

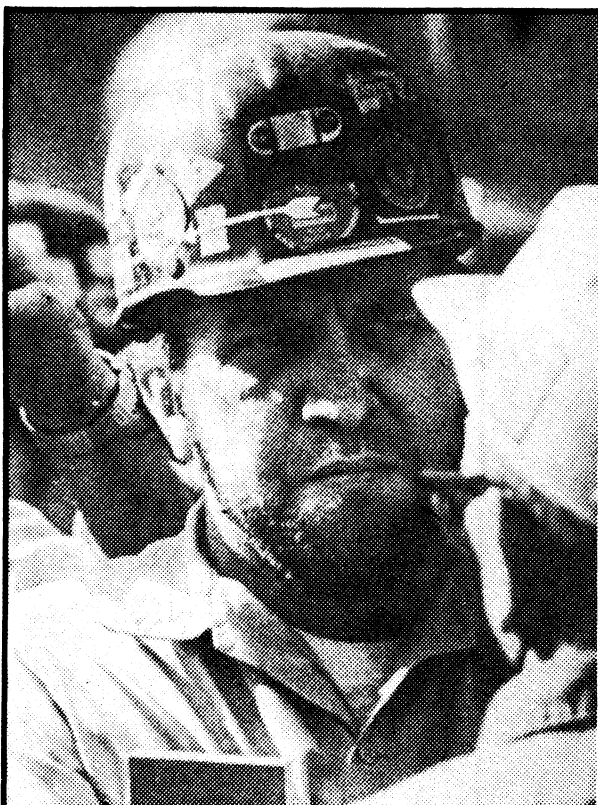
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

EL SALVADOR freedom fighters gain



- Eyewitness report from liberated zone, page 12
- U.S. Catholic bishops say 'halt aid to junta,' page 11
- Interview with revolutionary front leader, page 12



ROBINSON, W. Va.—Miner awaits grim news on fate of five trapped in explosion.

Coal company greed claims 5 lives

—PAGE 4

Polish workers force government to back down

—PAGE 5

Why labor lost in 1980

"This was the best labor effort we ever fielded," said Alexander Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. The apparatus of nearly every AFL-CIO union plus that of the United Auto Workers went all out for the Democrats in the November 4 elections.

Even the International Association of Machinists, which refused to endorse any presidential candidate, poured big resources into trying to elect Democrats to Congress.

The union leaders failed not only to elect their favorites, but even to convince a majority of working people to vote for them.

In the presidential election, according to a *New York Times*/CBS poll, Carter got the votes of only 47 percent of those trade unionists who cast ballots. Reagan got 44 percent.

In fact, the November 9 *New York Times* reported, "the only major element of the old Democratic coalition that stayed with Mr. Carter in customary proportions was black voters."

And the number of non-voters approached 50 percent, the highest figure since the 1948 election.

Why did so many union members reject the leadership's advice? Why were so many willing to take a chance on Reagan?

For many officials, the answer comes easy. Portraying themselves as sterling progressives saddled with a reactionary membership, they join the media in portraying the vote as marking a rightward shift by working people.

Glenn Watts, president of the Communications Workers of America, "said that he had noticed a growing animosity by lower paid workers to recipients of welfare," reported the November 9 *New York Times*.

"A lot of workers were 'social conservatives,'" was the answer offered by Michael Harrington to the November 11 *Times*. Harrington chairs the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, which acts as thinktank to one sector of the union bureaucracy.

Those workers who voted for Reagan thus become scapegoats for the failure of the AFL-CIO's strategy.

The real reason for the election outcome isn't

hard to find: the disastrous impact of four years of Carter administration attacks on our jobs, wages, working conditions, and human rights.

By identifying themselves with Carter, the union leaders undermined the credibility of their attacks on Reagan's antilabor record. Imagine how an unemployed member of the United Auto Workers felt on receiving the union handouts hailing Carter for "creating jobs"!

By portraying union members as racists and 'social conservatives,' Harrington and the union officialdom conceal their own default in fighting for labor's needs in the political arena.

Whenever the unions have provided leadership on social issues, whether it was in coming out for the Equal Rights Amendment or defending affirmative action in the *Weber* case, big sections of the membership have been inspired, and commitment to the unions has deepened.

Clear stands like these by the unions, backed up by action, go a long way toward eliminating the divisions and confusion created by the propaganda campaigns of the capitalist parties and media—whether the issue is busing, the minimum wage, welfare, or women's rights.

But the bureaucracy's policy of supporting Democratic or, in some instances like the Teamsters, Republican candidates has the opposite effect. The voice of labor in the political arena is silenced and the right wing gets a free hand.

On November 4 the workers "voted against their own self-interest." This was the complaint of Sol Chaikin, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Indeed they did, whether they voted for Carter, Reagan, or Anderson.

But the union officialdom left them no alternative but to choose among the three evils. There was no labor party based on the unions in the field. No mass party that could fight for proposals to end unemployment, inflation, the draft, and racial and sexual oppression. No labor party that could challenge the big-business drive to make us pay for the social and economic crises caused by capitalism.

As a result, the 1980 elections saw a further weakening of labor's political power.

The union movement now confronts the job of defending working people against the stepped-up big-business attacks that lie ahead. The incoming administration shows every sign of seeking to carry out its reactionary program.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and UAW President Douglas Fraser both cabled congratulations to Reagan and offered their cooperation. This good-sport, jump-over-the-net approach to a deadly enemy of labor is just an extension of the policy that led them to cover up for Carter.

This subordination to capitalist politics must end if working people are to protect the living standards, rights, and organizations won over decades of struggle.

Only working people have an interest in solving the deepening crisis of American society in the interest of the great majority. The Reagan victory gives new urgency to the idea that the union movement must create its own political party.

Washington delays hostage release

A high-level delegation, including Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, went to Algeria November 10 to respond to the Iranian parliament's four proposals for releasing the hostages.

The U.S. government claims it agreed to noninterference in Iran's affairs and to unfreeze Iranian assets. "Legal problems" prevent accepting the proposals to cancel financial claims against Iran and return the shah's wealth, officials said. The actual text of the U.S. response to Iran was kept secret.

The ball is now in Iran's court, Carter declared.

But it's Washington that is prolonging the hostages' release by continuing to stall on meeting Iran's terms.

The U.S. rulers are still trying to use the hostages to divert attention from the real issues: Washington's decades-long support to the butcher shah and its drive for oil profits.

There is an easy way to bring back the hostages and Carter knows it: accept Iran's just offer!

Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Coal company greed claims five lives
- 5 Polish workers score major victory
- 6 Atlanta march to protest murders
- 7 Auto workers on election results
- 8 Miami Black youth convicted
- 9 UAW's Fraser on Madison Ave.
- 10 Teams bring 'Militant' to new areas
- 11 El Salvador: liberation forces gain
- 15 Why Latin dictators like Reagan
- 18 'History of Russian Revolution'
- 20 Irish prisoners' hunger strike
- 14 Solidarity With Central America and Caribbean
- 21 The Great Society By Any Means Necessary What's Going On
- 22 Our Revolutionary Heritage Letters
- 23 Learning About Socialism If You Like This Paper



'That woman farmer from Three Mile Island'

Jane Lee made a big impact at recent labor conference on nuclear energy. Her methodical study of animal reproductive problems—mutations, spontaneous abortions, sterility—in area of nuclear reactor is a chilling indictment of radiation's hidden effects. Now humans are being affected too, she says. **Page 16.**

The Militant

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE
Business Manager: NANCY ROSENSTOCK
Editorial Staff: Nan Bailey, Fred Feldman, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Diane Jacobs, Harry Ring, Vivian Sahrer, Priscilla Schenk, Stu Singer.

Published weekly by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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

Miner wins backing in deportation battle

UMWA local sends telegram to Attorney General

By Vivian Sahner

On November 1 Marian Bustin was invited to speak with fellow coal miners at the United Mine Workers Local 2874 meeting in Marianna, Pennsylvania.

Bustin, who works at the Republic Steel Kitt No. 1 Mine at Philippi, West

Virginia, is a member of UMWA Local 2095.

She informed Local 2874 members about the government's six-year effort to deport her because of her membership in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Bustin was born in Scotland.

The Immigration and Naturalization

Service questioned Bustin about the SWP in 1979. But the extent of the campaign to deport her was only recently revealed when lawyers for the SWP and YSA received the INS files on Bustin in preparation for the socialists' upcoming trial against government harassment.

The government wants to kick out Bustin because as a socialist she is a fighter for equal rights for women, an opponent of the draft, and a trade union activist.

After the meeting Bustin told the *Militant* why she thought it was particularly important to explain to members of the United Mine Workers what was happening to her.

Bustin referred to the recent Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh, where more than 100 miners and hundreds of other trade unionists discussed why labor has a stake in opposing nuclear power. "That's the kind of union involvement in political issues that the government is out to stop," she said.

"The threat against me is aimed at the right of all miners to decide their own political opinions."

Bustin reported that after she spoke the local voted to send a telegram to Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti protesting the harassment and deportation moves against her.



MARIAN BUSTIN

Militant/ Stu Singer

"Our union constitution spells out the need to defend individual rights like freedom of speech," Bustin said.

"Miners understand that an injury to one is an injury to all whether the attack comes from the coal companies or from undemocratic acts of the government."

"The attorney general is the government representative who calls for injunctions against miners' strikes," she added. "It isn't hard to imagine him trying to deport a miner if he doesn't like his or her politics."

"I'm proud and grateful to the members of UMWA Local 2874 for their support."

Antidraft activists protest

More than one-third of the activists who attended a Pittsburgh conference against the draft on October 25 signed a petition demanding that U.S. Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti halt government attempts to deport Marian Bustin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Bustin, a coal miner from West Virginia and member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 is a member of the Morgantown, West Virginia, chapter of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).

At one of the conference workshops Bustin pointed out the government's use of spying and disruption tactics against the movement to end the Vietnam War.

"The government threat against me is really directed against the thousands of young people in this country who are opposed to the draft," she said.

The conference, which drew more than 160 participants, was held at the University of Pittsburgh campus. It was sponsored by the CARD chapters of West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; Steel City (Pittsburgh) National Organization for Women; University of Pittsburgh Women's Center; and the Pittsburgh Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, among others.

On November 5, Pittsburgh CARD voted to send its own mailgram to the attorney general demanding that the harassment against Bustin be stopped.

FBI men convicted—but burglaries go on

By Duncan Williams

On November 6, former FBI officials W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller were convicted of conspiring to violate the civil rights of U.S. citizens by authorizing break-ins without warrants in 1972-1973. The two will be sentenced December 15.

The very next day a top Justice Department official told the *New York Times* that despite the Felt-Miller conviction, "the Government has never conceded that the President lacks constitutional authority to authorize surreptitious entries in foreign intelligence cases where there is an agent of a foreign power involved."

The official, Kenneth Bass, chief of the Office of Intelligence Policy and Review, added that normally warrants for burglaries should be obtained, except where this would "frustrate the executive's duty to protect the national security."

The Justice Department statement says a lot about what the Felt-Miller trial was really about. The two were charged with ordering black bag jobs at the homes of friends and relatives of the Weather Underground, a radical student group. But the prosecution never made the right of the FBI to carry out such crimes the issue—it focused instead on whether Felt and Miller had the authority to make such decisions. As the post-trial Justice Department statement explains, burglaries—with or without warrants—are still considered legitimate activities to protect "national security."



TRICKY DICK. Defended FBI crimes against antiwar movement.

The real aim of the government in this trial was to present the *image* of cleaning up the FBI without tampering with the agency's continuing illegal activities against anyone who dissents in this country.

Many of the witnesses called, in fact, used the courtroom to justify the use of break-ins and other activities by the FBI.

Former President Nixon and several former attorneys general testified that while they hadn't approved any bag jobs, they would not have hesitated to approve them if they were necessary.

When Nixon took the stand, identifying his occupation as "retired," several

people in the courtroom corrected him, yelling out "war criminal" and "liar." Although called as a witness by the prosecution, he didn't try to hide his sympathies with the defendants.

During the Vietnam War, Nixon said, "terrorism" was a big problem for the U.S. government. The "terrorists"—by which he clearly meant the entire antiwar movement—helped "create attitudes in this country [to] delay the ending of the war." This from the man who personally ordered the bombing and napalming of millions in Vietnam!

Former attorney general John Mitchell, another Watergate crook, said if a group like the Weather Underground had ties to Vietnam, Cuba, or North Korea, it would be "a very strong factor in my approval" of illegal burglaries.

Another former attorney general, Herbert Brownell, said that presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower had all issued directives, beginning in 1939, that gave the bureau authority to conduct investigations in the areas of sabotage, espionage, and subversion, and that "the techniques were up to the bureau."

Nicholas Katzenbach, who was attorney general under Kennedy and Johnson, told the jury that the bag jobs were "illegal only in the sense that the evidence obtained therefrom could not be used in court proceedings, but they would not otherwise be a violation of the law."

The prosecution's real criticism of

the bag jobs was not that they violated the rights of the victims, but that they didn't provide good intelligence! Information obtained from the break-ins, they contended, could have been gathered more efficiently through other techniques.

In reality, the government has been preparing all its illegal techniques for expanded use—against striking unionists, Black groups, antidraft activists, opponents of nuclear power, supporters of solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, Iran, Grenada—against all those who oppose government policy.

But to do this, they need to overcome the "Watergate syndrome"—the distrust and suspicion of government.

To clear the decks for the future, they are trying to get a new law, known as the FBI Charter, through Congress. The proposed charter will legitimize bag jobs and other techniques (with proper approval, of course!). And it would make FBI agents and spies involved in illegal acts immune from prosecution.

But the Felt-Miller trial is not the last word on FBI crimes.

One of the first challenges to the Reagan administration will be the trial of the *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* lawsuit early next year.

Instead of a hypocritical gesture, this trial will be a battle between the government spies and liars and the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, who have been the victims of more than forty years of government disruption.

Special offer to new readers

The Militant— 8 weeks/\$2

Burglaries. Frame-ups. Deportations. Assassinations. These are the tools of the trade for the FBI's war against unionists, Blacks, women's rights fighters. But the Socialist Workers Party is putting the FBI on trial for its crimes soon . . . Keep up with the news by reading the *Militant* each week.



'Positively un-American . . . they play by the rules.'

Subscribe today

- ☐ \$2 for eight issues (new readers only)
- ☐ \$5 for three months ☐ \$24 for one year
- ☐ New ☐ Renewal

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

'Miners should control safety'

Coal company greed claims lives of five

By Vivian Sahner

DANVILLE, West Virginia—The mines were closed and school was out, but this year Veterans Day was no holiday here.

For every resident of this small coal-mining community it will be remembered as the day they buried five coal miners, five neighbors and friends killed by the greed of the Westmoreland Coal Company.

In near-freezing temperatures, relatives and other coal miners gathered at the Handley Funeral Home in Danville to pay their last respects.

At noon pallbearers carried out the body of Howard Williamson, a thirty-nine-year-old miner who had worked at Westmoreland's Ferrell #17 Mine less than two months.

At 1 p.m. funeral services for Carlos Dent concluded. Dent, who started work at the mine in late 1979, was also thirty-nine.

And immediately following Dent's service was the funeral for Fred Pridemore, a twenty-six-year-old miner at Westmoreland Coal only three months.

Across town, services were held for twenty-two-year-old Herbert Kinder, and twenty-eight-year-old Howard Gillenwater. Each of them had worked less than a year and a half in the Westmoreland Mine, located in Robinson, just south of Danville.

Explosion rips mine

The five were killed on the midnight-to-8 a.m. "hoot owl" shift on November 7. They died when a methane gas explosion ripped through the section of the mine where they were sent to remove unused track.

According to West Virginia Mines Director Walter N. Miller, the five men never reached their work site. The deadly explosion scorched an area more than 6,000 feet long.

Debris and high concentrations of methane slowed the efforts of rescue teams. Relatives and co-workers kept vigil outside the mine's entrance for more than a day, with hopes fading, before being told on November 8 that the men were dead.

Unanswered questions

Beyond these facts lie many unanswered questions about the tragedy.

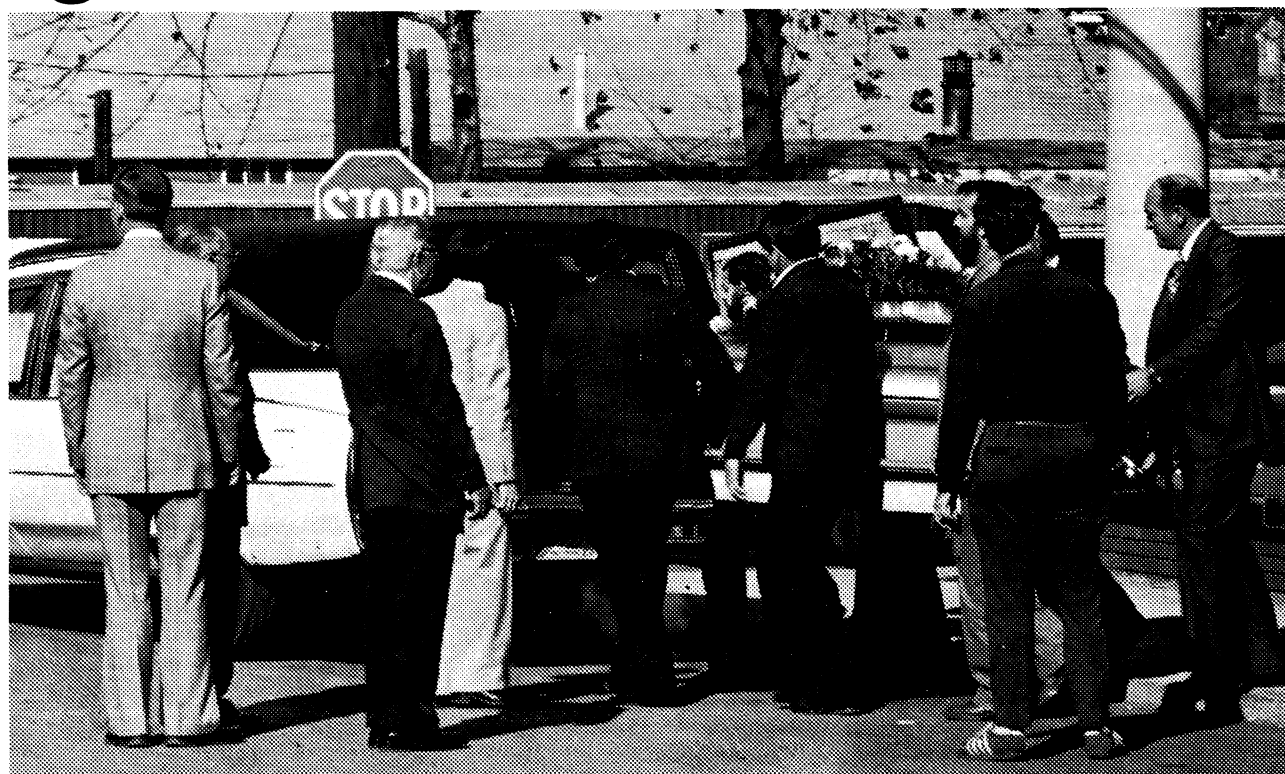
One question on everyone's mind is why it took mine management more than three hours to notify mining officials about the explosion. And why did Westmoreland leave seventy other miners working inside for several hours without proper ventilation?

Mines Director Miller has refused to answer reports that out of the five men, only one, Gillenwater, was an experienced, certified miner. If so, why wasn't there a certified miner for each of the four newer members of the work crew as required by state law?

Reporters at the mine were told that inspectors for Westmoreland Company, the West Virginia Safety and Health Administration, and United Mine Workers (UMWA) safety inspectors were ordered by the state not to make any statements.

Facts come out

But the facts are beginning to become known. Rescue teams reported levels of more than 5 percent methane gas inside the mine. Methane, the most common flammable gas found in the mines, is



Funeral for miner Howard Williamson. Mine workers charge speedup by companies has led to sharp rise in deadly accidents.

highly explosive at levels that high. It has been responsible for more than 10,000 miners' deaths in the last sixty years.

In Monogah, West Virginia, in the nation's worst mine disaster, an explosion killed 361 miners on December 6, 1907.

On April 28, 1914, an explosion at the Eccles Mine in West Virginia killed 181 men.

West Virginia was also the site of the November 20, 1968 explosion at the Farmington Consolidated Coal mine in which seventy-eight miners died. Some of their bodies were never recovered.

'A death trap'

After the methane gas readings were announced at the Westmoreland mine, one outraged UMWA official told reporters that the five men had been sent into "a death trap."

United Mine Workers President Sam Church, who had waited with the families outside the mine, told reporters, "The brothers and sisters of the UMWA are mourning, but our sadness cannot compare with the suffering in the miners' families."

"We must mine coal and mine it safely," he added. "America's coal cannot and will not be dug at the cost of mine workers' blood."

He pointed out that in recent weeks there has been a sharp rise in the number of miners' deaths. Already this year 111 coal miners have been killed. Twenty-six of the deaths have occurred during the last six weeks.

"Here we have another tragedy," Church said, "and just when the coal companies are yelling for regulations to be loosened."

Thirty of the coal mine deaths this year have been in West Virginia, where inspectors last year handed out 547 citations for faulty ventilation alone.

Even before the tragedy at the Ferrell Mine,

Church had decided to use a provision of the UMWA contract and call on union members to not work the day after Thanksgiving, in memory of their fallen union brothers and sisters.

Shortly after Church spoke, Steve Anderson, Westmoreland's Director of Communications, told a news conference that the company was prepared to accept its share of responsibility for the accident.

What he meant became clearer when he added that he could not explain why the gas concentration went undetected, but that he believed one of the victims was responsible for conducting the inspection!

Westmoreland, which admits it has the worst safety of the nation's top twenty coal producers, recently reported sales of \$105.5 million from 4.2 million tons of coal in the third quarter of 1980. This is an increase from the \$90.8 million in sales from 2.6 million tons of coal produced in the same period last year.

Profits before lives

A coal miner's life is a secondary consideration at best in a coal company's drive to make money.

One Danville miner told the *Militant* that friends of his at Westmoreland had been told if production didn't go up, layoffs would be coming again.

And the day after the accident, Frank Thurman, State Director of the UMWA's Coal Miners Political Action Committee said, "The UMW has watched the trend that tells us that during economic crises, where coal-related jobs are scarce, accident frequency rates and fatality rates increase."

"There's a lot of aching over this," a second Danville miner said.

Another added, "The men and women who know what it's like to work in mines ought to control safety. I strongly do think the union should be in charge of safety in the mines."

J.P. Stevens workers: 'We made history'

By Johanna Ryan

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C.—"You know, we made history last week," a woman millworker says. "Right here in Roanoke Rapids."

There's a mood of pride and confidence among textile workers in this small North Carolina company town. On October 20, they forced the giant J.P. Stevens Company to do what it swore for seventeen years it would never do—sign a union contract with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

The two and a half year contract covers 3,000 workers in the seven Stevens mills at Roanoke Rapids. Similar contracts were signed for three smaller mills in High Point, North Carolina; Allendale, South Carolina; and West Boylston, Alabama.

Workers will receive an immediate



J.P. Stevens workers in 1975 march

19.3 percent wage and incentive pay increase. In addition, the raise will be retroactive to July 1979, when Stevens began withholding raises at Roanoke Rapids and the organized mills. Back pay will come to about \$1,300 for each worker.

To Stevens workers, however, the new contract represents more than just a pay raise—as welcome as that is.

"We have more rights now," said a young Black man who had been working for \$3.60 an hour in Stevens's warehouse. "That's what I really like about it."

The current battle to organize Stevens has been going on for seventeen years. But Roanoke Rapids mill workers had been fighting for their rights long before that.

A retired Stevens worker, a white woman, told the *Militant* that her

father had been a union activist in the general textile strike of 1934, when 400,000 textile workers North and South poured out of the mills to protest speedup and starvation wages. Roanoke Rapids was shut down tight for three weeks.

That strike was broken, the woman recalled. Her father, like hundreds of strikers, was fired. "We had to stand in the relief line for a sack of flour, and then we had to wear that sack for a dress."

What's different about the union drive today?

"Well, now that segregation is over, you have more colored than white in the mills. And once the colored people set their minds to it, I knew we were going to have a union this time, be-

Continued on page 6

Gov't backs down on charter

Polish workers score major victory

By Suzanne Haig

The Polish working class has emerged victorious from a major test of strength against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On November 10, the Polish Supreme Court ruled that the charter of the independent trade union, Solidarity, did not have to include a reference to the "leading role" of the Communist Party. This ruling reversed an October 24 decision by a Warsaw district court, which had added such a clause and had deleted sections that set down procedures for declaring strikes.

The higher court accepted a union proposal previously rejected by the government. It kept the charter intact, including the strike sections. An annex to the charter restated the part of the August 31 Gdansk agreement which states that the union will uphold Communism, Poland's military alliances, and the party's leading role.

Union leaders hailed the outcome, which followed an escalating two-week battle between the union and the government. Solidarity had called for a series of local two-day general strikes, beginning November 12, moving from city to city across the country, unless the appeals court revoked the previous decision.

The week before the ruling was punctuated by a slowdown and strikes by hospital workers, doctors, and medical students in Gdansk, Warsaw, and other cities. They took over administration buildings in some places. Solidarity called a successful one-hour strike by bus drivers in selected cities to show support for the hospital workers. Postal workers were also on strike in Gdansk and elsewhere.

The government issued dire warnings and veiled threats. In a speech televised nationwide, party leader Stanislaw Kania warned: "There are people who build on maintaining and fanning workers' dissatisfaction.

There are people who clearly aim at socialism and our alliances." He characterized these unnamed people as "stalking counterrevolution."

But the Polish bureaucracy was on the defensive. Unscheduled Polish/Soviet military maneuvers, shown on TV over the November 8 weekend, for example, appear to have been phony. The November 11 *Wall Street Journal* reported that most Polish authorities believe the government used old film clips of maneuvers in an effort to scare potential strikers.

Both sides saw the fight over the clause as fundamental. Solidarity leaders have made clear that what is at stake is no less than who controls the new union movement: the workers themselves or the bureaucracy. "We will be satisfied if no one imposes a leadership on us," a union leader was quoted as saying in a Reuters dispatch.

The union victory comes on the heels of the growing power and confidence of Polish working people. October was marked by a nationwide strike action and a triumphant tour of southern Poland by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

The union membership reportedly now stands at 10 million.

The court victory, the strike actions, the growth of Solidarity show that a spate of reports in the *New York Times* depicting a mood of growing demoralization are dead wrong.

John Darnton, for example, wrote in the November 6 *Times*, "The hope for a 'reborn' Poland . . . has given way to a deepening sense of uncertainty and pessimism."

What a different picture one gets from Andrzej Kolodziej, a Baltic coast leader. "Gdansk is very militant, and the workers are even more militant," he said. Kolodziej, twenty-four years old, the November 7 *Times* explains, "ran the strike in the nearby Gdynia shipyard, where workers locked up



Polish trade union leader Lech Walesa speaks to workers in Gdansk.

directors for 48 hours without food and forced them to stand up on a cart to account for their misdeeds."

The main Warsaw daily, *Zycie Warszawy*, took note in its November 1 issue of the decreased friendliness in the tone of the Western media toward Solidarity: "The comment [in the U.S. press] on the Polish theme is much more restrained now and there is a much more perceptible concern about the efforts such events might have on the international situation."

"This concern is still more marked in the statements of responsible U.S. politicians who express Washington's growing fears that tension and instability in Poland will have more and more deleterious effects on the world situation."

The latest concession to the workers indicates that the Soviet rulers fear the consequences of any military step against Poland. They are keenly aware of the possibility of massive opposition from the Russian workers as well as fierce resistance from the Poles.

In an effort to reach out to Russian workers, Polish railworkers have begun writing slogans like "Solidarnosc" on the sides of box cars going to the USSR. Soviet officials frantically painted over them at the border.

While recognizing that Soviet military intervention is possible and adjusting their tactics accordingly, the Polish workers have made clear that they are not faint of heart. Lech Walesa, the most prominent leader of Solidarity, received stormy applause from thousands of workers in Czesochowa last month when he said, "Don't be scared of rockets, tanks, and other things."

The rise of the labor movement is sparking activity among students.

Independent student groups are being formed across the country to press demands for a greater voice in university academic and administrative affairs. Groups have emerged on campuses to debate the developments since the workers' strikes.

There is also a growing demand for freedom of the press and the right to read all points of view.

At an Association of Journalists congress an "intervention committee" was set up to protect journalists from editorial meddling and another group to help in drawing up new legislation to restrict censorship.

The Polish Stalinist rulers are seeking to blame all their troubles on "persistent social tension," as party leader Kania put it. They hope to make workers accept the austerity plans that sparked the summer strikes without yielding to their demands for a voice in economic planning.

But this doesn't seem likely to occur. Already, the government has announced that a possible rationing of meat, fat, and sugar will be presented for nationwide discussion—in deference to demands by Solidarity and other groups for fairer distribution.

U.S. spurns pleas of 102 stranded Haitians

By Osborne Hart

The plight of 102 Haitians marooned on a tiny Caribbean island has put a world spotlight on the U.S. government's callous treatment of thousands of refugees from the Duvalier dictatorship.

The group of refugees has been stranded on Cayo Lobos, no larger than a football field, for more than a month.

While the U.S., Bahamian, and Haitian governments debated who has jurisdiction, five of the refugees died of dehydration and starvation. Six others died during their trip from Haiti.

The Haitians, trying to flee to the United States, were forced ashore by a



Part of group of 102 Haitian refugees stranded on Cayo Lobos for forty days before being taken back to Haiti at gunpoint.

As we go to press

Bahamian police reportedly stormed Cayo Lobos November 12 with nightsticks and semi-automatic weapons to forcibly deport the shipwrecked refugees back to Haiti, where they are likely to be killed.

storm October 3. On October 9, a U.S. Coast Guard plane unexpectedly discovered them and reported their existence to the U.S. Embassy in the Bahamas.

During the course of the next twenty-eight days, the ordeal of the stranded refugees was disavowed and suppressed.

A Coast Guard memo in the Miami office, dated October 20, instructed its personnel: "Do not release any detailed information on this incident."

The Carter administration alleges that it knew nothing of the refugees until the *Miami Herald* contacted the White House on November 7.

At that time, Eugene Eidenberg, special assistant to President Carter, vowed to the *Herald*, "Either the Bahamian government solves this problem today or the U.S. government will pick these people up tonight or tomorrow, and bring them to Florida if necessary."

On November 11—thirty-three days after the Coast Guard sighting—the Bahamian government sent a "rescue" ship to Cayo Lobos.

The Haitians refused to go. The Bahamian authorities were going to take them back to Haiti.

"I can't go any place but Miami," explained Claude Pierre, the captain of

the Haitians' boat. "We lost everything in Haiti. They will beat us up, kill us, put us in jail. It is a decision between life and death."

In contrast, thirty-three Cubans fleeing their homeland in 1970, stranded on the same island, were promptly rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard at the request of the Bahamian government.

Tens of thousands of Haitians are desperate to escape Duvalier's repression. The U.S. government refuses to grant them political asylum because it supports the Duvalier dictatorship. There are 25-30,000 Haitian refugees in the United States seeking asylum.

In recent weeks the stream of Hai-

tians arriving in Florida has increased to an average of 200 a day.

The increase is attributed to the Bahamian government's crackdown on Haitians, ordering 25,000 there deported to Haiti, and the stepped up repression by the Duvalier regime.

Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., in Miami, reported:

"A close friend who arrived from Haiti . . . said the repressive machine is crushing down on everyone—not just the poor and peasants anymore."

"And the people who want to get the word out are being beaten, mutilated and killed."

Atlanta march to protest racist murders

By H.L. Hunter

ATLANTA—At a news conference held at city hall November 11, a coalition of religious and civil rights organizations announced plans for a demonstration to protest the racist violence that has resulted in the murders and disappearances of at least fifteen Black children.

Pamela Blockey, a spokesperson for the coalition "United People Against

Why did Atlanta cops call in psychic? See 'Clairvoyant racism,' page 23.

Persecution" explained the purpose of the action "is to unite and strengthen the bonds between people of all religious beliefs, socio-economic levels, racial and ethnic backgrounds who are grieved by the murdered and missing children and who abhor the increasing racial and religious intolerance, anti-Semitism, neo-Nazi activities, and worldwide violence."

The march will take place Sunday,

November 23, starting at 3:00 p.m.

It will begin at the Ebenezer Baptist Church at Auburn Avenue and Jackson Street and culminate at Central City Park with a program of speakers.

"We urge all concerned citizens to join the walk to signify that they will not stand by idly while helpless victims are deprived of human dignity, freedom, and life," said Blockey.

"The last time racial intolerance and anti-Semitism raised its head," she said, "the result was World War II and 54 million dead. Twelve million died in concentration camps."

"The walk will demonstrate that people of goodwill and faith will stand up and be counted as defenders of social justice and democratic values of freedom and equality for all."

Others at the press conference included Earl Shinhoster, southeast regional director of the NAACP; Rev. Timothy McDonald, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church; and Rabbi Beverly Lerner.

Meanwhile, a special task force set up in July to investigate the eleven

murders and four disappearances has yet to turn up a single clue.

Many of the most publicized police efforts, including a reward fund, door-to-door canvassing by fire fighters, and calling in a psychic and two FBI agents, are viewed by many here as mere publicity stunts intended to cover up the fact that the task force has come up with no suspects or leads.

The most recent police action has been to call in detectives from other parts of the country to act as consultants in the case.

Responding to complaints, Atlanta police chief George Napper said last week, "None of our people has ever worked on a case of this magnitude or complexity before. It has been too tough."

But according to an investigation by the *Atlanta Constitution*, other officials maintain that better planning, coordination, organization, and leadership could have meant cracking the case by now.

Officials inside and outside the task force complain, according to the *Con-*

stitution, "We've got people on the task force with little, if any, investigative experience. We've got to stop assigning people to the task force just because they are available or won't be missed where they are."

Another high-ranking official complained, "The problem with the task force is that the man who is in charge, W.J. Taylor, never had one day's worth of investigative experience."

The *Constitution* investigation revealed that tips have been turned over to investigators sometimes as much as a week after the information was originally received.

Investigators have taken as long as three or four days to begin work on tips classified "high priority."

On November 8, close to 1,000 people—the same number as the previous week—joined volunteer teams that carried out their own search for clues in the murders.

The November 23 march gives bitter and frustrated Atlantans another opportunity to protest police inaction in bringing the racist killers to justice.

Organizer discusses nat'l Black convention

By Chris Davis

PHILADELPHIA—"We're trying to get the word out to people at the grass roots level in the Black community that this is going to be a different kind of party," Zaharah Simmons said in an interview here November 4.

Simmons was speaking of plans for the founding convention of the "Independent National Black Political Party," which will take place in Philadelphia November 21-23. The convention has been called by the National Black Political Assembly.

An activist in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee during the 1960s, Simmons is a member of the steering committee that is planning the convention.

"I think the decline of Black folk in particular in the electoral process at the national level is an indication that people...realize they have no choice," said Simmons. "And that the electoral process at the national level, especially at the presidential level, has less and less relevance to the problems that confront us every day in our lives."

New kind of party

Simmons said that Carter, Reagan, and Anderson all represented "the interests of the wealthy."

In a statement released earlier this fall, the National Black Political Assembly urged Black Americans to withhold their votes from any of the three major presidential candidates in the 1980 elections. Blacks were encouraged instead to come to Philadelphia to discuss founding an independent Black political party.

Simmons said that in her view, such a party "will not be a party, first of all, primarily concerned with electoral politics. That will have, in the minds of those of us who are working on the



National Black Political Assembly chairperson Ron Daniels and Black educator Barbara Sizemore will be among the keynote speakers at Black political convention.



formation of this party, a very small portion of our concern.

"The party will be devoted to community building," she explained, "providing some of the needed services, engaging in community struggles, and bringing them under a national banner."

The party would organize "around the issues of our lives. The fact that we don't control our own communities, the fact that we don't control our schools, that we have no control over whether there are available jobs."

She thinks the party would "have a massive job to do in educating people that when we say an independent Black political party, we're not talking about a party like the Republican and Democratic parties."

"I think the disillusionment of so many of our people with the present system will make them inclined to join

us," said Simmons. "Maybe not initially, but if we are true to what we say we're about and really get into the community by working, I think people will be drawn to us. I think that people are looking for an alternative."

Purpose of convention

She explained that the purpose of the convention "is to found the party, and the main focus of our work will be on the charter or constitution, which will include the ideology and goals of the party."

Much of the tentative convention agenda devotes time to discussing the program of the new party.

Simmons said convention organizers plan to convene state caucus meetings and women's and youth caucuses in addition to the plenary sessions that will discuss the party charter.

"Nothing but a broad outline has

been set forward in the call for the party, which was issued in New Orleans at the National Black Political Assembly Black Political Convention," she said.

"I certainly have my ideas about what I'd like to see. But I will be just one of hopefully a thousand or more Black people bringing their ideas, bringing their concerns, their experience, and working together to develop a party program, party ideology, and a party structure."

"The convention is open to participation by all members of the Black community," Simmons said.

"Each state delegation will be the Black folks who have come from those states. It will be an open convention."

'Open & democratic'

"Of course," she said, "that means that it's going to be very difficult to do the kind of work we have to do, because you're going to have people who don't know each other coming from all spectrums of political thought."

"Nonetheless, if we're serious about building a mass party, and I think that we are, then this is the way we have to do it. It has to be open, it has to be democratic."

Keynote speakers at the convention will include National Black Political Assembly chairperson Ron Daniels, journalist Manning Marable, Howard University professor Ron Walters, and Barbara Sizemore, former Washington, D.C., public schools superintendent.

The November 21-23 founding convention of the Independent National Black Political Party will take place at Benjamin Franklin High School in Philadelphia. For more information, contact convention organizers at (215) 849-4944.

...Stevens

Continued from page 4

cause those people know how to fight. See, the whites were scared at first. But they couldn't scare the colored people."

Are whites and Blacks working together in the union now, we asked?

"Oh, sure," said the woman's seventeen-year-old granddaughter. "I don't think this contract would have come through if they hadn't."

It was this kind of unity that kept the union strong in the six long years since the union election in 1974—six years in which the company refused to bargain, fired and harassed union

members, and bombarded the plant with anti-union scare propaganda through its "J.P. Stevens Employees Educational Committee."

Stevens's last major union-busting tactic was to freeze wages at 1978 levels at Roanoke Rapids, while granting raises at its non-union plants.

The move was meant to scare workers away from the union, but it backfired. Clyde Bush, an organizer for ACTWU, estimates that union membership rose to an all-time high of 70 percent as anger grew over the wage freeze.

"You've got people here who loved the company six years ago, who are members of the union today. They've

seen what this company is."

The growing support for Stevens workers from working people across the country put added pressure on the company. Thousands of unionists learned of their struggle through protest demonstrations, the consumer boycott campaign, and the Academy Award-winning movie *Norma Rae*, which was based on the story of Roanoke Rapids union activist Crystal Lee Sutton.

Union members point out that their fight is far from over. "We've been at war with this company for seventeen years," says Clyde Bush. "I don't expect them to roll over and die."

Right now, Bush said, the union is

busy setting up a shop steward system and preparing to tackle problems like speed-up and unsafe working conditions.

He is also convinced—as are many in Roanoke Rapids—that the victory here will set an example for textile workers and other low-paid workers throughout the "right to work" South.

To organize the South will take a major battle against the politicians, both Democratic and Republican, who have worked to make these states a happy hunting ground for corporate profiteers. But if the mill workers of Roanoke Rapids are any indication, working people in the South are ready for that fight.

Auto workers kick around election results

By Reba Williams Dixon

NEW YORK—"Wartime!"

"There go our jobs."

"God help us!"

These were just a few of the responses from auto workers in answering the question, "What do you think of the outcome of the elections?"

Socialists who talked to workers at the Ford assembly plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, and the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, found that neither Reagan nor Carter had won the confidence of a majority.

Workers at Metuchen heard the news at around 10 o'clock that Reagan had won.

James, who works the night shift, said that as soon as the people around him heard the news the mood began to change. "Most people got depressed. The mood was one that war is on the agenda. Some guy yelled out, 'It's going to be bad time for the auto plants.'"

John, thirty-five, has worked at Tarrytown for fifteen years. "There is a difference between bad and worse," he said. "I voted for Carter. I figured my vote would make a difference. But as things turned out it didn't."

Greg, a twenty-year-old who works at the Ford plant, explained, "I didn't

Reba Williams Dixon, who was Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New York's Nineteenth District, works at General Motors in Tarrytown.



Women workers at Tarrytown plant were interviewed by Belgian television October 20 for program on women in 1980 elections. Above, Fran Collet, an assembly line worker who supported the Socialist Workers Party ticket, explains her views.

bother to vote, didn't even bother to register. There was no choice between Carter and Reagan. And Reagan's going to start a war."

He added, "My father voted for Reagan. He's worked here for thirty years. He wasn't satisfied with Carter's record. So he thought it was time for a change."

"I didn't like Carter, either. He wanted to bring back the draft. And if I'm drafted I'll head for the hills. Unless we're going to Iran, then I'll go

there for the hostages."

One fifty-year-old Black man stated that there was no change after each election rolled around, and that was why he hadn't voted since 1968. "It makes no difference in my life who is president."

Debbie, a twenty-year-old woman at Tarrytown, declared, "People gave Carter a chance. Last time around I was too young to vote. But this time I voted. Carter would have sent my husband to war. He's nineteen and

works here, too. I didn't hear Reagan talking about the draft."

Some considered voting for "minority" party candidates. A young worker explained, "We didn't have much choice. I almost voted for Barry Commoner, but I didn't want to waste a vote."

Leon, who works at Tarrytown, said, "I almost voted for you all [the Socialist Workers Party], but Pulley is too young and that young lady you had running for Congress [Reba Williams Dixon] is too young, too. But I respect her. Just getting on the ballot was a monumental task. She bucked the system and I respect that."

Some predicted that Reagan would not be dramatically worse than Carter. Most were disillusioned with Carter, but fearful of war under Reagan.

At Tarrytown some of the workers spend their half-hour lunch period in a nearby bar where they pick up hot sandwiches to gobble down when they get back on the line.

At 9 p.m. on the night of the election, when the returns showing Reagan well in the lead flashed on the TV screen, boos and hisses rang out.

One middle-aged Black man turned to a friend and asked if he had voted. His friend said no. The older man asked, "Man, why not? Don't you know that it is your patriotic duty to vote?"

His friend replied, "It's my patriotic duty not to vote. None of them ever did anything for Black people. So why should we do anything for them?"

Virginia socialist gets 10 percent of vote

By George Kontanis

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Sharon Grant, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate in Virginia's First Congressional District, rolled up 13,616 votes, about 10 percent of the total, against Republican incumbent and hard-line Reaganite Paul Trible. Trible was the only other candidate on the ballot.

The Democratic Party decided not to contest Trible, since his views were not so very different from their own.

In three Black precincts in Newport News and Hampton, Grant received over 40 percent of the vote. In nearby Williamsburg, the home of William and Mary College, where Grant and socialist campaigners spoke several times, the socialist candidate received 18 percent of the vote.

She rolled up similar totals in several nearby rural, largely Black, counties like Charles City.

As of press time, the Pulley-Zimmermann presidential ticket had won over 400 votes in Charlottesville, the First District (Newport News and Hampton) and the Fourth District (Portsmouth and Chesapeake).

A reporter was on hand from the *Daily Press*, the Newport News major newspaper, to cover the socialist election night party here November 4.

Grant told reporters her party is planning to enter next year's governor's race.

In the weeks leading up to the election, the Socialist Workers campaign was featured in most of the Tidewater area newspapers—the *Daily Press*, the *Times Herald*, and the *Virginia Pilot*, as well as several other Virginia newspapers such as the *Faquier Democrat* and *Hopewell News*.

Grant debated opposing campaign spokespersons from the Republican, Democratic, Libertarian, and Citizens Parties at a forum on "Feminism and the Presidential Campaign" sponsored by the Williamsburg Women's Center at William and Mary College October 7.

Socialist campaign supporters picketed a meeting for Paul Trible at the Hilton Rotary Club. Grant hit hard at Trible's refusal to debate her about the issues, such as his calls for the draft and support for increased military spending.

The socialist campaign was featured for a half hour on Channel 15, the major public television outlet in Tidewater.

Tidewater socialists combined campaigning with sales of subscriptions to the *Militant*. In the past two weeks of the campaign, supporters set and reached the goal of winning thirty new readers to the *Militant*.

They sent campaign teams to Charlottesville and Richmond to meet new campaign supporters. Socialists also went to Roanoke Rapids to bring solidarity to victorious J. P. Stevens textile workers of North Carolina.



Militant/Frank Lord

Sharon Grant, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, at debate sponsored by League of Women Voters.

More election returns



Stayskal/Chicago Tribune

"Why is it that after every election, I feel like the loser?"

A referendum on barring "the expenditure of county funds for the purpose of utilizing any language other than English, or promoting any culture other than that of the United States" carried by a reported three-to-two margin in Dade County, Florida.

The racist measure was aimed specifically at Miami's growing Spanish-speaking community, although the majority of Black voters also saw it as a threat and voted no.

The Socialist Workers Party strongly urged a vote against the measure.

In San Francisco, a ballot issue providing for the election of the Board of Supervisors by district was defeated. The SWP favored this measure as increasing the possibility of winning representation for the Black and Hispanic communities.

The vote totals for parties other than the Democrats and Republicans continue to trickle in.

Ed Clark, Libertarian Party presidential candidate, got 880,000 votes. The Libertarian Party is a right-wing outfit that opposes social security, public education, and other basic needs. Clark's campaign stance of

opposition to the draft and U.S. military intervention abroad undoubtedly account for part of his vote total.

Barry Commoner, the environmental scientist who was the candidate of the Citizen's Party, got 220,000 votes.

As usual, state governments are taking their time about providing the vote totals of left candidates.

In Vermont, SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley was reported as having 81 votes; Communist Party candidate Gus Hall got 121; and David McReynolds, the Socialist Party standard-bearer, got 134.

In Ohio, the SWP candidates got 4,191 votes; Hall got 5,016; and the Workers World Party's Dierdre Griswold got 4,094.

In the race for Senate in Ohio (won by Democrat John Glenn) SWP candidate John Powers got 76,765 (2 percent of the total), and the Communist Party candidate Rick Nagin got 43,239.

In the race for Congress from Ohio's first district, SWP candidate Scott Breen got 3,544 votes, or 2.1 percent of the total.

Pa. protest set to save Black college

By Newton Brown

PHILADELPHIA—Students and faculty at Cheyney State College—the oldest public Black college, located twenty miles from here—have called a march and rally to save their school for Monday, November 17.

To be held in the state capital of Harrisburg, the march will assemble at Third and Cumberland Streets at 11:30 a.m.



TONY BROWN

Cheyney students and faculty have filed a discrimination suit against the state of Pennsylvania, the federal government, and the school's president.

The suit is designed to rectify past inequalities in facilities and academic programs that have made Cheyney inferior to predominately white schools in the state system.

Rally speakers will include Tony Brown, host of the syndicated Black television show "Tony Brown's Journal" and central organizer of the Save Black College Day demonstration that drew 10,000 in Washington on September 29; David Richardson, Black state representative; Roland Atkins, attorney for the Cheyney suit; and Milton Street, state senator-elect.

For more information, contact the Cheyney State Student Activities Office at (215) 758-2300.

Brooklyn layoff stuns Polish worker

By Robert Dees

NEW YORK—On October 31 approximately 100 workers were laid off at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The previous Friday several hundred subcontractor workers were laid off.

These layoffs come when the Navy Yard is busier than it has been since World War II.

The evening of the layoffs, many of us were asked to work overtime and to come in on Saturday.

So why the layoffs? Because it's profitable for the boss.

Many workers have been hired in the past two months and are nearing the end of their 40-day probationary period.

By laying off these workers and then either re-hiring them or hiring others to take their place, this batch of workers will still (again!) be on probation during the upcoming holidays—Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year. The company gets out of paying these workers for the holidays.

There is apparently a second reason. Every year there is a layoff around November 1 at the yard, when the contract raise goes into effect.

Many believe this is to intimidate those still working so they will not make waves about the pitiful pay raise.

One of those laid off was a Polish pipefitter who immigrated from Szczecin less than a year ago. He simply could not understand.

"But two months ago they said they wanted me," he said.

Another worker had to explain several times what was happening.

Unemployment compensation in New York is only \$125 per week, hardly enough to support a family. But to qualify, one must have worked 20 weeks, which the laid-off probationary workers have not.

"But in this country, if you don't work, you can't live," the Polish worker exclaimed.

Welcome to capitalism.

UAW food workers strike, cannot picket

By Wells Todd

TARRYTOWN, N.Y.—About thirty cafeteria workers have been on strike at the General Motors plant here since mid-October.

They are members of United Auto Workers Local 664, the same local that represents production workers at the plant.

The food workers are paid less than half of what the other members of the local make.

The strike is nationwide, against twenty-six Profit Foods operations.

In an interview with the *Militant*, striker Robert Inzar explained some of the issues of the strike:

"We make \$4.28 an hour. Profit Foods is a subsidiary of Greyhound Corporation. They're offering a three-year contract with a 50-cent raise the first year and 45 cents a year the second and third.

"They're refusing our demand for a cost-of-living allowance. After three weeks on strike they offered another nickel an hour. We turned them down."

The UAW leadership has refused to allow the cafeteria workers to put up a picket line. Since it would result in shutting the auto plant, General Motors got an agreement from the union to prevent it. It leaves the strikers in a weak position.

Inzar said, "We are all in the same local. We need the support of our brothers and sisters inside the plant."

Wells Todd is an auto assembly worker at the Tarrytown General Motors plant.

Miami Black youth convicted: justice is blind, so was witness

By Osborne Hart

James McCullough, a twenty-year-old Black, was convicted for the fatal beating of a white youth during the Miami rebellion last May.

The Dade County Circuit Court found McCullough guilty of manslaughter October 28 in the death of Jeffrey Kulp. Another Black youth, Frankie James, was acquitted on the same charge.

They were initially charged with second-degree murder. McCullough faces a possible fifteen years imprisonment.

But that's just the beginning of the story.

Kulp and his brother were driving through the Black community at the height of the May 17 rebellion.

Kulp's car hit an eleven-year-old Black girl, Shanreka Perry,

crushing her leg. The leg had to be amputated.

An angry crowd of 200-300 Blacks dragged Kulp and his brother from the vehicle and beat them. Jeffrey Kulp died four weeks later from his injuries.

McCullough and James were two of four arrested and charged with the assault. Two others are scheduled for a November 24 trial.

State attorneys could produce only two witnesses who would identify McCullough and James.

One witness was threatened with contempt of court to force him to testify.

The other, Mary Lois Kinsey, the state's primary witness against McCullough, is legally blind.

Kinsey claims that she "can

see pretty good in the daytime, but at night not at all."

The incident happened during late afternoon.

Although she was unable to point to McCullough, Kinsey identified him twenty feet away from the witness stand. She claimed to have recognized McCullough out of a crowd of 200-300 Black people and watched him "give him [Kulp] the dynamic elbow [a wrestling punch] three times."

Sure.

The McCullough trial is the only one so far in any of the eighteen deaths—the overwhelming majority Black—that occurred during the rebellion.

None of the murderers—cops, National Guard, and lone racists—of Blacks have been charged.

Sydenham struggle provokes confrontation in N.Y. union

NEW YORK—The battle to save Sydenham Hospital in Harlem has erupted within District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the largest union representing New York City workers.

Hospital Workers Local 420 of AFSCME helped organize massive protests at Sydenham in September to protest the closing, which jeopardizes the medical care of Harlem residents.

The mostly Black and Latino hospital workers have to fight the budget-cutting of Democrat Mayor Edward Koch and the backing Koch gets from District Council Executive Director Victor Gotbaum.

Local 420 President James Butler helped mobilize support from the union movement and the Black community to keep Sydenham open.

Gotbaum's response was to complain that Local 420 was "embarrassing the Council."

On October 29, members of Local 420 went in buses to the



Militant/Wells Todd

Sydenham protest in September

headquarters of DC 37 to protest another stab in the back. An agreement on contracting-out work was reached with the Health and Hospital Corporation that would eliminate the jobs of twenty-eight members of the local at Coney Island Hospital in Brooklyn.

The union members were met at the entrance to their district union headquarters by four

squad cars of police.

That night, at the District Council's Delegate Assembly, Gotbaum stationed plainclothes police inside the meeting room.

This led to a sharp confrontation between Butler and other union delegates who protested the presence of cops.

After the meeting, delegates from Local 420 and others put up a picket line outside the building, chanting, "cops out of the union hall."

A meeting of the DC 37 Executive Board on November 6 dealt Gotbaum a slap in the face by voting ten to six against cops in the union hall.

The large and militant protests against the Sydenham closing have inspired other motion against the cutbacks in public services and attacks on city workers.

Gotbaum contends that Local 420 "embarrassed" the union. But the actions of that local are a promising development in the course the union movement will have to take here.

Ga. Teamsters strike Frito-Lay

By Tom Fiske

CHAMBLEE, Ga.—Teamsters Union members have been on strike against the Frito-Lay potato chip plant here since October 27.

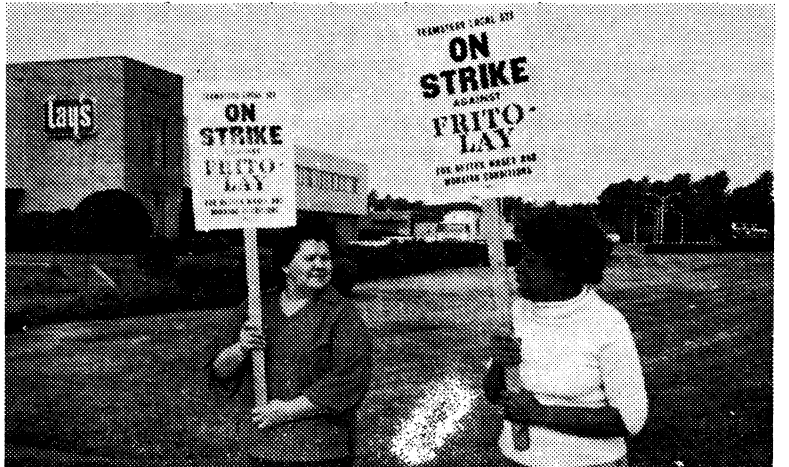
The strike in this suburb of Atlanta comes after an intensive company speed-up drive and an attempt to drive out the union.

Marvin Bell, a Black worker with seventeen years at Frito-Lay, explained that last June a decertification election was held. "They promised us anything . . . but we voted to keep the union by over two to one."

When the Teamsters organized the plant twelve years ago, the cafeteria was still segregated and raises were 5 cents a year "if the boss liked you."

Although raises have been higher recently, so has inflation.

"Three years ago I could save some money. Now I can't



Militant/Tom Fiske

Teamster pickets in Chamblee, Georgia

make it," Mary Thomas told me. She has worked at the plant fifteen years.

The 400 striking members of Local 528 are demanding a cost-of-living escalator and a big wage increase to make up for past losses. The company's last offer was \$1.63 spread over

three years.

Making and selling potato chips is a very profitable business. Mary Thomas pointed out, "They keep telling us the Chamblee plant is number one, it makes more money than any other plant. Why can't we have some of it?"

Fraser on Madison Avenue

Will UAW 'Buy American' ads save jobs?

By Frank Lovell

Full-page "Buy American" advertisements appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Los Angeles Times*, and some editions of the *Wall Street Journal* starting October 28. A series of three such ads were published. They warned against foreign-made cars, claiming that a constant stream of Japanese automobiles into this country is causing unemployment here.

A similar campaign on radio began shortly after the November 4 general election. It runs for four weeks in fifteen markets.

Total cost of this advertising spree is \$200,000, paid by the United Auto Workers. The money comes from interest gains on the union's \$300 million strike fund.

Douglas Fraser, UAW president, said many American car buyers are "completely ignorant" of the sufferings of unemployed auto workers. His "exclusive concern," he said, is for the 300,000 laid-off workers in the U.S. auto industry.

On a related matter, Fraser said the Chrysler Corporation is negotiating with a West German manufacturer for the sale of its New Castle, Indiana, parts plant and that Chrysler's Huber foundry in Detroit is closing. Fraser is on the Chrysler Board of Directors.

Freedom of choice?

A typical UAW-financed "Buy American" ad says most American consumers are willing to pay higher prices to protect jobs in this country, "if given a choice." The fact that only one-fourth of all cars sold in this country are imports might be generously construed as confirming the UAW claim. Imports in the lower-price range are cheaper than comparable American cars, and industry tests show that they are better built.

Of course, it's also true that dealers are now selling all the small, fuel-efficient cars—U.S.-built

Import curbs rejected

The U.S. International Trade Commission ruled November 10 that restrictions on auto imports are not justified because imports are not the main cause of the domestic industry's problems.

Commission member Paula Stern also said "that import restrictions won't save jobs in the U.S. industry because productivity improvements will keep employment low in the future," according to the November 11 *Wall Street Journal*.

Douglas Fraser, Chrysler board member and United Auto Workers union president, responded that the UAW would step up its 'Buy American' advertising campaign.

or imported—they can get from the manufacturers. General Motors and Ford plants producing the new subcompacts are working overtime.

What is not proved is that—if imports were blocked off—American consumers would choose to buy the larger models or would have the money to afford their high price tags.

The UAW ad campaign pleads only for "temporary import restraints." One ad says U.S. auto workers "want the chance to produce the smaller, more fuel-efficient cars that we know can compete with any the world has to offer. Once our industry finishes retooling, it's a trade free-for-all," says the ad. "No restrictions. No advantages."

The "temporary import restraints" demanded from the International Trade Commission by the UAW and Ford would amount to an indirect subsidy for the U.S. auto corporations, paid for by American consumers in the form of higher prices.

The mark-up on each car sold has been estimated at around \$150. That's on top of the thousand dollars or so the U.S. firms have raised auto prices since last year.

Losing money to make money

All U.S. auto corporations have reported "record losses" this year. Most are accounted for by huge investments in the worldwide reorganization of the auto industry.

These funds are not "lost"—they are spent in the calculated expectation of bringing high profits in the future.

General Motors, for example, slightly behind Ford in the "lost" column, reported a \$567 million deficit for the three months ending September 30. This will

7 of 10 Americans Agree: Paying For Imports With Our Jobs Is A Price We Can't Afford.



Every ship bringing foreign-made cars to America carries a hidden cargo. Unemployment. For each foreign car sold here, one of our workers gets laid off. Right now, hundreds of thousands of workers in the auto and related industries remain idle. And more Americans are discovering a related fact: that the few dollars they may save in buying an import soon get eaten up in other ways. Like higher taxes for unemployment insurance and food stamps. And higher prices due to lost productivity. These realities have led Americans to conclude that given a choice between higher unemployment or cheaper foreign goods, it's more important to protect jobs. That's according to a New York Times CBS poll published June 27, 1980. The poll shows that a majority of Americans, regardless of income level, political philosophy, party affiliation, region, or education, shares this conclusion. Auto workers don't enjoy being idle. We want the chance to produce the smaller, more fuel-efficient cars that we know can compete with any the world has to offer. Once our industry finishes retooling, it's a trade free-for-all. No restrictions. No advantages. But until this occurs, and until foreign auto firms agree to produce here some of the cars they sell here—as Volkswagen has done—we need temporary import restraints. We're glad that more Americans agree with us. Because a fair trade policy will mean more jobs, more productivity, and a stronger economy. And that will benefit us all.



International Union, UAW

Full page ad in October 31 'New York Times.' Fraser used \$200,000 of union's strike fund for such ads. UAW also announced layoffs of at least thirty organizers to save money.

be converted into a healthy tax deduction at the end of the year. In this way the big corporations find additional subsidies, all at the expense of American consumers and taxpayers.

These government subsidies are essential to the capitalist reorganization of industry. But they do not create jobs for the workers who are the victims of the reorganizing process.

At the beginning of this year Chrysler received a gift from Congress in the form of a \$1.5 billion loan guarantee. All parties involved in this—Chrysler, the Congress, then President Carter, and the UAW officialdom—claimed that it would "save jobs."

The Chrysler bailout did not create a single new job in the auto industry. More auto workers have been laid off in the past year.

It did not save a single job at Chrysler—except maybe the chairman of the board of directors and other similar non-productive and highly expensive positions. More Chrysler plants have been closed for good this year than ever before.

The only new job created was an additional place on the board of directors for UAW President Fraser, and that is reportedly a non-paying job as well as non-productive.

Worldwide production

The auto industry is sinking huge capital expenditures into the worldwide production of automobiles. GM boasts of a \$40 billion capital spending program between now and 1984.

"This is the most ambitious product and facility improvement program ever undertaken by any corporation anywhere in the world at any time in history," says GM. "Our earnings are down dramatically and, therefore, our costs also must come down just as dramatically."

How does GM plan to cut costs? By automating production and reducing the work force. Automated GM facilities "recently completed, under construction or announced are in Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Michigan.

"GM also has expansion plans underway in Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Australia, Austria, Spain, France, and Northern Ireland," says company publicity. "These facilities will enable GM to produce and market the most exciting, most efficient, and the highest quality cars the world has ever seen."

It doesn't say who will buy these cars or where they will be sold, but GM still considers the largest share of its car market to be in the United States. Major components of all U.S. brand cars will be produced in American-owned facilities abroad—

"Once our industry finishes retooling," in the words of the UAW's "Buy American" ad.

"Once our industry finishes retooling," there will be many fewer jobs in the U.S. auto industry than ever before, and more cars produced.

An article by Harley Shaiken in the *Nation* magazine October 11 on the reorganization of the auto industry says: "The hoopla attending the industry's efforts to woo back the fickle American car buyer has diverted attention from the profound structural transformation that is taking place as auto makers race to install the latest forms of computer technology, downsize cars, automate factories and restructure operations on a global scale."

The UAW "Buy American" ads are part of the hoopla, in no way related to the welfare of laid-off auto workers in this country or anywhere else.

"The trend toward foreign 'sourcing,' as it is known in the industry, is illustrated by the scramble to build engine plants in Mexico," Shaiken writes. "G.M. is erecting a facility capable of producing 400,000 six-cylinder engines per year; Chrysler is doubling the annual capacity of its yet uncompleted plant to 440,000 units; Ford is constructing a factory that will initially produce 500,000 or more engines, and Volkswagen has cancelled plans for a U.S. engine plant in favor of a 300,000 unit expansion of its present Mexican facility."

Join forces

In view of these developments the membership of the UAW, dropping drastically, would be wise to join forces with auto workers around the world (many will be working for U.S. corporations, maybe most of them) to demand shorter hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay.

The shorter workweek is the only way to overcome structural unemployment that results from automation of industry. The workers ought to share in the labor-saving advances of modern technology instead of being the victims of it.

Corporations have never been known to share voluntarily. But the union has in the past convinced the giants of the American auto industry that sharing is better—better than the losses the companies would take in an industry-wide strike, that is.

If such a mobilization of union power should become necessary it would certainly be a better use of the UAW strike fund, in keeping with the purpose of the fund. It beats squandering money on foolish ads for the mythical "American-built car" that doesn't exist now and is not likely to be resurrected.

What really steals jobs?

Harley Shaiken's article on the auto industry in the October 11 *Nation* magazine provides useful information on what projected reorganization will really mean for jobs.

The U.S. industry's plans for future profitability rest on big advances in automation and computerization, says Shaiken.

For the S car minicompact General Motors plans to introduce in the 1984 model year, the company is trying to reduce assembly time to ten hours. GM's fastest assembly time now is eighteen hours for an average-equipped Chevette, and Chrysler's average for all models was thirty-six hours in 1979.

S cars are to be produced at the rate of seventy-five an hour in a plant with only 750 direct labor employees per shift, Shaiken writes. GM's Arlington, Texas, plant now produces fifty-eight mid-size cars per hour with a work force of 2,000 per shift.

If Chrysler Corporation survives the next few years, it will be because Chrysler workers' jobs have not.

Some of Chrysler's federal loan-guarantee money has gone into buying the most advanced auto-body welding system in the United States. Ninety-eight percent of the welding operations in a 1981 Aries or Reliant K are done automatically.

In a report submitted to Congress, Chrysler says it plans to ship nearly two million vehicles in 1983 with 143 million direct labor hours. "If the workweek stays the same," Shaiken writes, "this means that Chrysler's pre-slump hourly employment of 115,000 will be reduced to about 80,000."

YSA political resolution sees gains ahead

By Lisa Hickler

Revolutionary confidence.

That's the best term to describe the outlook of the Young Socialist Alliance. Confidence in revolutionary perspectives for the United States and rest of the world.

This outlook permeates a political resolution recently adopted by the national executive committee of the YSA.

Entitled "Revolutionary Advances in 1980: Perspectives for Building the Young Socialist Alliance," the resolution will be discussed and acted on by the twentieth national convention of the YSA, to be held December 27-30 in Indianapolis.

The deepening crisis of capitalism at home and abroad is causing many young people to see the world with new eyes. Increasing numbers are open to socialist ideas.

A major added factor in this process, the resolution explains, is the impact

of revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean.

Despite the campaign of slander against it, the Cuban revolution continues to be an attractive force for many young people. And now there are the successful revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, as well as the mounting revolutionary struggle in El Salvador.

Realistic perspective

In the words of the resolution, the events in these countries "demonstrate to the whole world that revolutionary perspectives are realistic."

And they assume special importance at this moment when American youth are among the hardest hit by unemployment, draft registration, inflation, and the poison of racism and sexism.

The impact of all this is reflected in many ways, including the growth of the YSA.

As in Nicaragua and Grenada, youth in this country will play an important role in resisting the attacks on the rights of working people by the employers and government.

The rulers of this country have a deep-rooted suspicion of young people, and a scarcely concealed hostility toward them. Their motto is: Don't trust anyone under thirty.

Reason to fear

Their fear of youth is not unfounded. In Nicaragua, the president of the council of state is under thirty. Nicaragua's ambassador to Cuba is in his early twenties.

Dessima Williams, the Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, is under thirty.

She was designated by Grenada as its ambassador to the United States. But Washington rejected her as "too young!"

Obviously they fear the example such youthful revolutionaries might offer. Particularly when they think of such things as Miami's recent Black rebellion.

The attitude of the YSA is exactly the opposite. We hail these revolutionary youth. We're proud that one of the honored guests at our convention will be a representative of the National Youth Organization of the New Jewel Movement, which led Grenada's revolution.

Solidarity work

The YSA political resolution emphasizes that solidarity with the embattled people of Central America and the Caribbean must be a paramount activity.

An integral part of that solidarity effort is the fight in this country against militarism and the draft.

Continued on page 17

Traveling teams bring 'Militant' to new areas

By Harry Ring

Last month, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance organized seventeen subscription teams of three and four people to introduce the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to new areas. They also distributed campaign material for the SWP ticket.

They sold 469 introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*, fifteen to *PM*, plus more than a thousand single issues of the *Militant* and a hundred of *PM*.

The pacesetters, according to our reports, were a team of three from Minnesota's Twin Cities. They spent a week in Nebraska, Iowa, and South Dakota.

They sold fifty-five *Militant* subscriptions, sixty-three single copies, ten copies of the *Young Socialist* and two of *PM*.

A team from Louisville covered central Kentucky and Tennessee. They sold forty-two *Militant* subs, plus forty-seven individual copies. And they recruited three members to the YSA at Beria College.

Imperial Valley

A team from San Diego went to the Imperial Valley, scene of hard-fought farm union battles by Chicano and *mexicano* workers. The team included Mark Friedman, who was running for Congress against Klan-Democrat Tom Metzger.

They visited the towns of Brawley and El Centro, including a stop at

Imperial Valley College. There they enjoyed a friendly reception from the Chicano student organization, MEChA, which invited Friedman to speak at its meeting.

In two days the team sold a dozen subs to the *Militant* and eight to *PM*. They also sold 125 individual copies of the two publications and the *Young Socialist*.

In between, Friedman had a three-minute spot on TV, an interview in the local daily, plus a half-hour radio program.

Copper strikers

A team from Phoenix visited a half dozen small towns in southern Arizona which have been the scene of a long copper miners' strike. Most of the workers are Chicano and *mexicano*.

Three of the places the team visited were company towns.

"When you come into one of these towns," team member Caroline Fowlkes told us, "you can see the class line immediately. It's simple. There's a road through town. On one side is a group of nice looking homes. That's where the supervisory personnel live.

"On the other side are the houses where the workers live. They're small, poorly built, run down. That's where we went."

The striking miners and their families were pleased to learn that fellow unionists were running for president and for U.S. Senate and Congress from Arizona.

The idea of building a labor party,

Fowlkes added, "struck them very favorably. In their town, their union, the Steelworkers is their organization—economically, socially and politically."

Thirty of these striking miners bought subscriptions to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The *Perspectiva Mundial* issue used featured their strike on the back cover. "They were pleased to see it in print," Fowlkes said, "particularly in Spanish."

There is practically no Spanish-language literature available in these

towns, political or otherwise, she added.

Buffalo & Amherst

A team from New York went to Buffalo after the big October 19 antiracist rally there. In four days, they sold forty-two subscriptions and more than sixty single copies of the *Militant*.

Nearly half were sold at Buffalo State University, which has a mainly working-class enrollment. The rest were sold door-to-door in the city's Black community.

A half dozen subscriptions were sold

Continued on page 17

Subscription scoreboard

As of November 8, 1980

| AREA | MILITANT GOAL | SUBS REC'D | PM GOAL | SUBS REC'D | TOTAL GOAL | TOTAL REC'D | % |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| *Piedmont | 125 | 141 | 0 | 1 | 125 | 142 | 114 |
| *Milwaukee | 175 | 189 | 25 | 18 | 200 | 207 | 104 |
| *Phoenix | 80 | 83 | 20 | 21 | 100 | 104 | 104 |
| *Atlanta | 140 | 152 | 10 | 2 | 150 | 154 | 103 |
| Birmingham | 50 | 51 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 51 | 102 |
| *Gary | 100 | 106 | 15 | 8 | 115 | 114 | 99 |
| *Dallas | 115 | 117 | 35 | 27 | 150 | 144 | 96 |
| *Kansas City | 115 | 112 | 10 | 6 | 125 | 118 | 94 |
| *Indianapolis | 140 | 110 | 10 | 23 | 150 | 133 | 89 |
| Morgantown | 100 | 87 | 0 | 0 | 100 | 87 | 87 |
| *Salt Lake City | 135 | 120 | 15 | 10 | 150 | 130 | 87 |
| Newark | 240 | 233 | 60 | 26 | 300 | 259 | 86 |
| Pittsburgh | 165 | 144 | 10 | 6 | 175 | 150 | 86 |
| *Baltimore | 135 | 110 | 5 | 8 | 140 | 118 | 84 |
| Denver | 85 | 83 | 15 | 1 | 100 | 84 | 84 |
| Miami | 75 | 67 | 15 | 8 | 90 | 75 | 83 |
| Toledo | 60 | 49 | 0 | 0 | 60 | 49 | 82 |
| Twin Cities | 190 | 160 | 10 | 4 | 200 | 164 | 82 |
| Albuquerque | 60 | 56 | 20 | 9 | 80 | 65 | 81 |
| *Detroit | 205 | 167 | 15 | 10 | 220 | 177 | 80 |
| Oakland | 125 | 111 | 25 | 9 | 150 | 120 | 80 |
| San Diego | 70 | 67 | 30 | 12 | 100 | 79 | 79 |
| Iron Range | 90 | 65 | 0 | 5 | 90 | 70 | 78 |
| Manhattan | 300 | 263 | 200 | 128 | 500 | 391 | 78 |
| San Antonio | 60 | 59 | 30 | 11 | 90 | 70 | 78 |
| *Washington, D.C. | 110 | 105 | 45 | 15 | 155 | 120 | 77 |
| *Louisville | 105 | 65 | 0 | 14 | 105 | 79 | 75 |
| Portland | 95 | 69 | 0 | 1 | 95 | 70 | 74 |
| *Tidewater | 150 | 108 | 0 | 1 | 150 | 109 | 73 |
| Seattle | 210 | 157 | 15 | 4 | 225 | 161 | 72 |
| New Orleans | 90 | 67 | 10 | 3 | 100 | 70 | 70 |
| Brooklyn | 300 | 230 | 100 | 38 | 400 | 268 | 67 |
| *Capital District | 90 | 57 | 10 | 6 | 100 | 63 | 63 |
| Cincinnati | 120 | 74 | 0 | 2 | 120 | 76 | 63 |
| Chicago | 300 | 172 | 50 | 33 | 350 | 205 | 59 |
| Cleveland | 100 | 70 | 30 | 6 | 130 | 76 | 58 |
| St. Louis | 120 | 66 | 0 | 2 | 120 | 68 | 57 |
| Philadelphia | 115 | 70 | 35 | 12 | 150 | 82 | 55 |
| Los Angeles | 200 | 151 | 150 | 33 | 350 | 184 | 53 |
| San Jose | 50 | 25 | 35 | 18 | 85 | 43 | 51 |
| Boston | 180 | 81 | 20 | 2 | 200 | 83 | 42 |
| Houston | 105 | 35 | 35 | 9 | 140 | 44 | 31 |
| San Francisco | 100 | 20 | 100 | 5 | 200 | 25 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 5675 | 4524 | 1210 | 557 | 6885 | 5081 | 74 |
| Miscellaneous | | 79 | | 14 | 115 | 93 | 80 |
| National Teams | | 439 | | 9 | 1000 | 448 | 45 |
| GRAND TOTAL SHOULD BE | 5675 | 5042 | 1210 | 580 | 8000 | 5622 | 70 |
| | | 4597 | | 980 | | 6480 | 81 |

* indicates area that has raised goal

Sub drive moves into high gear

By Nancy Rosenstock

With only one week left in our drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, momentum grows as more areas raise their goals and areas that are behind move to catch up.

The Los Angeles branch has made an all-out effort to meet their goal of 350. In the past two weeks, the branch has sold 108 subscriptions, a large portion of which are introductory subscriptions to *PM*.

Teams of socialists went door-to-door in working class neighborhoods, to campuses, and to a variety of political events.

Socialists who work in the rail, auto, and aerospace industries have sold a total of 60 subscriptions on the job. They aim for 15 more in the next week.

Manhattan socialists have also made a big effort to catch up on their goal of 500. They have sold 164 subscriptions in the past two weeks, including 74 to *PM*.

Socialists who work in the General Motors plant in Tarrytown have taken the lead. They have sold 40 subscriptions to other workers there and they

plan on selling another 5 in the last week of the drive.

Two more branches have raised their goals this week, Louisville and Baltimore. Fifteen branches have now raised their goals since the drive began nine weeks ago.

Louisville reports a favorable response to the *Militant* in the Black community where people were anxious to talk about the meaning of the Reagan victory.

Baltimore socialists who are on layoff from the steel industry have met with a good response selling to people they used to work with. They sell at the plant gates and at bars where workers congregate. Salm Kolis has sold 10 subscriptions at Armco Steel.

The accompanying scoreboard shows results for the first eight weeks of the fall circulation drive.

Five areas have now surpassed their goals, but others still lag behind.

Branches should be sure to send their subscriptions in to the Circulation Office as soon as they are sold so the scoreboard can be as up to date as possible.



El Salvador freedom fighters get military training

El Salvador: liberation forces gain

By Fred Murphy

The Salvadoran army's mid-October offensive in Morazán Province ran into tenacious resistance from the guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

According to an FMLN communiqué issued during the first week of November, the revolutionary forces inflicted some 300 casualties on the government troops, captured substantial quantities of military supplies, and downed a helicopter.

The FMLN also said its forces had wounded and captured a U.S. soldier who was wearing a Honduran army uniform.

U.S. advisers accompanied the 3,000 or more Salvadoran army troops when they began their effort to drive units of the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP)* out of the northeastern pro-

vince of Morazán. Despite backing by jet fighter-bombers, helicopter gunships, and heavy artillery, the offensive apparently failed to achieve its aims.

The government forces did sow terror among the peasants of Morazán, however. Some 50,000 refugees fled to the province's main towns or to neighboring Honduras to escape the army's attacks. According to the FMLN, entire villages were destroyed by artillery attacks and by 500-pound bombs dropped from planes.

More than 500 civilian residents of Morazán lost their lives. In addition, the FMLN said, twenty members of its regular guerrilla forces and 150 members of the local people's militias were killed. The FMLN also lost one member of its general staff in Morazán.

Elsewhere in the country during the first week of November, FMLN units briefly occupied seven towns. The most significant of these actions was an attack on a prison in Tonatepeque, fourteen miles northeast of the capital. Thirty-eight political and other prisoners were freed and the prison was burned to the ground.

Meanwhile, the longstanding split in the Salvadoran officer corps was sharply revealed once again.

On November 3 junta member Col. Adolfo Majano narrowly escaped an assassination attempt in San Salvador. A powerful dynamite bomb went off just ten yards from Majano's car, killing three children and wounding twenty persons.

Majano declared categorically that the attack was the work of "ultrarightists." But the ruling junta's own statement on the attack blamed it only on "extremist elements," with the implication that leftists were involved.

Majano and the grouping of

younger, liberal-minded officers he represents have retreated time and again in face of the more openly right-wing sectors of the armed forces and the security apparatus. The latter, headed by junta member Col. Abdul Gutiérrez and Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García, have had the upper hand since shortly after the October 15, 1979, coup. They have pushed Majano's supporters aside within the military hierarchy, and now have apparently attempted to eliminate him physically.

After the attack, Majano reiterated that he has no intention of resigning from the junta. So despite the enmity he has earned from the extreme rightists for his "progressive" pretensions, Majano continues to share responsibility for the junta's crimes against the Salvadoran people.

From Intercontinental Press

*The ERP now forms part of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. See accompanying article.

Revolutionists strengthen unity

Formation of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), announced in El Salvador in early October, represents the effective fusion of three of the organizations that have been leading the revolutionary struggle against the U.S.-backed military/Christian Democratic dictatorship.

The FMLN has been formed by the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), and the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL). According to the front's founding statement, reprinted in the October 12 issue of the Managua daily *Barricada*, the three groups have established "the necessary mechanisms for making strategic decisions . . . by adopting democratic centralism as the basis of their functioning, with decisions being made by majority rule."

The statement announced that the FMLN would henceforth use a single flag (a star and the letters FMLN in white on a red field) and a single pair of slogans: "United to fight until final victory!" and "Revolution or death—we shall win!"

Four united military staffs have

been set up to lead the four fighting fronts the FMLN has established throughout El Salvador.

The statement also announced that a unified FMLN propaganda organ, to be entitled *Venceremos*, would soon begin publication.

The leadership body of the new front will continue to be called the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU).

The fourth main revolutionary group in El Salvador, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), hailed the formation of the FMLN as "a qualitative leap toward the constitution of the united party of the proletariat. . . ." The FARN also declared its readiness for "immediate reintegration" into the FMLN. It acknowledged that its August withdrawal from the united front the four groups had formed "was a mistaken step."

According to reports from San Salvador on November 5, an FMLN statement announcing the reintegration of the FARN into the front was "expected momentarily."

—F.M.

From Intercontinental Press

U.S. bishops conference says: 'Halt aid to junta'

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, meeting in Washington November 8, denounced the U.S. government's support to El Salvador's brutal junta.

The bishops declared, "The United States Catholic Conference continues to oppose all military aid to the government of El Salvador and any further intervention by our government in the internal affairs of El Salvador."

In an implicit expression of sympathy with the liberation forces, the conference statement continued:

"We fervently hope that an accommodation, fully incorporating the positions expressed by the major segments of the Salvadoran population organized in the democratic and revolutionary opposition, may be achieved soon and with a minimum of bloodshed and hatred."

In a separate expression of opposition to Washington's policy, Bi-

shop Frank J. Harrison of Syracuse, New York, published a letter to Secretary of State Edmund Muskie.

Harrison declared that "the military dominated government" in El Salvador "enjoys the support of your administration, but not the support of the Salvadoran people."

He urged Muskie to resist any "pressures and temptations" to intervene militarily in Central America.

"We, along with millions of Christians in Latin America, are not afraid of the wave of change sweeping Central America because the change is rooted in a desire to create more just societies," Bishop Harrison said.

The statements represent a big political blow to administration efforts to gain public tolerance for step-by-step escalation of the U.S. military role in El Salvador.

The following interview with Rubén Zamora, secretary of the External Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, was conducted by Fred Murphy of 'Intercontinental Press' on October 19 in Bloomington, Indiana, during a national conference of the Latin American Studies Association. The interview was conducted in Spanish; the translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

Question. It has now been two months since the August general strike in El Salvador. We have received various reports on the strike—we understand that it was not to be an insurrectional strike but rather was aimed at preparing further, organizing the people, and so on. How well have the achievements of the strike been consolidated, in terms of popular organization and preparation for sharper confrontations with the regime?

Answer. As you said, the main objective of the recent strike was a political-military one. That is, to take a look at the level of preparation and development of the people's militias.

As a result of the strike, we can point out the most important aspects of our struggle. In the first place, the development of the people's militias. They have been extended further. They had their test of fire in the strike, and have continued to grow quite substantially.

Secondly, in terms of the people's army, the confrontations are becoming generalized and there are more every day. It is important to point this out, because the so-called serious news media is either systematically covering it up or else is publicizing only the statements of the repressive Salvadoran army.

The truth is that the people's army in El Salvador is going into battle and confronting the army, the security forces, and the paramilitary bands of the military/Christian Democratic dictatorship on a daily basis and in many parts of the country.

What we have seen since August is an upturn in the armed struggle in El Salvador, through actions in which up to 120 members of the security forces and the army have fallen. Some confrontations have lasted five or seven hours. The people's army has shown its superiority in terms of the morale and quality of its combatants. This contrasts tremendously with the low morale of the regular forces of the government, despite all the military apparatus it has and despite the supplies the United States has been providing.

Revolutionary war

Q. So it could be said that the revolutionary war has already begun in El Salvador?

A. Certainly. We see the war process as a long one, with various stages. In this sense the revolutionary war already began quite some time ago. What must be pointed out now is that we have entered a new stage in the war process, the stage of generalized harassment of the regular forces. We

might say that the objective of this is to tie down the enemy, to immobilize the regular army and the security forces by means of the systematic harassment that the people's army is carrying out.

Q. What is happening among the ranks of the government's armed forces?

A. We know that demoralization has been deepening among the government forces. The number of desertions has increased, especially in the army, which is based on peasant conscription.

I could give you an example: In the Sonsonate region the army called up the reserves—around 5,500 peasants—and only 600 showed up. In El Salvador at present the peasants are fleeing not only from the repression but also from conscription, because they do not want to serve in that repressive army.

I could also point out that in situations where the repressive forces of the regular army have surrounded units of the people's army, the latter have always been able to break out, precisely because of the low morale of the army troops.

The same does not hold for the National Guard, which is demonstrating greater willingness for combat. National Guard members are not conscripts but rather career soldiers. They know their lives are at stake, because the people know what the National Guard has made them suffer.

Q. What is the situation of the economy?

A. In fact, because of the situation of struggle and war, the economy of El Salvador is passing through the worst crisis in its history, comparable only to the crisis of 1930.

Private investment has not only come to a halt this year—there has even been *disinvestment*. Earlier investments have been taken out of the country. Since October of last year foreign investment has dropped by 46 percent. This of course has a devastating effect on the economy as a whole. Unemployment has risen by 15 percent this year because of factory closings, the impossibility of carrying out harvests, and so on.

As for government revenues through taxation, if we compare what the regime has taken in this year with last year's figures we see that there has been a drop of 20.6 percent. On top of this is the annual inflation rate of 35 or 40 percent. So the economic situation is really critical.

International banking sources have calculated that since the beginning of 1979 about \$1.5 billion has left the country. This has taken place in two ways: On one hand, income from exports does not enter the country but is deposited in banks in the United States or in Europe. On the other hand, there is what we pointed to earlier—disinvestment, removal of capital. Even machinery has been taken out of the industrial plants of the country

Bankers lose confidence

Q. It would seem that the government itself must be heading for a fiscal

'The revolution has already

Interview with Rubén Zamora of Salvador



Alberto Beltrán

crisis. I recall the last days of Somoza in Nicaragua, when he was able to obtain loans from the international banks. What will the junta do? Will it have to ask for help from the International Monetary Fund or from the big New York banks?

A. Yes, the fiscal crisis of the state is quite serious, as the junta's principal sponsor, the U.S. government, has

acknowledged. In this year alone the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has given the Salvadoran government more than \$87 million in bilateral funds.

It's really striking to note how the \$75 million for the revolutionary people's government of Nicaragua has been held up and dribbled out while between February and September of

Eyewitness report from liberated zone

By Lars Palmgren

EL SALVADOR—A few hundred yards from the main road we encounter our first barricade, immense stones piled across the path. The barricade is, in effect, a border marker. Beyond it the authority of the governing junta does not hold.

Several other journalists and I have just entered a "liberated zone" in central El Salvador controlled by the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL).

As we travel deeper into the zone, passing more barricades across roads and paths, we realize that the area is quite different than we had imagined. I

had pictured a remote, inaccessible, hidden guerrilla camp.

But from where we stand we can see the whole southern slope of the volcano. We see big fields of corn and other crops, and several villages with thousands of inhabitants. This is not an isolated guerrilla camp. Rather it is a living community, where people work or go to school, living their family lives.

A different El Salvador

From the look of things this could be anywhere in El Salvador, but here the people are in charge and are beginning to build a new kind of society.

As we move deeper into the liberated

zone, the tensions we have felt since leaving San Salvador begin to dissipate. We are greeted by the armed detachment that will guard us. They are peasants and rural workers, young and old, armed with rifles and pistols. Some raise their fists in salute, broad smiles breaking across their faces.

After hiking for several hours along almost hidden roads and paths, we come to the central village. There is a crowd of children waiting. Laughing, they run around us. Some of the braver ones come up to touch our cameras.

But aside from the children, life goes on as usual. Women are grinding corn for tortillas in front of their houses. Men are working in the fields. It looks

like any of a thousand Salvadoran villages, except for the fact that we can see weapons everywhere.

The village church has been turned into a field hospital. It is run by an older worker who has had no formal medical education, although he has had some experience with traditional medicine. The wounded are in hammocks inside the church, and a medical dispensary stands where the altar used to be.

One of the wounded suffered burns on his face and arms when he tried to set fire to an army vehicle in Zacatecoluca yesterday. The others, the youngest only twelve, suffer from gunshot wounds.

Binary war begun' Zamora ran FDR



Washington Post

This year the U.S. government has poured more than \$87 million in AID funds into the garbage can—without, of course, having any problems in Congress.

That is only the economic aid—I am not including the military aid of \$6.7 billion the U.S. government has provided.

As for the international banks, the situation is the following: We have to distinguish between the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IADB's position has been to provide major aid to the junta, being of course to the predominant role of the United States in the IADB. In 1980 the IADB has approved \$18 billion for El Salvador.

As for the IMF, the amount obtained is smaller. We know that both in the IMF and in the World Bank there is considerable negative reaction to giving funds to El Salvador.

This has a clear explanation—they call what happened with Nicaragua.

After the September [1978] insurrection there, they thought everything was over, that Somoza had regained stability. By March and April [1979] they were giving very big loans to Somoza. Only in July did they realize that that made no sense. Therefore the European bankers in the IMF are especially reticent about throwing their money away, about seeing it squandered on a government that is in its death agony. The junta is like a terminal cancer patient being kept alive through continual blood transfusions—the funds of the AID.

Funds diverted

Q. AID funds are usually assigned to specific projects. But because of the crisis of the state, it seems there could be problems concerning the use of these funds. Do you have any information about this?

A. We have always suspected that these AID funds, which are supposedly assigned for housing construction, for small-business loans, for agrarian re-

form, and so on, do not always wind up where they belong.

What is interesting about this is that the AID in El Salvador itself, has denounced the fact that funds handed over for social projects have been and are being used for military purposes. For example, Mr. Daniel A. Chaij, the AID's interim director in El Salvador, sent a letter dated August 29, 1980, to Napoleón Duarte, member of the government junta. Chaij pointed out and provided proofs that AID funds were being used for military purposes. I'll quote from his letter:

"Deviation of funds could, at the least, result in a possible embarrassing situation for both governments and call for the return and reimbursement of the money, equipment, and materials used in activities not agreed upon, and could in fact give rise to serious criticism in our Congress."

So the AID itself provides the proof necessary to establish that the Salvadoran government, in its desperate attempt to contain the struggle of an entire people, is making use of these funds for repressive military purposes.

Q. Much is being made in the U.S. news media of the "agrarian reform" in El Salvador. But I have also seen reports that the concrete effects of the agrarian reform could mean famine this year—that crops are not being harvested, and so on. What can you tell us about this?

A. The military/Christian Democratic junta's supposed agrarian reform is certainly having some negative effects on production. The country is going to suffer a severe shortage of beans this year. Along with corn, beans make up the basic diet of the peasantry—that is, of the majority of the Salvadoran population.

The price of beans has reached levels that make them practically inaccessible. Last year a pound of beans cost between 70 and 80 centavos in El Salvador. This year, beans have reached a price of 2 colones and 40 centavos [1 colón=US\$0.40]. So there has been a tremendous drop in bean production with a corresponding shortage and price inflation.

As for corn, the situation is not so serious.

In terms of agricultural export products, which provide the bulk of the country's foreign currency income, cotton production has dropped by around 30 percent. We don't yet have the figures for coffee since the harvest just began in September.

What can be said for certain is that in some regions of the country—particularly around the volcanoes where the best coffee is produced—the landlords are not harvesting. Rather it is precisely the forces of the people's army that are located in those zones that are harvesting the coffee. They sell the harvest in order to provide for the people's army and for the peasants who live in those zones.

Violation of sovereignty

Q. It was reported recently that there is a training program for Salva-

doran officers at a U.S. military base in Panama, and that protests have taken place there against it. Do you have any information about the attitude of the Panamanian government toward this?

A. The news that 300 officers and noncommissioned officers of the Salvadoran army were being trained in the Canal Zone really caused a big scandal in Panama. President Aristides Royo made a sharp public statement, saying it is totally inadmissible that Panamanian soil be used to train a repressive army. President Royo was very clear in both rejecting such training and in characterizing the Salvadoran army as a repressive one.

We think President Royo's position was correct, a position upholding Panama's national dignity. We also think such abuses on Panamanian soil should be prevented. Besides everything else, they are an attack on the Canal treaties that the Carter administration signed with the Panamanian government.

Solidarity

Q. Finally, I would like to ask what you consider to be the most important tasks for the movement of solidarity with El Salvador in coming months, both in the United States and in other countries.

A. The Revolutionary Democratic Front has pointed to five fundamental tasks for the solidarity movement in this period:

In the first place, it is important to denounce and oppose the growing military intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of El Salvador.

In the second place, it is necessary to continue to denounce the violations of human rights in El Salvador.

The third task of solidarity is to publicize the refugee problem that is arising in El Salvador. At this moment we already have some 40,000 refugees—both those inside the country and those who have had to flee to neighboring countries—who are facing really horrible conditions and who are subjected to abuse by the security forces. This is a very serious problem that is growing week by week. Only in the past week, for example, we learned that 2,500 more refugees resulted from a military operation by the army in Morazán Province.

The fourth task is to denounce the military junta and expose the true nature of the government—to explain that it is not a centrist, progressive government but a counterrevolutionary, terrorist, right-wing government. That is what there is in El Salvador.

And, finally, the task is to publicize and seek support for the Revolutionary Democratic Front as the expression of the broad alliance of all the democratic, progressive, and revolutionary social sectors of our country, and as the only progressive alternative of power that can provide stability, peace, and justice to our homeland.

Those are the five tasks.

ne: 'Here the people are in charge'

"Thank god, no one is really hurt badly," the hospital chief tells us with a concerned tone. "We have very few facilities for treating the seriously wounded, and there is almost no way we can evacuate them to some place where they could get better care."

Government stays away

Down the road a little way is the school, which is now being used as a training camp. On the soccer field about eighty new recruits, men and women, are listening to a veteran explain how to use an FAL rifle. The veteran guerrilla and the recruits are dressed in street clothes—T-shirts, shorts, running shoes. They share the

field with three grazing horses and playing children.

From the soccer field we can see the valley spread out like a green carpet. It looks so peaceful that you almost forget that there is a civil war going on in El Salvador. But the mood is broken by the sound of an airplane. I look up, but am unable to see it.

"Don't worry," says Juan, one of the guerrillas, reassuringly. "They frequently fly over us at a very high altitude, but they never dare to come too close unless they are launching a full-scale invasion of the zone."

Seeing the nervous looks on our faces he explains that although the government troops "know we are here,

they don't attack unless they have several thousand soldiers, backed up by planes and helicopters. And if that was happening, we would already know about it."

The last time government troops entered the zone was on August 30. Helicopters landed on the soccer field and troops marched in from the valley. A guerrilla explains that "most of the population had already hidden before the first troops arrived, but a few had not. Some of the women were raped and two were murdered."

The troops, who had dogs with them, set fire to about thirty houses, mined the area, and poisoned some of the water supply. But they were driven out

after staying in the village for five days.

According to Juan, "the revolutionary army attacked their camp and killed about thirty of the soldiers. Our constant attacks forced them to withdraw, and they have not been back since then."

Juan, who is about 22, is a member of the revolutionary army, whose base camp is further up the side of the volcano. In addition to the revolutionary army, which is made up of full-time fighters and is the best equipped fighting force, the revolutionists are organized militarily on two other levels—the militia and the guerrilla units.

Continued on next page

...eyewitness

Continued from preceding page

The militia, Juan explains, "is a self-defense structure, and almost everyone here belongs to it."

ORDEN defeated

The guerrilla units are also made up of part-time fighters, but in contrast to the militia, they carry out offensive actions, such as ambushing military vehicles or convoys.

As night begins to fall, the new recruits are still on the soccer field. They have broken down into three groups for political discussion. A group of women, returning from the river with loads of laundry, crosses the soccer field. They exchange jokes and comments with the guerrilla recruits.

I am continually struck by the contrast between the daily bombings in San Salvador and the open warfare in



Lars Palmgren, reporter for Swedish paper 'Internationalen,' interviews Salvadoran peasant.

the department of Morazán, which the military had prevented me from entering a few days earlier, and the peacefulness of daily life here in this liberated zone.

The first attempts to organize the peasants here took place in 1972, and for eight years the work of organizing has continued. As Juan explains, "we have fought constantly since then. We have fought the army, the informers, and the paramilitary gangs organized in ORDEN. We have fought for our right to the land."

Today ORDEN has been eliminated from the area. "We have our own army, our own militia, our own guerrilla units—and we have taken over the land," Juan says.

Democratic rule

There are several villages in the liberated zone. Each of them is run by a five-person steering committee elected by a village assembly. Within the steering committee there is a division of labor among the members, one of whom serves as general secretary.

The general secretaries of each village committee, in turn, are members of a special council which runs the whole area.

Regular assemblies are held in each village and for the whole area. In these assemblies there are discussions of the conditions in the area as well as political education by the revolutionaries.

I ask Juan how production is organized in the zone. He says that some of the people work their own plots, although most of the land, which used to

be a single hacienda, is now worked communally. As part of the government's cosmetic "land reform," the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) bought the hacienda from its owner. So formally it belongs to the state.

"But in practice," Juan says, "we own it. We have managed to force ISTA to deal with us about prices and terms of credit." He adds, however, that because of the war they have not been able to plant to the extent they would like.

Later in the evening we attend a dance. After traveling along a small path through the forest and crossing two small rivers we reach the house where the dance is to be held. It is guarded by several compañeros with rifles.

There are 200 to 300 people inside the house. In a corner there is a small band—a bass, two guitars, and a drum. Dancing couples fill the area.

On the wall a weekly schedule for the guerrilla recruits is posted. The schedule contains a full list of activities from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Internationalism

At one point the music stops and an older man stands on a stool to address the crowd. "Long live proletarian internationalism," he begins. The crowd responds with "Viva!"

"Long live international solidarity!" "Viva!"

The speaker explains that the struggle is international in scope. The enemy is not only here in El Salvador, but all over the world. "We are, therefore, proud," he says, "to welcome fighters from other countries to our community. We are proud that they have come here to learn about our struggle so they can inform the comrades fighting in their own countries."

The crowd turns to look at us and begins applauding. We are asked to say a few words. Each of us gets up on the stool in turn and introduces himself, saying a few words about our resolve to strengthen international solidarity with their struggle.

The faces on the dance floor are filled with hope. These poor peasants and workers in this small liberated area of El Salvador recognize the importance of international solidarity and know that if we can make the slogan about proletarian internationalism come alive in a concrete way, that can directly aid their struggle. It can even mean victory rather than defeat, life rather than death.

Looking out at those faces I think each of us more concretely recognizes how important it is to build international solidarity for the Salvadoran people.

Then another veteran gets up on the stool and explains the purpose of the dance. "Of course," he said, "it is good for us to get together and have a good time. But this dance has another very special purpose. It is to collect money for our revolutionary army, for food for our soldiers."

The veteran passes around a hat. People drop coins into it. The music and laughter begin again. A dance for the revolution!

On the way home we are all silent, filled with our own impressions. Five hours later we arise with the sun. The guerrilla recruits are already training on the soccer field. Another day of preparation for the decisive confrontations has begun.

Looking over the scene I realize that while I have been in the liberated zone I feel as though I were in Nicaragua, where the victory has already been won. But seeing the training going on jolts me back to the realization that here the decisive battles are still to come, and that the outcome is not yet certain.

International solidarity work can help tip the balance in favor of these Salvadoran revolutionaries.

October 26, 1980

From Intercontinental Press

Solidarity with Central America

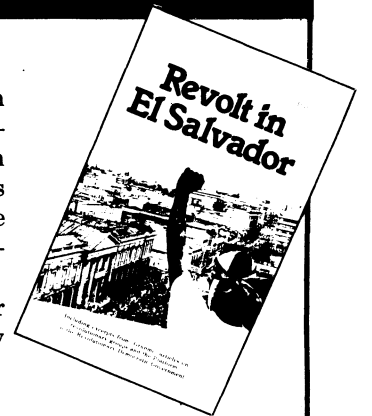


and the Caribbean

New El Salvador pamphlet

Revolt in El Salvador, a new publication from Pathfinder Press, contains articles on U.S. involvement in El Salvador, the history of the freedom struggle, and articles on how Salvadoran groups assess the struggle. A special feature included is the platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Government.

The forty-eight-page pamphlet is available for \$1.25 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



Salvadoran on tour

Rubén Zamora, secretary of the External Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, has been speaking to solidarity groups in several U.S. cities.

Zamora addressed a meeting of 150 October 22 in Milwaukee. Sponsored by the political science departments at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and Marquette University, the Coalition for Nicaraguan Democracy, and *La Guardia* newspaper, the gathering featured the film *El Salvador—Revolution or Death*.

"This is a great antidraft film," remarked Frank Forrestal of the Nicaragua group. "You certainly would be convinced not to be drafted after seeing what the military is getting ready to try in El Salvador."

In Detroit, 120 people attended a "Crisis in El Salvador" meeting October 24. Zamora was the featured speaker.

The event was sponsored by the Michigan Interfaith Committee on Central American Human Rights, Latin American Task Force, and the Detroit Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

El Salvador—Revolution or Death was shown and more than \$1,700 in contributions was raised.

Latino unionists oppose intervention

A November 8 convention of the New Jersey Labor Council for Latin American Advancement voted unanimously to oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The meeting was attended by about 100 Latino labor leaders from New Jersey. It was held at the Rutgers University Labor Education Center in New Brunswick.

New York rally for human rights

More than 400 people participated in a New York City rally for human rights in El Salvador November 7. Among the speakers were Isabel Letelier, Rev. Phil Wheaton, Sandra Price (a nun kidnapped for a time by El Salvador security forces), and a representative of the American Indian movement.

Nicaraguan leader on U.S. tour

Sylvia Reyes, head of international relations for the Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses "Luisa Amanda Espinoza" (Association of Nicaraguan Women, AMNLAE), is touring the United States during November. Reyes was a Sandinista combatant during the insurrection that ousted the Somoza dictatorship in 1979.

Speaking engagements for Reyes will be organized in the following cities: St. Louis, Nov. 14-15; Portland, Nov. 16-17; Seattle, Nov. 18-19; Philadelphia, Nov. 20-21; New York, Nov. 21-22; Boston, Nov. 22-23; Washington, D.C., Nov. 23-24; Miami, Nov. 24.

For more information on the Reyes tour, contact the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone (202) 223-2328.

Correction

In the October 31 *Militant*, an information box on El Salvador solidarity materials reported that the film *El Salvador—Revolution or Death* was available for rent or purchase from the National Council of Churches.

The movie is not available from the Council, but can be obtained from Unifilm, 419 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016, telephone (212) 686-9890.

'Granma' subscriptions

Granma, the Cuban daily newspaper, is available in an English weekly summary to U.S. readers.

Because of the U.S. blockade, subscriptions can't be paid for in U.S. currency. For a year's subscription to *Granma*, which includes airmail postage, send an international money order for the equivalent of nine U.S. dollars in any freely convertible currency (for U.S. subs, Canadian currency is suggested) to: Ediciones Cubanas, Empresa de Comercio, Exterior de Publicaciones, O'Reilly No. 407—Apartado No. 605, Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba.

—Osborne Hart

Please send contributions on activities in your area to: Osborne Hart, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

New threats to Nicaragua

Why Latin dictators cheer Reagan victory

By Fred Murphy

The streets of the wealthy western suburbs of San Salvador rang with the sound of music and guns being fired in the air on the evening of November 4. El Salvador's ruling rich were celebrating Ronald Reagan's victory in the U.S. presidential elections.

"I think Reagan's victory will intimidate the subversives," said a leader of the extreme-rightist Broad National Front (FAN). The FAN is headed by Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson, who is widely believed to be the chief of El Salvador's right-wing death squads.

"This is the moment for Major D'Aubuisson," the FAN leader continued. Reagan's "cause is the same as our own."

The FAN's Guatemalan counterpart, the National Liberation Movement (MLN), was equally pleased with Reagan's victory. Reagan symbolizes "respect for moral and democratic values," MLN leader Leonel Sisniega Otero declared.

'All kinds of success'

Among those celebrating in the Caribbean was Jean-Claude Duvalier, who rules Haiti as "president-for-life" with the help of a terror gang known as the Tonton Macoutes. "We believe some changes will take place toward Haiti and Latin America in the United States," Duvalier said. "We wish all kinds of success to President-elect Ronald Reagan as leader of the free world."

General Luis García Meza, the Bolivian dictator whose troops and paramilitary gangs murdered hundreds of tin miners and their families after the army seized power in July, also hailed Reagan's election.

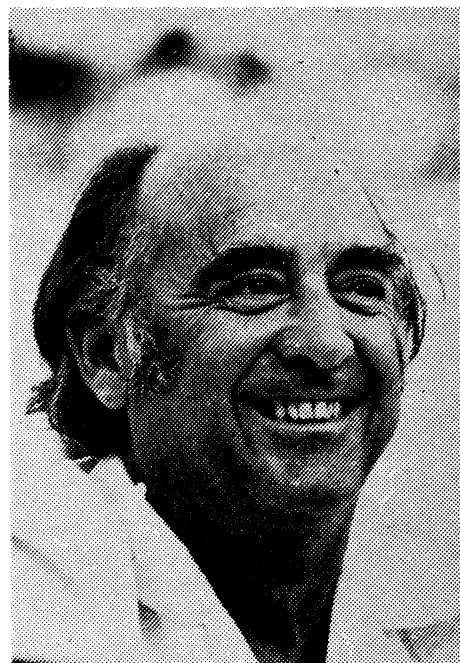
"Undisguised optimism prevailed in official circles here about the possibility of a quick end to the international blockade against the military government once Reagan assumes the presidency," a United Press International dispatch from the Bolivian capital of La Paz reported November 5.

"Happiness with Reagan's victory was visible in various official circles" of the Argentine military dictatorship as well, the UPI reported from Buenos Aires November 5.

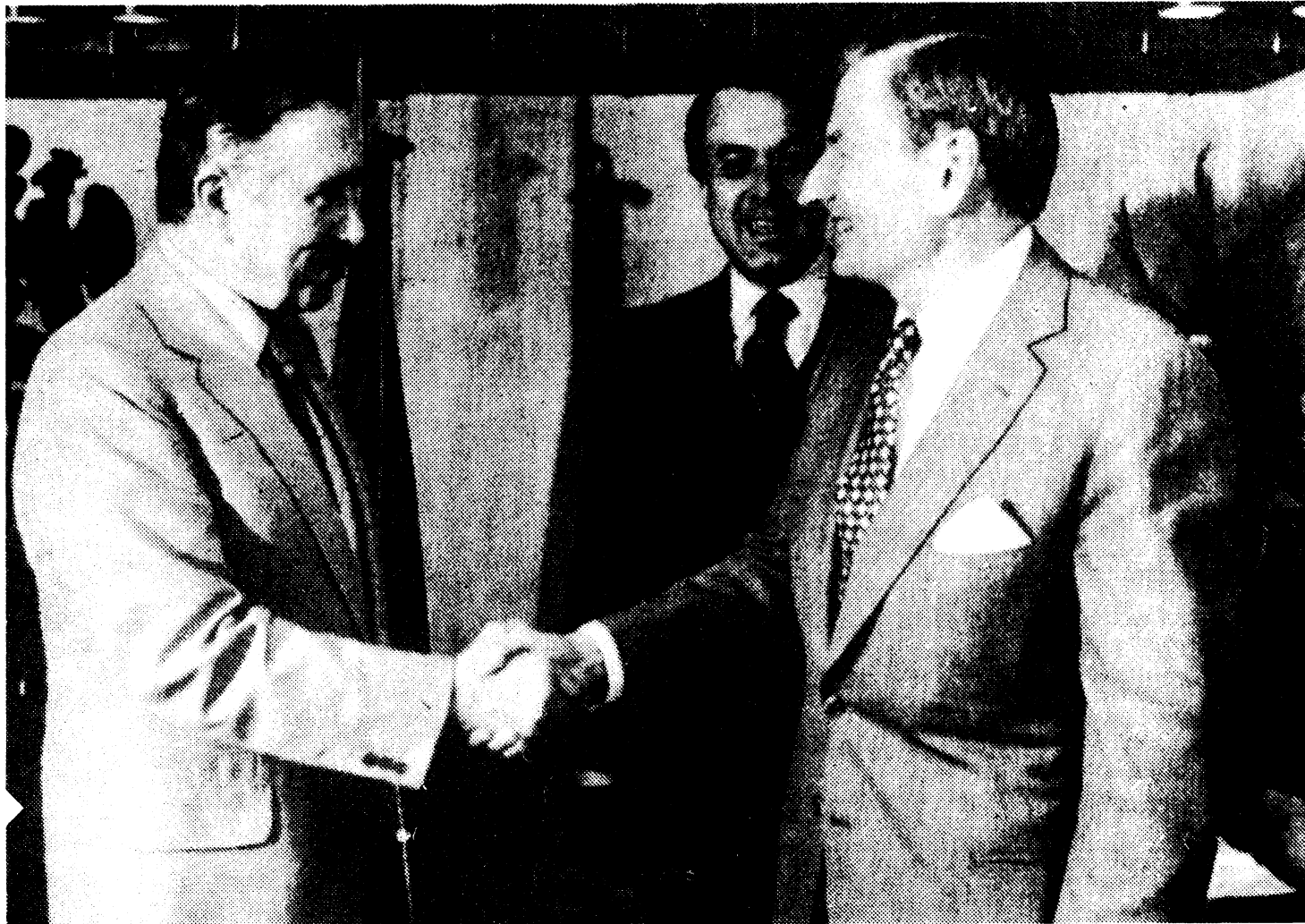
Why they rejoice

What makes the military gorillas of Latin America and the Caribbean so pleased with the victory of Ronald Reagan is that he and his advisers have been among the most vocal advocates of the U.S. ruling class's shift toward more openly right-wing policies south of the Río Grande.

The Carter administration has already been implementing this shift, with its military aid and intervention



José Lopez Portillo, president of Mexico, warned Reagan against any intervention in Central America.



David Rockefeller, right, shakes hands with Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet November 6. U.S. banker visited Latin America to assure reactionary rulers of Reagan's support. "I don't think anyone in this room opposes the promotion of the application of human rights," he told 100 business and political leaders at a meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina. But, he added, Reagan "will base his foreign policy on U.S. national interest." Argentina, like Chile, is under a military dictatorship.

against the rebels in El Salvador, stalling on badly needed economic assistance to the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, increasing threats against Cuba, destabilization campaign against the Manley government in Jamaica, and efforts to improve relations with the military dictatorships in Chile and Argentina.

The Republican Party's platform called for deepening these moves. It opposed even the token aid Carter has provided to Nicaragua.

It also called for consolidating the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico by making it the fifty-first state, and declared that this "would demonstrate our common purposes in the face of growing Soviet and Cuban pressure" in the Caribbean.

FSLN a target

Reagan's advisers have already indicated plans to step up aid to counter-revolutionary forces in Central America. "It's pretty clear that the Guatemalans will be given what aid they need in order to defend themselves against an armed minority which is aided and abetted by the Cubans," Reagan aide Roger Fontaine told the *Miami Herald* in July.

Fontaine recently reiterated Reagan's opposition to providing any aid to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, "so long as they continue with their Marxist inclination."

According to United Press International, Fontaine "added that if at some point it should happen that the people of Nicaragua get tired of that version of bankrupt Marxism and take the situation into their own hands, then the United States could offer them some type of aid." In that way the Reagan adviser openly encouraged counterrevolutionary forces inside Nicaragua.

Reagan's stance toward Cuba was indicated by his call for a military blockade of the island following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan last December. It should also be noted that one of the president-elect's first appointees to his "transition team" was Florida Senator Richard Stone,

who is best known for his outspoken attacks on Cuba and for the support he enjoys among counterrevolutionary exile groups in Miami.

It is clear that the Reagan administration will be responsive to the calls for a more belligerent stance against the revolutionary upsurge in the Caribbean and Central America that have begun to appear in the columns of the big-business press in the United States.

The tone was set by an October 23 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "The Collapsing Caribbean." It warned of an alleged "Soviet projection of significant power into an area that stretches along the entire U.S. southern border" and complained that "the U.S. has so far countered the Soviet threat with platitudes about human rights. . . ."

In El Salvador, the *Journal* editors said, "The anti-government operations . . . are being directly aided by the Cubans, Sandinistas and the international Marxist terrorist apparatus. . . ." And they claimed that "a well-disciplined Communist force, trained abroad and directed from Havana, is operating in Costa Rica. . . ."

In the September 1 *Business Week*, Sol W. Sanders warned that "a hard-core Marxist element allied with Moscow and Havana is thwarting U.S. aims" in Nicaragua. And in the October 13 issue of the magazine, an unsigned article cited the fears of Guatemalan army officers that "an international cabal run by Latin revolutionaries—backed directly by Cuba, indirectly by the Soviet Union, and possibly by the Nicaraguan Sandinistas . . . may have for the first time penetrated Guatemala's Indian population. . . ."

By hammering away at the "Red threat" theme, these prominent organs of the U.S. ruling class hope to turn U.S. public opinion in favor of the moves the Reagan administration will have to make if it is to halt the spreading revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean.

The revolutionary forces of Central America and the Caribbean are not

taking the increasing imperialist threats lightly, nor should they. The Cuban people have mobilized in their millions on several occasions this year to repudiate Washington's provocations. In Grenada and Nicaragua, the workers, peasants, and youth are enthusiastically joining the popular militias that are being built on a massive scale. The mass organizations and revolutionary groups of El Salvador are strengthening their unity and preparing for a final offensive against the genocidal junta.

Responding to Reagan's election, Nicaragua's ambassador to Mexico Aldo Díaz Lacayo said his government "has nothing to fear. It feels itself to be totally backed up by its people, is favored by the solidarity of all the peoples of the world, and also enjoys international solidarity from a number of the world's governments."

New Vietnam?

U.S. military intervention in Central America would mean "Vietnamization" of the entire area, Díaz declared. "And if that should happen, the people of Nicaragua would necessarily be involved in that Vietnam-style struggle. . . ."

"No Central American country could avoid involvement in such a struggle, not even Costa Rica."

Mexican President José López Portillo also took an unequivocal stand against U.S. intervention in his remarks on Reagan's victory. Reagan should stay neutral unless he is seeking a war "in the style of Vietnam," López said. "Do not intervene," he told Reagan. "Respect the internal processes of these countries, because they are adult nations capable of governing themselves."

Even Colombian President Julio Turbay, no friend of liberation struggles, warned Reagan against intervention in Latin America. "That would be impossible," Turbay said, "because public opinion is not in agreement in any way with military interventionism in the countries of the continent."

From Intercontinental Press

Jane Lee: 'Humans already suffering'

Pennsylvania farmer documents TMI

By Stu Singer

At the Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment held in Pittsburgh in mid-October, Jane Lee made a big impression.

Like a one person army, she went to virtually every workshop and regional caucus meeting, took the floor and spoke for a few minutes before going on to the next.

Her brief talk produced almost stunned silence. People rushed up to each other after the workshop sessions and asked if they had heard "that woman farmer from Three Mile Island."

More than any other presentation, Jane Lee's description of her own methodical studies brought home what nuclear power means.

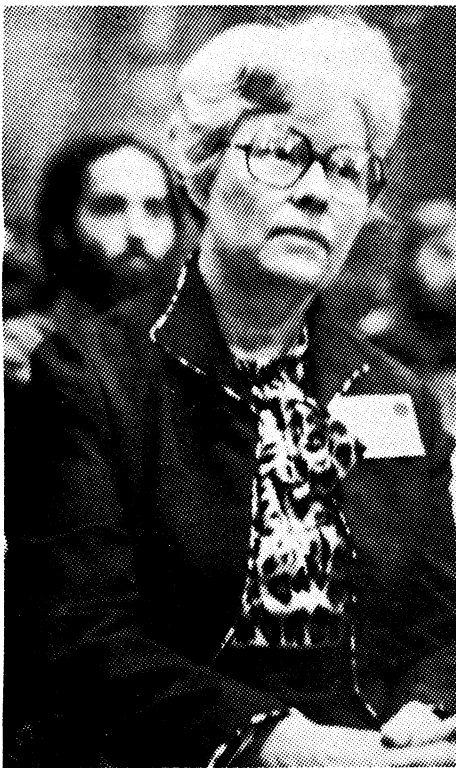
Many people said she had convinced them to oppose nuclear power. Coal miners and others at the conference arranged to have her speak to their local union meetings.

Who is Jane Lee and what did she say? I spoke with her for about twenty minutes the last day of the conference.

Question. How did you hear about this conference?

Answer. I was contacted by the Social Services Union in Harrisburg and asked to come.

We have a dairy farm 3.5 miles from TMI on the west side of the river. That farm has been in the same family for



Militant/Stu Singer

Jane Lee: 'I said to my sister, I think I'll keep a record.' Animal reproductive problems increased 10 percent. Cesarean rate for women in Harrisburg is soaring.

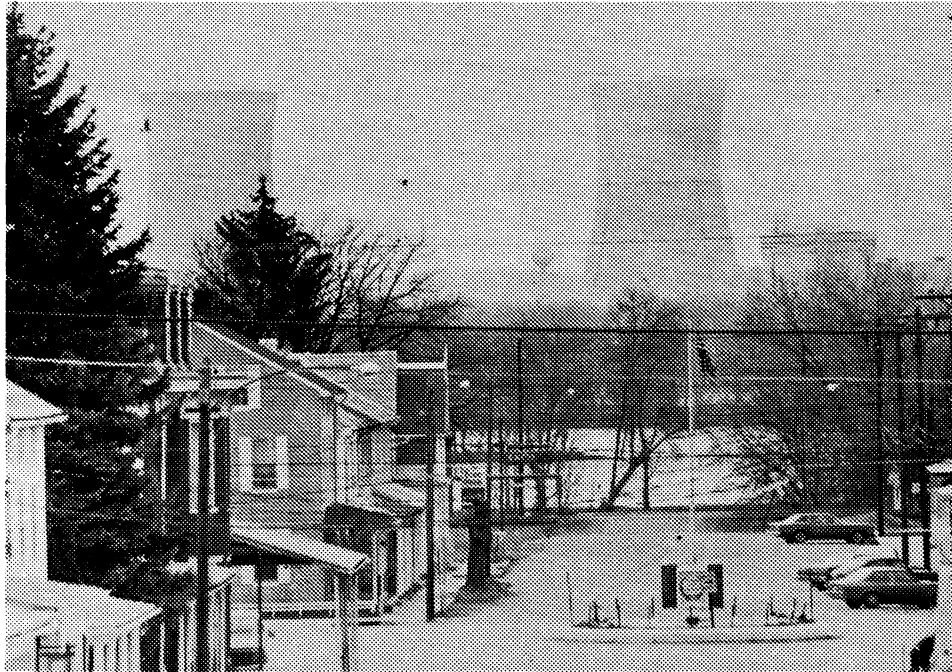
over 200 years. They came from Germany and cut that farm out of a wilderness and it has never changed hands in all those years.

I've been on the farm for about ten years. I live there, I work there. I drive a tractor, bale hay, milk cows, everything. Clean the barn.

Keep a record

Construction of unit 1 at the plant began in 1969 and it came on line in 1974. By 1976 we began to encounter problems with the animals. At first it was subtle. There was an abortion here, we were having problems with the animals delivering their young.

I began to think this is more than we've been having before. And I said to my sister, you know, I think I'll just keep a record. I didn't even know if it was going to amount to anything, if it was just a fluke or if we were just going through a period where there are problems, which happens sometimes on a farm.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

'The whole damn island is contaminated.'

Q. Were you aware of the dangers of radiation?

A. Not to that extent. It was only later when I began to do more research when this thing began to pile up and pile up. I began to see problems with the cats and the ducks and the goats.

Then the neighbors came and they were talking about their animals going down and they couldn't get back up. Autopsies were being performed and Metropolitan Edison was asking people for sections of meat and posing as the Food and Drug Administration.

My file kept getting thicker and thicker. I finally got in my car and started to interview farmers.

Need to survive

I was asking if they were having any problems. Those farmers that knew me were more inclined to open up and tell me the problems.

But when I got over on to the east side where they weren't familiar with me, they began to withdraw. They began to deny that they had problems. And yet the wives would look at me with tears in their eyes and I sensed that something was wrong.

One wife said, my husband won't let me say anything. The husband had left to go do his chores. And she said, I'm afraid to live here. My husband won't let me say anything.

Now this is a very poignant sort of a thing because the man needs to survive.

The economic consequences are already taking their toll at Three Mile Island. The farmers are having trouble selling their products.

The farm area in Lancaster and York Counties is the breadbasket of the eastern seaboard. And to destroy all this farmland will have widespread ramifications.

The animal problems did not go beyond a five mile radius of the plant until after the accident. Then the animal problems multiplied.

Q. What kind of problems?

A. There were many, many abortions. There were many, many animals that could not deliver their young because suddenly the uterus became constricted and the birth canal became constricted, despite the application of hormones to get those animals to dilate. The veterinarian was kept busy performing one cesarian after another.

There's no way any farmer can stay in business under those circumstances.

What about human beings?

I recently saw a report out of a local hospital, one of the largest hospitals in the Harrisburg metropolitan area. In the past five years the cesarian rate

has soared. Which indicates that we are already encountering the problems with humans.

Animals that do not reproduce or who have a reproductive problem of any kind can be sent to market, they can be butchered. But what do we do with human beings?

Whenever the nuclear power industry says it's all psychological, I would like them to explain to me how is it that the animals are being affected? Animals do not know there is a nuclear power plant there. They can't smell it or feel it or taste it any more than we can.

'How come we haven't heard?'

Every effort has been made to suppress this information by the media, by the nuclear power industry, and by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Q. Can you give some examples of how they do this?

A. You can't get your story out. These people here today said, hey, how come we haven't heard about this?

I said, I'll tell you why. Because ABC, CBS, and NBC have members on their boards who are tied up with the oil companies and the nuclear industry. And there's no way that they're going to allow any kind of information on the effects of what happened at TMI.

The psychological stress is unbelievable down there. Let me give you an example. This is happening to many women in the area.

My sister said to me, "You know, I think about David and I look at David, who's nine years old, and every once in a while the full impact of reality comes through for me. You know, I stand there and I absolutely shake. I just feel like I'm going to collapse right on the floor."

"I can't deal with that all the time. So I have to close my mind out. Psychologically I know that it's dangerous. But I cannot think about it. I can't allow myself to think about it."

Many leave

Five hundred families have already moved out of the area, according to the NRC [Nuclear Regulatory Commission] who did a survey. The NRC projects 5,000 families will move out. And if they're projecting 5,000 I would say closer to 15,000 and maybe even higher than that.

The property values have dropped to below the 50 percent range. There's a woman in Middletown who's been trying to sell her house ever since the accident. Her property market value was \$55,000. She was offered \$10,000. It was the only offer she was made.

We had exploitation of those people when they built the plant. They had the accident. They vented all that radiation on us. They are asking us to pay all the bills.

Our utility bills have jumped from 1969, when it was \$280, to \$1870 this year—that's the projection. Even if you factor in inflation, that's ridiculous. And they want more.

They are constantly going back to the Public Utilities Commission. The PUC denied them their latest increase. What did they do? They went to court to override the PUC.

Reproductive problems

Q. Have any scientists studied the radiation effects for the government?

A. The NRC sent two biologists.

Let me tell you what a reproductive problem is. The only thing we log as a reproductive problem is when a cow, for example, has been inseminated three times and it didn't take. When it is artificially inseminated the fourth time, it didn't take.

It's a very sophisticated operation. And if it doesn't get pregnant, that is a



Militant/Nancy Cole

Family from TMI area at April 9, 1979, protest rally, a few weeks after near-meltdown.

radiation effects



Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh. 'I'm very excited about it. I'm looking for leadership from the unions.'

reproductive problem.

The biologists were appalled at the records that we had that there was a 10 percent increase in reproductive problems. They were appalled at the pictures I showed them of the abortions, the dead animals. And the cats that deliver their young in different fetal stages.

Casper the ghost

Cats and rabbits are extremely vulnerable because they are small, they have a high reproductive rate. Especially cats that are marauders in the fields and eat mice and voles, come home and bathe their bodies. There are [radioactive] isotopes there; they ingest them and that damage is permanent.

The rabbits are showing a great deal of mutation. They look like Casper the ghost—no ears, and they just taper

An employee was contaminated in a decontamination exercise. Now surely they didn't take those men into a restricted [radiation filled] site just to perform a decontamination exercise. If they did, what they're telling me is they deliberately contaminated an employee to perform an exercise. That would be outrageous to do a thing like that.

The island's contaminated

And yet that's what they admitted in a public meeting.

You know why? Because they know that if I could put my finger on the fact that an employee was contaminated in a non-restricted site, then the whole damn island's contaminated. That's what I was getting at and they knew it.

The whole island is contaminated from carelessness in the processing of the water. They performed borings 200 feet out, forty feet down: cesium, cobalt, and tritium have increased. From August to September they have more than doubled. They tell us it's leaking from storage on-site.

I think what happened is the intensity of the heat from the core has created hairline fissures. The 700,000 gallons of highly contaminated water is simply permeating right down into the water table.

We can't prove it. Because they won't tell us. But that's what I think is happening. They don't want the public to know about it.

Q. What is your impression of this conference?

A. I am very heartened. I really am very excited about it.

The people in the antinuclear groups have been bickering among themselves. I'm looking for leadership from the unions to come in there and pull these groups together.

Power

Q. What do you think can be done?

A. Let me explain something. When those people gathered at Middletown and they had that near riot, that's power. Unprecedented power. That's the power of the people.

Those NRC men left that hall under the escort of the police and were as white as anybody could get. They were scared.

I never saw two public officials that came closer to being lynched than those two guys. And everybody with them. It was a frightening experience.

That is power. That's what we're talking about.

[She is referring to the meeting last March where the NRC told area residents that radioactive krypton gas would be vented from the crippled TMI reactor.]

The unions have got to get that kind of power. They have in this conference the ability to do that. And I have confidence that's what's going to happen.

And whenever they assert that power, Jimmy Carter's going to listen, and so is Ronald Reagan. Not because they want to, but because it's a force that they can't override.

...YSA

Continued from page 10

The slogan, "No draft, no war, no troops to El Salvador!" has been taken up by many in the antidraft movement. How to broaden support for that demand will be a central point at the YSA convention.

In the first inning of the fight against registration for the draft, the scoreboard reads: American workers, 1; ruling class, 0. The refusal of hundreds of thousands of American youth to comply with draft registration was a major victory. The political resolution emphasizes this, but also underscores that the fight is not over. The ruling class will continue its efforts to revive the draft.

Black liberation

Another important section of the convention resolution deals with the struggle for Black rights. The past months have seen important mobilizations against police brutality, Klan violence, and attempts to stymie busing for equal education.

Also reflected in the resolution is the experience of the YSA in the struggles of workers on the job and in the

unions. Special workshops will provide additional opportunity at the convention for discussion of work in various industries, as well as the organization's ongoing campus activity.

Other sections of the resolution deal with the fight for women's liberation and against the oppression of Latinos.

A special event will focus on the YSA suit, along with the Socialist Workers Party, against illegal government harassment and victimization.

Deportation case

New evidence of governmental "dirty tricks" came with recent revelations of its effort to deport Marian Bustin, a coal miner and member of the YSA, on the basis of her political views.

With the trial date approaching in this historic suit, the YSA will be discussing an intensified campaign to win support in the case.

The convention will be open to YSA members and invited guests.

To obtain information on attending and to receive a copy of the political resolution, write to Young Socialist Alliance, Box 571, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Make plans now to attend this important political event.

...teams

Continued from page 10

to Iranian students. They were pleased to find a paper that supported the Iranian revolution and had first-hand reporting from their homeland.

One team set out from Boston with an ambitious itinerary, but it was limited by a car that broke down. Despite that they had good results.

They spent four days at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and a half day canvassing door-to-door in the working-class town of Worcester.

Of the forty subscriptions they sold, thirty-three were at the university campus.

Team member Bob Roberts explained that the campus has a Nicaragua support committee, one in solidarity with El Salvador, plus a big antinuclear committee.

The team organized an SWP campaign meeting in defense of Iran against the Iraqi invasion. John Cotman of the YSA spoke. Twenty-five students attended. After the meeting, two women decided to join the YSA.

Coalfields

A team from Morgantown, West

Virginia, toured the coalfields around Bluefield, Beckley, and Charleston.

The team included Tom Moriarty, a miner who was running for governor on the SWP ticket. The team combined campus meetings and TV appearances for Moriarty with door-to-door canvassing.

In Charleston, a steelworker whose father was a miner was well aware of the attacks on the miners union and said his company was making the same kind of union-busting moves against the Steelworkers. "If they get the UMW, they'll get us. I've always said that," he commented. He bought a sub to the *Militant* immediately on seeing it.

A young mine worker near Beckley turned from the football game on TV to join the conversation between his wife and a team member when the conversation got onto the Polish miners. He anticipates a mine strike when the contract runs out next spring and hopes the miners will show the same unity and fighting spirit as the Polish workers. He took a sub to follow the labor coverage.

The team returned from this key mining area with twenty-three subscriptions.

Union members at conference

The Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment has compiled figures on attendance at its October 10-12 conference in Pittsburgh.

Of the 1,000 people present, 850 were union members from fifty-five different unions in thirty-three states.

The breakdown included the following:

- United Mine Workers—173
- United Auto Workers—114
- United Steelworkers—94
- International Association of Machinists—47
- International Union of Electrical Workers—23
- United Transportation Union—23

back off into a tail, there's no legs, no hindquarters. This isn't just one or two.

There's a low reproductive rate in ducks. Usually you'll get seventeen to twenty eggs in a nest. And out of that, if you get ten, it's not too bad. But the most we're getting is about four.

And a lot of mutations. I managed to keep one duck alive for about three months. The down never laid down. The feathers stuck out like quills. She couldn't walk. I fashioned a sling and I would walk her thinking maybe I could strengthen her body. When you picked her up there was only flesh covering the bones underneath.

The large animals suffer from multiple hairline fractures. I talked to a local man who butchered one of these animals. He said, I never saw bones like that in my life. And this is a guy who thinks there's nothing wrong with nuclear power plants.

A doctor talks about water-logged bones, an increase in Hodgkins disease, an increase in enlarged joints and arthritis in animals.

Whenever I challenge the NRC at meetings, the press tries to make me look like some kind of radical. There are very important issues I'm bringing up. Like contamination of TMI employees.

New friends in Ala., Tenn.

By Janice Prescott and Tina Laningham

ATLANTA—Our *Militant* subscription team had exciting results, especially in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Jasper, Alabama, a coal mining town northwest of Birmingham.

In Chattanooga, we got in touch with Joe, a Black man in his mid-twenties. He had written to the SWP campaign and had been a subscriber to the *Militant* previously.

He took off from work to go out with us, campaigning for our ticket and selling the *Militant*. He took us to a technical high school, a factory, a housing project, and a working-class apartment complex.

He sold ten single copies, bought a sub for himself, and sold one to a friend. With what the three team members did, the total for the day was five subscriptions and forty-seven singles.

That night we had a good discussion about socialism with Joe and his friend, and we hope they'll make it to the YSA convention.

At Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College, we got an especially good reception from the many

international students. We met one Iranian woman wearing a chador. She knew about our party and paper and said she had been a Marxist but had become a Muslim. But, she said, she wanted to discuss Marxism and socialism and was happy to meet us.

In Jasper, the first miner we talked to was a man in his twenties. He was interested in the *Militant's* coverage on the racist murders in Buffalo.

Then we showed him the story about the conference of unionists on nuclear power. When we told him how a team of miners had saved the meeting from being broken up by pronuclear disrupters, his eyes lit up. He immediately bought a subscription.

Next we met a young Black mechanic. He bought a single copy and asked us to come back the following day for a subscription. When we returned, he bought a sub for himself and one for his aunt. He had shown her the paper and she loved it. A friend who was visiting bought a sub as well.

Our new friend wants to stay in touch with the party. By the time we left, he was talking about it as "we."

How he applied Marxist method

Trotsky's 'History of Russian Revolution'

By Frank Lovell

The first paperback edition in the United States of Leon Trotsky's monumental three-volume *History of the Russian Revolution* comes one year after the centenary of his birth.

It is fitting that this book is now easily available to the present generation of American workers as class struggle deepens in this country.

This is no ordinary history and the author was not a historian by profession. He was a revolutionist.

Trotsky was born November 7, 1879. He was seized by the czar's police when he was eighteen, accused of plotting to overthrow the government. Twenty years later, in 1917, the workers of Petrograd took power and established the first viable working-class government. As president of the Petrograd Soviet, Trotsky was the popular leader of that mass insurrection.

Scientific history

Trotsky was not the first nor only leader who played a role in great historic events and undertook to describe and explain them. But his is the first *scientific history* of a world-shaking event by one of its most prominent leaders.

He emphasized the scientific nature of his work. He was a disciple of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism.

Using the natural laws of historical development discovered by Marx, Trotsky explained the process through which the conflicting class forces in czarist society produced the 1905 revolutionary "dress rehearsal" and then the 1917 convulsions, first in "bourgeois February" and again in the workers' "Red October."

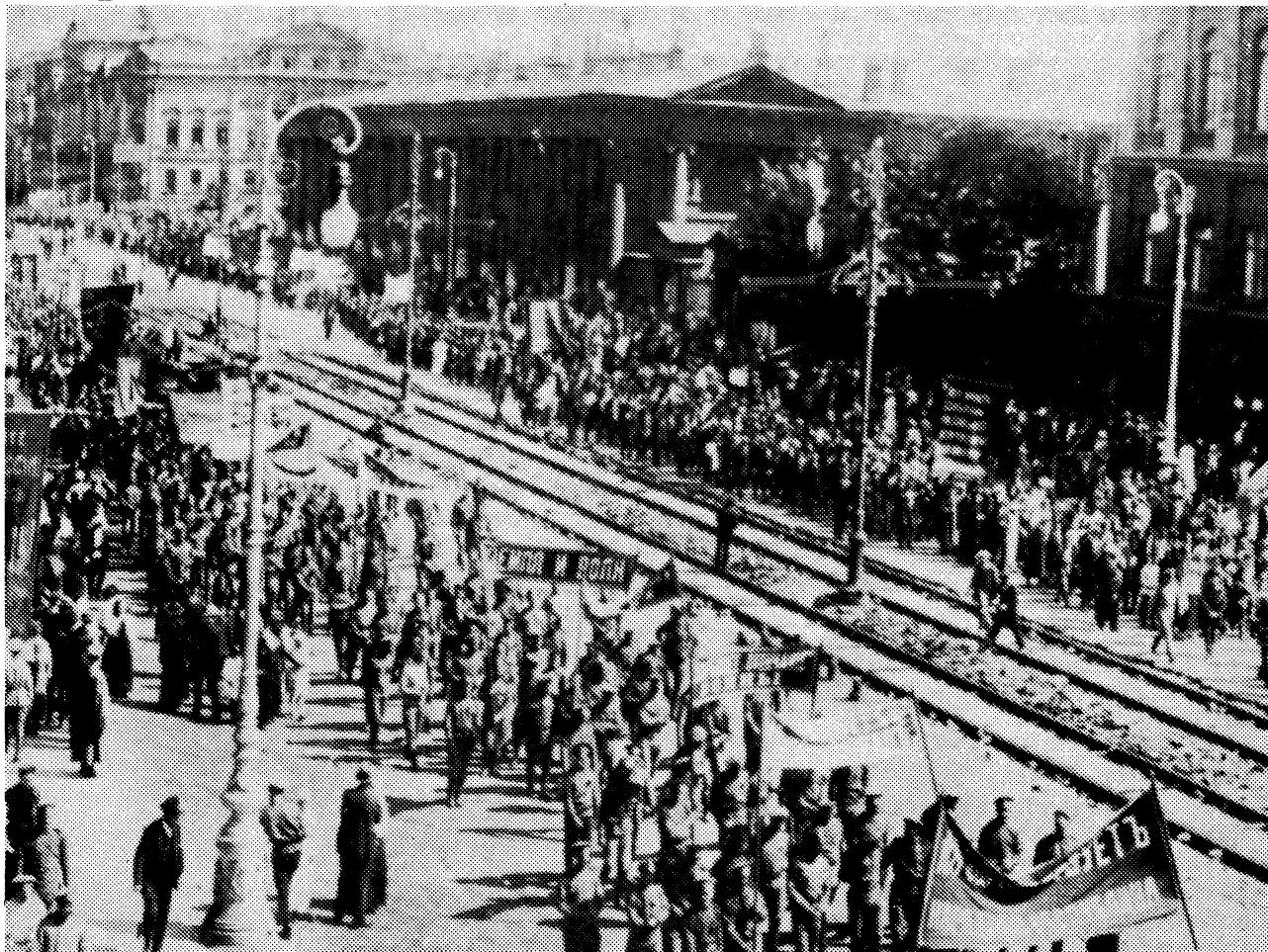
In his introduction to the first volume of the *History*, completed in 1930, Trotsky stated his method. "The serious and critical reader will not want a treacherous impartiality, which offers him a cup of conciliation with a well-settled poison of reactionary hate at the bottom," he said, "but a scientific conscientiousness, which for its sympathies and antipathies—open and undisguised—seeks support in an honest study of the facts, a determination of their real connections, an exposure of the casual laws of their movement."

"That is the only possible historic objectivism, moreover it is amply sufficient, for it is verified and attested not by the good intentions of the historian, for which only he himself can vouch, but by the natural laws revealed by him of the historic process itself."

This is a long quotation for a brief review. But it is typical of Trotsky's style. Moreover, method is fundamental. And Trotsky's methodology is best stated by him.

One question he had to resolve was his own part in the history he writes about. He did this by eliminating all personal recollections, relying strictly on recorded facts, and speaking of himself in the third person.

As the history of the Russian revolution unfolds it is soon apparent from Trotsky's exposition that individuals were not the dominant force. The driving force was the great mass of poor, highly exploited peoples in the many nationalities that comprised the czar's empire, a semifeudal land with



Workers and soldiers march in Petrograd in 1917

little modern industry. The directing force became the organized working class, then only a very small part of the Russian population, which finally found expression through the Bolshevik Party.

The leaders of those contending class forces that were shaping new social institutions and shattering old ones were overshadowed (and usually overwhelmed) at all crucial junctures.

Role of individuals

Trotsky illustrates, often in minute detail, the role of the individual in history. At every decisive turn it was the masses who took center stage. The leaders lagged behind the masses.

This applies also to the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. It was mass resistance to the war effort of Kerensky's liberal government, combined with Lenin's intransigent intervention when he returned from exile, that in April 1917 forced the Bolshevik Party leaders to reverse their position of critical support to the Kerensky regime and revise their slogans.

In the three months from February to May the Russian masses advanced against all the political fortifications of the old ruling classes. Trotsky says this is "the most indubitable feature of a revolution."

How does this apply to political parties and slogans for mass action? The revolutionary party seeks always to explain the objective needs of the masses and to advance slogans in tune with changing mass moods. But here, even in the heat of revolution, swift changes of mood lag behind events. The explosive force of mass action derives from deep conservatism. The great mass of people will not take decisive action until brought to the brink of disaster.

In the first volume of the history, Trotsky traces this development through the overthrow of the czar, the establishment of the Kerensky regime, and up to the first counterrevolutionary attacks in July.

Two years after volume one appeared Trotsky completed volumes two and three, and in that interval the critics had an opportunity to pass judgment. The Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union banned the book and tried to destroy its influence beyond the borders. Almost without exception, other critics in bourgeois circles and in the socialist movement acclaimed Trotsky's "literary genius," already demonstrated in earlier writings. But the bourgeois critics tried in their own subtle ways to kill the book.

Critics charge prejudice

They opined that Trotsky's use of the Marxist analytical method and personal prejudices derived from his revolutionary activity cast some doubt on the validity of his judgment as an historian.

In his introduction to volumes two and three, Trotsky answered all the critics. He noted none had questioned the accuracy of references and quotations in the first volume.

As for the criticisms of his method, he again defended historical materialism. "For us the fundamental forces of the historic process are classes; political parties rest upon them; ideas and slogans emerge as the small change of objective interests. The whole course of the investigation proceeds from the objective to the subjective, from the social to the individual, from the fundamental to the incidental," he said. "This sets a rigid limit to the personal whims of the author."

The author's work was studied with close attention from the moment of its completion, and not only because it explained the historical process as revealed in the Russian revolution. It was immediately recognized as something more than that: a masterful literary achievement, a revelation of the well-springs of mass psychology, the insightful story of the struggle for power and transference of governmental authority.

Test of time

It is now half a century since Trotsky wrote the *History*. How has it stood the test of time? Today it is generally recognized as the standard history of the Russian revolution. None other compares to it. Most borrow from it. If scholars seek further facts, they must first turn to Trotsky for clues.

Trotsky's purpose was not to lay the basis for further research on this historical event, however fascinating it might be for future pedants.

He wanted to educate his own and future generations in the proper use of the Marxist method and Leninist politics. He also tried to show that revolutionary politics requires a certain art—as in his famous chapter on "The Art of Insurrection" in the third volume, *The Triumph of the Soviets*.

This work is now one of the pillars of Marxist education and has been studied by serious political activists for three or four generations of working-class youth. Herein are revealed the basic laws of revolution. This is one of the classic examples of Marxist analysis, consciously using the categories of dialectical logic.

Taken as a tool for the education of revolutionary cadres *The History of the Russian Revolution* is comparable to Marx's *Capital*, the other classic example of the materialist method.

Marx, of course, was the originator of this method. He discovered the economic laws of capitalism, revealed the source of surplus value, and explained the secret of capitalist expansion. But his great three-volume work is much more than that. It is the detailed description of the historic rise and development of capitalism, what Trotsky termed the "microscopic investigation" of the emergence of a new epoch in the history of human development.

Historical materialism

Marx discovered and explained the basic laws of all social development, *historical materialism*, which he applied and demonstrated in his greatest work, *Capital*. And for this reason *Capital* is much



Trotsky and Lenin. Both fought to defend Marxism and apply its lessons to problems of Russian Revolution.

more than a text book on economics, as it is sometimes thought to be. It contains all of Marx's basic materialist philosophy, his dialectical logic, and his thesis that all recorded history is the history of class struggles and that the modern industrial working class is destined to abolish social classes.

Trotsky's *History* likewise contains all these fundamental Marxist concepts. It is true that Trotsky's work is more circumscribed than Marx's: *Capital* analyzed an historical epoch; *The History of the Russian Revolution* is about the one great event that signaled the end of the capitalist system.

But just as Marx explained the politics of nineteenth century capitalism in its ascendancy, so Trotsky explains the politics of twentieth century capitalism in the epoch of its death agony.

When Trotsky wrote the *History* he noted that "the October revolution took place before the eyes of a generation still living."

That generation that made the revolution is now gone, nearly all the top leaders murdered by the Stalinist regime that usurped power from the workers.

Trotsky wrote that his book "should promote an understanding of the character of the Soviet Union" and the "ever new riddles" of Stalinism.

Although they were unraveled and solved by Trotsky in this and later works, those riddles remain today for many who seek to understand the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe and Asia.

For the present generation, Trotsky's writings—especially his *History*—reveal the secret of many riddles that plague and disorient the working-class movement in the most advanced countries today.

The first of these is how a revolutionary party is built. What is the secret of the Leninist Party? How did the Bolsheviks succeed? All other questions of present-day working-class politics relate to this.

Oppressed nationalities

One of these is the question of oppressed nationalities. In the United States this remains an unsolved question for many as it relates to the struggle for Black liberation here: Is it a class question that will be answered in the struggle of the working class to abolish capitalist exploitation? Or do Black people in this country suffer double exploitation because they are an oppressed minority, a nation apart from white society?

How to resolve this false division of a problem created by the capitalist class was the specific subject of later writings by Trotsky. But his frame of reference was always the social contradictions of capitalist society, and on this specific antagonism there is no better source for a basic understanding than his chapter in Volume Three of the *History* on "The Problem of Nationalities," especially the essay "A Further Note on the Problem of Nationalities," which refers to the plight of Blacks at that time in the United States.

Still another question raised by the present political situation in the United States and demanding an answer: Who are the natural allies of the workers and how will a coalition led by the organized sector of the working class be forged? There is no better historical example than that provided by the Russian revolution in which the numerically small working class of Russia won the support of the peasants and mobilized their massive power for the final assault on the old order. Trotsky describes this working-class strategy in such a way as to make its application today understandable.

One of the secrets of Bolshevik party-building is the careful study and accurate appreciation of the relationship between the objective social pressures that mold a mass movement and the shifting moods of the masses of people who are affected.

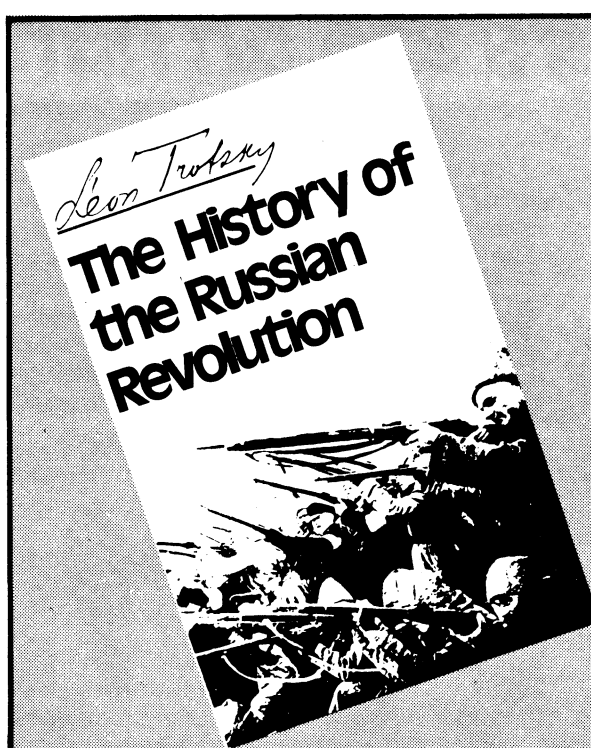
Often there is a great disparity between the two. Sometimes they converge.

Trotsky noted that at different stages of revolutionary developments (and this is also true of the present period of economic stagnation and social instability) the political process "consists in the gradual comprehension by a class of the problems arising from the social crisis—the active orientation of the masses by a method of successive approximations."

Conscious leadership

The political party that understands this process and gives conscious expression to it will grow and become part of the process. It then provides conscious direction. This is what happened during the Russian revolution. The Bolshevik Party was the conscious element that made victory possible.

How did the Bolshevik Party become the conscious factor in the revolutionary process, making possible the new state power? "Besides the factories, barracks, villages, the front and the soviets,



Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* tells the story of the first country where the workers and peasants overturned capitalism.

Russia in the early twentieth century was ruled by a czar. Landlords still dominated society, but industrialization had begun on a modest scale.

In 1905 the Russian workers attempted to overthrow the czar's tyrannical rule. Their revolution failed, but did give birth to soviets, or councils, which became the organs of struggle for the workers and peasants in 1917.

Out of the 1905 experience, the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, began to draw the lessons for how to lead the working class to power.

In 1917 Russia's involvement in World War I, and the social and economic crisis that produced for the Russian masses, led to an explosion in the city of Petrograd. On February 23 (by the old Russian calendar) women workers poured into the streets in protest. Two hundred thousand workers struck the next morning. In a matter of days, the czar was overthrown.

While it was an upsurge of the workers, combined with a soldiers' mutiny, that overturned the monarchy, power was usurped by the capitalists and petty-bourgeois socialists who collaborated with them.

A Provisional Government, headed first by Prince Lvov and later by Alexander Kerensky, took over. This government stalled on meeting demands for an end to the war, land reform, an eight-hour day, and a constituent assembly.

But a situation of dual power actually existed. Soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants grew up alongside the Provisional Government.

the revolution had another laboratory: the brain of Lenin," says Trotsky. Driven underground, Lenin concentrated on "the key problems of Marxism."

Lenin revives Marxism

During this period immediately preceding the insurrection Lenin wrote his book *The State and Revolution*, to revive the genuine teaching of Marxism about the state. It had been accepted by many in the Marxist movement that workers were not equipped to master the machinery of state, and would need to use the old capitalist state apparatus for new purposes.

This was a real question for those about to seize power, as it is for revolutionaries today. Trotsky explains how Lenin understood the matter: "You say the workers cannot master the machinery of state? But it is not a question—Lenin teaches—of getting possession of the old machine and using it for new aims: that is a reactionary Utopia. The selection of personages in the old machine, their education, their mutual relations, are all in conflict with the historic task of the proletariat. After seizing the power our task is not to re-educate the old machine, but to shatter it to fragments. And with what replace it? With the soviets. From being leaders of the revolutionary masses, instruments of education, the soviets will become organs of the new state order."

And that is what happened in October 1917.

Like Lenin before him, Trotsky in his third exile became a laboratory of the continuing revolution. *The History of the Russian Revolution* is one of the great products of that laboratory. Like Lenin, Trotsky was obliged to re-examine the key problems of Marxism. And like Lenin, he sought to revive the genuine teachings of Marxism with the added task of defending and applying the teachings of Lenin.

Trotsky had a total of eleven years—from 1929 to 1940—to complete his tasks before being assassi-

Just Off the Press!

The three volumes in one—first U.S. paperback edition.

1,380 pages, \$14.95

A Monad Press book.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Include \$.75 for postage.

Through the soviets, the masses pressed ever harder for their demands as the liberal government proved increasingly unwilling and unable to meet them.

The soviets were hamstrung by the misleadership of the Social Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, both of which compromised with the capitalist government rather than adopting a course of leading the soviets to power, the strategy advocated by the Bolsheviks.

Opposition to the Kerensky government grew—in the factories, in the army barracks, and among the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population. The class-collaborationist policies of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were exposed in the eyes of the masses.

Leon Trotsky, who had been in exile in the United States, returned to Russia on May 4, 1917. He soon joined the Bolshevik Party and from then on worked closely with Lenin. Trotsky was eventually elected president of the Petrograd soviet, the central mass organ of the revolution.

By fall the war had reached the point where if the workers did not seize power, Germany would crush Russia and set back the revolution for years. The Bolsheviks and their allies led the preparations in the soviets for an insurrection. Factory workers were armed and soldiers organized. This coincided with the sharp increase of peasant uprisings in the countryside.

On October 25, 1917 (celebrated today on November 7) the Petrograd soviet seized power in the name of the national congress of soviets. A workers and peasants government was declared.

nated by an agent of the Soviet bureaucracy. He was sixty when struck down.

In the last eleven years of his life he produced—and I am talking only about material that has already been published in English—the equivalent of more than thirty large books, discussing every important question for the revolutionary movement that arose in the eventful decade of the 1930s.

The History of the Russian Revolution is thought by many to be Trotsky's most brilliant achievement, surpassing even his leadership in the decisive battles of the revolution and the civil war that followed.

Active revolutionist

But even in exile he did not consider himself primarily a writer. He remained throughout his entire life an active participant in the revolutionary struggle. All his writings had a single purpose: to serve that movement. His *History* is certainly one of the greatest services performed by any of the founders and continuators of scientific socialism—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

For Trotsky his greatest achievement was the founding of the Fourth International, the continuation of the international socialist movement organized first by Marx and Engels and revived in Lenin's time after the Russian revolution as the *Communist (Third) International*, which withered under the chilling grip of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist regime.

The geniuses of scientific socialist theory were all active revolutionists. They practiced what they taught. But their writings remain for us and future generations their greatest heritage. *The History of the Russian Revolution* ranks very near the top in the order of use value for the present. Pathfinder Press deserves special commendation for its timely issuance in paperback.

Why Irish prisoners are on hunger strike

By Gerry Foley

International publicity is becoming the key to victory in the struggle of the H-Block prisoners of Northern Ireland, seven of whom launched an indefinite hunger strike at midnight on October 26.

A strong movement in support of the prisoners exists in Ireland, and there is considerable public awareness of the issues involved. However, so far the H-Block issue is not widely understood outside Ireland.

Most of the Irish political prisoners are ordinary youths, young men, along with some young women, who have protested in one way or another against the British military occupation of the Catholic ghettos of Northern Ireland, against the constant terror and humiliation to which the population is subjected.

They were seized by troops or Protestant police, taken to "interrogation centers" where they can be held incommunicado for seven days, and then convicted of "terrorist" offenses by juryless courts on the basis of statements extracted from them.

This hunger strike is an act of desperation by men who have been buried alive in filthy dungeons, subjected to frequent beatings and gross humiliations, such as "rectal searches."

The prisoners are demanding the right to be treated as the political



Thirty thousand people marched in Dublin October 25 in support of imprisoned Irish freedom fighters.

prisoners they are, rather than as convicts.

They are naked because the authorities would not give them other clothes when they refused to wear the convict uniforms.

As "violators of the rules," they were then locked up constantly in special isolation cells without toilets.

Their furniture was taken away, all but a piece of foam rubber lying on the floor to serve as a mattress.

They were denied reading material, a chance to study or even play chess, and deprived of almost all contact with relatives and friends.

Every day they refused to accept convict status, their sentences were doubled.

They were given only a few minutes to wash and empty their chamber pots in the morning. They were beaten on the way and had excrement and urine dumped over them. So, they had to refuse to go to the toilets.

The guards would not empty the chamber pots. They pushed the filth back into the cells when the pots overflowed. They threw it back in when the prisoners dumped it out the windows. Finally, the only way the prisoners could get it off the floor of their tiny cells was to smear it on the wall.

The British authorities tried systematically to break the prisoners. The attempts of religious leaders to nego-

tiate a compromise were cynically exploited to create confusion.

Before the hunger strike, new talks took place. The British claimed they were going to make a concession, and not demand that the prisoners wear prison clothing. In fact they only changed the style of uniform.

But the international press is still reporting that the prisoners went ahead with their strike even after the authorities met their main demand.

The paucity of information about the H-Block issue internationally has

given the capitalist press a free field for distortion.

The H-Block protest comes in the midst of mounting British terror against the Catholic population. For example, in the past five months four leaders of the campaign on behalf of the Irish prisoners have been murdered. The circumstances point to an assassination campaign by the British counterinsurgency force, the SAS.

The most recent case was the October 15 killing of two well known anti-imperialist activists in Belfast.

At 4:00 a.m. in the middle of the Catholic ghetto of Turf Lodge, two assassins broke down the door of Ronald Bunting's home, ran up the stairs, shot down Bunting and wounded his wife, and then went into the children's bedroom and shot Noel Lyttle, who was staying the night. They then made a quick, faultless getaway.

Lyttle was the press officer for the Relatives Action Committee, a group formed by the relatives of political prisoners.

It is hardly likely that any of the proimperialist Protestant gangster organizations would try such an operation deep in a Catholic ghetto or be able to pull it off.

In fact, the British capitalist press itself has reported that the SAS is known to have carried out over a dozen assassinations in the past two years. Yet the international capitalist press just repeats the British charges that the H-Block prisoners are "murderers."

It is essential for socialists, humanitarians, and civil libertarians to get out the truth and denounce the British government's murderous policies.

From Intercontinental Press

New York protest

NEW YORK—Chanting 'H-Block must go,' 500 people picketed the British embassy November 8 to protest the imprisonment of the Irish freedom fighters.

The action was called by the Irish Northern Aid and the New York Smash H-Block Committee.

A prayer vigil is planned for the front of St. Patrick's Cathedral and other actions at the British embassy have been called for November 22 and December 6.

For more information call the Irish Northern Aid at (212) 567-1161.

Socialists pledge solidarity

The following letter was sent November 1 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, to the Irish political prisoners in H-Block.

Dear Brothers,

We send our full solidarity in your hunger strike against the inhumane and intolerable conditions imposed on Irish freedom fighters at the hands of your British jailers.

Your actions are an inspiration to all those around the world who

oppose British imperialist rule and military occupation of Northern Ireland. . . .

As news of your strikes spreads, it will inspire and win support from fighters against imperialism throughout the world—from South Africa to Nicaragua.

We will be publicizing your strike in this country, winning support from workers here, especially among Blacks and Chicanos who will identify with those struggling against the inhumane treatment of an oppressed nationality.

Stop the degrading treatment of the Irish nationalist prisoners! British troops out of Ireland!

Half million Greeks protest reentry into NATO

By Bob Misailides and Rena Cacoullos

"Out of NATO forever," and "Out with the murderous U.S. bases" were among the slogans raised as 300,000 to 500,000 people marched in the streets of Athens on October 22 to protest the Greek government's decision to reenter the NATO military command.

Recalling the role of the alliance in helping to impose the brutal seven-year dictatorship of the Greek colonels

General strike

Nearly 1.5 million Greek workers took part in a twenty-four-hour general strike November 10 to demand a shorter workweek and cost-of-living pay increases. Newspapers, banks, shops, schools, and industries were closed. Transportation services were paralyzed.

in April 1967, the marchers also raised the slogan of "No to NATO of the April dictatorship."

After the fall of the military junta in 1974, mass pressure and resentment

forced the Greek government to withdraw from NATO's military wing, although it remained within the political framework of the alliance.

The size of the October 22 protest clearly indicates that mass opposition to NATO is still very much alive.

The protest was called by the youth organizations of the major opposition parties, mainly the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE).

In addition, the National Student Federation called for a four-day occupation of the universities across the country.

Demonstrations against NATO took place in all major cities.

In contrast to the reaction of the Greek workers and peasants, the regime's decision to reenter NATO was enthusiastically welcomed by the U.S. and West European governments.

Although relations between Greece and Turkey have been very strained, especially since the Turkish occupation and partition of Cyprus in 1974, the Turkish regime went along with Greece's reentry into NATO's military wing.

A statement by the Turkish Foreign Ministry declared that "this development, given the present world situation, also serves the interests of Turkey."

"The present world situation" is a clear reference to the Iranian revolution on Turkey's eastern border.

As for the Greek government, it faces a general election in 1981 and growing discontent among the working class and peasantry.

The ruling New Democratic Party has been carrying out a harsh austerity policy aimed at the workers and peasants.

Inflation reached 25 percent in 1979, while wages increased by a maximum of only 15 percent. At the same time, the 100 largest companies had profits of 132 percent.

Confronted by a deteriorating economic situation, the government has passed a number of antiunion laws intended to prevent the workers from defending their standard of living.

The massive protests on October 22 were an indication of the kind of anti-NATO movement that could be built in Greece. However, both the KKE and

PASOK have a basically parliamentary orientation and seek to avoid the kind of sharp confrontation with the capitalist class that a systematic mass struggle against NATO would entail.

Furthermore, PASOK in particular, but also the KKE, cultivate a reactionary national chauvinism against Turkey that disorients the anti-NATO movement.

Andreas Papandreou, leader of PASOK, accuses the government of making "national concessions" to Turkey. He declared:

"We maintain that the terms of Greece's reentry into the military wing of NATO are nationally unacceptable . . . because they lead to concessions of Greek sovereign rights to Turkey."

But it is not "national concessions" to Turkey that are threatening the Greek workers. As thousands of workers who protested in Athens on October 20 demanded:

"End austerity!" "No layoffs!" "Measures against unemployment!" "United we will win!" and "Out of NATO forever!"

From Intercontinental Press



Won't be habit-forming—Uncle Sam has stockpiled 70,000 pounds of opium and needs more in case of a nuclear war. As morphine, it's a pain killer. The man in charge of the national defense stockpile explained: "We'd be up the creek without opium. There's substantial pain from radiation burns."

Makes sense—*Nicaragua Betrayed*, by the late butcher Somoza, was published by a subsidiary of the John Birch Society. They're the folks who suspect Reagan may be a member of the "communist conspiracy."

Keep it in mind—The pope says eroticism is OK, but lust is sinful.

Nuked out—General Public Utilities, the folks who brought you Three Mile Island, is throwing in the towel on a New Jersey nuclear plant which is but 5 percent complete. They said delays, inflation, and the cost of TMI made it impractical to continue, and that \$394 million had already been sunk into the project. This amount, they said, they intend to collect from utility consumers.

Progress report—Governor Carey of New York hasn't been able to find new housing for Love Canal residents, but he found himself a new home. The guy, a widower, was living in a one-bedroom New York apartment. He now has a Park Avenue co-op. It cost a bit over a half million, but it includes four bedrooms and three maids' rooms.

What about Billy?—The ex-prez will now draw an annual pension of but \$69,630, plus \$150,000 for office staff. However, he will receive what-

ever increases are given cabinet members.

Think you're crazy?—The Nuclear Regulatory Commission gave permission to Public Service Electric & Gas to expand the spent fuel pool at its New Jersey nuclear plant. The present pool is almost full. With expansion, they can continue dumping radioactive waste until 1996. "By then," an NRC sage suggested, "the federal government should have worked out a long-term solution to the problem of spent fuel." And if not, they can dig a bigger hole.

By Any Means Necessary

Being Black is hazardous to your health

Some startling conclusions were recently released about occupational disease and cancer rates among Afro-Americans.

The San Francisco *Examiner* reported October 26 that "Health researchers say there is a link between high disease rates among Blacks and other minorities and discriminatory practices that concentrate a high proportion of minority workers in the most dangerous occupations.

"Government figures have long shown that minorities suffer higher rates of disease and have shorter life spans than whites."

According to an Associated Press story October 27 on a study by the National Cancer Institute, "Black Americans are less likely than whites to survive cancer five years after the disease is detected."

Then again, maybe these conclusions are not so startling, but only a confirmation of our—Black people's—suspicions and assumptions.

The facts, however, are worth reviewing.

The *Examiner* reports:

- The 1970 census revealed that the average life span for Blacks is 62.2 years, as opposed to 71.9 years for the white population. (The stats from the 1980 census are not yet available.)

- The 1970 census also showed that 15 percent of the total Black work force suffered permanent or partial job-related injuries, compared to 10 percent of the working white population.

- A 1978 report in the Social Security Administration Bulletin found that Black workers were one and a half times more likely than whites to be severely disabled from job injuries or illness.

- A 1972 Social Security survey indicated that Black workers were less likely to report chronic occupational diseases than whites.

Commenting on those statistics, Morris Davis, executive director of the Labor Occupational Health Project at the University of California at Berkeley, said, "They (minorities) are more fearful of job loss as compared to whites, less likely to complain; there can be language barriers which are difficult to overcome."

As for the minimum cancer survival rate among Blacks, the *Boston Globe* said that the NCI study "strongly suggested that blacks were less likely to get the most up-to-date cancer treatment and follow-up care."

There's more.

- In 1976, the Journal of Occupational Medicine

Osborne Hart



reported that out of 6,500 workers in Akron, Ohio, 27 percent of the Blacks were concentrated in the potentially dangerous compounding and mixing areas of the plant, but only 3 percent of whites worked there. The Blacks had a higher rate of respiratory and prostate cancer than whites.

- In 1969, the same journal reported that, in a survey of 59,000 steelworkers, non-whites suffered four times the death rate of whites from respiratory cancer. The follow-up survey in 1971 said that of the same group of steelworkers, 89 percent of the non-whites were employed as laborers in the potentially hazardous coke ovens, compared to 32 percent of the whites.

As a result of such surveys, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health now accepts the fact that minorities are subject to special occupational hazards and is including such categories in their research.

Now, we can officially add the *worst jobs and deadliest conditions* to the *last hired, first fired* syndrome.

NIOSH researcher Dr. Frank Goldsmith said, "The disproportionate number of Blacks that are hired into those (hazardous) jobs is obvious."

It's been obvious to us for 400 years.

What's Going On

FLORIDA MIAMI

IS THE U.S. MOVING TO THE RIGHT? Speakers to be announced. Wed., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 8171 NE Second Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

HAITIAN SOLIDARITY RALLY TO BENEFIT HAITIAN REFUGEE CENTER, INC. Speaker: Father Gerard Jean-Juste. Sun., Nov. 16, 2:30 p.m. Jewish Cultural Center, 429 Lenox Ave., Miami Beach. Donation: \$2. Ausp: National Association Against Racist and Political Repression and Citizens Coalition for Racial Justice.

HAITI: A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE. Speaker: Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. Tues., Nov. 25, 7:30 p.m. 8171 NE Second Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 756-8358.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

WHAT'S BEHIND IRAN-IRAQ WAR? Speakers: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat.,

Nov. 22, 8 p.m. 131 W. Main St. #102. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

NICARAGUA: THE CHALLENGE OF REVOLUTION: A SLIDE SHOW AND SPEAKER. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin, Pathfinder Bookstore. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

AMERICAN INDIAN'S FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL. As Thanksgiving approaches, what, indeed, does the American Indian have to be thankful for? Speaker: Waubun-Inini, Anishinabe Nation (Vernon Bellecourt), representative, Council of Internal Affairs, American Indian Movement. Sun., Nov. 23, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK NEW YORK

DEFEND IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Greg McCartan, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

RACIST ATTACKS NATIONWIDE. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 6, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO CINCINNATI

REVOLT AND REPRESSION IN EL SALVADOR. Speakers: representatives from the Central American Task Force and recent slide show from El Salvador. Sun., Nov. 23, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

THE NESTLE BABY FORMULA SCANDAL: CORPORATE CRIME IN THE THIRD WORLD. Speakers: representatives from the Infant Formula Action Coalition, organizers of Nestle's boycott. Film: "Into the Mouths of Babies." Sun., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA. Speakers: Lynne Wel-

ton, member of Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from trip to Cuba. Sun., Nov. 23, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE KLAN. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 1210 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

WHO KILLED KAREN SILKWOOD? Speakers: Elsa Blum, member Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

A FILM: 'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' Fri., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Laura Garza, participant in fact-finding tour of Cuba in November, member of Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Sat., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 406 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

THE MEANING OF 1980 ELECTIONS: IS AMERICA MOVING TO THE RIGHT? Speakers to be announced. Sun. Nov. 23, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Black revolution in the Caribbean: Grenada today

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

Speakers: Joseph Kanute Burke, consul general, Grenadian Mission to UN. Fri., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. First AME Church, 2270 Harvard Blvd., near Western & Adams. Ausp: U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. For more information call (213) 396-6995.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

Speakers: Mac Warren and Sam Manuel, members of Socialist Workers Party National Committee who just returned from tour of Caribbean. Sat., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m. Loeb Student Center, New York University, South Lobby, 566 La Guardia at Washington Square Park. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

Peasant war in Germany



The following article appeared in the September 25 'Socialist Challenge,' newspaper of the British International Marxist Group. For further reading, see Frederick Engels's 'The Peasant War in Germany.'

In sixteenth-century Europe, capitalism, in its early form of merchant capital, was beginning to struggle against all the old fetters of feudalism.

For the emerging new class of capitalists—the rising bourgeoisie—the power of the Catholic Church was suffocating. The Church owned huge areas of land, preventing the expansion of capitalism into the countryside and inhibiting the forced movement of peasants from the land to become workers in the towns.

Through taxes and the sales of indulgences—pieces of paper which officially forgave sins—the Church enriched itself at the expense of the people. It became hated and despised by both the impoverished masses and the progressive bourgeoisie.

This situation provoked a movement that challenged the power of Rome—the demand for "reformation" arose within and outside the Church.

The rumblings of discontent with Rome were given dramatic focus by the actions of Martin Luther, a dissident Catholic monk. In 1517 he nailed his "theses" against the sale of indulgences to the door of the church in Wittenberg. Luther particularly attacked the "misuse" of indulgences by a "star" seller, Tetzel, who was operating in the nearby town of Jüterborg.

Luther's action detonated an explosion.

The ferment of the developing Reformation gave rise to currents of a much more democratic and revolutionary character than Luther himself. A chief representative of these was Thomas Münzer.

Münzer argued that heaven should be sought on earth, and the task of the faithful was to create that heaven. By "heaven on earth," Münzer meant a society without private property, class dif-

ferences or a state—in other words, communism. All existing powers, insofar as they resisted, should be overthrown.

In 1525, the German peasants rebelled. They demanded the abolition of serfdom, the election and recall of the clergy, the limitation of excessive labour and taxes, the removal of arbitrary justice and administration, and the restitution of woods and pastures taken from communities and individuals.

All the forces of reaction in Germany united against the peasants—both Protestant princes and Catholic princes, defenders of the old order and proponents of the new capitalism. Martin Luther, despite his conflicts with the Emperor and the princes, rallied to the old order. He published a venomous pamphlet "against the robbing and murdering peasants," urging that they be butchered.

By contrast, Thomas Münzer stood with the peasants. He established a commune at Mulhausen, which stood at the centre of the rebellion. When the army of the princes approached, Münzer and his followers went to Frankenhäusen, where the peasant army stood to fight.

Overwhelmed in numbers, and lacking the artillery of the princes' army, 8,000 peasants were butchered. Münzer himself was captured and tortured to death. One by one the peasant armies were isolated and defeated.

Over 100,000 peasants were killed and the war was followed by bitter persecution of the peasants and those who supported them. The Anabaptists religious sect, many of whom shared Münzer's communist views, also suffered severe persecution.

Münzer's views were cloaked in religious mysticism. His project was utopian. But he stands with the leaders of the English peasants' revolt in 1381 as one of the most important forerunners of communist ideas. His overriding passion was summed up in his slogan: "The people shall be free."

—Paul Lawson

Dump 'em all

The morning after the election, I overheard a young worker in my plant explain why he thought Reagan had won the election. He compared it to a booth at a carnival. Maybe you've seen the kind where you try to hit a target and dump someone in a tub of water.

"Every time we elect a president," he said, "we try for the next four years to dump him. Then we elect someone else, and then we find out we want to dump him too."

I had forgotten his remarks until an incident at the end of the day reminded me. We were waiting at the time clock and an older worker was explaining the heated discussion he had with his wife because he planned to vote for Carter while she was voting for Reagan.

"I told her that Carter was for labor, for the unions," he said, "Reagan wants to do away with the minimum wage, he's looking out for the big corporations."

While I certainly don't think Carter is for the unions, it seems clear to me that millions of American workers, like the older guy in the time clock line, are looking for candidates who will represent labor.

Millions of workers who are tired of dumping anti-labor politicians every election would be ready and willing to campaign for labor candidates run by our trade unions.

C.R.
Baltimore, Maryland

Support transit workers

I had been passing around a petition in support of the Dallas transit workers at the General Telephone Company where I work. I ran into the following:

1. I have been prohibited from showing the petition to my co-workers on company property.

2. A number of my co-workers have been interrogated as to the "material" being passed around by me and interrogated as to my personal life.

3. A photocopy of said petition was secured by underhanded methods by management.

4. I have been harassed, embarrassed, and isolated at my job.

Solution: Onward with our petition drive. Support the Dallas transit workers!

M.S. Vidales
Dallas, Texas

World Series

The Cincinnati *Enquirer* has discovered a novel, if not scientific, method for choosing which Democrat or Republican will lord over us as president: baseball's World Series!

It works like this: if the National League wins, the Democrat becomes president. If the American League triumphs, so does the Republican.

In fact, in a front page article on October 25, entitled "Phillies' Series Victory Could Be Carter Omen," the *Enquirer* suggests that this is already how we get the presidents we've had in the past. The evidence compiled by the *Enquirer* covers the period since 1940. Every time the National League won, with one exception, the Democratic nominee won. When it lost, Eisenhower, and Nixon, won.

It's true, the evidence rests on shaky ground, but so what—this is an election year, when facts are forgotten and abused. The *Enquirer* may have something here. After all, it seems a much fairer way of picking the president than the present electoral farce.

For one thing, we'll finally be able to tell the difference between the candidates, if only by the color of their uniforms.

Secondly, the World Series is more interesting, watched by more people. It's certainly less rhetorical, idiotic, and boring than the elections.

Thirdly, it's less hypocritical. Obviously, there's no room for other than the two leagues in the World Series. No need then to proclaim "free" and "democratic" elections, while denying equal time and ballot rights for other parties.

Fourthly, there is less chance to lie and cheat your way onto base (although once on base, you can *steal*), as happens in the elections to office.

However, I do see some problems with the *Enquirer's* idea. Just as big money buys the candidates we get stuck with, so does it purchase ball players to forge a winning team.

And, of course, the Cincinnati *Reds* would not be allowed to play, nor would Tug McGraw be able to pitch again: as a "lefty," he'd be purged and blacklisted.

So, although the *Enquirer* could make a good case for its method of picking the president, I must conclude that it's really out in right field on this one—as it is on most!

Scott Breen
Cincinnati, Ohio

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

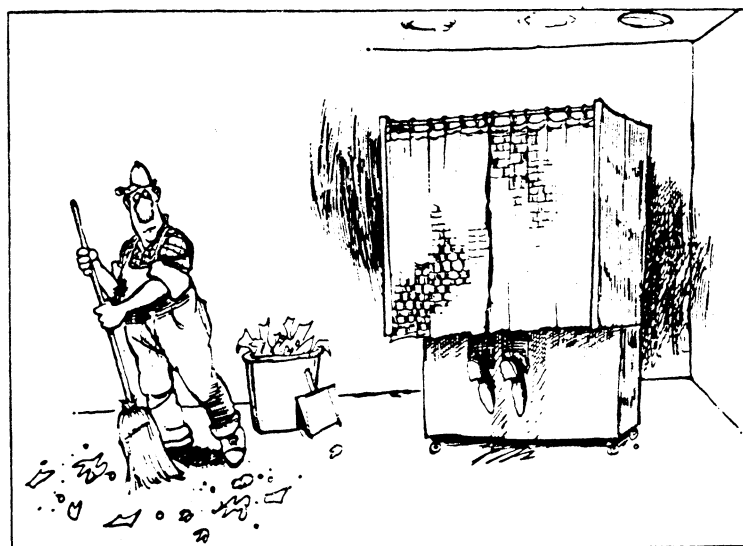
JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$3.95 each. Enclosed is \$_____
- ☐ Please send me more information.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

JOIN THE SWP



Learning About Socialism

Clairvoyant racism

From a GI

I am an enlisted member in the Air Force presently stationed in Germany. I am also an enthusiastic reader of the *Militant*, which has provided me with a perspective and analysis of important struggles and events ongoing in the country.

From where I sit it's all too clear the military brass is trying to prepare us for war. There is an emphasis on chemical warfare training that has frightening implications.

Whenever the opportunity arose I would discuss the *Militant* and the benefits of a society run by the workers with my roommate, who was a young black airman who took some interest.

He has since been moved out of my room and barracks for no apparent reason.

My new roommate just happens to be assigned to Wing Intelligence.

I still have discussions with my friend and, anyone else who wishes to hear the truth. That's why it's important I renew my subscription at this time so I can continue to receive the truth.

R.L.W.

Spangdahlem AB, Germany

San Diego campaign

In the October 31 *Militant*, a story on the California election campaign featured some of the impressive coverage and support that Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the Forty-third District had received.

Friedman ran against KKK Democrat Tom Metzger and conservative Republican incumbent Clair Burgener.

The article mentioned that Friedman had been endorsed by the Southern California Executive Committee of the Citizens Party, among others, and it quoted from their statement of support.

At a subsequent meeting of that committee, the Citizens Party decided to rescind their endorsement.

However, Linda Valentino, co-chair of the Southern California Executive Committee of the Citizens Party, remained an endorser of Friedman's candidacy. *Bobbie Bagel*
San Diego, California

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

Responding to the outrage over the deaths and disappearances of fifteen Black children in Atlanta, police called in Dorothy Allison from Nutley, New Jersey.

According to the October 23 *New York Times*, "Mrs. Allison, who says she has helped solve thirteen killings and find more than fifty missing people, stated at a news conference after her arrival yesterday that she believed the person responsible for the deaths here was a black man from the Atlanta area.

"I see where he is, I follow him," she said. "I won't give up until he's found. Nobody touches my little angels—and that's what they are, my little angels—and gets away with it."

Allison is fifty-five years old and white. The cops are paying her expenses.

According to the *Times* article, "Atlanta Police Chief George Napper said the decision to call in Mrs. Allison was unusual but timely.

"This is a new experience for us, there's no question about it," he said. "But the usual methods have not brought about the results we want."

Allison says she is "clairvoyant."

According to the dictionary a clairvoyant has the supposed power to perceive things that are out of the natural range of human senses.

Do the cops really believe this faker? No. Although it is not because of an improvement in "police science" education.

Allison's arrival was a major media event. Her news conference was covered on national television. She was treated seriously. The cops who invited her were portrayed as if they were doing something to find the murderers of the children.

The cops and the news media who give credence to such superstitious nonsense have political reasons for doing so. The case in Atlanta reveals some of them.

The Black community is attacked. Racist violence there and throughout the country is escalating. What should be done?

Rely on the supernatural. Not on such practical, down-to-earth measures as those demanded by the mothers and other Black leaders—putting every resource of the local, state, and federal governments into tracking down the killers. Certainly not organizing and mobilizing the Black community for self-defense.

Who should be investigated?

"A Black man from the Atlanta area," as Allison "saw" right away. Certainly not the Klan, Nazis, and other violent racist outfits that the police have intimate knowledge of.

What happened to the crime labs, computer banks, and other technological wonders that the cops are supposed to have at their disposal? They don't apply in this case. For the murders of Black children, the cops turn to witches.

Allison ought to ride her broom back to Nutley. Neither she nor anyone else has powers beyond the rest of us humans.

This is one of the clearest cases recently of the use of pseudo-science for an openly reactionary purpose. The purpose in doing this goes beyond covering up for police inaction and complicity with the racist attacks against Blacks.

It is also part of the ideological offensive against workers, women, and oppressed nationalities.

The capitalists who rule this society represent a class that has long outlived its usefulness. Capitalist ownership and control of society's wealth holds back progress. Technological advances, the capacity of humanity to control the forces of nature, mean that all the world's people *could* be fed, clothed, educated, and living productive and secure lives. The only reason this doesn't happen is because production is organized for the profit of the few instead of the needs of the many.

And this is more and more evident to rational thought. So the capitalists turn against rationality, especially as applied to social problems. They foster superstition, mysticism, and religion.

Cults and superstitions outside the "official" religions trap people who begin to see through some of the fraud and hypocrisy of the churches.

The pseudo-sciences try to tap distrust of real science. Science is confused with the antisocial purposes it is put to under capitalism: weapons, nuclear power, dangerous chemicals and drugs.

In 1922 the Soviet revolutionaries started a new magazine called *Under the Banner of Marxism*. The publication was to be a militant, materialist, atheist organ in the education of Soviet youth.

Leon Trotsky was then the Commissar of War and later chairman of the technical and scientific board of industry. The first issue of the new magazine featured a letter from Trotsky.

Trotsky said that revolutionary will is tempered "only on condition that it is supported by scientific understanding of the conditions and causes of historical development."

He went on to explain that "in this kind of epoch of great change like ours—especially if it is prolonged, i.e., if the tempo of revolutionary events in the West turns out to be slower than might be hoped—it is very probable that attempts will be made by various idealistic and semi-idealistic philosophical schools and sects to gain control of the consciousness of working youth.

"Caught unawares by events—without previous rich experience of practical class struggle—the thought of the working youth may prove defenseless against the various doctrines of idealism, which are in essence a translation of religious dogmas into the language of sham philosophy. All these schools . . . amount in the last analysis to making consciousness, thought, and cognition precede matter, and not the other way around. . . .

"The dependency of consciousness on class interests and relations, and of the latter on economic organization, appears most plainly, most openly, and most harshly in a revolutionary epoch.

" . . . the person who does not admit the existence of mystical heavenly forces, capable at will of intruding upon personal or social life and directing it to this side or that, who does not believe that want and suffering will find some kind of higher reward in other worlds, will stand more firmly and stably on our earth, will more boldly and more confidently seek support for his creative work in the material conditions of society."

This article appears in the book *Problems of Everyday Life*, which is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 or from the offices below. It costs \$5.45. Enclose 75 cents for postage.

—Stu Singer

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Send mail to P.O. Box 3382-A. Zip: 35255.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 201 N. 9th St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Mary Randazzo, 1223 Northwest 18th Ave. Zip: 32601. Tel: (904) 372-1973. Miami: SWP, YSA, 8171 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 546-5942. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, 4120 Michigan Union, U. of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorris St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1210 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Bill Donovan, 1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

500 angry NY residents: 'Shut Indian Pt. for good!'

By Steve Wattenmaker
and Helen Schiff

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.—Five hundred angry residents crowded a Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) hearing November 5, demanding that the crippled Indian Point nuclear power plant in nearby Buchanan, New York, be shut down permanently.

The NRC was forced to call the hearing in response to public outrage over a 100,000-gallon water leak discovered October 17 that damaged the Unit 2 reactor at the problem-plagued Indian Point nuclear complex.

The two remaining reactors at the site were already closed with safety problems when the latest accident occurred.

After a day of technical testimony by officials of Consolidated Edison, the operator of Indian Point Unit 2, the floor was opened to public comment at 7 p.m. For the next eleven hours, speaker after speaker demanded that the NRC revoke Con Ed's license to run the facility and shut down Indian Point for good.

Susan McKeon, a teacher from Peekskill, a town near Indian Point, drew rousing cheers when she told the panel that Con Ed "wants us to pay for our own cancer" by charging its customers 10 percent more a month to cover the cost of the accident.

"I don't owe anything to the stockholders" of Con Ed. "This is what I owe something to," McKeon said, holding up her ten-month-old son.

Nevertheless, the New York State Public Service Commission has authorized Con Ed to pass on the extra costs of electricity to its customers starting November 10.

A doctor from nearby Mt. Kisko testified that his hospital was completely unprepared to handle even the smallest radiation emergency.

Another resident, Judy Kessler, told the NRC officials that she was one of



Protesters at all-night hearing on leaking nuclear reactor

tens of thousands of people who live within ten miles of Indian Point.

"Reference was made in the afternoon session to this latest accident at Indian Point as a 'learning experience'. How many more 'learning experiences' will we need before a hearing like this will be a real post-mortem?" Kessler asked.

Despite the compelling testimony that continued until dawn, comments by the NRC officials present suggested

that the public's demands fell on deaf ears.

Victor J. Stello Jr., director of the NRC's office of inspection, told reporters that while he was "frustrated" with some aspects of Con Ed's handling of the breakdown, he was willing to give the utility a clean bill of health.

"I don't find them incompetent," Stello said of the plant operators. "They understood they had a problem."

But officials of the Nuclear Regula-

tory Commission did not escape sharp criticism themselves.

Joan Holts of the New York Public Research Interest Group told the NRC officials, "If you are paid by us it is your job to protect us, not the licensee. You gentlemen have screwed up as well as Con Ed. You know as well as we do that there is no way to operate Indian Point safely."

To ringing cheers from the audience Holts concluded: "Revoke all licenses. Close Indian Point now and forever!"

Silkwood rally draws unionists, nuclear foes

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Karen Silkwood is dead, but wherever there is "struggle against the nuclear monster" her fighting spirit is present.

That was the message conveyed by Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, to a November 8 rally here sponsored by Citizens Against Nuclear Power and Students Concerned About Nuclear Safety.

The rally commemorated the life of Karen Silkwood, the union activist killed in 1974 on her way to deliver an exposé of deadly working conditions at the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant where she worked.

The rally, which capped a day of workshops, was endorsed by Illinois National Organization for Women (NOW); United Steelworkers locals 65, 1010, and 1011; the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women; the Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and leaders of the United Mine Work-

ers and United Food and Commercial Workers unions.

The event brought together antinuclear activists, unionists, and feminists.

"The labor movement," Jerry Gordon told the rally of more than 200 people, has "the power and the resources to shut the nuclear industry down."

It's from within the labor movement, Gordon continued, that a clean, ready energy alternative has been proposed—coal.

United Mine Workers representative Jim Chamberlain told a labor workshop that the UMWA is "in the fight for this cause [ending nuclear power]. And when we say something, we back it up 100 percent."

Nuclear power is putting miners out of work, he said, but the issue is more than jobs. "You have to stop and take a long look, think about your health, your children, and your grandchildren," he said.

When the stakes are "the very life of

our planet," Chamberlain told the evening rally, then "why not coal?"

His question was greeted with warm applause.

The gathering also gave activists a chance to discuss the impact of the elections, and the discussion went far beyond nuclear power.

"Corporate America is in trouble," Sara Nelson, the director of NOW's national labor task force, told the crowd.

Faced with big-business competition from abroad and people "rising up and taking over their own countries, like Nicaragua," U.S. corporations intend to "protect what they've got and get more, and they are going to try to get it from us," she said.

These are the economics, Nelson said, behind the mounting attacks on the rights of labor, Blacks, women, and young people.

Mike Olszanski, head of United Steelworkers District 31 environmental committee, told the labor workshop

that the election showed it "was time to get to the business of forming a party of our own, a labor party, call it what you will. We are not going to do it with the Democrats."

Jerry Gordon urged the same course at the rally after blasting the "politicians who promise everything before the elections, then stab us in the back when they are over."

The attitude of struggle was also expressed by the UMWA's Chamberlain. "We aren't going to sit idly by when our contract comes up" in April 1981, he told the cheering crowd.

The militant mood of this conference was well put by Sara Nelson: It's time to "mobilize hundreds of thousands and eventually millions of people," she said at the rally, "to turn around the nuclear threat, the economic crisis of inflation and unemployment, the rise of the Klan, the blocking of women's rights, the crisis of our civil liberties and our social programs."