

THE MILITANT

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

100,000 rally for Black rights

Demand Martin Luther King national holiday



Militant/Osborne Hart

By Osborne Hart

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The largest Black rights demonstration in nearly two decades took place here January 15, demanding that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday be declared a national holiday.

A huge, militant crowd of more than 100,000 people, the overwhelming majority Black, rallied at the Washington Monument to honor the slain civil rights leader. Thousands more demonstrated in cities throughout the country (see page 4).

Not since the 1963 march on Washington, led by King, has there been such a national outpouring of the Black community.

Braving the cold, singing and chanting despite slush and snow, tens of thousands of demonstrators marched from the Capital grounds to the rally site.

Portraits of King were held aloft everywhere.

Black nationalist flags of red, black and green waved throughout the crowd.

Clenched fists punctuated chants of "We want a holiday—Black folks' holiday!" and "We took a holiday!"

The mood was festive but determined. Determined that civil rights gains, won by the movement King helped lead, will not be taken away by Reagan or by racist terrorists like the Ku Klux Klan. Determined that the struggle will go on until Black people are truly free.

Participants represented a broad cross section of the Black community—from high school, junior high school,

and even younger, to many thousands in their forties and fifties, to the elderly.

Buses were chartered by church, community, and social groups. Operation PUSH and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference brought busloads. Radio station WJPC in Chicago organized forty buses.

Chapters of the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party in Newport News, Virginia;

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Dear *Militant* reader,

March 16 is a date you should remember. On that day the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying, disruption, and harassment will go to trial. Coming to trial in the early

ists, an injunction against renewed spy activity, and \$40 million in damages.

As the trial draws near the government has made a dramatic shift in its defense. They now openly claim the right to spy on everyone!

A message to our readers

days of the Reagan administration, the socialist suit will represent an important challenge to the government's offensive against the rights of us all.

Our suit demands a complete stop to the government's spy operations against social-

The preliminary government trial plan states:

"... the Government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature."

"The issue in this case is not whether the

SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt," they assert.

"The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the Government of the United States, even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law."

The message couldn't be more clear. What is involved is a fight for the rights of not only socialists—but all working people. A victory will be a victory for every worker trying to organize strong unions; every fighter for Black rights, for women's rights; every opponent of nuclear power. If we win it will make it more

Continued on page 21

New cast, old script

Ronald Reagan climaxed his inaugural address by evoking the image of a young GI lying dead in France during World War I. In the soldier's diary, Reagan said, was found this pledge: "I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully. . . ."

So there's the watchword of the new administration—cheerful sacrifice.

The nation's problems, Reagan explained, stem from trying to "live beyond our means."

His answer? "Reverse the growth of government" and curb its "intervention and intrusion in our lives."

For starters, the intrusion of food stamps is to be removed from the lives of some eight million Americans, if Reagan's economic program goes through.

Those pesky safety and pollution inspectors are to stop interfering with American industry.

Washington is to stop intruding on employers by telling them they have to hire Blacks or women.

Prosperity is possible, Reagan said, if we remove these "roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity." But don't expect quick relief, he hastened to add. Economic ills "will not go away in days, weeks, or months."

When it comes to the Pentagon, of course, Reagan's plan is not to reverse the growth of government spending but to put the accelerator to the floor. Carter had projected an armaments budget of \$1 trillion (\$1,000,000,000,000) over the next five years. Reagan wants more.

The key to everything, Reagan explained, is to stop seeing ourselves as conflicting "interest groups." Some of us are industrialists, he said, and some are truck drivers. But "all of us together . . . must bear the burden."

Let's think of ourselves, he urged, as "we the people—this breed called Americans."

During the week before the inaugural, James Carter delivered his farewell address, his final state of the union message, and his final budget. Their theme?

"We are all Americans together," Carter said. We should stop trying to defend "our own private interests" rather than make the necessary sacrifices for "the national interest."

Government spending on the poor, the aged, and the unemployed must be restrained, he said. But "we must pay whatever price is required to remain the strongest nation in the world."

The way to move the economy forward, the outgoing Democrat declared, is to lift burdensome government regulations and "increase

the sources of financing for business investment" through generous tax breaks.

The future looks grim for working people under Reagan. It is grim. The new administration will step up the drive to raise corporate profits at our expense. It will step up efforts to prepare American youth to fight and die in wars against liberation struggles around the globe.

In so doing, the Reagan administration will build on what the Carter administration did—from draft registration to decontrol of energy prices.

And, like the Carter administration, it will face resistance and opposition that will limit its ability to carry out its reactionary program.

Democrats and Republicans alike try to confuse and disorient this opposition with appeals to the "national interest," to "we the people." But the most important fact of American politics is that "our country" is divided into *classes*, whose interests are irreconcilably opposed, and that both Democratic and Republican parties represent the capitalist-class minority against the working-class majority.

That's why the pompous "changing of the guard" in Washington last week changed nothing fundamental.

Facing an antilabor onslaught from both capitalist parties, workers need our own party to fight for our own interests—a labor party. Then we'll see political fireworks to make Reagan's inauguration look like the pale charade it really was.

Why 444 days?

It took 444 days to achieve the release of the fifty-two Americans from the Tehran embassy. But the fact is that they could have been released on Day 1.

Like the terms of the final settlement, the initial demands of the Iranian people were neither exorbitant nor unjustified. They could and should have been met at the time.

Washington brought the shah to this country with full knowledge that it would be regarded by Iran as a major provocation.

The Iranians responded by occupying the embassy. What did they ask?

First, that the shah be returned to Iran to stand trial for the torture and murder of literally hundreds of thousands of people.

Second, that the billions of dollars he had stolen from his impoverished country be returned.

Third, that Washington agree to end its continuing interference into Iran's internal affairs.

The demands were given added legitimacy because Washington was responsible for the shah to begin with.

That's not simply our assertion. In a January 21 summary of the events leading up to the embassy crisis, the *New York Times*, no friend of the Iranian revolution, wrote in part:

"The Central Intelligence Agency helped stage the 1953 coup that restored the young Shah to his throne after he had been deposed by Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq, who nationalized Western-owned oilfields."

The article explains that although the Shah was opposed by a broad range of the Iranian people, "President Nixon approved nearly unlimited arms sales . . . and President Carter politically embraced the Iranian ruler in a New Year's 1978 visit to Tehran."

Despite this criminal involvement with the Hitler of Iran, Washington refused to consider Iranian proposals for ending the embassy crisis. Instead, Iranian assets in this country were seized. Countries aligned with the United States were pressured to join a trade embargo.

Carter staged his "rescue" fiasco, killing eight GIs and underlining that he didn't give a damn for the safety of those held in the embassy.

Now, with the resolution of the crisis, there is the propaganda theme that "we have been humiliated."

Who's "we"?

True, American bankers and oil magnates may feel a setback for their plans to roll back the Iranian revolution and resume plundering that country's resources.

American workers, however, have no such stakes in Iran.

But, it's argued, "we paid them ransom."

That, too, is propaganda hokum. The agreement simply provides that the United States will return some of the money and property that legally belong to Iran.

And, the agreement declares, it "will be the policy of the United States not to intervene, directly or indirectly, politically or militarily, in Iran's internal affairs."

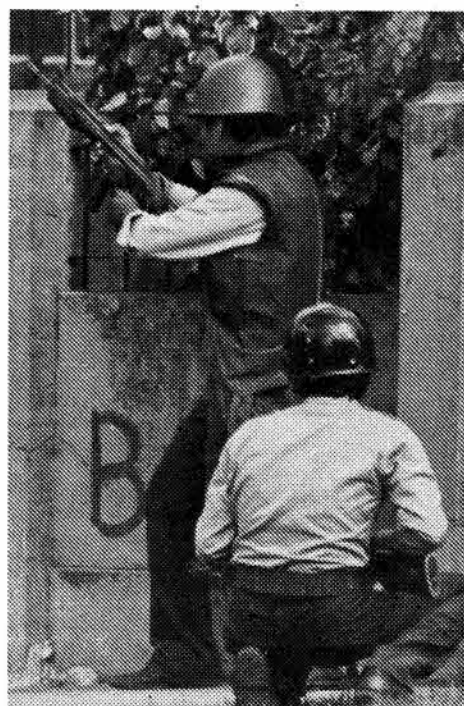
Again, that may not be to the liking of Chase Manhattan or Exxon. But American working people have every reason to support such a pledge and demand it be lived up to.

Insofar as the fifty-two embassy personnel are concerned, information released by Washington substantiates the Iranian charge that at least several were in fact involved in a spy operation.

For the others, it is well and good that they will be returning to their homes. But on the record, it can be stated—no thanks to Washington.

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U.S. doubles aid to Salvador junta

Washington just announced another \$5 million in military aid, claiming El Salvador is threatened by Cubans and Nicaraguans. But even U.S. ambassadors are disputing the 'foreign influence' story. **Page 8.**

The Militant

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... King

Continued from front page
Pittsburgh; and Washington, D.C. organized contingents.

Come on their own

And thousands upon thousands of people just came on their own. Typical of the individual initiative that marked this action was a bus from East Orange, New Jersey—organized by a mother and daughter simply because they thought it should be done.

As the crowd flowed down Constitution Avenue, demonstrators waved hand-made placards: *Iowa Remembers, Minnesota Remembers, Massachusetts Remembers*, and many other states.

High school bands, some playing the civil rights anthem "We Shall Overcome," paraded before contingents displaying banners from church and community groups, fraternities and sororities, and student groups.

Two banners—*The anti-draft movement commemorates Dr. Martin Luther King—Make January 15 a national holiday* and *Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador Salutes Martin Luther King, Jr.—civil rights, peace leader—solidarized with King's opposition to war*.

Groups of unionists marched with their signs and banners, including District 1199 Hospital Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Electrical Workers; Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689 in Washington; auto workers; steelworkers; teachers; and Teamsters from North Carolina.

After holding a union-sponsored King commemoration the night before, members of United Steelworkers Local 2609 in Baltimore drove in carpools to the demonstration.

At the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York, Marine and Shipbuilders Local 12 passed a resolution just the night before, endorsing the march and demand for the King holiday. The union sent a message of support.

Holiday

For most workers the day was not a holiday. But in open defiance of their employers, many simply took the time off to travel here.

Groups of marchers sang along with the music of "Happy Birthday"—the song dedicated to King composed by Black musician Stevie Wonder.

Wonder initiated the demonstration



Part of crowd listening to speakers Stevie Wonder, top; Martin Luther King III, bottom left, son of the slain civil rights leader; and William Tate, United Auto Workers District 65 vice-president.



Militant/Osborne Hart

call just six weeks ago, along with a petition campaign for the King holiday. He publicized the action during a cross-country concert tour and was seen as its leading figure.

"Martin Luther King's birthday should be a holiday," Jean Harris, a secretary from Washington, told the *Militant*. "I brought my family because I wanted them to know about King."

Marcia Springer, a Wilmington, Delaware, high school student, said, "I think Martin Luther King's birthday should be a holiday, because there are no holidays for Black people."

The demand for a King holiday—for federal government recognition of the leading historic figure of the civil rights movement—became a focus for responding to all the attacks on Black rights today.

'Later for Reagan'

Coming just five days before Ronald Reagan's inaugural, this immense outpouring sent an unmistakable message to the new Klan-endorsed administration.

Hand-lettered signs spelled it out: "Freedom now—later for Reagan" "I want a job" "We shall have our first class citizenship, or..." "Where are the Atlanta 15?" "Honor Martin Luther King—dishonor Reagan"

At the rally, Black activist and comedian Dick Gregory elicited a resounding "boo" at the mention of Reagan's name. Gregory pointed to the power of the vast numbers gathered here and said of the King holiday, "We're going to have it. We want it. We demand it. We're going to get it."

William Tate, vice president of United Auto Workers District 65 in New York City, scored the Reagan administration as "committed to the elimination of the minimum wage, anti-union attitude and policies, cutbacks in social programs including food stamps for the poor and needy, and spending millions of dollars on nuclear weapons at the risk of war. Not to mention increased segregation by establishing 'states rights.'"

"The battle we face today is that of human needs versus corporate profits," Tate said. "The spirit of Dr. King lives and we're going forward to make his dream a reality."

Underlining the anti-Reagan sentiment, the rally crowd—with clenched fists raised—sang along with Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH: "Ain't going to let Ronald Reagan turn us around... Ain't going to let Strom Thurmond turn us around... Ain't going to let the Ku Klux Klan turn us around."

U.S. Rep. John Conyers, who co-chaired the rally, hailed the demonstration as the "turning point in the passing of the Martin Luther King Holiday bill."

King's son, Martin Luther King III, denounced the "indecent housing, poor health care" and other ills that plague

the Black community. He urged a fight for jobs for all.

Also speaking were U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy, Curtis Pittman of the United States Student Association, and others.

Ben Chavis, chief defendant in the Wilmington Ten case and now a leader of the National Independent Black Political Party, was introduced briefly to a sustained ovation.

The appearance of Stevie Wonder highlighted the day's protest. He was escorted on stage to thunderous cheers and applause.

After thanking the multitude of demonstrators for coming out, Wonder

Socialist press sales

In Washington a total of 249 papers—134 Militants and 115 Young Socialists—were sold and seventy-one demonstrators bought introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*. In addition, more than 250 YSA "Stop Racist Attacks" buttons were sold.

In Buffalo, participants bought eighty-seven copies of the *Militant* and sixty-seven copies of the *Young Socialist*.

expressed his feeling about King's contributions as "one of our great leaders," a fighter for peace, equal rights, and justice.

In the day's most inspiring moment, Stevie Wonder led the huge crowd in singing "We Shall Overcome."

He closed the rally with his hit song "Happy Birthday." The masses rocked, swayed, and sang along with him.

As tens of thousands streamed out of the rally, they were still singing, still cheering, still smiling.

They had made their presence felt. They had celebrated a hero of the Black freedom struggle. They would not be turned back.

Two million sign for King Day

Some two million signatures have been gathered on petitions calling for a national holiday on Martin Luther King's birthday, Ofield Dukes told the *Militant*. Dukes was a central organizer of the January 15 demonstration.

King holiday bills have been introduced in Congress since 1968 but never enacted. In 1979 a motion to suspend the House rules and pass the bill fell five votes short of the required two-thirds majority.

The goal is to obtain five million signers by February 1, Dukes said. In mid-February a delegation including Stevie Wonder will present the petitions to Congress.

At a news conference after the January 15 rally, demonstration organizers announced plans to form a coalition, with Stevie Wonder as honorary chairperson, to continue mobilizing support for the King holiday.

The coalition will also press for defense and extension of civil rights legislation, they said.

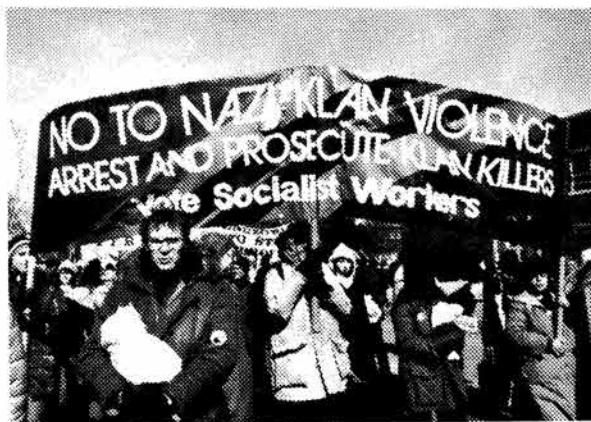
For more information and copies of the King holiday petition, contact Ofield Dukes & Associates, Suite 716, National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045; telephone (202) 638-2299.

—O.H.

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Atlanta: 'March 'til streets cry for mercy'

By Garrett Brown

ATLANTA—Militant speeches denouncing racism, poverty and the slayings of Blacks in Atlanta and New York were cheered by the youthful audience at a rally here marking Martin Luther King's fifty-second birthday.

Following the hour-long rally, 5,000 unionists, civil rights supporters, and two high school bands marched to King's tomb near the Ebenezer Baptist Church. A memorial service was held at the church after a brief rally at the crypt.

The events were co-sponsored by the Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Social Change and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Among the speakers were Coretta Scott King, former UN ambassador Andrew Young, and Al Kehr, southern area director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Their remarks centered on the effort to make King's birthday a national holiday, the importance of renewing the 1965 Voting Rights Act and other

civil rights legislation, and the burning need for jobs, decent housing, education, and medical care.

"How long must we wait for justice? How long must we wait for decent housing and decent jobs? How long must we wait for an end to the attacks on our children?" asked Atlanta University student Rev. Kenneth Flowers.

"I'm tired of people telling me to be patient," Flowers declared. "I'm tired of people telling me to be afraid of the KKK. If I must die, then I will die in struggle." The crowd stood and cheered.

Frederick Douglass High School student Bernice King again brought the crowd to its feet when she said, "We must march until the streets cry for mercy."

Cleveland Robinson, a vice-president of District 65, United Auto Workers, declared, "Poverty is a man-made crime, a product of the system we live under. We call it a democracy, but it's not a democracy."

"We have to change this country and use our resources to meet the needs of

people so that there are none who are poor, none who are starving, none who suffer from racism," Robinson said.

Camille Bell, mother of one of Atlanta's sixteen murdered and missing children, also spoke.

"Black people are the conscience of America and this conscience has been strangely silent," said Bell.

"Those of you who have made it, help somebody else up. Those of you who are still struggling, keep on climbing. And those of you who have given it up, get back into the struggle," she said.

Bell counseled against discouragement in the face of the new Reagan administration and blasted the "religious right" saying, "Moral Majority is just another name for Racist Right."

A large number of unionists participated in the march and rallies. These included printers, machinists, postal workers, garment workers, and teachers from the Atlanta area.

Representatives from the national offices of the Machinists and the Uni-

ted Food and Commercial Workers were also present.

Two busloads of Black unionists from Local 420, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, travelled from New York City to march in King's birth place.

Several Atlanta high schools were well represented at the demonstration, as well as a spirited contingent from Morris Brown College.

Singing songs from the civil rights movement and chanting, "We want a national holiday" and "All fired up! Ain't gonna take it no more!" the 5,000 marchers briskly walked the three-mile route to King's tomb.

Signs prominent among marchers included: "Machinists Union Against Racism and Violence," and "AFSCME: Don't Forget the Dream."

Following the suggestion of a local Black radio station, cars, trucks, and buses throughout Atlanta turned on their headlights during the day in honor of the slain civil rights leader.

Buffalo: 3,000 praise King, hit racist terror

By Melvin Chappell

BUFFALO—Thousands demonstrated here January 15 to commemorate the birthday of Martin Luther King and to protest racist violence.

Two antiracist rallies overwhelmingly outnumbered the "demonstration" of a single nazi the same day.

After weeks of boasting that the neo-Nazi National Socialist Party of America would hold a rally on the birthday of Dr. King, only Karl E. Hand, Jr. showed up to demonstrate for what he called "white rights."

Hand is the local nazi leader who released statements to the press publicizing the right-wing action. Leaflets building the event appealed for "100 white men with guts" to rally at city hall.

Hand is under federal indictment stemming from a February 16 shooting attack on the home of a Black man in Barnegat, New Jersey.

The local cops organized a show of force aimed both at intimidating anti-Nazi protesters and at protecting Hand as he spoke to reporters on the steps of city hall.

Hundreds of cops, including mounted police, helicopters, a squad of attack dogs, and paddy wagons were standing by.

Hand carried a placard with a swastika drawn on one side and "Whites have rights" written on the other. After talking to reporters on the steps of city hall for about half an hour, he was driven away under heavy police escort.

A thick line of police had separated Hand from a rally of about three hundred protesters that took place across the street in Niagara Square.

The rally was sponsored by the Martin Luther King Memorial Day Coalition. It began with a march down Delaware Avenue to the square.

Marchers included members of the Black United Front, National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Black Human Rights Coalition, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

They carried flags that read, "Stop the Nazis, Stop the Klan," and chanted, "Hey, hey Buffalo—Racist terror's gotta go." Speakers denounced the failure of the city administration to apprehend the murderer of several Black men in Buffalo.

A message of support was read from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Shortly after this demonstration disbanded, a second rally took place at nearby Lafayette Square. About 3,000 people attended. This event was co-sponsored by the Black Leadership Forum, a coalition of Black community leaders, and the city administration.

The gathering was a mixture of



Demonstrators who turned out for Buffalo's January 15 King Day rally.

Militant/Ernie Mailhot

young and old, Black and white. They jammed the square to pay their respects to Martin Luther King.

Many carried placards demanding a national holiday on King's birthday. There were also signs denouncing racist violence, the Klan, and the nazis.

Several local officials of the United Auto Workers and AFL-CIO endorsed the action. About two hundred members of Laborers Local 210 marched from their union hall to join the rally in Lafayette Square.

The keynote speaker was Rev. Will Brown, chairperson of the Black Leadership Forum.

"We call upon the city council to open the door to let us get to the table where all the decisions are made," Brown said. "Dr. King is dead, but his spirit lives on."

Many times his speech was interrupted with chants of, "We want a holiday."

Brown called for a national holiday and for a city statue erected in King's honor.

Buffalo Mayor James Griffin read a proclamation declaring January 15 Martin Luther King Day.

A list of supporters read at the rally included the Irish Center, Polish Union of America, Federation of German American Society, Jewish Federation, Ukrainian Mission, the Puerto Rican community, American Muslim Mission, Buffalo City Council, and U.S. Senator Patrick Moynihan.

"I'm very encouraged by this start,"

Brown told a reporter from the Buffalo *Courier Express* at the end of the day's activities. "We can't look at it as the end, but as the beginning."

"Today is our day," said Rev. Bennett W. Smith, local chairman of Operation PUSH. "We will not allow racism

or the KKK to walk the streets of Buffalo again. This will give courage to all of the people who want to fight racism and nazism. They will think twice in the future," Smith said, referring to the nazis, "before showing their ugly faces in downtown Buffalo."

Louisville honors Dr. King

By Dennis Carman

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—More than 200 antiracist activists marched here in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King and the victories of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s.

The theme of the day's events, sponsored by the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference (KSCLC), was, "The mass march is on the move again."

There were contingents from KSCLC; Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Laborers Local 576; International Chemical Workers Union; Kentucky Anti-Klan Coalition; Communications Workers of America; Socialist Workers Party; and Young Socialist Alliance.

"Make it a holiday!" chanted the crowd at the Unity Rally following the march. It heard representatives from religious organizations, unions, and community groups.

Speakers included Clinton Bennett, Operation PUSH; Rev. Charles Kirby, KSCLC; John Hardy, Kentucky Anti-Klan Coalition; Jimmy Stewart, presi-

dent, Laborers Local 576; Pat Allison, Jefferson County Teachers Association; Frank Matthews, president, Communications Workers Local 10310; and Rabbi Chester Diamond.

Mattie Jones from the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression said, "In Atlanta, parents are afraid to send their children to church."

"In Buffalo, hearts are ripped out of men's bodies."

"Police brutality is at its height. We must remember freedom is only gained through constant struggle."

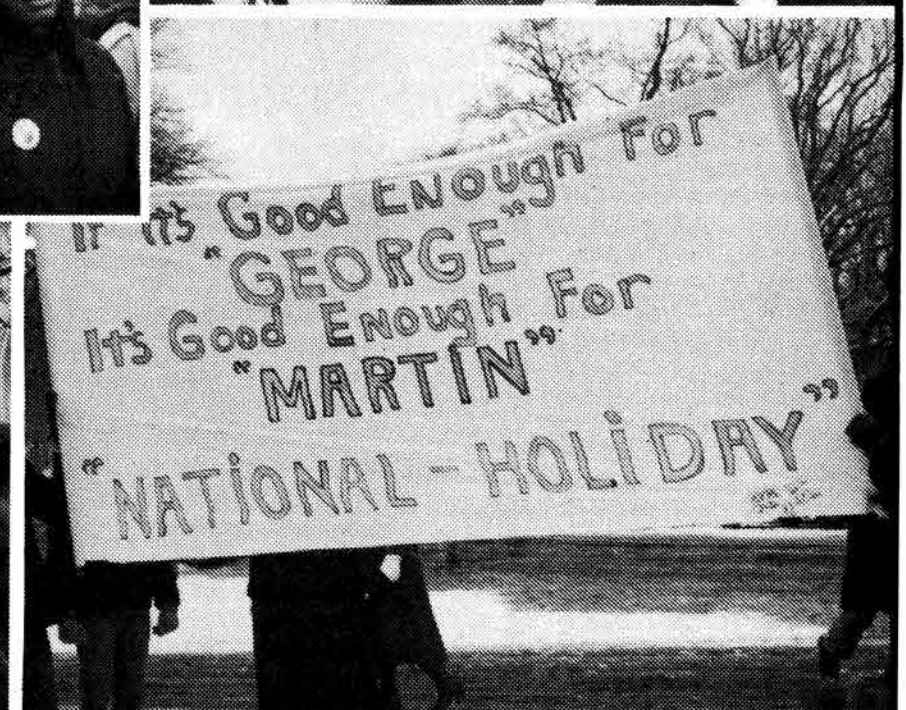
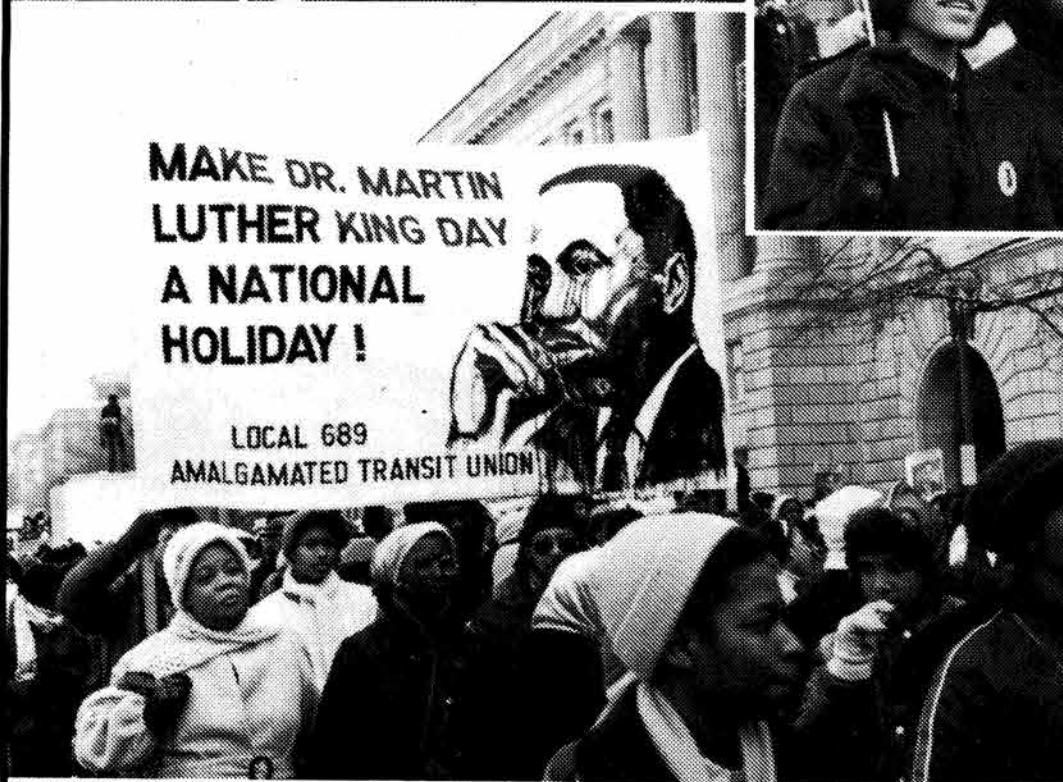
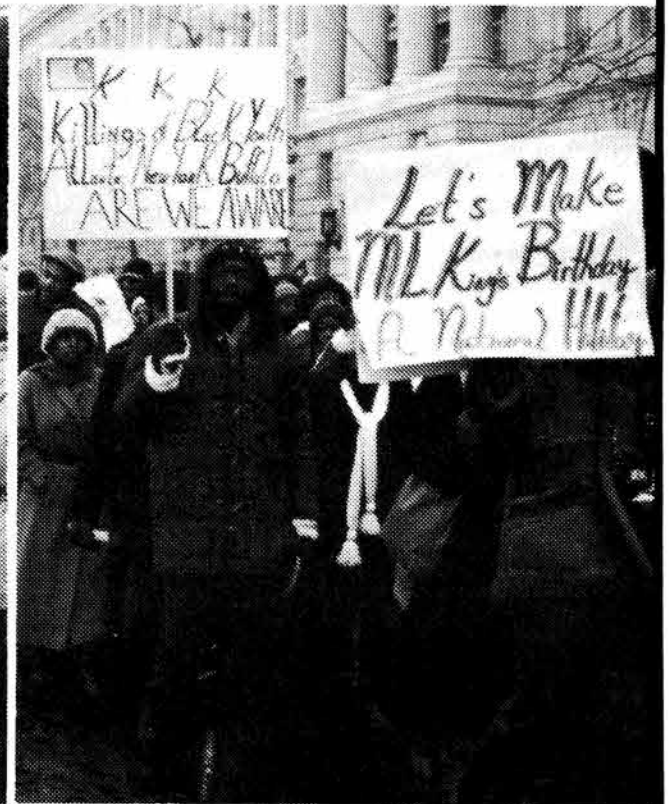
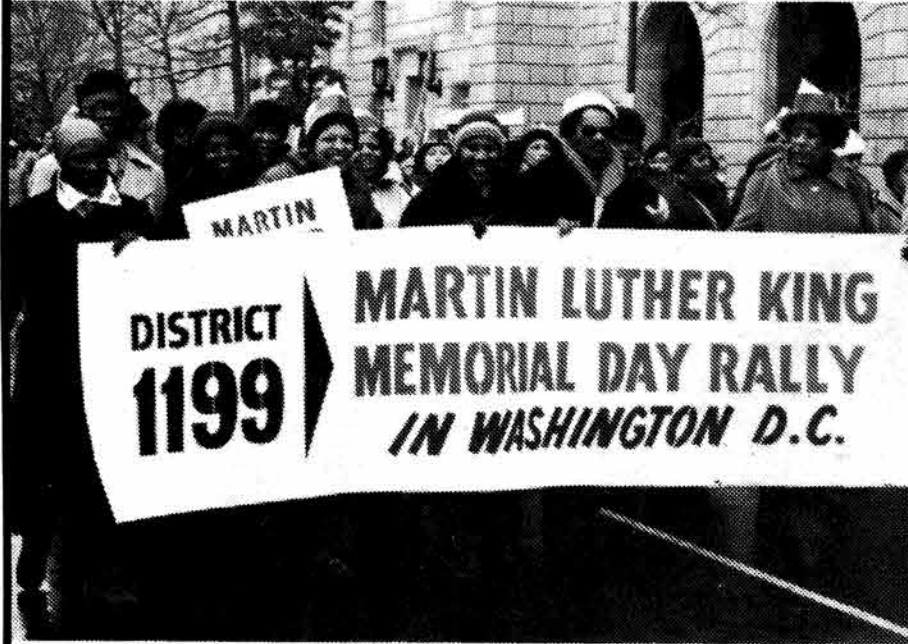
"We have got to take to the streets again," Jones said. "We have got to stand together."

George Edwards from the Fellowship of Reconciliation called for opposing U.S. aid to the junta in El Salvador, just as Martin Luther King opposed U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Other meetings commemorating King's birthday took place here and around Kentucky.

The day culminated with a banquet sponsored by KSCLC. More than 400 people attended.

'Happy Birthday!'—Jan. 15 D.C. march



Militant photos by Sue Hagen, Salm Kolis, and Andy Rose

March 28 in Harrisburg

UMWA, IAM back national antinuclear action

By Suzanne Haig

HARRISBURG, Pa.—A national march and rally against nuclear power with the endorsement of major industrial unions will take place here March 28, the second anniversary of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island.

It will bring together unionists from across the country, local residents, and antinuclear and environmental groups.

The official demands of the action are:

- No more Three Mile Islands! Keep TMI Unit 1 closed down! No dumping of radioactive water in the Susquehanna River!

- Support the United Mine Workers in their battle for a contract! (The union's national contract expires the day before the march.)

- Jobs for all through a shorter work week and a massive public works program!

- Guaranteed alternative jobs at union rates for all nuclear industry workers!

The United Mine Workers of America and the International Association of Machinists have already given their endorsement and pledged active support for the demonstration. With this powerful beginning, the action is certain to have the broadest labor backing of any antinuclear action to date.

The action was initially called by the Greater Harrisburg Area Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

The committee sponsored an educational conference here Saturday, January 17, attended by 250 unionists from



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Members of twenty-five trade unions attended antinuclear conference in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

twenty-five unions, along with local residents.

The next day at a planning meeting of the national Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, nearly 300 people—primarily unionists—voted unanimously to endorse the action.

The focus on Three Mile Island reflects the fact that it has become a test case for the nuclear industry. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and Metropolitan Edison (the

operators) are seeking to restart TMI Unit 1, the undamaged reactor. If this occurs, it will be a signal that the industry is able to expand nuclear power despite public opposition.

They are also desperately seeking to get TMI Unit 2 cleaned-up and running again and want to dump 700,000 gallons of highly radioactive water into the Susquehanna River, where residents get their drinking water.

Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the Labor Committee, said that

support to the miners is an important part of the action. "If the employers can weaken or bust the miners union, every other union is next."

He stressed the support that the miners have given to the antinuclear struggle and UMWA's fight to substitute coal for nuclear power.

Gordon said that supporters of the action will distribute "tens or hundreds of thousands of leaflets, raising the issue in all of our union organizations. It will be a very intensive period of mass education."

Racists attack Salt Lake NAACP and SWP

By Bill Hoyle

SALT LAKE CITY—While tens of thousands of Americans were honoring Dr. Martin Luther King and protesting new attacks on Blacks, racist thugs in this city vandalized the headquarters of the NAACP and the Socialist Workers Party.

During the night of January 17, both windows and a glass section of the front door of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters were smashed. Attached to the door was a death threat that read, "Death to the traitors, communists, race mixers, and Black rioters. It is time for old fashioned American justice." A picture of a Black man being lynched from a tree was attached to the note.

That same night windows of the Salt

Lake NAACP were smashed. In both cases ½-inch iron balls were shot through the glass. According to Salt Lake police officer J.R. Evans, these type of balls are "used by hunters, and one of them can bring down a moose."

Fortunately no one was injured in either attack.

On January 19, the socialists found a second copy of the death note in their mailbox. With it was a copy of *The Liberty Bell*, a racist publication printed in Reedy, West Virginia. A long poem entitled "Remembering Martin Lucifer Coon" was featured in the publication.

Police first claimed that the attacks were "nothing more than broken glass." They flatly refused to question the local Ku Klux Klan.

After news reports of the attacks were carried by all three local television stations on January 18, however, Police Chief E.L. "Budd" Willoughby said he would investigate.

Last fall the NAACP led protests of the sniper killings of two Black men here on August 20, forcing the police to abandon initial claims that those murders were not racially motivated. As a result John Paul Franklin, after a much-publicized man-hunt, is now in jail, charged with the killings.

Commenting on the attacks on the NAACP and SWP, Salt Lake NAACP official Georgia Arroyo said, "The community as a whole needs to make it known that this type of activity will not be tolerated."

"We must say enough to the cross burnings and the vandalism," she added. "A big noise should be made. This is a very dangerous situation."

At a widely covered press conference on January 19, Dave Hurst, SWP 1980 congressional candidate and chairperson of the local Young Socialist Alliance, told the media, "We take this threat very seriously. We demand a thorough investigation."

"We must join together in our unions, churches, and our community to fight against such racist violence wherever it raises its ugly head. We must unite to tell the Klan and other terrorist groups that we will not be intimidated."

Terrorists fire on Pittsburgh socialist forum

By Betsy Farley

PITTSBURGH—On January 16, at 9:30 p.m., two shots were fired into the Socialist Workers Party headquarters here. One shot narrowly missed the head of José Correal, a leader of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, as he was leaving the building.

Correal saw two men drive by in a small yellow car. One was aiming a rifle out of the window. Two holes in the window appeared to have been made by small projectiles.

A Militant Labor Forum on political harassment had just concluded when the shooting took place. Among the scheduled speakers was Linda Mohrbacher, 1980 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania. Unable to attend because of work, Mohrbacher was the target of earlier harassment when her car was firebombed at U.S. Steel's Edgar Thomson Works, where she is employed.

At a news conference the next day, Mohrbacher detailed the escalating threats, harassment, and attacks aimed against Pittsburgh socialists.

"On the morning of October 31, we found the letters 'KKK' scrawled on the storefronts on either side of our

headquarters. That day a man, identifying himself as a Ku Klux Klan member, came to our headquarters and threatened to return with his 'buddies' election night."

Campaign workers called the police,



Militant/Nancy Cole

Socialist Linda Mohrbacher

who later that night found the man in the dry cleaners next door getting his Klan robes cleaned. Cops accepted his story that his robe was a costume that he was wearing to a Halloween party.

On November 19, two days after the verdict in Greensboro, North Carolina, exonerating the KKK and Nazi murderers, a telephone caller threatened the socialists with "Klan trouble."

Then on December 1, Mohrbacher's car was torched. Only after considerable public pressure did police arrest three suspects. The cops then claimed the firebombing was non-political vandalism and reduced the charges from arson to criminal mischief.

On the day before the shooting, Mohrbacher had disputed the cops' version of the firebombing at a news conference.

"It just doesn't add up," she had told reporters. "Out of hundreds of cars mine was singled out—and on my second day back at work after an extended layoff."

After the shooting, it took the Pittsburgh police forty-five minutes to arrive on the scene. According to an article that appeared in Sunday's *Pittsburgh Press*, police aren't planning to

take any action because "there is not sufficient information to proceed with an investigation."

At the news conference following the shootings the socialists blasted the police and the authorities for their inaction.

Andree Kahlmorgan explained that the attacks on the Pittsburgh socialists fit the national pattern of right-wing and government harassment.

The featured speaker at the forum the previous night, Kahlmorgan is one of several unionists fired by the Lockheed-Georgia Company. She is now touring the country to get out the facts on their case.

"Local police and government agencies keep close contact with members of Klan and Nazi type organizations. It is a known fact that a government agent participated in the slaughter of anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro," Kahlmorgan said. "What do they know about the threats, firebombing, and armed attacks in Pittsburgh?"

The socialists intend to meet with Mayor Richard Caliguiri to demand that the city administration take action to stop the attacks on freedom of speech and political association.

Reagan's foreign policy team

By Will Reissner

In the wake of the recent presidential campaign, with its flights of rhetoric and its charges and countercharges levelled by Carter and Reagan, it would be easy to lose sight of the fact that U.S. foreign policy has traditionally been a bipartisan affair.

Amid Reagan's warnings that Carter was selling out U.S. interests around the world and Carter's dire predictions that Reagan was trigger happy, some thought that perhaps this time there were basic differences between the candidates on how imperialist interests should be defended and maintained around the world.

But the recent testimony of Ronald Reagan's principal cabinet nominees with responsibility for foreign policy—Alexander Haig for secretary of state, Caspar Weinberger for secretary of defense, and for United Nations ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick—indicates that this is not the case. While there will be some changes in tone, the basic thrust of U.S. foreign policy under Reagan will build upon the foundations laid down by Carter.

'Vietnam syndrome'

When Carter took office, imperialist foreign policy options were severely restricted by the deepgoing opposition of American working people to any military intervention abroad, what has been called the "Vietnam syndrome." Carter's main aim in office was to undercut that sentiment and to convince working people that they are threatened by developments in foreign lands and must be ready to intervene militarily.

To this end, Carter launched a multifaceted propaganda campaign. On the one hand, foreign policy goals were couched in the more palatable terms of support for "human rights." On the other hand, Carter tried to convince working people that we are threatened by an expansionist Soviet juggernaut that has to be checked.

The main targets of possible U.S. military intervention in defense of imperialist interests are revolutionary struggles in the Middle East, Central America, and the Caribbean.

Thus a Rapid Deployment Force, for intervention in the Middle East and

Central America, was set up. Practice invasions of both areas were carried out.

Naval bases were secured in the Indian Ocean. Draft registration was instituted. Plans were drawn up for the MX missile system. Agreement was reached that new nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union—572 of them—will be placed in Europe.

Reagan's policy

The transition from one administration to another provides an opportunity to assess how much progress the U.S. ruling class thinks it has made in turning around the "Vietnam syndrome."

During his election campaign, Reagan and his supporters attacked Carter's foreign policy for being overly weak, too concerned with human rights, ready to sell out "friends" abroad just because they might be dictators, and too ready to give away U.S. "vital interests" like the Panama Canal. Such campaign themes, while distorting the real thrust of Carter's policies, served the purpose of continu-



KIRKPATRICK

ing and reinforcing the propaganda campaign about America being under siege and needing to respond more toughly.

But it is interesting to note that once elected, Reagan's choices for key foreign policy positions were figures with long service in the bipartisan administration of imperialist interests around the world.

Take the example of Alexander Haig, Reagan's nominee for secretary of state. Haig has served in high positions in four Democratic and Republican administrations. He was suggested for the post of secretary of state by Henry Kissinger and Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller, and was endorsed by Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski.

For decades the Rockefeller family, which controls Exxon as well as the Chase Manhattan Bank, has played a major role in choosing the secretary of state under Democratic as well as Republican administrations.

To take just the most recent examples, the secretary of state under Kennedy and Johnson was Dean Rusk, who had been president of the Rockefeller Foundation. Rusk continued to draw "severance pay" from the foundation while in office.

Under Nixon and Ford, the secretary of state was Henry Kissinger, a long-time protégé of Nelson Rockefeller, and the recipient of a \$50,000 gift from him. Kissinger directed a special studies project for the Rockefellers from 1956 to 1958.

Carter's first secretary of state was Cyrus Vance, who became chairman of the board of trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1975. And now under Reagan we have Alexander Haig.

Haig became a member of the board of directors of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank last February.

'The more things change . . .'

In 1962, Haig was handpicked by Joseph Califano to serve in the Kennedy administration as deputy special assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

When Califano became President Johnson's top domestic advisor, Haig gained direct access to the White House.



HAIG

In 1969 the Democrats lost control of the White House. Although Califano left office in the change of guards, he put in a good word for Haig with Henry Kissinger, who was coming in as Nixon's national security advisor. Kissinger hired Haig, by then a colonel, as his top assistant. (Incidentally, Califano was Haig's legal counsel during the recent confirmation hearings.)

Haig did loyal service in the Nixon White House, where he participated in CIA plots to overthrow Chilean president Allende, helped plan the bombing of Cambodia and the Christmas 1972 carpet-bombing of Hanoi, and took charge of wiretapping other top officials at Nixon's behest.

Supports Canal treaty

In his recent confirmation hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Haig made it quite clear that he supports and intends to continue the basic thrust of recent U.S. foreign policy.

In contrast to some of Reagan's campaign rhetoric, Haig stated that he supports the Panama Canal treaty, which is anathema to the right wing of

Continued on page 19

Communist Party offers gov't some free advice

By Harry Ring

When is a Communist Party not a communist party? One indicator is when such a party spends time offering free suggestions to the capitalist government on how best to accomplish its purposes. The Communist Party USA is a case in point.

For instance, take the editorial advice offered by the January 13 *Daily World* to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, then considering the nomination of Alexander Haig for secretary of state.

Citing Haig's hawklike views and reactionary record, the *World*, which expresses the views of the Communist Party, urged the Senate committee to slow down.

"The post," the editorial advised, "can remain open until a new nominee is found and if that is not acceptable to Ronald Reagan he could pick a new nominee for the job."

"General Alexander Haig," the senators are further told, "is the wrong man for the post."

"The wrong man"? Who would be the right one? Zbigniew Brzezinski, Haig's Democratic clone, who was the real secretary of state under Carter? Henry Kissinger?

Or one of the various figures who helped Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy conduct the Vietnam War or the 1961 invasion of Cuba?

"Sadly," the *World* editorial adds, Haig's confirmation "would make the Department of State a Department of Confrontation as it was during the cold war days."

What's it been since those days—a dove-breeding department?

The people of Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Iran, and a host of other countries would certainly be interested in learning that the Depart-

ment of State is not currently a department of confrontation.

In his classic work, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin argued against self-professed Marxists who asserted that imperialism was a "policy" and not an inescapable expression of the economic laws of capitalist development.

They claimed that imperialism was a "policy" in order to justify muting the class struggle and supporting allegedly progressive capitalist forces, who would supposedly pursue a nonimperialist "policy."

Lenin mercilessly exposed this anti-Marxist fraud. He demonstrated scientifically that industrial and finance capital in its most advanced stage of development—and decay—is driven by a choice that is beyond subjective determination and control. That choice is to expand or die.

The imperialist powers assault freedom struggles around the world, back military despots, escalate the arms race, and push the world to the brink of destruction because they must have cheap labor, expanding markets, and secure, low-cost raw materials. Not because the "wrong man" is at the helm.

Since the rise of Stalin, the Moscow bureaucrats have stubbornly closed their eyes to this reality. They bend every effort to maintain the world status quo, which they believe will ensure their continuing material privileges.

The Stalinist leadership of the American CP has for years served as the U.S. voice of that Kremlin policy. That's why it encourages workers here to look to "progressive" capitalist politicians to curb militarization and the drive toward war.

The Communist Party leadership has followed this class-collaborationist policy for so long that it even finds itself speaking the language of the capitalist rulers.

In that vein, the *Daily World* editorial argues that Haig's the "wrong man for the post" because he "speaks for the military-industrial complex, not the national interest" (emphasis added).

No question, Haig speaks for the "military-industrial complex"—that is, the capitalist rulers of this country and their two political parties. But what is this "national interest"?

Capitalist politicians speak of the "national interest" all the time to promote the fraud that this country is not divided into classes with fundamentally opposing interests. They try to persuade workers that it's in our interest to help the employers make more profits. And they try to persuade draft-age youth that it's in the "national interest" for them to fight and die for Texaco and the other imperialist giants whose investments are threatened by liberation struggles.

The capitalist rulers today face a rising rebellion on a world scale. They are driven to pursue the kind of bellicose policies so bluntly enunciated by Haig. That's why he was tapped for the job.

Those policies can and must be militantly opposed by the workers. It won't be accomplished by free advice to Ronald Reagan on how to find the "right" man for secretary of state.

The bipartisan jingoism of the rulers will be effectively opposed by working people acting in their own class interest and building their own working-class political party, a labor party. They will do it by shattering the reactionary hoax of "national interest"—not by promoting it.

\$5 million more in U.S. arms to Salvador

By Stu Singer

Five million dollars in deadly weapons was James Carter's last contribution, as U.S. President, to El Salvador. The aid will supply the government there with M-16 automatic rifles, grenade launchers, helicopters to move combat troops and more U.S. advisors for its murderous war against the Salvadoran people.

The new military aid, authorized January 16, came only days after Carter resumed the \$5 million in "non-lethal" military aid he had cut off after the murder of four U.S. missionaries in El Salvador last December.

Ten million dollars of our tax money. For what?

The U.S. government claims the increased military backing is necessary because the Salvadoran opposition fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) are receiving military supplies from other countries.

U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White promoted this cover story just as the new aid was being authorized. He accused the Nicaraguan government of landing 100 guerrillas on the Salvadoran coast, who were confronted by the junta's troops.

Newsweek magazine was so impressed with the invasion story that its January 26 issue featured a map with an arrow running from Nicaragua, across the Gulf of Fonseca, and into El Salvador. The arrow was labelled "Nicaraguan landing."

But the "Nicaraguans" have yet to be produced. In fact, neither Washington nor the junta has been able to bring forward any concrete evidence of Nicaraguan involvement in El Salvador.

The January 18 *Washington Post*, for example, reported that "U.S. diplomats here insist they have firm evidence of Nicaraguan aid to the guerrillas, but none has been made public. . . ."

The Nicaraguan government immediately protested the invasion accusations. In an official note to Washington, the Nicaraguans said, "We are deeply concerned when we hear representatives of the government of the United States make such allegations, just when a decision has been made to renew military aid to the El Salvador



Picture taken during filming in December of 'El Salvador: Another Vietnam?' The camera crew came across this body in a park. Film, by Glenn Silber, documents horrors of government repression. It was shown on television January 18.

government, where an internal war is now going on."

The Salvadoran opposition also denied the report.

Even the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, Lawrence Pezzullo, said he had no information about any guerrilla landing in El Salvador.

The "proof" of the "Nicaraguan invasion" finally resorted to by the junta is the claim that the guerrillas' boats were made from wood that does not grow in El Salvador. With that logic, you could prove that all the guerrillas are foreign, since they use weapons made of steel. Steel is not produced in El Salvador.

In addition to raising the specter of a Nicaraguan threat, Washington is trying to sell the American people stories of a Cuban threat. Ambassador White told *U.S. News and World Report* that "Cuba and . . . other countries" are "supplying the leftists with arms."

But an excellent program aired nationally January 18 on Public Television put the charges of Cuban and other "foreign" influence in a clearer context. The program, titled "El Salvador: Another Vietnam?" featured an interview with Murat Williams, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador from 1961 to 1964. Here's what he had to say about Cuban threats and foreign "invasions":

"Actually for twenty years we've

been hearing that Castro was sending people into El Salvador. I heard it when I was there all the time.

"Any time there was any disorder among the hungry peasants, among the people who were discontented or thought that they could live a little better than they were living, any time this happened, someone would come to the Embassy and say the Cubans have landed.

"We heard it over and over again. In fact, it was used to such an extent that we were urged to send communications equipment back in the early '60s to El Salvador to make it easier to control the Cuban threat. It's been going on for twenty years."

That's the real point of the charges of Cuban and Nicaraguan influence today: to justify more military aid to the junta and take the spotlight off the real outside influence in El Salvador: the U.S. government.

Washington's backing of the junta, and now its stepped-up military aid, allows the despots in power to continue their repression of workers and farmers whose only crime is to demand political freedom and an end to impoverishment.

In 1980 alone, some 12,000 people were killed in El Salvador. Tens of thousands have been driven off the land and crammed into refugee centers. Union activists have been jailed

and tortured.

Is it any wonder that the masses have decided to fight to the end to throw out this government and its U.S. allies?

Or that world opinion, including many figures in the Catholic Church, is increasingly siding with their rebellion?

Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, who was assassinated by the junta last March, was quoted on the TV program as explaining, "When all peaceful recourses have been exhausted, the Church deems insurrection a morally justified option."

New York Speakout on El Salvador

Sister Patricia Haggerty, Maryknoll Sisters
Elmo Diog, CISPES
Kim Pearson, Black journalist
Edward Velez, Forest Hills H.S. Anti-Draft Committee.
Anibal Yáñez, managing editor, 'Perspectiva Mundial'

Sat., Jan. 31
7:30 p.m.
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Donation: \$2
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For more information: (212) 533-2902

AIFLD: no friend of workers or farmers

As labor opposition to U.S. policy in El Salvador grows, the top leadership of the AFL-CIO continues to back the brutal Salvadoran dictatorship. The official *AFL-CIO News* has been filled for weeks with eulogies for the two representatives of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) who were killed in El Salvador in early January.

AIFLD runs a U.S. government-backed land reform program in El Salvador that serves as a counterinsurgency measure against the rural population. The goal is to convince landless peasants they have a stake in defending the current government.

But where peasant organization has actually taken place around land reform, government troops have moved in to kill the leadership. (See January 23 *Militant*).

The two AIFLD men were killed by Salvadoran government assassins. The reactionary ruling families whose wealth is based on the land oppose making any concessions whatever to the peasants. It is a telling sign of the desperation of the regime that even AIFLD has become a target.

In trying to whip up backing for U.S. policy in El Salvador, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has been portraying the dead AIFLD agents as representatives of American workers. The *AFL-CIO News* wrote that AIFLD Executive Director William C. Doherty, Jr., said he believed these were "the

first American trade unionists" killed in Latin America—possibly in the world—while carrying out their official duties overseas."

These individuals, neither one of whom was a member of a trade union, were carrying out official duties for AIFLD, an organization whose board of trustees is chaired by Peter Grace, head of W.R. Grace, an anti-union corporation with large holdings in Latin America. Doherty has been identified as a CIA agent. Top AFL-CIO officials describe AIFLD as, "[an arm] through which the AFL-CIO maintains an active and effective trade union foreign service."

AIFLD does not defend working people against bosses, but it *does* have an active twenty years of existence. It played a role in the U.S.-organized overthrows of governments in Brazil, the Dominican Republic and Chile. In El Salvador, the labor cover it provides the bloody government makes it easier to get away with the massive jailings and murders of urban and rural union leaders and the destruction of union halls. Most unions in El Salvador back the opposition.

The *AFL-CIO News* also reported on memorial services for the dead AIFLD agents. Attending were such "labor" figures as Carter's Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall; Secretary of State Edmund Muskie; Reagan's nominee for U.N. Ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick; and Reagan foreign policy advisor

Richard Allen. Peter Grace attended one of the meetings also. U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White paid his respects.

Lane Kirkland described the two as

"these good men . . . our brave friends." They may have been Lane Kirkland's friends, but they were no friends to working people in El Salvador or the United States. —S.S.

Labor figures protest U.S. aid

On January 17, 3,000 people demonstrated in Berkeley, California, against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Some eighteen banners, representing official local union participation, were carried by protesters from the International Longshoremen's union, which is boycotting arms shipments to El Salvador; and locals of the Machinists, Communications Workers, Hospital Workers, Service Employees, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, United Transportation Union, as well as teachers, molders, office workers, public employees, and printing locals.

The day before, at the University of California, there was a six-hour teach-in on El Salvador. More than 1,000 people participated.

In a number of areas around the country statements are being signed by labor officials and others protesting U.S. support to the dictatorship in El Salvador. In the Twin Cities in Minnesota, signers demanding an end to U.S. military aid include Bob

Killeen, director of sub-region 10 of the United Auto Workers.

In Northern Minnesota, a statement circulated by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft calls for an end of U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government. Two of the signers are Gerald Cleveland, vice-president of the Duluth AFL-CIO, and Joseph Samargia, president of Steelworkers Local 1938.

In Los Angeles, an open letter to President Reagan, backing the West Coast dockworkers boycott and opposing U.S. economic and military aid, has been signed by J.P. Foley, District 1 director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and others.

In the San Francisco Bay Area a labor meeting to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador was organized for January 22. The call for the meeting went out over the signatures of twenty-one union officials, headed up by Walter Johnson, President of Department Store Employees Local 1100.

U.S. rebuffs offer to negotiate on El Salvador

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Washington has rejected an initiative by the revolutionary forces in El Salvador to open talks on the possibility of resolving the civil war there. This information was made available here January 17 by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.

The FMLN said that the U.S. government at first indicated it would talk to the Salvadoran opposition about the following six topics: a cease-fire, total reorganization of the government, dissolution of the repressive forces, reorganization of the army, reforms, and elections.

On January 14 an official representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and FMLN went to the U.S. Embassy in Honduras to express willingness to begin such a dialogue as soon as the U.S. government stopped arming the junta and promised not to intervene militarily in El Salvador.

The State Department's answer, says the FMLN, "was to close off all possibility of a dialogue with us, to launch its campaign of blackmail against Nicaragua, and to step up its military aid to the murderous junta."

This was followed by a public declaration by U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White that, "the United States will never permit the installation of a Marxist government in El Salvador."

A five-person political diplomatic commission recently named by the FDR has repeatedly stated its willingness to sit down and talk to the U.S. government at any time, although it does not see any point in negotiating with the puppet government in San Salvador. As FDR president Guillermo Manuel Ungo explained last week: "We

want to talk with the owners of the circus, not with the acrobats."

The international isolation of the Salvadoran junta is increasing. On January 17 the Ecuadoran parliament passed, with only one dissenting vote, a statement of solidarity with the Salvadoran people.

Even in Venezuela, where the official government line tends to be pro-Washington and pro-junta, a week-long national campaign, which included the personal intervention of the president, forced the Salvadoran government to release imprisoned Venezuelan filmmaker Nelson Arrieti.

Prominent Christian Democrats in Italy have called for an emergency joint meeting of the world union of Christian Democrats and the Second International to deal with "the continued violation of fundamental rights" by the military/Christian Democratic junta and with the threat of U.S. military intervention.

Inside El Salvador, the junta is on a stepped-up drive to suppress all news reports except those it writes itself.

El Independiente, the only opposition newspaper that previously circulated somewhat openly in El Salvador, was raided January 18. A number of journalists were arrested.

The night of January 17, the offices of the Independent News Agency (API) in San Salvador were occupied by the National Guard. The news agency's directors and staff were taken off to a police barracks.

Among the last pieces of news to emanate from API and *El Independiente* before the raid were reports of the use of white phosphorous incendiaries, similar to napalm in their effect, in the bombing of civilian populations near the San Vicente volcano east of San Salvador.

Congresswoman exposes U.S. lies

MANAGUA—Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.), who recently visited Nicaragua, toured Salvadoran refugee camps in Honduras January 17 and told the press she would campaign against U.S. aid to the junta when she got home.

Mikulski told reporters, "Now I see that my government has lied to me and lied to the American people about what is happening in El Salvador. A civil war is going on because the government of El Sal-

vador is neither popular nor moderate nor elected by the people—all of which we were told it was."

Mikulski said the refugees all told her stories of "atrocities, cruelty, torture, rape, and murders at the hands of El Salvador army troops, but no one made any such accusations against the guerrillas."

She promised to play tape recordings of these personal histories to the other members of Congress.

—M.Z.

Anti-Klan conference set for Washington Jan. 30-31

A conference to discuss "New Radical Strategies to Stop Klan and Nazi Violence" will take place at Howard University in Washington, D.C. January 30 and 31. The meeting is sponsored by the Anti-Klan Network.

Author Patsy Simms and Sam B. Ethridge of the National Education Association (NEA) are among the scheduled speakers. Panels and workshops will discuss the nature of the Klan, and the role of labor,

educators, and the churches in the anti-Klan movement.

"We see this as an educational and working conference," says Akinshiju Ola, a conference organizer.

The meeting will begin at 1:00 p.m. on Friday, January 30 at the Blackburn Center, Howard University. Registration is \$15.

For more information, contact: Anti-Klan Network, c/o IFCO, 348 Convent Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10031, or phone (212) 926-5757.

Solidarity with Central America



and the
Caribbean

Salt Lake steelworkers back eyeglass drive

United Steelworkers Local 7889 in Salt Lake City has posted up a letter to its members at the Galigher Company.

The letter reads in part:

"Local 7889, in cooperation with our international USWA officers, is collecting prescription eyeglasses for the people of Nicaragua. These glasses will be used to further the literacy campaign organized by their government. . . .

"Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, which came to power July 19, 1979, has organized the reduction of illiteracy in the country from over 50 percent to around 13 percent in just five months. The campaign received a United Nations award in September for its impressive results.

"During the first phase of the literacy drive, the most common problem for teachers and students alike was a lack of prescription eyeglasses. The USWA and other organizations have stepped forward to close the gap between what is needed and what is available. . . .

"The Government of National Reconstruction is reorganizing the society shattered by the Somoza dictatorship. The literacy drive is part of this effort. So is a unionization campaign; 80 percent of the urban workforce is now organized. The rate under Somoza was 7.5 percent. . . ."

Maryknoll magazine on Cuba's role

Since the tragic murder of three Maryknoll sisters and a lay worker in El Salvador, the activities of the Maryknoll order have come to international attention. The order publishes a magazine, *Maryknoll*, which runs important articles on Central America.

The August 1980 *Maryknoll* carried two articles on the medical aid and education provided by the Cuban government to countries around the world.

One article, "Cubans in Matagalpa," describes the activities of Cuban medical volunteers in Matagalpa, a Nicaraguan city ravaged by Somoza. "They come only to give," the local Nicaraguan health director is quoted as saying of the Cuban volunteers.

The issue details similar aid given by Cuba to Angola and Ethiopia. Other issues have carried material on El Salvador and an interview with Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

To obtain a copy of *Maryknoll* write to Maryknoll Fathers & Brothers, Maryknoll, New York 10545.

Boston churches hold solidarity events

On January 4 the Catholic Connection sponsored a special mass and workshop in memory of the four slain U.S. missionaries in El Salvador. Two hundred fifty people turned out at Our Lady of Victories Church.

It was reported that 120 parishes and convents sent in petitions protesting U.S. aid to El Salvador, signed by more than 4,200 people. These were handed over to the Reagan transition team on January 5. Following this, Humberto Cardinal Medeiros led a "Special Mass for the Oppressed Peoples," attended by 450 people.

Detroit procession for Salvador martyrs

On January 24 a memorial service and procession will take place to honor the four U.S. missionaries and the thousands of Salvadorans murdered in that country. The activity is under the auspices of the Michigan Interchurch Committee on Central American Human Rights. A collection will be taken for Salvadoran refugee assistance. Gather at the Central United Methodist Church at 11 a.m. January 24.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The Militant invites you to:

Visit Nicaragua
for Sandino Days
February 15-22



The Nicaraguans didn't stop fighting for their liberation when General Sandino was murdered February 21, 1934. Now they celebrate that anniversary in a country which they, not Yankee imperialists, control. On this tour you can share in the celebration and learn about the challenges still facing Nicaraguans in rebuilding and defending their homeland.

Visit Managua, Estelí, Matagalpa, Chinandega, León. Visit a sugar mill. Meet with members of the Women's Association, Sandinista Youth, Association of Agricultural Workers and other unions, Sandinista Defense Committees, and literacy volunteers.

Tour costs \$750, which includes round trip flights from New York, hotels (double occupancy), three meals per day, transportation within Nicaragua, and the services of a Nicaraguan guide. Payment and passport information are due January 30 (new extended deadline).

To apply send \$100 deposit along with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.

Secret memo exposes Lockheed lie

Six more hit by anti-union firings in Georgia

By Michael Pennock

ATLANTA—In a continuing series of anti-union firings, at least six more workers have been discharged by Lockheed aircraft in Marietta, Georgia. This brings to fifteen the number fired since December. All are members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709.

The union, which has already filed grievances on behalf of the first nine fired, is expected to quickly file grievances for the six.

The newly fired workers include Jeff Rogers, Allison Beckley, Roshanda Blackwell, Peb Brock, Rob Lutton, and Michael Pennock.

Lockheed has insisted that the firings are because of discrepancies on job applications. However, a newly released secret Lockheed document proves that the company initiated the firing process after spying on a union meeting—that the firings are based solely on the fact that Lockheed objects to their union activity and political views.

The latest document to be released, dated October 20, 1980, is the first in a series of internal memos on the activity of those fired. Yet it was released more than a month after other files. Why is not clear. (Lockheed was subpoenaed in December to turn over the documents and to give pretrial testimony in connection with the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and harassment.)

The October 20 memo reports on a union meeting the previous day at which some workers passed out "Communist literature." This refers to a leaflet on a resolution passed by a recent convention of their union, the IAM, calling for a discussion on the need for a labor party. The leaflet also reported support for the labor party proposal by candidates of the Socialist Workers Party then running in the elections.

The memo says that two subsequently fired workers had "answered 'No' [on their job applications] to the question involving membership in a Communist organization or political party which advocates the overthrow of the U.S."

At the same time, the memo notes that their employment applications were in order. However, an "intensified investigation" is proposed.

The sixty pages of files resulting from the investigation detail an extensive system of company spies within the plant, at union meetings, and at political events in the area. They reveal the use of electronic eavesdropping, and the tailing of workers to their homes, to stores and restaurants.

The files also include a list of suspected members of the SWP, including workers who do not belong to the SWP.

Among those newly fired is Rob Lutton, who is not an SWP member. But like the other fired unionists, Lutton is the kind of worker Lockheed is anxious to get rid of.

During contract negotiations last fall, Lutton talked about the need for a strong union in order to win a good contract. He encouraged other workers to join the union.

He also participated in civil rights activities in Atlanta. He attended a "Walk of Remembrance" last November for Atlanta's missing and murdered Black children. He also attended the march of 5,000 people to the grave of Martin Luther King Jr. on January 15.

In the past two years Lockheed has experienced an increase in military orders. They have hired many new younger workers.

A large number of these workers hold views the company doesn't like. They are against the draft and the threat of war. They don't like speedup. They are pro-union and pro-civil rights.

Lockheed has launched a campaign to get these workers out of the plant.

Shop stewards and other workers report that a number of recently hired young workers have been taken to plant security. There, they have been grilled about their employment applications.

One worker, with an extensive job history, was given two weeks to furnish security with "complete information about all his previous jobs."

This included short-term jobs in other states many years before. Lack of complete information could have resulted in dismissal.

Many of the workers in the plant

know Lockheed's stated reason for the firings simply isn't true. Particularly those who worked and talked with the fired workers.

Two workers were discussing this between shifts one day.

One was explaining to the other, "They think they have to fire these people. There's going to be a war down South [Latin America], Iran, someplace. What would it look like to have antiwar workers talking about their ideas and marching in the streets?"

One of the main reactions to the firings among workers in the plant is pure disgust with the company.

"I don't understand all the things you talk about," said a friend to Roshanda Blackwell, one of those fired. "But I certainly don't want to see you go."

Fear is another element. This is, of course, the reaction the company is promoting. One worker is worried about a minor arrest in the 1960s. It's not on his application. It could cost him his job.

Still other workers are angry about the firings and want to fight back. They have been calling the union hall and demanding the union take a strong stand.

These are the people who really understand that an injury to one is an injury to all.

This is how a machine tool operator put it: "After the socialists, it looks like they're going to go after the Blacks next."

Because there are none

Gov't stalls on naming 'illegal acts' by socialists

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—Observers in Judge Thomas Griesa's federal court here January 8 got a glimpse of the government's new defense strategy against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

A week earlier the government had issued a document outlining its defense posture for the trial, set to begin March 16. In the document the government openly asserts its right to spy on, harass, or kick out of the country anybody whose political ideas it doesn't like—even if they have done nothing illegal.

At the same time, in a weak effort to strengthen their hand, the government lawyers have started to make accusations about illegal acts by the SWP and YSA. But they won't specify what!

This gets the government lawyers into some tough spots.

For example, the SWP and YSA have requested the complete FBI files on six central leaders of the party—Jack Barnes, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Andrew Pulley, and Carl Skoglund.

While the FBI has stalled on handing these over, the U.S. attorneys insist the files contain evidence of illegal activity and will be part of their defense.

At the January 8 hearing, Judge Griesa requested—as he has before—that the government specify just what illegal activities the files show.

Hard to pin down

Here's how Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward Williams responded:

Williams: "In other words, you want me to come forward with the exact words of the statutes that are violated . . ."

Judge Griesa: "What is it that you say is shown by the way of illegal act? . . . In other words, did they plan a bombing of the Chase Bank Building, or did they sell heroin, or did they—"

Mr. Williams: "Your Honor, I am not trying to be facetious. Two of those six individuals were convicted of federal statutes. . ."

Judge Griesa: "You mentioned that before."

Mr. Williams: "I know."

Judge Griesa: "And that occurred about forty years ago."

This is a reference to the Smith Act conviction of leaders of the SWP and the Teamsters union on the eve of World War II. The Smith Act bans ideas—the expression of ideas the government deems call for its overthrow "by force or violence."

Later, Judge Griesa continued: "Please come up as soon as you can with a statement as to the nature of the illegal activities you claim are shown by the files. . ."

'It would be illuminating'

Williams: "Violation of the Voorhis Act."

Judge Griesa: "Whatever you want to say."

Williams: "The determination made not to prosecute."

Judge Griesa: "Fine. And the date. What you say, whatever the conduct is that you want to rely on at the trial. I don't really know what the Voorhis Act says. I am thinking in terms of do you claim they left the country illegally for Cuba and returned under false names?"

"Do you claim they participated in the plan of a bombing?"

"Do you claim that they participated in the burning of draft cards?"

"Do you claim that they dodged the draft?"

"Do you claim that they participated in some assassinations?"

"In other words, in plain English, what is it that you claim those files show, and when?"

"And that would really be rather illuminating, if you have got a file on a person that goes from, say, 1940 to 1980, and that file shows, according to you, a violation of the Smith Act and a conviction in 1941 and nothing after, that has a particular significance. You can argue about that."

"If you claim that the file shows that they were part of a bombing of the Chase Manhattan elevators back whenever it was, which was late sixties or early seventies, that is another thing. We can argue about what that means."

No evidence

Of course, the government has come forward with no such evidence because none exists. That's why this line of defense keeps coming back around to the government's fundamental position—that it has a right to go after the SWP and YSA because of their revolutionary Marxist ideas.

Williams's mention of the Voorhis Act is just another attempt to obscure the real issue. The Voorhis Act, another piece of thought-control legislation, requires an organization to register with the attorney general if it is "subject to foreign control" and/or its purpose is to "overthrow a government by force."

If the government thought it could nail the SWP for violating the Voorhis Act it's a sure bet federal prosecutors would have tried by now. In fact, in the four decades this law has been on the books, nobody has ever been prosecuted under it!

So the government lawyers tried another gambit. They claimed that while they did have evidence of illegal acts, they really couldn't talk about it.

'Cannot be disclosed'

Williams: "Now, there is some material which discloses illegal activity which cannot be disclosed and which

Continued on page 21

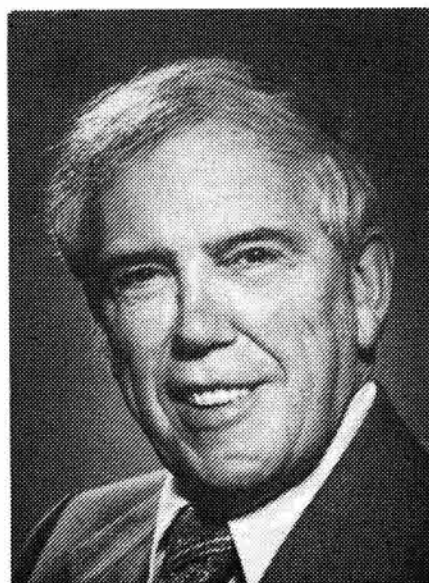
Douglas Fraser backs suit

Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, recently became a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which organizes support for the socialist suit.

Fraser joins dozens of other prominent labor endorsers, including Lou Antal, president, District 5, United Mine Workers of America; César Chávez, president, United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO; Russell Gibbons, assistant editor, *Steeltabor*, United Steelworkers of America; American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Moe Foner, executive secretary, District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Michigan Federation of Teachers; Victor Reuther; and David Livingston, president of District 65, United Auto Workers.

Get your union to go on record in support of the suit. Ask labor officials for their endorsement.

Send contributions and statements of support to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



Unionists, others support IAM members

The following messages were recently sent to Lockheed. The fired workers are asking supporters to send protests to: President Robert Ormsby, Lockheed-Georgia Company, South Cobb Drive, Marietta, Georgia 30060. Copies should be sent to: President, International Association of Machinists, Local Lodge 709, 1032 Clay Street, Marietta, Georgia 30060. An additional copy should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10013.

Mine workers

We protest firings of SWP members at your plant. Justification for firing because of application discrepancies is a cover-up for political discrimination. We deplore your actions against freedom of speech and association and demand that you reinstate those fired.

M. Bustin, B. Boyd, M. Merchant, D. Ferguson
Members Local 2095, United Mine Workers of America, Phillippi, West Virginia.

'Attack on all unionists'

Insist that you cancel termination of members of IAM Local 709. These firings constitute an unconditional attack on civil liberties of all unionists, regardless of political persuasion.

John E. Hilsman
Secretary, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 783; Delegate Monogalia-Preston, West Virginia, Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO

ACLU, AFSCME

We protest the firing of the 9 members of the IAM who are supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. We ask their reinstatement and an end to all spying and harassment based on political beliefs or union activity.

Laughlin McDonald

Southern Regional Director, American Civil Liberties Union
Gene Guerrero
Executive Secretary, American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
Al Horn
Attorney, Law Project
Leaman Hood
Regional Director, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

Civil rights

As a member of the National Board of the American Civil Liberties Union and as chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, I would like to express to you and to the company strongest regret in this unfortunate act by your company. This is the kind of action that moves all people concerned with the protection of civil rights and civil liberties to vehement protest. I urge your reconsideration immediately.
W.W. Finlator
Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Protests company spies

I deplore the firing of the nine socialist IAM members from your company. Firing them for their political beliefs and union activities is wrong. They should be rehired immediately. I also protest the use of company spies at union meetings and at the work place.
John Borgen
Field Representative, Minnesota Education Association

Bill of Rights

The documents made public . . . indicate harassment and surveillance because of political beliefs and union activity. Such tactics endanger the civil liberties of us all.

I call on you to work for the reinstatement of those who have been dismissed from employment and to bring an end to practices that are contrary to constitutional guarantees of freedom as outlined in the Bill of Rights.

Sam M. Clark, Jr.
Trinity United Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia

'Un-American treatment'

I am shocked to learn . . . of the firing of 9 Lockheed workers connected with the Socialist Workers Party. . . . they seem clearly to have been singled out because of their political beliefs, which are unrelated to their abilities to perform the jobs for which they were hired.

Even more offensive to me are indications through the newspaper that you use surveillance against your employees, to the extent of having them followed to their homes and nonwork activities.

. . . Their treatment is a disgrace to Lockheed and to the wider community. The opinions expressed in this letter

are my own and do not reflect an official policy of Clergy and Laity Concerned, by whom I am employed. Our steering committee does not meet again until the second week in January and so has had no chance to consider this matter. We are an interfaith organization, working on peace and justice issues within the religious community. We are more accustomed to working on cases of political repression in other countries, than in our own back yard.

I sincerely hope that Lockheed will reconsider its unfair and un-American treatment of these fired workers.

Leslie Withers
Southeast Regional Coordinator, Clergy & Laity Concerned

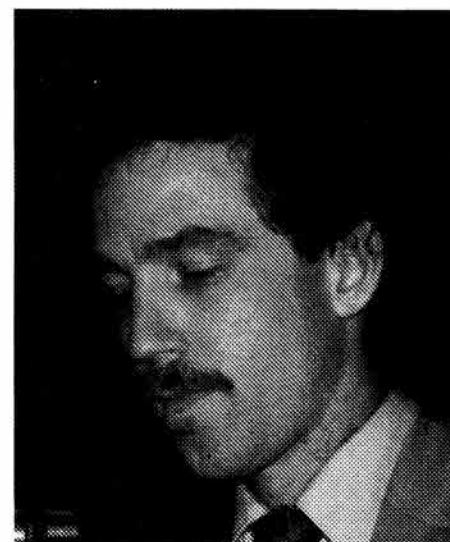
Fired workers on tour

Two of the fired Lockheed workers, Chris Hoepfner and Andree Kahlmorgen, are currently on national tour to get out the facts on their case. They will be speaking before unions, political groups, and through the news media.

For details on their schedule when they visit your area, consult your local listing in the Socialist Directory on page 23.



Andree Kahlmorgen
Jan 20-26 New York, New Jersey
Jan 29-31 Boston
Feb. 1-4 Houston
Feb. 6-8 Dallas
Feb. 11-17 Chicago, Gary
Feb. 19-21 Winston-Salem



Chris Hoepfner
Jan. 23-28 Los Angeles
Jan. 30-Feb. 4 Bay Area
Feb. 6-9 San Diego
Feb. 11-14 Seattle
Feb. 15-18 Portland

The Atlanta Journal

Covers Dixie like the dew

Who's watching you?



Richard Matthews

THE CHICAGO Police Department used to have something called the "Red Squad," a special unit that spied on people and groups it thought posed some threat to the security of the Free World. Among the folks it kept files on were the League of Women Voters, the NAACP, the Jewish War Veterans, the United Auto Workers and the Chicago PTA.

Police intelligence units all over the country, as well as the FBI, long suffered from this kind of overkill mentality when it came to spying on political activity by people who were too liberal for their tastes. They not only ranged far beyond what might be considered reasonable targets for concern, they went far beyond legitimate, constitutional techniques in their surveillance and infiltration of various groups.

Fortunately much of the abuses by intelligence agencies have been curtailed now; courts and legislators and other public officials have put restraints on police spies to keep them focused on real potential threats, not legitimate political activity, and to see that the methods they use are themselves legal. The idea is that law enforcement agencies seeking

to protect American-style freedoms shouldn't destroy those freedoms in the attempt.

But it looks like police spies aren't our only problem. There are other "intelligence agents" running around watching people, watching their friends, compiling dossiers on them and filing reports on their backgrounds and political leanings, and they are doing so outside the framework of governments and outside the restraints imposed on police or other officially empowered bodies.

They are the "security" officers of private businesses, the people who keep tabs on employees and sometimes investigate non-employees who for one reason or another dislike something about their companies. There are signs that the overzealous tactics once used in police anti-subversive work live on in the world of business and industry.

A recent case involving Lockheed-Georgia Co. and members of the Socialist Workers Party who were employees there provides examples. Files kept by Lockheed security officials, obtained by the SWP through a court order, show that company investigators spied on

party members at work, at union meetings, in their homes and at protest rallies. They also conducted surveillance of friends of the employees.

The reports by the security officials are marked by a "guilt-by-association" mentality that harkens back to the days of Joe McCarthy. Workers are singled out for having attended the University of California at Berkeley, ". . . a center for dissident and subversive activities during the Vietnam era."

Another, the investigators reported, attended a Miami high school "known for its liberalized ideas towards politics and activities within the school structure." If this is supposed to be a black mark on the employee's record, it is apparently because the security officer thinks mere exposure to such an atmosphere poisons one's patriotism; the absurdity of that view is revealed when the investigator says he knows what the high school is like because he went there, too.

The security officials describe the SWP as a "terrorist organization," but there is no evidence provided to support that, and no evidence that the workers have done anything improper at the

plant where they worked assembling aircraft. This sweeping condemnation of members of a political party is, once again, a hallmark of the old days of police and FBI spying abuses.

This is not to suggest that companies don't have a legitimate right to be concerned about who their employees are and what they do — they should be able to find out information about them to the extent that it has something to do with the way they perform their jobs. Having SWP members working on military aircraft might well make Lockheed a bit nervous, but if they do their work properly and well, then what philosophies they espouse in their off-hours ought to be their own business.

The essential point is that there should be some limitations on the kinds of surveillance private business can do on American citizens — people who have done nothing wrong, especially those who merely happen to be friends of "suspects" — just as there are limitations on official agencies. We should not have to fear that some big company is spying on us just because we went to a "liberal" high school or once had a friend who belonged to the "wrong" political party.

The following speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro was given to a mass rally in Havana, which was held on December 20, 1980, to close the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. This speech is only a small part of the material that has appeared in connection with the Second Congress. Future issues of 'The Militant' will contain additional coverage of this congress. Castro's speech to the December 20 rally is reprinted from the December 28 issue of the English-language 'Granma' weekly, published in Havana.

Distinguished Guests;
Dear Compatriots:

Today I will be briefer than on other occasions. (SHOUTS OF "NO!") The main ideas have been expressed in the course of the Congress and I don't want to be repetitious. It has already become a tradition for our Congress, the Congress of our Communist Party, to come to a close here in Revolution Square amidst our communist people. (APPLAUSE)

This is the third time this year that we meet in the Square. I believe that, as far as mass mobilization in our capital is concerned, 1980 has been the most extraordinary year ever.

It's impossible to forget the glorious days of the March of the Fighting People. It's impossible to forget how much the people of our capital and of Havana province have done for the Revolution this year: April 19, May Day, May 17, September 27 and today.

I remember thinking on each of these occasions that it couldn't possibly be repeated. It seemed impossible for that multitude that gathered along Fifth Avenue on April 19 to ever gather again, but it wasn't too long afterward that we saw a similar crowd gathered here in this Square. And then I was sure that a rally such as the one on May Day would never be repeated. And yet, we again had the opportunity to see that same multitude gathered on May 17, and again on September 27, and again today in Revolution Square. (APPLAUSE)

The people of the two Havana provinces must be given recognition and thanks for their great, extraordinary support for the Revolution and the Party. (APPLAUSE)

Linked to masses

Today you have demonstrated in practice what we said at the Congress about our Party's solid, profound and indestructible ties with the masses. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) Thus the great truth that the Party is the Party of our people and that the Party exists through the people and for the people is hereby confirmed. (APPLAUSE)

Our basic problems were analyzed in depth by the Congress. However, I would say, as we said this afternoon, that the basic characteristic of our Congress was its internationalist character. (APPLAUSE)

We can assert that the world's revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces were present at our Congress. We could assert that the world's healthiest, most honest forces gathered here at our Congress. (APPLAUSE)

Hemispheric change

In fact, there were times when it was hard to tell whether it was a Cuban Congress or a Congress of the world's revolutionary forces. (APPLAUSE)

The guests who spoke at our Congress outnumbered the Cuban delegates who spoke. (APPLAUSE) And, of course, not all the guests spoke since that would have been impossible, but those who did conveyed to our people and Party the message from the main forces that are changing the world today. (APPLAUSE) Those who spoke illustrated the changes that are taking place, particularly in our hemisphere, because there we heard the message, the warm, fraternal and solidary voice of Nicaragua through Comrade Humberto Ortega, who is known, admired and esteemed by our people (AP-

PLAUSE) as one of the principal masterminds and strategists of the Nicaraguan people's victorious struggle. (APPLAUSE) There we heard Cayetano Carpio, that hero who has devoted his whole life to the cause of liberating his people, the people of El Salvador, (APPLAUSE) and who brought us the message of all the united revolutionary organizations in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE) We heard the words of our brilliant, staunch and upstanding friend and brother, [Grenada Prime Minister Maurice] Bishop. (APPLAUSE) We heard the message of the Chilean revolutionaries through that veteran fighter who is so highly esteemed in our country, Luis Corvalán, (APPLAUSE) the secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, who suffered fascist repression in his own flesh and who expressed his people's will to struggle with words that recall his country's national anthem, namely, "on the side of reason must also be strength." (APPLAUSE) We heard with profound emotion and we might even say that we shed tears together with [Uruguayan Communist Party leader] Rodney Arismendi, (APPLAUSE) that friend of our country who is so highly esteemed and admired, that extraordinary man who for many years, shoulder to shoulder with his people, championed solidarity with our Revolution.

International support

We heard messages from our Angolan brothers and sisters, from our Mozambican brothers and sisters, from our Ethiopian brothers and sisters, from our Guinean brothers and sisters, our African brothers and sisters. (APPLAUSE) We heard messages from our Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao brothers and sisters, from our Afghan brothers and sisters, from our Arab brothers and sisters; (APPLAUSE) messages from our brothers and sisters the French and Portuguese Communists, (APPLAUSE) who embody the most consistent positions and ideas of the workers' and revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. (APPLAUSE) We heard the message from our dear brothers and sisters from the socialist camp (APPLAUSE) and, most especially, from our dear and inseparable Soviet Union. (OVATION) And we had the pleasure to hear, in the words of that tireless fighter, of that hero of the cause of communism Henry Winston, (APPLAUSE) the message from the most pure and the most honest of the U.S. people. (APPLAUSE)

Those who gathered here represent the healthiest, purest, most consistent of the fighters for the cause of liberation, democracy, social justice and peace. (APPLAUSE) This is why we felt so stimulated at the Congress and also because it reveals the extent of the prestige of our country and our Revolution and of the trust that the world's revolutionary and progressive forces have placed in it. It also reveals the tenacious and heroic efforts our country has been making to contribute to the world revolutionary movement and international solidarity. (APPLAUSE) Our country has gained a great deal of prestige in these years. However, we do not struggle to win prestige. (APPLAUSE) Our Revolution's prestige derives from our loyalty to principles. (APPLAUSE) And more important than the prestige is the confidence that all the world's revolutionaries must have that Cuba can always be counted on, (APPLAUSE) that the Revolution's loyalty to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism is not only the line followed by this generation but will also be the line followed by the generation of the Pioneers, whose representative spoke here this afternoon, (APPLAUSE) and the line followed by the future revolutionary generations. (APPLAUSE)

Great domestic progress

Our Congress did not only discuss international matters. It also dealt with national affairs. The Congress was the crowning point of a period of work that lasted many months during

which our problems were analyzed down to the last detail from a critical and self-critical standpoint, all the way up from the Party nuclei to the Party Congress. (APPLAUSE) The fundamental problems were analyzed, a review of our work in the last five years was made and on balance the results were undeniably positive. What our people have done in such a brief period of time in every sphere is really incredible: (APPLAUSE) the progress made in building socialism and developing our economy; the number of plants we've built amidst the international economic crisis; the extraordinary progress made in education, pub-

only meet it but even surpass it. (APPLAUSE)

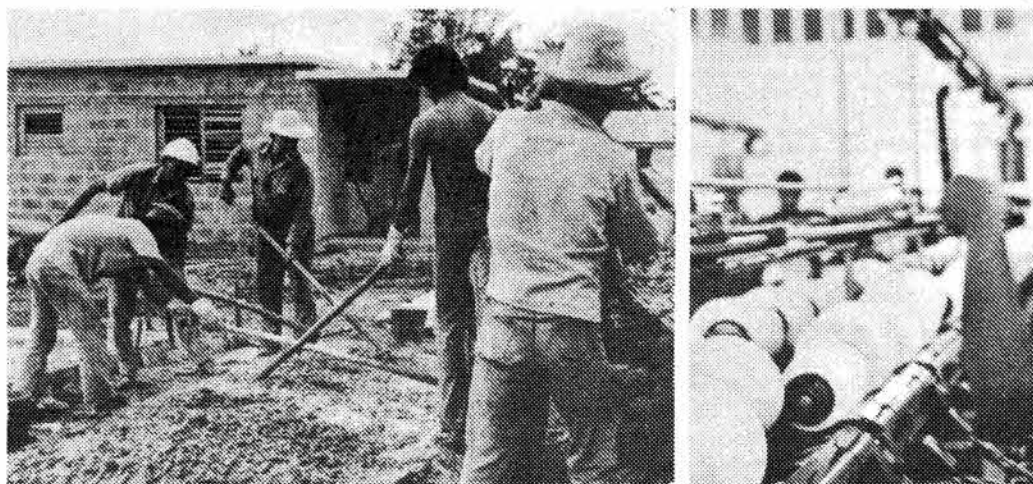
Our Party analyzed and approved some basic ideas regarding the country's future development up to the year 2000. We can now allow ourselves to think not only in terms of one year or five years but also in terms of 20 years, (APPLAUSE) basing ourselves on real factors and the elements of security provided by our close economic relations and our coordination plans for development with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries. (APPLAUSE)

Thus, as far as our country's economic development is concerned, we

Fidel: 'Cuba negotiate with



Text of December 20, 1980, s



'The leadership of the Party was give a strong dose of women, and a stron

lic health, culture, social development, institutionalization of the country; in the establishment of People's Power; in the development of socialist democracy; and, above all, the progress made within our mass organizations, the Young Communist League and the Party. (APPLAUSE)

We must take into account that the number of workers in our Party has almost tripled, which means that our Party has become more proletarian and, therefore, more Marxist-Leninist and more revolutionary. (APPLAUSE)

New five-year plan

Our Party worked in drawing up the future plans and our Congress approved the economic guidelines and the 1981-85 five-year plan. (APPLAUSE) The plan was carefully and prudently drawn up on very realistic bases. Therefore, we hope we will not

can look toward the future with more confidence and assurance than ever before. (APPLAUSE)

However, the most important, the most revolutionary thing about this Congress was the composition of our Central Committee. (APPLAUSE) The leadership of our Party was given a strong dose of worker cadres, (APPLAUSE) a strong dose of women (APPLAUSE) and a strong dose of internationalist fighters. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, our masses are represented on the Central Committee not only indirectly through the Party but also through Party members heading the mass organizations, chiefly our worker organization and our women's organization. Also included are representatives of our peasant organization and of our largest organization, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, a direct link between the Party and the masses has been estab-

ed at this Congress. Furthermore, principle was established that no matter where a Party member, whether man or woman, happens to be, in Cuba or outside Cuba, working in production or the services, holding down an administrative job or doing scientific work, engaged in any other kind of activity, the Party will not forget him or her. (APPLAUSE) This means that the extraordinary honor, the very great possibility of belonging to the top leadership of our Party can be earned by cutting cane, (APPLAUSE) working in a mine, working in a laboratory, managing a factory or a farm, being a union leader, leading a province

in the leadership of our Party, although that leadership includes men who fought in the Sierra, who took part in the struggle against bandits, in the October Crisis and who fought in Angola and in Ethiopia. (APPLAUSE) The fact that through our Revolutionary Armed Forces more than 100,000 fighters have fulfilled internationalist missions is really extraordinary. (APPLAUSE)

This is why our Central Committee can now present a legion of heroes: heroes of the revolutionary struggle in our country, heroes of internationalism, Heroes of Labor, heroes of material and intellectual work, heroes of

our people for the difficult international situation we're going through, preparing the Party and our people for any eventual confrontation with imperialism. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FOR SURE, HIT THE YANKEES HARD!")

Needless to say, we have made it clear to Mr. Reagan that we're not afraid of his threats. (APPLAUSE) If there's something we dislike very much, it's being threatened by anyone. We don't like anyone to try to intimidate us. We just don't like it. Besides, our people forgot what fear means a long time ago. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, MAKE THEM RESPECT US WELL!") Our people lost the taste of fear a long time ago.

We're aware of the fact that the international situation is a difficult and complex one. We're aware that there's a real danger of war. We're also aware of the need to struggle and to mobilize world public opinion in order to put a stop to the arms race, to put an end to international tension, to eradicate the danger of war. We can contribute to this objective within the limits of our modest forces. We know full well what kind of a world we're living in.

As we said in the Main Report, never before has humanity lived through such times as these, with the existence of enormous nuclear arsenals, with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons pointing in all directions. We know that there's a great danger that a worldwide conflict may break out some day, and we believe that humanity, particularly our people, must be aware of these dangers and mobilize in order to struggle against them, each person fighting with all his strength. The fact remains that a certain attitude must be taken in view of these realities.

Special dangers

We are threatened by a number of dangers. Of course, should a world conflict break out, it would affect every nation without exception. However, since our country is located in this part of the world, close to the United States, apart from the danger that any world conflict would represent for us, we're constantly being threatened by imperialist attacks, and in view of these realities it is necessary to adopt a certain attitude.

On occasion, the imperialists speak condescendingly about their being willing to lift the blockade, willing to spare our lives, if we stopped being internationalists, if we withdrew our fighters from Angola and Ethiopia, (SHOUTS OF "NO!" AND "CUBA SI, YANKEES NO!" AND APPLAUSE) if we severed our close ties with the Soviet Union. (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Needless to say, for us it is neither a pleasure nor a whim to have thousands of our fighters in other lands. However, the day that we call back a single man—a single one—it will be because he's no longer needed or because of an agreement between the governments of those countries and us, (APPLAUSE) but never as a concession to imperialism! And our ties with the Soviet Union will never be broken. Never! Those ties will exist as long as the Soviet Union and Cuba exist, (APPLAUSE) because we're a revolutionary people, because we're a consistent people, because we're a staunch, loyal and grateful people, because we loathe opportunism! (APPLAUSE) And if we were to choose between treason and death we would prefer death a thousand times over! (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Principles nonnegotiable

Principles are not negotiable. There are people in the world who negotiate with principles, but Cuba will never negotiate with principles! (APPLAUSE) And we're sure that neither this nor future generations will ever negotiate with their principles! (APPLAUSE)

What right does the United States have to tell us who our friends should be?

So they threaten us with maintaining the economic blockade? Let them maintain it for 100 years if they want

to. (APPLAUSE) We're ready to resist for 100 years—that is, if imperialism lasts that long. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) They threaten us with naval blockades? Let them impose that kind of blockade and they'll see how much the Cuban people can endure! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FOR SURE, HIT THE YANKEES HARD!")

If we had to disperse all over the country and till the land in order to survive, and do it with oxen and plows, hoes and picks, we'd do it that way, (APPLAUSE) but we'd go on resisting. If they think that we're going to surrender because we run out of electricity or buses or fuel or whatever, (APPLAUSE) they'll see that they'll never bring us to our knees, that we can resist for one, ten or as many years as necessary, even if we have to live like the Indians that Christopher Columbus found here when he landed 500 years ago. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

One thing, though, we wouldn't be using spears or arrows. We'd have a rifle, a grenade or a mine in our hands. (APPLAUSE) Maybe a tank, a cannon or a bazooka, or an anti-aircraft gun, anything we could lay our hands on! (APPLAUSE) The imperialists better not have any hopes. We might as well tell them to stop having hopes—and to stop threatening us!

If they were to decide to attack us, then they better get ready to see men, women, old people and even children—even the little Pioneer who spoke here today—in action. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) If they dare invade our country, more Yankees will die here than in World War II, (APPLAUSE) because we will not stop fighting under any circumstances: in the front lines, in the rear, in the underground. We will not stop fighting as long as a single drop of blood remains in our veins. (APPLAUSE)

This is what we should be willing to do and it is what we're willing to do! Of course, we'll see what happens; we'll see what happens, because we're neither short of fighters nor are we unarmed. If they want to spare themselves a lot of effort and decide to drop 20 atom bombs on us, let them go ahead and do it. We've already gone through the experience of being threatened with atom bombs, and I don't remember a single citizen of this country—not a single one!—losing any sleep over it. (APPLAUSE) Without histrionics of any kind, we would prefer a thousand times over to die than to surrender! (APPLAUSE) We will not make a single concession to imperialism. We will not renounce a single one of our principles!

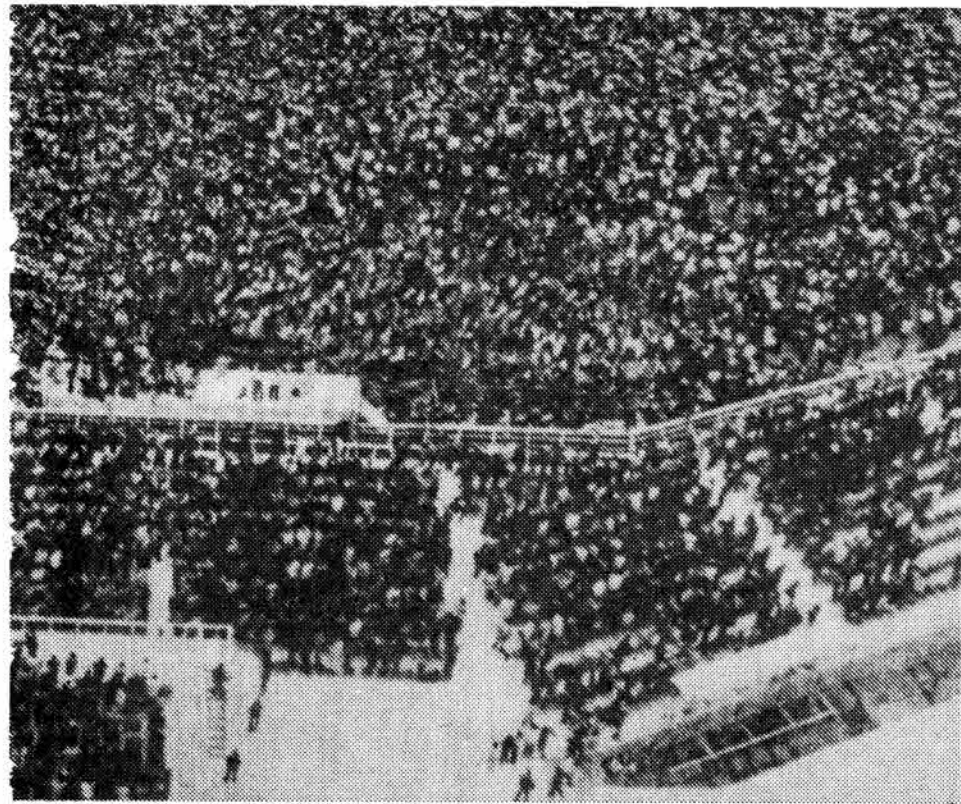
Central America firm

The peoples of the world are not so weak today, and I believe that the day when all the peoples of Latin America are as willing to defend their country as Cuba is to defend itself, as willing as Nicaragua is, (APPLAUSE) as willing as Grenada is, (APPLAUSE) imperialist domination in this hemisphere will disappear. And we could have added the willingness of the Salvadoran revolutionaries (APPLAUSE) and the Guatemalan revolutionaries. (APPLAUSE) The imperialists are threatening to intervene in Central America, as if this will intimidate the Central American revolutionaries. The revolutionaries in El Salvador and Guatemala have been fighting out in the open and in the underground for 20 years, and they would find it much easier to fight against the invaders than against the henchmen who serve the Yankees and who still have a uniform, a flag and a national anthem of their own. (APPLAUSE)

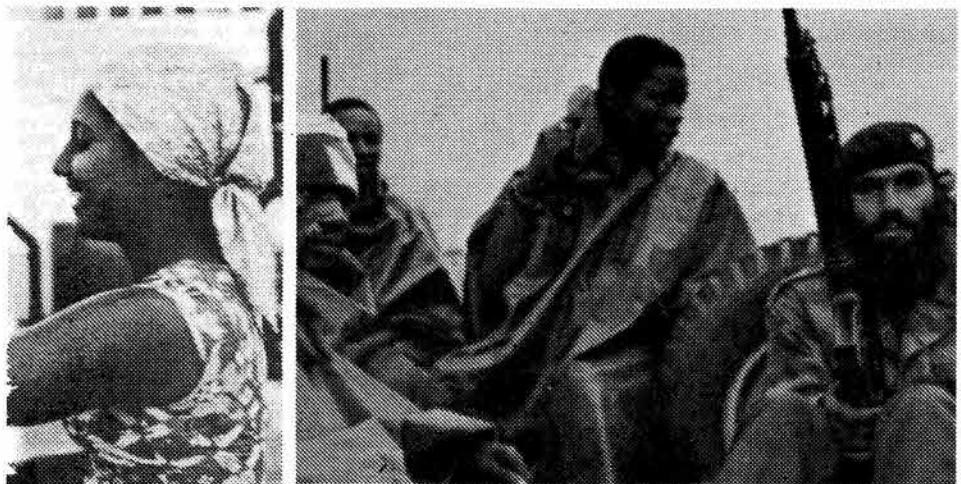
Humberto spoke of Sandino here. Those were different times, the balance of forces then was not what it is today and neither did the mighty international revolutionary movement nor the solidarity that exist today exist then. It is true that Sandino defeated the Yankee invaders with a handful of poorly armed men, and the invaders had to get out, leaving Somoza and the Na-

Continued on next page

will never h principles'



speech to the Cuban people



a strong dose of worker cadres, dose of internationalist fighters.'

a mass organization on a national or provincial level.

We believe that our Central Committee has been greatly enhanced by the presence of new members closely linked to the masses. (APPLAUSE)

Development of party

Our Party has developed a great deal and now has some 450,000 members and candidates. It is no longer a conglomeration of organizations, and nobody remembers what organization they came from. Our Party is now composed of a single solid trunk. Our Party is now something new, a Party that has developed throughout these 22 years. It's no longer a question of the history of the war or before the war or the struggle in the underground. It is in fact also a question of a history written by new generations, of the heroic history of our people in these 22 years of struggle. (APPLAUSE) This is already reflected

Party work, a group of men and women who have amassed extraordinary merits. And the principles that were observed in electing the Central Committee were also observed in electing the Political Bureau. (APPLAUSE) And thus, Comrade Vilma Espín, (APPLAUSE) Comrade Roberto Veiga, (APPLAUSE) Comrade José Ramírez Cruz (APPLAUSE) and Comrade Armando Acosta (APPLAUSE) were elected alternate members of the Political Bureau. Therefore, the women, the workers, the peasants and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are directly represented in the Political Bureau of our Party. (APPLAUSE) In our opinion, this is an extraordinary step forward that will raise the efficiency and quality of the work of the leadership of the Party and the entire country.

Now then, we believe that one of the basic tasks fulfilled by the Congress was that of preparing the Party and

Continued from preceding page

tional Guard there—until the end came for Somoza and the National Guard in the same way that it will eventually come for all the Somozas and their henchmen in this hemisphere. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, there are two basic conclusions we can draw from this Congress. One, the work, the efforts to boost production and the services. I said there are two conclusions and we must live up to them. The first thing we have to do is to tackle all our difficulties head-on and devote ourselves to work, to the services. (APPLAUSE) We must redouble our efforts, work more efficiently and be more demanding in agriculture, at school, in the hospitals, everywhere. In short, I would say we must work more and better than ever before. (APPLAUSE)

Two basic tasks

Second, we must prepare ourselves to defend the country. In other words, these are the two basic tasks: production and defense. (APPLAUSE) We must organize the Territorial Troops Militia (APPLAUSE) and prepare the

Party and the people to fight under any circumstances. (APPLAUSE) We must support the motion made by the militiaman who spoke on behalf of the Regiment of the Territorial Troops from Pinar del Río (APPLAUSE) in regard to raising funds to purchase arms (APPLAUSE) and devoting our free time and even part of our vacation time to the training program, in order not to affect the economy. (APPLAUSE)

One thing must not clash with the other. Work in production and the services must go hand in hand with combat training. We must prepare ourselves, there's no doubt about that. We must rely principally on our training rather than on the enemy's sanity. We must rely on our own forces and not on the enemy's common sense. This is why now more than ever before, we must become a people of workers and soldiers. (APPLAUSE)

We're in the midst of the sugar harvest and it's going well. The accumulated potential output average is 88 percent, a figure that was never reached in December last year, not even on a single day. The workers in

the sugar mills and the canefields are working with exceptional enthusiasm, and I believe that they personify the spirit of struggle and work that prevails throughout the country.

When we resume our activities, when all the delegates to the Congress return home, they should be guided by the idea and the commitment of giving full support to production, the services, the sugar harvest and the tasks of defense. We're not going to start wondering whether the Yankees will spare our lives or not. What we should concern ourselves with is preparing ourselves for the struggle and letting them know—as we said in the Congress—that they're going to find "a hard nut to crack and a deadly thorn in their side." (APPLAUSE) These are the two basic ideas we should take with us from the Congress.

Comrade delegates to the Congress and compatriots, we must say that we have plenty of reasons for feeling satisfied, in fact, for being proud of the results of this Congress, of being proud of what our Party is today, of the quality of the Party, of the quality of the men and women who represented it

at the Congress. We're proud of this proof of the ties between the Party and the masses, of the people's support for the Revolution, of their support for the Party, support that you have demonstrated here today before the representatives of over 140 revolutionary, progressive and democratic organizations from all over the world. (APPLAUSE)

I believe that I'm conveying the feelings of every member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau accurately by saying that we have always had great confidence in our people and that today that confidence is greater than ever! (APPLAUSE) That we, who have always been optimistic, feel more optimistic than ever! (APPLAUSE) That we, who have always felt committed to the Revolution, today feel more committed than ever! (APPLAUSE)

Long live our glorious Communist Party! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live proletarian internationalism! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live the people! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

(OVATION)

S.F. Mime Troupe inspired by Cuba visit

By Caroline Lund

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco Mime Troupe, an internationally known theater group, made a two-week tour of Cuba last October, invited by the Cuban Ministry of Culture.

"Some of us went on this trip with pretty jaded and cynical attitudes," explained one of the Mime Troupers. "But when we had to leave Cuba we were in tears. What we saw there provided us with a spiritual boost and refocused our work again."

Founded twenty-one years ago, the Mime Troupe was well known for its dramatic works in opposition to the Vietnam War in the 1960s and '70s. It does much of its performing in parks to try to reach people who can't afford commercial theater prices.

On January 2 members of the Troupe presented a slide show of their trip and answered questions from the audience. Following are some highlights from the comments of three members of the Troupe.

"We never received better treatment in a capitalist country than we got in socialist Cuba."

"One of the most impressive things to us was that racial tension or racism was never apparent to us anywhere we went in Cuba."

"In Cuba, theater and life have a direct relationship to each other. . . . It made a profound impact on me to see a society that believes art and the artist are educators of society, to see a society where artists are never separated from the people by that commercial line that we have in this country."

One example they described was of a group of stevedores in Havana who had formed a theater group that performed on the wharfs. They were paid by the government for their time spent rehearsing and touring in other cities.

Another company, the Cubana de Acero theater group, started out as a group of steelworkers who began to perform in their spare time. When they became popular, the Ministry of Culture sent someone to propose to them they stop being steelworkers and devote their time to acting. It was proposed that they begin with a tour of performances in Nicaragua.

"The Cubans believe in culture," one

of the Mime Troupers explained. "Once you are accepted as an artist, theater, or cultural worker, you are paid by the government like other workers. You can get sick, you can get pregnant, and still be able to earn a living, unlike the situation in this country."

On women: "There is a conscious attempt in Cuba to support women in moving toward equality, in moving toward a real fifty-fifty sharing of household tasks between husband and wife."

One of the Cuban plays that impressed the Troupe was called "Ni Un Si, Ni Un No" (Not a Yes, Not a No), which dealt with relationships between men and women. "The theme of it was if there is no struggle, there is no real relationship." And increasingly, part of the struggle, explained the Troupe member, is women fighting for dignity and equality.

On youth: "The feeling you get in Cuba is that the future of socialism lies with the youth. Their idealism is so strong. They are really trying to de-

velop a new socialist person, one who works not for money or for themselves alone, but for other people and for the whole society. And you see this happening among the youth. This is what they are living for."

"Cuba is really the hub," said one of the Troupers, as she told how they were able to talk in Havana with Sandinistas from Nicaragua and leaders of the revolutionary organizations in El Salvador. One of the script writers of the Troupe went on to El Salvador after Cuba. "The Cuba tour has propelled us into doing work in the future around the struggles in Central America."

The Mime Troupers concluded the meeting with a message to the American people from Cubans they had met. "They told us to say that they know well the difference between the American people and the American government, and they wanted to extend the warmest welcome and solidarity to the American people and urge them to come to see Cuba for themselves."

The Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, and the Young Socialist invite you to:

Visit Cuba for May Day April 26-May 3



It's only ninety miles from Florida, but the U.S. trade blockade against Cuba and the campaign of lies about life there make it unknown territory for most Americans. Why not go see for yourself? Celebrate May Day, the international workers holiday, in Havana.

By being part of this tour you can show your solidarity with the workers and farmers of Cuba, learn about their lives, and bring the truth back with you to the U.S.

The tour will be especially designed for American trade unionists who want to learn about unions and working conditions in Cuba. You will stay in a hotel in Havana, visit workplaces in the city, and take day trips to small farming communities.

During the week there will be time to explore Havana on your own and maybe even get to the beach!

Tour costs \$500, which includes round trip air transportation from Miami, hotel accommodations (double occupancy), three meals per day, transportation for group visits, and the services of a bilingual Cuban guide. Deposits are due February 27. Full payment and passport information deadline is March 20.

To apply send \$100 deposit with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.

Visit Grenada March 9-16

Come celebrate the second anniversary of the Grenadian revolution! Learn about the literacy drive, the program to give "idle lands to idle hands," and the development of new industry.

Stay in a guest house near Grand Anse Beach south of St. Georges. Visit a Center for Popular Education, new housing, the airport under construction. Meet with activists of the New Jewel Movement, Grenada's leading party; National Women's Organization representatives; and Cuban volunteers.



Tour costs \$810, which includes round trip flights from New York, guest house (double occupancy), two meals per day, taxes, and service charges. Full payment is due by February 6. Airfare portion may be charged on credit card.

To apply send \$150 deposit with your name, address, and phone number to: Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.

Antilles: French gov't steps up repression

By Janice Lynn

The French government has unleashed a new wave of repression against young, Black anticolonialist fighters and trade union militants on the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

These French-ruled islands in the Antilles are considered to be "overseas departments" of France. The latest government repression has been in response to the upswing in anticolonialist and pro-independence struggles over the last year.

In Martinique, three pro-independence and socialist activists were recently convicted on charges stemming from a July 1979 protest in which some 150 demonstrators had entered the French government-owned television studios in Fort-de-France.

They were demanding that the station give coverage to the arrest of six Black youth and the subsequent death of one of them while in police custody.

Radio and television broadcasts in the Antilles usually come straight from France and have little relation to what is happening in the Antilles.

The three activists convicted were René Ravoteur and Gilbert Pago, leaders of the Socialist Revolution Group (GRS), the Antilles section of the Fourth International, and Gérard Beaujour, of Combat Ouvrier, affiliated with the Lutte Ouvrière group in France.



Protesters in Paris demand 'Down with colonial repression, French army out of the Antilles.'

They were given a two month suspended prison sentence, but are appealing the conviction.

In the nearby island of Guadeloupe, militant anticolonial and antiracist struggles have also taken place. The official unemployment rate in Guadeloupe is around 40 percent—with an even higher rate among Black youth. Wages and benefits such as social security are significantly lower than in France.

Racist graffiti has recently begun appearing on walls in the capital city of Pointe-à-Pitre, with such slogans as "Blacks back to Africa—Guadeloupe for the French."

The French government has increased its troop strength in the Antilles to 16,000, with a corresponding step up of harassment of Black youth. Young Guadeloupans are frequently stopped for questioning and

are the victims of illegal searches and intensified surveillance.

Over the past ten months, an organization called the Armed Liberation Group (GLA) has claimed credit for some fifteen bombings in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and France, warning the French colonialists to "pack their bags" and leave Guadeloupe.

French settlers have seized upon these bombings as a pretext for calling upon the French government to increase its repressive forces in the Antilles.

Heavily armed police have been stationed at traffic checkpoints, under the pretext of searching for the GLA.

Broad-based committees of trade unions and anticolonialist organizations have been formed in Martinique and Guadeloupe and have been organizing activities to counter the repression. Demonstrations in Martinique and Guadeloupe were held to protest the recent visit by French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

On January 1, the GLA claimed responsibility for an explosion at the Justice Building in the Martinican capital. Nine pro-independence activists were rounded up by the police.

Among those arrested was GRS leader Gilbert Pago. Protest demonstrations were quickly organized. The pro-independence activists were released, and no charges have been filed.

From Intercontinental Press

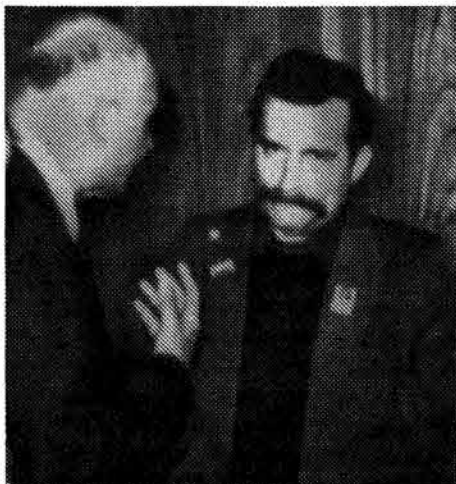
Iranian workers hail new unions in Poland

The following resolution in solidarity with the struggle of the Polish workers and their independent union, Solidarity, was sent to the union in Gdansk, Poland. It was adopted December 3, 1980, by the Elected Islamic Council of Employees at the Polyacryl Corporation, a textile factory in Isfahan, Iran.

Militant brothers and sisters,

1. Everyday we hear some news about your struggle to form a legal and recognized workers union in Poland. So far you have gained the right to strike and the right to form independent unions. We congratulate you for these victories. The new demands that you have raised, which include freeing of your militant fellow workers who have been arrested recently, show that you still have a long and hard fight before you achieve workers democracy that you are fighting for. The attacks by the Polish government show that this will not be an easy fight, but you have a lot to gain from it.

2. Through our Islamic revolution which was led by Imam Khomeini, we



Solidarity leader Walesa, right

have learned the fact that the only way to continue our revolution is to rely on the support of the oppressed masses. Our Islamic revolution is an ongoing revolution which has only begun. In order to guarantee its continuity we have built our Islamic workers' councils and Imam's committees. We are also building the Army of 20 Million under the leadership of Imam Khomeini.

3. During the past two years the oppressed masses of Iran have made tremendous gains. Many factories have been nationalized and are run by Islamic councils. The lands which belonged to the Pahlavi Dynasty and many big landlords have been distributed amongst the poor peasants. We have gained the fight to form our own Islamic workers' councils. By taking part in the Jihad for Reconstruction and the Jihad for Literacy we are helping our poor peasants to better their living conditions and to educate them. Above all we think that our Islamic revolution is an internationalist revolution and we constantly try to export it to the whole world. We support the just struggle of Palestinians, South Africans, the Black and Indians of the United States and all the struggles of the oppressed masses of the whole world. We will not let the impe-

rialist powers rule us any longer. That is why the imperialist power, especially U.S. imperialism, is constantly attacking our revolution. That is why the reactionary regime of Iraq, which is being directly supported by U.S. imperialism, has attacked our country.

4. We think that your struggle for workers democracy is a just and revolutionary struggle. The claim of the western news agencies that you are under the influence of Western capitalists is a slanderous accusation. We understand that, because these are the same news agencies which say that our Islamic Revolution is "reactionary." We support your fight and lend our solidarity.

Long live the solidarity of the oppressed masses of the world!

Hands off the militant Polish workers!

From Intercontinental Press

Guatemalan feminist disappears

Alaide Foppa, a well-known art critic and feminist author, disappeared on December 19, 1980, in Guatemala City. Although Foppa had lived in exile in Mexico City since 1955, she had returned to Guatemala to visit her aged mother.

The Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression has accused Guatemala's army intelligence service of complicity in the disappearance.

Foppa, the mother of four, is a university professor and coeditor of *Fem*, one of the few feminist magazines in Latin America. For eight years she has hosted a radio program in Mexico called *Women's Forum*.

Her recently deceased husband, Alfonso Solórzano, was a member of the Guatemalan Labor Party (Communist Party) and had served as director of social security under the Arbenz government in the 1950s.

On December 22, some 500 per-



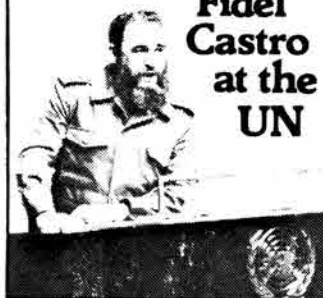
ALAIDE FOPPA

sons in Mexico City demonstrated in front of the Guatemalan embassy, demanding the immediate presentation of Alaide Foppa. In the United States, a number of artists and feminists sent a letter to the *New York Times* calling for Foppa's safe release.

From Intercontinental Press

Voices of revolution

"We represent the immense majority of humanity."
Fidel Castro at the UN



Fidel Castro at the UN

Full text of Cuban leader's October 12, 1979, speech to United Nations. With introduction by Andrew Pulley, 1980 U.S. presidential candidate, and an article by Fred Feldman on the September 1979 Nonaligned Conference in Havana. 48 pages. \$1.25.

THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION



Interview with Jaime Whistock
Speeches by Daniel Ortega and Fidel Castro
Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans
Edited with an introduction
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Interview with Nicaragua's minister of agrarian reform, speeches by Castro and Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega, and text of Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans. Edited and with an introduction by Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy. 80 pages. \$2.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Enclose \$.75 for postage.

In wake of new attacks

Rightist Cuban saboteurs arrested in Florida

MIAMI—The FBI announced January 16 that it had arrested seven Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles in the Florida Keys. Agents also seized a small arsenal, including bombs, grenades, a machine gun, and other weapons.

The 28-foot boat the exiles were found in also included literature of Alpha 66, a Miami-based exile gang with a long record of terrorist activities.

A spokesperson for Alpha 66 said the seven people arrested were in fact members of the organization. He asserted they were en route "to a training camp" at some unspecified site in the Caribbean. All but one reportedly came here recently on the Mariel/Florida boatlift.

It is a violation of the Federal Neutrality Act for individuals or groups to prepare a military expedition on U.S. soil against countries with which the United States is not officially at war.

Earlier, Alpha 66 confirmed a report from Havana that three of its members had been apprehended and jailed in Cuba while on a sabotage mission.

In a television interview here after the Havana jailings, Enrique Encinosa of Alpha 66 asserted that three teams of saboteurs had been sent to Cuba in the last two months. According to Encinosa, these terrorists carried out bombing missions that killed at least one person.

The seven arrested here by the FBI were charged with conspiracy and violations of a federal firearms statute. Bond was set at \$250,000 each.

They were not charged with violation of the Neutrality Act. William



Weapons and Alpha 66 materials seized in saboteurs' boat.

Nettles, the agent in charge of the FBI's Miami office, asserted that it's difficult to obtain convictions under the act. He said the right-wing thugs "have such strong feelings of patriotism that they usually won't testify for the Government . . ."

Why such testimony is necessary for prosecution, he did not explain.

In recent weeks Alpha 66 and another assassination outfit, Joint Military Command Brigade 2506, have

been running radio ads for recruits and offering guided tours of their training camps in the South Miami everglades. Maybe the FBI should sign up for a tour.

Meanwhile, authorities report no new information on the attempted bombing December 30 of a travel agency near here that provides flights to Cuba. Omega 7, a Cuban exile gang that claims responsibility for a series of "unsolved" assassinations and bombings, took credit for the attempt.

The bomb was planted outside the offices of American Airway Charters in Hialeah, a suburb of Miami. Concealed in a briefcase, the bomb was discovered by a janitor an hour before it was set to go off. It contained three pounds of dynamite, an incendiary grenade, and ballbearings designed to act as shrapnel.

FBI investigator William Nettles described the device as "very, very deadly."

About 10 p.m., the time it was supposed to explode, a Miami Spanish-language radio station received a call from a man crediting Omega 7 with the bombing.

Omega 7's terrorist activities are not limited to Miami. The group has committed at least three political murders in the last two years—including the New York City slaying of Cuban UN attaché Felix Garcia in September 1980.

In 1979, it gunned down Eulalio Negrin in Union City, New Jersey. Negrin had participated in the Com-

mittee of 75, a group of Cuban-Americans who have engaged in a dialog with the Cuban government. Earlier that year, it assassinated Carlos Muñiz, a Cuban living in Puerto Rico who was a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group favoring U.S. diplomatic ties with Cuba. Muñiz was also a well-known organizer of tours to Cuba.

Discussing the latest bomb attempt, FBI agent Nettles told the January 1 *Miami Herald*, "It's the first bomb planted by Omega 7 aimed against people instead of property."

That's patently false. On March 25, 1980, Omega 7 tried—unsuccessfully—to plant a bomb in the car of Raúl Roa, Cuban ambassador to the UN.

In October 1979, the terrorists set off a bomb at the Cuban Mission to the UN. Two New York cops and two passersby were injured.

Finally, two men connected with Omega 7 were convicted in the 1976 car-bomb murder of Orlando Letelier, Chilean ambassador to the U.S. under the Allende government.

According to the December 31 *Miami News*, the FBI has "assigned the highest priority" to tracking down Omega 7's members, "none of whom are known."

Perhaps the clueless FBI should check out the "Cuban Nationalist Movement," an Omega 7 front group that operates out of a public headquarters in Union City, New Jersey.

Or, it might try a phone call to the CIA.

Thugs assault Baja California strikers

By Jeffrey Allen

TIJUANA, Mexico—Strikers at the Autonomous University of Baja California were viciously attacked in a series of raids January 5-9.

Up to 500 strikebreakers took part in assaults at campuses in Tijuana, Mexicali, Tecati, and Ensenada, which have been occupied by striking teachers, nonteaching employees, and students since November 14.

The raids included firebombings, shootings, and the liberal use of clubs, successfully dislodging the strikers from occupied buildings. Although many right-wing students participated in the attacks, strike leaders told the *Militant* that there were many unknown faces among the attackers as well, including plainclothes cops.

Driven from some buildings, strikers decided to vacate others to avoid further casualties. Numerous strikers

were hospitalized, including two with bullet wounds in Mexicali.

The attacks were prepared in advance by a government-inspired propaganda campaign in the media over the Christmas holidays. Day after day, articles and ads from "community" groups, "parents," and "students" denounced the strike and called for the reopening of the university.

University Rector Ruben Castro Borjuez made a public call for the resumption of classes the first day after the holiday break. Since the strike had majority support, the rector then resorted to the use of *porros*, right-wing thugs hired by the bosses to break strikes, usually in collusion with the government.

The two unions on strike are the Sindicato de los Trabajadores Academicos (Union of Academic Workers)

and the Sindicato de los Trabajadores al Servicio (Union of Service Workers). They are demanding union recognition, acceptance of the contract previously negotiated with the university, and the rehiring of more than seventy union leaders fired before the strike.

The strike is of national importance in Mexico, since it represents an attempt to break the independent union movement. The PRI, the Institutionalized Revolutionary Party which rules Mexico, has long dominated the union movement. But in recent years independent unions have arisen.

The attack on the strikers is also an attack on the Sindicato Unico de los Trabajadores Universitarios (SUNTU—United University Workers Union), which unites the many independent unions in the Mexican university system. SUNTU was declared illegal last fall by President José Lopez

Portillo shortly before the attack on the Baja strikers.

There has been extensive solidarity with the Baja strikers from other unions and community groups, including in the San Diego area.

At a *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* forum in San Diego December 5, several union leaders declared their support for the strike and said they would sponsor solidarity meetings in their unions. Speakers included Larry Schwartz, president of Local 1931 of the American Federation of Teachers; Prescott Nichols, executive board member of United Professors of California; and Elizabeth Reed, of the Service Employees International Union.

Mobilizations of up to 3,500 strikers and supporters have occurred in Baja cities. A January 11 march of 400 testified to the continuing combativity of the strikers.

... Martinez

Continued from back page

matured politically as far as having a practical understanding of history as it applied to me.

In the late 1960s, the land grant struggle [in New Mexico] was going on, led by Reies Tijerina. The struggle of the farmworkers led by César Chávez was also taking place.

All these things came together at the same time. Since then, I've been a political activist around many different issues.

Q. At what point did you begin experiencing harassment from the cops?

A. I think when I started representing people as an attorney, people involved in some sort of political struggle.

I was involved in many controver-

sial cases in Colorado. One of them resulted in the removal of the administration at the Cañon City Prison on corruption charges. This happened through our work in defense of inmates' rights. As a result, the state tried to take away my license.

Q. What can you say about the government's role in your case?

A. There is no doubt that their case against me is a police fabrication. It's a frame-up.

They have already taken my brother's life and now they are trying to take away my freedom.

A favorite tactic of the federal and state police agencies is to attempt to discredit and neutralize activists. One way they do this is to frame them up on criminal charges.

Recent lawsuits by political activists have substantiated that the government is out to destroy or discredit any

person and any organization that is advocating social change.

"Operation CHAOS" was the government's code name for its secret disruption operation against Chicanos, for example.

Q. You have been attacked in the media for visiting Cuba. What was that about?

A. It's red-baiting. They are trying to discredit me as a communist.

I went to Cuba in 1974. I have no problems associating myself with people who have an example to offer humanity.

I've gone to a lot of places. I went to Cuba and I also went to the White House.

So what? No one is going to tell me where I can go.

Q. What can people do to support you?

A. The legal battle that we are wag-

ing is the battleground the government chose, so we'll have to fight on that level.

But this has to be complemented with activity in the streets, that is, educating the people.

To this effect, there have been meetings and political rallies on my behalf around the state and in adjoining states.

People should try to attend my trial, which begins on January 27 in Pueblo.

We are also circulating petitions, which demand that my right to a fair trial be upheld.

People who have a little bit of extra money, we would appreciate donations. We anticipate the defense will cost \$50,000.

For more information on Martínez's case, contact the Francisco E. Martínez Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 753, Alamosa, Colorado 81101.

Ford picketers hit new plant closing

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—The 120 protesters at Ford World Headquarters in Dearborn on January 8 were a varied and complex group. Walking a picket line in the snow and a temperature of 15 degrees, they were from several different plants of UAW Local 600, officials and rank and file, Black and white, men and women, skilled trades and production, even children of workers.

By the time they had climbed the hill to the Glass House and had formed a shouting, stomping, chanting circle smack at the headquarters' front doors, the demand was simple and urgent: "We want work."

Ford has said it is going to close the Michigan Casting Center, a segment of UAW Local 600 in Flat Rock. Half of its work force of 5,000 has already been laid off, and those still working came out to say "Enough." They were joined by other Local 600 members from Ford River Rouge, many of whom could see they might be the next to go.

Several TV stations sent camera crews out. This was news because it was the first UAW-organized protest of a plant closing to occur in the Detroit area in more than a year.

Workers on the picket line were dismayed at Ford's announcement. Michigan Casting Center (MCC) is only nine years old, Ford's most modern foundry. One MCC worker on

the picket line, Diane Brown, speculated that Ford was making idle threats, threatening to close the plant to maneuver for contract concessions.

Other workers thought it was one more in a list of several generally stupid and inefficient moves made by the bosses. Still others thought that Ford would send the work out to another country where it would pay such low wages that it would still profit by shutting down an almost new plant.

There were many conjectures and rumors discussed among the bundled-up yet shivering pickets on the line. But there was general agreement on two points: Ford should not be allowed to shut down this plant and disrupt the lives of so many people. And, no concessions to Ford.

As another MCC worker said, "They always want to hold back our cost-of-living allowance, but nobody ever tries to hold back the cost of living."

Several thought the plant should have been shut down for the day, with all workers urged to report instead to the picket line. This had been the original plan, but was changed, unfortunately, only a few days before.

A committeeman from MCC said, "It's up to each of us out here today to go back to the plants and take some responsibility on ourselves to get all our brothers and sisters out here on these picket lines."

Dallas: steelworkers strike against inhuman overtime

By Linda Loew

DALLAS—One thousand workers at two Cooper Industries Gardner-Denver plants, organized by United Steelworkers Local 6282, walked out on strike at midnight January 12.

The company has earned record profits in recent years from its oil equipment. It rejected the union demand to end mandatory overtime. As one striker put it, "We're tired of working eighty hours a week, forty to fifty days in a row."

Workers are especially angry about an attendance program that gives them points every time they are absent, including on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. One picketer commented, "They even gave

eleven points to a preacher for going to his church on Sundays. Two more points and he can be fired."

In "right to work" Texas not all employees in a plant have to be in the union. At Gardner-Denver union representatives say membership is 98 percent. The unanimous vote to strike was taken at a meeting of 800 January 10. At that meeting worker after worker got up and expressed the need to fight forced overtime. The second big issue is the company attempt to separate the seniority systems between the Sunnyvale and Dallas plants. This is intended to divide and weaken the union.

To top it all off, the company's wage offer is a measly ten cents an hour. Workers pointed out that the price of a gallon of gas has gone up more than ten cents. Pinning the

blame for inflation on the company's greed for profits, Roosevelt Nickerson, union treasurer and one of the picket coordinators, said, "We don't have Cadillacs, but we want decent food on our tables."

The strike looks solid. One picketer walked with his two-year-old daughter who carried a sign that read "I want to see more of my daddy."

Members of United Auto Workers Local 848 joined the picket line. The strike has been extensively covered in local papers.

On January 17 more than 800 members of Local 6282 gathered to hear a report on negotiations. They voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike. The members were particularly angry at the company arrogance in refusing to hold more than one bargaining session during the first week.

Linda Loew is a member of United Steelworkers Local 6282.



Mesquite Daily News/Sheila Schindler

Gardner-Denver workers in Dallas show their determination to win: 'We have no choice but to strike.'

Detroit steelworkers win contract battle

By Ruth Robinett

DETROIT—Despite the massive joblessness in Detroit, United Steelworkers Local 2341, the area's third largest steel local, backed the company down in its attempt to take away cost-of-living adjustment payments and to force the union into a one-year contract extension with no improvements.

After a four-month strike, Local 2341 ratified a new three year contract January 7.

Whitehead and Kales is the area's largest steel fabrication plant, producing railroad cars for transporting autos. There are 900 workers in the union bargaining unit.

The previous contract expired August 31, 1980, and the membership overwhelmingly rejected the company offer of a one year contract extension without a mid-year COLA payment.

The company refused to negotiate, spread rumors of closing the plant, and attempted to divide the membership.

The local's response was reflected in a number of activities organized to keep morale high. Two mass picket lines were held at the plant's main gate. Both were covered by local TV.

Four strike newsletters were

printed and distributed to keep the membership up to date.

Two sister USWA locals, Local 1299 and Local 2659, raised money for the strike fund and gave the children a Christmas party, Santa Claus and all. Through the sale of raffle tickets, every member received a turkey for the holidays.

It was clear from the first vote and the participation on picket lines that the membership was ready to fight for a better contract. With that backing, the negotiating committee refused to buckle to the company's cutback demands.

The ratified contract maintained COLA, although the union was forced to concede part of COLA benefits in the second and third year to pay for other contract improvements. These included improved pensions, retiree medical care, vacations, sick pay, and dental care. An optical plan was added.

Wages were increased fifty-five cents an hour over two years and there was an increase in supplemental unemployment benefits for workers if there is a layoff.

On the first day back at work, what seemed to be a predominant sentiment was expressed by a young Black welder:

"Next time we will be in better shape to get more. We stuck together this time, and you can be sure the company noticed that!"

Union remains unbowed as NIPSCO strike continues

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—The strike against Northern Indiana Public Service Company by United Steelworkers Locals 12775 and 13796 is now more than seven months old.

Despite the bitterness and length of the strike, the two unions, representing production and clerical workers at the utility, remain unbowed.

Well over half of the 4,200 union members turned out for December 30 meetings across northern Indiana to hear reports from union leaders on the state of negotiations. Nearly 1,000 met in Gary alone, with meetings in smaller areas ranging from 200 to 400.

The strike authorization voted by the two locals last year mandated the joint nego-

tiating team to bring back a contract offer it agreed with. Since none has yet been produced, there's been nothing to put before the membership.

NIPSCO has tried to use this situation to drive a wedge between the union ranks and the negotiators. Through direct mailings and a media barrage the company has attempted to spark a "back to work movement" which could stampede a contract vote.

But there is no contract.

The media have gone so far as to manufacture "show-downs" between "dissidents" and "loyalists." The *Post Tribune* in Gary reported a "handful" of antileadership forces had showed up at the union's headquarters demanding a vote on the company offer.

The *Militant* learned from the union, however, not even one such person, let alone a handful, ever appeared.

Under this pressure, the size and mood of the unions' December 30 meetings underscores the determination of the membership to win a decent contract.

The bosses are still seeking givebacks of cost-of-living adjustments, changes in work rules that would eliminate jobs, a major gutting of worker protection from working in bad weather, and a wage package which, while maintaining a COLA, provides for only a 6 percent increase. NIPSCO had originally sought a COLA freeze.

Negotiations resumed on January 6.

Behind China's show trial: why bureaucratic thieves fell out

By David Frankel

Top Chinese leaders gathered in Peking's Great Hall of the People January 1 at a New Year's reception given by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). But CCP Chairman Hua Guofeng, Mao Zedong's hand-picked successor, was not there to partake of the "atmosphere of joy and unity" described by the New China News Agency.

Hua, who has not been seen in public since November 27, is apparently the latest victim in the purge of Mao loyalists being carried out under the leadership of Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. CCP sources have informed foreign journalists that Hua has been ordered to move out of the palatial party chairman's residence.

Hua's doublecross

As minister of public security, Hua was in charge of the police from 1972 to 1977. He has been accused of personally supervising the crushing of the Tiananmen demonstration of April 5, 1976, when some 100,000 people took part in a protest in Peking's Tiananmen Square.

Although the Tiananmen protest was encouraged by Mao's opponents within the bureaucracy, who took advantage of the anniversary of Premier Zhou Enlai's death, its size and militancy reflected the anger of the masses. After years of unceasing repression and economic hardship, the hatred of the Chinese workers and peasants for the Maoist regime was threatening to break out of control.

The frightened Maoist faction responded to the Tiananmen incident by trying to tighten its grip on the state apparatus. It launched a new offensive against its opponents within the bureaucracy and purged Deng for the second time. However, Mao died in September 1976. Faced with the threat of mass rebellion, Hua turned on his former allies. He joined with the supporters of Deng and ordered the arrest of Mao's key lieutenants—the so-called Gang of Four.

But Hua and his supporters were too closely identified with the crimes of the Maoist regime. They were forced to bring back Deng and other CCP leaders who had been purged by Mao and who were seen by the masses as opponents of the hated Cultural Revolution. Deng consolidated his position step by step, forcing Hua's resignation as prime minister in September 1980, and now moving to oust him as CCP chairman.

Gang of Four trial

Hua's downfall has coincided with the show trial of the Gang of Four, which opened in Peking November 20. By moving against Hua and by settling accounts with Mao's lieutenants, Deng hopes to lay to rest the issue of the Cultural Revolution, to convince the Chinese workers and peasants that justice has been done, and to restore the shattered credibility of the CCP.

'I Was Chairman Mao's Dog'

A defiant Jiang Qing—Mao's last wife, and the star defendant in the show trial of the Gang of Four—tried to put the regime on the spot with her defense. "Arresting me and bringing me to trial is a defamation of Chairman Mao Zedong," she declared.

As Jiang put it, "I was Chairman



In 1971, at height of U.S. aggression against Vietnam, Mao Zedong warmly welcomed Nixon to Peking. And in 1979, Mao's apparent successor, Deng Xiaoping, traveled to Washington to applaud Nixon's successor.

Mao's dog. Whomever he told me to bite, I bit."

Criticism of Mao has begun to appear openly in China, and officials have announced plans to rename Mao's mausoleum the "Memorial of Revolutionary Heroes" and to place the remains of other leaders there as well as his.

The Shanghai newspaper *Wenhui Bao* admitted in its January 4 edition that Mao's works had been repeatedly edited to make it look as if he had foreseen the course of events and to eliminate references to purged leaders. The paper referred to this as a way of building up a "personality cult."

While the CCP leaders would like to put the blame on Mao for everything that has gone wrong for the past twenty years, they are well aware that an unrestrained attack on "the Great Helmsman" could quickly turn into an attack on the bureaucracy as a whole.

Common history

The anxiety of the CCP leaders is understandable. The current rulers in Peking share a common history with the Mao faction, and what the Maoists and anti-Maoists within the CCP agree on and defend is in many ways more important than their differences.

Both the Maoists and the anti-Maoists within the CCP represent a class-collaborationist current.

Both factions are part of a privileged bureaucratic caste whose interests are antagonistic to those of the Chinese workers and peasants.

And both factions, as part of their class collaborationist strategy and their defense of bureaucratic privilege,

support a thoroughly counterrevolutionary foreign policy. They seek cooperation with world imperialism, not the extension of the socialist revolution.

In China, as in many other countries, a massive revolutionary upsurge grew out of World War II. Far from leading the masses forward, the CCP sought to hold them back, to compromise with the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship and its imperialist backers.

Communist parties in countries such as France and Italy helped the capitalists to restabilize their rule after World War II. The CCP tried to do the same thing in China, but the mass movement, fed by decades of imperialist oppression, was too strong, and the Chiang Kai-shek regime and the native capitalist class were too weak and corrupt. The old regime was swept away despite the CCP's repeated attempts to reach a compromise.

Mao's foreign policy

During the period of the Chinese revolution and the Korean War, the CCP was forced to defend itself against direct imperialist attack, economic sanctions, and diplomatic isolation. Washington's military threats against China continued throughout the 1950s and into the early years of the Vietnam War.

After the Sino-Soviet split that surfaced in 1960, Mao responded to the imperialist threats with superrevolutionary rhetoric. But the change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale as a result of Washington's inability to crush the Vietnamese revolution finally forced the imperialists to turn to Moscow and Peking for help in containing the world revolution.

Mao responded eagerly, and in February 1971, President Nixon met with Mao in Peking. Nixon also ushered in his policy of détente with Moscow that year.

Deng has continued and extended Mao's policy of collaboration with imperialism. It is noteworthy that none of the crimes that Mao's lieutenants are accused of deal with Mao's foreign policy.

Special shops, servants

Part of the hatred for the Maoist faction among the Chinese masses stems from the hypocrisy of the Maoists. They preached equality and austerity while living it up at the expense of the workers and peasants.

Deng and his faction have tried to take advantage of the pervasive resentment of bureaucratic privilege by portraying Jiang as an "empress" and publicizing her luxurious lifestyle while she was in power. But the hypocrisy of the current rulers is also well known in China.

Senior CCP officials are provided with hand-tooled Hongqi limousines, which are exempted from the legal requirement of having to stop for unexpected pedestrians or bicyclists.

They have access to special shops, such as the five-story "Peking City Food Supply Place," at which they can stock up on luxuries that are unobtainable by the common people.

In a January 2 article, *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield described the house of one Chinese general:

On the western side of the Forbidden City, behind a gray brick wall, is a large old Chinese-style, tile-roofed courtyard home with a garden and access to a small lake. . . .

The average allotment of housing space in Peking is three square yards per person, about the size of a dining-room table. But the general, his wife and their two children have three spacious bedrooms; a living room with a piano, color television set and parquet floor; a study; and a huge kitchen equipped with an American refrigerator.

'Party's prestige is not high'

Real differences between the Mao faction and its opponents within the bureaucracy focused on domestic policy and the economy.

CCP Secretary-General Hu Yaobang, who is expected to replace Hua as party chairman, told the leader of the Greek Communist Party (Interior) December 14:

"It is the unanimous view of our party that the decade between 1966 and 1976 of the so-called Great Cultural Revolution was a period of catastrophe.

"Nothing was correct or positive during these 10 years. The whole thing was negative. Tremendous damage was done to our economy, culture, education, political thinking and party organization."

Moreover, the struggle within the bureaucracy began to create openings for the masses to intervene independently. Discontent among the workers was expressed in strikes, which were repressed by the regime. Mao, who had originally mobilized the Red Guards as a factional weapon against his opponents within the party, also responded with massive repression when the youth he had used threatened to evolve in an independent political direction.

Although the CCP has managed to forestall the open revolt that threat-

ened to break out toward the end of Mao's rule, it continues to face a deep crisis of political confidence.

An article that appeared in the December 17 issue of *Red Flag*, the CCP theoretical journal, bluntly admitted that "the party's prestige is not high now. That is a fact. . . . Without improvement, we cannot persist in leadership."

Promises

Mao's successors sought to buy time by promising rapid improvement in the economic situation of the masses. In his report to the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, held in February and March 1978, Hua vowed to make China "a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century."

Deng also promises to "make the country rich and strong."

How was this to be accomplished? Mao's heirs banked everything on obtaining massive loans and investment from the imperialist powers. In return, they offered the imperialists complete political subservience, including help through operations such as the invasion of Vietnam in January 1979.

Even if the world capitalist economy had continued its expansion, the hopes of the Peking regime would never have been realized. In the context of the ongoing world economic crisis, the calculations of the bureaucracy were even more utopian.

Promises of rapid development and prosperity are now threatening to backfire. The political crisis of the CCP is being intensified by severe economic problems.

Bungling in economy

In 1978, armed with Hua's mandate to modernize the country, Chinese trade delegations went on a multibillion dollar buying spree. Massive amounts of modern machinery were imported, and contracts were signed with imperialist companies for the construction of entire factories.

About \$2 billion worth of equipment bought during the 1978 buying spree remains in storage because the country is not yet able to use it.

According to *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Frank Ching, Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang gave a report on the state of the Chinese economy at the end of 1980 in which he said that China's budget deficit and its international debts would require sharp cutbacks in spending over the coming years. Ching's article in the December 29 *Journal* continued:

Mr. Zhao also said that oil production, on which China's hopes had been pinned, was likely to decline for the next few years, and China's energy shortage was already so acute that factories currently operate at only 70% of capacity.

He indicated, too, that this year's industrial growth was disappointing, and that construction next year will drop 40%.

Mr. Zhao said China will have to close or suspend many factories to reduce the government's financial burden and make better use of available energy sources.

Japanese trade officials met with Chinese ministers in Peking in December. Lily Ju-li Dow reported in the December 13 *Washington Post*:

The Chinese decided to postpone the second stage of work on a \$5 billion steel mill near Shanghai, a project long considered crucial to Japanese-Chinese economic cooperation. Construction of a \$180 million chemical plant in eastern Peking was halted after the Chinese had spent \$13 million building the plant's foundation. Negotiations were postponed on a \$22 million joint venture with Sanyo Electric to make refrigerator compressors.

Moreover, inflation in 1980 may have been as high as 7 to 10 percent. In a speech to party leaders in December, Hu Yaobang reported that there was a demonstration against price increases in Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province. (*New York Times*, December 24.)

An editorial in the January 1 issue of the *People's Daily* warned that "improvement of the people's livelihood

must be kept within the capability of the nation."

As the Stalinist rulers in Poland are currently finding out, the combination of political disillusionment and hostility to the regime among the workers and peasants, and economic privation, is an explosive mixture.

An indication of just how nervous the Peking regime is was an article in the December 11 *Peking Daily* that took up nearly half the front page. The article admitted that many Chinese have "raised questions" about the case of Wei Jingsheng, and it defended Wei's imprisonment.

Wei was framed up in 1979 on charges of "counterrevolutionary agitation" and allegedly giving military information to a foreigner because of his opposition to the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

According to Toronto *Globe and Mail* correspondent Bryan Johnson, a student candidate at Peking University who was running for a seat on the People's Congress declared his support for Wei at a campus meeting in November. He was elected to the congress with 70 percent of the vote.

Wei was associated with one of the many unofficial journals that have sprung up throughout China over the past few years, and which are engaged in an ongoing struggle for democratic rights.

On September 15, representatives from twenty-one of these journals issued a statement following a conference in Guangzhou that declared: "From now on, we shall, in this single organization, jointly make our contribution to the realization of democracy and legal system in China and to the peace and stability of the world. Here, the China National Unofficial Publications Association officially proclaims its formation!"

These courageous fighters have carried on their work despite continuous attacks by the regime. For example, Zheng Yulin, an activist who had been asked to represent five publications in East China, was arrested while traveling to the conference in Guangzhou.

In an October 1980 appeal for Zheng's release, representatives of the publications that had asked Zheng to represent them declared: "After the Gang of Four was crushed, there have been repeated cases in China of violation of the people's democratic rights, suppression of the democratic movement, and arrest and witch-hunt of democratic fighters who dare to stand up to speak the truth and voice the grievances of the people."

While appealing to government officials to "intervene daringly in whatever matter in real life that is contrary to Marxist principles and to the interests of the broad masses," the statement warned "remnants of feudal autocratic forces who hate, resist and sabotage the present movement of ideological liberation" and "politicians who are quick to change sides" to beware.

It ended with the slogans: "No compromise at all!" and "Struggle to the end!"

Like the imperialist exploiters whom it looks to as allies, the bureaucratic regime in Peking is doomed. Its gravediggers will be the Chinese workers and peasants, whose future is embodied in fighters such as Wei Jingsheng, Zheng Yulin, and their comrades in the National Unofficial Publications Association.

From Intercontinental Press

CHINA AFTER MAO

By Les Evans

\$3.95 (add 75 cents for postage and handling)

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New York, N.Y. 10014

... cabinet

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the Republican Party. He also approves of the British-negotiated Zimbabwe settlement, the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel, and arms limitation treaties. In fact, Haig noted that he had played a role in negotiating the SALT I treaty with the Soviet Union.

Haig also disassociated himself from Reagan's campaign statements on support for Taiwan, noting that under Nixon he had played a major role in negotiating the resumption of relations with China.



HENRY KISSINGER

"It's in our interests," Haig testified, "to continue the normalization process [with China] begun during the Nixon years, furthered during the Ford years, and furthered further during the Carter Administration."

Haig also exposed Washington's real position on the fighting between China and Vietnam. While the State Department at the time claimed it was neutral, Haig described China as a "stabilizing interest in the area," citing with approval "their punitive action against Hanoi, when Hanoi continued its activities in Cambodia."

Haig advocated continuation of the policy of playing Moscow and Peking off against each other. He asserted that Washington should maintain a "balancing act" between China and the Soviet Union.

'Good old days'

Reagan foreign policy advisor Jeane Kirkpatrick is to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, the highest post occupied by a woman in the Reagan administration. Kirkpatrick gained prominence as a vocal critic of Carter's foreign policy in Latin America.

An article by Kirkpatrick in the January 1981 issue of *Commentary* magazine focuses on "Soviet/Cuban expansion" in Latin America, which she claims Washington is not confronting. The "roots" of the problem, she writes, lie "in the Vietnam experience, less as it was fought in Southeast Asia than as it was interpreted in Washington and New York."

In her opinion, "by the time Richard Nixon had left office, a large portion of the political elite in America, including a majority of the Congress, had drawn away not only from Vietnam but from what was more and more frequently called the cold war—the revisionists' preferred term for U.S. determination to resist the expansion of Soviet power."

As an example of this retreat, Kirkpatrick points to State Department opposition last year to the coup that prevented Hernan Siles Zuazo from taking office as president of Bolivia. Kirkpatrick moans that "even five years ago, the U.S. would have welcomed a coup that blocked a govern-

ment with a significant Communist/Castroite component. Ten years ago the U.S. would have sponsored it, fifteen years ago we would have organized it."

But when it comes to making concrete proposals for today, Kirkpatrick is forced to recognize that it is still not possible to return to the "good old days," to the days before the Vietnam war. For example, her proposals on El Salvador are really no different from those of the Carter administration. She is forced to take into account the very same "lessons of Vietnam" that she rails against in the abstract. As she explained to *New York Times* reporter Bernard D. Nossiter, January 12, "I would not under any circumstances recommend support for U.S. military intervention in Central America."

Arms spending

In his testimony, Caspar Weinberger repeatedly asserted, without providing any evidence, that a "gap" had opened up in the nuclear balance between the Soviet Union and the United States. This has been a favorite theme of the Carter administration as well.

According to Weinberger, the U.S. must increase its arms spending and develop new weapons systems to close that "gap" before new arms limitation talks could begin.

Talk about a nonexistent gap is the traditional method used to try to sell an escalation of the arms race to American working people. It is an attempt to scare people into support for higher arms spending under the guise of "catching up with the Russians."

In 1956, American working people were told there was a serious "bomber gap." In 1960, President Kennedy campaigned for election on the basis of a "missile gap." In 1967, the specter was raised of an "antiballistic missile gap."

Obstacles facing Reagan

The Reagan cabinet, like its Democratic predecessor, is hell-bent on convincing American working people that they must tighten their belts, accept a lower standard of living and declining social services, and boost their spending for arms.

But Reagan faces some formidable obstacles in his path. The "Vietnam syndrome" is still alive, despite the constant propaganda campaigns aimed at undercutting it. The opposition to draft registration is an example of that, as is the opposition to the use of U.S. troops in Central America and the Middle East.

Reagan will not have any easy time getting working people to accept a program of austerity for civilians and fat city for the military. The experience of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has been trying to carry out a similar program, demonstrates that as the outlines of this policy become clear, and the effects are felt, there will be mounting resistance to this ruling class offensive.

From Intercontinental Press



Does 'overpopulation' breed poverty?

What causes the poverty of most Latin American countries?

Is it overpopulation?

Are the birth control and sterilization programs pushed by U.S. foundations and government agencies the solution to providing enough food and shelter for the Latin American masses?

The following is from an article titled "The first contraceptive to prevent population explosion," which appeared in the weekly English-language edition of the Cuban newspaper *Granma* on January 11.

Author José Benítez presents a refutation of population control theories, demonstrating that imperialist exploitation is at the heart of unemployment, hunger, and misery in Latin America.

Cuba, where the imperialists have been thrown out and capitalism abolished, is good evidence. While still a poor country, Cuba has done away with hunger and malnutrition—without population control. Birth control and abortion are freely available to Cubans as a right—not imposed on them against their will.

Thomas Robert Malthus was an English economist and a priest who late in the 18th century maintained, as a "natural and eternal law," that there was a discrepancy between the increase of the population and the means of subsistence.

He put forth the view that population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio while the means of subsistence increase only in an arithmetical ratio.

[Malthus] would not have written his famous "Essay" had he been able to foresee, for instance, what would happen with sugar in the 19th century: by 1800 the Earth was inhabited by 900 million people and close to one million tons of sugar were produced; in 1900 the population had risen to 1600 million and sugar production went up to nine million tons. This means that while the population increased by 85 percent, sugar production rose by 800 percent.

Since then science has devised methods to extract nutritional elements from sources Malthus never even dreamed of like soya beans, oil and seaweed.

A century ago, Karl Marx opposed the theories



espoused by the political economy and history professor at the East India Company's college.

"Actually," Marx said, "Malthus' work on population was a pamphlet aimed against the French Revolution and the aspirations for reform then being manifested in England."

Contemporary imperialist campaigns on birth control, "responsible parenthood," overpopulation, family planning and sterilization of women are all aimed—like Malthus' pamphlet—against the revolutionary movement and the aspirations being manifested in the underdeveloped world.

A recent AFP [Agence France Press] survey maintained that "uninterrupted population explosion and unchecked urban expansion," are "the two main dangers threatening the countries of Latin America on the horizon of the year 2000," and that the high rate of demographic growth "has already resulted in economic development being almost completely absorbed."

It is true that Latin America's population growth rate is one of the world's highest, but no less true is the fact that such unchecked demographic growth is due to underdevelopment and that underdevelopment is, in turn, the result of economic exploitation by U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchies.

The contradiction is not basically between the

population explosion and limited means of subsistence—housing, food, hospitals, schools, jobs—but between the population explosion and a mode of production that is characterized by unequal distribution of all material, cultural and spiritual goods.

By the year 2000, Latin America's population will be over 600 million. In that period, the labor force will experience an absolute growth of roughly 134 million people, or slightly more than the continent's current labor force (1980).

It is clear that the problem of providing jobs for 134 million people cannot be solved within Latin America's current structural context.

Just to keep the present rate of unemployment from increasing (at present there are 15 million jobless), Latin America would have to generate seven million jobs a year over the next 20 years.

Assuming that technical equipment worth 10,000 dollars—an extremely modest sum—is needed for every new job, the investment required to accomplish the above would come to 70,000 million dollars annually, not counting the technical level and qualifications needed then that would require an additional 20,000 million dollars annually to meet the expenses of education, teacher training and building new schools. It is estimated that by the year 2000 there will be 226 million children under 15.

Total investment between 1980 and the year 2000 would, therefore, come to the astronomical figure of 1,800,000 million dollars, a practically impossible undertaking unless radical changes are introduced in Latin America's socioeconomic structure.

The feasibility of an investment of this nature, among other important questions, would have to affect that portion of the Gross National Product earmarked for consumption, concretely, that portion made up of the five percent of Latin Americans on top of the income distribution pyramid that consumes more than one third of the GNP.

Affecting income distribution to that extent can, of course, only be accomplished with a social revolution that would solve the problems of hunger, illiteracy, poverty, backwardness, unemployment, social inequality; in short, the first contraceptive to prevent population explosion.

—José Benítez

Energy profiteers vs. environment, Indian rights

By Joanie Quinn

ALBUQUERQUE—Under the guise of "making America energy independent," plans are underway to strip mine huge areas of northwestern New Mexico.

Twenty percent of New Mexico is underlain with strippable coal. These reserves comprise 11 percent of the total available in the United States. This coal, government and industry spokespeople argue, could create jobs for thousands and, since it is low-sulfur coal, provide a huge supply of clean fuel.

Yet coal mining in northwestern New Mexico means an attack on the land rights of Indian nations and on the environment. Also, coal opera-

tors see massive coal development in the West as an avenue for weakening and eventually destroying the militant United Mine Workers of America.

Indian rights

The right of Indian nations to control these resources is already under attack.

One of the clearest signals of government intentions is a BLM pamphlet titled *Coal in the Chaco San Juan*. Ostensibly both sides of the question are presented so the public can make an "informed" choice.

"Get the Coal? Yes! But let's do it responsibly," the pamphlet declares.

"Coal mining would bring both positive and negative socio-economic impacts," it continues. "Affected most heavily will be several hundred Navajo people who might have to be moved from their homes to allow strip mining."

The Navajo have lived on this land for decades and get their living from it. Park Service employees call these Native Americans "squatters." And the federal government that stole this land—the real squatter—plans to move the legitimate inhabitants so it can be leased for the profit of the oil companies.

Tribal treaty land is also in danger. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is experienced in slick dealings with tribal councils at the expense of local communities.

The Navajo Tribe is opposing the Star Lake Railroad, a subsidiary of the Santa Fe, proposed to link coal mines to main lines. The railroad is slotted to pass through Navajo allotment land and land held in trust for the tribe by the BIA.

History of betrayals

A spokesperson with the American Indian Environmental Council has condemned government intentions, pointing to a history of betrayals from the forced relocation of the Creeks and Cherokees by the War Department to Oklahoma to the policy of relocation through starvation.

The ecological results of intense strip mining are also unacceptable. High desert is thought by most experts to be unreclaimable after strip mining

because of the extreme aridity. Boom towns could also permanently destroy fragile aquifers (water reserves in porous underground rock).

Invaluable archeological and paleontological sites would be destroyed.

Anti-union plans

Lastly, New Mexico is typical of western states where coal operators hope to wreck the UMWA.

The sixth largest state in mineral production, New Mexico is forty-third in per capita income. The main reason for this is low unionization—14 percent of the workforce.

Only 6,500 western coal miners are in the UMWA. "Right to work" laws and company harassment have kept unionization low. Western coal, if non-union, could give coal operators the strength to sit out UMWA strikes in the East.

Only a UMWA fight to organize western coal can stop the energy monopolists' plans. In New Mexico, union organizing efforts can be strengthened if the labor movement joins with environmentalists and Indians in defending Indian control of all Indian lands and in demanding an end to strip mining in the northwest.

As I see it

tors see massive coal development in the West as an avenue for weakening and eventually destroying the militant United Mine Workers of America.

Profit bonanza

Of the 9.4 million coal-bearing acres in New Mexico, the federal government owns approximately 34 percent. Currently less than one-sixth of that is leased to coal operators for mining, and even less is producing.

This is about to change. New strip mining technology and increased demand have made New Mexico coal profitable. So the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) will lift its limited twelve-year moratorium on leasing federal coal lands in 1983, unleashing a potential profit bonanza for the big energy conglomerates.

The BLM projects that 75.4 million tons, valued at over \$1 billion, will be produced annually by 1990. By whom?

Exxon is already the largest overall holder of western state leases of federal, state, and Indian lands. Gulf has the largest holding of New Mexico state lands.

The largest portion of the coal-bearing lands, however, is Indian treaty land. In New Mexico the Department of Interior estimates that 40 percent of

Coal miners strike

Less than a week before the start of national contract talks, more than 900 members of the United Mine Workers union under a separate contract in western strip mines are on strike.

The strike, which began at midnight January 15, affects five mines of the Peabody Coal Company, the nation's largest producer. No negotiations are scheduled.

Peabody has enjoyed big profits over the past several years. It is stalling on union demands for improved pension benefits and a cost-of-living clause for wages.

These are some of the same issues at stake in talks on the national contract covering 170,000 UMWA members at 130 coal companies. The national contract expires March 27.

By Michael Pennock

Does the Lockheed Corporation maintain shining ideals of truth and honesty? You might think that a company that would have the nerve to throw out of work a group of unionists for alleged "falsifications" of their job applications would at least have a fairly good record. But you would be wrong.

When you look behind the scenes, of course, you find that big business as a whole is deeply guilty of dirty dealing. But an examination of Lockheed's history reveals a corporation whose entire operation is virtually based on lies, deception, and swindling.

The Lockheed Corporation has been one of the largest war contractors since World War II. Much information about the history of the company is available in *The Grease Machine*, by David Boulton, *The High Priests of Waste*, by Ernest Fitzgerald and *The Arms Bazaar*, by Anthony Sampson.

Lockheed's current Pentagon products include the C-5A Galaxy, C-141 Starlifter, C-130 Hercules, F-104 Starfighter, missiles for Polaris submarines, and anti-submarine patrol planes. In 1979 Lockheed's government contracts totaled 1.8 billion dollars.

The U.S. Air Force's Military Airlift Command does its job almost entirely with Lockheed aircraft. During the Vietnam War, it was the C-5 and the C-141 that flew the aerial supply missions between the United States and the Southeast Asian airfields. The C-130 turboprop was the workhorse for flights within Vietnam.

The U.S. military is not Lockheed's only customer. The company is active in the international arms trade.

Two Georgia products are known on sight to millions of people around the world. One is the Coke bottle. The other is the distinctive shape of the C-130 Hercules. Lockheed has sold more than 1,600 C-130s to at least thirty-eight countries around the world. From Indonesia to the Congo, from the Philippines to Chile, the C-130 has flown troops into battle against people struggling for freedom.

... gov't stalls

Continued from page 10

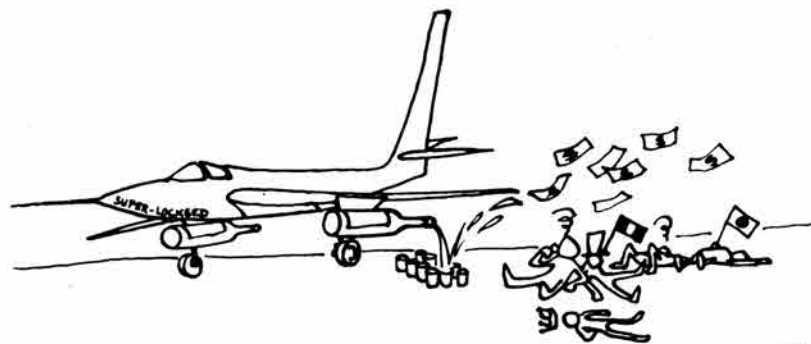
the government is willing not to disclose because of its source."

This is part of a calculated attempt to create an impression that the SWP and YSA are dangerous organizations.

At times the government's behavior approaches the ridiculous. For example, the government requested extensive information on Photo Comp Press, the shop where the *Militant* is printed.

Judge Griesa asked the government lawyer, "What gives you grounds to suspect that the Photo Comp Press is connected with the plaintiffs?"

Lying, swindling, and bribing—the Lockheed legacy



French cartoon lampoons Lockheed international bribery scandal

Lockheed's primary business motivation, of course, is not "the defense of the 'free' world." They want to turn a profit like any other business. They will do anything they can get away with to insure a profit.

After World War II the United States needed to rearm its capitalist allies in opposition to the Soviet Union and the other workers states in Eastern Europe. The scent of big money drew the interest of all the big arms makers.

Lockheed saw its chance in the production of a new supersonic fighter. Pilots flying in the Korean War said they needed a fast, highly maneuverable plane to counter the Soviet MIGs. So Lockheed produced the F-104 Starfighter, characterized by its speed, its simplicity, and its very short wing-span.

But NATO wanted a multi-purpose fighter-bomber capable of flight at night and in all kinds of weather. This was beyond the capacity of the F-104. To compensate, Lockheed added vast

amounts of electronic hardware. The weight of the plane increased significantly. The result was a plane that was in the words of the pilots, "very unforgiving." The slightest pilot error would result in a crash. And Lockheed designed the plane to eject the pilot downward in case of difficulty. Not much help on takeoffs or landings, the most dangerous parts of flying.

Grease machine

The Pentagon refused to buy the plane in numbers great enough to insure profits. Lockheed then unleashed its "grease machine" overseas. To Lockheed grease is the money used to bribe officials in order to guarantee sales.

The program was successful, particularly in Japan and Germany. Lockheed paid more than \$1.7 million to a single Japanese "sales agent," Yoshio Kodama, resulting in sales of some 230 F-104s.

In Germany influence was purchased through the office of the ex-Nazi Minister of Defense Franz Josef Strauss. Germany bought ninety-six Starfighters.

By the end of 1975, there had been 174 crashes of the plane in Germany. It had earned the nicknames "Flying Coffin" or the "Widowmaker."

Lockheed also paid out one million to Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands and a whopping \$106 million to Adnan Khashoggi to grease the machine in the Middle East.

Disclosure of Lockheed payoffs to government officials brought down governments in Italy, the Netherlands, and in Japan in their famous "Lockheedgate" election of 1976.

C-5 scandal

But Lockheed does not reserve its shady deals strictly for foreign lands. Its U.S. contracts have been the source of mighty scandals. The biggest relates

to the construction and financing of the C-5A Galaxy, the world's largest airplane.

The C-5 was supposed to be built for a fixed price. According to the 1965 contract, if additional expenses or problems were encountered, Lockheed would have to pay for them. The costs would not be added to the price of the contract. The system was supposed to discourage deliberate under-bidding.

Didn't fly

However, Lockheed quickly found it could not produce the C-5 for the quoted price. Since obtaining more money was now difficult, they cut their costs.

Henry Durham was production manager in charge of C-5 construction in the Marietta, Georgia, plant. He told a U.S. Senate panel that:

"... thousands and thousands of parts and assemblies which Lockheed inspection records showed to be installed were in fact missing from the aircraft and had not been installed. Aircraft which according to company records were complete except for planned flight line installations and a few engineering changes were in fact virtual shells."

The first C-5 to roll off the production line was missing more than 3,000 parts. It collapsed on the taxiway before its first flight and burned to a cinder, killing one and injuring another.

Durham resigned from the company. His whistle-blowing earned him intense pressure from the company and anonymous threats against his life.

Ernest Fitzgerald also tried to expose the waste in the C-5. He was a civilian cost-control expert in the Pentagon. His efforts also cost him his job. He won it back only after a lengthy public fight.

Loan guarantee

The C-5 fiasco, coupled with problems in the production of the L-1011 commercial jumbo jet, threatened to bankrupt the corporation. Lockheed became the first recipient of a huge government loan guarantee to a private corporation. It totaled \$250 million.

While no new loans have come through lately, Lockheed continues to rake in millions of tax dollars. It still churns out C-130s. Its L-1011 production continues in California. Various subsidiary companies bring in additional bucks.

They are even making more money off the C-5. The initial contract called for 115 planes, which the Air Force reduced to 81. They were each supposed to be able to fly for 30,000 hours. However, by 8,000 hours, the wings had such cracks it was feared they would fall off.

The Air Force recently signed a \$1.5 billion contract to re-wing the C-5. That is about half the original purchase price for the airplanes.

Work will begin in the next few months. It will be done by the Lockheed-Georgia Company.

... socialist fund

Continued from page 1

difficult for the government to carry out its war policies. And it will set an example of how we can fight back in our interests.

To meet this historic challenge the SWP and YSA have launched a special Socialist Fund. Our goal is to raise \$75,000 between now and April 15. The fight against government spying is an ambitious undertaking and we will need every dollar to enable us to get a broader hearing for the socialist ideas that the FBI is trying to suppress.

The fund will enable us to organize speaking tours by SWP and YSA leaders and victims of government spying; expand coverage of the lawsuit in the pages of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* the Spanish-language socialist biweekly magazine; and publish materials explaining the suit.

The government doesn't have to worry about money. It will finance its defense with our tax dollars. But we must rely on contributions from people like you.

The initial response to the fund has been inspiring. At the rally which launched the fund at a YSA convention this past December in Indianapolis over \$26,000 was pledged! Hundreds of supporters contributed from \$1 to over \$1,000.

We encourage you to contribute to the Socialist \$75,000 Fund. Every dollar you send us will go a long way in the fight to end the illegal practices of the government.

In solidarity,
Andrew Pulley
1980 Socialist Workers Party
presidential candidate
Mary-Alice Waters
Co-chairperson, Socialist Workers Party

Contribute today!

I want to contribute:

___ \$1,000 ___ \$500 ___ \$200 ___ \$100
___ \$50 ___ \$25 ___ \$10 ___ \$5 ___ other ___

Make checks payable to:
Socialist Fund

Mail to:
Socialist Fund
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Doublespeak award of the week—"United States Armed Forces cost more than they otherwise might because Americans have chosen to defend themselves as far from their own shores as possible."—*New York Times*, January 11.

Housing tip—The Reagan home in the Pacific Palisades area of Los Angeles is up for sale. \$1.9 million. But at that price they may throw in a few of his old flicks.

Our sane society—Developers in

La Verkin, Utah, are selling units in a 240-apartment condo. It's underground. Each 12'x30' dwelling includes blast-proof doors, eight inches of reinforced concrete overhead, and a four-year supply of food in the walls and ceilings. \$39,000.

Truth will out—Ex-Yippie Jerry Rubin is moving up the Wall Street ladder and is now director of business development at the Muir brokerage house. Confided Rubin, "I've really been an entrepreneur all my life."

OD—According to a current Haitian joke, a man took his sick child to a doctor who said the child was beyond help. Desperate, the man tried a witch doctor who recommended putting a picture of Lucifer under the child's bed. Unable to find one, he substituted a picture of dictator Duvalier. The baby died. He went back to the witch doctor, who responded, "No wonder. You used too strong a dose!"

For lung finish—Tobacco companies use a variety of ingredients to jazz up the flavor of low tar, low nicotine

cigarettes—including shellac.

Virtues of free competition—A slated commercial by a publisher of a children's book will hit at the danger of exposing the little ones to too much TV.

All dressed up—We thought it was a touching bipartisan note when Carter agreed to abide by Reagan's dress code for the inauguration, including black morning coat, pearl gray vest, white pleated shirt, striped four-in-hand tie, striped pants, and black shoes.

By Any Means Necessary

Black farmers' Catch-22

Black farmers. There aren't many of them left. At last count, there were little more than 40,000 in the country—primarily in the South. That's down from nearly a million in the 1920s.

In Texas, for example, Black farmers numbered close to 86,000 in 1930. That figure dwindled to a few more than 3,000 by 1970.

Most Blacks acquired farm land during the Reconstruction era from their former slave masters and through titles sold and granted by the Freedman's Bureau. Although we never got our *forty acres and a mule*.

The move to force Blacks off the land began in the 1930s and accelerated after World War II. Mechanization—particularly in cotton production, the staple crop of Black farmers—drove many from their small-acre farms. The lure to the "economically prosperous" North, that was kindled by Ku Klux Klan nightriders and Southern Jim Crow segregationist policies of the South, impelled the Black flight.

But there's one racist mechanism—that's still used today—which literally takes land away from Blacks.

It's called "Heirs Property." A third of Black-held land in the South is affected by this institution.

How does Heirs Property work?

Most Blacks who bought land under Reconstruction didn't leave wills when they died. The land passed by law to the immediate family. When they died it went to the grandchildren.

As a result, today 1,000 people could be part owners of a plot of land that's only 10 acres. The "heirs" may be scattered across the country. Many of them don't even know they have a claim to part of the property.

But the Black farmer who wants to work the land is prevented from doing so.

By law, to do anything with land that requires a government loan or subsidy—sell it, build on it, farm it, use it for collateral or credit (virtually everything that's needed to run a farm)—the farmer has to have the signatures of all the living heirs! The signatures are known as "quitclaims."

Needless to say, locating as many as a thousand relatives, of whom many are not known or dead, is a near impossible task.

Thousands of Black farmers face this problem. Another catch to the Heirs Property is that anyone can buy out any of the heirs.

A common practice for land speculators—who are

Osborne Hart



usually white—is to buy a claim. In the event that an heir wants to sell his or her part of the land and the small tract can't reasonably be divided among the holders, a court orders the sale of the property on the open market to the highest bidder (the white speculator with enough capital to outbid any Black heirs) and the revenue is shared.

The heirs have a few dollars to show, but the speculator has the land which, more often than not, has windfall profit potential.

C. Scott Graber, in his article "A Blight Hits Black Farmers," says that "Land in South Carolina's Sea Island (a popular coastal resort) and tracts in the Citronelle Oil Field (north of Mobile, Alabama) were forced on the market by this device." Graber's article appeared in *The Nation* and *Civil Rights Digest* in 1978.

Nationwide, during the years 1969-74, 42 percent of the farm land owned by Blacks was lost. The largest losses occurred in Mississippi and Alabama—500,000 and 300,000 Black-owned acres were lost respectively. Graber predicts that "one can reasonably assume that Black land ownership in the South will be insignificant by 1985."

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

LOCKHEED-FBI WITCH-HUNT. Speaker: Chris Hoeppner, union activist fired from Lockheed plant in Atlanta. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

NEW YORK Socialists Put U.S. Secret Police on Trial

East Coast rally for the upcoming socialists' trial of the FBI, CIA, and INS

Speakers:
Jack Barnes, national secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Lucius Walker, National Anti-Klan
Network

Phil Wheaton, director, Ecumenical
Program for Inter-American
Communication and Action
(EPICA)

Connie Gilbert-Neiss, assistant
state coordinator for action,
National Organization for
Women

Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m.
Ethical Culture Society

2 West 64th St., Manhattan
Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party
and Young Socialist Alliance
For more information call
(212) 533-2902

COLORADO DENVER

U.S. HANDS OFF EL SALVADOR! With slides from El Salvador. Speakers: R. Justicia, from El Salvador; Father Bill Scheer, regional director, Maryknoll Fathers. Fri., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL CRISIS. Speakers: Danny Davis, alderman; Nathaniel Clay, *Chicago Defender*; Robert Lucas, Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization; representative, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

FOUR YEARS OF REAGAN: WHAT'S IN STORE FOR AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE? Speakers: Julie Redman, Women's Health Reproductive Rights Task Force of National Organization for Women; Ramon Acevedo, Nicaraguan solidarity activist; Terry Burk, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

THE MARXISM OF FIDEL CASTRO. Speaker: Jay Ressler, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 1, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE: CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO DEFEND FIRED SOCIALISTS. Speakers: Andree Kahlmorgen, union activist fired from Lockheed plant in Atlanta; Robert Dees, Brooklyn Navy Yard worker targeted by FBI for political views; others. Sat., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave., near Broad St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

OHIO TOLEDO

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK. Speakers: Sherri Katz, attorney speaking on Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying; others to be announced. Sat., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS. Speaker: Fred Auger, Socialist Workers candidate for Portland City Council. Sun., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN INFORMATIONAL PICKET AGAINST THE HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT. Sun., Feb. 4, 4-5:30 p.m. Outside Senator Hatfield's office, Pioneer Post Office. For more information call (503) 295-2550.

RHODE ISLAND PROVIDENCE

FBI-LOCKHEED WITCH-HUNT AND THE FIGHT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speaker: Andree Kahlmorgen, union activist fired from Lockheed plant in Atlanta. Sat., Jan. 31, 1 p.m. The Knight Memorial

Library Auditorium, 275 Elmwood Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (401) 726-3657.

TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

COVER-UP: THE SANTOSCOY KILLING. Speakers: Rubén Sandoval, civil rights attorney; Ramón Valdez, member, MeCHA; Adela Navarro, Raza Unida Party. Fri., Jan. 30, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

REPRESSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA: FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN EL SALVADOR. Speakers: Bishop William Weingand, representative, Diocese of Salt Lake City; Nancy Elbert, regional director, Amnesty International; Ed Berger, Socialist Workers Party. Thurs., Jan. 29, 7 p.m. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 715 W. 300 N. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR: WHAT IT MEANS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers: Daisy Cubias, Salvadoran member, Coalition for Nicaraguan Democracy; Frank Forrester, chairperson, Milwaukee Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W. Greenfield. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

'PORTRAIT OF TERESA.' A Cuban film. By Cuban Film Institute. Fri., Feb. 6, noon, 2:30 p.m., 6:30 p.m., 9 p.m. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Student Union. Donation: \$2. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Letters

Union victory

We won! I am proud to announce that the employees of the City of Gulfport voted on January 2 for the Amalgamated Transit Union by a margin of 26-8. This victory is step one with many more to come.

We will remember the attention given to us in the [Oct. 24] *Militant*. Most of the workers saw copies of the article and I do think it was one of our best pieces of literature. We are now going into contract preparations.
Chris Townsend
Gulfport, Florida

Essential to subscribe

The library is simply too slow in distributing the current issue of your excellent paper. I find it essential to subscribe in order to keep abreast of the real world.

Please send me the next issue.
S.P.
Moscow, Idaho

War threats

The most recent declarations of both Caspar Weinberger and General Alexander Haig about the possibilities of using nuclear weapons as a way to solve military conflicts in which this country might get involved is more than a warning to all peace-loving Americans about the danger inherent in the philosophy which president-elect Ronald Reagan has been expounding during the last years.

I deem that the actions taken by so many youngsters across the nation against the draft and war preparations must show the ruling class that it won't be easy for them to launch new Vietnams around the world.

The opposition of the young people will be coupled with an increasing awareness among proletarians who are already understanding that capitalism is not the system within whose boundaries our most urgent problems can be solved.

Every peace-loving and progressive American must

begin right now to mobilize against any move by the Reagan administration to launch a military aggression no matter where or under what pretext the same might be contemplated.

It is also imperative to start struggling for an independent political movement based upon the interests of the working class with the cooperation of all free-minded Americans willing to break with the two-party system of monopoly capitalism.

Adrian J. Alpendre
Fairview, New Jersey

Getting the truth

I am a concerned militant, one who would like to keep up with the events of the Third World. I'm sure you know in Missouri it is hard to keep up with my brothers' and sisters' activity, because these Europeans and their publishing companies only print what they want to print, and I feel almost everything they print about Blacks isn't the truth. I would appreciate your help concerning this matter. If it's possible I would like to start receiving the *Militant* for the truth of my brothers and sisters of the Third World. Thank you for reading my letter.

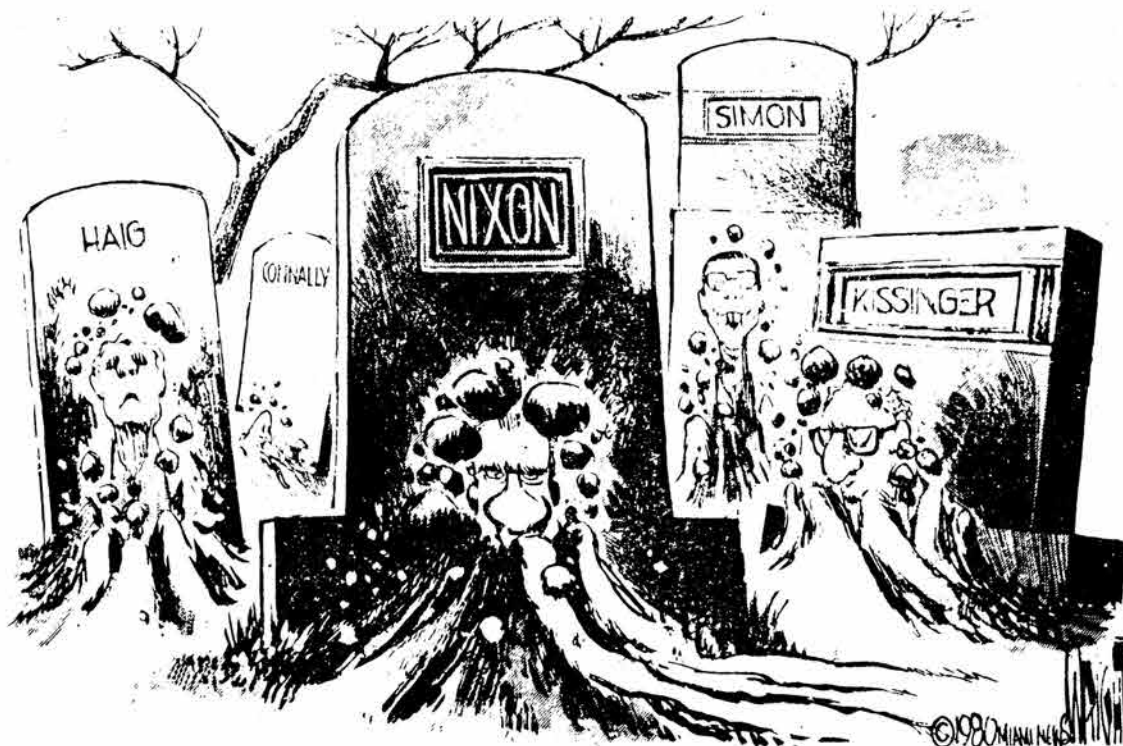
A prisoner
Missouri

'It's their money'

Me and a couple of guys I work with at a local refinery were standing around on the smoking slab the other day. (For those readers who don't know much about refineries, that's the only area where smoking is permitted.)

One of the guys, a young pipefitter who lives up the river, started talking about Iran. "I don't know why they don't give Iran their \$24 billion," he said. "After all, it's their money. All it is is their assets that have been frozen in the United States."

"It would be like if I walked into a bank and wanted my money, and the bank president wouldn't give it to me, so I



decided to hold the bank president hostage so I could get my money. All I want is my money, not anybody else's."

Oil workers are in a pretty good position to know who's really holding the American people hostage. It's our bosses—the oil billionaires.
W.N.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Sixty-cent crime

New York City Mayor Koch has been telling us the transit fares should go up again. To go with the dirt, noise and delays, now he wants to add more transit cops.

When they aren't able to harass, rough up or shoot at someone whose looks they don't like, these cops find all sorts of ways to keep busy. If you play a radio too loud, light up a cigarette, or finish off the rest of your beer, they are lying in wait.

One cop recently lucked out. A sixteen-year-old, with no money in his pocket, tried to catch the "A" train home. Now my son's a convicted turnstile jumper.

For his "crime" he spent the night in jail. The boiler was broken so he and all the other bad guys slept in the freezing cold.

They took his shoelaces so he wouldn't hang himself but told

him he couldn't call me—Jersey City would be long distance.

While I waited the eleven hours in Manhattan Criminal Court the next day I got a first hand look at our justice system.

Sitting up front were the arresting officers, decked out in designer jeans and trying very hard to look like Starsky and Hutch. They were almost all white.

In back sat the friends and relatives of those swooped up the night before. They were almost all Black or Hispanic. Two cases stand out in my mind.

A young Black man was going to be sent to jail for ninety days for stealing a radio. The judge dropped the sentence when lawyers explained that the youth was willing to join the army.

The second man, distraught over being out of work for two months, had gotten into a fight on the subway. The judge ordered him to see a psychiatrist. The man replied that what he needed was a job. The judge told him his choice was the psychiatrist or the jail.

Well, my son is back on the streets again. I noticed on his notebook, under where it says No Draft and No Nukes, he's added the letters S.T.P. (Stop

Transit Police). He might be a convicted turnstile jumper but I think he's going to grow up just fine.

M.W.
Jersey City, New Jersey

Correction

A line was mistakenly dropped from the "Reaganomics" article in the January 23 issue. The sentence should have read: "The Carter administration plans to propose a defense budget of \$196.4 billion for fiscal 1982, \$25 billion more than for fiscal 1981," the *Wall Street Journal* reported January 5.

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.

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Attempt to kill Devlin blow at Irish freedom

By Gerry Foley

Three assassins broke into Bernadette Devlin McAliskey's home early in the morning of January 16. Devlin McAliskey, one of the foremost leaders of the Irish liberation struggle, was seriously wounded, as was her husband Michael. Their children, aged nine, five, and two, were not shot.

[At *Militant* press time, Bernadette was reported to remain "very seriously ill" but had regained consciousness and was in stable condition. She had been shot seven times with a handgun. Michael was said to be in "serious" condition.]

The attackers were taken into custody by a British army unit only minutes after the shooting.

The attack on the McAliskys was the latest of a series of assassination attempts against leaders of the mass campaign in defense of Irish political prisoners. Four victims of these attacks have died.

Leaders of the H-Block campaign in Ireland charge that both British army assassination teams and Protestant murder gangs have been involved in the assassinations.

While claiming to serve as a "neutral" buffer in Northern Ireland, the London government actually relies on terrorism by elements of the privileged Protestant community to intimidate opponents of continued British rule.

Bernadette knew that her life was at risk. She had been well aware of that since the murder last June of Miriam Daly, another leader of the H-Block campaign.

Bernadette joked about the threat to her life in a calm, ironic, matter-of-fact way.

As the leader who most clearly understood how to rebuild the mass movement against British repression and how to lead it forward, she knew she was becoming a danger to the murderous jailers who hold the Irish people in chains.

In the late 1960s Bernadette had found herself in the leadership of a mass struggle. She at first had no intention of becoming a revolutionist. She only knew that her people were oppressed and that she was too proud to accept subjection.

If anyone in her community would protest against that oppression, Bernadette would be with them.

When the police and the Orange



BERNADETTE DEVLIN MCALISKEY

gangs tried to beat the demonstrations she participated in off the streets, she knew that she had to stand up to them.

Because she came from a working-class family, she was not afraid to get out in front and take the leadership and to follow the logic of the struggle to its ultimate conclusions. It was these things that led her into battle, to prison, and at last to face the guns of assassins as she was dressing her little girls for school.

The culmination of the Irish strug-

gle, as Bernadette came clearly to understand through her own experience, is a socialist revolution that will overthrow the whole system of oppression and exploitation that has been created by the robbers and tyrants that the Irish people and their forebears have fought from time immemorial, and which in our time has reached its ultimate form in capitalism and imperialism.

She saw the Irish revolution as part of a world struggle, and she devoted special attention to forging links with revolutionists of other countries.

In the mass struggle against the British government's attempt to break the spirit of the Irish political prisoners—of which she was a central leader—the outlines of the coming Irish socialist revolution began clearly to emerge.

The remobilization began with the wives and mothers of the political prisoners.

Bernadette clearly understood the potential of these women. She fought a hard and consistent fight for the strategy of mass mobilization, and she was finally able to win over the militant young leadership of the anti-imperialist movement to this perspective.

It is largely out of her fight and political vision that the H-Block campaign developed.

As the mobilizations grew for the dignity of the Irish people, represented by their heroic fighters, the decisive

contingents of the Irish people—the industrial workers organized in strong trade unions that have the power to overthrow the capitalist system and build a new society—began to move.

There were more and more strikes and walkouts of key sectors of trade unionists.

The mass movement against imperialist repression provided a rallying ground and example for the workers and youth who are increasingly denied hope by the deepening of the economic crisis.

Bernadette remains among the most clear-sighted leaders of the Irish people and the symbol of their struggle for the world.

There must be a campaign of protests directed against the British government that will make it clear to them that if they kill her or let her be killed, they will have to pay a political price so high as to deter even a ruthless and frightened imperialist ruling class.

This is also a necessary way to defend the lives of other leaders in the struggle.

Telegrams should be sent immediately to British Prime Minister Thatcher at No. 10 Downing St., London, with copies to the H-Block Committee at 30 Mountjoy Sq., Dublin 1.

Protests should also be directed to the incoming U.S. President Reagan, who invited Ian Paisley, the representative of the Protestant murder gangs who tried to assassinate Bernadette, to his inaugural.

From Intercontinental Press

SWP: 'Your courage is an inspiration'

The following telegram was sent to Bernadette Devlin McAliskey on January 17 by Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party:

Dear Comrade,

Your courage and determination are an inspiration to fighters for social justice in the U.S. and worldwide.

Get well for the sake of the heroic Irish people and for the future of a socialist world, when such brutal attacks will be only a dim memory of a dark age.

We share with you that vision of a free and united Ireland and an international socialist community.

We stand with you, with your husband Michael, also a victim of the rightist gang, and with your children Roisin, Deirdre, and Fionnann.

At the same time, the Socialist Workers Party sent the following telegram to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher:

If Bernadette Devlin McAliskey dies, there is no way your government can escape the responsibility

for her death. The assassination of four leaders of the H-Block campaign in 1980 made it obvious that her life was in danger.

This savage attack on her and her husband Michael reveals the full horror of the system that Britain has created and maintained in Northern Ireland.

We demand: the immediate prosecution and conviction of the attackers.

Grant the demands of the H-Block prisoners.

End British occupation and colonial rule of Northern Ireland.

'Kiko' Martinez—Chicano frame-up victim

Francisco "Kiko" Martinez is a Chicano activist and attorney who goes on trial in Pueblo, Colorado, January 27. He is accused of sending letter bombs in 1973 to opponents of the Chicano liberation struggle.

The charges against Martinez were first made in the midst of a fierce government campaign against Chicano groups in the early 1970s. In March 1973, police assaulted the Escuela Tlatelolco, a school run by the Crusade for Justice in Denver. One young Chicano was killed and the school heavily damaged.

That same year there was a rash of bombings and attempted bombings in the area. All had the earmarks of police provocations. Martinez was

charged with sending three letter bombs. A "shoot on sight" order was issued for him, and he went into hiding. (He was arrested in September 1980.)

In the spring of 1974, six Chicanos were murdered in two still unsolved car bombings in nearby Boulder. One of the victims, Reyes Martinez, was Kiko's brother.

These attacks on the Chicano movement were not just limited to Colorado. Nor were they carried out by the police alone. In the fall of 1976, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, the founder of the Texas Raza Unida Party, released CIA files he had received through the Freedom of Information Act.

The files revealed a concerted CIA

spy and disruption program against Chicano activists, titled "Operation CHAOS: Chicano Power Movement."

The following interview with Martinez was conducted by Silvia Zapata, a leader of the Denver Young Socialist Alliance.

Question. Can you give us a brief look at your background?

Answer. I'm from Alamosa, Colorado. That's where my parents are from, too.

My grandparents were tillers of the soil in northern New Mexico. They were the kind of people who would work in the apple orchards and then in the summer, when they didn't have

work, go to southern Colorado and work laying track on the railroads.

During my youth we were always involved in working our pieces of land.

Q. How did you get involved in politics?

A. No one is born politically mature; it's a process. I was lucky enough to get a chance to study outside the San Luis Valley. That's how I was exposed to other ideas.

One of the first things that I remember had a lot of meaning for me was the movement against the Vietnam War. I was a youth in danger of being conscripted.

It was during this period that I

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