

Kissinger report paves way for wider Central America war

Panel urges massive aid to Salvador dictatorship

BY HARRY RING

JANUARY 11 — The Kissinger commission report on Central America, slated for submission today, represents a bipartisan scheme to defuse opposition to U.S. aggression in the region. Its proposals are designed to Vietnamize the war in El Salvador, bringing the inevitable involvement of thousands of GIs even closer.

This is well symbolized by the fact that Henry Kissinger, a living reminder of the barbaric war against the Vietnamese people, was tapped to head the commission.

But there was also a purpose to dubbing

Nicaraguan government statement on death of U.S. pilot who flew into Nicaraguan territory. See page 8.

the panel the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America.

Including Democrats was designed to give a cloak of "consensus" and "national unity" to the war drive. AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland was included to give labor cover and to help curb growing anti-intervention sentiment within the ranks of the unions.

Kirkland and the other Democrats on the commission have tried to strike a posture of dissent on some of the most nakedly reactionary aspects of the report, adding a sprinkling of rhetoric about human rights and social and economic development.

(One commission member beamed that Kissinger had proven "flexible" on proposing increased economic as well as political aid. Another shrugged that Kissinger knew Congress wouldn't provide more economic aid anyway.)

The posture of social concern is a cynical hoax designed only to take some of the curse off the commission's recommendation for a major escalation of the war.

For example, the report asserts the need to pour an added \$400 million in military aid into El Salvador in 1984-85 alone. This is *six times* more than Congress has already appropriated.

Unanimous

In a National Public Radio interview this morning, commission member John Silber, president of Boston University, stressed that reported disagreements among panel members were over matters of detail and that on its basic proposals the commission was unanimous.

That, at least, is the truth. Those sections of the report leaked in advance make clear that the entire commission — Democrats and Republicans alike — unreservedly support Washington's "right" to intervene in El Salvador's civil war, and to employ counterrevolutionary exiles in a savage war to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

The report states that without drastic action, "a sudden collapse in not inconceivable."

Certainly the crisis of the Salvadoran regime is deep. The government itself is divided. The army ranks, composed mainly

Continued on Page 8



U.S. Special Forces sergeant training Salvadoran soldiers. Bipartisan Kissinger commission report lays basis for major escalation of war, including use of U.S. combat troops.

Nationalize U.S. Steel; fight to stop concessions

The tiny handful of wealthy families who own and control the United States Steel Corp. have decided to shut down eight steel mills and a total of 30 company operations across the country. In doing so they are permanently firing more than 15,000 steelworkers.

While the owners of the giant corporation will reap big financial benefits from this action, steelworkers, their families, and working-class communities in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and else-

EDITORIAL

where will suffer devastating effects. Workers in the Monongahela Valley, South Chicago, and other areas were already plagued by high unemployment due to earlier shutdowns and longterm layoffs. Now they will feel more of the misery of mortgage foreclosures, expired medical benefits and unemployment insurance, inadequate diet and hunger, as well as the attack on human dignity and self-respect that so often accompanies joblessness in this society.

These devastating shutdowns once again demonstrate that capitalism is working in the only way it can — to maximize the profits and power of America's wealthy families, no matter what the results for working people. U.S. Steel Chairman David Roderick didn't pull any punches concerning this brutal, permanent fact about the "free enterprise" system. "You can never say it's the end of shutdowns," he declared.

Roderick is right. Neither the owners of U.S. Steel nor any other corporation will keep plants open and workers on the job

unless it is profitable to do so. In order to protect workers interests, the labor movement should demand that the government take this property out of the hands of private owners. *Nationalize U.S. Steel!*

U.S. Steel's latest action is part and parcel of a social crisis facing steelworkers, and the entire U.S. working class. Tens of thousands have been tossed on the jobless heap, as the steel companies take radical measures to improve their competitive position and increase corporate profits. But steelworkers should not be forced to pay the price. The entire steel industry should be placed under government ownership and operated as a public service.

"We are in a society in which decisions are not being carried out with the sense of social responsibility to the workers in-

Continued on Page 18

Socialist candidates warn of new Vietnam

On January 11 Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, and Andrea González, SWP candidate for vice-president, released a statement denouncing the conclusions of the Kissinger commission report on Central America. Their statement follows:

The U.S. rulers are organizing a major escalation of their war against the people of Central America and the Caribbean that can only end in the direct use of U.S. combat troops. This is the meaning of the Kissinger commission report presented to President Reagan today.

The U.S. labor movement, Black and Latino organizations, and all those opposed to the Vietnamization of this region must recognize the danger and speak out against it.

The Kissinger report is endorsed by Republican and Democratic members of the commission alike, as well as AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland. At the heart of the report is the assertion that the U.S. government must defeat — by any means necessary — the people of El Salvador fighting to liberate their country. This can only mean one thing — the introduction of tens of thousands of U.S. troops into El Salvador and the rest of the region, in a war costing untold numbers of lives of workers and peasants there and of young U.S. GIs.

The report's proposals made public thus far call for a *sixfold* increase in military aid to El Salvador to carry out "U.S.-style counterinsurgency," more funds to expand the U.S. army bases in Honduras, more financing for the CIA-led exile forces carrying out rape and pillage against Nicaragua, and resumption of aid to the bloodthirsty regime in Guatemala.

But these measures are only the beginning. As the report admits, the revolutionary movement in El Salvador "is winning" today, and the dictatorship propped up by Washington could face "sudden collapse" — despite the massive infusion of U.S. guns, helicopters, bombers, and "advisers." For Washington to try to reverse this situation, a war of the scope and char-

Continued on Page 8

Lebanon: U.S. war drags on as Jackson brings flier home

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

January 11 — Washington faces growing opposition from U.S. working people, especially Blacks, to its continued war in Lebanon. An ABC News opinion poll released January 5 showed a majority favoring the immediate withdrawal of U.S. marines.

Since the massive U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, followed by Washington and its European allies' intervention in September of that year, imperialism has failed to establish a stable regime.

Armed resistance from the Lebanese and Palestinian people continues. So far, 262

U.S. troops have been killed in the Reagan administration's attempt to bolster the rightist regime of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel.

How to deal with the lack of progress in Washington's war aims in Lebanon and placate opposition at home has caused a debate and discussion.

Jackson trip

Those who favor escalating the U.S. intervention in Lebanon were quick to blast Jesse Jackson, the Black civil rights leader seeking the Democratic Party's presiden-

Continued on Page 15

At the Young Socialist Alliance National Convention, held December 28–January 1 in St. Louis, Jason Redrup, a YSA leader from Tucson, Arizona, and Billy Jacks, a leader of the striking copper miners in Morenci, were interviewed by Lee Martindale about the *Militant's* role in the strike.

In this week's column, Redrup explains how the paper was introduced to copper miners and used to build solidarity with the strike. In next week's column, we will feature Jacks' comments on the *Militant's* role and how it is viewed in the copper towns.

When the strike first started at the beginning of July, we realized

With this issue of the *Militant* we are resuming publication after a two-week holiday break.

right away that it was going to be a real important strike to us, because the copper mines are central to us in Arizona. And we thought this was a prime opportunity to bring the *Militant* out to the copper mines. So we started going out there just to sell the paper and to show the copper miners that there is a working-class group out there that supports them. We traveled to Morenci and Ajo, and we've been to Douglas a few times, and we sold quite a few papers. We started by going on the picket line, and we just walked down the picket line and sold quite a few papers.

Then we kind of shifted gears a little bit after we felt we were a lit-

tle better known in the community, that we were better accepted. Some of the strikers would even kind of defend us against the company, which tried to run us out of town, and against red-baiting, which a lot of the strikers did.

So then we went on a door-to-door campaign to get subscriptions. We'd go up to the picket line to show our support and stand with the strikers, but when we wanted to sell our papers we'd go door to door. We had the idea that it was important that if a striker wanted to invite us in that we go sit down and talk.

The object wasn't just to go up and sell papers and disappear. The object was to go up and let them know that the Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant* support their strike, and have discussions — to learn, not only to go and get our politics out, but also to learn from them.

I guess you could say we were almost ignorant about the copper industry and life in a company town, so it was a very important learning experience for the party and the YSA as a whole.

Then, as the strike progressed towards the mass picketing days in August, we had to shift gears even a little differently because of the tension in the towns. We organized ourselves into teams with team captains, and the team captain was the one who had to make quick decisions in defending ourselves from the police in these company towns. We almost got carted away a couple of times in Ajo and Morenci.

We made an effort to start reaching the strike leaders, be-



Picture from San Francisco Examiner: Greyhound workers wait for start of December 8 meeting to discuss takeback contract proposal. Greyhound and copper strikers who spoke at Young Socialist Alliance convention stressed need to sell *Militant* to get out the truth.

cause as the strike progressed they just started to come through, like Fina Roman in Morenci and others. We wanted to get to know them and let them know our position on the strike. So we did that.

Then, the week before the 10-day shutdown [last August] was over, we felt it was real important for Arizona as a whole to know what was going on, so we went on a week-long mobilization in Tucson and Phoenix and out in the copper towns. That week we sold 600 papers and 100 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva*

Mundial, using the big front-page story on the copper strike.

We also used our mayoral campaigns — we were the only mayoral candidates in Arizona who said anything about the copper strike. So we held press conferences also, around the paper and around our work in the copper towns.

More recently, as the strike has gone on, we haven't sold as many papers because a lot of the miners have subscriptions now. In Ajo they'll say, "Oh, I just go down to the union hall and read the *Mili-*

tant," or "I go over to my friend's house and read the *Militant*." So we bring our papers for people who don't have subscriptions and want to buy it, but our main work now, since we're known, is to really build solidarity, through the *Militant* and in every other way.

We've been making regular trips since the strike began. I'd say we've been up in the copper towns 90 percent of our weekends and some of us have lived up there for a week or so at a time. That's the kind of work we did over the last several months.

New York celebration of 1979 Kampuchean victory

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — Nearly 100 people gathered here January 7 to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the country formerly known as Cambodia. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos and the Southeast Asia Resource Center.

On Jan. 7, 1979, Kampuchean fighters and Vietnamese troops ousted the murderous regime of Pol Pot, who had ruled Kampuchea since 1975. During the four years Pol Pot ruled the country, as many as 2 million people were murdered or died of hunger and disease.

Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean now living in New York, told the gathering that by the time Pol Pot was overthrown, Kampuchea was in shambles, in material and human terms. Because the basic fabric of society had been destroyed, Han explained, "the aid of Vietnam, Cuba, and

other socialist countries has been indispensable" in beginning the rebuilding process.

Blasting Washington's support for the remnants of Pol Pot's forces now located along the border with Thailand, Chan Bun Han pointed out that the Reagan administration is following the same policy there as in Nicaragua, Cuba, and other countries.

The first secretary of Laos's United Nations Mission, Alounkeo Kittikhoun, also addressed the gathering. He explained that because the peoples of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam had all fought first French colonialism and then U.S. imperialism together, the three Indochinese countries had developed a common struggle and common purposes. "In addition," Kittikhoun said, "our common foes have always considered us a single target."

The meeting also saw a film of Chan Bun Han's return to Kampuchea in 1981, and slides taken by Deborah Weisburd dur-

ing her visits to that country in 1980 and 1983. Both illustrated the progress already made in rebuilding the country and the tremendous efforts still required.

Present at the meeting were United Nations representatives from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, and Vietnam. Greetings were received from the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Line of March, Workers World Party, Young Socialist Alliance, U.S. Anti-Imperialist League, and other organizations and publications.

The following greetings were sent by the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers Party to the New York celebration marking the 5th anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea.

Please accept our warm greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the liberation of Phnom Penh and the establishment of the People's

Republic of Kampuchea.

We have closely followed Kampuchea's impressive efforts to recover from the devastation of the Pol Pot years and lay the basis for the establishment of a socialist society.

Our party strongly opposes the diplomatic, political, military and material aid provided by U.S. imperialism, the Thai regime, and the Chinese misrulers to the Pol Pot-led counterrevolutionary "coalition" forces operating along the Thai border. We oppose the continuing recognition of this illegitimate gang as a member of the United Nations.

Washington's invasion of Grenada again illustrates that U.S. imperialism continues to try to overturn the revolutionary struggles in the Caribbean and Central America, as well as in Indochina.

We pledge to continue our efforts to inform the U.S. working class of the achievements of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

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With a new subscription you will receive a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers: Why the U.S. Invaded Grenada*, a recently published pamphlet that contains two speeches by Maurice Bishop.

For the past four years we have carried extensive coverage of the revolution in Grenada, including eyewitness reports of speeches and interviews with Maurice Bishop and other revolutionary leaders, and documents of the New Jewel Movement. We will continue to carry reports and analyses of the devastating blow that has been dealt to the revolution there.

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Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



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Gulf, OCAW agree on tentative pact at oil refineries

Strike deadline set at Arco plants

BY JAMES HARRIS

LOS ANGELES, January 11 — A tentative two-year contract with a minimal wage increase was reached yesterday by Gulf and then Ashland with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW).

The usual pattern — often set by Gulf — is for the other oil companies to fall in line after the first settlement is reached with a Big Oil producer. OCAW contracts with many of the oil companies expired January 7 at midnight but were extended 72 hours at the request of the union.

Arco, however, put back on the negotiating table 20 items previously agreed to, a spokesperson at OCAW headquarters in Denver told the *Militant*. Ron Rogers said Arco "is refusing to apply the Gulf settlement to all job classifications" and is demanding "total craft consolidation and flexibility" in job assignments.

OCAW set a strike deadline at Arco refineries here and in Houston, Texas, for noon today and then extended it 24 hours. A spokesperson for Local 1-128 here told the *Militant* "some progress" has been made with Arco.

OCAW represents 50,000 workers at oil refineries.

A member of Local 1-128, which represents workers at most refineries here, said many of her coworkers feel that Arco, with its demands for concessions in local agreements, is out to bust the union.

The settlement with Gulf and Ashland provides for a 20-cent hourly raise the first year of the 24-month contract and a 35-cent increase the second. Gulf workers made about \$13 an hour under the previous contract.

The company's contribution to family medical insurance is to be increased by \$10 monthly the first year and \$5 the second. Gulf currently pays \$151.50 of the \$174 monthly premium, which is to rise to \$212 in February.

The proposal must be ratified by the OCAW membership.

OCAW had demanded a "substantial" pay increase. Gulf began negotiations by proposing a one-year wage freeze and a 25-cent raise the second year.

Texaco, the third-largest U.S. oil company, is coming up with \$9.9 billion to buy Getty Oil. Texaco supervisors at its big Los

Angeles refinery freely admit that the company could well afford to grant a pay increase, but instead they are talking wage cuts.

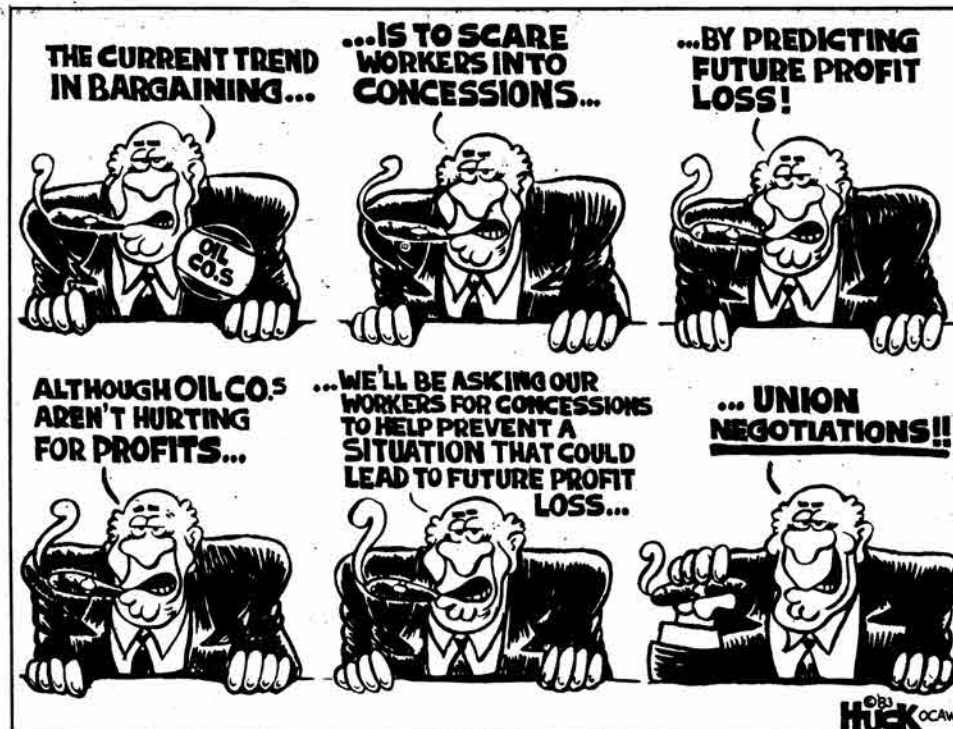
Texaco has been an industry leader in employer moves to set oil workers back to weaken or break their union protection on issues of working conditions.

In Los Angeles last fall, Texaco brought in Brown and Root, the big antiunion contractor from Texas, to do maintenance work during a shutdown. During past shutdowns, OCAW and other union workers had done this work. As many as 1,500 union workers demonstrated at Texaco gates, pointing to the even greater safety hazards that confront oil workers when labor-hating outfits like Brown and Root move in.

Reports to OCAW members on where negotiations stand indicate that local bargaining is centering around company demands to take away past gains on working conditions, especially among maintenance workers, but affecting operations as well.

Increased contracting out, crossing of crafts, reduction of crew sizes, weakening of bidding rights, longer probationary periods, and lower wages for new hires, are just a few of the companies' demands.

At Sohio's Toledo refinery, the bosses



demand what they call "total job flexibility" that would increase "minor" maintenance work done by operators.

Oil workers represented by OCAW process about half the U.S. refinery output. To effectively resist Big Oil's attacks would require concerted action and solidarity from oil workers and other workers too. A step toward mobilizing the union was taken recently when thousands of hard-hat stickers were printed, saying "I don't want to strike, but I will."

OCAW at Sun Oil's Toledo refinery called a demonstration to get publicity for its stand. Workers at the Shell refinery near New Orleans are preparing to mobilize all union members for possible strike activity.

If Arco or other oil workers are forced out on strike, other unions' support will be

crucial. Oil workers have been taking a hard look at the recent Greyhound strike, and the continuing strikes at Phelps Dodge copper mines in Arizona, Continental Airlines and McDonnell Douglas.

A labor solidarity rally of some 4,000 workers was held in Long Beach, California, in December. Striking pilots, flight attendants, aerospace workers, bus drivers, and garment workers joined in an effective demonstration of unity in the face of the employer offensive. More such actions are needed.

Many oil workers here remember that a union solidarity march in 1980 of about 4,000 workers was part of a Los Angeles port shutdown by longshoremen. It played a role in ending the three-month oil strike that year.

Auto: overtime, profits up sharply

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The owners of the auto corporations are reporting record per-car profits and a steep rise in overall profits.

They are making billions — estimates for 1983 Big Three profits are between \$6 and \$7 billion — as auto workers are forced into what *Ward's Auto World* understates as "heavy worker overtime."

The *Wall Street Journal* says the average per-car profit for the auto makers is now \$2,500, a result of raised prices and increased sweating of auto workers.

In early November, *Ward's* reports, 15 percent of autos assembled were built during overtime hours.

Because of the heavy forced overtime,

thousands of auto workers remain on layoff. The United Auto Workers calculates that for the first six months of 1983, overtime in auto cost 55,000 jobs. Without it, there would have been a quarter fewer auto workers on indefinite layoff.

UAW President Owen Bieber has reported that in the U.S. auto industry "so far in 1983, output is up 30 percent, but auto worker employment is up just 11 percent over 1982."

Since Bieber reported these figures, auto production has reached much higher rates. It is now 79 percent over the rate of a year ago, the *Wall Street Journal* says.

The forced overtime is not spread evenly for all auto workers who are working, either. While some assembly plants are

currently working every other Saturday, other auto workers put in much more overtime.

Until this month, the Chrysler stamping plant in Twinsburg, Ohio, was running 10 hours a day, *seven days a week* for most workers. This, and Chrysler's attempts to cut safety and work-rules standards, triggered a five-day strike in early November. The Twinsburg workers won the right to have every third weekend off.

Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca isn't bothered: it shouldn't make a big difference "just because a guy works Saturday or Sunday," he told *Ward's*. "I try not to, but I work overtime, seven days a week. So what's the big deal?"

Of course, Iacocca sets his own pace and schedule, which auto workers don't. And if he decides to play golf or exercise on company time, no one can object.

Then too, he just got \$4.2 million in Chrysler shares to stay on three more years. Not to mention that 70 hours a week in an executive suite is somewhat easier than 70 hours on the line.

The UAW's magazine, *Solidarity*, noted the heavy overtime in its December issue. An article titled "UAW looks at overtime, other issues: Bargaining toward shorter worktime" quoted Bieber as saying it is essential that union contract negotiators re-examine methods of reducing worktime, such as paid personal holidays and other approaches.

He mentioned "statutory paid vacations and initial[ing] overtime pay at less than 40 hours a week, while raising the overtime premium above the current level of 59 percent."

However, UAW leaders gave up paid personal holidays (PPHs) in 1982 contracts. This cost 10,000 jobs at General Motors and 3,000 at Ford.

Elimination of relief workers in many plants has also cost thousands of jobs — 500 at Lordstown, Ohio, alone — and has meant more overtime.

That the UAW officials, who have been more than conciliatory toward the auto corporations, are complaining about overtime is a reflection of the pressures building in the ranks among workers subject to horrendous hours and speedup. As *Solidarity* notes, "it's likely that several resolutions on shortening worktime will come up at the Special Collective Bargaining Convention next March in Detroit."

Freon, greed kill tank worker in Detroit

BY JANICE SAMS

DETROIT — Harvey Lee, 32, a mechanic at the General Dynamics Corp. Michigan tank plant in Center Line, was killed by freon fumes while attempting to drive a tank November 14.

As his breathing became impaired by the deadly fumes, Lee asked coworkers to turn off the tank's ventilation system, which was blowing fumes from inside the tank into the driver's compartment. Fifteen gallons of freon had been used to clean the tank the night before. Within hours Lee was dead.

Lee was the third worker in two months to be overcome by freon fumes. The other two survived after being treated in a hospital.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) estimates that the concentration of freon that overcame one worker may have been 38 times the potentially fatal level.

Company regulations — which it often ignored — allow for only about a pint of freon to be used in a well-ventilated turret.

UAW Local 1200 President James Coakley branded the death a murder. "They were fully aware of the hazards but chose to overlook them with the idea of quantity with less cost involved," he said.

General Dynamics first attempted to deny responsibility for the death, claiming Lee died of natural causes. But an autopsy report confirmed that freon was the cause of death.

Since purchasing the plant from Chrysler Corp. in 1982, General Dynamics, the biggest Pentagon contractor, has been on an offensive against its workers and their union. This has included speed-up, firings, and a dramatic increase in health and safety violations.

The company refused to stop the use of freon after production worker Charles Paling was hospitalized for a week from exposure to it in September 1983.

News of Lee's death sparked outrage in the plant and discussion about the company's callous disregard for the health and safety of the workers. To General Dynamics the freon is a good cost-saver, since its rapid evaporation allows for faster cleaning than the soap and water Chrysler used to use. "Money is worth more to them than Harvey Lee's life," as one worker put it. Workers also expressed suspicion that the company would bribe the coroner's office into fixing the autopsy.

When the autopsy report was released, UAW President Owen Bieber branded the report "a grave indictment of both this company's reckless disregard for health and safety and of OSHA's performance in insuring workplace safety."

OSHA, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, has been dragging its feet on any investigation of the freon problem. While claiming to have been looking into the matter since August 1982,

OSHA had never done even a single air sample in a tank.

"The evidence is clear that if OSHA had acted with dispatch and professionalism from the start, Harvey Lee would be alive today," Bieber stated.

Initially, General Dynamics' only penalty for the criminal death of Lee was two \$9,000 fines.

"We intend to pursue other civil agencies to get somebody to pursue criminal charges," said Local 1200 Vice-president Mike Pennington. "They've killed a man with full knowledge of what they are doing."

"Fining GD \$18,000 is like fining me 18 cents for killing somebody," one worker commented.

The Michigan Department of Public Health subsequently fined GD \$20,000.

It took the death of Harvey Lee to settle the use of freon in the plant. The company has announced it has suspended the use of freon (sold under the name Genosolv-D). There remain 39 outstanding health and safety issues in the plant.

The UAW has called for an immediate investigation of both federal and Michigan OSHA for their failure to prevent the tragedy.

Janice Sams is a member of UAW Local 1200 and works at the Center Line tank plant.

Castro explains Cuba's views in interview with U.S. news magazine

The January 9 issue of *Newsweek* printed excerpts of an interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Patricia Sethi, the magazine's United Nations bureau chief, asked Castro about Cuba's relations with the United States, including with the Reagan administration; Reagan's claims that Cuba is "exporting revolution," is a "puppet" of the Soviet Union, and that the Cuban revolution is "on the verge of collapse."

Sethi also asked Castro to comment on the U.S. invasion of Grenada and Reagan's claims that the invasion was "a serious blow to Cuba's intentions in the hemisphere." Castro also replied to questions about Cuba's relationships with Grenada, both prior to the overthrow of the workers and farmers government by the Bernard Coard group and after.

Castro explained Cuba's support for the revolutionary government of Nicaragua and the revolutionary forces in El Salvador, once again stating that Cuba would not accept relations with Washington at the price of renouncing support for those revolutions.

Castro also reaffirmed Cuba's support of revolutionary movements in southern Africa.

The magazine's printing of the interview is an exception to the silence of the U.S. media when it comes to the views of Cuba. The U.S. invasion of Grenada is an instructive example of this silence. U.S. reporters were in Cuba for several news conferences with Castro and other Cuban leaders, but Cuba's real positions were ignored or lied about, while statements by U.S. government officials were often reported at full length.

The Cuban government was forced to take out full-page ads in the *New York Times* and other papers to break this curtain of silence.

Castro's replies to Sethi's questions follow.

* * *

Present relations between Cuba and the United States are so irrational, so absurd, that I feel obliged to have a certain "historical" confidence that they have to move toward a more normal plane. The time has come for U.S. rulers to understand that the Latin America they regarded for long decades as their "natural backyard" — where they imposed and overthrew governments, where they gave orders and where U.S. ambassadors made decisions that should have been made by the presidents of the republics — no longer exists.

In the coming years, and possibly before the year 2000, Cuba will not be the only Latin American country to have chosen socialism as a system of government, even [though others] may not follow the erroneously called "Cuban Model" — which in no way do we intend to universalize. There will also be nonsocialist governments determined to prevent the transnationals' economic domination.

My rejection of the U.S. imperialist structure — a rejection that is shared today by dozens of millions in Latin America — poses very little threat to the capitalist system in the United States. I would like that capitalist system to disappear and be replaced by a more rational and humane system, but I can assure the U.S. people that I have no intention of encouraging a socialist revolution — which I still consider very distant — in the United States and which, when its time comes, will have to be led by men and women from the working class and people of the United States.

We don't reject dialogue

An ideological or philosophical reconciliation between the present U.S. administration and ourselves — and even possible alternatives to that administration in the next few years — is out of the question.

But the fact that we in Cuba keep on being socialists, and that the United States will keep on being the most important center of world capitalism, should not mean that there might not be major areas in which both countries and governments could work constructively.

We have never rejected a dialogue with the Reagan administration. There were talks between Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Vice-pres. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. Later on, Gen. Vernon Walters visited Havana and I myself held long talks with him. But we cannot say that a dialogue was established; it was rather a confrontation of viewpoints.

There is no hope for dialogue as long as Mr. Reagan keeps on thinking that what is happening in Central America is the result of malevolent orchestrations by the Soviet Union and Cuba. He fails to realize that these social upheavals have been present in Central America for 50 years — at a time when the Soviet revolution was fighting to survive and the Cuban revolution did not even exist.

I do not believe that revolution is an exportable item. I am not hiding that revolutionary Cuba has offered its active solidarity to other Latin American revolutionaries in countries where, as in the case of Somoza's Nicaragua, all democratic action and all possibility of protest other than armed struggle was ruled out by brutal terror.

Nor am I hiding the fact that when a large group of Latin American countries, under the inspiration and guidance of Washington, not only tried to isolate Cuba politically, but economically blockaded it and helped sponsor sabotage, armed infiltrations, assassination attempts, we responded by helping all those who wanted to fight such governments.

We were not the ones to start subversion, it was they. Actually, we can neither export revolution nor can the United States prevent it. Reagan is cunningly using this argument to frighten the U.S. people, by fanning a primitive anticommunism. These arguments enable Reagan to conduct a policy of overt intervention such as the one brutally carried out against Grenada, a tiny island with a population of 100,000 people.

U.S. invasion of Grenada

The events in Grenada showed that [their] forces were totally proportionate to the size of a small island constantly threatened with invasion from Miami by counterrevolutionary elements protected by the CIA. The United States had also insinuated that it could use other countries in the Caribbean for the invasion.

Regarding the airport, after the invasion it was proved that the Grenadians had wanted to build it long before the Bishop government. As for the argument that Bishop was storing "Soviet-made weapons for Cuban use," we have our weapons here for the purpose of defending our country against a possible invasion. It would be absurd to deposit 3,000 or 4,000 automatic weapons for us in Grenada.

It is true that we had set out to assist the Grenadians in establishing a communications base, but everybody knows that there are numerous similar communications bases in the Caribbean and Latin America.

Before the Grenada invasion we had lost a very dear and valuable friend with the death of Bishop. With it the revolutionary process was virtually liquidated.

The United States, in invading the island, killed a corpse and perpetrated a monstrous crime against the sovereignty and the desires for liberty and progress of the peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America. In invading Grenada, [Reagan] showed Latin America that he did not respect nonintervention and that he was de-



Prensa Latina

Fidel Castro with Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop, of whom Cuban leader said, "we lost a very dear and valuable friend" with his murder by Coard gang.

termined to continue using the "big stick" of old times.

Our position regarding the new government [on Grenada] was well known. Relations between us and the [Bernard] Coard group were very bad. Most likely, we would have finished building the airport and withdrawn from the country. Maybe we would have kept doctors there as a humanitarian gesture. But we would have reduced our cooperation. Our assessment was that the Coard group could not sustain itself after they killed Bishop. The revolution had committed suicide.

But that did not justify the intervention. American citizens ran no risk. The extremist group visited them and gave them guarantees, and we knew they were in no danger. We even informed the U.S. government to that effect 72 hours before the invasion. The entire theory through which Reagan tried to justify the invasion is false. It is a total lie from head to toe. It was a cheap political, opportunistic operation to take advantage of the tragedy within the country....

Grenada splitters

It is difficult to understand with all our embassy personnel there that we didn't know the split was taking place. That's our biggest criticism against our political staff, our diplomatic staff, and our military-cooperation staff. They had absolutely no idea what was happening. And even though Bishop visited Cuba while this turmoil was going on, he did not utter a word to me.

Now, of course, we know what happened. There was a deep ideological contradiction between Bishop and Coard. Coard presented himself as the theoretician, an intellectual intoxicated by political theory. But I am convinced deep down inside that there was great personal ambition. Only the day before Bishop was arrested did he go to our embassy and explain that there was a serious split. He said he feared he might be assassinated.

I made an appeal [to the Coard group] to be broadminded and generous. What took place in Grenada was that Coard's group was in the majority against Bishop [in the party]. This was apparently clean, it was legal, even according to democratic norms. You have to accept such a situation, even if you realize it is a mistake. We are very respectful of the internal affairs of others. If everyday you tell revolutionary governments what is right, what is wrong, that's impossible.

Our theory is that the Grenada invasion was a blow to the United States. It was a cowardly and ridiculous act. It won no glory for the United States. It only helped to heighten the fighting spirit of Nicaragua, Cuba, and revolutionaries in El Salvador.

Support to Nicaragua

We give [Nicaragua] moral support, and we have never denied that we have military advisers in Nicaragua. I don't want to help the aggressive plans of the U.S. adminis-

tration by mentioning figures. For the same reason, I will not discuss arms supplies to Nicaragua. Nicaragua is an independent country. It has a right to request arms and any independent country has a right to supply them.

Some analysts predict that Reagan, who has improved his electoral "rating" at what is called "low cost" — a the cost of nothing more or less than 20 Americans killed in Grenada — will be happy with that electoral boost and will not try new adventures. But it would be naive to confine oneself to a "rational" assessment of prospects in the light of the irrationality that moves Reagan and his visceral anticommunism to wage a "holy war" in Central America.

Reagan imposes conditions and provides no guarantees. He helps, prepares, and encourages Honduras in its threatening attitude against Nicaragua and continues supplying the Somoza counterrevolutionaries and the ARDE [Edén Pastora's counterrevolutionary Democratic Revolutionary Alliance] groups in the south all the assistance they need for their actions on both borders. At the same time, he continues preparing joint operations with Honduras and other Central American countries in the vicinity of Nicaragua. All this entails a danger that it would be naive to ignore.

U.S. intervention in El Salvador

Regarding El Salvador, it is obvious that Reagan seeks to prop up the army and absorb it from the thousands of deaths that that army has brought about among the Salvadoran people. Reagan does not seem to realize he has little time left to facilitate negotiations with the guerrilla forces, since the inexorable victory of revolutionary fighters can be seen more clearly every day and the collapse of the military may come about in such a way that it would make any negotiation unnecessary and unviable.

One would have to see then if Reagan and his collaborators would be wise enough to accept a defeat that could cause negative results in the U.S. electoral process or if, on the contrary, they would embark upon an even more dangerous adventure. That would make them assume before the people of the United States the responsibility for the death of thousands of U.S. youths dispatched to prop up a corrupt and murderous regime without any hope for a victory.

Withdrawal of advisers

[Castro was asked under what conditions Cuba would be willing to withdraw advisers from "Central America." Cuba, in fact, has advisers only in Nicaragua, while the U.S. has them in El Salvador, Honduras, and other countries in the region.]

If there is an agreement or a settlement in Central America — either through the Contadora process or discussions between the different countries involved. We cannot unilaterally withdraw our advisers from Nicaragua. That decision is Nicaragua's.

Continued on next page

'Cuban revolution did not waver'

Castro speaks on 25th anniversary of revolutionary triumph in 1959

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

HAVANA — On Jan. 1, 1959, Fidel Castro, the head of the rebel army that had just defeated the Batista dictatorship, told the people of the city of Santiago de Cuba:

"The road has been long and hard, but we have arrived.

"The revolution begins now. The revolution will not be an easy undertaking; it will be hard and full of dangers.

"The revolution cannot be made in one day, but you can be sure that we will make this revolution."

A quarter century later almost to the hour and from the same balcony, Castro addressed the Cuban people. He explained why the victory of Jan. 1, 1959, represented a genuine social revolution, unlike earlier attempts. Using the example of Cuba, he showed how a socialist revolution brings real material progress and greater freedom to working people. He ended with a look at how the Cuban revolution stands up to the challenges of today, following the invasion of Grenada and faced with the threat of a new U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Castro began by quoting some of his remarks of 25 years ago, including the prediction that "when the Cuban people is threatened it won't be just 30,000 or 40,000 members of the armed forces who will fight back, but rather 300,000 or 400,000 or 500,000 Cubans, men and women. . . . We have shown that men are not the only ones who fight. In Cuba women fight too."

This generated a huge roar of applause because one of the most dramatic successes of the last year in Cuba has been the incorporation of women into the Territorial Troop Militias. One out of four of the first half million Cubans to volunteer for the Territorial Militias was female. Three out of four of the second half million were women.

Castro pointed out that although the lan-

guage has changed, the basic ideas of the revolution were already present 25 years ago. "In those days we did not talk about a Marxist-Leninist party or socialism or internationalism. We did not even call capitalism by that name, and in fact very few people then would have understood the real meaning of the word. But everything that has happened since in our country, the incredible advances we have made politically, the historic place that the Cuban people and our ideas and national experience occupy in the world — all this is the result of the sacred revolutionary commitment we made then to the Cuban masses."

Most advanced social system

Unlike other leaderships that promised changes they could not or would not deliver, Fidel explained, "this time we not only carried out every single aspect of the program of Moncada but went much further, just as those of us who organized the attack on Moncada and founded the July 26 Movement had dreamed. The Cuban people managed to bring into being the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, a state that is the most advanced political and social system in human history."

Nobody knows better than the U.S. government the strength of the Cuban revolution, observed Castro.

"The revolution did not shake with fear or waver when it came time to make examples of the war criminals whom we had promised the masses would be punished, to confiscate the resources that corrupt rulers had stolen from the nation, to defend the right of self-determination and dignity of our people, when it came time to deal with the big exploitative monopolies of the Yankees and Cuban capitalists, to lower the cost of public services, rents, and medicines, to order the rehiring of all workers fired by the dictatorship.

"The revolution did not shake with fear or waver when it came to decreeing the

most profound and radical land reform ever to be carried out in Latin America. . . .

"It did not waver when it came to returning blow for blow every instance of economic aggression by the United States — nationalizing one by one all the U.S.-owned sugar mills, telephone and electric companies, railroads, ports, mines, commercial chains, and banks. . . .

"It did not waver when it came to uprooting racial discrimination and eliminating gambling, prostitution, drug abuse, and begging.

"It did not waver when it came to uniting all the revolutionary forces, adopting Marxist-Leninist concepts and building a vanguard party, a feisty Union of Young Communists, and strong organizations of workers, peasants, neighborhood residents, women, students, and even children and teenagers. . . .

"It did not waver in the face of the huge task of wiping out unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance, and the disastrous situation in terms of public health in this country. . . ."

Economic advances

One of the big challenges facing the Cuban revolution was that of overcoming the economic and social backwardness inherited from colonial and capitalist rule. In his January 1 speech, Castro summarized how 25 years of planned economic development had transformed Cuba. One example he gave was that now 100,000 sugar workers produce much more sugar than 350,000 workers did just 12 years ago — "and this without a single worker being left without a job."

"Today the whole world — including our enemies — admits that our public health and education systems represent achievements that cannot be matched by any other Third World country or some industrialized countries. But our enemies try to cast doubt on our gains in economic de-

velopment." Castro answered them by explaining that Cuba's economy had grown at an average rate of 4.7 percent a year over the 25 years since 1959 and that this growth meant real gains in the standard of living of Cuban workers and farmers — consistent improvement in education, health, housing, nutrition, public services, working conditions, recreation, and cultural life.

(A more detailed report on the economic and social accomplishments of 1983 and goals for 1984 was given in a report from the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. It was published and widely distributed the day before the 25th anniversary speech.)

U.S. aggression

Castro concluded his outline of the revolution's gains by saying "there is no doubt that our perspectives for the future are glorious. But for them to happen we need peace. And peace is threatened in the world and threatened in our region."

Castro explained how Washington's nuclear arms buildup and war drive presented the world with the danger of nuclear holocaust. "As part of the world, this danger threatens us. But the peoples of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and especially Latin America face an additional threat from imperialism's attempt to play world cop, its frenzied war mongering, and aggression. The brutal and dishonest invasion of Grenada and the lies and subterfuges used to justify this horrible crime demonstrate the current U.S. government's cynicism, immorality, lack of scruples, and absolute disregard for international law and national sovereignty. . . .

"Today the U.S. can indulge in the luxury of invading Grenada, of blockading economically and threatening two small countries like Cuba and Nicaragua, and of showing its claws and teeth in El Salvador and Central America. But the system of imperialist rule in Latin America is in crisis. The right-wing military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and other countries, the last bastions of capitalism and imperialism, have failed miserably, bringing these countries to a state of ruin and economic collapse. . . .

"Structural and social changes are inevitable and will come sooner or later. And the more serious and unresolvable the longterm crisis is, the more profound the changes will be.

"Cuba cannot export revolution any more than the United States can stop it. Do they think that perhaps in the future they will be able to blockade and invade the whole of Latin America? Does Reagan think Brazil is the size of Grenada?"

As Castro neared the end of his speech, he spelled out what the imperialists can expect the next time they invade. "We need peace. Peace means a brilliant and secure future for our people. But peace is not won through concessions to imperialist aggression. Concessions to an aggressor only whet his appetite and lay you open to subjugation, oppression, and surrender.

"If after its miserable action in Grenada Washington thinks the Cubans have been weakened, it is being blinded by its own stupidity. The patriotism, willingness to struggle, and revolutionary spirit of the Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans is many times greater than before and their contempt and hatred for imperialism and its bloody methods is also many times greater. Every gross new action that imperialism tries will be more costly for it, more difficult, more impossible."

The 25th anniversary celebration, which featured an award to the heroic city of Santiago de Cuba, was a solemn occasion. There were no banners or placards in evidence and very few chants from the crowd. By the time Castro's speech was over it was nearly 11 p.m. and raining, but almost no one had sought cover except some members of the U.S. press corps.

But the New Year's festivities this year are not all solemn by any means. There is a slogan one sees around Havana that expresses the confidence of Castro's speech and the Eighth Plenum report in a more light-hearted way. It says, "25 years, and we are doing fine."

Castro interview on U.S. relations

Continued from preceding page

The Nicaraguans have said they are ready to freeze the purchase of all arms, they are ready to withdraw all advisers if the United States withdraws its advisers from Central America and if all weapons supply to Central America stops.

The U.S. administration does not accept this because it is not interested in such a policy. The Reagan administration knows that without its military support and presence, the Salvadoran government could not remain acceptable to its people. The U.S. administration is not interested in a solution. It is interested in a policy of intervention and force.

U.S. threats against Cuba

Reagan usually threatens us with blockades and military aggression. This would, of course, be irrational, in violation of all laws, but Reagan has proven that he cares little for reason and law. We prefer negotiation to confrontation, but we also reiterate that no threat of confrontation will make us retreat. Anyone who seeks to invade us will not only clash with modern, powerful, and well-organized revolutionary armed forces, but will also find the resistance of millions of organized, trained, and armed citizens. The United States would need millions of soldiers — which it does not have — just to occupy Cuba. And in the end, the invading troops would have to withdraw in defeat.

Kissinger commission

Even if I had the opportunity of calling Mr. Kissinger, I would not pick up the phone because I have nothing to talk to him about. I have no trust in him. He gave us examples of his personality during the Vietnam War. In a coldblooded manner he planned the bombing and murders of thousands of people. I'm certain he's playing Reagan's game. The Kissinger report will be an aggressive and reactionary one. It will be a mirror reflection of Reagan's intentions.

[The interviewer asked Castro if, in return for U.S. diplomatic, economic, and technical relations with the United States, Cuba would stop supporting Nicaragua, Angola, and such revolutionary movements as the Southwest Africa People's Organization.]

They would be asking a price too high for our honor and for our principles in exchange for material benefits that we are not too interested in. But even if we were interested in those benefits we would not be willing. We could never pay such a price.

Reagan has sought to establish "linkage" between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The United Nations has condemned that "linkage." For its part, France has withdrawn from the contact [negotiating] group and other countries appear determined to follow. Hence, the United States will lose the capacity to maneuver and the problem will come squarely under UN jurisdiction.

Relations with USSR

Our revolution is a truly autonomous one. But it was fortunate for us that the Soviet Union existed. We would not have been able to survive if we had not found a market for our sugar, if we had no access to fuel and oil supplies for our country, if we did not have access to a supply of weapons, which we needed for defense against the threat of invasion, as in the Bay of Pigs, against assassination plots and acts of sabotage. I'm not concerned with statements by Reagan [that Cuba is a puppet of the USSR], he's a total liar. It's a traditional charge against us. We have no puppet complex whatsoever. The Soviets do not have a single property in Cuba. There are mutual relationships and influences, but they are as independent from us as we are independent from them.

'Collapse' of revolution

If the Cuban people had not been deeply identified with their revolution, we could have been crushed, since the powerful

United States has used all possible forms of aggression against the Cuban revolution. It is our people who sustain it.

This is not a blind, noncritical adherence. On the contrary, if you walk in the streets and hear Cubans talk without their noting that you are not Cuban, you will find that they are very explicit when speaking about the things they find wrong. We are aware of the fact that much has yet to be done. But we are advancing. At the beginning all we had were ideas. Now, we also have experience.

For the first time, Cubans are masters of their own country. Nobody can belittle them for being Black or discriminate against them for being women. Their social status is not determined by their income. To find a bed in a hospital in case of illness, or a job, they no longer have to humiliate themselves if they are men or prostitute themselves if they are women, as used to be the case.

Our economy has grown at an approximate annual average rate of 4.7 percent over 25 years, one of the highest in the continent despite the U.S. blockade. And, in Latin America, we are the second country in food consumption per capita. In the fields of health, education, culture and sports, we rank first among Third World countries and better than many industrialized countries. It would surprise you if I tell you that in proportion to the total populations, there are more illiterates and semi-illiterates in the United States than in Cuba.

There is a strange opinion abroad that this is my revolution and that once I pass away, it will pass with me. Let me tell you that whether Fidel is here or whether Fidel passes on, that revolution will go on. There is a collective leadership here. We are a united people here, and we have thousands of cadres with a high level of knowledge and experience in working together in the same direction, toward the same goal. This is not Fidel's revolution; this is the people's revolution. And I don't worry about the future.

U.S. Steel slams gate on 15,000 workers

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

On Dec. 27, 1983, U.S. Steel Corp. announced a devastating new wave of plant closings and permanent layoffs. The nation's largest steel corporation will cut its steelmaking capacity 16 percent by closing eight plants completely and cutting back operations at many others. Some 15,400 steelworkers will lose their jobs for good.

The impact of this decision will be widely felt, as some 30 different U.S. Steel operations will be affected. In addition to the toll on steelworkers and their families, entire cities and towns that are economically dependent on the steel industry will be hard hit.

One such area is western Pennsylvania where 5,574 steelworkers will now lose their jobs permanently. Most of these will be in the Monongahela Valley-Pittsburgh area where 4,806 workers will be thrown out of work. This will have a deep impact on the steel towns of Duquesne, West Mifflin, Homestead, Braddock, and McKeesport.

In Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 790 workers will lose their jobs when U.S. Steel shuts its mill. When Big Steel takes the same step at its Cuyahoga Works in Lorain, Ohio, 1,105 workers will be on the street.

Another major target of U.S. Steel's axe is South Works in South Chicago. This mill, which once employed 18,000 workers, will be reduced to a mere shell. Like the mills in the Mon Valley, South Works had already been devastated by layoffs. Plans for a new rail mill are now cancelled and 3,103 jobs will be cut permanently leaving only some 800 workers.

In neighboring Gary, Indiana, 2,580 jobs were cut at the Gary Works, U.S. Steel's biggest.

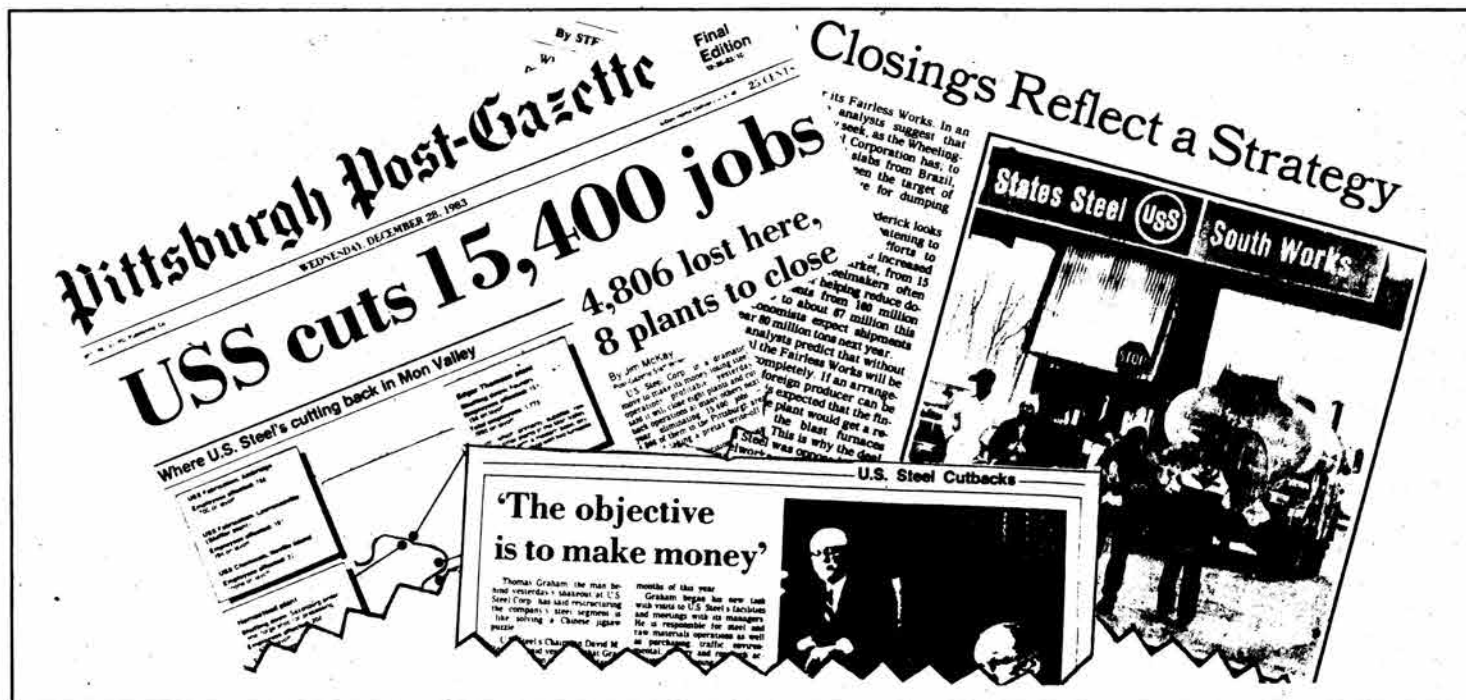
While roughly two thirds of the affected workers were already unemployed, many maintained some hope of recall. But the giant steelmaker's action demonstrates that one of the employers' goals as the upturn in the business cycle continues is the further restructuring of basic industry, including cutting jobs wherever possible. Lynn Williams, acting international president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) termed U.S. Steel's decision "a crushing blow."

It is the biggest such move in four years. In 1979 U.S. Steel made a similar decision to shut down 15 plants and throw 13,000 steelworkers permanently out of work. Exactly one year to the day before U.S. Steel's latest announcement, Bethlehem Steel took an almost identical step, dropping its capacity by 15 percent and eliminating some 10,000 jobs.

Competition, imports, "mini-mills"

This restructuring of the steel industry is aimed at raising the level of corporate profits. "It really makes sense to abandon those businesses," said Wall Street steel analyst David Healy. "U.S. Steel will be a leaner and smaller organization with higher profit potential," he predicted.

U.S. Steel's top corporate officers, David Roderick and Thomas Graham,



spelled it out. "Our overall objective is to make money in steel," declared Graham.

"You can never say it's the end of shutdowns," Roderick threatened. "You always have to keep your facilities competitive."

Sharp international competition in the steel industry is an important factor in the crisis of profits that U.S. Steel and others are trying to solve at steelworkers' expense. The domestic steelmakers continue to seek import restrictions and other government action to protect their competitive position.

At the same time, while announcing that a planned deal to import steel slabs from Britain had fallen through, Roderick made clear that U.S. Steel would continue to seek import deals that would improve their profit margins.

Roderick also cited the growth of steel "mini-mills" in the United States as a factor in Big Steel's plant closings. Mini-mills are generally smaller operations that do not make steel from scratch and produce a limited product line, primarily with nonunion labor. Many produce bar, rod, and wire — products that were produced at many of the mills U.S. Steel is closing.

Roderick pointed to the lower labor costs at these mini-mills (not only in wages, but in benefits and the absence of union work rules) as the main reason Big Steel will not compete with them.

Profit drive

Behind all of U.S. Steel's decisions is the relentless drive for profit. It is this, not steelworkers in other lands or unorganized steelworkers at home, that threatens the very existence of the USWA and the interests of its membership. U.S. Steel is spearheading the industry assault, but others are not far behind.

Republic Steel and the LTV Corp. (owners of J&L Steel) are planning to merge. The result will be the nation's second largest steel company. Once again the interests and needs of steelworkers and their communities will be of no concern to the

steel profiteers. A new wave of plant closings and layoffs will follow the merger as the new corporation moves rapidly to shut down less efficient operations in favor of more modern and profitable ones.

U.S. Steel and other big steelmakers are not pulling out of the steel business. Re-profiting the steel industry also includes significant new investment. As it announced the new shutdowns, U.S. Steel also announced plans to invest \$300 million in continuous casters (the single most important modernization step in the U.S. steel industry today) at the Gary and Fairfield, Alabama, works.

This too is part of the steel barons' strategy. They plan to make less steel, but make more money doing it. Far from becoming completely dependent on foreign steel producers, the domestic industry will maintain a yearly capacity of some 50 million tons.

War on union continues

From the beginning, attacks on the standard of living and union rights of steelworkers has been at the center of the steelmakers' profit drive. The companies scored a big victory in March when they succeeded in reopening the basic steel industry contract, slashing wages and benefits, and weakening union work rules that protect jobs, safety, and health. The steel barons saved an estimated \$3 billion.

Prior to U.S. Steel's latest announcement it demanded, in effect, that the union again reopen the agreement. Wielding the threat of more plant closings as a club, it demanded "local concessions" that would have rendered the industry-wide contract meaningless.

It attempted to divide the union by "whipsawing" one USWA local against another. Those that accepted the blackmail could expect their plants to remain open, said the company. Those that refused would get the axe.

However many rank-and-file steelwork-

ers and some local union officials had begun to draw some lessons about concessions as a strategy to save jobs. At South Works the company had already demanded and won local concessions as part of a plan to build a modern new rail mill. It also got big tax breaks and other government aid.

Even this wasn't enough insisted U.S. Steel. It threatened to scrap the rail mill plans unless the union granted sweeping new givebacks. These included changes in everything from wages to coffee breaks, but of key importance was company insistence on its right to "contract out" work previously done by USWA members to non-USWA workers. This could have cost the USWA half of the jobs at South Works.

Most important, the industry-wide contract covering wages, benefits, and work rules in unionized basic steel would have simply no longer applied in a traditional center of the USWA. This could have opened the door to similar steps at other plants. It would have dangerously weakened union power in dealing with the company and could have led to more nonunion labor in the steel industry.

"It would have been a betrayal of the men and women who have worked in there for 20 or 25 years," said USWA Local 65 President Don Stazak.

Grievance committee Chairman Michael Ally said "the sentiment of 98 percent of the people," in the plant was that the union leadership "better not give up anything." Ally called earlier concessions, which he had supported, "a big mistake."

The company presented "a list of impossible demands," Stazak explained. "They know that no decent union would accept such a thing."

Local 65 member Ike Mezo explained, "At some point a worker takes a stand and says enough is enough. We ain't taking it anymore."

John Ortiz, a worker with 16 years seniority, summed up the sentiment against the union-busting blackmail: "No more," he said. "Close U.S. Steel up. They want to do it. Let's do it."

Challenge to union

Rank-and-file sentiment that the price demanded by U.S. Steel was just too high, and that concessions wouldn't guarantee saving jobs anyway, made itself felt in the top circles of the USWA officialdom. The upcoming March 29 special election for international union president also put the top officials on the spot. While they agreed to keep negotiating with U.S. Steel, a December 13 International Executive Board meeting adopted a unanimous stand against further wage concessions.

Following U.S. Steel's announcement Lynn Williams demanded a "national industrial policy," to stop "destruction of America's steel industry." He renewed the USWA officialdom's plea for more import controls.

The idea of government action is a good one. The type of action proposed by Williams is a dead end. Winning effective government action to defend U.S. Steel's latest victims and all workers requires mobilizing the union ranks to act on the growing understanding that they have no common interests with U.S. Steel or the other corporations.

Socialists discuss role in USWA election

BY VICTOR WALTERS

How can the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) respond to the new attacks by the steel corporations? How can the union defend the more than 15,000 workers who just got the ax from U.S. Steel and mobilize to prevent further union-busting moves? What can the union do to win the seven-month strike by USWA members and other unionists in the copper towns of Arizona?

These were among the issues discussed by socialist steelworkers who met at the recent Young Socialist Alliance national convention, a few days after U.S. Steel's shutdown announcement. Many of those at the meeting were members of the YSA. Others were members or active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party.

The meeting discussed and adopted a report presented by Geoff Mirelowitz on behalf of the SWP's national trade-union steering committee which organizes party efforts in the union movement. Mirelo-

witz, a former steelworker laid off when Bethlehem Steel shut the pipe mill at its Sparrows Point, Maryland, plant, explained that these questions, and others, can now be discussed by USWA members in the course of the campaign for international union president.

A special membership referendum election is set for March 29. A sharp power struggle in the top USWA officialdom has led both International Secretary Lynn Williams (the acting international president) and International Treasurer Frank McKee to declare their candidacies. They are being challenged by Ron Weisen, a long time opponent of many of the policies of the top union leadership and president of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead plant near Pittsburgh.

The recent industry attacks pose all issues of union policy and strategy more sharply. Mirelowitz said that the election and the discussion in the ranks of the union are an important opportunity to explain

socialist solutions to the problems faced by steelworkers and the entire labor movement. These ideas (as the editorial on page 1 explains) include immediate relief for U.S. Steel's latest victims and all the unemployed, a massive public works program, a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and the nationalization of U.S. Steel and the entire industry.

Socialists can also expect to get a better hearing for the idea of independent, working-class political action to fight for these demands. The socialist steelworkers decided to take the campaign of Mel Mason for U.S. president and Andrea González for vice-president to as many steelworkers as possible.

Mason will be touring the copper towns of Arizona to express his solidarity with striking workers. González will be going to steel centers like Chicago to talk to steelworkers who are victims of U.S. Steel's profit drive. Both candidates will explain

Continued on Page 17

'Women of Maggio' receptive to visit by SWP candidate

Food workers' strike in 7th month

GONZALES, Calif. — Maggio, Inc. is the biggest shipper of carrots in the world. The workers at Maggio have made the Maggio family rich enough to establish an empire of vast landholdings, houses, cars, horses, and financial investments.

On July 2, the workers at Maggio — carrot packers — were forced out on strike when the company slashed wages from \$6.50 to \$5.00 an hour, eliminated medical benefits, job security, pensions, vacations, and even time off to go to a relative's funeral or serve on a jury if called. In addition, Maggio instituted a new plant-floor rule: anyone leaving the production line to go to the toilet can be dismissed on the spot. Maggio refuses to negotiate with the food packers' union, the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers Local 78-A, an affiliate of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

Out of the 200 workers formerly employed by Maggio, over 90 percent were women, most of whom are Latina. It has been the women — now known as "The Women of Maggio" — who have kept this strike alive. Every day since July 2, up to 27 women have been on the picket line regardless of weather conditions.

On December 21 Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason, who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, and some of his supporters visited the picket line to declare the campaign's support for the strike.

When campaign supporters showed them copies of the *Militant* with an article on Mason's campaign, the strikers were anxious to meet Mason and talk with him. They were elated to find out that Mason's vice-presidential running mate — Andrea González — is a Latina.

Mason told them that his campaign was a pro-labor campaign that supported workers, not the bosses. He said that by forcing them out on strike, Maggio was attempting to bust their union. His campaign, said Mason, was opposed to union-busting and called for a fighting union movement as one means of defeating the bosses' drive to crush these vital workers' organizations.

The workers were pleased to know that Mason is also a city councilman and that he had consistently used his office in support of strikes. One worker said that she had never known any elected official who supported strikes.

One of the strike leaders named Connie had met Mason at a Seaside community meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. The theme of that meeting had been "Why Working People Need Unions." Connie spoke at this forum and explained what the strike at Maggio was all about.

On the picket line Connie spoke extensively with Mason and his supporters. She pointed out that out of the 200 original workers most had found other jobs. Twenty-seven women are picketing and only 12 have scabbed.

"Maggio has replaced all of us with scabs from Gonzales and the surrounding area," she said. "We know a lot of these scabs, so they hide their faces when they drive through our picket line."

She pointed to the need for union-to-union solidarity in order to beat back union-busting and noted that they had received food and food certificates from the local Meatpackers union. "We need union solidarity," said Connie. "We need men as well as women from other unions out here with us." She remarked that when there are no men on the picket line the women are subjected to threats and verbal abuse by management personnel and male scabs.

Connie talked glowingly about the support they received from striking Greyhound workers who walked their picket line one day — "That was one day no one insulted us."

She and other strikers were glad that the Greyhound workers had settled and were back at work. "Even though the contract

isn't all that good, at least they still have their jobs and their union. They can still fight again later."

At one point during the morning a Safeway truck pulled up to the plant gate and the driver asked what was going on. When informed that the workers were striking against Maggio, the driver said, "I'm supposed to pick up a load of carrots, but I'm a Teamster, I'll just tell them [Safeway] that I don't cross picket lines." This brought cheers from the pickets. Connie was quick to point out, however, that when there are no men on the picket line, the drivers usually cross it despite protests from the strikers. "It would help us a lot if these drivers would refuse to pick up their loads," she said.

Newly arriving strikers were glad to hear that a local city councilman and presidential candidate was out picketing with them. They gathered around Mason and questioned him about his campaign.

"First of all, workers must begin the fight for real political power," said Mason. Without political power workers will not be able to stop companies like Maggio from forcing them out on strike and destroying their unions. He further explained that workers must have their own political party — a labor party independent of the Democrats and Republicans — to fight on a day-to-day basis in the interest of workers.

"The Democrats and Republicans represent the bosses, not the workers," explained Mason. "Do you see any Democrats or Republicans out here with you?" The strikers shook their heads no. "With a labor party, said Mason, "we could put our own candidates in office — unionists like you and me — who would fight for our rights and for laws to guarantee those rights. The only 'friends of labor' we have are ourselves!"

Mason used the example of the striking copper miners in Arizona to make his point. Mason pointed out that these miners' unions all supported the Democratic "friend of labor" Bruce Babbitt when he ran for governor of Arizona.

"Now that he's in office, what did this 'friend of labor' do when the miners went on strike? He sent the National Guard and



Militant/Larry Lukehart
SWP presidential candidate Mel Mason (left) with pickets of the struck Maggio, Inc. carrot packer.

the state police against the miners. Does this sound like something a real friend of labor would do?" asked Mason. Again the strikers shook their heads.

Mason explained that what made his campaign so different was the fact that it did not ask minorities, women, and other workers to continue to participate in parties that have only shown them hostility, racism, and sexism. "My campaign calls for a labor party that will lead the fight to establish a government of workers and small farmers, a government that would not allow a company like Maggio to put workers out of work," he explained. "Instead, if Maggio said it couldn't make a profit, the government would take over Maggio and place the company in the hands of workers for them to run in their interest."

All of the strikers agreed that this kind of government was needed, but, as one striker said, "that will take a long time."

"Of course it will," replied Mason. "There are no shortcuts to solving our problems. My campaign poses a long-term perspective of struggle to bring about the kind of society that will function in our interest. There is no other way."

The workers were quite interested in Mason's position on undocumented workers. Mason had been on television a few days before and announced his opposition to California Gov. George Deukmejian's policy of withholding benefits from migrant workers who cannot prove what date they arrived in this country or whether they are legal residents. "Undocumented workers are not responsible for the massive problems we face," said Mason. "I'm for

full rights for undocumented workers, including their right to organize themselves in unions."

Another source of excitement for the strikers was the presence of Ken Collins on the picket line. Collins recently beat an attempt by his employer, Hyatt Hotel of Monterey, to frame him up on arson charges. Collins is a member of Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 483 and was strike captain in that union's strike against Hyatt in 1982. He is organizing youth support for Mason and is a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Despite having been on strike for nearly six months, unable to get unemployment benefits, and their strike fund depleted, the Maggio strikers raised \$50 for the Ken Collins Defense Fund. "We felt it was necessary to defend another unionist," said one striker. "This was our fight too."

The strikers are calling for a boycott of all stores that buy Maggio carrots. Safeway is one of the biggest outlets.

Mason vowed to take the message of the Maggio strikers across the country to build national support for their strike. "Your struggle is an inspiration to other workers to fight back against the bosses," Mason told the strikers.

When Mason and his supporters left to return to Seaside, they could hear the strikers cheering and shouting "¡Viva La Huelga!" — Long Live The Strike!

Contributions and messages of solidarity should be sent to: Women On Strike At Maggio, Inc., Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers Local 78-A, UFCW, 909 E Alisal St., Salinas, Calif. 93905.

Anti-Vietnamese violence intended in arson

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Three Vietnam veterans were charged January 4 with burning a Buddhist temple in Hawley, Massachusetts.

The veterans, who have pleaded not guilty, are patients at a Veterans Administration hospital in Northampton, which is about 20 miles from Hawley.

Three days earlier, a newspaper reporter received calls from someone claiming to be a member of a group of Vietnam veterans who had burned "a Vietnamese pagoda" on New Year's Eve.

The caller reportedly said, "Our enemies, the ones who killed our friends, they are brought here and given businesses and a new start but they treat us like a piece of garbage. We can't get jobs. We can't even afford to feed our families."

There have been a number of violent attacks on Vietnamese in this country, including by the Ku Klux Klan in California and Texas. In addition, a Chinese-American was killed by a Chrysler foreman in Detroit.

These racist attacks reflect attempts to blame unemployment and other social problems in this country on immigrant and foreign workers instead of fingering the real perpetrators — the employers and their government. Such attacks should be roundly condemned by working people whether the targets are Japanese auto workers, Vietnamese, Mexicans, or Haitians.

Vietnam veterans face a host of problems: unemployment, cutting back of so-

cial programs, and emotional stress, plus injuries and disabilities from wounds or chemicals such as Agent Orange. Putting the blame for these problems on Vietnamese immigrants — who are victims of Washington like the veterans — makes it more difficult for veterans to fight for their rights.

Significantly, many Vietnam veterans, and the veterans' groups that are closest to the Vietnam vets, understand that blaming Vietnamese is wrong and does not further vets' interests.

Greg Kane, a spokesperson in New York for Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA), told the *Militant* it is "really unfortunate that some veterans attribute their problems to the Vietnamese."

Although such views "are not typical of Vietnam veterans, including those with [war-caused] stress problems," he said, "they are not uncommon."

VVA members in Massachusetts "have offered to rebuild the pagoda because they feel so bad about it," he added.

He also said there "is some dispute" that the three arrested vets were responsible for the arson.

Veterans who blame the Vietnamese for their problems are wrong to do so, he said: "Their complaint is with the government, not the Vietnamese."

"Their Vietnam experiences are the cause of their stress," he said, adding that responsibility for that lies with the U.S. government's Vietnam policies.

The government is also responsible, he said, for not providing proper medical care for disabled or emotionally disturbed veterans.

The stress ward at the Northampton VA hospital is overfilled and understaffed, he charged.

Tod Ensign of Citizen Soldier, a GI and veterans rights group that has done an extensive study of Vietnam veterans, confirmed Kane's charges.

Ensign pointed to a VA mental facility in Michigan that has just five trained psychotherapists to deal with 1,500 resident patients plus numerous outpatients.

The VA, he said, "has by and large treated these veterans with psychotropics, [heavy sedatives or mood-changing drugs] or confinement."

Ensign also noted the military's racist portrayal of Vietnamese and other Asians as subhumans during training, and war crimes committed under orders in Vietnam.

Veterans who have been traumatized by such experiences, he said, "are victims of the U.S. government's war policies in Vietnam, just as much as those who came back in boxes, or like the Vietnamese who were killed and maimed."

Vietnam veterans can't overcome trauma from killing or burning villages, he said, without "facing facts that can really hurt" while Reagan is instead "asking them to engage in moral amnesia."

Kissinger report paves way for wider war

Continued from front page

of impoverished peasants dragooned into sevice, increasingly refuse to fight and many surrender at the first sign of battle.

In contrast, the liberation forces, led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), are steadily gaining in military power and popular support.

This was dramatically demonstrated December 30, when rebel forces overran a big military base at El Paraíso, and then 48 hours later destroyed a key bridge, severing the Pan American highway east of San Salvador.

An increased flow of guns and dollars to a bankrupt regime will not reverse this situation. That's why the Reagan administration — and the commission — is preparing public opinion for sending in GIs.

But they also demand that the Salvadoran regime hang on as best it can. That's why the commission proposes a six-fold increase in military aid.

The report proposes "leasing" additional helicopters to the Salvadoran regime. These would be maintained and supplied by U.S. forces in Panama. From this, of course, it would be a short step to add new GI "advisers" to participate in missions to ensure the choppers were being properly utilized.

No negotiations

The commission hammers at the theme that there must be victory in El Salvador — that a "stalemate" cannot be accepted.

"In guerrilla war," the report asserts, "a stalemate is not the same as a balance of power. It is in the nature of such a war that the insurgency is winning if it is not losing, and the government is losing if it is not winning."

Rejecting the FMLN's proposal for a negotiated settlement of the war, the report declares that victory for Washington's side must precede negotiations.

In a move to widen U.S. intervention in the region, the report favors open resumption of military aid to the murderous regime in Guatemala — although the report itself acknowledges the "brutal behavior" of Guatemalan security forces. It concedes they have murdered dissidents in the cities and "killed indiscriminately" in the countryside.

To further regionalize the war, the commission recommends creation of a Central American Development Organization, which would include the seven countries of the region — with a U.S. director. Efforts would be made to involve West European countries in such a project. The declared purpose would be to promote economic development in the area. It's a cruel joke to suggest that such a setup would actually do anything to ease the poverty suffered by the people of Central America. But it would be a handy vehicle for drawing broader forces into the war against the liberation movement.

The report does toss a bone to Congressional liberals, and others, who say they

favor intervention in El Salvador only if linked to human rights progress by the regime there.

The purported difference between the commission and Reagan on this issue has been played up by the media. But this too is a fake.

No conditions

As if to underscore that its human-rights language is but window-dressing, the report declares that making aid to El Salvador conditional on democracy must not be "self-defeating."

It baldly asserts that the "threat to terminate such aid if the human rights situation does not improve lacks credibility in that it clearly conflicts with U.S. security objectives."

And, as if to underline its contempt for human rights concerns, the commission strongly recommends repeal of current legislation barring U.S. aid to foreign police forces.

In El Salvador, the commission argues with a straight face, "the fact that no assistance can be given to police organizations reduces the incentives ... for improved human rights performance."

The report presents all these proposals in response to the unfolding socialist revolution in Central America. It declares that the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979 was a "decisive event" in the Americas, matched only by the revolutionary victory in Cuba 20 years earlier. Recognizing that the Salvadoran rebels are advancing toward the same goal, the report argues that U.S. imperialism cannot suffer another such defeat.

U.S. power to influence events



U.S. "advisers" training Salvadoran soldiers

worldwide, the report asserts, would be significantly eroded by "the perception that we were unable even to influence events close at home when we ourselves had a vital interest in those events."

"The triumph of hostile forces," the report continues, "would be read as a sign of U.S. impotence. It would signify our inability to exercise our power."

Last July, a White House policy paper

proposed formation of the bipartisan commission in order to promote its war policies in Central America. The paper explained, "The present U.S. policy faces substantial opposition at home and abroad; an increased effort would have to surmount even greater opposition." This surely will be the case as Washington carries out the next stage of its war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Socialists hit danger of new Vietnam

Continued from front page

acter of Vietnam is inevitable.

But a U.S. victory in such a war is far from inevitable. Not only are the workers and peasants of El Salvador and the whole region determined to defend their right to self-determination arms in hand, but the U.S. working class opposes such a war.

The Kissinger commission was established to help pave the way for another Vietnam that must be carried out openly against the will of U.S. working people. This is why the commission members include prominent Democratic politicians, liberals, and AFL-CIO President Kirkland.

Kirkland's collaboration with this war commission is an outrageous betrayal of the labor movement. He is not representing the interests of U.S. trade unionists, who oppose in their great majority sending their sons to die in Central America. He is furthering the interests of the owners of the auto, steel, and oil corporations he is supposed to be defending us from!

Kirkland and the Democratic Party representatives on the commission claim they have scored some "victories" against Reagan in the report, by inserting a few phrases here and there about concern for human rights, land reform, and death squads. These phrases are mere window-dressing to disguise what the report really says and the fact that there is *bipartisan agreement* on the fundamental policy toward Central America, the policy Reagan has already been carrying out with bipartisan approval from Congress.

The report is written to confuse U.S. working people into thinking we have a common stake with our employers in going to war. It says "we" have a "vital interest" in halting the process that began with the socialist revolution in Cuba 25 years ago, inspired the 1979 revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, and today is being followed by the masses in El Salvador.

But the "we" the report is talking about are the bankers and industrialists who consider Central America and the Caribbean their backyard, where they can freely exploit cheap labor and resources. Their "vital interest" lies in preserving this source of profit by maintaining puppet governments that suppress the workers, their unions, and their rights.

U.S. workers have absolutely no interest in going to war to bolster this oppressive system. Every country wrenched from the grasp of these imperialist exploiters is a victory for us. Our vital interest lies in defending the freedom struggle by our sisters and brothers there, first and foremost by helping get the U.S. government off their back!

The report says that the prospect of the Salvadoran people succeeding in a revolution like the Cubans and Nicaraguans did is a "direct threat to U.S. security." But it is the U.S. capitalists, not U.S. working people, who are threatened.

What is it that the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions have accomplished that the U.S. rulers consider a threat? The workers and peasants of these two countries overthrew tyrants beholden to the U.S. corporations and established governments that act in the interests of the impoverished majority. These workers and farmers governments have moved to secure democratic rights for the masses — the right to form unions, legal equality for women, an end to racial discrimination. Although the re-

sources of both Cuba and Nicaragua had been stripped bare by U.S. imperialism, the revolutionary governments took immediate steps to provide land to working farmers, child care, schools, hospitals — the very things the U.S. government is taking away from us today.

It's this example — of what workers and farmers in power can accomplish — that Washington wants to crush by force and violence. They know it will inevitably spread not only throughout Latin America, but to the United States itself.

The Kissinger report tries to cloud the issue by promising big economic aid packages and programs for democratic reform in Central America. We need look no further than the U.S. invasion of Grenada to know what this aid and democracy is all about. Last October 6,000 U.S. troops stormed the tiny island of Grenada, bombing homes and hospitals and shooting or arresting thousands of young Blacks who had been part of the revolution there. Not only have democratic rights been suspended there, but unemployment and inflation have both soared as Washington "renovates" the island to make it a profit haven for U.S. tourist companies.

This arrogant, racist invasion was also supposed to protect "our" security interests.

If we were in office today, we would withdraw all U.S. military personnel from Grenada. We would immediately pull out the "advisers" in El Salvador and the thousands of U.S. troops in Honduras. We would cut every cent of the aid going to the regimes in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and to the counterrevolutionaries attacking Nicaragua. And we would dismantle all U.S. military bases, from Panama to Cuba, whose only purpose is to impose U.S. imperial will on the people of Latin America.

We also pledge to do everything possible today through our election campaign, to help organize opposition to the U.S. war. We will urge the trade unions, Blacks, and Latinos to discuss, speak out against, and take action against the growing U.S. intervention. We will defend GIs who exercise their constitutional right to oppose the war. And we will call on all our campaign supporters to get involved in antiwar protests that can unite the broadest possible forces against Washington's aggression.

Nicaragua statement on U.S. pilot

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, January 12 — The front page of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* reports the downing of an unmarked military helicopter that had violated Nicaraguan airspace just south of the Honduran border yesterday.

According to the statement by Nicaragua's Ministry of Defense, the helicopter flew more than eight miles into Nicaraguan territory. It was fired on by the Sandinista army, took evasive action, and subsequently crashed just 200 yards across the Honduran side of the border.

The aircraft was one of eight providing reconnaissance and supplies for more than 600 counterrevolutionary troops who have been trying to establish a beachhead on the Nicaraguan side of the border. There has been heavy fighting in the area, near Jalapa, since January 8.

Conflicting statements have been issued by the U.S. and Honduran governments as to whom the helicopter belonged to.

An initial version, issued by the Honduran government, claimed the helicopter was a UH-1H helicopter belonging to the Honduran air force. It said the pilot, Second Lt. Leonard Castellano Ardón, had

been killed and that six crew members had been injured.

A second version, issued in Washington by the Pentagon, said the helicopter was an OH-58, belonging to the U.S. Air Force and flown by a U.S. pilot. The Pentagon claimed the aircraft was "on a routine mission in support of engineering activities" in northern Honduras, and that the pilot had been gunned down after a forced landing on the Honduran side of the border.

A statement issued by Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry deplored the death of the pilot and urged that the incident not be used as a pretext to widen the U.S. war against Nicaragua. It said in part:

"The government of Nicaragua, having learned of the official communiqué of the U.S. government, deplores this incident and sends its condolences to the family of the dead pilot. Understanding the gravity of the situation, it hopes that this incident, a direct consequence of the U.S. military presence in the area, will be the last in which the blood of U.S. soldiers is shed on Central American soil. It also hopes that this will not be used as a pretext to aggravate even further the already critical situation in the Central American region."

North Korea denies responsibility for Rangoon bombing

BY ARTHUR HUGHES

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) December 12 issued a detailed statement denying involvement in the October 9 bombing in Rangoon, Burma, which killed 17 South Korean officials, including four ministers in dictator Chun Doo Hwan's government.

The foreign ministry statement followed the November 22 through December 9 trial by the Burmese government of two men it identified as being North Korean agents. The two were charged with planting and setting off the bomb.

Pres. Chun Doo Hwan and his entourage were on a state visit to Burma at the time of the blast, which occurred at a wreath-laying ceremony at a Burmese national shrine. Chun was in a car, a mile away from the Martyr's Mausoleum when the powerful claymore mine was detonated in the shrine's ceiling.

Chun gunned his way into power in 1980 following a bloody internal war within the South Korean government which left the previous dictator assassinated. Chun, whose regime Reagan recently embraced during a state visit to South Korea, is also known as the "Butcher of Kwangju" for his murderous repression of the student-led 1980 rebellion in that city in which at least 250 people were killed by his troops.

The DPRK statement accuses Chun himself of engineering the Rangoon bombing to provide a pretext for crushing the current wave of protest in South Korea against his dictatorship. "Now the anti-U.S. struggle for independence" the statement reads, "and antifascist struggle for democracy of the patriotic people and students is daily gaining momentum in south Korea and the traitor Chon Du Hwan ... is being driven into a serious fix within and without. To extricate himself out of the blind alley, it was necessary for the traitor Chon Du Hwan to produce a shocking drama."

Despite Chun's efforts to whip up sympathy for his regime following the Rangoon bombing, he now faces the largest, and increasingly anti-U.S., student demonstrations since he took power.

According to the December 8 *Wall Street Journal*, "student demonstrations are stronger and police responses more forceful than at any time in Mr. Chun's regime. One recent night, according to diplomatic sources, police rounded up 3,000 to 4,000 students and removed them from downtown Seoul to keep protests from spreading to the capital."

Many students see the United States and its 40,000 troops stationed in South Korea as the chief prop for the dictatorship.

The DPRK statement makes several points regarding the investigation of the bombing and the subsequent trial and conviction of the two.

- Both the South Korean and U.S. governments were immediately given a free hand in compiling "evidence" and intervening in every aspect of the investigation.

The day after the bombing the South Koreans arrived with a high-level delegation demanding a joint investigation and "the United States ... under the cloak of 'technical support to investigation in Rangoon' sent to the spot a 'special team in charge of it' consisting of U.S. State Department officials with agents of U.S. CIA as its nucleus," according to the statement.

- The convictions were based on the "confession" of one of the accused who, along with the other accused, was in terrible physical shape at the time of the trial. The statement quotes the Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun* as saying both "suspects seemed to have difficulty in moving only a few days before the trial. One could scarcely [speak] and the other lay with his intestines exposed, awaiting medical treatment." It goes on to quote a description of their condition from a South Korean radio broadcast: "When the suspects were brought to the court one was 'minus his left hand' and the other 'looked formidable, his right hand missing and eyes blinded, and he had difficulty in walking.'"

The Burmese government claimed the two had attempted to blow themselves up with hand grenades when captured. The DPRK Foreign Ministry questions why the Burmese authorities staged the trial with the accused in such a state: "Those who witnessed the 'trials' said ... that it was dubious if the 'suspects' would clearly understand what was going on about them."

Between the time of his arrest, a few days after the bombing according to the Burmese, and October 30, the suspect who later "confessed" told South Korean interrogators that he was from Seoul, the capital city of the south.

- There was no material evidence linking the suspects or North Korea to the bombing despite all the help received from the U.S. and South Korean "technical assistants."

- The North Korean embassy in Rangoon and all its personnel were under constant surveillance leading up to the Chun visit, yet the Burmese government claimed the assassins were living in the house of a DPRK official for two months after having allegedly jumped ship in Rangoon harbor.



U.S.-backed South Korean dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan, facing growing demonstrations for independence, democracy, uses "north scare" to stifle dissent. Above, Chun's paratroopers kick students during popular rebellion in Kwangju in 1980.

The statement notes the Burmese government never tried to get the one suspect who is said to have confessed to identify the DPRK official or in any other way try to confirm his story. Instead Burma broke diplomatic relations with North Korea and expelled its entire staff on November 6. Regarding the "confession" and its aftermath the statement notes:

"It was officially reported that on November 3 ... the 'suspect' who had been 'in mental derangement,' 'confessed' that he was an 'operative' sent by our Republic.

"We are, of course, in the dark as to what method of fabrication was applied to this 'suspect' in the course of investigation. ... But, what is surprising and strange above all here is that, on the day following his 'confession,' the Burmese authorities held an 'emergency Cabinet meeting,' as if they had been waiting for it, and hastily took a step of severing diplomatic relations with our Republic and ordering our Embassy to leave Burma, without tak-

ing off time to make a scientific confirmation of the truth of his confession."

- The breaking of diplomatic relations with the DPRK and the precipitous trial was carried out by Burma both because of the stick, in the form of threats from South Korea, and the carrot of economic aid coming from Japan. The foreign ministry quotes the *Tokyo Times* of November 25 as saying: "It is said that if Burma refused to sever diplomatic relations with the north, south Korea would put pressure upon her, threatening that it would break off relations with her."

"So Burma was forced to choose one of the two. In other words, the announcement [of the break in relations] of the Burmese government is a product of a political settlement. ... Burma, which is troubled with the economic problem chose south Korea backed by the United States and Japan after comparing the north and the south.

"Burma is tilting its neutral policy to the West with her economy plunged into the worst situation of international payments from 1975." As soon as Burma had shown its good faith by severing relations with the DPRK, Japan offered emergency economic aid and a loan of \$187 million. The statement points out that Burma already owes Japan \$1 billion.

Fusion of groups in FMLN nears

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) announced December 16, 1983, that fusion of the five revolutionary organizations within the FMLN into a single party is now on the agenda. The statement was signed by the heads of all five organizations, which are the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), Communist Party, People's Revolutionary Army, Armed Forces of National Resistance, and Central American Revolutionary Workers Party.

"Little by little the reasons for the existence of different revolutionary organizations [within the FMLN] are disappearing," the statement said. "The eagerly

awaited objective of integrating all revolutionaries into a single party is already clearly looming on the victorious horizon toward which we are marching.

The statement — which marks a giant advance for the Salvadoran revolution — was issued following a major political development in early December 1983. The first week of December a new group, the Revolutionary Workers Movement-Salvador Cayetano Carpio (MOR), publicly announced itself in El Salvador. It is a split from the FPL.

The second week of December, the FPL released a major statement condemning the split action of the MOR and its decision to promote the factional policies of Carpio. The FPL statement said the splitters had rejected decisions made at a meeting of the FPL Revolutionary Council last August.

That meeting voted to find Carpio, the FPL's former commander-in-chief, guilty of ordering the April 6, 1983, assassination of Melida Anaya Montes (known as Commander Ana María, the FPL's second-in-command). It condemned Carpio for the assassination and for committing suicide a week later after the murderers had been caught. It also condemned Carpio's factional policies within the FPL and the FMLN as a whole, policies that had blocked progress toward greater coordination in action and fusion of the groups into a united FMLN. (See December 30 *Militant* for the FPL statement and a full analysis of it).

The FPL statement was printed in full December 13 in *Barricada*, newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, and *Granma*, newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party. The Spanish language weekly *Granma* also carried the statement December 25, and the Cuban magazine *Bohemia* ran an article about it in

its December 23 issue.

In its December 16 statement, the FMLN General Command commended the FPL for exposing and rejecting Carpio's factional policies and declared, "Today, the FMLN is more united and solid than ever. Its present capacity to make more rapid advances in the political and military spheres ... is based on a greater degree of coordination and cooperation among its forces and a higher level of morale and combative enthusiasm. These are the fruits of the consolidation of our unity."

In a dramatic demonstration of this, FMLN forces overran and destroyed one of the Salvadoran army's most modern bases, El Paraíso, on December 30. Two days later, the liberation forces captured and destroyed the Cuscatlán bridge, the largest in the country.

The FMLN statement also pointed to the impact its progress toward fusion will have on the international movement in solidarity with the Salvadoran struggle. Unification of the revolutionary groups in the FMLN has been "urgently called for" by the international movement, the statement noted, as well as by the Salvadoran people.

The factionalism of Carpio had not only damaged unity within El Salvador, the statement explained, but "transcended the borders of our country, affecting the cohesion and confidence of the international solidarity movement toward our struggle."

The FMLN's strides forward in overcoming these problems creates a favorable situation for organizations and individuals in the U.S. solidarity movement to discuss steps toward united action here against the U.S. war on El Salvador. This discussion is all the more necessary and immediate today, as the U.S. government prepares for a major escalation of its intervention in Central America.

Pickets hit Puerto Rican witch-hunt

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — Amid newly installed concrete walls, erected as part of the city's "antiterrorism" campaign, 30 people picketed the Federal Court in Brooklyn on January 9. Pickets demanded that criminal contempt charges against Michele (Shelly) Miller and Sylvia Baraldini be dropped.

Miller and Baraldini, whose trial before Judge Sifton began on January 6, face prison terms for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury supposedly investigating the clandestine Puerto Rican group called Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN) but in reality is witch-hunting the Puerto Rican independence and socialist movements.

In 1983 alone, six Puerto Rican activists called before the same grand jury as Miller and Baraldini also refused to cooperate. They were later convicted of criminal contempt. Three have been sentenced to three

year prison terms while three others are awaiting sentencing.

Judge Sifton opened the trial on January 9 by explaining that the defendants could present their reasons for not testifying before the grand jury, including their political views as part of their defense. But, he added, he may advise the jury to disregard their testimony as he had already done in one other case of criminal contempt arising out of the grand jury witch-hunt.

In a brief statement to the press, Miller explained that she and Baraldini were being prosecuted because of their opposition to the U.S. government's policy of oppression at home and abroad. Miller also blasted the terrorism hysteria being whipped up by the U.S. government. "The terrorism in the world today," she explained, "is the U.S. invasion of Grenada, not the struggle of oppressed people to free themselves."

YSA discusses El Salvador, Grenada, building

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

ST. LOUIS — On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution, hundreds of young U.S. workers gathered here to celebrate that victory at a rally climaxing the 23rd national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The convention was held December 28-January 1.

A central theme of the YSA convention was the advancing socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean, the Marxist leaderships at the head of this process, and the role of U.S. socialists in mobilizing opposition to the escalating U.S. war in that region.

The YSA convention also voted to endorse and build the 1984 Socialist Workers Party election campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president. In addition to the rally celebrating the Cuban revolution, a highly successful SWP campaign rally took place during the convention (see story on page 12).

Message from Grenadian leader

Recent events in Grenada and El Salvador were at the heart of the YSA convention discussion and a major topic at the Cuba rally.

A highlight of the Cuba rally was a message from Don Rojas, press secretary of Maurice Bishop, the murdered Grenadian prime minister. Rojas's speech saluted the contributions of the Cuban leadership to the Grenada revolution. He denounced the U.S. invasion of his country and the overthrow of Bishop's government that paved the way for that invasion. Despite the enormous setback brought about by these events, Rojas declared, they have "not destroyed the spirit and example of the Grenada revolution."

Although Rojas worked as a journalist in the United States for many years, and his wife and children are U.S. citizens, he has been denied entry into this country by the U.S. government. Thus, he delivered his message to the rally here by videotape.

Barry Sheppard, a national cochairperson of the Socialist Workers Party, also addressed the rally. Speaking on behalf of the SWP's Political Committee, Sheppard centered his remarks on the development of revolutionary leadership in the 25 years of the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban victory, the SWP leader said, marked not only the opening of the socialist revolution in the Americas, but brought "the appearance on the world scene — for the first time since the Russian Bolsheviks — of a Marxist leadership of the caliber that we've seen developed by the Cuban revolution."

The triumph of revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979, Sheppard pointed out, was a big step forward in the development of Marxist leadership. Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and Grenada's New Jewel Movement (NJM) led by Maurice Bishop established workers and farmers governments that began mobilizing the masses to overcome imperialist exploitation and take steps toward the construction of socialism.

Recent events, Sheppard said, showed the mettle of these leaderships — above all the Cuban leadership. He pointed to the role the Cuban leadership plays throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

Sheppard noted the recent statements from El Salvador by the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) and the Farabundo

Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), rejecting the factional policies that have prevented unification of all the revolutionary groups in the FMLN.

"This," Sheppard said, "has opened the way for not just unity in action of the revolutionaries in El Salvador, but of their fusion into a single vanguard party. And that's a necessary step that must be taken for the revolution to win."

In this process of forging a single vanguard party in El Salvador, Sheppard noted, the Cuban leadership has played an important role. "Not through intervention into the Salvadoran revolutionary movement. Not bureaucratically going in, telling them what to do — but through political leadership, by going through their experiences with them, and, together, drawing the lessons of these experiences."

Leadership tested in defeats

Sheppard said the caliber of the Marxist leaderships in Central America and the Caribbean has been tested in defeats as well as victories. He pointed to the example of Grenada. Maurice Bishop, he said, not only set an example of leadership through the four and a half years he led the Grenadian government, but also by his actions when a secret faction in his party, led by Bernard Coard, placed him under house arrest and overthrew the workers and farmers government.

"I want to talk about comrade Bishop's last act, which took serene political leadership in addition to physical courage," said Sheppard. "There are some who try to throw dust in our eyes about the events in Grenada. They say, 'Well, something was wrong there, and everybody was to blame. Coard was wrong, but Bishop shouldn't have taken up arms or attempted to take up arms against him.'"

"We should reject that and see things clearly. The Coard group overthrew the workers and farmers government of Grenada."

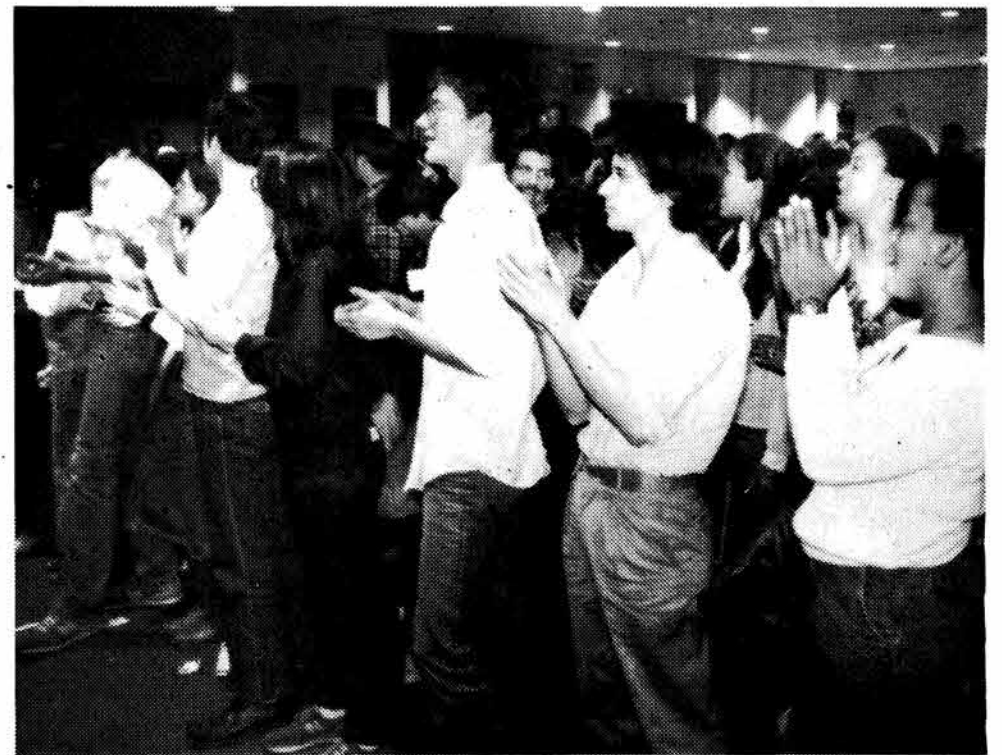
"And what did Bishop and those around him do? On October 19 they organized an armed uprising to attempt to take the government back. Five thousand workers were organized to free Bishop from house arrest. Between 25,000 and 30,000 people were mobilized to come into St. George's, which has a population of 12,000, and they went to Fort Rupert. The soldiers there went over to the masses, preparing the way for an armed uprising."

"Was it correct for Bishop to lead such an attempt? We say it was correct. Not only because it was the only chance to reestablish the power of the workers and farmers against the counterrevolution, but also because it set an example for the workers of the world. It helped make clear what really happened in Grenada, and showed the road forward."

Once again, Sheppard noted, Fidel Castro and the Cuban leadership team led the world working class by telling the truth about what happened in Grenada and drawing the correct lessons from those events.

Tchula 7 fight

Many of the speakers at the rally linked their own struggles with the example of the Cuban revolution. The impact of Cuba on fighters for Black liberation was shown in the remarks of General Vann, a leader of the fight to free Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7. Carthan was the first Black



Part of crowd at December 31 solidarity rally. Delegates to 23rd national convention events in Grenada and El Salvador, noting in particular how Cuban revolution class movement.

mayor of Tchula, Mississippi. When he sought to carry out measures to help Blacks and other working people, he was thrown in jail on frame-up charges, including murder.

"The state tried to make an example of Eddie Carthan," noted Vann. The former mayor used his power "to better the lives of his people — that's the reason the state hated him. That's the same reason the U.S. government invaded Grenada. The same reason it plans to invade Nicaragua. The same reason it hates Cuba."

Gary Watson, a steelworker, spoke at the rally on behalf of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), section of the Fourth International in Canada. Watson reported important developments in the Canadian labor movement, including a statement by the Canadian Labor Congress, the Canadian counterpart to the AFL-CIO, against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

The RWL was holding its convention in Montreal at the same time as the YSA convention in St. Louis. The Montreal convention also hosted a solidarity rally (see story below). A full report on the RWL convention will appear in a future issue of the *Militant*.

Other speakers at the rally here in St. Louis included Victor Mashabela, representing the African National Congress; Frank Rivera, of the Organization in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala; Arturo Taca, of the Movement for a Free Philippines; Sebastián Vázquez, from the Association of the Nicaraguan Isthmus of Central America; Harold Lovell, a leader of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement; and Rev. Ted Braun, a minister with the United Church of Christ in Carbondale, Illinois.

The rally was chaired by Héctor Marroquín, a national YSA leader who was born in Mexico and is threatened with deportation because of his revolutionary ideas, and Dagne Vicente, a Cuban-American member of the YSA who has been active in the solidarity movement here.

Delegates discuss U.S. war

During the four days of the YSA convention preceding the rally, delegates discussed and adopted a series of reports on the perspectives and tasks of the YSA in the coming year. The discussion was rooted in the fact that the YSA is an organization made up in its majority of young industrial workers. Sixty-seven percent of the delegates were working in industry. Twenty-two percent were members of oppressed nationalities and 52 percent were women.

The first report and discussion was on "Imperialist War and the Advance of the World Revolution." The reporter for the YSA's National Executive Committee (NEC) was Peter Thierjung.

Thierjung began by explaining that "The war being carried out today by the U.S. government in Central America and the Caribbean is at the center of world politics."

"This frontline battle between U.S. imperialism and the workers and farmers fighting for their liberation," Thierjung said, "is aimed at preventing the extension and consolidation of the American socialist revolution opened by the triumph in Cuba 25 years ago."

Discussion of the recent events in Grenada and the lessons to be learned is at the center of the YSA's work in solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean today, said Thierjung.

The publication by Pathfinder Press of the new book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* provides the YSA with an important way to participate in the discussion taking place among solidarity activists and workers in this country. More than 300 copies of the book were sold at the convention, which was a good beginning for the national campaign to distribute this book.

Taking up the new steps toward fusion of the revolutionary organizations in El Salvador, Thierjung said, "the greater unity being forged toward building a single vanguard party in El Salvador will give impetus to a whole new stage in the discussion in this country around the perspective of unity in action against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

The events in Grenada and El Salvador will prompt many individuals and groups in the United States to assess anew the divisions that have blocked united action by the solidarity movement here in the past."

U.S. solidarity movement

Overcoming obstacles to united action in the solidarity movement, Thierjung said, is essential for building a broad anti-intervention movement, oriented to mobilizing the power of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

The discussion under this report and in a solidarity workshop held during the convention showed that YSA members have made building such a movement a central activity. Many delegates described their work in building speaking tours for revolutionary Salvadoran trade unionists, such as Sonia Galán and Salvador López. The tours have been aimed primarily at reaching U.S. trade unionists and the Black and Latino communities.

Other delegates, such as Paco Sánchez and Derek Bracey from Los Angeles, spoke about problems in the solidarity movement. They indicated that solidarity groups in their city have, at times, organized counterposed demonstrations for the same goals.

But the current moves toward unity in the FMLN in El Salvador will help overcome these problems in the U.S. solidarity movement, they said.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Militant/Nancy Cole



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Left to right: Andrea González, YSA national chairperson; Stuart Crome, national organizational secretary; and Peter Thierjung, national secretary.

g revolutionary working-class leadership



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Young Socialist Alliance assessed re-
set example for the world working-

Grenada solidarity work was the most intensive activity of the YSA over the fall. Participating in the many protests against U.S. invasion, YSA members also took part in the political discussions provoked by the Grenada events. Selling the *Militant* and *respectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* was a central part of the YSA's participation in this discussion.

The convention also heard reports on the activities of socialists in other countries against imperialist war. Paula Frampton, a member of Revolution Youth in Britain, spoke about work in solidarity with the Grenada and Salvadoran revolutions in her country, as well as the recent battle by miners there against union-busting. Korikur Högnason, of Fylkingin, the Icelandic section of the Fourth International, discussed the activity of his organization in protests against NATO in Iceland and against imperialist intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Greetings were sent to the convention by the National Committee of Revolution Youth in Britain and by the International Workers League of Puerto Rico. The Association of Vietnamese in the United States, World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, New York Antonio Maceo Brigade, as well as others, also sent messages.

S. political situation

The prospects for building the U.S. revolutionary socialist movement in 1984 were taken up in the NEC's political report given by Rich Stuart. The report explained how the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean will affect the class struggle in this country and the political tasks flowing from that assessment.

Stuart explained that Washington must wage war. World imperialism is in a crisis, he said, which cannot be solved short of a major new expansion of imperialism. The imperialists must drive down the standard of living of working people at home and abroad. They seek to squeeze hundreds of millions of workers and farmers, and will use force and violence to do so. This world conflict is escalating, and is centered in Central America and the Caribbean.

"What do we mean by saying a new Vietnam is coming in Central America?" asked Stuart. "During the Vietnam War Washington committed hundreds of thousands of troops — 2.5 million soldiers killed in Vietnam. Tens of thousands of them died in Washington's attempt to impose its rule on the Vietnamese people."

A war of the same scope will occur in Central America.

Massive U.S. opposition to the new Vietnam will develop, Stuart said, only if it is led by and based in the working class and the unions. "Our solidarity work today," Stuart explained, "is in preparation for this."

Even in the initial stages of Washington's war, opposition has developed among working people. YSA delegates discussed the reaction of their coworkers to the invasion of Grenada. One delegate, an Illinois coal miner, described how right-wingers on his job were emboldened by the U.S. invasion. They singled out socialist miners and threatened them.

Other coworkers, led by Black miners, came to the socialists' defense. They — like most workers — felt that antiwar and socialist views have the right to be expressed.

Tied to the escalating war in Central America is the U.S. capitalists' war on working people here. The bosses, Stuart explained, aim to drive down wages and speed up production even more. The social gains made by Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women are being attacked.

But, Stuart said, the capitalists cannot accomplish their goal without taking the industrial unions head on. "The bosses' attacks on these unions are taking many different forms," Stuart said, "from outright union-busting to gradually weakening the power of these unions through imposing concessions."

There have been an increasing number of defensive strikes in which workers have fought back against demands for concessions or union-busting attacks. Stuart pointed to the striking copper miners in Arizona and the strike against Greyhound as examples of this growing fightback.

On the front line

In 1979 the YSA decided to have the majority of its members get jobs in basic industries organized by the major industrial unions. This decision, Stuart said, has placed the YSA on the front line of working-class battles.

In adopting this political report, the YSA reaffirmed this orientation and the decision to concentrate its forces, at the current time, in nine industrial unions: the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); International Association of Machinists (IAM); International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); International Union of Electric

Workers (IUE); Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW); United Auto Workers (UAW); United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); United Steelworkers of America (USWA); and the United Transportation Union (UTU).

During the convention, meetings were held of YSA and SWP members and active supporters who are active in each of these unions. Many of the meetings, including those of UAW and USWA members, were noticeably larger than similar meetings over the past two years. This is due to the upturn in hiring and the attention socialists have given to extending their influence in these unions.

Most of the meetings revolved around specific developments in each union. USWA members discussed how socialists should participate in the upcoming election for international union president. Coal miners discussed the recent UMWA convention and the upcoming showdown with the coal operators when the soft coal industry contract expires in September. Union contracts with the big oil companies begin to expire in early January and socialists in OCAW discussed new takeback demands put forward by Gulf, Texaco, Tenneco, and others and the strikes that may result.

The meetings of workers active in ACTWU and the ILGWU showed that socialists are making progress in getting hired in union garment shops and textile mills and are becoming more familiar with the political life of both unions.

The YSA convention itself demonstrated that this work in industry has brought the revolutionary socialist movement into contact with many fighters in the factories and mines, as well as on the land.

Among those attending their first YSA convention was Billy Jacks, a 30-year-old copper miner from Morenci, Arizona. He had never heard of the YSA before the copper strike, but came to the convention, he told the *Militant*, "because they're concerned about working-class people, women, Latinos. They're concerned about the human race."

As an organization of young industrial workers, the YSA has also attracted the interest of farmers seeking alliances in their fight against foreclosures. Several working

farmers active in the American Agriculture Movement in Missouri and the North American Farm Association in Iowa attended the convention. They made contact with union activists from across the country, and participated in several workshops and informal discussions.

A significant number of high school students also came to the convention, reflecting stepped-up activity by the YSA in the high schools.

1984 elections

A big discussion is taking place among working people, Rich Stuart said in his report, about how to win political power to defend their interests. Blacks have been in the forefront of this discussion, reflected in the decision of civil rights leader Jesse Jackson to seek the Democratic Party's nomination for president.

The 1984 election discussion presents a big opportunity for socialists to advance a working-class alternative, to explain the need for political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans, through the formation of a labor party based on the unions and an independent Black party.

"This discussion is a good thing," noted Stuart. "We are going to jump into it as a national movement the way we jumped into the protests of the invasion of Grenada. We're going to do this through our support of the SWP campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president."

"Mason and González represent better than anyone what Jackson calls the rejected — what we call the oppressed and exploited. Our campaign will explain that the vehicle for change is not the Democratic and Republican parties, but the independent organization and mobilization of the working class in a fighting alliance with Blacks, women, and farmers. We will explain that we think this alliance *should* have political power — all of it. We will campaign for a workers and farmers government."

The YSA set as its major task winning youth support for Mason and González and the local candidates of the SWP in 1984. One of the big priorities in the YSA's campaign support work, Stuart said, will be

Continued on Page 15

Canadian socialists hear Salvadoran leader

BY ROBERT SIMMS

MONTREAL — Solidarity with liberation fighters in Central America and around the world was the theme of a spirited public meeting held here December 30. More than 140 people attended the event, organized by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the RWL's Montreal Revolutionary Youth Committee (CJR).

The meeting, which attracted many solidarity activists, took place between sessions of the RWL's pan-Canadian convention.

Chairperson Carole Caron opened the event, noting that while its central theme was directed toward mobilizing opposition to the expanding U.S. war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions, the meeting was also taking place on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. This too became a theme. Tribute was also paid to the 19th anniversary of the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Oscar Dada, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, was the first to explain the deepening U.S. invasion of Central America. "That's the only way it [the United States] thinks it can stop the region's revolutionary forces," he said. He added, "in El Salvador and Nicaragua, Reagan will find two peoples ready and willing to struggle. In the end, our peoples will defeat imperialism."

Dada also referred to the accelerating process of unification that the organizations making up the FMLN are undertaking. One of the impulses to this was the lesson drawn from dealing with unprincipled factional strife within the coalition.

Through their experiences, the FMLN's

member groups have concluded, he said, that "unity is a strategic choice, and we must constantly deepen it. We are convinced that the unity process has now become an irreversible fact."

Pastor Valle-Garay, who is consul-general for Nicaragua in Toronto, was unable to attend because of the demands posed for his work by the escalating U.S. attacks against Nicaragua. His message on behalf of the Nicaraguan government was read by Phil Courmoyer, co-chairperson of Canadian Action for Nicaragua in Toronto.

Valle-Garay thanked the trade unionists and solidarity activists across Canada who recently raised more than \$1 million in aid for his country.

Don Rojas, a leading member of Grenada's New Jewel Movement who was press secretary to Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop before Bishop was executed, also sent a message.

"It is a particular honor to send you greetings on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the glorious Cuban revolution," he stated, and noted, "the Cuban people continue to share the fruits of their revolution with the peoples of the world."

The Cuban revolution's 25th anniversary was also taken up by José Pérez, editor of the Spanish-language U.S. socialist biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States. Pérez, whose Cuban parents took him from Cuba in 1960, remembered the "exciting New Year's Eve before the final victory on Jan. 1, 1959. He was seven years old at the time."

Pérez also drew attention to the outstanding role Cuba plays in the world revolutionary process because of the capacities of Cuba's revolutionary leadership. "If any

test showed the true revolutionary stature of Cuba, it was Grenada," he said.

Cécile Deschamps brought greetings from the Quebec-Cuba Friendship Association (Carrefour). "Carrefour aims to make people aware of what has happened" in Cuba in the last 25 years, she said, such as the great advances in health care and education. She added that while there can be "differences in thinking" among various groups, we can all defend Cuba together.

The director of the Palestine Information Office in Ottawa, Abdullah Abdullah, noted that imperialism is not only stepping up its intervention in Central America, but is also trying to contain struggles worldwide, including in the Middle East. Regarding the presence of U.S. troops in Lebanon and the new U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance, Abdullah stated, "the Americanization of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the new turn that we have to confront."

Katy LeRougetel, the speaker for the RWL and CJR, said that in this era of wars and revolutions "the center of these confrontations, the center of war and revolution today, is in Central America." The reason, she explained, is that Nicaragua's revolution and the revolution gaining ground in El Salvador "pose a fundamental alternative to the capitalist system of Reagan, Trudeau, and Thatcher."

The Canadian government likes to give the appearance of sometimes marching out of step with U.S. imperialism, she noted, but Trudeau and Reagan share fundamental aims: "they are in alliance against the workers and farmers of the world." And Canada's rulers are especially fearful that examples like Nicaragua might inspire the Québécois, an oppressed nation, to say "why don't we liberate ourselves too?"

National rally kicks off SWP campaign

BY HARRY RING

ST. LOUIS — A representative of the liberation forces in El Salvador. A picket captain in the recent Greyhound strike. An Arizona copper striker. A militant Southern Black rights fighter. A veteran farm activist. An antiwar GI who won an honorable discharge from the Marines. A woman unionist fighting government-employer victimization.

All of these were on the platform at the kickoff rally for the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential campaign, held here December 30 during the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The audience too included many fighters. There was warm applause for three members of the American Agriculture Movement of Missouri, and a member of the North American Farm Alliance from Iowa.

Some of the rally participants were there to declare their endorsement of Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers' nominee for U.S. president, and Andrea González, its vice-presidential candidate. Others had come to express thanks for the solidarity extended to their struggles by the SWP and YSA.

Saluting these coparticipants in the rally, Mel Mason declared, "You're an inspiration to everyone here, and to me personally. And you're going to be an inspiration to our campaign, because you represent what this campaign is all about — fighting."

That spirit of militant solidarity pervaded the cheering, applauding audience of mainly young people. Earlier, the YSA convention had voted unanimously to endorse and actively campaign for the SWP ticket.

Chairing the rally was Andrew Pulley, the party's standard-bearer in the 1980 presidential race. He had gained prominence during the Vietnam War as one of the Fort Jackson Eight, a group of GIs targeted by the brass for opposing the war.

Antiwar marine

With that background, Pulley took special relish in introducing Jim Stryffeler, a YSA member and former Marine sergeant who had faced court-martial for his opposition to the Grenada invasion and U.S. intervention in Lebanon. Protests from a broad range of figures won him an honorable discharge instead.

Stryffeler said he had taken his stand because "I sure didn't like a foreign policy aimed at killing me and other workers and farmers" in wars in which they had no stake.

Jesús González, representing FENAS-TRAS, a trade union body in El Salvador, evoked cheers when he expressed confidence that "sooner rather than later," the liberation forces would achieve victory in his country.

He warned of the imminent danger of a direct U.S. invasion in Central America, but added, "they should think twice before they invade Nicaragua or El Salvador, because they will find a united, armed people."

Cheers, chants, and applause rang through the hall with the introduction of Billy Jacks of Morenci, Arizona, a striking Steelworker in the fiercely fought battle of copper miners against the union-busting Phelps Dodge Corp. They have been on strike for six months.

Jacks told how heavily armed state troopers and National Guard members had been mobilized against them. The strikers have faced tear-gas attacks, assaults by scabs, jailing, and a drive to evict them from company housing.

"Our people," he declared, "were born and raised there. And a lot of people will die there before they give up their homes and their lives to this company."

Jacks expressed warm appreciation to the *Militant* for its on-the-spot coverage of the strike, which has been the target of pro-company lies in the commercial media.

"Anything the media tells you, don't believe it," he admonished. "Believe what the *Militant* tells you." It, he said, is the only paper "that has got enough guts to print the truth about us."

Greyhound striker

The speech by Leonard Bryant, who was an Amalgamated Transit Union picket co-



Socialist Workers presidential nominee Mel Mason addresses St. Louis rally. Seated are vice-presidential candidate Andrea González and party's presidential candidate in 1980, Andrew Pulley.

ordinator in Philadelphia during the Greyhound strike, was equally well received.

The strikers, he said, had been forced to make concessions. But, he added, "I don't even like looking at it as losing the battle. I think a strategic withdrawal is what we had. The war goes on and we will ultimately win."

Bryant spoke movingly of the solidarity that had been forged during the strike.

"I saw men with 30 years on the property walking on the picket line with men who had three years on the property," he said. "I saw men and women standing up, straightening up."

He was convinced, he said, "that from this point on we're going to turn the corner ... and start to take our country back."

Pointing to the need for political action in achieving this, Bryant declared, "I fully endorse a labor party in this country."

He too thanked the *Militant* for its strike coverage. With union locals spread throughout the United States, he said, it was of great importance for the strikers to know what was going on in other cities.

The *Militant* had played an invaluable role in this. "It was really the only coverage we had of what was going on in other parts of the country," he said. "And solidarity was absolutely essential."

A working-class program for farmers was brought to the rally by John Enestvedt. A Minnesota farmer and member of the American Agriculture Movement, Enestvedt's activity in the farm movement goes back to the mass battles against farm foreclosures during the 1930s. A lifelong socialist, Enestvedt was a delegate in 1938 to the founding convention of the SWP.

Drawing on his experience in the fight of working farmers for survival, Enestvedt told the rally, "I learned, as if in school, that if political change were to be won for workers and farmers, it would have to come from organizations other than the Republican and Democratic parties."

'Cruel joke'

Assailing the two-party stand that farmers can get better prices by curbing production, he angrily declared, "This is a cruel joke, not only for farmers but for those lacking adequate food."

"No," he continued, "Farmers want to produce, and working people want to have jobs at trade-union wages. We have to have all the production possible, both in field and factory."

But to achieve such a program, he explained, it's necessary to establish a workers and farmers government. And to have such a government, he emphasized, "we have to start off by forming a labor party."

The need for militant opposition to the two capitalist parties was also stressed by North Carolina civil rights fighter Irv Joyner. He initially won national attention as a principal attorney for Rev. Ben Chavis and the others of the Wilmington 10 who were the targets of a racist frame-up in the 1970s. He is currently president of the North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers and a member of the National Black Independent Political Party.

Over the past several years he lent his legal skills in successful fights by the SWP in North Carolina against attempted denials of ballot rights.

Saluting Mason and González as "a right-on ticket," Joyner declared that "any campaign they're involved in has to be a fighting campaign, a militant campaign that seeks solutions to the problems that minorities, working people, farmers, and women face."

"That's why I like this campaign," Joyner said. "It's a campaign that will pull the covers off ... a campaign that's directed toward eradicating the root causes of the many problems faced by our people. That problem is capitalism."

Government spying

Sally Goodman, a member of the YSA and SWP, recounted her fight against victimization by the government in collaboration with her employer, the Martin Marietta war plant in Denver. She is one of only three women electricians at the plant.

The Defense Investigative Service, a government spy agency dealing with war-plant "security" clearances, has moved to have Goodman's clearance investigated based on charges that she is associated with the SWP and YSA and is a lesbian.

Goodman told the rally that her union, United Auto Workers Local 766, has given her strong support in fighting the victimization.

Mason and González

Rousing ovations greeted both Mason and González when they spoke.

González, a fighter for Puerto Rican independence since her teens, declared that the purpose of U.S. intervention in other countries "is to stop the workers and farmers from taking back the wealth of their countries, the wealth that they produce — to prevent them from using that wealth for their own good."

In a devastating response to the propaganda charge that those fighting to determine their own destiny are "terrorists," González said:

"The U.S. government and its kept media want us to believe that any workers and farmers who stand up and fight for their rights against the minority of rich — be it in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, the Middle East, or Arizona — are terrorists."

"But no one can watch the U.S. firing guns off the Lebanese coast at defenseless villages, no one can watch the 6,000 U.S. troops attacking unarmed and leaderless people in Grenada, no one can read about the 45,000 people murdered by the U.S. backed and paid for Salvadoran junta, no one can see the destruction reaped by the U.S.-backed *contras* in Nicaragua, and not know that the real terrorists, the only international terrorist organization, is headquartered in Washington, D.C."

How can the terrorists be stopped? There is only one force that can do it, González declared — the working class.

"The ruling class knows this," she explained. "So they try to convince us we're just working stiff, just ordinary

people, and we should leave decisions like war and peace to others who are supposedly more important and more powerful than us."

"It's true that each of us separately is just an ordinary person. But as a class, we are the most powerful force on earth."

Break with two-party system

Mel Mason, a veteran Black liberation fighter and recent member of the Seaside, California, city council, hammered at the theme that working people must break with the two capitalist parties in order to turn back the war being waged against them.

He outlined his basic proposition:

"We, as socialists, start from the basic fact that there are two main classes in this country: one that rules and one that's ruled. One that's wealthy and one that's exploited. The tiny, wealthy, minority are the ruling capitalist class. And the vast majority of the remaining population — the ones who keep the capitalists wealthy — is the working class. That's us, you and me."

Working people need to replace this capitalist U.S. government with a government of workers and farmers, he explained. And he outlined the steps needed to advance the struggle for such a government.

He pointed especially to the role Blacks are playing in the fight for effective political action to defend all working people and the oppressed.

Mason charged that the Republicans and Democrats have singled out Black people for special attack because "They understand the historic vanguard role played by Blacks in the struggles in this country. They understand that once Blacks start to move, the whole working class starts to move. And they don't want to see that happen."

Mason asked, "Do we defeat this attack by joining one of the parties that's bringing it about? Or do we form our own party — a Black party or a labor party based on a revitalized, democratic, fighting trade union movement?"

Scoring Democratic politicians who try to portray themselves as "friends" of labor, of Blacks, or of women, Mason pointed to the hypocrisy of Walter Mondale, a leading Democratic contender, the vice-president under Carter.

It was under the Carter-Mondale administration, Mason noted, that the Equal Rights Amendment was defeated. Throughout their administration they were under fire from Blacks for refusing to live up to their civil rights promises.

He recalled how that Democratic administration had tried to break a major coal miners' strike, paving the way for Reagan's crushing of the PATCO air traffic controllers' strike.

In the context of that record, Mason explained why he was convinced Rev. Jesse Jackson was wrong in mustering support for the Democratic Party.

Mason said: "While respecting Brother Jackson for his contributions to the Black struggle and continuing to defend his right to run for office free of the racist restrictions he still suffers, I am bound by principle to point out that as earnest and sincere as I believe the brother to be, asking us to participate in the Democratic Party is leading us down a political dead end street."

Mason explained that Jim Crow segregation was smashed and civil rights gains won by Blacks mobilizing their own strength in opposition to the two parties that enforce racial oppression. "Brother Jackson should take a lesson from the civil rights movement he has helped to lead," he observed.

Concretizing his view on the need for independent working-class political action, Mason cited the strike-breaking role of Arizona's Democratic governor, Bruce Babbitt, against the copper miners. What the workers of Arizona ought to do, he suggested, is run a copper miner for governor.

Summing up his message to working people, Mason said:

"What we have experienced in our relationship with the ruling class and its two parties is that the relationship is no good! It's been a bad marriage. We want a divorce on the grounds of incompatibility. And we have a permanent restraining order — it's called socialism!"

'Example for working people'

Messages to Socialist Workers campaign rally



Eddie Carthan

The following are excerpts from greetings sent to the December 30 rally in St. Louis launching the 1984 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. The SWP is running Mel Mason, former city councilman in Seaside, California, for president; and Andrea González, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, for vice-president. The rally took place during the national convention of the YSA, which endorsed the Mason-González ticket.

'Mason and González epitomize those who are voiceless'

My family and I regret that we are unable to attend the 23rd national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. However, we are fully aware of the importance of this gathering as well as the impressive work and sacrifice that all of you have made over the years.

The voices of those who truly represent the people have been suppressed for many years. Now those voices are emerging to greater heights of leadership and responsibility. Now is the time for the very best in America to speak and act. I think the Young Socialists are well entrenched amidst the great voices that are now being manifested.

I think Mel Mason and Andrea González are very viable candidates to represent the Young Socialists in their bid for president and vice-president of the United States. Mel and Andrea certainly and truly epitomize those in this country who are voiceless and who are among the poor and needy in bringing forth those issues before the American public.

I take this opportunity to thank all of you for your support in the Tchula 7 struggle. I pray that your goals for peace, justice, and freedom will soon become a reality.

**Your brother in struggle,
Eddie J. Carthan**
Former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi

'We in the native people's struggles are proud of you'

Mel:
Best of luck in your campaign for president. Extend my best wishes to Andrea González, the SWP's vice-presidential candidate.

We in the native people's struggles are proud of you and consider you a true brother and comrade.

You have demonstrated, through your years as an activist and a city councilman, your great love for oppressed peoples and your willingness to engage in any struggle designed to get rid of that oppression.

To my knowledge, you are the only elected official to defend Leonard Peltier, fight for political asylum for Dennis Banks, and fight against the closure of D-Q University.

You have been an example for all working people. Those of us who know you and love you cannot help but wish you well in your new endeavor.

Mitra Lujan
Member, American Indian Movement

'It is imperative for radical voices to be heard'

At a time when the Democratic and Republican parties are intellectually and spiritually bankrupt, it is imperative for radical voices to be heard which offer fundamental alternatives to capitalist ideology. I wish Mel Mason good luck on his campaign.

Bernard Sanders
Mayor, Burlington, Vermont

'A progressive Puerto Rican woman for high office'

The Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs congratulates the Socialist Workers Party for choosing a progressive Puerto Rican woman for the high office of vice-president of the United States.

The candidacy of Andrea González will raise important questions among the American people about the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

We look forward to working with Andrea during the course of the campaign.
Nicomedes Sánchez
Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs, New York

'Congratulations on your decision to seek the presidency'

Congratulations on your decision to seek the presidency of the United States, and I want to wish you well in those efforts as well as offering strength and support in your outreach to the American people. Good luck in your efforts. I look forward to celebrating the ouster of Ronald Reagan in 1984.

**Solidarity,
Bill Monning**
Salinas attorney and
Member, National Lawyers Guild

'The greatest city councilman the city of Seaside ever had'

Dear Mel, my high school classmate, friend and colleague:

I wish you my best in your endeavor as the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for the presidency of the United States.

It has been a pleasure working with you on the City Council. Your unswerving devotion to the needs of minorities, youth, the poor, and the elderly have stood you in good stead. Your years as a community activist and city councilman are monuments to dedication and honest and principled leadership.

I say this without hesitation — my friend, you have been the greatest city councilman the City of Seaside has ever had.

Lancelot C. McClair
Mayor, Seaside, California



Militant/Steven Fuchs

Rafael Cancel Miranda

'Mason and González are legitimate representatives of workers'

Greeting to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. With the knowledge of the anti-imperialist positions of Mel Mason and Andrea González, and as a Puerto Rican who defends the rights of my people and the national liberation of my country as well as the rights of all oppressed peoples and the national liberation of all countries, I give moral support to the candidacies of Mel and Andrea.

The interests of the workers of the United States coincide with the interests of all of us who are struggling for national liberation. Given that Mel Mason and Andrea González are legitimate representatives of the workers, it is not strange that we share the same anti-imperialist perspective.

Together, one with the other, we will defeat our common enemy, capitalism and the imperialism of the United States of North America.

No to imperialist intervention in Nicaragua, Central America, and the Caribbean!

Yankee troops out of Grenada, Lebanon, and Puerto Rico!

Death to colonialism and neocolonialism!

Long live the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Chile!

Long live free and socialist Cuba!

Long live the striking workers — the copper miners in Arizona, the workers at Continental Airlines, and the workers at Greyhound!

Rafael Cancel Miranda
One of the 5 Puerto Rican Nationalists

'Mel Mason is a person who acts, not just talks'

It is with great pleasure that I endorse the candidacy of Mel Mason for president as the nominee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The office of the presidency requires moral convictions, intelligence and understanding, as well as vitality of mind and body. Mel Mason is a person who acts, not just talks; he does what he believes is right, not what he's told; and he brings to every task a sharp mind and sensitive spirit. These qualities in a president are sorely needed today.

Mel Mason is not a person who has shirked his responsibility to the party, rather, he proudly proclaims its banner and carries its standard into every aspect of his life.

This effort has entailed a multitude of speaking engagements, rallies, marches, and other such gatherings, many of which are very controversial, in support of workers and oppressed groups, and in opposition to our government's racist immigration policies and imperialistic activities in various parts of the world.

In this day of increasing attacks on workers throughout America and global brinksmanship putting our continued existence at risk, Mel Mason deserves your nomination. Latinos and Blacks and other oppressed groups can join in solidarity in the cause of Mel Mason for president!

Alonso González
Trustee, Salinas League of
United Latin American Citizens

\$84,000 fund for 1984 socialist campaign

BY HARRY RING

ST. LOUIS — Eighty-four thousand dollars for the first stage of the Socialist Workers' 1984 presidential campaign.

A drive to achieve that goal, by March 15, got off to a fine start at the presidential kickoff rally here. Participants pledged or contributed a total of \$55,000 to the campaign fund.

Industrial workers led the way. Socialist workers active in various unions had utilized the occasion of the Young Socialist Alliance convention to hold meetings to discuss their activity in their unions. They also talked about pitching in to help assure the success of the campaign fund.

One example. A group of socialist auto workers pledged a total of \$10,600 to the fund, for an average of \$250 each.

The initial appeal for the fund was made at the rally by Patricia Grogan, a leader of the SWP and a laid-off steelworker.

While \$84,000 is a very modest sum by the financial standards of the big-business candidates, it's a substantial sum for launching a working-class ticket. Grogan outlined the plans for getting the campaign under way and how the funds will be used.

Beginning in February, Mel Mason and Andrea González, the socialist nominees, will begin their campaign tours.

Mason will start out by joining the picket lines of striking Arizona copper miners. Telling their story as widely as possible, and helping to mobilize vitally needed solidarity, will be a top priority of his campaign.

González will begin her campaigning in key steel towns. At plant gates, union

halls, and unemployment offices, she will discuss with steelworkers the massive plant shutdowns and escalating contract giveback demands by the steel barons.

In addition, the \$84,000 campaign fund will help put campaign teams in the field. One team will visit the Rio Grande Valley, a historic center of antiracist battles by Chicanos and Mexicans.

Joe Swanson, a widely respected socialist railroad worker from Lincoln, Nebraska, will lead a team that will tour Midwestern farm areas.

Another team will visit the coal fields of Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, southern Indiana, and eastern Ohio.

Another campaign team will focus on the South, travelling through such states as Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

Production of a substantial amount of campaign literature is already under way. The campaign committee has already published 55,000 copies of an earlier *Militant* feature discussing the SWP campaign program, and offering biographies of Mason and González.

An additional 15,000 copies of this four-page tabloid are now being prepared in Spanish.

Important pieces of literature will be printed offering the SWP campaign's view of the crisis besetting small farmers and what's needed to resolve it; the party's stand on how to advance the fight for Black liberation; and the socialist view of the struggle for women's liberation.

Campaign buttons are already available.

The special campaign fund will also help meet the cost of the fight for ballot rights.

The capitalist politicians don't want socialists on the ballot, or on the air, because they don't want the story of the Greyhound or copper strikers told. They don't want U.S. working people to know the truth about Cuba or Nicaragua. They don't want discussion expanded among working people about forming our own labor party or independent Black party. And, by the same token, the Socialist Workers Party is equally determined to reach the maximum number possible with the truth and with our proposals for how the working class can become politically effective in defense of our rights and living standards.

We're confident that many *Militant* readers will want to help achieve these important goals. If you're one of them, clip the coupon below and mail it in, early.

☐ I am contributing \$ _____ to the \$84,000 Socialist Workers presidential campaign fund.

Name _____

Address _____

City & state _____

Zip _____ Tel. _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers National Campaign, 14 Charles Ln., New York, NY 10014

(paid for by the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee) #1

How IMF loots Brazil for big U.S. capitalists

Working people squeezed for interest

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

A woman trying to eke out a living peddling dresses in downtown Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, recently told a U.S. citizen, "Oh, you're the ones who brought us the IMF... I wish you would leave us alone."

Brazil is facing a terrible economic crisis. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has come in for almost universal condemnation there. What is the IMF? What role is it playing in Brazil's economic crisis?

Brazil in crisis

Until a few years ago Brazil was held up as a model of economic development by the spokesmen for big business around the world. Under the rule of a bloody right-wing military dictatorship that ruthlessly held down wages, the Brazilian capitalist economy expanded rapidly for a number of years. Since profits were lush, the imperialist banks eagerly extended credit to the Brazilian government and capitalists. The principal and interest were to be paid out of dollars earned through exports.

The whole process, however, was dependent on the continued expansion of the world capitalist market. The prolonged world recession of 1979-82 knocked out the foundation of the Brazilian boom. The Brazilian capitalists found that they couldn't even come up with the interest payments on their debts. The current business cycle upturn in the United States and to a lesser extent in Western Europe and Japan is too little too late.

The situation of the Brazilian working people was bad enough during the capitalist "boom." Now it is becoming desperate. Industrial employment has fallen back to the levels of 1973, while population has increased by 25 million.

Agriculture has also been devastated. "Here in the central *cerrados*, or savannah," the July 14 *Washington Post* reported, "and elsewhere in the interior is the world's largest unused supply of arable land. And yet, food production appears to be dropping in a country that imports up to \$1 billion in food a year and still is left with an estimated 38 percent of its population malnourished."

The situation of unemployed Brazilian

'Big opportunities' for investors in Grenada

The White House on December 6 briefed a number of major corporations on "big opportunities" for investment in Grenada in the wake of the U.S. invasion.

The briefing was attended by Control Data Corp., Sears World Trade, Pan Am World Services, and Eastern Airlines, according to press reports.

The "big opportunities" the government expects are in computer service, accounting, airlines, tourism, and hotels.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), which recently surveyed business possibilities on Grenada, is sponsoring a tour "sometime after the turn of the year" for prospective U.S. investors.

The AID survey team recommended that the U.S. government add \$15 million in economic "assistance" to the \$3.4 million in "emergency help" it already has earmarked for Grenada.

The team decided that renovation of two hotels — destroyed by U.S. forces during the invasion — and building a new hotel were, according to *U.S.A. Today*, "the best near-term business opportunities for U.S. companies."

The U.S. government refused any aid to the workers and farmers government of Grenada under Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

workers, whether in industry or agriculture, is made worse by the fact that there is no unemployment insurance in Brazil. Even those who have a job are hard pressed by a rate of inflation that now exceeds 200 percent a year. In the month of October alone the cost of living went up nearly 14 percent. This is about the rise experienced in the United States in the entire year of 1980, at the height of the inflation.

International Monetary Fund

The IMF was born at a conference held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944. This is the same gathering that created the now defunct system of fixed exchange rates among the major imperialist currencies.

The architects of the IMF included, among others, the well known British economist John Maynard Keynes. Keynes attended the conference as a representative of the British government.

Ironically, the IMF was seen by its founders as a key weapon against the kind of economic anarchy that marked the world capitalist economy during the 1930s. The IMF was to help insure that the competitive currency devaluations, protectionism, and recessionary policies that marked the 1930s would not recur.

How was the IMF to help achieve this?

The IMF is an agency of the United Nations. In its operations it is basically a bank where governments themselves are the depositors. The deposits or subscriptions were made in gold and various national currencies. Periodically additional currency is paid in by the member governments. The biggest subscribers have the most votes. Thus, the biggest subscriber of all, the U.S. government, maintains effective control.

The original idea was that if a country suffered a negative balance in its international payments, it could borrow dollars from the IMF as an alternative to either devaluing its currency, imposing tariffs or other protectionist devices, or embarking on a recessionary policy of reducing its money supply and raising interest rates. This was supposed to insure a smooth expansion of world trade and help avoid recessions.

In this mission the IMF has proved a failure. Currency exchange rates are even more chaotic than they were in the 1930s. In the last decade the world capitalist economy has experienced not one, but two global recessions.

IMF's role today

The IMF has not faded from the scene, however. Today it has emerged as a "lender of last resort." What does this mean?

Those countries who hold big subscriptions in the IMF are able to borrow on easy terms. But it is a very different story for countries with small subscriptions.

Generally what happens is that a country like Brazil, Turkey, Nigeria, or some other semicolonial country finds itself fast running out of foreign exchange. It is not exporting enough to pay for its imports and service its foreign debts at the same time. The commercial banks are unwilling to extend further credit. The country faces the prospect of virtual economic collapse.

The rulers of the nation involved are then forced to turn to the IMF as the only source of dollars and other "hard" (that is imperialist) currencies. The IMF is willing to come up with the money, but on conditions that certain "reforms" be carried out. The reforms the IMF seeks are always in the interests of the capitalists as a whole against the workers and peasants, and especially in the interests of the big U.S., European, and Japanese corporations as against the local capitalists.

Usually the IMF's managers demand



Protests like this one by Brazilian metalworkers have occurred in many Latin American countries against austerity programs imposed by IMF for repayment of bank loans.

that wage increases be held well below the rate of inflation; that food subsidies, and aid to farmers, be slashed; a slowdown in the growth of the local money supply combined with further currency devaluation; and the removal of any restraints on the activities of imperialist capital.

The result is a big reduction in real wages, increased unemployment, farmers forced off the land, a wave of bankruptcies among local capitalists, and an increased stranglehold of foreign imperialist capital in the economy. Imperialist capital is attracted by extremely low wages, cheap raw materials, and the possibility of buying up bankrupt local businesses at dirt cheap prices. In a word, by huge superprofits.

Once there is agreement on such a package, the IMF and commercial banks extend credit. The commercial banks are thus bailed out of bad loans, and the monopoly industrial corporations are given a freer hand to exploit the workers and peasants of the country that has fallen into the IMF's clutches.

Case of Brazil

Last September the IMF held its annual meeting in Washington. It was (and always is) a virtual bankers convention. This year among the bankers attending were Walter Wriston, chairman of Citibank; Willard Butcher, chairman of Chase Manhattan; John McGillicuddy, chairman of Manufacturers Hanover Trust; Sir Jeremy Morse, chairman of Lloyds Bank of Britain; and Wilfried Guth, chairman of West Germany's Deutsche Bank.

The September 30 *New York Times* reported "the daily realities of poverty in Brazil seem very distant — especially the recent reports of supermarket looting that politicians in Brazil attribute to the economic constraints imposed by the I.M.F."

"The bankers here rarely go less than first class and many do better than that. At no time this year has Washington been so cluttered with black Cadillacs, including the long limousines that the General Motors Corporation stopped making as oil prices soared."

The bankers had other things on their minds this year than simply enjoying their princely standard of living. Namely, they were determined to lower the standard of living of Brazilian workers even further.

The IMF had suspended payments on a \$5.9 billion loan to Brazil after it was declared "out of compliance" last May with the IMF-demanded reforms. Three years of recession, mounting bankruptcies, cutbacks in state investment, and runaway inflation were not considered enough by the assembled financial magnates.

Wage cuts demanded

Through the IMF, bankers were demanding that the Brazilian government pass a law limiting wage increases to only 80 percent of the rise in the cost of living. The Brazilian workers had been entitled to periodic wage increases equal to 100 percent of the rise in the government's cost of living index. Because of the lag between the rise in prices and the increase of wages

and the fact that the increases were based on government figures, which show only about 70 percent of the real rise in the cost of living, this provision gave the Brazilian workers only partial protection against Brazil's chronically high inflation rate. Still the IMF's demands meant a far faster decline in real wages.

In September and October the Brazilian congress voted down a series of wage control laws as union militants shouted "IMF out, IMF out!" from the galleries. But in November the congress finally agreed to a wage control bill limiting wage increases to as much as 13 percent below the official rate of inflation thus insuring a rapid fall in real wages.

Of the projected \$9 billion trade surplus that Brazil is expected to run next year, up to 70 percent will be used to pay interest payments on the foreign debt.

In return for capitulating to its demands, the IMF agreed to extend to Brazil an additional \$1.2 billion. The commercial banks have come up with another \$6.5 billion, and the U.S. and other imperialist governments have agreed to throw in an additional \$2.5 billion in loans into the bargain. All in all, more than \$10 billion in capital is being mobilized to carry out the "rescue." Those being rescued, of course, are not the Brazilian workers and peasants, but the giant banks and corporations.

It is outrages such as those forced on the workers and peasants of Brazil by the IMF and its imperialist masters that are behind the growing rebelliousness of working people in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and many other countries.

Radioactive topsoil still plagues Bikini

Making the island of Bikini inhabitable by humans again will require replacing topsoil to a depth of 18 inches, reports a committee of scientists, and would cost between \$90 million and \$120 million.

The island's topsoil was contaminated by 23 U.S. nuclear tests conducted there after World War II.

In 1946 the 167 residents of Bikini were removed. There are now 1,100 Bikinian people on Kili, which has only a sixth of the land area of the Bikini Atoll.

Some Bikinians moved back in 1969 after U.S. assurances that radioactivity was down to acceptable levels. But they were removed again 10 years later after their bodies were found to contain "excessive" cesium-137, a radioactive element.

Cesium-137 in Bikini's soil becomes concentrated in food, especially coconuts, the scientists' study showed, although it claimed that seafood and cistern-stored rainwater are safe for consumption.

The Reagan administration has opposed paying for the cleanup of Bikini, which prior to the nuclear tests had the largest population of the 23 islands in the Bikini Atoll.

Enwetak, another atoll where U.S. nuclear tests took place, was cleaned up in the 1970s for about \$105 million, according to press reports.

Lebanon: Reagan lauds Jackson, makes war

Continued from front page

tial nomination, for his trip to Syria.

Jackson, a Baptist minister, announced December 25 that he and other clergymen were going to Syria December 30 to urge the release of U.S. Navy airman Robert Goodman. The Black aviator was captured by Syrian troops in Lebanon during a December 4 U.S. bombing raid in which Goodman's plane was downed.

Jackson criticized the Reagan administration for doing "less than its best" to win Goodman's release. The Black leader said his delegation to Damascus, the Syrian capital, would "operate clearly within the law and within protocol," and seek Goodman's release by "making a moral appeal."

Human decency, however, is not a motivating factor in White House policy decisions. Reagan refused to answer four telephone calls by Jackson to the White House, saying later that he had "initial misgivings" about the Black candidate's "moral appeal" for Goodman's release.

Opposition to Jackson's trip also came from liberal quarters. The *New York Times* called the planned trip "contemptible." Sen. Ernest Hollings, another Democratic presidential candidate, said that someone should "tell Jesse he's not president yet."

But Jackson went to Syria anyway. While in Damascus he met with a leader of the Palestine National Council and Syrian government officials, including President Hafez al-Assad. The meetings with PLO representatives sparked further criticism of the Jackson trip, along the same lines as the racist smear campaign against Jackson for his 1979 tour of the Middle East. On that trip, Jackson met with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

That same year, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sent a delegation headed by Joseph Lowery, the SCLC president, to visit the Middle East at the invitation of Arafat. Both tours reflected the widespread support in the U.S. Black community for the Palestinian struggle for national self-determination.

Both Jackson and the SCLC delegation were blasted for supporting Palestinian rights. They were told that the Middle East wasn't a civil rights issue — just as Martin Luther King had been criticized for speaking out against the Vietnam War.

But war is a Black issue. The majority of Blacks rejected the racist notion that Jackson and the SCLC were being used by the PLO in 1979, and they reject the similar slander raised today that Jackson is being used by Assad.

U.S. airman released

After several days of discussion with Jackson, Syrian officials released Lieutenant Goodman on January 3. The Syrian Foreign Ministry said this was done in response to "the human appeal of the Rev. Jesse Jackson." The ministry also said the move was the Syrian government's contribution toward "creating circumstances that would facilitate the withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon."

President Reagan praised Jackson — through gritted teeth — for the Black leader's efforts to free Goodman. "You don't quarrel with success," said Reagan. The U.S. president was also forced to thank Assad for releasing the navy bombardier, saying the action presented "an opportune moment to put all the issues on the table" between the United States and Syria.

But at the same time Reagan continues the overflights of Syrian positions in Lebanon by U.S. F-14 fighter-bombers. When Syrian troops defended themselves from such provocation last December, Washington launched the bombing raids in which Goodman's jet was shot down.

Meanwhile, the Israeli regime, with U.S. backing, carried out terror bombing raids on villages in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley on January 4. One hundred people were reported killed and 400 injured in the attack, which Israeli officials called a "surgi-



Jesse Jackson with Syrian President Assad

cal strike" aimed at "isolated terrorist installations." But most of the dead and wounded were civilians.

Washington and its Israeli and European allies intend to use whatever force is necessary to impose Gemayel's rightist regime on the Lebanese people. The U.S. government is preparing for broader war in the Middle East. Republican Sen. John Tower, for example, who is just back from a weeklong trip to the Middle East, said that withdrawing U.S. troops from Lebanon would be "disastrous."

Tower, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said "It is clear that the United States must expand her program of economic and military assistance to Lebanon."

Reagan attempted to block Jackson's trip to Syria because it would undermine the administration's ability to pursue its war aims. The big-business media was rife with such criticism both before and after Jackson's trip.

'Blacks, workers: stay out of politics'

The *New York Times*, for example, in a January 4 editorial, said that "What's best for Lieut. Robert Goodman is not automatically best for the United States. The Navy flier's release, though welcome, was achieved at the expense of President Reagan's authority in the midst of negotiations with Syria."

YSA discusses working-class leadership

Continued from Page 11

A report on the struggle for Black liberation by Stuart Crome emphasized the fight for Black political representation; desegregation of the schools, including through the use of busing; and affirmative action. Crome pointed to the continuing battles to defend Black voting rights, such as the voter registration drive in Mississippi.

YSA delegates spoke of numerous cases of racist cop attacks on Blacks, such as the murder of Michael Stewart by New York City transit cops. The YSA is active in many cities in the fight against police brutality.

Crome also discussed the important role played by the National Black Independent Political Party, whose working-class program sets an example for the Black community and the labor movement.

Under the report on the YSA's activity in support of women's rights, presented by Ellen Haywood, numerous delegates working in industry spoke about the problem of sexual harassment of women on the job. YSA members have been right in the thick of discussions among workers about how to combat these attacks, and several women delegates described their own experiences with employer victimization.

The young socialists emphasized the importance of women unionists attending the

The *Washington Post* chimed in with an editorial on the same day, saying the "lucky result" of the Jackson visit — Goodman's release — shouldn't be confused with the mission itself, which was "mischievous, even irresponsible."

Jackson, the *Post* says later, "intruded into a sensitive foreign negotiation whose ins and outs could not possibly have been fully known to him. He was not content to stay on the sidelines and criticize, which is fair and necessary for a political candidate as for any citizen."

The navy brass stepped in and pressured Lieutenant Goodman not to appear on the same platform with Jackson at a rally in the flier's hometown of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the ground it was political.

That's the nub of the ruling-class criticism of the Jackson mission — Blacks, GIs, and other working people should stay out of politics and not intervene in "sensitive" foreign policy questions. This is particularly true since, if workers had their way, U.S. troops would be withdrawn from Lebanon.

Jackson's Syrian trip and his call upon Reagan to abandon the government's belligerent policies and negotiate with the Syrian and other Arab regimes — as well as the PLO — reflects the growing opposition of U.S. working people to Washington's war aims in the region.

Democratic Party officials have also tried to accommodate themselves to this

sentiment. House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, who earlier supported Reagan's policy in Lebanon, said last December that the "status quo position of our marines" was "unacceptable" and warned Reagan that "patience in Congress with administration policies in Lebanon is wearing very thin."

Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale, who previously refused to call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon, said at the end of December that the marines should be withdrawn in 45 days.

Imperialist troops out now

Despite these pronouncements, all Democratic and Republican politicians — including Jackson — support some sort of imperialist "peacekeeping" force being maintained in Lebanon. They realize that the shaky Gemayel regime cannot be propped up without the support of imperialist troops.

Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers Party's presidential candidate, told the *Militant* that the U.S. rulers "don't want a peacekeeping force in Lebanon. They want a combat force to wage war against the Lebanese people and anyone else who stands in the way of total U.S. domination of the region."

"We should remember," said Mason, "that the U.S., French, Italian, and British troops now engaged in combat in Lebanon were sent as a 'neutral peacekeeping' force. What is needed is for all imperialist troops to get out of Lebanon, and get out now."

Mason said he disagreed with the view of Jackson and the other Democrats that Washington has a right to have troops in Lebanon. "But," he added, "I condemn the racist attack on Jackson's Syrian trip. It's an attack on all Black people — telling us to stay in our place, and leave politics to rich white folk."

"That's why most Blacks — no matter what they think about Jackson's views — were glad to see him go to Syria, and even happier when he brought the brother back."

"Blacks and other working people — in and out of uniform — have a right to deal with U.S. foreign policy. In fact, it's our duty. We're the ones who die in Washington's wars. We're the ones who pay for U.S. aggression abroad through poorer working conditions, lower wages, and higher prices at home."

"Working people," Mason continued, "shouldn't simply have a hand in foreign policy — we should determine it."

"That's why we need to go to our unions, community groups, and elsewhere to get our coworkers and others to join us in demanding that the U.S., European, and Israeli troops get out of Lebanon now!"

CLUW national convention in Chicago March 22-25 and the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Miami June 29-July 1.

In addition, YSA members will be attending the NOW-sponsored Lesbian Rights Conference, to be held in Milwaukee January 20-22.

Role of the YSA

The role of the YSA and its relationship with the SWP was a central part of the discussion under the NEC's organizational report presented by Judy Stranahan. The YSA delegates adopted this report and reaffirmed support of one of the YSA's founding documents, "Where We Stand." This 1963 resolution codifies the YSA's relationship with the SWP.

Stranahan explained that the YSA recognizes that revolutionary youth by themselves cannot lead the working class to power — for that a revolutionary workers party is needed. "The YSA," she said, "recognizes the SWP as the nucleus of such a party in the United States."

The YSA looks to the SWP for political leadership and direction. Its major political campaigns are the same as the party's. The YSA's ambitious plans to promote the SWP election campaign is an example of this.

"But," explained Stranahan, "while politically subordinate to the party, the YSA is organizationally independent. We elect our own officers, have our own finances and our own structure — chapter meetings, a National Committee, a National Executive Committee, and so on."

Stranahan explained that the YSA's role is not to build a parallel party, but "to win young people to the revolutionary socialist program and perspective and transform their moral revulsion against capitalism into loyalty to the working class and a conviction that socialism is the necessary next stage in human development."

Being an independent organization gives militant young fighters the opportunity of working together with others of their generation, whose experiences they share, and learning through their own successes and mistakes how to carry out disciplined socialist activity. In this way the YSA plays an essential role in training a cadre of socialist workers, who become part of the revolutionary leadership necessary to bring the working class to power.

The post-convention meeting of the YSA National Committee elected Andrea González as the YSA's national chairperson. Peter Thierjung was elected the national secretary and Stuart Crome the national organization secretary.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

Sure, what the hell — The government conceded that cleanup workers at the Three Mile Island



Harry Ring

nuke plant could be exposed to six times more radiation than previously claimed. This would mean up to six more cancer deaths among them, and up to a dozen more suffering genetic change.

However, a spokesman for General Public Utility noted, "every aspect of living and working involves risks."

Not to worry — "People have been eating foods with EDB in them for 40 years and nobody has dropped dead." — A spokesperson for the Grocery Manufacturers of America, responding to a federal finding of food samples around the country contaminated with the cancer-causing pesticide.

How cautious can you get? — The feds will require a reduced amount of nitrosamines in baby bottle nipples and pacifiers. Officials said it hasn't been proven if

the compound harms babies, but it does cause cancer in animals.

Admirals and children first — A lot of p.o.'d employees at the Washington headquarters of the Coast Guard took it as a value judgment when, after a bomb threat, eight admirals were evacuated from the building, while they were left behind, un-notified.

Just following the shepherd — A Greenville, N.C., white withdrew his daughter from a high school beauty pageant because, in a rehearsal, she was escorted by a Black ROTC cadet. The father assured there was no prejudice in-

volved; simply that his religious beliefs precluded interracial dating or marriage.

And we thought it was natural — If you want to smell like a corporate chief executive officer, treat yourself to a bottle of CEO cologne. A 4-oz. bottle, \$45.

Un-American — University of California officials were miffed on receiving an entrance application from a student in Iran. It came in an envelope with a stamp depicting the student occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran. The officials assured, however, that the application would be considered with the same objectivity as all

others.

Touché! — On hearing that a local beanery was now sporting an American flag decal on the cash register, a friend responded, "Well, at least it's in the right place."

The way the ball bounces — A Long Island, N.Y., plastic surgeon was suspended for 60 days for recommending unnecessary surgery and neglecting and abusing patients. Earlier, he beat the rap on tear-gassing a patient. His lawyer explained that the patient was "bouncing him around the office like a ball because he didn't like the way his nose turned out."

Trial begins of Nazi, Klan murderers

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. — Jury selection began January 9 in the trial of nine Nazis and Ku Klux Klanners who helped kill five activists at a Nov. 3, 1979, anti-Klan demonstration in Greensboro. All five were members of the Communist Workers Party. The trial may last for several months.

The nine are charged with violating the federal civil rights of the demonstrators. The charges were brought last spring as a result of widespread protest after an all-white jury acquitted six racists tried on state murder charges. Over 30 other racists who participated in the killings have never been tried.

The Klansmen and Nazis were set free despite videotapes showing them committing the murders. These tapes have been shown repeatedly on national TV.

Among the nine racists indicted is Edward Dawson, a paid agent of the Greensboro police and longtime FBI informer. But other city and government

agents who knew about the planned murders beforehand, or were otherwise involved, have still not been charged.

Jury selection was closed to the public by Federal District Judge Thomas Flannery, allegedly to "protect" potential jurors.

This move gives the Klan, Nazis, and the federal government a green light to stack the jury with racists. The foreman of the jury during the state murder trial was a participant in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, who said the Klan and Nazis were "patriotic organizations."

And it implies a new smear against the victims of the November 3 shooting. The jury isn't being "protected" from government agents, Klan, or the Nazis who remain in the courtroom.

In another attack on democratic rights, the judge had issued a gag order against potential witnesses and others, preventing them from talking about the case. This gag order has prevented both survivors of the shooting and the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund (GCRF), which is organizing public

pressure for the conviction of the killers, from speaking out about the case. Attorneys for the GCRF are appealing this order.

The GCRF is also organizing support for a \$48 million lawsuit filed by survivors of the November 3 killings. This lawsuit, which is scheduled to go to trial in federal court this August, seeks to show the complicity of numerous government agencies in the killing.

A broad news conference today demanded the conviction of the Klansmen and Nazis, protested government complicity in the killings, and hit the gag order and secret jury selection. It was attended by representatives of the National Anti-Klan Network, National Council of Churches, Lutheran Church of America, American Friends Service Committee, and the Center for Constitutional Rights.

Messages of support and protests against the gag order should be sent to: GCRF, Suite 301, Southeastern Building, Greensboro, N.C. 27401.

FBI proposes to expand its blacklist

The FBI welcomed in 1984 with announced plans for a big expansion of computerized files available to cops across the country. The revamped files would include dossiers on people who had not been accused of any crime, much less convicted, but are simply regarded as "suspicious."

This would include those "thought" to be involved with "terrorism," as well as with drug dealing and other organized crime.

The plan is being mapped by a national advisory board to the FBI which includes 21 police officials, three prosecutors, two judges, a prison official, and a parole cop.

For instance, one proposal for the new

listing would include "known associates" of those named in arrest warrants.

A "known associate" is defined as anyone "known to be, believed to be, likely to be, or may be associated with a wanted person."

Particularly ominous is the inclusion of those deemed to be possible "terrorists" or engaged in "foreign counterintelligence."

By FBI and cop standards, a "terrorist" could be anyone in solidarity with the liberation forces in Central America or the Mideast. Or merely someone opposed to U.S. aggression in those areas. And supporters of the Cuban or Nicaraguan revolution could just as easily be tagged as engaged in "foreign counterintelligence."

The record shows this is no exaggeration. During the 1970s Watergate revelations, it was established that the FBI list included some 47,000 individuals, including figures like Coretta Scott King and peace activist Dr. Ben Spock. The late Roy Wilkins, then executive director of the NAACP, made the list, as did his organiza-

tion. The Quaker Action Group was also among those listed as "suspicious."

Recent revelations about illegal police dossiers from Los Angeles confirmed that such ultra-right outfits as the John Birch Society are actively involved in compiling the "suspicious" lists.

The national legislative counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, Jerry Berman, scored the slated plan as creating "a vast police tracking and surveillance system."

He called on Congress to review and block the proposed move. Rep. Don Edwards of California, a member of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, saw the proposal as a threat to constitutional liberties, and said his committee hopes to hold hearings on the issue next month.

A spokesperson for the FBI's advisory committee saw no cause for alarm. He saw the expansion of the computer lists as "consistent with the original purpose of the system, to help law enforcement fight crime."

Federal court backs INS antigay policy

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) policy of not allowing homosexuals to become naturalized U.S. citizens has been upheld by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

This ruling, which is a setback for democratic rights, came in September in the case of John Longstaff, a British citizen who has been in this country since 1965.

But the ruling will be challenged, Longstaff's lawyer, Brian Bates, said.

The decision contradicts a ruling by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco earlier in September that held that the INS could not bar homosexuals from entering the country.

The New Orleans court, however, stated that gays are excluded from legal entry and that Longstaff's naturalization request should be refused on the grounds that he entered the country illegally. The court based its finding on the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act.

The *Gay Community News* reported that an INS official said "the current temporary policy" of allowing gays to enter the country has not been changed.

NOW sets lesbian rights conference

The National Organization for Women (NOW) will sponsor its first national conference on lesbian rights in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on January 20-22. The conference is entitled "Lesbian Rights: Power and Politics in '84."

According to NOW Vice-president-Action, Mary Jean Collins, "This conference will be a unique opportunity for NOW leadership to plan the organization's activities on one of our key issues. The conference is not only for those already active on the issue of lesbian rights, but for everyone committed to NOW's policy on lesbian rights."

The conference is projected as a "forum for discussion, strategy development, and

skills-building for activists" and will include a range of workshops and several general sessions. The conference is also expected to launch a campaign for passage of state-wide legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual preference in targeted states. This proposal was contained in a lesbian and gay rights resolution passed at the 1983 NOW national conference held in October in Washington, D.C.

NOW chapters and state organizations are being encouraged to sponsor representatives at this national conference. Conference organizers expect about 500 participants from NOW and lesbian and gay rights organizations.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

What We Can Learn From Dr. Martin Luther King. Speaker: Darryl Turner, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 21, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Dr. Martin Luther King's Contributions to the Struggle Against War, for Civil Rights, and for Unions. Speakers: Ed Jones, director of organizing, Glaziers Union Local 621; Henry Bryant, chairperson, Laney College Ethnic Studies Department; Miesha Patterson, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Labor's Turning Point. Film about 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes. Sun., Jan. 15, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Walk to Freedom. Film on Montgomery bus boycott. Panel discussion: "Fight for Black Liberation Today." Speakers: Herb Boyd, associate editor of *Detroit Metro Times*; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential candidate. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Jan. 15, 7:30 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

U.S. Out of El Salvador. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Oil Workers vs Big Oil. Speaker: Glenn Swanson, member, Socialist Workers Party and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. Fri., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Commemoration of 11th Anniversary of Supreme Court Decision Legalizing Abortion. Video: "Our Lives on the Line." Speakers on campaign to restore federal Medicaid funding for abortion. Fri., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. Langston Hughes Center, 17th and Yesler. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance. For more information call (206) 322-1294.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Stop the Deportation of Héctor Marroquín and Other Refugees! Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Fritz Longchamp, Haitian Refugee Project; Iván Escobar, one of two surviving members of the El Salvador Human Rights Commission. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 4, reception, 7 p.m.; forum, 8 p.m. Calvary United Methodist Church, 1459 Columbia Rd. NW. Donation requested. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund, Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines, Coalition for Human Rights in Korea, Haitian Refugee Project. For more information call (202) 488-5658 or 797-7021.

Socialists discuss role in USWA election

Continued from Page 6

the need for the union movement to establish a labor party and to fight for a workers and farmers government to replace the rule of big business.

The USWA election, Mirelowitz explained, is also a valuable chance for socialists to work with other steelworkers to fight to make some needed changes in the union. Many steelworkers believe that a change in leadership and strategy is necessary.

In the face of U.S. Steel's latest demands, top USWA officials changed their previous pro-concessions stance. However they did nothing to mobilize the membership for a fight against U.S. Steel or the other steel barons. In the same way they have refused to take the necessary, elementary steps to organize active solidarity with the copper strikers. Such inaction in the face of employer union-busting only emboldens the companies.

The top officials not only supported the March 1983 concession contract in the basic-steel industry (and helped impose it on rank-and-file workers who did not have the right to vote on their contract), they also accepted the employers' arguments for the concessions. By peddling the line that workers and employers share common interests and advocating "cooperation" to "save the steel industry," these officials disarmed the union. This paved the way for company "whipsawing" of USWA locals aimed at forcing even greater givebacks.

Socialists believe that the USWA, like other U.S. unions, must be fundamentally transformed into a revolutionary fighting tool. This requires basic changes in policy — fighting for the interests of the membership and instituting complete rank-and-file control of all union affairs. Such changes can only be brought about in the course of major class battles such as those that occurred in the 1930s. While such battles are clearly coming they are not yet taking place today. Further changes in the consciousness and understanding of working people will have to occur, along with the development of more leadership in the ranks pre-

pared to head the struggle.

Nevertheless, important changes can be made today in the USWA. "We are in favor of making the union a little bit better," Mirelowitz told the meeting, "until we and other workers can make it a lot better." Part of this includes supporting a change in leadership when a more progressive, or even a less conservative, official runs against one advocating a more pro-company approach.

In the current USWA campaign, Ron Weisen advocates a more fighting stance by the union toward the employers. While socialists do not agree with him on some important issues (such as his support for anti-imports measures and the capitalist economic and political setup itself), they do agree with him on the need for the union to fight as well as his support for greater union democracy. Socialists should lend what help they can to Weisen's efforts to

get on the ballot. This will require being nominated by 111 USWA locals at January meetings.

Undemocratic election procedures, including the fact that a nomination by a 10,000-member local carries the same weight as a 10-member local, may prevent Weisen from achieving ballot status. The meeting therefore agreed to defer a decision on who socialists will vote for in the March election, until early February.

Regardless of who achieves ballot status, socialists agreed that much of their time will be spent discussing the big issues facing the union and the entire labor movement. This will include the socialist approach to the fight for jobs, the need for labor to oppose the U.S. government's wars in Central America and Lebanon, as well as what it will take to forge a fighting labor movement. They agreed to center these efforts on sales of the *Militant* to

steelworkers on the job and at plant gates, coupled with sales of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Steelworkers Under Attack: How to Fight Back and Defend Jobs*.

Steelworkers at the meeting recognized that the outcome of the election will not guarantee the fundamental changes needed by the union. However, the more wide-ranging the discussion within the ranks, the better prepared steelworkers will be for future battles, both against the employers and to change their union.

In the first week of January, opposition candidate Ron Weisen won several important nominations in his fight to get on the ballot in the March 29 special election for USWA president. These included Local 2610 at Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point plant and Local 1066 at U.S. Steel's massive Gary Works. Both locals represent thousands of workers.

Angolans resist South African invasion

Continued from back page

In addition to carrying out its own attacks, Pretoria has sought to spread terror and destruction throughout much of Angola by arming, financing, training, and directly supporting armed bands of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The UNITA, which was allied with South Africa during the Angolan civil war of 1975-76, is seeking to topple the MPLA government and has conducted numerous terrorist and sabotage attacks in southern and central Angola.

Since Angola won its independence in 1975, the economic and human toll of this combined South African-UNITA drive has been enormous.

According to a May 1983 United Nations report, South African attacks had taken some 10,000 lives up to 1982. Economic damage to Angola — the destruction of roads, railways, bridges, factories, and refineries — has been estimated at \$10 billion.

In launching their invasion of Angola, the South African racists have been greatly encouraged by Washington's own aggressive policies around the world. The October U.S. invasion of Grenada was a particular boost.

Viljoen, seeking to justify the drive into Angola, declared, "As little as the United States can afford a Grenada sitting on its doorstep, so little can we allow in our bordering territories the enemies [of South Africa] to have a carte blanche."

The Reagan administration's encouragement to Pretoria has been more direct as well.

Since coming into office, Reagan has followed a policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria, that is, the forging of closer political, economic, and military ties. The U.S. representative to the United Nations has consistently vetoed any move to impose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

In mid-November, just a few weeks before the invasion of Angola began, Charles Lichenstein, the deputy U.S. ambassador to the UN, declared in an interview with a leading South African business publication that South African destabilization of countries like Angola and Mozambique "will remain in force until Angola and Mozambique do not permit their territory to be used by terrorists to attack South Africa." Lichenstein thus echoed, almost word-for-word, the justification Pretoria uses for its attacks against neighboring countries.

In a similar manner, Washington has sought to provide political cover for Pretoria's continued occupation of Namibia by demanding that the issue of a withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola be linked to any negotiations over independence for Namibia.

Since the Cuban troops are in Angola at the request of the Angolan government, to help protect Angola from imperialist attack, Washington's demand has been rejected by the Angolan and Cuban governments as an arrogant attempt to interfere in their sovereign affairs.

Speaking at a news conference at the United Nations January 5, Angola's UN delegate, Elísio de Figueiredo stated that the Cuban troops in Angola were not involved "at this stage" in the current fighting. He added, however, that the Angolan government reserved the right to call for military help from other countries, including Cuba.

From Intercontinental Press

Many cases of antigay violence, report shows

The National Gay Task Force (NGTF) has recently released a report that in the first eight months of 1983, 1,682 incidents of harassment, threats, and attacks against lesbians and gay men were reported to its project on violence.

Some of the violence was attributable to the reactionary, antigay propaganda campaign around AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).

Of the incidents reported to NGTF, 57 percent are verbal harassment or intimidation, 28 percent (478) are physical assaults (including sexual assaults and attacks with weapons), and one percent (15) are homicides. Four percent (59) are incidents of arson or vandalism of property, and 10 percent (165) are other types of crimes.

Seven percent of the incidents reported involved police harassment or brutality.

Steelworkers Under Attack How to fight back and defend jobs

By Geoff Mirelowitz, 95 cents, 40 pp.

U.S. Steel's plant closings point to the urgent need for a discussion of strategy and perspectives in the Steelworkers union. How can the union defend itself? Why won't the top officials mount a fight? What kind of leadership will it take to do the job?

Steelworkers will be discussing these questions as the union's March 29 presidential election ap-

proaches.

This pamphlet answers the employers' lies that blame workers for the steel industry crisis, including why stopping imports will not end unemployment. It outlines a fight-back strategy for the steel union and all workers.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage and handling.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4094.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 839-5316. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S. Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

GARY: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box

80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 464-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 23 Central Ave. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Nationalize the steel industry

Continued from front page

volved, or to their families, or their communities," said acting USWA President Lynn Williams. He called for "critical action by government," because "something has to be done."

No common interests

But what should be done? Williams proposes a "national industrial policy," and new restrictions on imports. Neither step will defend U.S. Steel's latest victims nor prevent further job cuts. These steps, however, are consistent with the approach of the top labor officialdom, which seeks to convince workers that they share common interests with their employers, including "saving the steel industry."

From the USWA's inception in 1942 union members have been urged by the top officials to cooperate with their own bosses and the rest of the capitalist class — including support to the employers' parties, the Democrats and Republicans. This has meant bargaining away real on-the-job control, accepting increased government intervention and regulation of union affairs, and foregoing a political fight for government social measures to benefit the entire working class and the oppressed. In return, organized workers received wage gains, some fringe benefits, and a promise of job security and steadily improving living standards — as long as the capitalists were reaping huge profits.

The real payoff of this class-collaborationist policy has become clearer to growing numbers of workers over the past decade as the employers have tried to make workers pay for a mounting capitalist crisis. Hitching workers' conditions to the bosses' profits is precisely what has disarmed the USWA and other unions, significantly weakening their ability to fight moves like those by U.S. Steel. The "experimental negotiating agreement" (ENA), which deprived basic steelworkers of the right to strike for 10 years, and the March 1983 concession contract in basic steel are other painful reminders of the price steelworkers paid for this policy.

There is a realistic alternative. That is for the USWA and the entire labor movement to begin to act decisively in the interests of our own class, the working class.

This can begin today. In addition to demanding immediate, emergency nationalization, the USWA should take the lead in mounting a nationwide action campaign by the entire union movement and its allies — including marches, pickets, protests, and demonstrations — to demand of the government that no worker suffer the consequences of U.S. Steel's actions, or others caused by the capitalist system.

Today the government can decree that unemployment benefits will be paid at union-scale wages to all who are seeking work, until they can find employment. Retraining for new jobs, also at decent — that is, union-scale — wages, should be provided.

A broad and bold campaign of public works should be fought for — not "make work," but programs aimed at fixing the disrepair of communities of working people, especially the neighborhoods of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. Decent schools, housing, hospitals, mass transit, roads, and bridges need to be built. If such programs were undertaken in a meaningful way, massive amounts of steel, as well as the productive labor of tens of thousands of workers, would be required.

The U.S. government bears responsibility for massive destruction in Vietnam as well; steel could be sent there to help rebuild that war-shattered country. Washington is financing tremendous destruction in its war against the people of Central America and the Mideast. They, too, are in need of steel and construction materials from the United States, not bombs and bullets.

Democratic and Republican politicians who serve the interests of the owners of the mines, mills, factories, and banks will cry that government budget deficits are too high already. What is actually too high, however, is the social price being paid by working people for the capitalist profit drive. The labor movement can answer: Don't send \$100 million more to reinforce the Salvadoran dictatorship and its crumbling army. Dismantle the entire war budget. Do away with the bloated government bureaucracy that only serves the interests of the rich. Use those billions instead to meet the needs of working people here and abroad.

Shorter workweek

Along with these immediate measures needed by working people, a broader social question is sharply posed by the jobs crisis. The labor movement should demand that legislation be enacted to shorten the work week to 30 hours with no cut in take-home pay to spread around available work.

At the same time that U.S. Steel dumped 15,000 workers, it announced modernization plans to boost the earnings of its owners. The time is long overdue for a massive, union-led fight to demand that workers, who pro-

duce the wealth, reap the benefits of such modernization by enjoying a decrease in their hours of work.

Public boards

Together, such steps can begin to ease the terrible effects of unemployment for working people. The fight for nationalization in particular poses the need to take decision-making power out of the hands of the owners of U.S. Steel and other corporate giants.

The call for nationalization of steel should be coupled with the demand to open the books of the steel companies, and to establish some public control of this vital industry. The labor movement should demand that a nationalized steel industry be managed by boards directly elected by the public and closely watched over by the unions, and consumer and environmental groups.

Every aspect of the industry should be open to public scrutiny. All books and records should be published and easily available. All meetings should be public and all decisions fully aired and accounted for. This is the opposite of the juggled and partial figures trumpeted by the steel barons last year to reinforce their poor-mouthing and bolster their demands for union concessions.

Workers control

No one knows how to run a steel mill better than steelworkers themselves. All aspects of administration of the industry should be subject to vigorous workers control.

Nationalizing the steel industry today will not eliminate capitalist competitive pressure or guarantee jobs. The nationalized British steel industry, for example, has cut 150,000 jobs permanently in the past 10 years. Working conditions have worsened.

Workers in all industries need to begin fighting right now to win veto power over health and safety conditions, the right to walk off any unsafe job, the right to shut down any production process that threatens the environment. They must exercise control over the hours and pace of work, with the unconditional right to refuse overtime — especially while millions remain jobless.

In fact, in a limited and partial manner this struggle is already under way. It is being fought by workers as they resist the conditions imposed by the bosses, including attempts to infringe on contract provisions. Using union power to organize and deepen this fight right now, while the mills remain in the hands of private owners, can strengthen the fight for nationalization that can lay the basis for a major expansion of workers control on the job.

Steelworkers must have the right to strike to force compliance with contract provisions and safety standards. The March 1983 concession contract, which weakened union rights and work rules should be torn up and a new contract put to a vote of rank-and-file steelworkers themselves.

Through fighting for control over conditions in their plants and throughout the industry, steelworkers can also strive to put an end to the racism and discrimination against women that has dominated life in the mills under private ownership. Firm control by workers and their union over hiring, promotion, and job assignments can be an effective answer to the bosses' attempts to use race and sex differences to divide and weaken the USWA.

Labor party needed

The measures needed to defend workers from U.S. Steel's latest action requires a struggle that targets not only one corporation and its owners but the entire ruling class and their bipartisan government. The USWA and the entire labor movement should begin that battle right now — but to carry it through to a successful conclusion requires a political tool, a labor party based on the trade unions.

Such a party would fight to prohibit U.S. Steel from throwing workers out onto the street. It would demand that the current government act now to nationalize the steel industry and convert it into a public utility.

A determined political fight for nationalization would be just that — a fight. Today's government represents the owners of U.S. Steel and the rest of big business and the banks. All the big decisions that affect society — from U.S. Steel's shutdowns, to war in Central America — are made in the interests of the tiny handful of wealthy employers, not the majority of working people. That is why the government steadfastly opposes nationalization of steel or other industries, since it violates the "rights" and prerogatives of the rich and points in the direction of production for society's needs, not private profit.

In place of the current government, which stands behind the owners of U.S. Steel, the steel industry, and the entire U.S. ruling class, the working class and its allies need a government that will act to advance and safeguard our interests. The Democrats and Republicans will never form such a government. That will require a revolutionary struggle by workers and farmers to form one of our own.

Che anticipated scope of battle against imperialism

BY JON HILLSON

He was, Fidel Castro stated, an "incomparable leader" — and one not only so for his extraordinary military skills, boundless courage, and an immense sense of self-sacrifice.

"It is in the field of ideas," Castro told the Cuban people on Oct. 18, 1967, "we feel the tremendous loss that his death means to the revolutionary movement."

The top leader of the Cuban revolution was speaking of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the legendary fighter slain in Bolivia at the hands of a CIA-organized search-and-destroy mission on Oct. 8, 1967, while trying to mobilize the peasantry against the U.S.-backed tyranny.

In April 1967, a stirring message penned in Bolivia by Che was delivered to the Tricontinental Conference in

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Havana, an international meeting of revolutionaries from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The document is a remarkable anticipation of the character and scope of the huge battle now unfolding between U.S. imperialism and the world revolution, centered today in Central America and the Caribbean.

Washington's policy, Che states, is "to maintain that which has already been conquered" — the "capital, raw materials, cheap technicians, and common labor and to which they export new capital (instrument of domination), arms, and every kind of article, submerging us in absolute dependence."

"Under the slogan 'We shall not allow another Cuba,'" Che sees "the clear warning stating that the Yankee troops are ready to intervene anywhere in America where established order may be altered, thus endangering their interests."

The "rebellion is ripening swiftly" against U.S.-backed dictatorships and the misery rooted in imperialist exploitation. Against local reactionary forces, the revolutionary movement "will become practically invincible, obliging the Yankees to send reinforcements."

"Little by little," Che states, "the obsolete weapons which are sufficient for the repression of small armed bands will be exchanged for modern armaments, and the United States military 'advisers' will be substituted by United States soldiers. . . . It is the road of Vietnam; it is the road that will be followed in our America. . . ."

Che provides a cold-blooded, sobering view of these wars of national liberation.

"The struggle will be long, harsh, and its battle fronts will be the guerrillas' refuge, the cities, the homes of the fighters — where repressive forces will go seeking easy victims among their families, among the massacred rural population in the villages, or cities destroyed by the bombardments of the enemy."

"We must bear in mind that imperialism is a world system — the last stage of capitalism," Che explains, "and it must be defeated in a great world confrontation."

Confident of final victory, Che states this war "provokes internal repercussion in the United States," spurring a long-delayed factor in the worldwide battle against imperialism — "class struggle even within its own territory."

At the time, Che necessarily singled out heroic Vietnam for its solitary stand against the entire, concentrated arsenal of U.S. imperialism.

"What a luminous, near future would be visible to us," Che states, "if two, three, many Vietnams appeared throughout the world with their share of death and immense tragedies, their everyday heroism and repeated blows against imperialism, obliging it to disperse its forces under the attack and the increasing hatred of all the peoples of the earth."

"Let us," Che told the Tricontinental militants, "develop a true proletarian internationalism, with international proletarian armies; let the flag under which we fight be the sacred cause of redeeming humanity so that to die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Brazil — to name only a few scenes of today's armed struggle — will be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, or even a European."

"In the future," Fidel told the throng at Che's funeral, "when an example of proletarian internationalism is spoken of, when an example of proletarian internationalism is sought, that example, high above any other, will be Che's example!"

"Our every action," Che speaks in 1967, as if to future generations, "is a battle cry against imperialism and a call for the people's unity against the great enemy of mankind: the United States of America. Whenever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand be extended to take up our weapons, and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory."

Nicaragua exposes how CIA exploits Miskitos

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Is Nicaragua's recent decree of amnesty to the Miskito Indians who have participated in counterrevolutionary attacks a fake and a fraud? To find freedom, must the Miskitos flee Nicaragua to live in "democratic" Honduras?

The U.S. government says yes. It is part of the effort to convince the people of the United States that an invasion of Nicaragua will be necessary to defend "human rights."

In early December the Nicaraguan government dealt a blow to U.S. propaganda about the supposed mistreatment of Miskito Indians by the Sandinistas. The government released 307 Miskitos from jail, where they had been imprisoned for counterrevolutionary activity. It also announced all Miskitos involved in such activity were free to return to Nicaragua, except counterrevolutionary leaders.

The amnesty received scant coverage in the U.S. media. But in late December, the media was suddenly filled with stories about Miskitos fleeing "repressive" Nicaragua.

Some 1,000 Miskito Indians — until Dec. 20, 1983, residents of the northern Atlantic Coast village of Francia Sirpe — were cynically converted into pawns in a CIA propaganda operation.

In the predawn hours of December 20, armed counterrevolutionaries marched into Francia Sirpe.

Their first step — according to a survivor who later escaped — was to murder Miskito Indian Richard Thomas, the volunteer policeman guarding the village. Next they burned to the ground the food-storage facilities.

Eventually the village's entire population was rounded up and marched under arms toward the Honduran border, 20 miles away.

Present in the village at the time was Monsignor Salvador Schlaefter, a U.S. missionary who has worked in the area since 1942.

Initial Nicaraguan government reports, based on the fact that Schlaefter's jeep had been found abandoned some distance from the village, said that he might have been kidnapped and that they feared for his life.

As it turned out, Schlaefter arrived in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, December 22 and told the press: "I was never kidnapped... in fact I have known these boys for a long time... I went voluntarily, accompanying them in their difficult walk."

Schlaefter, who claimed "the majority of people were ready to go," admitted that "some were not." How many Miskitos left Nicaragua against their will, he did not say.

Miskito lay religious leader Francisco Becker, who decided to return from Honduras, reported: "Some did not want to go. I don't know exactly how they were mistreated and forced to leave, because it was dark and I was up near the front of the march."

In an interview with *Prensa Latina* December 26, Nicaraguan Government Coordinator Daniel Ortega charged that the Miskito exodus "was a propaganda operation carried out by the United States Central Intelligence Agency." Nicaragua's policy on entry and exit from the country is very open, he pointed out, and people can enter and leave the country without restriction.

Miskito Indians have for centuries lived on both sides of the present Nicaraguan-Honduran border. The only demarcation between the two countries is the Coco River. Passports and visas are practically unknown in the area. Visits, hunting trips, and migrations are commonplace.

Had the entire village really wished to leave on its own, it could have done so at any time. No armed squadrons would have been necessary to organize it.

Ortega also pointed out that it was the U.S. State Department in Washington — thousands of miles away — that first announced Schlaefter was alive and had gone to Honduras voluntarily.

Millions of dollars from the funds the Reagan administration openly provides to

finance the counterrevolution in Nicaragua are used to spread lies about the revolution. Miskitos have been a big target of this propaganda.

Historically, the Miskito Indians have been oppressed by Spanish-speaking governments based on the other side of the country. By and large, they did not participate in the revolution that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship (most fighting took place on the Pacific Coast).

When the enthusiastic militants of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) went out to the Miskito villages after the revolution, they knew little of their culture. The Miskitos, for their part, were suspicious of this new government, which they played no part in bringing to power. Misunderstandings developed.

Washington seized on the situation to organize a counterrevolutionary base among the Miskitos, arming some of them and provoking conflicts with the Sandinista forces sent into the area. Miskitos took part in a December 1981 Red Christmas massacre in which 50 Sandinista soldiers were hacked to death with machetes.

In order to stop the United States from using the Miskito people — and unable to provide adequate protection for their villages along the Honduran border — the Sandinistas made the difficult decision to move the Miskito population inland or permit them to leave the country. Eight thousand five hundred went to a series of inland settlements called Tasba Pry and another 10,000 crossed over to Honduras.

The Nicaraguan government has invested extensive resources into housing, health care, education, and agricultural production in Tasba Pry.

The revolution's work to try to bridge the communication gap between various indigenous cultures of the Atlantic Coast has borne fruit for both parties. Miskitos have received land acreage under the extensive agrarian reform program under way here. Significantly, some Miskitos have

become militants of the FSLN at Tasba Pry and formed a committee there.

The problems between the Atlantic and Pacific regions weren't created overnight and won't disappear overnight either. In fact, they were exacerbated after U.S. companies pulled out following the revolution, leaving large sectors of the Atlantic Coast's population jobless. Some people there mistakenly blamed the Sandinistas for this.

Speaking December 27, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega made clear the Sandinistas would not let imperialism exploit this historic problem or use it to justify armed intervention.

To demonstrate that Nicaragua has nothing to hide concerning the Miskitos, he suggested that the UN High Commission on Refugees come to do a study comparing the life of the Miskitos in Nicaragua and those with refugee status outside. Meanwhile, all who have left are welcome to return and rejoin their families.

Jacqueline Jackson on visit to Nicaragua

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — After several days here in late December, Jacqueline Jackson, wife of presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, declared herself to be "very much in sympathy with the Sandinista government," and expressed concern about the Reagan administration's policy towards Central America as a whole.

"Why not support Honduras by combating unemployment and poverty?" she asked. "The aid does not have to be arms."

Jackson, along with former congresswoman Bella Abzug; actress Diane Ladd of "Alice"; Adrien Parks, author of *Elephant Man*; Ramona Ripston of the American Civil Liberties Union; and others, visited here as part of an investigatory commission from the United States.

LETTERS

St. Louis election

I noticed an article in the Nov. 3, 1983, issue of the *Daily World* (newspaper of the Communist Party) on the independent campaign of Kenneth Jones, a Black rank-and-file activist in St. Louis Ironworkers Local 396, for alderman in St. Louis' 22nd Ward last April.

It reports that Local 396 supported Jones' opponent in the election (a three-term Democratic Party incumbent) but the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists was Jones' main base of support. An organization called Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) was coordinating Jones' campaign. Jones won the election.

This article was of interest to me because usually the CP winds up supporting the liberal or "progressive" Democrat. I would like to know if the CP or Socialist Workers Party supported or endorsed the Jones campaign. Can the *Militant* do a follow-up article on it? I did not see any coverage of this campaign in my back issues of the *Militant*.

Gary Yost
Philadelphia, Pa.

Caribbean Conference

A four day conference on the Caribbean and Central America concluded here on December 2. It was sponsored by Caribbean/Central America Action, a group organized several years ago to plead for crumbs from imperialism, funnel them to Caribbean and Central American businessmen, and cover up or applaud U.S. intervention there. The theme of this year's conference was glee over the crushing of the Grenada revolution. Grenadian businessmen played a prominent role in the conference, hoping to "capitalize" on the country's "notoriety."

The president of the Grenada Chamber of Commerce, Richard Menezes, claimed his country needed special aid because of "ridiculous" union demands that the revolutionary government had met. He said that completing the once-menacing Port Salines airport was key to the economy.

Other Caribbean leaders, such as Mary Eugenia Charles of Dominica, praised U.S. intervention in Grenada but whined for more aid as their reward for supporting the invasion. This aid will consist of a free-import zone for Caribbean products. Already the U.S. government is backing off from aid promises. They are proposing "free enterprise" to solve the region's problems.

Clearly, the only real way to solve the region's problems is through a workers and farmers revolution, like the one imperialism crushed in Grenada.

Marty Anderson
Miami, Florida

U.S. prisons

In America today, there are 561 state prisons, 49 federal facilities, 3,500 local jails, and 2,600 juvenile retention centers costing America's tax-paying citizenry in excess of \$8 billion annually. Moreover, there are more than 600,000 prisoners in federal, state, and local correctional institutions. And there is an even larger group, estimated at 2.2 million, (men, women, children) who are at any given time under parole, probation or some other form of correctional supervision in America.

Does anyone know why America, the world leader in every field and champion of the oppressed

and homeless of other nations, has such an enormous and ever-increasing prison population? Surely there must be someone in America who can say why.

A prisoner
Illinois

Rent Control

China and Russia abolished landlords. Rents are reported in the American press as \$5 monthly in Moscow.

A tenant
New York, N.Y.

Wilson Goode

Wilson Goode, our mayor-elect here in Philadelphia, has made some strange noises since getting elected. For instance, he recently told a newspaper reporter that citizens should expect fewer services, no raises for city workers, and possibly higher taxes. He does plan to visit transit depots to give workers pep talks, however.

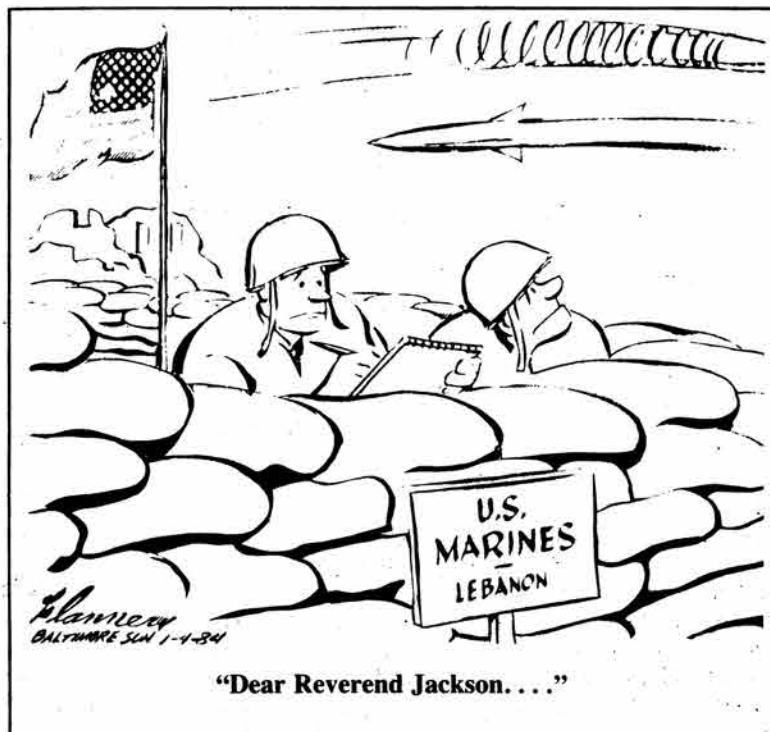
Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gay rights coverage

First, I do like your paper. I don't always agree with what you say or to the extent to which you say it but, in general I tend to form my opinions from your stories as opposed to the capitalist press.

There is, however, one thing missing from your paper that I find regretful; that is gay coverage. I have been reading the *Militant* for over a year now and can only recall two or three mentions of homosexuality.

Like Blacks, gays are beaten up and even killed for being what they are. They are also discriminated against re: housing, employment, etc., and in many places



that discrimination is still legal.

If people are not openly saying they should be killed, thrown in jail or other atrocities committed upon them for nothing more than being what they are, they are told to hide, to not make an issue of what they are. They are supposed to calmly listen to "screaming faggot" and "diesel dyke" jokes; to be terrified, if they are a teacher, to touch a child of the same sex because if it is found out what they are they can be fired.

Isn't AIDS and the way they're blowing that out of proportion enough to make you deal with this issue? I would not waste my breath, or paper and ink, on Jerry Falwell, but I believe you will listen and correct this error.

Also, maybe tell the truth about how Cuba treats its gays. Make a stand for the last minority.
Claudia J. McMullen
W. Hollywood, California

Correction

The Dec. 16, 1983, *Militant* incorrectly identified the president of the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) in an article, "Palestine solidarity in union movement." The OFL president is Cliff Pilkey.

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, N.Y. 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.

Honor memory of Martin Luther King

Join fight against racism, sexism and U.S. wars abroad



Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking at massive antiwar rally April 15, 1967. King's opposition to U.S. wars against colonial peoples helped show road forward for Blacks and other working people.

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, January 15, will be celebrated this year by thousands of Blacks and other working people. Marches, rallies, and memorial meetings will take place across the country honoring the civil rights leader, who was assassinated April 4, 1968.

King, best known for his civil rights activity, was also an outspoken opponent of Washington's war in Vietnam. Commemorating King should remind working people of the need to fight against Washington's current war in Central America and the Caribbean.

The King holiday gatherings will also be victory celebrations. Last November, the federal government was forced to adopt a bill making King's birthday a national holiday. This legislation was bitterly opposed by the Reagan administration. It took years

of demanding such a law by Blacks, other civil rights activists, and the labor movement — including a march of 100,000 people on Washington, D.C., Jan. 15, 1981, and nearly 500,000 on Aug. 27, 1983 — to force Congress to adopt the measure and get Reagan to sign it.

The law makes the third Monday in January a day of homage to King. It goes into effect in 1986. When it does, King will be only the second U.S. figure so honored. The other such holiday is for George Washington's birthday.

Winning this new holiday was a big victory for all working people. As the *Militant* noted in an editorial in our Nov. 18, 1983, issue, "The new holiday not only honors King, but pays tribute to the gigantic achievements of the millions who participated in the civil rights movement and

those who died fighting for freedom. They showed all working people that determination and action are necessary to defend and extend our civil and human rights.

"But," the editorial said, "the struggle is far from over."

This truth has been brought home in recent weeks by the Reagan administration's continued attacks on affirmative action, school desegregation, and other gains for Black rights. The U.S. Justice Department, for example, has intervened against the Black community in court battles for school desegregation in St. Louis and has asked the Supreme Court to rule against a Boston affirmative action plan to hire more Blacks and Latinos in that city's police and fire departments.

President Reagan stepped up his assault on Black rights last December by restructuring the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, first established in the late 1950s. Administration-backed legislation was adopted that set up a new, eight-member panel. Four commissioners were appointed by the White House and the others by Congress. Reagan used the reconstitution of the commission as an opportunity to ensure that the majority of the new body would be opponents of busing for school desegregation and affirmative action plans using quotas. The White House hopes to use the commission — as it has other government agencies — to attack Black rights.

The civil rights commission is a fact-finding agency that investigates complaints of discrimination. It has no enforcement powers. That's a central reason why previous presidents have generally ignored criticisms and findings of the commission.

But Reagan's appointees have lost no time in trying to place the body behind the administration's campaign to scuttle civil rights gains.

Linda Chávez, staff director for the commission and a Reagan appointee, announced January 5 her proposals for changes in the commission's programs. She recommended that the commission drop several of its projects, including a study on how cutbacks in financial aid affected students at colleges with mostly Black and Latino students.

Chávez — a former aide to Albert

Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers and, himself, a bitter opponent of affirmative action — proposed that the commission should, instead, conduct a study on the "adverse consequences of affirmative action programs on Americans of Eastern and Southern European descent."

She also recommended a major study on affirmative action in college hiring and admissions. "A general decline in academic standards," said Chávez, "coincided with the advent of affirmative action in higher education." She wants the civil rights commission to scare up some "facts" to support this racist lie.

Chávez said that in the commission's studies of education, housing, employment, and voting rights, it must avoid making any suggestion that numerical "underrepresentation" implies discrimination. Chávez also blasted bilingual education for increasing the segregation of Latino students.

Turning to discrimination against women, Chávez attacked the concept of equal pay for equal work, saying this right "is a fundamentally radical one that would alter our existing marketplace economy."

Chávez's stance, like that of Reagan, would lead to ending even modest affirmative action programs. Blacks, Latinos, and women — long "the last hired, first fired" — would find their oppression further institutionalized. Segregated education would be okayed, and sexual discrimination given a governmental nod.

Blacks, Latinos, women, and the entire labor movement need to mobilize themselves to fight the government's assault on civil and human rights. More actions like the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom are needed to defend and extend civil rights gains.

The Reagan administration can be beaten. Despite Reagan's opposition, the King holiday bill was adopted. It took a fighting alliance of Blacks and the labor movement to win this victory. There can be no better tribute to King this January 15 than pledging ourselves to build a movement of working people that will wipe out racial and sexual discrimination once and for all.

Angolans resist South African invasion

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Since early December, the racist white minority regime of South Africa has been conducting a new — and massive — invasion of Angola.

Striking hundreds of miles into that independent, Black-ruled country, South African air and ground forces have inflicted heavy damage and taken hundreds of lives. But they have also met with stiff Angolan resistance.

Angola, which has heroically stood up to repeated South African aggressions over the years, is again confronting the full power of the apartheid regime's military might. In doing so, it is also confronting U.S. imperialism. While Washington claims to favor "peace" in southern Africa, it has consistently sought to shore up the apartheid regime's position, provide it with the means to carry out its attacks against neighboring countries, and politically justify invasions like the one in Angola.

The Reagan administration thus bears as much responsibility for South Africa's latest aggression as does the racist regime of Pieter Botha itself.

Bomb hospitals and schools

According to the South African military chief, Gen. Constand Viljoen, the current

drive into Angola began on December 6. He claimed that the attack was directed against guerrilla bases of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for independence for South African-occupied Namibia, a country that lies just south of Angola.

While the South African authorities are certainly eager to strike blows against SWAPO and against the tens of thousands of Namibian refugees who have fled into Angola, their main target is Angola itself. They have been extremely hostile to the Angolan government ever since the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which waged a long guerrilla struggle against Portuguese colonialism, emerged as the ruling party with Angola's independence in 1975. The MPLA government has frequently defied imperialist dictates and has provided assistance to SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC), the South African liberation organization.

According to the Angolan News Agency (Angop), South African planes bombed Caiundo, in Kuanda-Kubango Province, on December 18, killing dozens of villagers and destroying "a school and a hospital."

A few days later, Angolan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Venancio de Moura declared that "the invasion force is composed of three motorized brigades, four artillery units, and a squadron of 100 planes, which have not stopped their overflights and bombings of economic targets, schools, and villages."

By early January, the Angolan authorities were reporting that the South African force was composed of nine regular army battalions and two companies, which could number up to 10,000 troops. This would make it the largest South African invasion of Angola since August 1981.

In addition to the ground actions, South African planes have bombed the towns of Cahama, Kassinga, Luiovo, Cuvelai, and Mulondo. On December 22, Kassinga was occupied by South African troops, the Angolan government admitted.

South African artillery units and warplanes have also bombarded the region around Lubango, which is nearly 200 miles north of the Angola-Namibia border. General Viljoen has declared that South African troops would strike "as far north as possible."

Despite the invaders' vastly superior firepower, they have encountered unexpectedly stiff resistance from the Angolan

army and militia. Units of the Angolan People's Liberation Armed Forces have shot down three South African warplanes, taken South African prisoners, and captured machine guns, radio equipment, rocket launchers, and other armaments.

Although the Pretoria regime follows a general policy of downplaying its battlefield casualties (to lessen concern among South Africa's white minority), it was forced to admit that at least 21 of its troops had been killed as of January 7.

Occupation of south

In a sense, this new invasion of Angola is really an extension of the one launched in August 1981, which Pretoria code-named Operation Protea.

Since that invasion, large areas of southern Angola have remained under de facto occupation by South African troops. Frequent South African operations in the region have been carried out from a South African base at Ngiva, a town 20 miles inside Angola.

Troops involved in the latest drive northward were drawn both from bases in Namibia and from bases in southern Angola.

Continued on Page 17