

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Nan Bailey: 'True to her revolutionary convictions every day of her life'
— PAGES 6-8

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 83/NO. 2 JANUARY 14, 2019

SWP members gear up to take *Militant*, books door to door

BY ROY LANDERSEN

Members of the Socialist Workers Party are starting the new year with a bang, organizing teams to take the party, its program and its support for working-class struggle to working

SWP SPEAKS IN INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

people on their doorsteps. They are traveling to cities small and large, towns and farming areas in different parts of the country. They are discussing how to resist the only future offered by the political parties of the capitalist rulers — the worsening consequences of debt and wage slavery.

The launching of SWP election campaigns across the country will help advance this work, the central axis of the party's activity. SWP members — and members of sister Communist Leagues in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United

Continued on page 3

Judge affirms *Chicago cops used torture in frame-up case*

BY JOHN HAWKINS

CHICAGO — More than 28 years after his conviction for a double murder he didn't commit, and over eight years after the Illinois Torture Inquiry and Relief Commission ruled that Chicago cops had tortured him into making a false confession, Gerald Reed, now 54, came one step closer to freedom Dec. 19.

Circuit Court Judge Thomas Gainer ruled that Reed's confession was likely the result of the beating he suffered at the hands of Chicago Police Department detectives Victor Breska and Michael Kill. They were both part of former police Commander Jon Burge's notorious "midnight crew."

The torture inquiry commission was set up by the state government in 2009 under pressure from the growing outrage at continuing revelations about decades of Burge's torture and frame-up operations. Burge, who died in September, was fired in 1993 and convicted in federal court in 2010 for

Continued on page 5

Join Socialist Workers Party 2019 campaign!



Militant/George Chalmers

Alyson Kennedy, SWP candidate for Dallas mayor, speaks with Dakotah Luster Dec. 30. "Democrats and Republicans are parties of the bosses," she said. "We need our own party."

US troops out of Middle East, Afghanistan now!

The following statement was issued Jan. 2 by Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Dallas mayor.

SWP STATEMENT

The Socialist Workers Party demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops, bombers and warships from the Middle East and Afghanistan!

The Donald Trump administration's proposed drawdown of U.S. troops from Syria and reduction of U.S. forces in Afghanistan are only a small fraction of the vast weaponry and troop deployments the U.S. rulers keep in the Middle East and elsewhere worldwide. They're ready to unleash this whenever it seems necessary to protect their interests against capitalist rivals and above all against

Continued on page 9

SWP candidates are 'tribunes of the people'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The Socialist Workers Party has announced plans to run candidates for more than a dozen municipal and state offices across the country in 2019, including in Florida, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas and Washington. They will be the only working-class voices in the elections and speak out as tribunes of the people.

"My campaign will not just be about workers who live in Dallas but about working people worldwide," Alyson Kennedy, the SWP candidate for mayor there, said by phone Jan. 1. "Whatever the capitalist rulers do to us here, they do the same thing to working people internationally. That's why I speak out against U.S. wars abroad from Afghanistan to Syria and Iraq. Bring the troops home now!"

Kennedy, a worker at Walmart, was the party's presidential candidate in

Continued on page 9

Los Angeles teachers, supporters rally before Jan. 10 strike deadline



Militant/Deborah Liatos

Teachers marched Dec. 15 demanding more funds for schools, smaller classes, higher pay.

BY LAURA GARZA

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles Unified School District is on a collision course with 34,000 teachers, as their union has set Jan. 10 as the deadline for a new contract or they will go on strike. The district has 640,000 students, the second largest in the country.

Wearing red — the color of teacher strikes and protests last year in West Virginia, Kentucky, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma and elsewhere — a

sea of thousands of teachers and their supporters joined a March for Public Education here Dec. 15.

One teacher wore a sign saying, "Why strike? 50+ students per class. No full-time nurse. No full-time librarian. Overloaded counselors."

"The school board is offering 6 percent, but with strings attached like extra work. We need school nurses. Right now the district only pays for a nurse one day a week," Daisy Fer-

Continued on page 5

Trump plan to draw down troops in Syria, Afghanistan stirs debate

BY TERRY EVANS

President Donald Trump announced plans Dec. 19 to withdraw U.S. troops from Syria and cut by nearly half Washington's forces in Afghanistan. The decision galvanized some in his administration, and pro-war liberal Democrats and Republicans alike, into calling for the troops to remain.

Trump had campaigned on and promised during the presidential election that he would pull U.S. troops out of these "never ending wars." He

Continued on page 4

Also Inside

'Yellow vests' actions continue to press needs of French toilers 2

'Militant' fight against prison censors draws attention 3

The Kurds' decadeslong fight to gain a homeland 4

‘Yellow vest’ actions continue to press needs of French toilers

BY HUGO WILS

LONDON — Thousands of “gilets jaunes” — yellow vests — continue to protest in France, especially in cities and rural areas outside Paris and other large cities, despite government concessions and a police crackdown on roadblocks and roadside encampments in some areas.

“Police shut down the roundabout protests in Dieppe and Forges-Les-Eaux Dec. 16,” Arnold, who had helped *Militant* reporters from the U.K. visit roadblock protests there in mid-December, said in a telephone interview.

In the south of France, *Militant* correspondent Jacques Salfati visited coastal Hyeres, where he reports the protests, though smaller, are still well attended.

“I’m in the countryside near Ales, an industrial town of 40,000 inhabitants inland,” Nat London reported. “I counted about 35 at the Route de Bagnol traffic circle protest. The other four I visited were slightly smaller.”

The French big business media focus on declining participation in the Saturday actions in Paris and some other larger cities — many marked by cop tear gas and violence, and provocations by antifa types. But the bulk of the protests remain in places like Ales, where yellow vests opted to stay put on Saturday rather than join other actions.

“They take us for savages,” one of the demonstrators at a protest camp in Frejus, complained to the south French paper *Var-Matin*. “They’re mistaken.” Many at the protest camp

there had written “We aren’t vandals” on the back of their yellow vests.

Gov’t forced to make concessions

The catalyst for the yellow vest revolt was a hike in vehicle fuel taxes aimed at forcing workers to drive less in the name of “climate change.” The protests forced the government of President Emmanuel Macron to abandon these taxes and other measures he planned to impose. The taxes were, as many workers said, the straw that broke the camel’s back after decades of declining living standards for workers, family farmers and other small proprietors in France. Workers and tradesmen outside of Paris depend on their cars to get to work, to the store, to live.

Macron, a former investment banker, has been a central target of the yellow vests. His disdain for working people is legion, echoing Hillary Clinton calling workers who didn’t vote for her “deplorables.” Macron says their French fellow workers are infected with populist “leprosy.” Workers call him the “president of the rich.” Normally hugging the limelight, Macron has conspicuously pulled back over the last couple of weeks.

Dominique, a retired ironworker and one of the protesters in Ales, railed against “politicians and bankers” like Macron. “The people should have the power to decide for themselves,” he said. Wine merchant Francis called for the nationalization of the telecommunications system, the highways and the largest banks; for raising the minimum wage; and cutting taxes



Vincent Feuray/ABACA/Sipa USA via AP

Yellow vest protesters march in Rennes, France, Dec. 29. “We fight for you,” sign on left says. Protesters continue pressing for further concessions from the French government.

on small businesses.

“The most important thing is living standards, wages and retirement benefits,” 64-year-old Marie-Andree told Nat London. “Everyone should have a livable income when we retire.”

“The anger has not gone away,” Arnold told me on the phone. “While the roadblocks have been cleared in Dieppe and Forges, a farmer sympathetic to the yellow vests provided roadside land for an ongoing visible protest. In nearby Rouen, the region’s capital city, yellow vests have returned over and over after being regularly expelled by the cops. Many have said that they’ll be back in the New Year. So we’ll see.”

Regular acts of solidarity with the yellow vests continue. “On Tuesday an Algerian couple brought us three enormous plates of couscous,” Noel enthusiastically told *Var-Matin* at the camp in Frejus. A couple from Paris, Pierre and Sophie, brought fruit to protesters at the camp.

Protests deepen crisis of EU

The continuing force of the yellow vests revolt has put fear into the souls of capitalist politicians and bourgeois commentators as to the future of the Macron government and to prospects of holding together the European Union, already ripping at its seams.

In a Dec. 30 article in the *Finan-*

cial Times, Wolfgang Munchau lamented Macron’s decline. He called the French president crucial for his “vision for the future of the EU and the eurozone.” But he’s been damaged by having to make concessions to the protesters. “It is not hard to see why he had to do this,” Munchau wrote. But a failure to regain his stature “would probably end any hopes of further European integration for a long time.”

Workers in Bury St Edmunds, a town of 40,000 in East Anglia, 85 miles northeast of London, had quite a different reaction to the gains won by the yellow vests. “We need to be doing something like that here,” retired construction worker Ronald Hubbard told Communist League members who knocked on his door Dec. 29 to introduce the party.

Discounted books for prisoners

Pathfinder Press offers books at a 50% discount plus \$2.75 shipping per order. Prisoners can mail their prepaid orders to: Pathfinder Press, PO Box 162767 Atlanta GA 30321-2767 Friends and family members can order for them online. For more info:

www.pathfinderpress.com

The Militant

Vol. 83/No. 2

Closing news date: January 2, 2019

Editor: John Studer

Editorial volunteers: Róger Calero, Terry Evans, Seth Galinsky, Emma Johnson, Martin Koppel, Jacob Perasso, Brian Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in January, one week in June, one week in July, one week in September, one week in December.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.
Telephone: (212) 244-4899
Fax: (212) 244-4947
E-mail: themilitant@mac.com
Website: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: United States: For one year send \$35 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: For one year send \$85 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

Africa, Asia, and the Middle East: For one year send \$85 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

Canada: For one year send Canadian \$45 to the Militant, 7107 St. Denis #204, Montreal, Quebec H2S 2S5.

United Kingdom: Send £26 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London, 2nd Floor, 83 Kingsland High St., Dalston, London, E8 2PB, England.

Republic of Ireland and Continental Europe: Send £85 for one year by check or international money order made out to CL London at above address.

France: Send 100 euros for one year to Diffusion du Militant, BP 10130, 75723 Paris Cedex 15.

New Zealand and the Pacific Islands: Send NZ\$55 for one year to P.O. Box 13857, Auckland 1643, New Zealand.

Australia: Send A\$70 for one year to Suite 22, 10 Bridge St., Granville NSW 2142, Australia.

Submissions to the *Militant* may be published in the newspaper in print and digital format. By submitting, authors represent that their submissions are original and consent to publication in this manner.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*’s views. These are expressed in editorials.

THE MILITANT

Solidarity is crucial to build the unions!

The resolute fight by mental health clinicians across California during their recent 5-day strike for more staff and better patient care won solidarity from other workers. The ‘Militant’ champions the struggles of workers across the country and worldwide.



Militant/Dennis Richter
Health workers picket Kaiser’s Los Angeles Medical Center Dec. 12 during 5-day strike.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

☐ \$5 for 12 issues

RENEWAL

☐ \$10 for 12 weeks

☐ \$20 for 6 months

☐ \$35 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

PHONE E-MAIL

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT,
306 W. 37TH ST., 13TH FLOOR NEW YORK, NY 10018.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia, A\$10 • United Kingdom, £3 • Canada, Can\$7 • Caribbean and Latin America, US\$10 • Continental Europe, £10 • France, 8 euros • New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, NZ\$7 • All other areas, US\$16 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

SWP uses ‘Militant,’ books

Continued from front page

Kingdom — introduce the *Militant* and books by leaders of the SWP and other revolutionary working-class fighters. They offer to keep in touch and work together to join labor struggles, actions against police brutality, for the rights of women, and more.

Paul Mailhot, Willie Cotton and Sara Lobman from New York went to Middletown and Ellenville, 80 miles north of the city, Dec. 30 where they met with Rey Virgen, a hardwood floor finisher. He had subscribed to the *Militant* and got a couple of books from Lobman at a national protest in support of the rights of immigrant workers in Washington, D.C., a year ago.

“I used to work more with groups in New York City,” he said. “But they weren’t interested in the things that were most important to us, especially the ability of immigrants to get driver’s licenses to work and get around. In NYC people take the subway and buses. They’re more concerned with the cost of housing and things like that. But here, if you can’t drive, you can’t do anything.”

He was excited to discuss the yellow vest protesters in France, who pushed back against a rise in gas taxes making it harder for workers to drive.

Virgen renewed his *Militant* subscription for six months and purchased *The Clintons’ Anti-Working-Class Record* by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes. He was interested in its explanation of the 2016 elections. “We need people who come out of our struggles to run for office,” he said.

This is one of five books SWP campaigners offer at a special price, along with *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* and *Are They Rich Because They’re Smart?* also by Barnes; *Is Socialist Revolution in the US Possible?* by SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters; and “*It’s the Poor Who Face the Savagery of the US ‘Justice’ System*”: *The Cuban Five Talk About Their Lives Within the US Working Class*.

These books are central to understanding the economic and political crisis wracking the capitalist system today and a course to change it.

Virgen invited Seth Galinsky, Social-

ist Workers Party candidate for Public Advocate in New York City, to speak at his group’s next meeting.

US rulers’ wars abroad and at home

Campaigning in Spanaway, Washington, Socialist Workers Party members Rachel Wilson and Jeanne Fitzmaurice met Drake, a young hydraulic mechanic. Conditions in Spanaway, an hour’s drive south of Seattle, are interlinked with the sprawling Lewis-McChord joint army and air force base nearby.

Wilson and Fitzmaurice asked Drake’s opinion about President Donald Trump’s intention to withdraw some U.S. troops from Syria and Afghanistan. “They should stay to help secure the area and to rebuild,” he said, adding that he was “not for U.S. forces being there, but they can’t leave like this.”

Wilson explained that “the magazine *New International* describes how reactionary Islamic State and al-Qaeda terror groups emerged because of the vacuum of working-class leadership today.”

“The war needs to end for workers to begin to organize. It’s working people who have to deal with the problems they face, from rebuilding to preventing the return of IS and confronting their own ruling capitalist class. The U.S. rulers care only for their imperial interests against their rivals. They care neither for the needs of working people there nor for all too many of the vets who come



Luis Antonio, an unemployed mechanic, talks with SWP members Lea Sherman and John Staggs, right, in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, Dec. 19. “Every politician in this political system is corrupted by big business and the only way to change this is to make a revolution,” Antonio said.

back shattered.”

“I am against how they treat the vets,” Drake said. He got two issues of the *Militant*, asking to stay in touch.

Many workers ask SWP campaigners if there is any place in the world where workers and farmers fought successfully to control their own destiny. We explain that the Cuban Revolution is an example for all workers and farmers. It shows how we can make a socialist revolution in the U.S. and elsewhere.

SWP members join with others to defend the Cuban Revolution and build the April 21-May 5 International May Day

brigade, an opportunity for workers and young people to learn about the revolution and its 60-year history firsthand.

This column reflects discussions SWP and Communist League campaigners have among working people they engage with every week. Readers are welcome to send in reports about door-to-door experiences and plans to expand the reach of the party, its campaigns, newspaper and books.

To join with us and to find out more about the May Day brigade, contact the SWP or Communist League branch nearest you. (See directory on page 5.)

‘Militant’ fight against prison censors draws attention

BY SETH GALINSKY

“While literature lovers across the world say reading expands the mind, for inmates the list of acceptable reading material only expands so far,” reporter Anne Easker writes in a Dec. 24 feature in the daily *Charlotte Sun*, published in Port Charlotte, Florida, titled “Security or Censorship?” Easker says the state Department of Corrections has upheld the ban on nearly 76 percent of the 9,637 books and periodicals impounded by local prison officials over the last six years.

The impoundments include at least 18 issues of the *Militant* in the last two years. The paper appealed each one,

reaching out for support from civil liberties organizations, church groups, unionists and others. As a result the *Militant* succeeded in getting the prison system’s Literature Review Committee to overturn all but five of the bans.

“Workers behind bars have a right to read a wide variety of views and literature — including the *Militant*’s view that working people need to organize to take political power out of the hands of the capitalist class,” *Militant* editor John Studer said Jan. 1. “We are part of important fights for inmates’ right to get papers, magazines and books of their choosing to be better prepared to join in the working-class movement to change society.”

The American Civil Liberties Union of Florida is one of many organizations that have spoken out against the censorship of books and periodicals, including the *Militant*.

“To put individuals into this system and then not allow them to read and understand the history and what has caused this crisis we’re in today really seems inappropriate to me,” Raymer Maguire, Campaign for Criminal Justice Reform manager for the ACLU of Florida, told the *Sun*.

Department of Corrections press secretary Patrick Manderfield told Easker that he simply enforces the rules that allow banning publications “found to be detrimental to the security, order or disciplinary or rehabilitative interests” of the prisons.

Easker brings attention to the arbitrariness of much of the censorship. *Fifty Shades of Gray*, an erotic novel, is permitted, but *The New Jim Crow* by Michelle Alexander and *Black Klansman* by Ron Stallworth — books that

deal with the fight for Black rights — were banned.

Support for anti-censorship fight

Easker interviewed Studer and Chris Finan, executive director of the National Coalition Against Censorship, about the growing support for the *Militant*’s effort to get Florida officials to stop censoring the paper.

“Though NCAC typically focuses its efforts more on rights of young people to access materials and the censorship of art,” Easker writes, “Finan said the coalition was happy to join in the cause fighting censorship in prison, where he said there’s been a lot of abuse and not enough guidance from the courts.”

The *Sun* article also reports on a lawsuit by *Prison Legal News*, which has been completely banned from Florida prisons for years, allegedly because its advertising includes pen pal services and the purchase of products with postage stamps.

As the public outcry against censorship of the *Militant* increased, Florida officials haven’t blocked the paper since the Sept. 17 issue.

“Our success shows that it’s possible to defend the right for prisoners to read political news of your choosing,” said *Militant* editor Studer. “Keep the letters of support for our fight coming.”

Fight Florida prison censorship

Get out the word. Distribute copies of *Militant* articles on this fight.

Get statements of support for the *Militant*’s appeal from unions, churches and defenders of workers rights and free speech. Send to: themilitant@mac.com

Send a check to the *Militant*, 306 W. 37th St., 13th floor, New York, NY 10018, earmarked “Prisoners Rights Fight.”

Books on special offer...

Below: \$7 each, \$5 with subscription. Normally \$10.

At left: \$15, \$10 with subscription. Normally \$20.

See list of distributors on page 5
For full catalog visit:
www.pathfinderpress.com

US troops in Syria, Afghanistan

Continued from front page

tweeted Dec. 31, “Just doing what I said I was going to do.”

Such a move doesn’t mean the U.S. rulers aim to give up defense of their position in the Middle East and South Asia. They have a series of bases; some 50,000 troops; massive armories of missiles, bombs and artillery; hundreds of warplanes; and the Fifth Fleet all deployed there.

Trump told Fox News Dec. 31 that Washington would remain fully engaged in Syria and the region. “We have other bases in the general area,” he said. “In particular, we have one in Iraq.”

The U.S. rulers’ intervention in Syria followed the two wars they fought in Iraq and their 17-year-long war in Afghanistan. In each conflict they acted on the illusion that they had won the Cold War and could impose subservient governments wherever they chose. But Washington’s wars in Iraq furthered the breakup of the imperialist-imposed order in the Middle East. The U.S. rulers also failed to defeat the Taliban and extend the rule of the Afghan government across the country.

The devastating results of the Syrian civil war fall most heavily on working people. As does the efforts of the Iranian rulers to extend their counterrevolutionary reach by sending their military forces and proxy militias into the conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Yemen.

The Socialist Workers Party has long demanded the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Afghanistan, Syria and elsewhere around the Mideast. In a statement “Solidarity with the Working People of Syria,” published in the *Militant* in 2016, the party’s presidential candidate, Alyson Kennedy, said: “Syrian toilers need the space to mobilize in political action, to learn in struggle, to be transformed from victims into conscious actors in history. All the imperialist and capitalist forces intervening in Syria today are obstacles to this course. We oppose the U.S. rulers’ involvement in the war in Syria and Iraq and call for Washington, its allies and others — from London and Paris to Moscow, Ankara and Tehran — to withdraw their warplanes, ships and troops now.”

U.S. rulers’ role in Syria war

Washington relied on the Kurdish People’s Protection Units (YPG) to lead the ground fighting to drive Islamic State from its Syrian strongholds. The U.S. rulers were unwilling to pay the political price in deaths and injuries by deploying its own ground forces. Instead, they provided arms

and air cover to the YPG and stationed their small troop deployment in areas of eastern Syria that the YPG controls. The Kurds are an oppressed people who have fought for their national rights against the rulers in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, as well as in Syria.

During Syria’s civil war the YPG carved out an autonomous Kurdish zone that the Syrian government vows to retake. Their territory lies on the border of the Kurdish-majority region in Turkey.

Ankara threatens war on Kurds

With Trump’s withdrawal announcement, the YPG feared it would be left to face attacks from the capitalist rulers in Turkey. The government of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has massed troops and tanks on the border and pledged to invade and destroy the YPG, fearing its gains will inspire Kurds in Turkey to step up efforts to win autonomy there.

In the wake of the Trump administration’s announcement of plans to pull out, the Turkish government said it would hold off its threatened assault on the YPG. Around 300 Syrian government troops were deployed to the outskirts of Manbij in late December, after the YPG called on the Syrian government to defend the town from Ankara’s threatened assault. For now U.S.-led coalition jets and attack helicopters continue to fly over the area and the YPG-led Manbij Military Council controls the town.

The U.S. administration is pressing the Turkish regime to back off its invasion threats and take more responsibility for assuring “stability” in Syria. When Trump told Erdogan on the phone he intended to withdraw, he said, “It’s yours,” the *Washington*



Reuters/Hassan Abdallah

Syrian child in refugee camp, in Lebanon, 2014. Yearslong war grew out of Syrian dictatorship’s brutal assault on popular rebellion, and interventions by Washington, Tehran, Moscow and other capitalist powers, leading to over 400,000 killed and millions driven from their homes.

Post reported.

The 2,000 troops Washington says it will withdraw from Syria are not central to its drive against the Iranian rulers expanding military influence. Trump dispatched Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to meet with Israeli President Benjamin Netanyahu Jan. 1 to organize stepped-up collaboration in the region.

“The counter I[s]lamic S[tate] campaign continues, our efforts to counter Iranian aggression continues, and our commitment to Middle East stability and the protection of Israel continues in the same way,” Pompeo told Netanyahu.

Days after the troop withdrawal announcement, the Israeli rulers Dec. 25 bombed an arms depot controlled by the Iranian Revolutionary Guard near Damascus, the Syrian capital.

And the U.S. rulers are having success in forcing their capitalist rivals to go along with their expanding sanctions on Iran, which have sharply affected the

country’s oil exports. The subsequent rise in prices of basic necessities has hit working people there hard.

The president’s withdrawal announcement was opposed by forces within his own administration who disagree with his general course. Defense Secretary James Mattis resigned.

The announcement was also denounced by Republican Sen. Lindsey Graham, who claimed it was “a big gift” to Tehran and the Iranian rulers’ moves to expand their reach.

Trump placated some of his critics when he said the U.S. withdrawal would be done “slowly,” taking at least four months, to assure it is done in a “safe and orderly” manner. After meeting with Trump Dec. 30, Graham backtracked on his criticism.

Both the administration and its opponents who press for more direct military intervention seek to advance the predatory interests of the U.S. capitalist rulers.

The Kurds’ decadeslong fight to gain a homeland

BY TERRY EVANS

The Donald Trump administration’s announced intention to draw down U.S. troops from Syria has been portrayed by many media outlets as an unexpected betrayal of Kurdish forces who have been the key troops in the fight to liberate areas of Syria seized by Islamic State.

In fact the U.S. rulers have a decadeslong record backing the suppression of the Kurds’ fight for national rights as Washington seeks to create stability for its imperialist interests in the region. On occasion, Washington has provided aid to Kurds when doing so advanced their own predatory objectives in the Middle East.

Some 30 million Kurds live in an area divided among the rulers of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Kurds were denied a homeland after the fall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the first imperialist world war. The British and French rulers carved up the region to serve their imperialist interests.

As the capitalist ruling families in these Mideast countries threw off colonial and semicolonial control over their country’s resources, they sought to bolster their rule and defend the territory under their control by maintaining subjugation of the Kurdish people.

In Syria the Assad family’s Baathist Party regime denied citizenship and language rights to hundreds of thousands of Kurds in the 1960s. It confiscated land owned by Kurds and settled Arabs on it, dispersing the country’s Kurdish

population to undermine their fight for national rights.

A popular revolution swept Iran in 1979, overthrowing the U.S.-backed regime of the shah and unleashing advances for the workers’ movement, for women and for Kurds and other oppressed nationalities. In the course of the revolution, councils of working people were established nationwide, including in Kurdish areas. The capitalist rulers responded with counterrevolutionary assaults and imposition of brutal repression in the Kurdish region, which continues today.

Rebellions against the Turkish rulers’ suppression of Kurds’ national rights in 1925 and again in 1937-38 were put down in blood. Since 1984 the Turkish government has unleashed a reign of terror in response to an armed struggle initiated by the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a party with Stalinist roots. Some 40,000 people have been killed in this ongoing conflict.

For decades the oppressed Kurds in Iraq had fought regime after regime. As part of the wars launched by the U.S. rulers there beginning in 1991, Washington occasionally found it useful to back Kurds fighting for autonomy to weaken the Saddam Hussein regime. But when the Kurds revolted and drove out Baghdad’s forces, Washington stepped aside and allowed Saddam’s regime to unleash its troops, bombers and gas attacks against the rebel population. Thousands were killed in Halabja when Saddam’s regime carried out a deadly chemical

weapons attack on March 16, 1988.

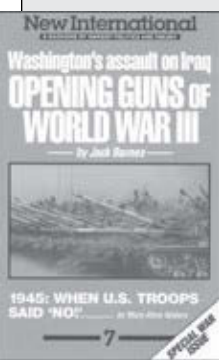
An unintended consequence of the decadeslong wars the U.S. rulers have waged against the people of Iraq has been the establishment of a semi-autonomous Kurdish region. But when the Kurds voted overwhelmingly for independence in a September 2017 referendum, Washington stood aside when the Turkish, Iraqi and Iranian governments joined forces to prevent its implementation.

Despite decades of repression the capitalist rulers across the region have failed to crush the Kurds’ national aspirations. The fight for their national rights can advance when it is backed by struggles by working people against landlord and capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination, as opposed to searching for sponsorship from the capitalist rulers. The history of the Kurds’ heroic struggle for sovereignty has shown time and again there is no future in relying on “allies” in Washington.

Opening Guns of World War III: Washington’s Assault on Iraq

by Jack Barnes

In *New International* no. 7



“The Kurdish people have come to the center stage in world politics as never before, not primarily as victims, but as courageous and determined fighters for national rights.”
—Jack Barnes

\$14. Also in Farsi, French, Spanish, Swedish

www.pathfinderpress.com

— CALENDAR —

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Celebrate the 60th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Speakers include Miguel Fraga, first secretary of the Cuban Embassy. Cultural performance by Kuumba Lynx. Information on May Day International Volunteer Work Brigade to Cuba. Sat., Jan. 26. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Donation: \$10. *SEIU Union Hall*, 2229 S. Halsted St. Tel: (312) 952-2618. Sponsored by the Chicago Cuba Coalition.

LA teachers fight for contract

Continued from front page

nandez, a teacher who works coaching and aiding other educators at an elementary school, told the *Militant*. “Schools have to choose between having the school psychologist there more than one day a week or the school nurse.”

“In high school level classes there are more than 50 students in some classes. Who wants to teach that class?” she added. Cuts in class size, additional funding, a boost in the number of nurses, counselors, social workers and librarians, a 6.5 percent raise with no strings attached, and more accountability for charter schools — which are publicly funded but privately operated — are among the demands United Teachers Los Angeles is making.

“I live in a one-bedroom apartment and the rent has gone up,” said Dan Gonzales, who has been a teacher for 22 years and works at Vena Avenue Elementary School in Arleta. “A percentage of every one of my paychecks goes to educational materials. We’re asking for a cost-of-living raise. I work during breaks to prepare for class. I have 25 children in my class.”

The new school superintendent of the L.A. Unified School District is Austin Beutner, a millionaire former investment banker who served in the Clinton administration and is known for his support for charter schools. He has claimed the district does not have the money for what the teachers are asking.

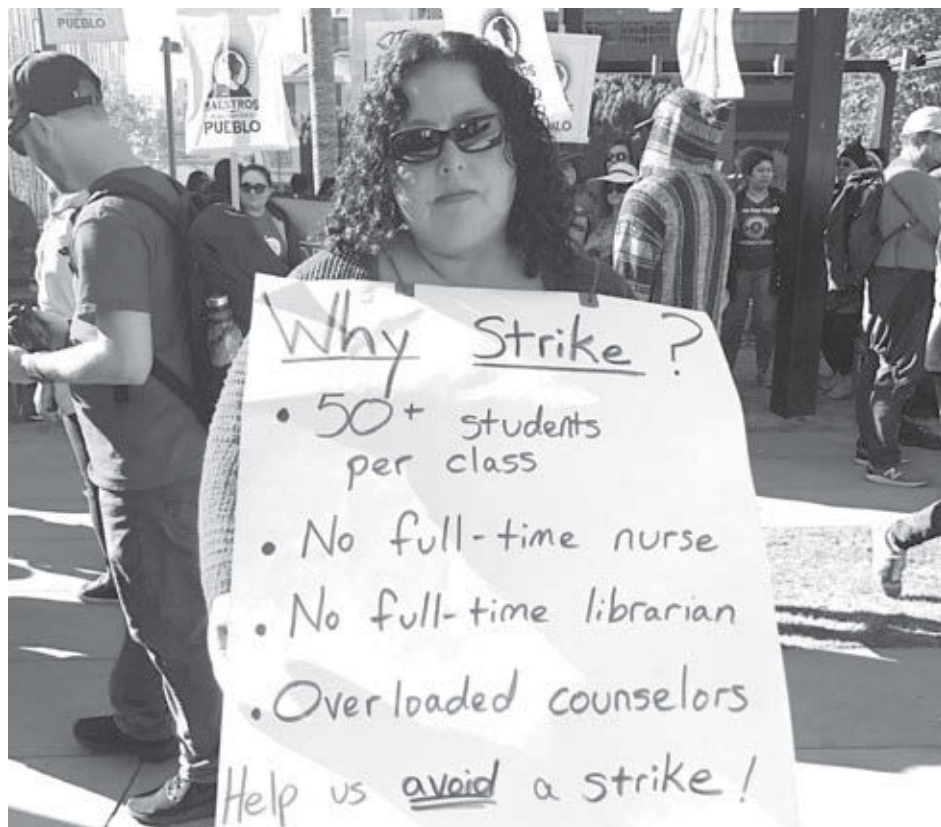
The schools reopen after the holiday break on Jan. 7. “We have hired substitutes, we have made plans as to alternate curriculums for days that

there is a strike,” Beutner told the *Los Angeles Daily News*. He said they’ve hired 400 nonunion substitutes to keep schools open.

“It is outrageously irresponsible for Supt. Austin Beutner to force this strike when the district holds \$1.9 billion in reserves,” the union replied in a statement. “It is even more irresponsible to think that 400 substitutes can educate more than 600,000 students.”

Meanwhile, union teachers from San Francisco, San Jose, Berkeley, Alameda, Santa Cruz, Oakland and Elk Grove gathered in Oakland Dec. 15 to discuss how to press the state government for more funds for schools.

And teachers in Virginia have called for a #RedForEd march in Richmond, the state capital, Jan. 28 to protest school funding cuts and low wages. The action, set on a Monday, is sponsored by Virginia Educators United.



Militant/Laura Garza

Thousands of teachers and supporters rallied Dec. 15 in Los Angeles for a new contract. Union has set Jan. 10 as strike deadline. “We’re asking for a cost-of-living raise,” said teacher Dan Gonzales. “A percentage of every one of my paychecks goes to educational materials.”

Judge rules Chicago cops used torture in frame-up case

Continued from front page

obstruction of justice and lying about his years of torture. He was sentenced to four and a half years in prison.

In 2015 the Chicago City Council voted unanimously to acknowledge the cops’ use of electroshock, beatings, suffocation and Russian roulette and set up a special fund to pay reparations to victims of Burge’s brutality.

Reed, who is African-American, appeared in court in a wheelchair, the result of an injury he sustained after being arrested for the 1990 murders of Pamela Powers and Willie Williams and the subsequent brutality-marked “interrogation” by Breska and Kill.

Reed described how the two detectives shouted racist epithets as they threatened him with the death penalty. He said that Breska knocked a chair out from under him and repeatedly kicked Reed in the right leg, dislodging a metal rod that had been implanted after he suffered a gunshot wound years earlier.

Reed testified that the beating stopped only when Kill, who had been out of the room, returned and pulled Breska off him. Kill never reported the beating. Medical records showing that Reed suffered the injury after his arrest did not surface until more than 20 years later.

Judge Gainer rejected attempts by

Cook County special prosecutors Robert Milan and Lawrence Rosen to discredit Reed’s claim that he was tortured. Gainer said correctional officer Clarence English testified he had seen Reed laying on the floor in the jail. Reed told English he had been beaten by police.

Nonetheless prosecutors announced Dec. 21 they would press forward with their frame-up case against Reed. He remains in jail pending a bond hearing Jan. 9. Prosecutors said they would fight against Reed’s release.

“The conclusions of the torture commission clearly show that Gerald Reed’s claim of torture, which he first made in 1992 when he tried to get his confession thrown out, is credible,” Andrea Lyons, Reed’s former attorney, told the *Militant* after a 2012 court hearing. “In fact, the report clearly shows that not only was he coerced to confess, but other witnesses were coerced into giving false testimony against him.

“Without the confession and the false statements, the state has no evidence,” she said.

In a separate case, Arnold Day, another African-American from Chicago’s South Side, won his freedom Dec. 19 after Judge Peggy Chiampas ruled that he was forced by other cops in Burge’s “midnight crew” to make a false confes-

sion to two murders he didn’t commit.

Chiampas had overturned Day’s conviction the day before, two years after the torture inquiry commission ruled his claim of torture was credible. Prosecutors in Day’s case agreed not to refile charges against him and he was released after nearly 25 years behind bars.

— LETTERS —

Reader points in right direction

I believe that the article in the Jan, 7, 2019, issue of the *Militant* titled “Walmart Worker Hits Bosses’ Abuses Over Intercom” did not belong in the On the Picket Line column.

The article describes how a worker used the store intercom to voice his grievances and announce that he was quitting his job. It gives *Militant* readers the idea that his action is an example for other workers in how to deal with their problems in the workplace.

The action of this young worker in response to his grievances, however justified, did nothing to increase the confidence of workers or move in the direction of collective action toward organizing a union to advance our interests.

Compare this article to the front-page article of the same issue where Amazon workers and their supporters in Minnesota rallied in front of a distribution warehouse opposing speedup and demanding that they be treated with dignity. They used their collective strength to win public support, including from the Service Employees International Union and the Teamsters. Their action is the kind of example *Militant* readers and other workers can learn from.

Edwin Fruit

Seattle, Washington

Editor’s note: The reader is right, the article didn’t help point a road forward for workers in dealing with the attacks of the bosses, we shouldn’t have run it.

‘Militant’ Prisoners’ Fund

The fund makes it possible to send prisoners reduced rate subscriptions. Send a check or money order payable to the Militant and earmarked “Prisoners’ Fund” to 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018. Or donate online at www.themilitant.com

Now available online!

New International

A magazine of Marxist politics and theory, 1934 to present

Articles, polemics and reports by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and world communist movement. A wealth of political material bringing lessons of 80 years of the working-class movement to today’s fighters.

Links at themilitant.com and pathfinderpress.com

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find distributors of the *Militant*, *New International*, and a full display of Pathfinder books.

UNITED STATES

CALIFORNIA: **Oakland:** 675 Hegenberger Road, Suite 250. Zip: 94621. Tel: (510) 686-1351. Email: swpoak@sbcglobal.net **Los Angeles:** 2826 S. Vermont. Suite 1. Zip: 90007. Tel: (323) 643-4968. Email: swpla@att.net

FLORIDA: **Miami:** P.O. Box 380641 Zip: 33238. Tel: (305) 420-5928. Email: swpmiami@icloud.com

GEORGIA: **Atlanta:** 777 Cleveland Ave. SW Suite 103. Zip: 30315. Tel: (678) 528-7828. Email: swpatlanta@fastmail.com

ILLINOIS: **Chicago:** 1858 W. Cermak Road, 2nd floor. Zip: 60608. Tel: (312) 455-0111. Email: SWPChicago@fastmail.fm

KENTUCKY: **Louisville:** Email: louisvilleswp@gmail.com

MINNESOTA: **St. Paul:** 1821 University Ave. W Suite S-106A. Zip: 55104. Tel: (651) 340-5586. Email: twincities.swp@gmail.com

NEBRASKA: **Lincoln:** P.O. Box 6811.

Zip: 68506. Tel: (402) 217-4906. Email: swplincn@windstream.net

NEW JERSEY: P.O. Box 308. Union City. Zip: 07087. Tel: (551) 257-5753. swpnewjersey@gmail.com

NEW YORK: **New York:** 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor. Zip: 10018. Tel: (646) 964-4793. Email: newyorkswp@gmail.com **Albany:** P.O. Box 8304. Zip: 12208. Tel: (518) 810-1586. Email: albanyswp@gmail.com

PENNSYLVANIA: **Philadelphia:** 2824 Cottman Ave., Suite 16. Zip: 19149. Tel: (215) 708-1270. Email: philaswp@verizon.net

TEXAS: **Dallas:** P.O. Box 210524 Zip: 75211. Tel: (469) 620-0706. Email: dallasswp@gmail.com

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 7603 Georgia Ave. NW, Suite 300. Zip: 20012. Tel: (202) 536-5080. Email: swp.washingtondc@verizon.net

WASHINGTON: **Seattle:** 5418 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Email: swpseattle@gmail.com

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: Suite 22, 10 Bridge St.,

Granville, NSW 2142. Tel: (02) 8677 0108. Email: cl_australia@optusnet.com.au

CANADA

QUEBEC: **Montreal:** 7107 St. Denis #204 H2S 2S5. Tel: (514) 272-5840. Email: clcmontreal@fastmail.com **BRITISH COLUMBIA:** **Vancouver:** 190 E. 48th Ave., Suite 201A. V5W 2C8. Tel: (604) 322-4223. Email: cllcVancouver@fastmail.fm

FRANCE

Paris: BP 10130, 75723 Paris Cedex 15. Email: militant.paris@gmail.com

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 188a Onehunga Mall, Onehunga. Postal address: P.O. Box 13857, Auckland 1643. Tel: (09) 636-3231. Email: clauck@xtra.co.nz

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND: **London:** 5 Norman Road (first floor). Seven Sisters. Post code: N15 4ND. Tel: Tel: 020-3538 8900. Email: cllondon@fastmail.fm **Manchester:** Unit 9, Progress Centre, Charlton Place. Post code: M12 6HS. Tel: (0161) 258-2569. Email: clmanchr@gmail.com

Nan Bailey: ‘True to her revolutionary convictions every day of her life’

BY BERNIE SENTER

LOS ANGELES—“Selfless, disciplined, and loving to a fault, Nan Bailey remained true to her revolutionary convictions every day of her adult life,” wrote Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in his message to a celebration of her five decades of building and leading the communist movement. The Dec. 30 event was held at the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center here, in a glass-walled room looking out on a beautiful garden.

Bailey died Dec. 12 at age 66. “Nan knew the party is indispensable to the working-class march to taking political power out of the hands

of the brutal U.S. ruling class,” Norton Sandler told the audience, speaking on behalf of the SWP National Committee, the party’s leading body. Bailey served on the National Committee for 18 years. Over her years in the party, she shouldered responsibilities leading its work in strengthening trade unions, in defense of Black rights, in propaganda activity among working people and SWP election campaigns, and on many other fronts.

Among the 100 in attendance were comrades who worked with Bailey for many years, as well as dozens of co-workers, friends, and family members spanning generations, including those of her partner Hector Gomez.

Participants provided food, flowers and beverages, and browsed a display reviewing the political activity Bailey had joined in and helped lead. Some pulled out phones and cameras to photograph the four panels. They looked through booklets of the 20 messages from across the U.S. and other countries.

“I knew she was involved in all these things,” said Morgan Jones, Bailey’s niece from Baltimore, as she pored over the display. “But Nan would never talk about herself.”

“It is impressive all the things she did,” said Bailey’s neighbor Inez Trujillo, who came with her husband Hector and child.

An ‘army brat’

“Nan Bailey was an ‘army brat,’” said Barnes at the opening of his message. With her father a career military man, her family lived abroad for much of her early years.

“She was tough,” Barnes said. “As a small child she was formed as much by Japanese communities she lived in overseas and later, a little bit older, by French communities, as she was by Americans.” That rearing was among the reasons, he said, that Bailey “could not imagine her party *not* doing political work in the ranks of the armed forces.” (See Barnes’s message, which Sandler read at the meeting, on facing page.)

Bailey joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1970 at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, and the Socialist Workers Party soon afterward. Taking advantage of Brown’s “independent study” program and “pass or fail” grading system, she spent most of her



Militant photos: top, Eric Simpson. Top, Nan Bailey, SWP's 1974 candidate for Washington, D.C., mayor, debates Marion Barry, left, who later became city's first Black mayor. Left, September 1988 rally to drop frame-up rape charges against Mark Curtis, seated at left. Jack Barnes at podium. Bailey, second from right, joined defense of Curtis that won worldwide support.

four college years building the SWP in Washington, D.C., occasionally returning to Providence.

SWP leader James Harris from Washington, D.C., told the crowd he first met Bailey in 1971 when she was there building the April 24 march against the U.S. rulers’ war in Vietnam, an action that turned out to be well more than half-a-million-strong. “These were exciting times with big events, with a lot of loud and bombastic people,” Harris said. “You could get pushed around and ignored. But not Nan. She was determined to take her place in the movement of the times.”

Bailey debated Marion Barry on TV in 1974 when she was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., Harris said — one of several times she ran for public office on the SWP ticket. Before federal officials gutted equal-time rules for candidates outside the bosses’ parties in the 1980s, Harris said, “our campaigns got extensive media coverage. People would greet Nan on the street, often telling her what they liked or didn’t like about what she said.”

Bailey was a coordinator for the D.C. Women’s National Abortion Action Coalition. WONAAC organized teach-ins, marches and protests in defense of a woman’s right to choose.

Defense of Black rights

In 1974 federal courts implemented orders to desegregate Boston schools by busing students who were Black to schools in neighborhoods that were predominantly Caucasian. “The ruling was met by big racist mobilizations, aimed at rolling back gains won by Blacks in the 1950s and 1960s and inciting violence against busing plans in other cities,” Harris said. “Opponents of busing demonstrated in the thousands, and thugs stoned buses, often with approval of city authorities.”

This was nothing like today’s false claims of rising “white nationalist” actions, Harris said. “We were mobilizing against real, organized, and large racist violence in the streets.”

“Nan spoke on campuses around the country,” Harris said, “and helped organize the party and YSA as we joined and helped lead the campaign that broke

the back of the racist violence. There were mass countermobilizations in Boston and other cities, as well as defense teams on the school buses themselves, with union involvement.”

Bailey helped lead the SWP’s participation in the National Black Independent Political Party, founded in 1980 at a conference of 1,500. NBIPP grew out of the proletarian battles that ended Jim Crow segregation, Harris said. It adopted a far-reaching charter to advance the interests of the Black community and beyond, setting an example for all working people of class independence from the capitalist state and parties.

NBIPP organized for a few years before many of its leaders cut and ran under pressure back to the Democratic Party. “Nan always remained objective and calm during those debates, often heated ones,” Harris said.

Building a proletarian party

Mary Martin, a leader of the SWP’s union work today, talked about Bailey’s activity in the late 1990s organizing the



Militant/ Elizabeth Laricy. Bailey, SWP candidate for California governor at time, joins 2002 L.A. protest demanding amnesty and no deportations.

party’s Trade Union Committee. While working at an aerospace plant in Seattle organized by the International Association of Machinists, “Nan helped form a women’s committee in the local,” Martin said. “The SWP saw this as a way to strengthen the union, to advance the fight for women’s equality, including in the workplace, and to build the party.”

In a victory for both women and men on the job, the committee drew up demands against the company’s draconian attendance policy, which especially victimized women with children and other family responsibilities. “They pushed the company back and won,” she said. The committee also organized a program on domestic violence, attended by hundreds of coworkers.

In 1999 Bailey led a four-month party campaign to get 1,500 copies

‘Selfless, disciplined, loving to a fault’

Below is the letter from Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, read to the celebration by Norton Sandler.

December 30, 2018

TO FRIENDS, FAMILY, AND COMRADES GATHERED IN LOS ANGELES TO CELEBRATE THE LIFE OF NAN BAILEY:

Nan Bailey was an “army brat.” She was tough. As a small child she was formed as much by Japanese communities she lived in overseas and later, a little bit older, by French communities, as she was by Americans.

She always said the US imperialist army knew what they were doing when they changed and said you couldn’t take your families with you abroad. This was part of the supposed “lean, mean, killing machine” they sought. Nan, like her comrade and fellow “brat” Osborne Hart, of course, could not imagine her party *not* doing political work in the ranks of the armed forces.

At the same time, this “army brat” was a beautiful person who searched out beauty in nature, art, and in people. Your choice of the location for this meeting to celebrate her life is fitting to this side of Nan.

Nan learned French and had a lot of French tastes — and taste. And she parlayed this knowledge to more easily learn Spanish — on the job, in socializing with coworkers and friends, and at the Socialist Workers Party leadership school she attended at the beginning of the 1980s.

I’m grateful that one of her fellow students at the party leadership school, Sam Manuel, came from Atlanta to this meeting to celebrate Nan’s life. The only thing that caused a second student, Andrea Morell from the Bay Area, to cancel her travel plans to join Sam here was the order of surgeons after hip surgery.

Look at the picture in the display of the student body. It’s clear Andrea and Nan were the two school troublemakers.

Nan was the party’s unchallenged expert on the quality of various croissants. When we worked together at the national party center at 410 West Street in New York, she would visit two, and sometimes even three, French bakeries on the way from the Sixth Avenue subway stop to our office. The pastry bites she would offer had already gone through the most rigorous taste test west of Paris.

She also introduced me to the small



of the newly published *Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium* by Jack Barnes into working people’s hands. The book offers invaluable background to the world capitalist crisis that sharpened in the early 21st century, and a working-class course to fight its consequences for tens of millions.

“The successful party campaign reached working people in cities, small towns and rural areas,” Martin said.

Continued on page 8



Right, Militant Bailey (top) with Andrea Morell at SWP leadership school, 1981. Mike Tucker (left) and Sam Manuel bookend middle row; also in row (from left), Ilona Gersh, Barbara Graham, Hattie McCutcheon. Bottom row (from left), John Gaige, Andy Rose, Arminda Yañez, George Novack, Miguel Pendas.

Pink Tea Cup restaurant in the West Village, which was the opposite of French cooking, but surely had the best collard greens and related delicacies in Lower Manhattan. Nan didn’t let me go alone the first time she took me there — not so much to help me learn how to order, but so the Southern ladies would know I was a friend of Nan’s, and I would be taken care of accordingly.

Those who knew Nan can give hundreds of examples of kindnesses such as this, always done with the absence of any obligation on the part of the recipient, other than to be yourself and to enjoy.

It seemed impossible to me, if I was to be true to Nan, not to end with the last part of the introduction to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, which I was privileged to write. That was almost a decade ago.

[Final two pages of introduction by Jack Barnes]

Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power could never have come into being without the leadership collaboration over nearly half a century of proletarian cadres of the Socialist Workers Party who are Black.

The book is a product of the disciplined efforts of these and other SWP cadres, including the generations who have been leading the work since the mid-1970s to build a party that is working class in composition as well as program and action. Who have been in the front ranks standing off racist thugs assaulting school buses, demonstra-



tions, and picket lines. Who carry out communist political activity in the industrial working class and unions. Who join in strikes, union organizing drives, and shop-floor skirmishes small and large. Who have organized inside the imperialist armed forces against racism and denial of their rights as citizen soldiers. Who take to the streets with others to protest cop brutality, to demand legalization for immigrant workers, to say no to the death penalty, and to champion the right of women to choose abortion. Who have participated in and campaigned to build the National Black Independent Political Party and other organizations seeking to advance Black rights along proletarian lines. Who work to educate about and mobilize opposition to the imperialist policies of the U.S. government and its never-ending march toward widening militarization and spreading wars.

What readers will find in these pages is the fruit of decades of political activity by communist workers and youth campaigning with the *Militant* newsweekly and other publications on street corners, at plant gates, to students, on strike picket lines, and at social protest actions and meetings. By proletarian cadres who have organized and participated in communist leadership schools, helping to educate themselves and others about the lessons of more than 150 years of revolutionary struggle by working people. By those who have run as Socialist Workers Party candidates for posts from local office to president of the United States, and have done so in opposition to nomi-

nees — whatever their skin color — of the Democratic, Republican, and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

By cadres who have never tired of getting in the face of race-baiters, red-baiters, and outright bigots and demagogues of every stripe who have sought to deny that workers, farmers, and young people who are Black — and *proud* to be Black — can and will become communists along the same road and on the same political basis as anyone else.

Working together with these comrades — through many crises and conjunctures, including the global capitalist panic still in its early stages today — has taught me much of what readers will discover in these pages. Putting these lessons down on paper is one of my obligations, and my name appears as author. But I could not have come to these conclusions in any other way than as part of a tested and disciplined proletarian cadre, including these men and women of African origin, who, in their lives and activity, remain true to their revolutionary convictions to this day.

It is to them that *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* is dedicated.

NEW YORK CITY
OCTOBER 4, 2009

Selfless, disciplined, and loving to a fault, Nan Bailey remained true to her revolutionary convictions every day of her adult life.

Warmest comradely greetings,
s/Jack Barnes

‘True to her convictions’

Continued from page 7

SWP members won readers of the book among factory and farmworkers in North Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia; Midwest packinghouse workers; miners in the Appalachian and Western coalfields; dairy farmers in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania; and workers in garment shops and other workplaces from New York to California, Florida to Washington.

Bailey was a staff writer for the *Militant* in 1980-81. She then took six months off other responsibilities to participate in a leadership school organized by the SWP. Party leaders studied the political writings and activity of the founders of the communist workers movement, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Over the years, Bailey traveled on international assignment for the SWP. She took part in solidarity trips to Grenada during the 1979-83 revolution in that Caribbean island, and to South Africa during the closing stages of the struggle that toppled apartheid. She collaborated with comrades in sister parties during visits to Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand.

“The impact of these international assignments is captured in messages to the meeting from Communist League leaderships in those countries,” Sandler said. (See excerpts from these and other messages on page 6.)

Injury to one, injury to all

“In 1988, Bailey was working at the Swift meatpacking plant in Des Moines, Iowa,” Sandler said. “One of our party members, Mark Curtis, also a worker at Swift, was arrested, brutally beaten by the cops, and framed up for raping a 15-year-old Black woman.”

The party went into action, Sandler said. It mounted a yearslong defense campaign that won national and international support. “Political forces opposed to Curtis in Des Moines misestimated Nan,” he said. “They foolishly thought she’d back away from Mark’s defense because she was a Black woman. Nan proudly spoke in Mark’s defense, exposing the frame-up and helping win fighters like Edna Griffin, a decades-long civil rights leader in Iowa, to the defense campaign.”

Bailey also organized the secretariat of the SWP’s central leadership for several years, Sandler said. “Nan was

serious about the party’s programmatic conquests and its leadership continuity.”

He read a message from Debbie Lazar, who said she got to know Bailey in 1995, when Bailey was a secretary for SWP leaders Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. “Over the next several years Nan, more than anyone else, taught me how to be a secretary for the central leadership,” Lazar wrote. “She showed how a competent secretary can help in expanding their reach, worldwide.

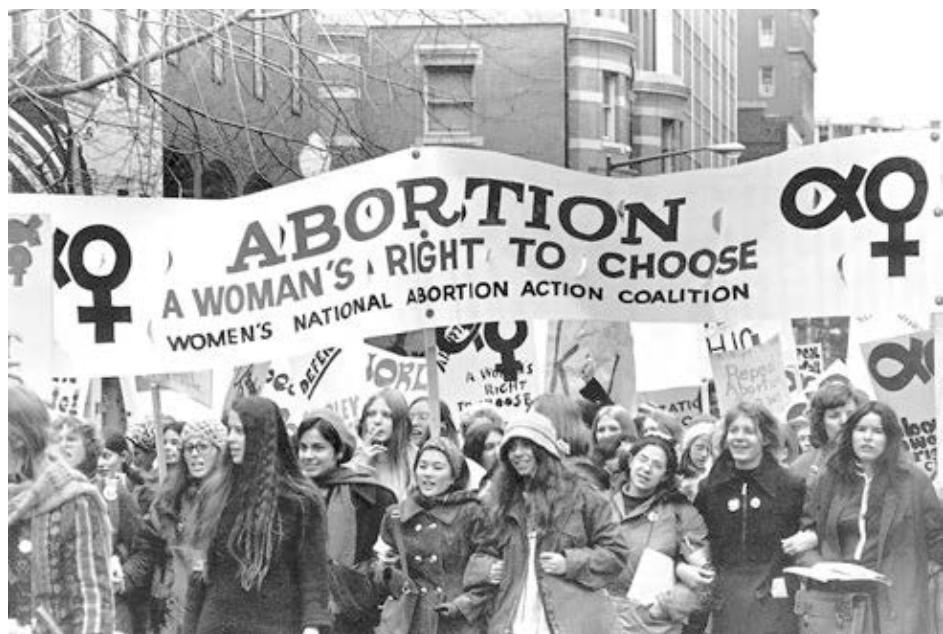
“Nan set a tone of dignity, respect, and kindness in the office. She had high work standards and challenged her co-workers to reach,” Lazar said. Bailey taught her “to strive to judge political priorities and not get lost in myriad details.”

“I’m proud of Nan’s contribution to building the communist movement and of those who will follow in her footsteps,” Lazar closed. “Be like Nan!”

Building SWP in Los Angeles

Bailey worked in garment factories in Los Angeles after leaving Seattle in late 1999. Messages from Rachel Wilson in Seattle and Arlene Rubinstein in Washington, D.C., described how Bailey helped train them and other workers in how to sew and get a sewing job. Her efforts to learn Spanish were important in collaborating with co-workers to pass along skills and carry out political activity.

Bailey was forced to curtail her political work the past 15 years, as a degenerative lung disease advanced. She continued taking assignments and participating in SWP meetings as she could. “At meetings of the Los Angeles branch,” Sandler said, “Nan would cut to the heart of questions being debated. Once a decision was made, she understood it was not a suggestion, or a good idea, but an instruction to be carried out with discipline.”



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Bailey was a coordinator of Women’s National Abortion Action Coalition, organized to fight for a woman’s right to choose. Above, Nov. 20, 1971, march in Washington, D.C.

“Nan could be stubborn; that’s an understatement,” said Sandler. “She couldn’t be pushed around politically, or medically.” He described the kind of health care she fought for and got, “extremely unusual in capitalist society for a person like Nan, with little money or other resources.”

“Nan was determined to be in control of her own decisions, right up to the last hours of her life,” Sandler said. He described her many-year battle to obtain a lung transplant. Small in stature, Bailey could only tolerate an adult lung from a similar-sized person. She would be bypassed on the list if she had a cold or other ailment, and it would take her months, sometimes years, to requalify.

No longer able to work in industry, Bailey got jobs editing resumes and postgraduate papers. Having paid attention her whole life to conditions in U.S. prisons, she excelled at crafting resumes to help ex-inmates get jobs, James Harris said. “Members of the party in L.A. would sometimes meet one of these people in factories where we worked,” he said — “workers who owed their jobs and livelihood, in

part, to help from Nan.”

Celia Garza-Halstead, a nurse practitioner and close friend of Nan’s, spoke at the event. To boisterous laughter, she described how Bailey would calm her down when she was under deadline pressure for a school thesis she was writing and Bailey was editing.

Garza-Halstead also described the aid Bailey provided to Nestor Santana, a young Guatemalan-born worker, in securing a prosthesis after losing a leg in a train accident. Today a skilled sample-making garment worker, Santana attended the celebration and explained after the program how Bailey had helped him learn to sew following the accident.

Those who knew Nan “can give hundreds of examples” of such kindness, Barnes said in his message. And they were “always done with the absence of any obligation on the part of the recipient, other than to be yourself and to enjoy.”

Sandler concluded the meeting by urging participants to contribute to the party that Bailey dedicated her life to. Over \$4,000 was raised to help advance the work of the Socialist Workers Party.

Messages to Nan Bailey celebration in L.A.

Continued from page 6

London, which was waging a reactionary war against Argentina to reassert British colonial rule over the Malvinas Islands.

Understanding that deepening “our implantation in the working class as we campaigned against imperialism and war,” he wrote, was central “to winning our generation and helping forge a cadre” that founded the Communist League in January 1988.



“We live at a time when the world capitalist crisis is bringing the biggest changes in bourgeois politics in decades,” wrote Michel Prairie for the Communist League of Canada.

“Nan was confident that the people from nowhere — like today’s Yellow Vests in France — are the only force able to overthrow the capitalist rulers and begin to build a new society based on human needs and not profits for a few.

“Nan’s life should not only be celebrated, but emulated by all of us.”



Maggie Trowe, now a leader of the SWP living and working in Albany, New York, recalled participating with Bailey in the 1980s in a “weekly early-morning team” that sold the *Militant*

and books by revolutionary leaders at the gate outside the GM plant in Linden, New Jersey. “We got to know quite a few workers who were glad to talk with us each week and became regular readers of the party’s paper,” she said. At the time, Trowe had a party assignment to the print shop in Manhattan that produced the *Militant* and books used by the party, and Bailey was organizing the secretariat of the party leadership in New York.



Martha Dowling of Spartansburg, South Carolina, wrote that “Nan was the organizer of the SWP branch in Detroit at the time the Revolutionary Marxist Committee fused with the party” in 1977. “Nan played a major role making this fusion successful and especially in providing guidance to those of us ex-RMCers who stayed in Detroit after the fusion.”

Bailey “was my first real political teacher and always my inspiration,” Dowling said, as well as example “to me, and I know to many others” of “what it means to be a communist leader.”



Pat (Wright) Travis of Knightsdale, North Carolina recalled working alongside Bailey, as SWP and YSA members, in building the National Black

Independent Political Party in the 1980s. This break from the bosses’ Democratic and Republican parties had the potential not only to “be a step forward for the Black community, but for the working class as a whole. Nan was co-chair of the Manhattan NBIPP, and we worked together to put out a newsletter until the organization was dissolved.”

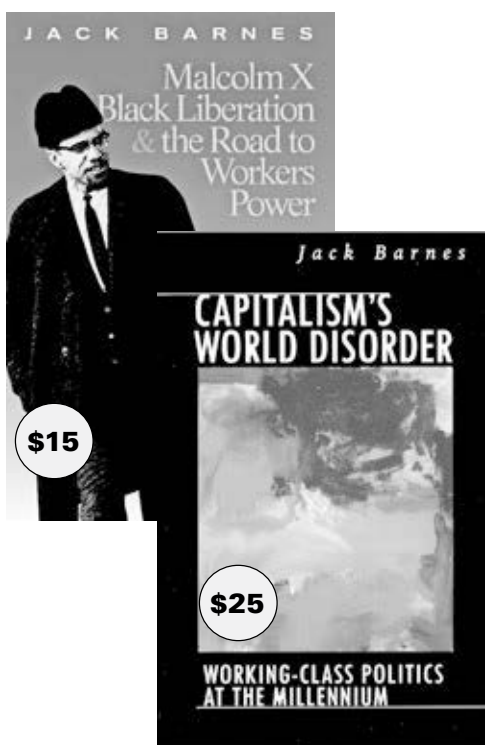


Sara Gates of Seattle pointed to Bailey’s leadership in 1999 in helping supporters of the Socialist Workers Party initiate the first nationwide effort to organize regular monthly contributions to finance the SWP’s political activity in the working class. “Nan was in the Seattle branch and was assigned by the party to lead this work with party supporters,” Gates said.

After Bailey moved to Los Angeles, the two of them kept in touch. “I sent her a calendar every Christmas with watercolor scenes from Seattle. I had the same calendar, and she would ask me where I kept mine. On top of the printer at my desk. She kept hers on her desk.

“Nan was like that,” Gates said. “She listened. She was interested.”

Other messages were sent by Marie-Claire David, Raul Gonzalez, Toni Gorton, Osborne Hart, Debbie Lazar, Sam Manuel, Greg McCartan, Arlene Rubinstein, and Robbie Scherr.



See distributors on page 5

Join the Socialist Workers Party 2019 campaign!

Continued from front page

2016. She was among the first wave of women to become coal miners in the 1970s, strengthening the United Mine Workers union. Most recently she joined protests by striking teachers in Oklahoma last spring.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party in Dallas are mapping out a bold plan to kick off campaigning across the state Jan. 12-26, including collecting more than 600 signatures in Dallas to get Kennedy on the ballot.

Tribunes of the people

“We speak in the interests of all those who are exploited, oppressed and discriminated against under capitalism. That’s why we say we are tribunes of the people and it’s why we are going to campaign far and wide in Texas and the region,” Kennedy said. “We want to speak with all working people in towns big and small and farming areas.

“Look at small farmers and ranchers for example. They often end up putting more money into growing crops, raising cattle than they can get back. They go under or are forced to take out high interest loans. They’re debt slaves.”

“We need solidarity,” she said. “We need to fight together or we can never stand up effectively to the capitalist rulers.”

Socialist Workers Party candidates and their supporters across the country will talk to working people on their doorsteps, walk strike picket lines, back drives to organize unions, and join protests against police brutality and other actions against attacks by the bosses and their government.

They will use their campaigns to address the conditions workers and farmers face, such as the lack of affordable, decent housing and health care, the opioid epidemic and falling life expectancy. They will introduce workers, farmers, young people and others to books by SWP leaders and to the *Militant*, crucial tools for understanding where the crisis of capitalism comes from and what can be done to organize a movement that can take power out of the hands of the capitalist class.

“In Texas, at least 14 hospitals have closed in rural areas since 2010, forcing people to drive hours to see a doctor,” Kennedy said. “And military veterans come back to the U.S. and face scandalous neglect. They can’t get adequate medical care.”

Amnesty for immigrants

“Amnesty for undocumented immigrants is a big question in Texas and nationally,” she said. “The bosses use workers without papers to try to push down wages. They scapegoat immigrants to try to weaken the fighting capacity of the working class. Fighting for amnesty is key to rebuilding a fighting union movement.”

“Workers behind bars face cruel and unusual punishment,” Kennedy added. “Some Texas prisoners filed a lawsuit against some of these conditions. More than 70 percent have no air conditioning, and temperatures in the summer reach well over 100 degrees.”

“These conditions are the result of the capitalist for-profit system,” Kennedy said. “To see an alternative we will



Amy Husk, SWP candidate for Kentucky governor, helps build solidarity with workers under attack. Above, she joined workers on strike on Allied Ready Mix picket in Louisville Oct. 19.

encourage people to join the upcoming International May Day Brigade to Cuba so they can see for themselves how making a revolution changed an entire society.”

The Socialist Workers Party in Louisville is planning to run Amy Husk for governor of Kentucky. Husk, a medical assistant, is a longtime trade unionist.

“For several years opponents of women’s right to choose abortion have been trying to shut down the EMW Women’s Surgical Center here, the last abortion clinic left in the state,” Husk said Jan. 1. Rightists frequently protest outside the clinic and last year pushed a bill through the state legislature that banned a common abortion

procedure. That law is on hold as it’s being challenged in court.

“There is a well-organized clinic defense every Saturday morning by women’s rights supporters,” Husk said. “The SWP encourages people to participate and to join protests against the anti-abortion law. To unite the working class, to participate as equals, women have to be able to control our own bodies.”

Henry Clay Dennison will be the SWP candidate for City Council in Seattle. A rail worker and member of the SMART union, Dennison has been active supporting farmworkers in the Skagit Valley who fought and won union recognition and a contract

SWP: US troops out of Middle East, Afghanistan!

Continued from front page

working people.

The unrelenting and deadly toll on the working class of the wars waged by Washington and its capitalist rivals in Syria and Afghanistan highlights the pressing need for workers here to act in solidarity with fellow toilers.

The U.S. rulers’ wars abroad are an extension of their attacks on workers here at home. They seek to defend their profits and their rule on the backs of working people worldwide.

As cutthroat competition among rival capitalist powers pushes the rulers into sharper conflicts, they step up their efforts to drive down workers’ wages, inflict life-threatening speedup on the job and push to extend the working day.

The wars they wage are not our wars. Their foreign policy serves their class interests, not ours. They demand we provide the cannon fodder in their wars for markets, resources and political influence around the world.

The rulers’ callous disregard for the lives of working people is reflected in their neglect of returning veterans. Tens of thousands come home with long-term injuries, forced to wait years, and sometimes a lifetime, for their disability claims to be heard. Opioid addiction and the suicide rate among veterans have soared.

The Socialist Workers Party has an unbroken record of intransigent opposition to Washington’s imperialist wars.

From Vietnam to Korea, the first and second imperialist world wars, U.S. deployments against Grenada, the Dominican Republic, Bosnia and elsewhere, none of these were in the interests of working people — there or here.

The U.S. rulers’ armed forces have been fighting in Afghanistan and the Middle East for decades. Millions of toilers have been killed, maimed or driven from their homes.

The SWP explains that Washington’s intervention and the war moves of its capitalist rivals in the Middle East hinders the interests of working people there. Across the region workers and their allies need the political space and time to build a working-class leadership to challenge for political power after decades of betrayals by Stalinist parties

with one of the largest berry growers in the state.

Fight to unite cab and app drivers

The Socialist Workers Party in New York plans to run Seth Galinsky, a writer for the *Militant*, for the city’s Public Advocate. The deplorable conditions faced by over 100,000 drivers from app-based companies like Uber and Lyft to traditional yellow cabs, as well as other car services, is a big issue in the city. Eight drivers weighed down by heavy debts have committed suicide in the past year.

“The capitalists who own the cab and app-based operations try to pit workers against each other,” Galinsky said. “The bosses have succeeded in saddling drivers with debts and lengthening the workday of tens of thousands as they try to make ends meet.

“What’s needed is a unionization drive to organize all drivers together to fight for higher wages and better working conditions for all,” he said.

Anthony Dutrow will be the SWP candidate for City Commissioner in Miami. The party campaigned for working people to vote for Amendment 4, which restored voting rights to ex-prisoners. It passed overwhelmingly in November. “That victory is having an impact nationally, including helping spur the recent passage of the federal ‘First Step Act,’” Dutrow said. The law, signed by President Donald Trump, reduces the “three strikes” penalty for drug felonies and retroactively limits the disparity in sentencing between crack and powder cocaine offenses, which can cut the sentences of 2,000 prisoners.

Contact the nearest SWP branch to find out more and to get involved.

Meet the Socialist Workers Party candidates!

Florida

Anthony Dutrow, Miami City Commission

Illinois

Dan Fein, Chicago Mayor

Kentucky

Amy Husk, Governor

Minnesota

David Rosenfeld, St. Paul City Council

Nebraska

Joe Swanson, Lincoln Mayor

New Jersey

Lea Sherman, State Assembly
Candace Wagner, State Assembly

New York

Seth Galinsky, New York City Public Advocate

Pennsylvania

Osborne Hart, Philadelphia Mayor
John Staggs, Philadelphia City Council
Malcolm Jarrett, Pittsburgh City Council

Texas

Alyson Kennedy, Dallas mayor

Washington

Henry Clay Dennison, Seattle City Council.