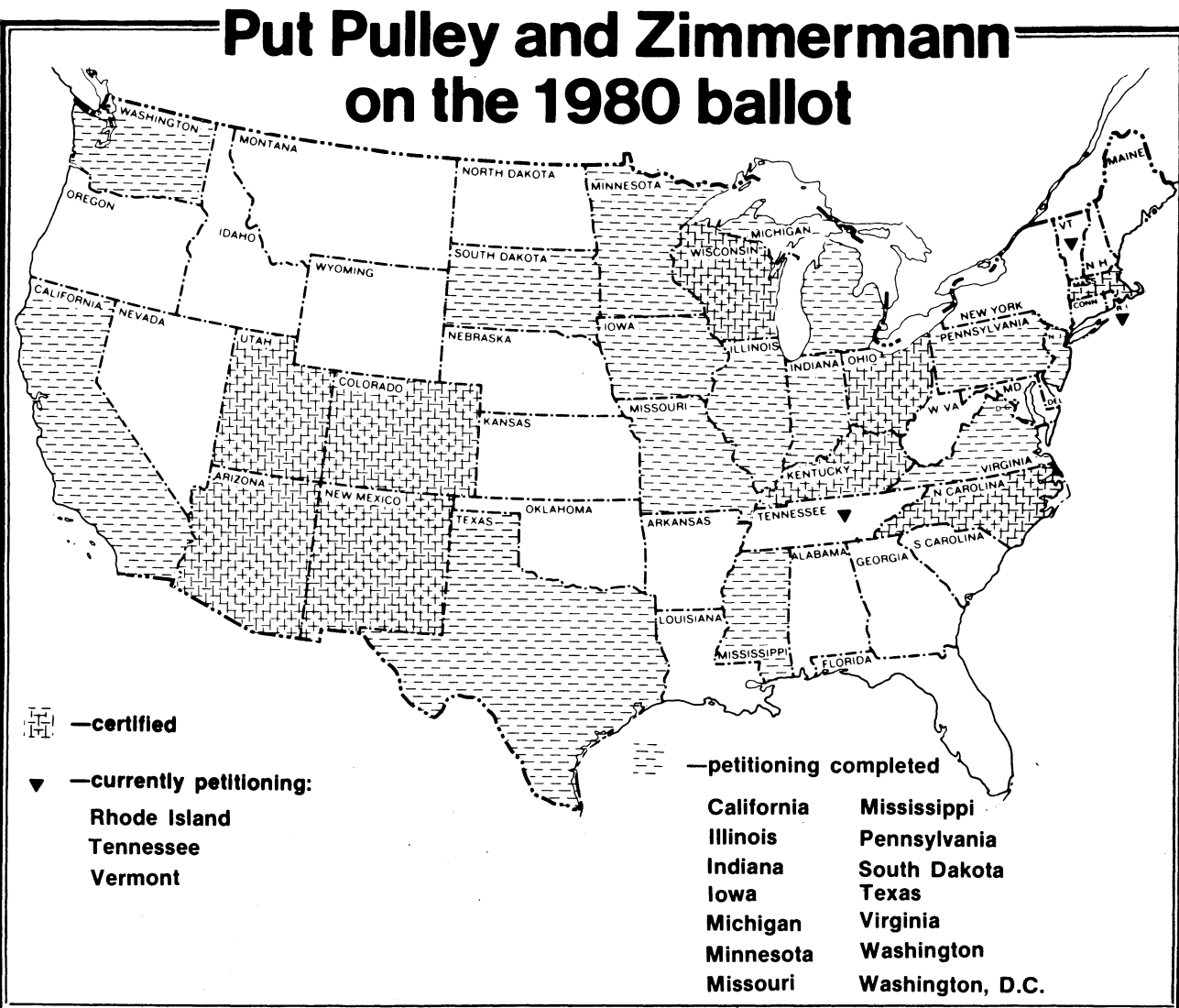
State ballot clerks initially refused to promptly count the signatures filed by the socialists. Local election law requires that petition signatures be counted within ten days of filing.

Protests in support of the SWP's ballot rights finally forced the state to begin counting, though an official count has yet to be completed and reported.

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley has called on all supporters of fair ballot access to protest these undemocratic moves by the Brown administration.

SWP senatorial candidate George Johnson has asked supporters to send telegrams and messages of protest to the secretary of state (see box). He announced that a comprehensive legal suit is being prepared to challenge the undemocratic and illegal actions of state election officials.

Put Pulley and Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot



Send a protest letter

The following is a suggested letter of protest against the move to bar the Socialist Workers Party from the California ballot. Protests should be sent to March Fong Eu, Secretary of State, 1230 J Street, Sacramento, California 95814. Copies to SWP State Campaign, 2864 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California 94609.

The Socialist Workers Party surpassed the legal requirement and collected more than 284,000 signatures to place its presidential slate and senatorial candidates on the 1980 ballot. The Socialist Workers candidates were the first to meet this requirement this year.

Any moves to deny the Socialist Workers a place on the ballot restricts the rights of voters to cast their votes for the candidates of their choice.

Although I do not necessarily endorse the Socialist Workers candidates, I urge that you certify them in 1980.

Virginia shipyard workers sign for Pulley

Virginia

Twenty-one thousand ballot signatures, more than double the 10,000 required by state officials, have been collected by socialist campaigners in Virginia. Ten percent of those signatures were collected at industrial plant gates. The drive was capped with a rally July 27 featuring SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann.

The petition drive was launched July 7 at the Norfolk Shipbuilding and Drydock Company where Sharon Grant, SWP candidate for Congress, works. Some 340 of her co-workers signed the Socialist Workers nominating petitions. And more than 1,700 shipyard workers at the Newport News shipyard gates signed the socialist petitions during shift changes and lunch breaks.

One young Steelworker, handed a copy of Pulley's pamphlet "How to Stop the Draft," commented, "Now, I can get into that!"

Another Steelworker, who saw a campaign supporter circulating petitions at the gate, yelled, "Hey, I got four guys in my shop to sign last night."

During the drive, campaign supporters won a victory when local Commonwealth's Attorney C. Phillips Ferguson declared local cops could not stop socialists from gathering signatures at Virginia shopping centers. The Suffolk News Herald reported on the incident and stated: "City police seem to have broken the law yesterday when they asked SWP members to leave Suffolk Plaza shopping center."

Missouri

Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters have collected an additional 6,700 signatures in the latest stage of their fight for ballot status in Missouri. Although 25,619 signatures—thousands more than the 18,000 required—were turned in earlier this year, the secretary of state has claimed that 12,000 of those signatures are invalid.

Socialist campaign supporters, along with prominent unionists and civil libertarians in the state, have backed the SWP's demand that the party be allowed to check the signatures declared invalid. As a result of this pressure, the state backed down and

decided that 1,200 of the 12,000 originally declared invalid were valid after all. State officials then demanded 3,400 additional signatures to meet the requirement. Socialist petitioners collected almost double that number.

Officials maintain that they are not obligated to provide voter registration lists to the socialists so that the state's invalidations can be checked. The secretary of state has declared that he will not use his authority to persuade local election officials to provide these lists to the SWP.

While local election officials in Kansas City refuse to provide the lists, socialist campaign supporters have been able to gain access to them in St. Louis. Based on these lists, a random sample of the invalidated signatures was done. The sample found 35 percent of the signatures invalidated by the state were valid signatures.

Although presented with this evidence, state officials maintain they will not make a determination on any of the contested signatures until after a final check is made of the new signatures collected by socialist campaigners.

Missouri SWP leaders have an-

nounced their intention to press forward in their fight for ballot rights. The state's attempts to try to keep the socialists off the ballot have attracted growing support for the SWP's fight for ballot status.

Minnesota

On July 15, Minnesota socialists wrapped up a successful two-week ballot drive, collecting 2,800 signatures to place the SWP presidential ticket on the November ballot. The signatures collected far exceed the 1,000 required by state law. In addition, campaign supporters surpassed petition requirements for local candidates, collecting 1,500 signatures for Ilona Gersh, SWP congressional candidate in the Eighth C.D., and 1,300 each for Steve Thomas and James Kendrick running in the Fifth and Fourth C.D.s.

Gersh is an iron miner and member of the United Steelworkers of America on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota.

Kendrick, from St. Paul, and Thomas, from Minneapolis, are both rail workers.

1934 strike battle commemorated

By Randy Furst

TWIN CITIES—One of the most important labor rebellions in American history was commemorated in a ceremony at a public park in Minneapolis July 20.

July 20 is the anniversary of "Bloody Friday," the day that Minneapolis police opened fire on unarmed Teamster strikers, killing two men, Henry Ness and John Belor.

Some 300 persons turned out for the anniversary to honor veterans of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike. About fifty strike veterans attended.

The event was sponsored by Teamsters Joint Council 32 and the Minnesota Teamsters Retirees Club along with the Labor Education Department at the University of Minnesota.

Attending the memorial ceremony were Henry Ness's widow, Freda Ness, and their two sons, John and William.

Jack Jorgensen, president of the Teamster Joint Council, said in a short speech that July 20 "marked the turning point in the strike and labor relations in this city."

The 1934 Teamster strike is generally viewed as a landmark event in the state's history. It reached near civil war proportions, pitting the labor movement against the city's employers, represented by the infamous Citizens Alliance.

Before the strike was over, the National Guard had been called out and there were several huge labor marches, one approaching 100,000.

Ended open shop

The strikers scored a major victory, by compelling the employers to grant union recognition. This was followed by wage increases and other gains.

Prior to the rebellion Minneapolis was an open shop paradise for employers, and the 1934 labor revolt put the city on the road to becoming a union town.

The strike was remarkable for its high degree of organization and sophisticated strike strategy. It was also significant in that it was led by Marxist revolutionists who belonged to a socialist organization that became the Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

Among the key revolutionists who led the union were the Dunne brothers—Vincent, Miles, and Grant; Carl Skoglund; Farrell Dobbs; and Harry DeBoer.

DeBoer, a member of the SWP today, who was shot on Bloody Friday, was interviewed by WCCO-TV, the CBS affiliate here, and by the Minneapolis Tribune.

The memorial event was partly organized to draw together strike veterans for an oral labor history being assembled by local labor historians.

A three-member panel discussed the significance of the strike in an afternoon session.

Appearing were Jack Maloney, a 1934 strike activist, and Professors George Tselos and Hy Berman, both labor historians.

Maloney, who was flown in from Seattle to speak, gave a militant talk.

Do it again

"We had the police, the National Guard and the governor against us," Maloney said. "What we did in '34 has to be done again."

Maloney pointed to encouraging recent developments in California where John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, has been discussing the feasibility of a labor party.

Maloney said Congress has been unwilling to act in labor's interests and he said a labor party is needed. "That is what is going to have to be done," he said. "Labor cannot merely stand on the fights that occurred in '34."

He also called for nationalizing industries where there have been substantial layoffs.

Farrell Dobbs could not attend the event, but sent a message which was mimeographed by organizers of the panel and distributed.

Dobbs' books on the period—including his history of the strike, *Teamster Rebellion*—were prominently displayed and orders for the books were taken.

Also speaking were a number of prominent figures in the state Democratic Farmer Labor Party, including Minneapolis Mayor Don Fraser, Reps.

Martin Sabo and Bruce Vento and state Atty. General Warren Spannaus. As opponents of the working class, these men were clearly out of place at a ceremony honoring the strike veterans.

Based on interviews by the *Militant*, it was apparent that most strike veterans continue to have the warmest feelings towards the union and the leaders of the 1934 strike.

Took leadership

"We had to have leadership at that time with that kind of drive," said Bill Suits, 68, a school teacher who was a 22-year-old truck driver during the strike. "It took leadership like the Dunnes and Harry DeBoer to get in there and fight."

Gene Elliot, 65, remembers the Dunne brothers: "There was a lot of propaganda that went around that they were communists and socialists. It was more or less propaganda. They really fought for us."

Added Vic DeYoung, 71, who remembers working for what he calls "slave wages" at that time: "They were leaders and the tougher things got, the harder they fought."

Said Elliot: "They never favored one over another. Everyone was treated equally."

Ervin Grovender, a member of United Auto Workers Local 125 attended the ceremony. He was only 13 when the strike occurred.

"I wanted to get the high points of the meeting today and bring it back to the workers," he said. "I knew Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel and Jake Cooper. I knew about when they were put in jail in 1940. It was war hysteria of the worst kind. They shouldn't have been sent to jail. That was a railroad if there ever was one."

John Zajac, 69, was a furniture driver when the July strikes broke out. He remembers finishing a run about 10:30 p.m. and driving over to the strike headquarters at Chicago Avenue and 19th St.

"I stopped in and asked Farrell if I should pull the truck off the street and he said by all means."

Roy Orgon, 74, predicts there will be new explosions. He remembers the depression and the first days of the strike, which began in February when coal drivers staged a militant shutdown.

Says Orgon, with a grin: "When I saw those guys dump the coal out on Washington Ave., I wanted to get acquainted with them."

For the facts

Teamster Rebellion
Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Politics
Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Power
Farrell Dobbs

June 1942
Let me say now, unless the International Union orders you not to go through picket lines, that clause must be set aside during the war.

June 1942
If you can't comply with our International orders, which are founded on necessity, AND ON ORDERS FROM OUR GOVERNMENT, then the best thing to do is to notify the International Union. Then we will protect ourselves. We know how!

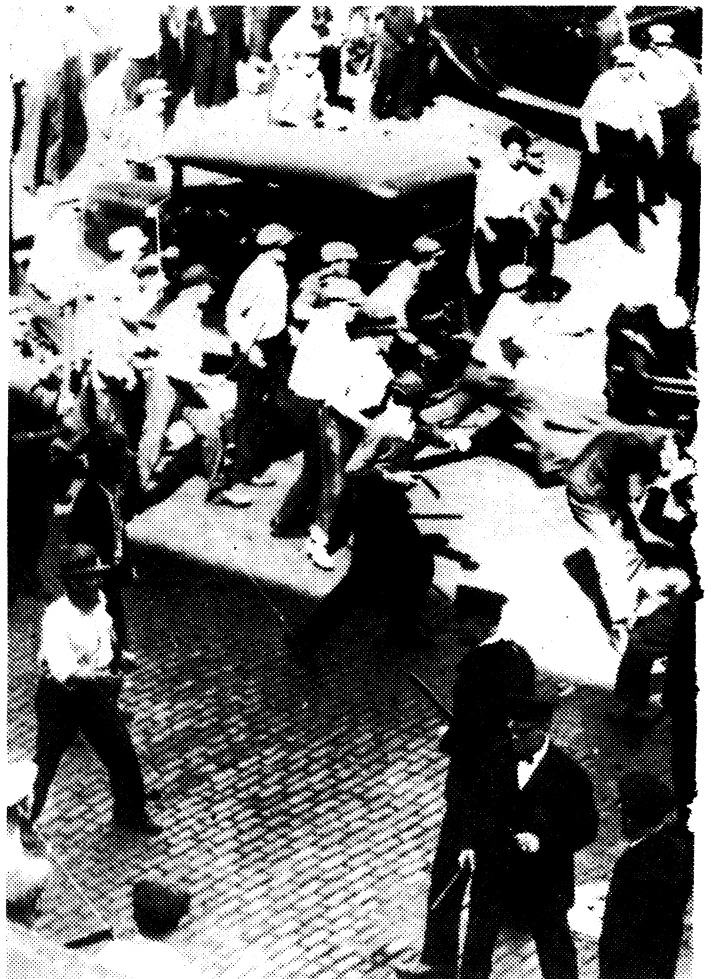
Daniel J. Johnson
International President

By Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Rebellion	\$4.45
Teamster Power	\$4.95
Teamster Politics	\$4.95
Teamster Bureaucracy	\$4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling; \$1.50 if ordering more than two books.)

1980 In Grateful 1934 Teamster



Top, veterans of historic 1934 Teamster strike were saluted at anniversary gathering. Center, savage April 1934 battle between cops and unionists. Bottom, National Guard members during August 1, 1934, raid on Central Labor Union following raid on Teamster strike headquarters.

Recognition Strike Veterans

July 20, 1934



Militant/Randy Furst



Dobbs: 'The rank and file decided'

The following is the message sent by Farrell Dobbs to the July 20 commemoration of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes.

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

I join with you in saluting the surviving veterans of Bloody Friday—my brothers of General Drivers Local 574 and the women of their families who stood shoulder to shoulder with them during the 1934 trucking strikes in Minneapolis. Fighting with grim determination, they stood firm against all violent attempts to prevent them from peacefully picketing in support of their just demands upon the employers. They went out barehanded to face a murderous police assault with shotguns.

Sixty-seven were wounded that bloody day, some of them while stooping to pick up injured comrades who had already been shot. Two of our union brothers—Henry Ness and John Belor—died as a result of that police riot, their bodies saturated with lead; and together with you I pay special tribute to their memory.

It is especially pertinent today to recall the reasons why Local 574 was able to wage so valiant a struggle. The central key was its policy of functioning on the basis of full democracy. The membership participated actively in the organization's internal affairs. Freedom to express all points of view was upheld. After everyone wishing to speak had been heard, union policy was decided by majority vote of the membership.

Proceeding accordingly, the rank and file decided what demands would be made upon the trucking companies, how the battle for those demands would be carried on, and what would be considered acceptable terms for working agreements with employers. These democratic practices unified the workers; gave them maximum strength in opposing the bosses; kept them solidified on a class basis no matter how difficult the battle; and made it possible for the union to establish itself as a power in the industry.

After standing up against the murderous police assault on Bloody Friday, Local 574 went on to fight off a strikebreaking attack by the National Guard. The trucking employers were finally defeated by the union, and workers throughout the city were inspired to emulate the truck drivers in other industries. The way had been opened to transform Minneapolis from its previous status as an open-shop paradise for the bosses into a strong union town.

Within the next few years the whole Teamster movement was also transformed, due in great part to new influences emanating from within Teamsters Joint Council 32 in Minneapolis. A unionization drive was soon extended beyond the city to embrace all trucking in the surrounding region. This campaign led to the organization of over-the-road drivers in an 11-state area, thereby laying the foundation for the present central conference of Teamsters. The successful over-the-road campaign served in turn to initiate a basic transformation of the entire International Brotherhood of Teamsters, helping pave the way for it to attain its current status as a powerful national union with great struggle potential.

In an even broader sense the 1934 Teamster

victory in Minneapolis gave indirect impetus to the rise of the CIO in basic industry. With that dramatic advance the trade union movement nationally developed unprecedented scope and inherent power such as had never before been seen in this country.

As it turned out, though, that great potential was never used effectively. Policies followed by the top union officials played into the hands of the bosses and their government, which they run through the Democratic and Republican parties. The working class upsurge of the 1930s was cut short. Organized labor was tied politically to the Democratic Party, thereby becoming reduced to seeking favors from politicians representing the employing class.

Frustrations resulting from this self-defeating course brought mounting unrest among the workers, leading in numerous instances to so-called wildcat strikes. To curb this protest movement the bosses' government imposed harsh restraints on the unions through antilabor laws, and top union officials undermined rank and file democracy by acting dictatorially against dissidents within the unions.

Today the workers are paying a heavy price for the mistakes in union policy. Price inflation and cutbacks in social services are reducing their living standards. Mounting unemployment is eroding job security, and those still working are subjected to intensified exploitation on the job. The government is deepening its assault on the civil liberties of those who seek to act in defense of their legitimate interests. Capitalist exploiters are raping the environment at increasing peril to public health. There is growing danger of new wars like the one in Vietnam against which the people of this country rose up in massive protest, and always in the background lurks the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

Under these blows combative moods are today growing more intense among the workers. A fresh opportunity thus exists to strengthen the trade unions through restoration of rank-and-file control in order to revitalize them as direct instruments of struggle within industry.

Still another major step is also needed. Industrial conflicts are now assuming more and more of a political character. Trade union action in industry usually brings government intervention in support of the bosses. As that experience shows, labor's so-called friends among the capitalist politicians have become a myth, despite the lying promises they make when seeking election to public office. Hence, the time is clearly at hand for the trade unions to quit subordinating themselves to the capitalist parties and launch their own independent political organization.

There is a precedent for such political action in Minneapolis labor history. In 1934 a Farmer-Labor Party functioned in Minnesota as an independent political movement opposing both the Democrats and Republicans. It was under the nominal control of organized labor and enjoyed the support of almost every trade union in the state. But labor allowed self-centered careerists to slip into control of the Farmer-Labor Party. These unprincipled elements made cynical election deals with local Democratic politicians and maneuvered to strip organized labor of any voice in shaping party positions.

Teamsters Joint Council 32 led a fight by the Minneapolis AFL to rescue the workers politically from the shambles created within the Farmer-Labor Party. The aim was to develop an independent labor party based on the trade unions and controlled by the trade unions. This country's entry into World War II intervened, however, and an adverse political climate developed in which the Minneapolis labor party campaign was derailed. Before the war ended the Farmer-Labor Party also passed into oblivion. In 1944 it was absorbed into the Democratic Party, the unconditional surrender to capitalist politics being camouflaged by modifying the boss party's name to Democratic Farmer-Labor Party.

The challenge before Minneapolis labor today is to carry out in practice the perspective shaped under Teamster leadership in the 1930s. More than ever the workers need their own independent party based on and controlled by the trade unions. If they fight for it with the courage and determination shown by the veterans of Bloody Friday, such an independent labor party can now become a living reality.

Fraternally yours,
Farrell Dobbs

Farrell Dobbs



Farrell Dobbs was a leader of the Midwest Teamster struggles of 1934-41.

Because of his role in the 1934 strikes, he was elected an officer and staff director of Local 574. He was the key strategist of the Northwest over-the-road organizing campaign, which, for the first time, organized large numbers of long-haul truck drivers.

Dobbs became a socialist during the 1934 strike and joined the forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party.

In 1940 he resigned from the Teamsters staff to become labor secretary of the SWP. In the 1950s he succeeded James P. Cannon as national secretary of the party.

Dobbs was one of those framed up and jailed under the Smith Act for his opposition to the imperialist war.

He ran for president four times on the SWP ticket.

Since completing his four-volume work on the Teamster struggles, he has been working on a history of the revolutionary movement in the United States.

B'ham cops had notice of 1963 bombing

By Lee Smith

BIRMINGHAM—On September 16, 1963, a bomb exploded in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church here, killing four Black girls. Two hours before the explosion police officials knew the bomb had been planted.

This information was made public in a front-page story in the July 21 *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. According to the story, based on investigative files compiled by Alabama officials in 1977, an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation gave Alabama sheriff's deputy James Hancock a two-hour warning of the 1963 racist bombing.

Although state officials knew this information at the 1977 trial of Ku Klux Klanner Robert Chambliss, they never made it public. Chambliss was prosecuted and convicted for his role in the 1963 bombing.

The Chambliss investigation also uncovered a number of other leads that were never pursued, according to the *Journal-Constitution*.

One of these involves Alabama state Rep. Robert Gafford. The July 18 *Birmingham Post-Herald* quoted Hancock that Gafford was "on speaking terms with all of them (i.e. the bombing suspects)."

Hancock also told the *Post-Herald* Gafford had been a member of the Klan. Both the *Atlanta* and *Birmingham* newspapers say state investigative files show Gafford raised defense money for Chambliss.

Contacted by the *Post-Herald*, Gafford said, "I don't want to talk to you about what's in the Atlanta papers. I don't give a damn what they write or what you write, either."

The past performance of government authorities in this case indicates that Gafford has little reason, indeed, to give a damn what is in the papers.

Earlier this year, after a leak to the *New York Times* forced exposure of a secret Justice Department report revealing that J. Edgar Hoover had blocked prosecution in this case, local officials briefly reopened the investigation and then promptly closed it again.

Now Alabama Attorney General Charles Graddick has instructed an aide to investigate whether or not the case should be opened again.

Meanwhile, on July 17, former Klan member and FBI informer Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., appeared in federal court in Montgomery to fight his extradition from Georgia to Alabama to face murder charges.

According to witnesses, it was Rowe who fired the shots that killed Viola Liuzzo as she drove along an Alabama highway in 1965. He was indicted by a Lowndes County grand jury two years ago and has been fighting extradition ever since.

Rowe appeared to testify in Montgomery after his attorneys secured agreement that he would not be arrested.

He testified at this hearing that Birmingham police helped the Ku Klux Klan commit violence against Blacks and civil rights workers during the 1960s.

Rowe has previously said that he and other Klan members were explicitly told by Birmingham cops that they would have fifteen minutes to assault freedom riders at the Birmingham Trailways bus station on May 14, 1961. In his testimony July 17, he elaborated on these earlier statements, naming some of the cops involved.

Rowe also testified that off-duty cops took part in the beatings at the Trailways station. He named Lavon Coleman, a witness against him at the



Birmingham cops gave no warning but knew two hours in advance that bomb was planted in Black church. Four children were killed.

hearing, as one of those who participated in the attack.

Commenting on these recent developments, Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama, told the *Militant*: "Evidence keeps piling on top of evidence that collusion between the cops and racist outfits like the Klan was standard operating procedure in Birmingham throughout the 1960s."

"Every time new evidence is made public, Republican and Democratic

party officeholders shuffle some papers around and then return to a posture of total indifference to twenty-year-old crimes that outrage decent people all over the world.

"Working people in Alabama need access to all these police and prosecutors' files. First, so we can finally see justice done in these cases where it is decades overdue. And second, so we can see how the pattern of cop-Klan cooperation in the 1960s still persists and put an end to it."

Violence by Boston racists in and out of uniform

By Ann Chase

BOSTON—An unchecked wave of racist incidents in Boston was heightened by two separate police killings in mid-July.

Levi Hart, a fourteen-year-old Black youth was shot in the head and killed by a cop July 15. One week later a cop in Chelsea used five bullets to kill twenty-year-old Luis Cintron, who came to Boston three weeks earlier from Puerto Rico.

The police versions describe both murders as "accidental." Witnesses tell a different story.

Patrolman John Bourque claims Levi Hart tried to grab his gun as he was arrested, supposedly running away from a stolen car. The gun, according to Bourque, "discharged accidentally." Witnesses say Bourque chased, shot, and killed the unarmed fourteen-year-old, who put up no resistance.

In Chelsea, Cintron and his brother, neither of whom speaks English, were looking for Cintron's young child. They were stopped by police and attacked with billy clubs. In the ensuing fight both Cintron and one of the cops were killed.

Following the Hart murder, Black leaders confronted Police Commissioner Joseph Jordan and Mayor Kevin White in a stormy two-hour meeting.

Fearing Black anger after Levi Hart was killed, Black and white players from the New England Patriots football team were sent to the Faneuil Housing project. A gang of white youths have been terrorizing Black residents there. The Patriot players suggested: "It's necessary for you kids to get along here. Just as in athletics, we have to work together."

A week earlier the police arrested an eighteen-year-old white for the June 30 firebombing of the apartment of a Black family who live two floors below him. It was the third such attack against Black tenants.

In addition to repeated firebombings, Boston has recently seen the shooting of a Black football player during a game, stoning of buses carrying Black schoolchildren, and the stabbing of a Black sailor and the murder of a Black worker, both in Charlestown.

Last January, Bellana Borde, a Black woman, was attacked by Patrolman Thomas Kineavy when he arrested her. No action has been taken yet on the assault charges against Kineavy.

After each incident, officials try to convince the grief stricken relatives of the victims to make a public plea for calm or bear the responsibility for escalating "racial tensions."

Mayor Kevin White, has proposed a Boston Commission Against Discrimination.

The more outspoken racists on the city council are against it. Councilman Patrick McDonough said, "There is a feeling that minorities are being given unfair advantages in certain areas . . . the creation of BCAD may be another example."

Boston Black leaders are pressing for a civilian review board.

When an inquest into the murder of Levi Hart began July 28, some 200 people, including representatives of the NAACP, demonstrated outside the courthouse.

Cop kills 14-year-old

By Siobhan Dugan and Brian Elam

FLINT, Mich.—On July 8 killer-cop Gerald Collins murdered fifteen-year-old William Taylor, Jr., with a blast in the back of the head from a twelve-gauge shotgun. Collins claimed the Black youth failed to stop running from a house that was being burglarized.

Several eyewitnesses were quoted in the Flint daily paper, the *Journal*, as having seen Billy Taylor standing with his hands raised before he was shot.

In 1978 the same cop killed twenty-seven-year-old Gary Dobson and wounded another man.

Four days after the Taylor killing, police were pelted with rocks and bottles when they investigated a shooting in a Black neighborhood. A crowd of 300 people cursed the cops for the murder.

Under pressure from the people outraged at the murder, the Flint City Council held a meeting where the community was invited to speak on the issue. More than 500 people attended and fifty spoke.

The council voted five to three in

favor of asking the mayor to fire Collins.

The cops excused the killing by claiming they could not tell the size of the person running or whether he had a weapon. Billy Taylor's father responded to that in an interview in the *Flint Journal*:

"These cops should have been able to tell just by looking at them that they were just kids. Billy is not that tall. And he's thin. He just looks like a kid."

"No cop in his right mind would go after a fifteen year old kid who is no threat to him like that with a twelve-gauge shotgun. That weapon is enough to blow down and tear apart an elephant."

"My boy wasn't armed. He didn't have no pistol. He wasn't firing any shots at the police. He was just a scared kid."

On July 19 a protest meeting was held in Bonner Park in Flint attended by upwards of 100 people.

The speakers included a woman activist from United Auto Workers Local 599. She spoke on the need to get the unions involved in the fight against police brutality.

Other protest rallies are planned.



Boston racists attack Theodore Landsmark in front of city hall, April 5, 1976.

PUSH assembly blasts draft registration

By Karen Newton

NEW ORLEANS—The annual convention of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), held here July 14-19, took its stand against registration and the draft.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, the organization's president, told the 2,000 delegates, "PUSH opposes the reinstitution of registration for the draft and will actively support those who choose to resist. . . .

"We know that they have two alternatives for Blacks when we're unemployed: send us off to war or lock us up in jail."

Delegates adopted a series of positions on issues facing Blacks, including: opposing nuclear power; condemning U.S. complicity with the racist South African regime; for implementation of affirmative-action programs; and for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

A convention highlight was the participation of twenty-five international guests. Among them were representatives from the Caribbean island of Grenada, Nicaragua, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the African National Congress of South Africa.

Dessima Williams, Grenada's ambassador designate to the Organization of American States, speaking to the international women's luncheon said, "Our history is one founded on colonial exploitation and continual resistance. Our history is not too different from that of people of color in the United States."

Williams hailed Caribbean revolutionary heroes from Haiti's Toussaint L'Overture to Cuba's Che Guevara and explained the need to extend the revolution throughout the Caribbean and around the world.

Warning of the U.S. government's preparations for war in Central America and the Caribbean, she called for solidarity with the workers and peasants of El Salvador.

Recounting the social gains and accomplishments of Grenada's fourteen-month-old revolution, Williams brought the invitation of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop to Jackson and other PUSH leaders to visit the island. Jackson indicated he plans to make the trip soon.

Solidarity with the freedom struggle



Intercontinental Press-Inprecor/Ernest Harsch

Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, Dessima Williams, at the PUSH convention, called for solidarity with revolutionary struggles in the Caribbean and Central America.

in South Africa received special attention.

African National Congress representative John Makatini warned of the threat of direct U.S. military intervention in his country.

"Don't let your government send Black youth to fight Black freedom fighters in South Africa," Makatini said.

Nigeria's United Nations ambassador Akporode Clark blamed the U.S. for maintaining the racist apartheid system through its massive investments and called for total corporate withdrawal from South Africa.

Extolling the convention's internationalism, Clark said, "The civil rights movement in the United States would sound hollow if not linked to the struggle of the Black man internationally. We are all victims of apartheid."

Clovis Maksoud, the League of Arab States UN representative, expressed solidarity with the Black struggle and linked it with that of the Palestinians.

"You Black people are the Palestinians of the United States and we Palestinians are the Blacks of the Third

World, and you, the Palestinians, and we, the Blacks, must remain united," Maksoud said in his greetings to the gathering.

Little media coverage was given to the international guests—or to the convention proceedings. The lack of coverage was noted by Jackson and attributed to PUSH's defense of liberation movements around the world—particularly the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

ERA

PUSH's support for women's rights was expressed in the workshop on the "Black Family and the ERA." The workshop drew a crowd of 500 women and men. A lively discussion ensued as panelists and participants alike registered their support for the ERA.

"Black people can't achieve freedom if half of us are left behind," explained Eleanor Holmes Norton, director of the government's Equal Employment Opportunity Administration. Citing statistics showing half of all Black workers are women and 40 percent of all Black women are heads of households,

Norton said that Black women need the ERA more than anyone.

Workshop participants mandated that PUSH meet with the National Organization for Women to discuss the role of Black women in the ERA fight and the problems of racism in the women's movement.

Elections

Several representatives of the Carter administration addressed the convention including the secretaries of Labor, Education, and Housing and Urban Development.

Portraying Carter as a friend of the Black community, they urged Blacks to unite behind the president to ensure a defeat of Republican Ronald Reagan. PUSH delegates reception of this, however, was less than enthusiastic.

PUSH's approach to the 1980 elections was outlined by Jackson during a news conference following the proceedings.

In response to the question of which candidate the organization would support, Jackson remarked that PUSH had not declared its support for either Carter or Reagan, but plans to use the Black vote as a negotiating lever.

"Carter can't take our support for granted. The idea that Blacks will not vote Republican is inaccurate. PUSH will meet with each candidate and confront each with the PUSH agenda," Jackson said.

Part of that agenda, is PUSH's endorsement and participation in "Operation Big Vote: Crusade '80." OBV's goal is to "combat Black voter apathy and to increase Black voter registration and turnout" to "make a difference in 1980 and beyond." The pre-election project will target areas of the country in an effort to register and mobilize Blacks to vote on November 4.

Although, PUSH discussed and adopted very progressive stands on some of the crucial questions confronting the Black community, a strategy of getting out the Black vote for one or the other capitalist politicians offer no solutions.

PUSH has come to enjoy increased influence, particularly since its important role in helping striking Chicago fire fighters to victory. It would be very valuable if PUSH used its authority to help persuade working people—Black and white—of the need to break with the two racist, capitalist parties.

SWP candidate calls for expanded desegregation

By David Cahalane

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—"With everyone telling me that they are against busing, I realize that the problem is not the bus, but us," Rev. Ronald Vail told those attending a Militant Forum on school desegregation.

Rev. Vail, president of Operation PUSH here, shared the platform at the July 13 meeting with Martin Anderson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

Both speakers blasted school, city, state, and federal authorities for creating and maintaining segregation in schools, housing, and jobs.

"If you look around St. Louis today, the most distinguishing feature of the city is segregation," said Anderson. "Prior to 1954 segregated education in Missouri and in St. Louis was mandated by law and enforced by local, state, and federal governments. Today, when the law is on the side of Black students, these same forces are deliberately subverting the law."

Schools were ordered to desegregate in a ruling issued May 21 by U.S. District Judge James Meredith.

The court-ordered plan has come under sharp criticism by leaders of the school desegregation struggle.

Black parents and the NAACP have gone to court in an attempt to expand the scope of the desegregation order.

At issue is the fact that, while beginning the process of school desegregation, the court's plan leaves more than half of the city's 65,000 students in segregated all-Black schools.

The NAACP and the Concerned Parents of North St. Louis, the original plaintiffs in the case, are demanding that predominantly white school districts in St. Louis county be included in the desegregation order.

Missouri Attorney General John Ashcroft filed suit on behalf of the state July 10 to delay the desegregation order. Ashcroft, Governor Joseph Teasdale, and State Treasurer James Spainhower were among those named as defendants in the case. They are now trying to block desegregation by challenging the court's mandate that the state pay for one half of the costs. Teasdale and Spainhower are candidates for governor.

Anderson attacked this move. "My opponents all want to violate or circumvent the law. Aren't they standing in the school door too, preventing Black students from attending better schools and achieving an equal educa-



Recent desegregation orders similar to St. Louis's have been mandated in several U.S. cities including Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Houston.

tion?

"What we need today," he said, "is a massive campaign by supporters of school desegregation and equality in St. Louis to educate all working people about the real issues. This segregation-

ist government is trying to confuse us with the myths of 'neighborhood schools' and the 'horrors of forced busing.' We can show that the vast majority of all working people stand on the side of equality."

Copper strike month 2: insurance stops

By Stu Singer

On July 23 two of the major copper mining companies announced their profits for the first six months of 1980.

Amax profits were \$281.5 million, 68 percent higher than the same period last year. Newmont (Magma) mining made \$132.6 million, a jump of 87 percent.

While the capitalist owners gorge themselves, they are refusing to negotiate with the 39,000 miners who have been on strike since July 1. Mining companies on strike also include Kennecott, Anaconda (Arco), Phelps-Dodge and Asarco. A coalition of unions led by the United Steelworkers rejected the original proposals of the copper barons that included taking back gains won in previous contracts.

With the help of the anti-union "right to work" (for less) laws in the states with the biggest mines, the companies are doing construction and maintenance work as they watch the price of copper climb on the commodity markets. Even in the midst of the deep recession the price rose about 10 percent within the first few weeks of the strike. And Wall Street gamblers are counting on it going higher.

The contempt in which these giant companies hold the workers who produce all their wealth is evident in many ways. The strikers are being refused scheduled vacation pay, a violation of federal labor laws. Disability pay and insurance coverage are being terminated.

SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Arizona, Josefina Otero, spoke with two mechanics picketing the gate of the Magma Mine smelter in San Manuel, Arizona July 18.

She reports: "They said they had just



Miners and families picket Asarco headquarters in Tucson, July 14. Injunctions have not shaken strike solidarity.

gotten a letter from the company saying that if they want to continue health and medical insurance, they had to pay for it. One said, 'the hospital insurance will cost \$114 a month per family and \$45 a month for individual coverage. That's too much for me. Outside insurance would cost much less. We have to pay by the 31st of the month or the company cancels us. How are we going to pay the money? I don't know.'"

Phelps-Dodge, one of the major mining companies which owns stores and

houses in some of the small mining towns, announced it was cutting off credit to the strikers.

While the government is doing nothing to alleviate the real suffering imposed on the miners and their families, there has been immediate action by every level of government to help the companies.

Strikers are denied unemployment benefits and food stamps.

Injunctions are issued reducing or prohibiting picketing.

The National Labor Relations Board acted immediately when Asarco demanded an end of picketing at a construction gate to their mine near Tucson. Asarco claimed they were losing money because construction union members refused to cross the miners' picket line. The miners were ordered to remove their pickets permanently.

He discussed some of the issues in the negotiations: "Our workers need due process where we could expedite their grievance cases as soon as possible. We are tired of seeing our grievance committee spending hours after work handling grievances. It is only fair that they should leave at quitting time and handle grievances on company time, paid by the companies.

"We want to revise the seniority clause in regard to promotions. In some cases the company has been able to hire off the street and disallow a bid from a guy who has twenty or thirty years in a plant.

"We have proposed paid lunch periods in the Magma contract. It is long overdue.

"We have a number of particular problems because of extreme heat in the smelters, especially in the San Manuel division. When a guy takes a break, the supervisor tells him to get off his ass or he is going to discipline him."

"The company proposed taking away twenty-nine cents an hour of the cost-of-living allowance to pay for benefit plans now in effect. They want to deduct the severance pay (maximum \$6,000) from pension benefits."

The Magma mine is the only underground operation in this bargaining. About 5,600 workers are on strike there.

Pickets discuss draft, politics

Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters have been to the mines learning about the issues in the strike and discussing ways to support it.

The five SWP candidates running in Arizona and Utah put out a joint statement supporting the strike. They report sales of the *Militant* are good both to pickets and other people in the area who want to hear the miners' side of what is going on.

Most interesting is the kinds of discussions that are taking place among the strikers.

One topic is the draft. Josefina

Otero reports a picket told her: "I have only one son and I want to keep him. I don't think we had any business going to Vietnam. A lot of people think that. We didn't have anything there; we didn't bring anything out—except dead men."

Another issue is political action. Steelworkers District 38 which covers both Utah and Arizona, passed a resolution at its convention in May calling for a labor party.

Faced with opposition of all the Democrats and Republicans many strikers seem to be considering the labor party idea as a serious proposal.

Interview with strike leader

Militant correspondent Dan Fein interviewed United Steelworkers international staff representative Roy Santa Cruz July 17 in Phoenix.

Santa Cruz is the chief spokesman for the Magma bargaining committee which includes seven unions.

Oil strike month 6: Tenneco back, Chevron out

By Susan White

NEW ORLEANS—The strike at Tenneco Oil Refinery in Chalmette has ended after six months. On July 10 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union voted 252-95 to accept the company's latest offer and go back to work.

Meanwhile, oil workers at the Chevron plant in Belle Chase, south of New Orleans, are continuing their strike that began in February.

Like other oil workers around the country, the 400 OCAW members at Tenneco went out on strike for a fully paid health plan and higher wages to keep up with inflation.

Most OCAW locals signed contracts in March, patterned after the agreement reached with Gulf Oil.

But at Tenneco, the company held tough on the issue of discipline, and insisted that seven workers who had been fired would not be rehired.

In the agreement just reached, the cases of the seven workers will be submitted to arbitration. This "doesn't give any of the terminated workers

guarantees that they will be rehired," said Harold Salles, the union strike chairman.

Ben Anthony, president of the union local, called it "a bitter pill to swallow."

But most of the Tenneco workers were not prepared to stay out for the additional several months it might have taken. One young worker explained that she couldn't keep up payments for her house and had to give it up. Another lost his car. Young workers, especially, felt threatened by the economic squeeze.

"The company is in a war with us," one worker said. "We've put up a long battle, and we've lost this time."

"It isn't going to be easy for a while," said Anthony, explaining that once the workers went back the company would try to rub their noses in the mud. "But we are going to hang tough. Union solidarity is the best weapon against the company."

Stressing the need for solidarity with the disciplined workers, Harold Salles said, "Remember what the Good Book

says: the least you have done unto my brother you have done unto me."

The majority of workers voted to up their dues temporarily to provide \$600 per month to each of the fired workers until the cases were resolved in arbitration.

At Chevron, the strikers are resisting company give back demands.

"The reason we have not gone back to work," explains union spokesman Gene Martin, "is that the company wants to take back benefits won in previous contracts."

Chevron wants to control health benefits. It wants to choose the insurance company and the health plan. It wants to renege on an agreement over health reached six years ago. And it proposes to chisel on the four different health plans now in existence.

The company also wants to renege on a previous agreement regarding the upgrading of head mechanics. It wants to determine when and under what

circumstances a head mechanic is upgraded. Under this plan the head mechanic could be upgraded to supervisor, thus out of the bargaining unit.

The company wants to freeze the entrance level wage rate. Even people who have been working at Chevron for a long time could have their wages frozen if they were considered to be working at entrance level.

If there is an impasse over grievances, the company wants veto power over the outcome. This would, in effect, negate the grievance procedure, because the union has an agreement not to strike after a contract has been signed and is in effect.

One striker has been disciplined so far—suspended for two weeks for allegedly hitting the driver of a scab car that had run into him while he was on picket duty.

The workers are standing fast. Only one of the 219 unionists has broken ranks, while two non-union workers joined the strike. The feeling of solidarity has been high throughout the long battle.

Steel local fights against Pullman closing

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—If the bosses, banks, and oil barons who run Pullman Standard have their way, nearly 2,000 workers will be out on the street when the company's railroad passenger car assembly plants shut their doors for the last time.

That could come soon. One thousand are already laid off from the Hammond, Indiana, and Chicago plants.

The closing is a result of employer arithmetic. The profit margin just is not up to snuff for Pullman's board of directors, which includes representatives from Gulf Oil and the Mellon banking firm. They are cold-bloodedly damning the workers and a public desperately in need of mass transit. They plan to shift their investment to the greener pastures of petrochemicals.

Fight against corruption

For years, United Steelworkers Local 1834, representing workers at Pullman, was paralyzed by a corrupt leadership.

In the middle of a national strike by Pullman Standard workers, which began in the fall of 1977, a group of militants in Local 1834 discovered that money—and lots of it—was missing from the union treasury.

This group of workers, led by griever John Bowman, had originally come together to support Ed Sadlowski's insurgent campaign for the United Steelworker's international presidency against Lloyd McBride in the winter of 1976. Sadlowski lost the February 1977 election, but he carried the Pullman local three to one.

Protests by this group of workers against corruption in the local eventually led to the trial and jailing of the union treasurer and the imposition of receivership over the local by the inter-

national union.

When a new local election was finally called, Bowman campaigned for union president. He led the "rank and file slate" based on a platform of saving jobs, union democracy, and revitalizing the local. After a two-month postponement, the election was held in February of this year.

The old leadership was swept from office and Bowman was elected president.

The union has changed under the new leadership. Meetings now have serious, democratic discussion. The local publishes a regular newspaper displaying the name of the union—the Eugene V. Debs Local—on its masthead. Debs, the great socialist trade-union leader, helped organize and lead the Pullman workers in the bitter strike of 1894, and went to jail for his role.

The local named in Debs's honor is today in a fight for its life.

They blame us

"One thing which is unique about our situation," Bowman noted in his president's column in the union newspaper, "is our product: passenger rail cars. They are indispensable to any solution of the energy crisis. The market for these cars is good, considering that Amtrak and many city transit systems are looking to buy cars.

"They put the blame on us," Bowman stated, citing accusations from a Pullman plant manager of "low efficiency, damaged material, absenteeism and a poor safety record" as the employers' excuse for the shutdown.

But the real reason is different. "Management thinks about profit and has to explain to the stockholders," Bowman noted. "The union thinks about jobs and tries to keep them for the members. We are talking about different things.

"After all," Bowman stated, "we built it [the company] and now Pullman doesn't want to run the place. If they don't sell it to someone who wants to build the product then the federal government should step in and take control of mass transit car production here and we will build them."

Lessons from the past

Bowman looks to the massive labor organizing drives and unemployed movement of the 1930s as "a lesson for today."

Such struggles then, he stated, "are what really forced big business and the government to try to turn the economy around . . . the point is that it took a national movement to turn things around."

The union's first steps to stop the shutdown have been to seek support and bring their case to the public.

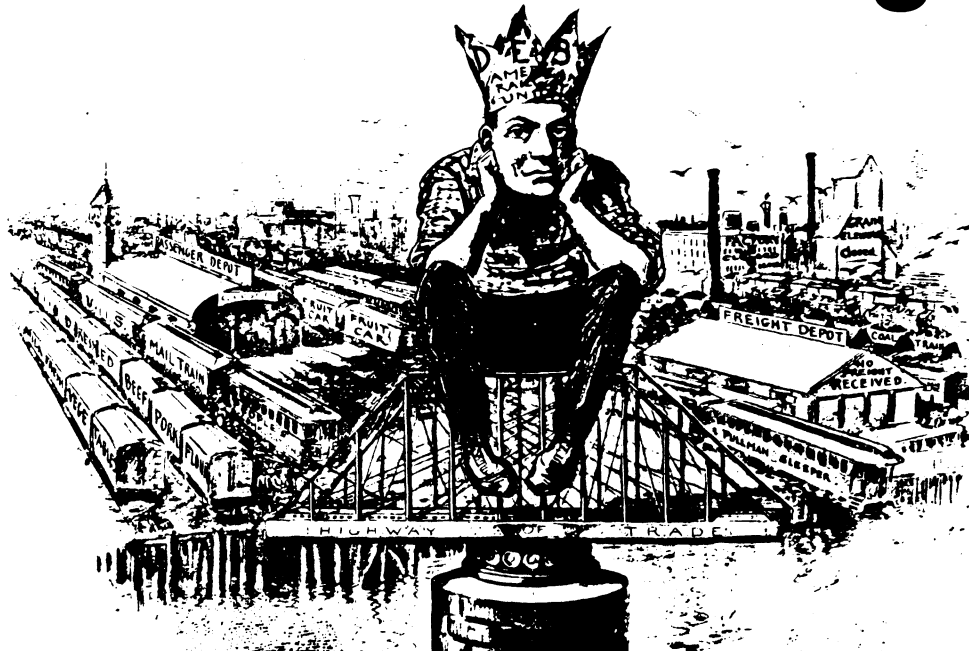
Activists from the local's "Save Our Jobs" committee are working with laid-off workers from the closed Wisconsin Steel plant in Chicago. They've won the backing of USWA locals 65 at U.S. Steel South Works, 1010 at Inland Steel, and 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works. Speakers from the committee were warmly received at meetings of those locals.

All three mills have been hit hard by layoffs.

USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff told a Pullman union meeting, "You have my pledge that whenever this local calls, you will have my help to mobilize the entire district behind the efforts to save your jobs."

A resolution urging such support was passed by District 31's annual conference and is being submitted to the USWA's international convention in August.

The union is circulating petitions that call on the "federal government to guarantee the continued production of cars at Pullman's Hammond and Chi-



KING DEBS. (Harper's Weekly, July 14, 1894)

Eugene Debs led strike of American Railway Union against Pullman in 1894. Plant was in company town, now part of Chicago. Strike was defeated, Debs jailed. The company's drive for profits is just as ruthless today.

cago works."

A fact sheet produced by Local 1834 urges that "taxpayers should demand they [Pullman] open their books and explain their 'problem.'"

Members of the Save Our Jobs committee explained their plight to a national television audience when they appeared on "Bill Moyer's Journal" on June 26. Local newspapers here are beginning to pick up the story.

Still, the union is up against big odds.

The oil companies are hell bent on opposing mass transit.

The only help offered by the Democratic Party "friends of labor" is band-

aid legislation, like requiring ninety days notice before a plant closing.

Pullman workers were given one year's warning. It didn't do much good.

But the Pullman Standard workers have a powerful case.

They can build the passenger cars that millions of people want and need as a public service.

And they can tell the truth about the rule-and-ruin profit principle of their bosses who, as John Bowman says, "don't give a damn about us or the country," and win widespread support from working people.

Socialists: 'nationalize Pullman'

GARY, Ind.—Pullman Standard's rail passenger car division should be nationalized.

That's the position of Lee Artz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois, and Etta Ettlinger, the SWP's Indiana senatorial standard bearer.

"The public has an enormous need for mass transit," Artz told the *Militant*. "If Pullman Standard is unwilling to meet that need, the government should step in and take it over," he said.

"Government owned enterprises should be run by an elected public board that functions out in the open, with all of its books subject to public inspection."

Those who "know the most about plant functioning, the workers themselves, through their union, should have final say on everything from production speed to health and safety enforcement," he said.

Ettlinger, a member of USWA Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, told the *Militant* that "it will take a powerful fight by an aroused labor movement to stop Pullman's bosses from shutting down the Hammond and Chicago plants.

"But it's past the time to wait for such a fight to start. There's no alternative to nationalization," she said.

Why?

"Because," Ettlinger said, "the corporations, the banks, the government and the Democratic and Republican parties all work in cahoots with each other to ensure maximum profits for the employers."

Thus, Ettlinger said, "a massive struggle is required to force the government to take over operations like Pullman Standard. The country needs passenger cars and mass transit. Pullman won't produce. The

government has the responsibility to do something concrete. Take it over. Re-open it. And produce what people need. It's that simple."

The battle against shutdowns is "a political struggle," Artz says, "because it goes right up against the profit priorities of the capitalist system and Democrats and Republicans who are wedded to it."

The USWA should use all its power, Ettlinger said, "to defend the Pullman workers, and, more broadly, begin to educate on the need for nationalization. That's how we can prepare the kinds of struggles and fightbacks that are necessary to save our jobs."

"The more we fight for what we need, no matter what the employers say about their profits, the more we realize the biggest weakness we have to overcome is the lack of labor's own political party," Ettlinger said.

The Pullman workers, like other embattled unionists across the country, can help get the ball rolling in the right direction, Ettlinger said, citing the independent labor campaign of Youngstown, Ohio, steel worker leader Ed Mann for congress.

That example, she said, "is worth repeating from coast-to-coast. That's the kind of fighting labor politics that can inspire the union movement and win allies against the attacks of the corporations, their government and their parties."

What the plant closings in Youngstown and at Wisconsin Steel, American Bridge, the auto crisis, and now Pullman show, Artz said, is that "unionists are getting close to the endangered species list. It's time to stop kneeling to the Democrats and Republicans who are putting us there."

—J.H.



Militant photos by Stu Singer

Top, John Bowman, president of Eugene V. Debs local: 'Learn from past struggles.' Bottom, Pullman worker petitioning to keep the plant open.

New groups raise demands of workers, women, youth

Dissidence in USSR broadens despite

By Marilyn Vogt

The Kremlin's move to exile Andrei Sakharov to Gorky in January was part of a police offensive against the democratic opposition in the Soviet Union that has escalated over the past year.

The ruling bureaucracy initiated a similar crackdown beginning in 1972. That crackdown took a terrible toll, particularly in Ukraine where hundreds were arrested and imprisoned.

But the opposition movements were not really destroyed even though they lost many articulate spokespersons.

With the organization of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups starting in 1976, old and new forces previously isolated from one another emerged and collaborated to publicize the regime's human rights violations. Such groups developed in the Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Georgian, and Lithuanian Republics. In February 1977, the Kremlin rulers initiated a crackdown against the Helsinki groups, with the Ukrainians again the hardest hit.

But even as harsh sentences were being handed down to the crackdown's victims, fresh opposition forces were surfacing from ever new sectors of Soviet society.

Opposition spreads

To the forces demanding democratization were added groupings articulating specific demands of workers, women and youth. A survey of the types of protests that have emerged indicates that the democratic opposition to Stalinism in the USSR has not diminished but has increased and developed over the past decade.

- In late 1977 and early 1978, discontent with bureaucratic repression among workers from widespread areas of the Soviet Union led to the formation of a Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers (AFTU) headed by

Ukrainian miner Vladimir Klebanov. Klebanov was arrested and thrown in a psychiatric hospital and the grouping brutally crushed.

But in October 1978, a second workers rights defense organization was formed in Moscow, the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers (SMOT), headed by a Russian worker, Marxist, and long-time activist Vladimir Borisov. Both the AFTU and the SMOT had hundreds of worker supporters from numerous cities.

- Opposition among youth to the stifling effects of bureaucratic rule on all aspects of their lives caused the rise of discussion circles and communes of high school and university students with left-wing views in Moscow, Leningrad and numerous other cities.

In October 1978, the KGB smashed a key link in a developing network of youth organizations, the commune of the "Left Opposition" group in Leningrad. Two leaders, Arkady Tsurkov, a Marxist; and Aleksei Khavin, an anarchist; were sentenced to long prison camp terms and a third Aleksandr Skobov, was thrown into a psychiatric hospital.

But signs of unrest among the youth continue to surface. Two hundred young people protested the arrests of Left Opposition activists in a demonstration in Leningrad in December 1978. And the communes continue to develop.

In October 1979, in Leningrad, the KGB crushed the commune of the Movement of Revolutionary Communards in Leningrad, sending three of its activists Vladimir Mikhailov, Aleksei Stasevich and Alevtina Kochneva to forced labor camps on "hooliganism" charges.

- New samizdat journals have appeared. A political journal *Poiski* (Searchings) began to circulate in Moscow in the summer of 1978 and four

issues had appeared by January 1979. Its initiators include veterans of the Soviet Communist party from the 1920s who had been expelled from the bureaucratized party of today but still consider themselves socialists.

Discontent with the heavy-handed censorship among some of the Soviet Union's best-known literary figures resulted in 1979 in the production of an unofficial "literary almanac" *Metropol*. Half of the contributors to the first *Metropol* collection were members of the official Writers Union.

In addition, *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the samizdat news journal about the democratic rights movements, continues to appear despite police efforts to eliminate it. With issue No. 53, dated August 1, 1979, the *Chronicle* entered its eleventh year of circulation.

- In September 1979, the first issue of a feminist journal *Woman and Russia*, produced by women "for women about women" appeared in Leningrad. Edited by philosopher Tatyana Goricheva, poet Tatyana Manonova, and writer Natalya Malakhovskaya, the journal's purpose was to publish the truth about the day-to-day suffering and humiliation of women in the USSR.

- Opposition to Russification has produced numerous forms of activity. In the Baltic republics, a new samizdat journal *Perspectives* emerged. The journal announced the formation of the "Union of Lithuanian Communists for the Secession of Lithuania from the USSR."

Among other non-Russians, the badly persecuted Ukrainian Helsinki group grew since 1977 to have several dozen members.

The Crimean Tatars' movement for their right to return to Crimea has continued unabated. Crimean Tatar families continue to defy official prohi-



Vladimir Vysotsky, Soviet satirical singer and favorite of dissident youth, who died July 25. Thousands of people gathered on a Moscow street to memorialize him.

bition and return illegally to their Crimea homeland to live. One gets an indication of the numbers of families involved from the numbers forcibly deported from Crimea back to Central Asia—between fifty and sixty families during the four months of November 1978 through February 1979.

Although the 1977 crackdown weakened the Georgian and Armenian Helsinki groups, deep opposition to Russification in these Transcaucasian regions was reflected in demonstrations of thousands in April 1978, forcing the rulers to retreat from their attempt to remove from the new constitutions of the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan republics the clauses guaranteeing their native languages as the official languages in these republics.

Opponents of Olympic boycott ask release

On June 25 a delegation made up of opponents of the Olympic boycott delivered a letter to Oleg Troyanovsky, the Soviet Union's ambassador to the United Nations. The letter appealed for the release of six young left-wing dissidents from Leningrad. Below is the text of that letter.

The delegation also delivered a petition along the same lines signed by sixty-three auto workers from United Auto Workers Local 980 in New Jersey.

Dear Mr. Troyanovsky:

We are deeply concerned over the persecution of six young people sentenced in Leningrad to terms in harsh forced labor camps and in psychiatric hospitals because they organized to express their views.

Three of these youth—Arkady Tsurkov (twenty years old), Aleksandr Skobov (twenty-one years old) and Aleksei Khavin (twenty years old)—were leading figures in the "Left Opposition" grouping in Leningrad. Aleksei Stasevich (twenty-three years old), Vladimir Mikhailov (twenty-eight years old), and Alevtina Kochneva (twenty-one years old) were part of the Movement of Revolutionary Communards in Leningrad.

The "Left Opposition" and the Movement of Revolutionary Communards were groups of young people who sought more democracy and social justice for workers and students in the



Vladimir Borisov, left, and Lev Volokhonsky, organizers of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers. Borisov was expelled from Soviet Union on June 23. Volokhonsky was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in June 1979.

Soviet Union and abroad. The "Left Opposition" from its beginning in 1977 defined itself as socialist and anti-

imperialist. In August 1978, just before the police broke up the group, it passed a resolution in support of the Nicara-

guan revolution. Both the "Left Opposition" and the Movement of Revolutionary Communards sought to organize other youth to read and discuss the ideas of prominent social thinkers like Karl Marx, Georgy Plekhanov, Peter Kropotkin and August Bebel; to discuss the history of the Russian revolution; and to print leaflets and journals where they could freely express and exchange their views.

The ideas of the leaders of the Russian Revolution of 1917 were formed and tempered through long, intense, and open debates over ideas of thinkers such as these youth sought to study. Are we to believe that to read, discuss, and express interest in such ideas today is a crime? We must reject such a claim.

These young people are anticapitalist and loyal to the principles of communism. Moreover, they were only exercising their fundamental democratic rights. Yet Tsurkov was sentenced in April 1979 to a term of five years forced labor and two years inter-

nal exile; Skobov was sent in April 1979 to an indefinite term of compulsory psychiatric treatment; Khavin was sentenced to a six-year term in a forced labor camp in August 1979; and in December 1979, Mikhailov and Stasevich were sentenced to three-year terms in harsh forced labor camps and Kochneva to a labor camp term of one year and three months.

repression

Over the past year and one half, the KGB has attacked all these movements. For example, ten members of the Ukrainian Helsinki group were arrested in 1979, some receiving terms of up to eleven years. Another member committed suicide when his arrest was imminent.

At least eight Crimean Tatar activists were imprisoned in 1979, including Mustafa Dzhemilev, sentenced to his fifth term—four years internal exile—and Reshat Dzhemilev, sentenced in December 1979 to a three-year labor camp term.

Three Armenian activists were framed up for the 1977 Moscow subway explosion and shot in January 1979.

Three of the eight members of the workers' rights defense groups, SMOT, are imprisoned and on March 27, 1980, a fourth, Vladimir Borisov, was seized on a Leningrad street and thrown into a psychiatric prison.

Two members of the Writers Union who contributed works to the literary almanac *Metropol* have been expelled from the union. Numerous others have been attacked in the press, their previously permitted works now banned.

Numerous searches have been carried out against the grouping around *Poiski* and in December 1979 and January 1980, three of its editors were arrested. One of them, Vyacheslav Repnikov, is also a member of a Initiative Committee of Struggle for the Right to Freely Leave the USSR that was formed in May 1979. One of the most prominent cases this group has taken up is that of 200 Iranians who fled from Iran in 1949, and have been living since then without papers in the Tadjik Republic. They are now demanding the right to return home.

The editors of *Woman and Russia* have been subjected to intense harass-

ment. Due to this pressure, the journal ceased to appear under its original title and came out as *Maria*. The three editors were expelled July 20 from the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, a number of long-time civil rights figures have been arrested since November 1979. Tatyana Valikanova, a founder of the Initiative Committee in Defense of Human Rights in 1969 was arrested November 1, 1979. Viktor Nekipelov, a former political prisoner, and Malva Landa, both members of the Moscow Helsinki group, were arrested December 1979 and March 1980 respectively.

On February 12, 1980, Vyacheslav Bakhmin was arrested for his role in the Working Commission on the Use of Psychiatric Treatment for Political Purposes which despite persecution, has continued to function since January 1977.

Activists in the religious movements throughout the USSR have also suffered. Not just those in the officially banned religious groups have been persecuted but also Orthodox priests like Rev. Nikolai Eshliman, arrested November 1, 1979. He protested the lack of civil rights for adherents of all religious denominations. The Stalinist rulers have escalated their brutal campaign to eliminate religion with a police club.

All these events point to the need for the workers and socialist movements internationally to line up in solidarity with these victims of Stalinist repression. The totalitarian methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy weaken the Soviet Union against imperialism and weaken the fight for social justice internationally because such totalitarian repression is identified with the Marxism and communism the Stalinists falsely claim to represent.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

of six in USSR

We, who support those fighting for democratic rights and against oppression around the world, who support the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua which overthrew U.S.-backed dictatorships, who oppose Washington's war machine whether it be directed against these or any other revolutions, and who oppose efforts to organize a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, must condemn the persecution of these six young activists. It is not in the interest of socialism and

democracy for young people such as these to be imprisoned. They should be free to read and to discuss their views and to organize to make their views known to the Soviet people.

We call upon you, and upon all those who support the fights for social justice and democratic rights the world over, to join us in calling for the immediate release of Tsurkov, Skobov, Khavin, Mikhailov, Stasevich and Kochneva.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Signers of the appeal

In the list below, organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

* * *

Eqbal Ahmad, Institute for Policy Studies; Paul Avrich, Professor, Queens College; Elias Ayoub, Palestinian fighting deportation from the United States; Norma Becker, War Resisters League; Philip Berrigan; Noam Chomsky; Ruth Gage-Colby; Richard Falk, Professor, Princeton University; James Grant, one of the Charlotte 3 defendants; Edward F. Gray, President, Region 9, United Auto Workers;

James Haughton, Harlem Fight Back; Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, Chairman, Black Theology Project of America; Salvador E. Luria, professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Shin-ichi Masagaki, Japanese journalist and Russian translator; Kate Millet; George Novack; Bertell Ollman, Professor, New York University; Grace Paley; James Petras, Professor, State University of New York; Stuart Schaar, Professor, Brooklyn College; Paul Siegel, Professor Emeritus, Long Island University; Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Secretary-General, International Freedom Mobilization.

Trial set for AIM leader; 'safe passage' demanded



Demonstrators outside Portland federal courthouse protest frame-up charges against American Indian Movement leaders.

By Bev Hansen

PORTLAND—Supporters of the American Indian Movement defendants announced plans in Portland to fight attempts to extradite Dennis Banks from Oregon to South Dakota, when he returns to Oregon to face trial.

Banks, along with three other defendants, KaMook Banks, Russ Redner, and Kenneth Loud Hawk, will stand trial on frame-up charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives.

The incident dates back to November 14, 1975, when the Oregon state police, on the basis of alleged information given by FBI informers, stopped two vehicles in eastern Oregon. Redner, Loud Hawk, KaMook Banks, and Anna Mae Aquash were arrested at the scene. The police claim that Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier had somehow escaped in the wide open desert. Three days after the arrests, the cops claim, a search of one of the cars turned up seven cases of dynamite.

The defendants were subsequently charged in Portland with possession of an unregistered firearm and explosives. A prior complaint of harboring federal fugitives was dropped when the government was unable to prove that there had been any fugitives in the cars.

In March and May 1976 U.S. District Court Judge Belloni dismissed the government's charges on the basis of inadmissible evidence and delays in prosecution. The government appealed these decisions, and in August 1979, the decisions were reversed. Last month a grand jury reindicted these defendants on the basis of the same 1975 incident. A trial has been scheduled for September 3.

Officials in South Dakota have indicated that they will press for extradition once Banks returns to Oregon for trial.

Banks was convicted in South Dakota in 1973 on a charge of "riot while armed." This was based on an incident in a South Dakota courthouse, when

the cops, after a disturbance outside another courtroom, threw a tear-gas canister into the room where Banks was meeting with attorneys. Banks grabbed a stick and broke a window in order to flee the tear-gas-filled room.

Banks fled the state, fearing for his life, after then attorney general and now Governor William Janklow was quoted as saying that the way to solve the AIM problem was to shoot the AIM leaders. He said, "Put a bullet in a guy's head, and he won't bother you anymore."

Banks has further reason to fear for his life in South Dakota. One of his Oregon co-defendants, Anna Mae Aquash, was found murdered after she was extradited to South Dakota. The Bureau of Indian Affairs pathologist had ruled that her death was due to exposure, but a family-retained pathologist discovered that she had been shot in the back of the head at very close range.

The Loud Hawk et al. National Offense/Defense Committee is launching a massive petitioning drive and publicity campaign urging Oregon Gov. Vic Atiyeh to refuse South Dakota's request for extradition.

Supporters of the defendants are asking that messages be sent to Governor Atiyeh demanding "safe passage" in Oregon, in other words, guarantees that Banks will not be arrested on any fugitive matter so that he can conduct his defense in federal court without fear that he may have to sacrifice his life to "enjoy" his constitutional right to defend himself. Such messages should be sent to Gov. Vic Atiyeh, Capitol Building, Salem, Oregon 97310, with copies to the defense committee, 5632 N.W. Willbridge, Portland, Oregon 97210.

The defense committee is also urging messages demanding that the charges be dropped be sent to U.S. Attorney Sidney Lezak, U.S. Court House, Portland, Oregon 97205, with copies sent to the committee.

Puerto Ricans convicted in anti-FALN scare

Two Puerto Rican nationalists, Alicia Rodríguez and Luis Rosa, were convicted on July 9 of armed robbery and conspiracy, in connection with an April 4 robbery at a car rental agency in the Chicago suburb of Evanston, Illinois. Sentencing is set for August 4.

The two nationalists, alleged to be members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), were found guilty by an all-white jury that deliberated for only fifty-four minutes. For protesting the proceedings, the two defendants were forced to sit bound and gagged in the courtroom. Spectators were barred. Lawyers who had been acting as advisers to Rodríguez and Rosa (they refused the court-appointed attorneys) were thrown out of the court or harassed by the judge.

Judge and prosecutor repeatedly interjected their political biases into the proceedings—the prosecutor stating, for example, that "terrorists, revolutionaries, socialists, communists, whatever . . . will be prosecuted for acts they carry out and not for the beliefs they have."

Weapons and other materials that police claim to have seized elsewhere as evidence of FALN terrorism were prominently displayed before the jury—even though the defendants were not being tried on such charges.

On the last day of the trial about 100 people marched outside to protest the exclusion of spectators, and a press conference was held by the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

Socialists pitch in

A Colombian community fights city hall

By Pedro Camejo

CARTAGENA, Colombia—On the outskirts of this sunny, coastal city, famous for its century-old forts, lies a small community of 1,000 people called Cesar Flores.

Like many other communities of poor working people, Cesar Flores has a story to tell of bitter desperation and dramatic struggle.

Most of the people of Cesar Flores come originally from rural areas. They were driven to the city by the unemployment, poverty, and hunger of the countryside. But in the city they could not acquire housing.

So, in October 1978, the families who today live in Cesar Flores occupied empty land and set out to build their own homes.

After the police threatened to evict them, the people sought out a lawyer and went to the city council. But the lawyer and city council advised them to give up their new homes.

Finding no support from capitalist lawyers or politicians, the people of the community sought out the left. They came in contact with the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), the Colombian sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Six PSR members went to live in the occupied lands to help the struggle. They also sought out a young lawyer who was known for his defense of working people. PSR members active in the unions were able to gain the backing of 15 trade unions.

The PSR helped the embattled community to organize political demonstrations for their rights and to prepare for self-defense against an eviction. The workers met and defeated three eviction attempts by the local police.

Army attacks

The authorities thereupon mobilized 1,500 soldiers and attacked at 3:00 a.m. on the night of December 23, 1978, two days before Christmas. They expelled the entire community and arrested 19 workers.

This victory for free enterprise over human rights was short lived. The evicted families, with the help of the PSR, simply occupied new lands. The combined effect of labor pressure, mass actions, resistance and legal defense paid off. The ruling class, knowing that it would be very unpopular to order another army attack, decided to make a concession. An arrangement was reached for the people to purchase the land, over time, at below-market prices.

The city council, however, refused to recognize the new community. Official recognition would have required the city to provide normal municipal services such as electricity, water, and bus routes.

The people of Cesar Flores decided to continue the struggle for municipal services, using the class-struggle methods learned from the PSR.

A fund-raising campaign, the purchase of a few telephone poles, and a do-it-yourself hook-up solved the electricity problem.

The electric company sent representatives out to cut the wires. But each time, the wires were reconnected. Sometimes the company representatives would be met by the people of Cesar Flores; the company men would scurry off and tend not to return.

The electric company has given up for the time being. What is more, the company doesn't send out bills. If it did, this would be a sign of legally recognizing the existence of Cesar Flores, which the city still does not want to do. So Cesar Flores has free electricity.

Community meetings

Decisions at Cesar Flores are made at community meetings in which all are welcome and most participate. One of their first decisions was to name their small community Cesar Flores. This was to honor the young lawyer who, unlike any other lawyer they had ever known, fought with them in the streets as well as in the courts, and did so without charging a fee.

The main street in town is called Nicaragua Libre (Free Nicaragua).

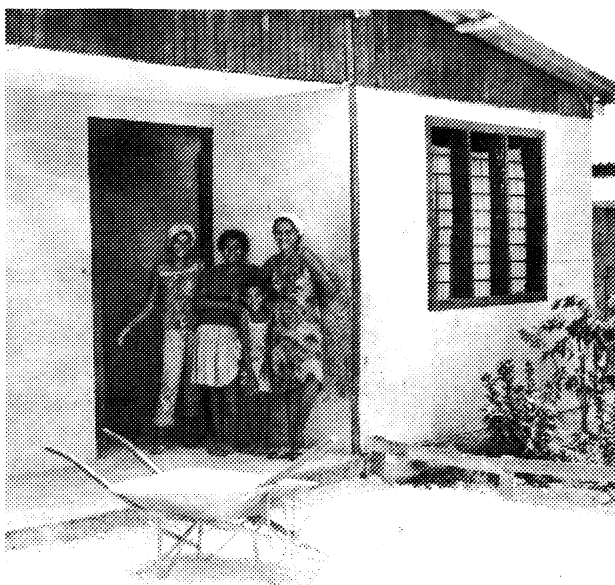
At Cesar Flores, the community voted never again to support capitalist parties. Instead it declared its affiliation to the PSR and adopted the PSR's red banner as its own. Classes have been organized on the true history of Cuba and Nicaragua as well as other economic, political, and social questions. At the May Day rally and other demonstrations the community of Cesar Flores marches as a delegation within the PSR contingent.

A party headquarters has been built by the community. It is located across from the open-air dance center.



Militant photos by Pedro Camejo

Above, members of Colombian Revolutionary Socialist Party stand in front of banners calling for a vote for the party's candidates in last spring's municipal elections. Left, residents of Cesar Flores.



PSR women have helped organize the women of Cesar Flores into their own organization. This provides an opportunity to meet away from the men and discuss the many problems they face as women.

Right next to Cesar Flores is a similar but larger community called Jorge Gaitan, where the threat of eviction still exists. The PSR is participating in the leadership of the struggle in Jorge Gaitan, as well as in the struggles in La Victoria, San Pedro Martin, Camilo Torres, and Consolata.

For a workers' party

When municipal elections were held last spring, the PSR slate was composed primarily of workers in Cartagena. The ticket was headed by Luis Pomares, a 33-year-old petrochemical worker who has worked at his factory for 17 years. He has been president of his union local for the last six years.

Pomares says working people must build their own party. He told the people of Cesar Flores that they should participate in the election campaign in order to convince other working people to break with the bosses' parties. The people of Cesar Flores nominated several workers from their community to run on the PSR slate for city council.

The PSR's successful activity in Cartagena marks an important step in the evolution of the party.

The Cartagena unit of the PSR arose out of the Commandos Camilistas, a group named after the martyred guerrilla priest, Camilo Torres. The Commandos Camilistas, formed in the late 1960s, sought to gain a popular base to support the guerrilla movement of the time.

But the very success of the Commandos Camilistas in mass work eventually convinced the group that the *foquista* guerrilla strategy was wrong, and that revolutionaries should orient instead toward the Leninist strategy of party building. This led the Commandos Camilistas in 1978 to unite with other revolutionary groups in Colombia and form the PSR.

The example of Cesar Flores indicates the potential for mass work in Colombia. The country is a powder keg of social contradictions.

Dictatorship & democracy

Politically, Colombia is partly a military dictatorship and partly a bourgeois democracy. As in the United States, there are elections, dominated by two

capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives. Many workers organizations can, for the most part, function legally.

Alongside this, however, is terrible repression, torture, and assassinations. The army occupies rural zones. In some areas there is a permanent state of armed confrontation between the army and a mass-based peasant movement.

More and more working people are refusing to vote for the capitalist parties. In the last elections 75 percent of the people abstained, and in the most working class districts, 85 percent.

The PSR advocates the unification of the four existing trade union federations and the establishment of a mass party of labor based on the unions. This would mean breaking from the past practice of endorsing the Liberal Party candidates.

The PSR believes that elections pose the question: in whose class interest will the government function? The PSR favors a workers and peasants government like that of Nicaragua. Therefore it rejects the practice of the Communist Party and others of forming electoral blocs with ruling class parties and politicians.

The PSR also believes that basic change can only be won in struggle. Elections should be seen as an adjunct to such struggle.

Downturn

In the last elections the PSR proposed to the Communist Party and other worker-based organizations a joint electoral campaign against the ruling class: a workers and common people's slate in which each party could present its own program.

In some areas the Communist Party accepted the PSR proposal, after the CP's efforts to form an electoral front with bourgeois figures collapsed.

In Cartagena, the PSR ran its own slate. It is the largest party on the left there. Elsewhere in Colombia the CP is the largest left party.

On a nationwide level the class struggle in Colombia has gone through a downturn over the past two years, causing internal problems and loss of membership among left-wing groups. The PSR nationwide has experienced many of these problems. But it is confident that the downturn is temporary and that preparation should be made for the new struggles to come.

The example of the PSR's activity in Cartagena shows the potential that does exist, both to carry out mass work and to win workers and other oppressed people to the socialist banner.

Luis Carabello, the organizer of the PSR in Cartagena, expressed it this way:

"The key for us is to turn to the masses. We support the decision for proletarianization made at the last World Congress of the Fourth International. This is essential for the future growth and vitality of the PSR. We hope our work in Cartagena and [nearby] Barranquilla can be repeated throughout Colombia."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Whew!—The Carters had a close call during the heat wave. While attending church services, the air conditioner broke down on their limo. Fortunately there was a backup ready at the end of the official motorcade. They switched places and the driver of the overheated car rolled down the windows.

Labor's rights—A National Labor Relations Board judge ruled in favor of a postal worker who was suspended for five days because his supervisor claimed he called him "a stupid ass." The worker denied this, saying he only called him "stupid and asinine." The judge said either was legit during a union grievance discussion.

The silver lining—The influx of

Cuban emigres may strain South Florida's economy, says a University of Florida study. "But," it adds, "on the positive side, by holding down wage levels and expanding the labor supply, new job creation will be stimulated."

Just pay and shut up—Exxon's chairman Clifton Garvin says he would like to "eliminate much of the bickering, the kind of acid debates we've been having in our society."

Thy rod and thy staff...—Catholic nuns were "reprimanded" for abusing school children in Indio, California. They had taped pupil's mouths, tied them to desks, and forced them to stand for long periods in supply closets in the fierce desert heat. Church officials were impressed

with the "intent" of some of these measures. The bishop urged a "spirit of reconciliation and healing between all parties. . . ."

More solid investment—Horse meat, apparently, is a better investment than silver. Bunker Hunt, who took a billion-dollar bath speculating in silver, just sold fifty-six of his thoroughbreds for \$11 million.

A trifle—French truffles are nearing \$500 a pound. But, happily, a look-alike is on the market. Made from egg yolk, coloring, etc., it looks exactly like a truffle. It doesn't taste anything like one, the investor confides, but then most people have never tasted a real truffle. Besides, the next-best is only \$69 a pound.



'Good news on the recession! The new Department of Education has agreed to come up with a new word for it.'

By Any Means Necessary

Osborne Hart



Was Marx Black?

Was Marx Black?

According to Professor Herbert Vilakazi he was. Vilakazi, a Black South African who teaches sociology at Essex County Community College in Newark, N.J., presents his case in the June issue of *Monthly Review*, in an article entitled, "Was Karl Marx a Black Man?"

Vilakazi says, "The evidence I have seen over the years regarding Marx's looks is enough to convince me that, according to the criteria of racial classification used by the common person in the United States of America, Karl Marx would be classified as Black" (emphasis in the original).

It goes without mention that in Vilakazi's homeland the apartheid system of racial classification based on skin color would have characterized Marx as being at least a "Colored."

Vilakazi uses the many descriptions of Marx's appearance by relatives, political associates, and anthropologists to back his thesis. He also explains that "Blacks were present throughout Europe, throughout the course of its history."

The idea that Marx was Black is not original. "It was stated many years ago by J.A. Rogers, the greatest scholar to date on the Black race."

In his book, *Nature Knows No Color Line*, Rogers

says: "Karl Marx, who bore a strong resemblance to Fredrick Douglass, undoubtedly came of this Negro stock. His nose was broad, his hair frizzly and his color so dark he was called the 'Moor.'"

Rogers' description is based on one given by Marx's father-in-law, as recounted by L. Schwarzschild in his biography of Marx, *The Red Prussian*. Marx's father nicknamed him "Moor."

As for Marx's resemblance to Fredrick Douglass, I looked at contemporary dictionary photos of both and agree on the similarity. Anyone who is not familiar with the two figures could easily mistake one for the other.

Other descriptions of Marx by his contemporaries generally confirm Vilakazi's premise.

Frederick Engels, Marx's closest associate and friend, described Marx to Karl Kautsky: "A complexion as dark as it is generally possible for a South European to be, without much color on the cheeks. . . ."

This prompted Leon Trotsky to comment in his essay on Engels, "This description makes clear why Marx received the nickname 'the Moor' in his family and intimate circle."

Another biography of Marx, by Saul K. Padover,

characterizes Marx as being "exceptionally dark, conspicuously exotic among light-skinned people."

In volume six of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* a passport expelling Marx from Belgium in 1848 describes him as having a "tanned" complexion.

All these facts and more are cited to verify Vilakazi's contention. His opinion is that Marx was a descendant of the Jews who were expelled from Spain and Portugal in 1480—along with the Moors—and settled in other parts of Europe. "Most certainly, a considerable number of [the expelled Jews] were Black," he says.

One of the most useful and important aspects of the article is that the author summarizes the Black African presence and influence in Europe throughout the history of civilization.

He cites historical material from the Roman conquest, the Moor invasion, and the Middle Ages.

Whether Vilakazi's argument is correct has no bearing on Marx's contributions to the workers movement.

But his points on the role racism has played in excluding and distorting facts about Blacks in history are well taken.

...Blacks

Continued from back page

with demands ranging from improvements in housing to including more

Blacks in positions of authority. These demands reflect the general plight of Blacks who make up a third of the city's population of 170,000. The Black jobless rate runs up to 40 percent.

Harry Hill, leader of the Progressive

Youth Coalition in the McCallie project, said, "The verdict in the Klan trial was simply the spark that ignited an already explosive condition."

"The people are without jobs and angry with their living conditions."

"The only time they've ever gotten anything is right behind a riot."

Meanwhile, the Justice Department, apparently concerned by the outburst of rage—and the organization of community patrols—announced that it had ordered the FBI to investigate the Klan shooting "to determine if any civil rights had been violated and if further federal investigation was warranted."



Chattanooga Blacks forced these heavily armed cops out of their community for three days and finally enjoyed some peace.

Help New York petition!

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party will launch a major campaign August 16 to collect the petition signatures necessary to obtain a place on the state ballot.

A minimum of 20,000 signatures is required and, to assure a safe margin, the party is planning to obtain 35,000. It is urging supporters to participate in the petitioning effort.

Petitioners will be dispatched beginning at 10:00 a.m. from two campaign offices. One is in Manhattan, at 108 East Sixteenth Street, off Union Square. The other, in Brooklyn, is located at 335 Atlantic

Avenue, near Hoyt Street, a new location.

Petitioners and others are invited to a campaign gathering the evening of August 16. There will be a social hour at 7 p.m. followed by a campaign rally, which will hear the party's vice-presidential nominee, Matilde Zimmermann.

A special event will be held in Brooklyn, Saturday evening September 6, with the launching of the Brooklyn congressional campaign of SWP candidate Keith Jones. It will also mark the official opening of the new Atlantic Avenue offices.

Remember Hiroshima

It was thirty-five years ago, on August 6 and 9, 1945, that President Harry Truman ordered the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hundreds of thousands of Japanese men, women, and children were killed. Many thousands more were left with the suffering of cancer and birth defects caused by the nuclear fallout.

The bombings marked the end of the second imperialist war. It was the first and—so far—the only time a government had used the deadly nuclear bomb. The devastating effects sent a wave of horror throughout the world.

Washington was quick to try to counter the revulsion at this act of genocide. Washington piously assured that the atomic bomb was a secret between Britain and the United States. We “do not intend to reveal the secret until means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction,” President Truman declared. “We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force—to prevent its misuse, and to turn it into channels of service to mankind.”

These humanitarian words came from the mouth of the man who had just ordered the bloody massacre of hundreds of thousands of Japanese.

Next Truman claimed that the sacrifice of lives was worth it because it brought peace to the world. This claim was answered with a banner headline in the August 18, 1945, *Militant*: “There is no peace!” A front-page statement by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee declared:

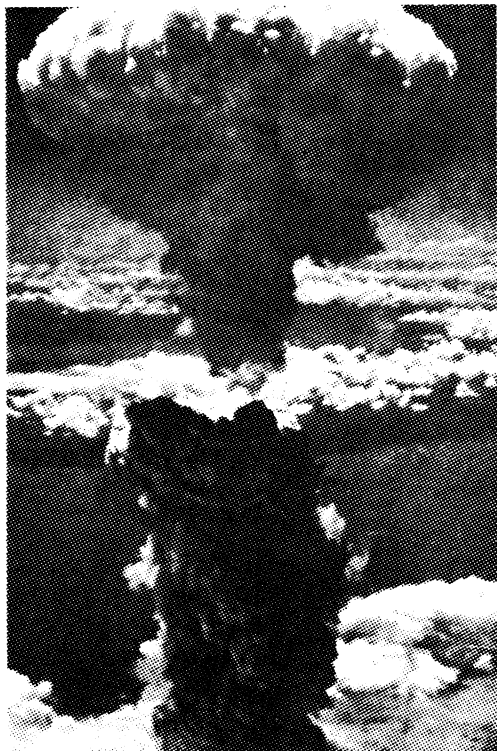
“People in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things to come.

“Here in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the people of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.”

Thirty-five years later the threat of nuclear holocaust still threatens the world. Far from offering us peace, the imperialists have escalated the chances of a new war. The development of nuclear weapons has increased to the point of providing the capacity of destroying the world many times over.

“Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain,” the *Militant* warned in 1945. “Only the focus of the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence. It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits.”

This prediction has proven all too true. Washington has already involved American working people in the Korean War



and Vietnam. President John Kennedy brought us to the brink of nuclear war in 1962 with the Cuban missile crisis. In 1973 President Richard Nixon threatened to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union to force a settlement on the Middle East favorable to Washington's interests.

And today the Carter administration is allocating higher military appropriations in the attempt to turn back the revolutionary advances of the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, Iran, and other countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia who are fighting for their freedom.

Now Carter is trying to force young people to register for the draft, threatening a new Vietnam-style war.

These wars aim to protect the corporate interests of the rich. No trust in the capitalists can bring about peace, for they make great gains in wars. The end to war and the threat of nuclear annihilation must come from the people who have the most to lose—young people, Blacks, Latinos, women, and all working people.

The antinuclear and antidraft movements point the way forward. The antinuclear movement has mobilized hundreds of thousands to demand: “No nuclear weapons; no nuclear power.” The antidraft movement called out hundreds of thousands recently to protest Carter's draft registration. “No draft; no war,” these young people are saying. “We won't fight in Exxon's war!”

With the power of working people behind them, these movements can stay the hands of the profit-hungry capitalists.

Mobilizing this anti-imperialist sentiment is the only way to stop new wars and new attempts by the imperialist forces to try a new Hiroshima/Nagasaki at the expense of the lives of working people around the world.

—Priscilla Schenk

‘Conserve energy?’

An article entitled “July's heat won't revive ComEd profits,” appearing in the July 21 weekly *Crain's Chicago Business*, reveals the Chicago utility's woes in the current heat wave. “If we could have had six or eight days like this (consecutive, 90-degree plus days), and only one storm, we'd have been able to get more out of it,” Ralph Heumann, Commonwealth Edison's comptroller, is quoted as saying. “In Texas and Arkansas, utilities are getting unusual sales and earnings, but so far our hot weather has been up and down and separated by cool days.”

Apparently, what most Chicagoans have assumed was a blessing is a curse for the nuke-happy utility. If only we'd run our air conditioners a little more often, they could really clean up. It's rather ironic that one of ComEd's major ad slogans is “Conserve Energy”; another is “Commonwealth Edison . . . working for you.”
Tom O'Brien
Chicago, Illinois

Opposes draft

My name is Andrew L. Barnhart, and I am opposed to this peacetime military draft on the grounds that it is a direct insult to my constitutionally guaranteed right to privacy. I also believe it is an unnecessary show of military strength, especially during such a peacetime situation.

I was unfortunate to have been born on June 9, 1960. But since I was very young, I've been developing my skills and preparing myself for a career in music. I am a professional harmonica player with a burning desire to achieve as much as I can and make my own way through life. I do not need, I do not want, that cozy nest called the military. Besides, it is a social order quite contrary to my own personal beliefs.

I would greatly appreciate any information which could be beneficial to my cause, which is the same cause of every American citizen.
Andrew L. Barnhart
Williamsport, Pennsylvania

‘Fatal rope’

The *New York Daily News* carried a story on July 22 titled “Fatal nylon rope banned by fire union.” It told how the Uniformed Firefighters Association (UFA) instructed its members to stop using substandard nylon rope that caused the death of two fire fighters here on June 27.

N. Mancuso, UFA president, bitterly assailed the top brass in the fire department, who knew the nylon rope was unsafe months before the tragedy.

A report which found that the nylon rope failed to meet minimum Fire Department safety specifications had been deliberately suppressed by officials in the department.

At a press conference on July 21, Eileen Fitzpatrick, a widow of one of the fire fighters, said she was “stunned” when, two days after her husband's funeral, she found a copy of the

suppressed report in her mailbox.

The *Daily News* followed its story the next day with an editorial attacking the fire fighters union for putting a ban on the unsafe ropes. The editorial said such an order “ought to come from the department's top command.”

There is good reason why the *News* does not like the action of the UFA. They know who makes such safety decisions strikes at the heart of the matter. The idea could catch on, maybe other unions would see it as their obligation to shut down unsafe jobs or see to it that their members don't have to use unsafe equipment.

The UFA's approach is, unfortunately, still the exception and not the rule among union officials. In my opinion, all unions *ought* to do more of what the UFA did. More lives could be saved; more people living a healthier life. And let the *News* lump it.
John Gaige
Newark, New Jersey

Coke ovens

The three articles you ran under the “Union Talk” head on the conditions facing coke oven workers were well received among steelworkers at Stelco's Hilton Works in Hamilton, Canada.

I work in the coke ovens, and when I got the *Militant* I cut out the articles and put them on the union notice board in the mechanical department. A number of workers told me they liked the articles. One of the shop stewards sent away for the “Science for the People” magazine you mentioned right away.

I then photocopied eight other copies and put them up throughout the coke oven production area. I spoke to one production worker I know who said a number of her co-workers were reading the articles.

The fact that the articles stayed up on the bulletin boards and were not ripped down is a sign that workers were sympathetic to their message.

In Ontario, where four of five of the basic steel mills are located (including Stelco's new Naticoke mill), steelworkers have no coke oven emission standards.

The union is currently fighting for the 150 micrograms per cubic meter level the U.S. has apparently had since 1974. The government and the steel barons are opposed to this maximum emission level. This is no surprise to us since the steel barons are big contributors to the Conservative Party, which is in power. The New Democratic Party, a labor party supported by the unions, is backing the steelworkers union's case.

Hopefully, the union will draw in the rank and file to fight for safer conditions since we have the power to get results from the government. An article on this problem will be in the next issue of our local paper, *Steel Shots*, which may help get us pointed in the right direction.

David Johnson
Burlington, Ontario

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'Plow down'

Enclosed is my renewal sub to the *Militant*. I do not want to miss an issue because without the *Militant*, time out here stands still. To be without the timely articles and the news from working-class areas in the U.S. and throughout the world is like experiencing a lost weekend. To listen to the capitalist media news, or to read it, is to discover that there is very little in the news that relates to the goings on in the real world. Keep up the good work.

I attended "an acre per day plow down" on the Kling farm, five and one-half miles east southeast of Granite Falls, Minnesota, on July 4. I feel that this event can lead to fireworks in the future.

The Kling farm is located thirteen and one-half miles from where the first tractor demonstration was held in August 1977 by the American Agriculture Movement. This area has been the seedbed for nearly all protest movements from the early Non-partisan League period of the First World War, to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Farmers' Holiday Movement, and the widespread protest to stop mortgage foreclosures on farms throughout the U.S.; and now the plow down.

Reports had been coming in from Iowa, Kansas, and other states that plow downs would be held in those areas. The purpose of the event, led by Lou Anne Kling, is to plow down "an acre per day" for a week, and then add to this other forms of protest to build a large movement at the grass-roots level.

The small farmer suffers the most. There was little evidence to show that farmers with large acreages were involved.

Some older farmers, like myself, were there. We talked about our Holiday Movement and its relation to the present undertaking. We explained to reporters that many farm foreclosures had been stopped with gatherings much smaller in number than were present that day.

The movement now going on inside the labor movement for a labor party is an encouraging development. Many farmers work in unionized shops to supplement their farm income. Likewise, many workers in industry farm some land.

Working people on the land and working in the urban areas are more alike than they are different today. They are exploited as farmers and they are exploited as workers. This double take is not talked about by either Republican or Democratic politicians. They can talk only about higher profits, and that means even more exploitation.

Yes, by all means a labor party. It is long past due on the American scene.

John Enestvedt
Sacred Heart, Minnesota

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

How Lenin helped Cuba nationalize Esso

This week's column is taken from an article that appeared in the July 6 issue of the English-language weekly edition of *Granma*, the Cuban newspaper.

The article describes how the Cuban revolution nationalized the oil refineries twenty years ago.

It is a tribute to the enormous accomplishments of Lenin and the other revolutionaries who overthrew capitalist rule in Russia over sixty years ago that the nationalized oil industry of Russia could contribute to the Cuban revolution as described in this article.

* * *

By Roberto Alvarez Quiñones

We're now commemorating the 20th anniversary of one of the most shameful chapters in imperialism's long history of attacks against Cuba: the attempt to smother the Cuban Revolution by cutting off the supply of oil to our country. . . .

By mid-1960, large land ownership, both by foreign firms and Cuban latifundists, had been practically eliminated and every sector of the national bourgeoisie had become an ally of the U.S. empire, which was stepping up its efforts to destroy Cuba through economic strangulation.

It was at this point that Washington decided to leave Cuba without fuel in order to paralyze the country's economic life and impose its imperialist will from a position of strength.

Traditionally, the United States has destroyed or overthrown numerous progressive governments, especially in Latin America, through less spectacular and drastic methods. Therefore, blinded by arrogance and underestimating both the power of a real social revolution and the world balance of forces, Washington planned to repeat the formula and put an end to the Cuban Revolution.

In February 1960, with the visit to Cuba of Anastas Mikoyan, vice-president of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, an agreement was signed by virtue of which Cuba would purchase oil from the Soviet Union in exchange for sugar. The price of Soviet oil was much lower than that of the oil supplied by the U.S. monopolies, which had reaped profits in Cuba of tens of millions of dollars every year. On April 17, 1960, the tanker *Andrei Vishinsky* arrived in the Cuban port of Casilda, near Trinidad (in what was then Las Villas province), marking the establishment of the historic 10,000-kilometer USSR-Cuba oil sealift that ruined the imperialists' plans.

On June 6, the U.S. oil firms Standard Oil of New Jersey (ESSO) and Texaco, and the British-Dutch company Royal Dutch Shell, acting in cahoots with the U.S. Government, began their boycott.

Their branches in Cuba informed the Revolutionary Government that they would refine only the oil they themselves supplied and not the oil purchased by Cuba from the USSR. Meanwhile, all three companies suspended their shipments of oil to Cuba. The three refineries (two in Havana and one in Santiago de Cuba) began to refine only the oil they had left in their tanks, which meant that once the reserves were used up, all operations would stop.

However, they got caught in their own trap. In view of the danger involved in the imperialist maneuver, on June 28, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro signed Resolution 188, requiring Texaco to refine the crude oil the Cuban state was purchasing from the USSR, or the Cuban Government would take over the refinery.

On the morning of the following day, June 29, the barge *Marie* sailed across the bay of Santiago de Cuba loaded with 5000 barrels of Soviet crude oil and arrived at the docks of the Texaco refinery. Officials of the Cuban petroleum Institute (ICP) informed Robert T. Carter, Texaco's representative in Santiago de Cuba, that the *Marie* was being followed by another barge, the *Cristina*, loaded with 21,000 barrels, and that the oil had to be refined or else the city of Santiago de Cuba would be left without fuel.

Mr. Carter was reminded of the fact that the Law on Minerals and Fuels, of May 9, 1938, established that refineries had to refine the crude oil the Cuban state supplied them with. When asked if he was familiar with the law, he said he was, but still refused to accept the oil aboard the barge *Marie*, saying that Texaco would not refine Soviet oil.

In view of Mr. Carter's haughty attitude, an ICP official proceeded to inform him that the refinery was being taken over by the Revolutionary Government. Amazed and visibly shaken by the unexpected news, Mr. Carter signed the document and then left the refinery, followed by 13 other U.S. company officials and technicians.

While Mr. Carter was signing the document, another IPC official went to the door and gave a prearranged signal by waving his handkerchief. Immediately, the members of the workers' militia entered the refinery and took positions throughout the plant to prevent acts of sabotage or other actions that might damage the plant.

The Cuban workers in the refinery organized an impromptu ceremony during which the American flag was lowered and the Cuban flag raised. The modern Texaco refinery, built three years before at a cost of 16 million dollars and capable of refining 25,000 barrels of crude oil per day, was now in the hands of the Cuban people.

Meanwhile, back in Havana, when that same day, June 29, ICP officials informed Mr. Clifford Drake, president of the Texaco branch in Cuba, that the refinery was being taken over by the state, he said arrogantly, "On behalf of my company, I object." It was a waste of time, of course. In a revolutionary Cuba, a free and sovereign nation, there was no room for Yankee arrogance.

On July 1, the implementation of Resolution 189 led to similar scenes in the Shell refinery in Regla. This time, the ICP officials made the trip aboard the barge *Irene*, loaded with 5000 barrels of Soviet crude oil. Mr. Baird Smith, head of the Shell branch in Cuba, refused to refine the oil and the refinery—which had not imported a single drop of oil from its Venezuela wells for 17 days—was taken over.

The same thing happened at the ESSO (now Nico López) refinery in Havana, where Resolution 190 was applied. The barge carrying the Soviet oil was the *Gloria*, and the refinery of the Rockefeller's powerful Standard Oil came under the control of the Revolutionary Government.

Thus, in less than 72 hours and thanks to the solidary, fraternal and firm support of the Soviet Union, the Cuban Revolution destroyed the imperialist plans to strangle Cuba's economy. Without a doubt, this was one of the Cuban Revolution's first great counteroffensives against U.S. imperialism.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Blacks patrol Chattanooga

A valuable three-day experience

By August Nimitz
and Janice Prescott

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—For three days during their rebellion in late July, Black people in this city forced the cops to stay out of their community and they patrolled it themselves.

It worked fine.

During those three days there was no problem of shooting or violence. The fact that it stopped when the cops left confirmed where the responsibility for such violence lies.

The turnaround began when local Black leaders invited civil rights leader Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, to come here.

Jackson met with Black leaders and residents to draw up a list of demands to present to Mayor Rose and city officials.

The number one demand was for a "pullout" of police from the Black community.

To replace the cops, Jackson proposed that Black ministers and lay people establish patrols to maintain order. With an explosive rebellion on their hands, city officials agreed. The cops stayed out for three nights and when they did come back it was without their riot gear.

At a church rally at the beginning of those three important days, Jackson told an enthusiastic crowd of 600:

"We can patrol and protect our own communities. We don't want them to have an excuse to come in here trigger-happy.

"If a lot of police cars come into the community tonight," Jackson warned, "violence will beget violence, fire will draw fire, and lives will be lost."

The consensus of the community was that the calm which followed could be attributed to the absence of the cops and the functioning of the community patrols.

Rev. J.C. Bonner, of Westside Baptist Church and an organizer of the patrols, told the *Militant*, "It's the greatest thing to happen for the total community."

Bonner and Rev. M.T. Billingsley, described how the patrols operated.

"The patrols were made up of minis-



Jesse Jackson in Chattanooga: 'If a lot of police cars come into the community tonight, violence will beget violence, fire will draw fire, and lives will be lost. Let the police stay up on the road somewhere. Can we depend on the community?' 'YES!'

ters and lay people. There were eight groups, and the basic monitoring was done by people living in the particular project or area."

Members of the patrol teams wore white armbands and displayed white flags on their cars.

The community, he said, favored the patrols because "they gave us a sense of controlling our destiny. A sense of pride."

The rebellion had begun on July 22 when an all-white jury acquitted two members of the Ku Klux Klan of any charges in the April shooting of four Black women.

A third Klanner, who admitted to the shooting, was convicted on lesser charges and faces as little as nine months in jail and a \$225 fine.

Blacks reacted angrily to the verdict. NAACP President George Key called the outcome, "The greatest travesty of justice in Chattanooga in some time."

"You get more than that for going out there and stealing something," one young Black said.

The rebellion began in the Alton Park area—a major Black community—and spread to other parts of the city. More than 100 Blacks were arrested.

Police cordoned off Alton Park, making it difficult for residents to enter or leave.

One resident, Jean Finley, bitterly said to the *Militant*, "The first thing they do—at the first sign of any controversy—they come in here and hem us in like some kind of animals."

On the third night of the rebellion, SWAT units supported by a helicopter moved in on the Spencer McCallie housing project. They began shooting out street lights and fired tear gas projectiles—forcing Blacks to retreat into the project.

"All night long, you could hear their guns going off," Finley said.

The cops claimed they shot out the lights because they feared being seen and shot at. Finley and other neighbors agreed it was another form of intimidation.

It was at that point that the mayor imposed a city-wide curfew. And it was then that the community pressed the demand for cops out of the community.

Black leaders have presented the city

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SWP rips deal on all-white Greensboro jury

The following is a statement by Douglas Cooper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of North Carolina.

Nine months ago, the nation and the world were shocked by the cold-blooded murder of five Communist Workers Party members at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro. They were gunned down by a goon squad of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members. The shooting occurred in broad daylight, in front of TV cameras, at a public housing project in the heart of Greensboro's Black community.

Today six men—a small fraction of those known to be involved in the attack—await trial on charges of murder and rioting. An all-white jury has been agreed to by the killers' defense lawyers, the judge—and the prosecution. Unless a massive public outcry is heard it is entirely likely that these six racist thugs will be acquitted or convicted on greatly reduced charges.

Why is it that in 1980, after civil rights and equal justice have been supposedly guaranteed us by law, racist forces such as the Klan feel they can get away with murder?

The answer is becoming clearer every day. The state of North Carolina has no intention of seriously prosecuting the murders or preventing

further acts of racist violence. But it is pressing to turn some of the surviving victims into "criminals." Six of the surviving anti-Klan demonstrators have been indicted on frame-up charges of incitement to riot.

These indictments are intended to give credence to the assassins' claim of "self-defense."

Mounting evidence is confirming that the Greensboro police and state and federal authorities have conspired to shield the racists and aid and encourage their acts of violence.

Immediately after the shooting, serious questions were raised.

- Why did the cops not stop and search the armed Klan and Nazi motorcade, which they had had under surveillance since it entered the city?

- Who was the police informer who was present in the Klan group on November 3, and what role did he play in the shooting?

- Why were no cops present on the scene until after the shooting was over—and why were all police cars ordered to the Winsor Community Center rather than to Everett and Carver Drive, the scene of the shooting?

These questions still have not been answered.

Nor have they explained the July 14 revelation

that Bernard Butkovich, an agent of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, was active in the local Nazi Party. He attended meetings where the November 3 confrontation was planned. Butkovich not only urged the Nazis to carry guns to the Greensboro demonstration, but repeatedly offered to supply them with explosives and automatic weapons, to help them set up a commando training center!

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- Prosecute all the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi murderers.

- Drop all charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators.

- Open the files on Bernard Butkovich and all other government agents in the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

On February 2 my party participated in the demonstration of 7,000 demanding justice for the slain anti-Klan activists. We believe that only more protests like this one can force the government to bring these murderers to justice. I am calling for an independent commission of inquiry organized by Black groups, civil liberties organizations, and trade unions, to look into the real role of the Greensboro police and state and federal authorities in the November 3 murders.