

THE MILITANT

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

El Salvador: next Vietnam?

Int'l outrage at murder of opposition leaders
Protest U.S. aid to blood-drenched junta

The cold-blooded assassination of six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in El Salvador November 27 brought worldwide condemnation.

In the United States, emergency demonstrations sounded the alarm:

"CIA out of El Salvador!"

"No Vietnam!"

As the El Salvador government desperately tries to stem the advance of the liberation forces,

tion team study calls for ridding the State Department's Latin America desk of "social reformers" and for "changes designed to reduce the influence of human rights advocates."

These are intended to test public opinion on a massive new escalation of U.S. involvement in the war in El Salvador.

That escalation has already begun—under the Carter administration.

An editorial

Washington has intensified its threats to intervene militarily:

- Two days after the assassinations, the *New York Times* ran a front-page story about a meeting between top Reagan advisers and Salvadoran businessmen. The subject: more military aid to the junta.

- On December 4, the *Times* reported that a new Reagan transi-

In this issue, we print the full text of a "dissent paper" drafted by government analysts in the State Department, CIA, National Security Council, and Department of Defense.

The document has been reported on—but not published—by the *New York Times* and *Boston Globe*. It bares a secret contin-



Lou Howort/Militant

gency plan by the U.S. government to use U.S. combat troops in El Salvador if necessary to block victory for the liberation forces.

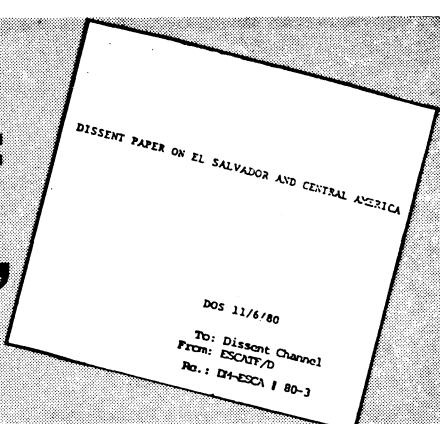
It provides extensive detail of current U.S. involvement in that

country's civil war—including work with paramilitary death squads, coordination of Guatemalan and Honduran aid to the junta, and links with Cuban and Nicaragua.

Continued on page 2

**INSIDE: Full text of
State Dept. 'dissent paper'**

**Document reveals U.S.
war plans in Central America**



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...no Vietnam!

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guan counterrevolutionary exile groups in this country.

As the dissenting document states, "... should President Reagan choose to use military force in El Salvador, historians will be able to show that the setting for such actions has been prepared in the last year of the Carter administration."

The document also explains that, contrary to the slanted reporting in the capitalist media, the U.S.-backed junta is weak and isolated. The liberation forces are rapidly winning new support.

It's in this context that Washington and the puppets it backs in Central America are stepping up their drive to stop the revolution.

It explains the increased provocations against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, and the recent killings in Grenada, as well as the crackdown in Haiti by Duvalier.

The dissent paper also shows that the U.S. rulers consider it vital to hide the truth from the American people.

But the facts are coming out. And as they do, the potential for united action to block U.S. war moves is greater than ever.

Emergency protests of the assassinations of FDR leaders have already shown what can be done. More of these activities are planned.

Teach-ins, speakouts, news conferences, and picket lines can be organized to spread the word. A broad array of groups are becoming involved in these activities, from Catholic Church organizations to Black, Latino and women's rights groups, to organizations on the left.

The recent Fifteenth Postwar Congress of the Socialist International (Second International) in Madrid also took important stands on solidarity with El Salvador and Nicaragua. This points to new opportunities to involve U.S. unions, and labor internationally, in the fight against Washington's secret war.

If the U.S. government tries to carry out its plans, it will have to go forward with the draft. The Committee Against Registration and the Draft has already called for a February 14-16 conference in Detroit to plan future national and local antidraft actions.

This important meeting can bring together all those concerned about El Salvador to map out a major protest movement against Washington's aims. It can serve notice to the U.S. government that the American people will not tolerate another Vietnam!

As we go to press

Thousands brave tanks to honor FDR leaders

By Aníbal Yáñez

Tension gripped San Salvador December 3 as more than 5,000 people filled the Metropolitan Cathedral and spilled into the plaza to pay homage to the six leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) murdered November 27 by the military/Christian Democratic junta.

Rev. Greg Chisholm, representing the Canadian Interchurch Committee on Human Rights in Latin America, said he was there "to express our solidarity because of the genocide by this Government against its own people." Chants continuously rang out, condemning the junta and the armed forces.

Most of the people gathered in the Cathedral were from the poor neighborhoods of San Salvador, wearing worn clothes and many of them bare-foot. Their spirits were high, however, as they shouted, "The people will avenge their martyrs!"

The six assassinated FDR leaders were buried inside the Cathedral itself, next to the sepulcher of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, also slain by right-wing forces. A demonstration and march originally scheduled to go to a west side cemetery was called off by the FDR due to the government's deployment of tanks and armored vehicles all over the city, along with hundreds of troops. Jet planes buzzed the Cathedral, while army and police units set up

check-points in outlying neighborhoods and entrances to the city, stopping vehicles and shaking down the passengers in search of arms.

The junta clearly fears the consequences of the brutal assassination of the revolutionary leaders. All radio and television stations in the country were ordered by the High Command of the Armed Forces to not transmit any national news. The army and the ruling junta are desperately seeking ways to eliminate from public opinion the widely known fact that the capture, kidnapping, torture and murder of the executive committee of the FDR was the work of uniformed members of the National Police and armed forces.

Foreign correspondents have been instructed to print nothing other than the official version of the events.

On December 3, the junta ordered the expulsion from El Salvador of United Press International's correspondent, Demetrio Olaciregui, who was one of the last regular correspondents for foreign news services in that country. Olaciregui also received a death threat.

Meanwhile, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) stepped up its guerrilla actions in response to the assassinations. Three powerful bombs shook the city of San Miguel, in the southwestern part of the country, on December 1.

Hours earlier another guerrilla commando set fire to at least fifteen hectares of sugarcane which was about to be harvested outside Cuscatancingo, north of El Salvador, with losses to the landowners estimated to be about \$60,000. In Soyapango, just ten kilometers outside of San Salvador, on November 29 a guerrilla unit attacked a military vehicle on patrol, wounding at least twelve soldiers.

Also, dozens of city buses have been burned by the popular militias in the capital city, totally paralyzing the urban transportation system.

Meanwhile, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White reiterated his government's support to the junta, saying it represented the moderate political alternative for El Salvador. He commented on the assassination of the six FDR leaders saying, "My government believes that these acts of provocation strengthen the growing circle of terrorism and violence between the extreme left and the extreme right."

However, figures such as the acting Archbishop of San Salvador, Msgr. Arturo Rivera y Damas, and even a member of the junta, Colonel Adolfo Majano, have repeatedly declared that it is impossible to speak of a government caught between two extremes. Every day it becomes clearer that the right-wing murder squads work in coordination with

and under the orders of security forces and the army.

On December 1 the FMLN issued a communiqué which said in part:

"The only alternative which can solve the national crisis is the creation of the Democratic Revolutionary Government advocated by the assassinated leaders. . . .

"The vanguard fighters are ready to lead, provide organization and efficacy to the decisive battles of the Salvadoran people for the definitive liberation.

"At this moment, our forces are preparing and increasing their arms, structuring their military and strategic units throughout the country, sharpening their battle plans, intensifying their communication with the people, preparing it to join in the decisive actions."

Eduardo Calles, newly elected member of the FDR executive committee which replaced the fallen leaders, declared in a news conference December 1:

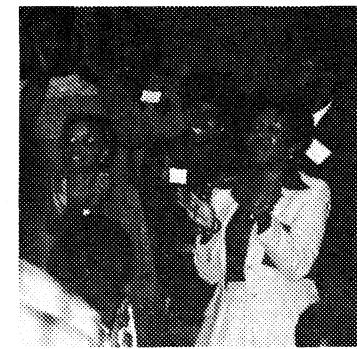
"Revolutionary violence has not been sought out by the people. The decisive battles are in the near future. We now have more experience, we are more mature, and the liberation of our people draws near." And the FDR as a whole state, "Nothing nor nobody will be able to stop the advance of our people's political program, which has been enriched with the blood of thousands of Salvadoran martyrs."

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National Black Political Party: sign of political ferment

Black delegates discussed the draft, racist attacks, Democratic and Republican misleaders and the problems of U.S. capitalism at the Black political convention that launched the National Black Independent Political Party. See pages 10-11.



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Moscow steps up threats

Polish workers press fight for socialism

By Fred Feldman

The Kremlin bureaucrats are stepping up hints of possible military intervention to crush Solidarity, Poland's anti-Stalinist union movement. On December 3 reports indicated that East Germany's border with Poland had been closed and that troop maneuvers were under way near the Soviet-Polish border.

Moscow categorically denied planning to invade Poland. But on November 30, Soviet newspapers published an account of an article from the Czech government paper *Rude Pravo* that compared the situation in Poland today to that in Czechoslovakia before the Soviet military intervention in August 1968.

In addition to trying to intimidate the Polish workers, Moscow wanted to firm up the resistance of Poland's Stalinist bureaucrats to the workers' demands for union rights, a voice in economic planning, an end to censorship and police persecution, abolition of bureaucratic privileges, and equality.

Moscow's moves coincided with the December 3 opening of a two-day meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, the Stalinist ruling party.

The Soviet rulers have been alarmed at the workers' ability to force dismissal of Stalinist officials who violate their rights.

In Czestochowa on November 17, workers' protests forced the resignation of party officials who favored trying to break Solidarity by repression. In recent days, eighteen of the forty-nine district secretaries were removed from their posts. The party is rent with factional conflicts over how far to go in granting concessions to the workers.

Victory over secret police

Moscow's threats escalated as Polish workers emerged victorious from another confrontation with the bureaucrats and their cops.

On November 20 Polish secret police raided the Solidarity headquarters in Warsaw. They were looking for a state document that had allegedly been passed to the union by an employee of the State Prosecutor's Office.

The document revealed some of the methods of the secret police. It recommended stepping up searches of dissenters' apartments. It urged cops to use more ingenuity in trumping up charges of advocating the violent overthrow of the government. And it pointed to advocacy of independent unions as subversive propaganda.

Police found a copy of this document in the Solidarity offices.

Following the raid, police arrested Jan Naroziak on November 21. Naroziak heads the union printing operation. Also arrested was Piotr Sapiela, an employee of the State Prosecutor's Office. Both were accused of violating the law protecting state secrets.

On the afternoon of Monday, November 24, Solidarity called out one key department of the giant Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw on an indefinite strike, effectively halting production in the entire complex.

On the evening of the same day, the Warsaw district presidium of Solidarity met in the Ursus factory and drew up a list of demands.

Besides the release of Naroziak and Sapiela, Solidarity called on the authorities to release the names of the persons who drew up the seized



Warsaw steel mill on strike to protest jailing of workers for 'stealing state secrets'

document; suspend the prosecution of persons accused of "antisocialist activities"; form a parliamentary commission, including union representatives, to look into abuses by the police and courts; and to open an investigation to determine who was responsible for the gunning down of scores of workers during strikes in 1970, and for repression carried out after a general strike in 1976.

To back up its demands, the union declared it would steadily extend protest strikes in the Warsaw area until November 27, when it would begin a general strike throughout the Warsaw area.

On November 27, Naroziak and Sapiela were released, and the government agreed to negotiate with Solidarity about the other demands. The general strike was called off.

Washington warns workers

Washington has responded to events in Poland with warnings directed primarily at the workers.

According to the *New York Times*, State Department officials warned November 26 that "continued demands by the workers might provoke a military crackdown by Polish or Soviet forces." They even alleged that "Soviet restraint was being sorely tested by the union."

At the same time, U.S. officials expressed opposition to Soviet military intervention. They undoubtedly will try to use any such move as a pretext for stepping up the arms race, attempting to restore the draft, and escalating U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Persian Gulf.

Denunciations of the Polish workers by the Soviet bureaucrats and their allies in Eastern Europe center on charges that the workers are controlled by "antisocialist elements" plotting to restore capitalism. The Czech government paper charged that "counterrevolutionaries" are carrying out an "insidious plan—to set in motion and strengthen antisocialist aggressive trade unionism."

Who represents socialism?

Such charges ooze contempt for working people. The bureaucrats claim that only they—with their fancy cars, villas, servants, and slush funds—represent "socialism." The workers become "counterrevolutionary" as soon as they speak their own minds.

The opposite is the case, however.

The Polish workers have no desire to restore capitalism. They know that the expropriation of the capitalists and the establishment of a planned economy in Poland in the late 1940s represented a great advance for them. They want to build on the progress that the establishment of a workers' state in Poland made possible. But bureaucratic rule in

Poland has blocked the way to further advances toward socialism.

The demands of the Polish workers—for improved wages and working conditions, for giving priority to the needs of workers and farmers in economic planning, and for abolition of bureaucratic privilege and misrule—run against the grain of capitalism.

Advantage of workers' state

Even capitalist reporters have begun to hint that the existence of a planned economy has put the Polish workers at an advantage, in comparison with workers under capitalism. In the November 27 *New York Times*, John Darnton noted:

"In the West, the demands of the unions are tempered by law, by accepted procedures for collective bargaining and by the economic realities of free enterprise."

"The workers in a factory or industry cannot demand too much in the way of pay raises or the employer will go bankrupt. Management has the right to extract concessions, such as increased productivity, in return. And if automobile workers in Detroit go on strike, it does not mean that bus drivers in New York will walk off their jobs in sympathy."

"In a Communist state, the Government is the sole employer, none of these constraints apply."

"In the West," stated Darnton, "management has the ultimate threat of unemployment. A Communist state cannot, in theory, accept unemployment."

"Only three months ago," Darnton concludes, "people were wondering how the unions could possibly survive. Now they are marveling at their clout, which the A.F.L.C.I.O. can only dream about."

Lech Walesa, the most prominent leader of Solidarity, was even sharper in expressing his opposition to capitalism to interviewers from the Polish magazine *Polityka*: "In our country, things are more simple than they are in the West, because we all form the state and we are closer to the responsibility. There is no one between us and the state, no factory owner. We can work for only a plate of soup . . . if we know we work for ourselves."

No one for capitalism

"I have not met in our movement anyone wishing the end of socialism and the reintroduction of capitalism," declared Andrzej Zielinski, a lawyer active in the struggle, to the same interviewers.

The fight of the Polish workers isn't leading toward restoring the wretched capitalist system they juked decades ago, but toward ending bureaucratic rule and advancing toward socialism under the leadership of the working class.

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Meet with Salvador capitalists

Reagan aides plan more arms to junta

By Suzanne Haig

Two days after the assassination of six revolutionary leaders in El Salvador, the *New York Times* ran a front page story about a meeting between Ronald Reagan's top Latin America advisers and leading Salvadoran businessmen on increased U.S. military aid, including combat equipment, for the junta.

Meeting with the Productive Alliance, described as "El Salvador's private-enterprise steering group" by the *Times*, were Jean Kirkpatrick and Roger Fontaine of the American Enterprise Institute; James Theberge, former Ambassador to Nicaragua and a member of Reagan's State Department transition team, and Constantine Menges of the Hudson Institute.

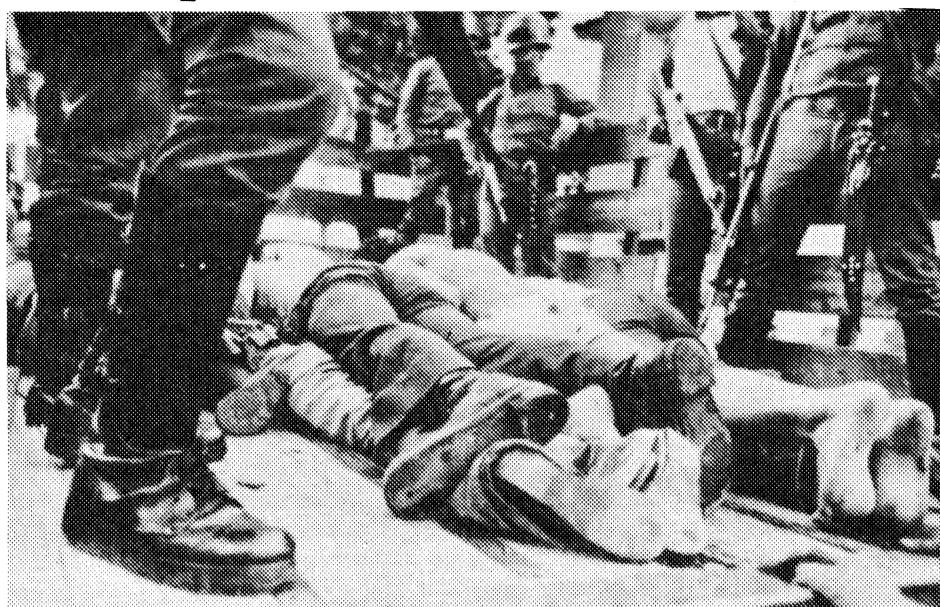
Roger Fontaine is Reagan's principal Latin America adviser and former director of Latin American studies for Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

He is also the architect of a strategy that calls for a "U.S. backed coup against the Sandinist Government in Nicaragua through a cutoff of all U.S. aid and by 'molding the national guard in exile into an effective fighting force,'" according to the November 29 issue of the *Nation*.

The Salvadoran capitalists and Reagan advisers were in agreement on the need for a counterrevolutionary offensive against the masses of workers and peasants in El Salvador.

Manuel Enrique Hinds, of the Productive Alliance, said Reagan's advisers "were very clear on the need for strengthening the security forces and on emergency financial aid to halt a collapse in the economy."

In turn, the position of the Productive Alliance was stated in a document quoted in the *Times*. Labeling the struggle against the military dictatorship a Communist offensive backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, the document concluded that "the only solution to this problem is to destroy the Communists militarily and start an economic recovery based on modern agriculture and industrial development."



Prisoners taken by National Guard in El Salvador. More U.S. arms will mean more repression, more torture, more killings.

The document also urged the U.S. government to make it clear that "Marxist aggressions in Central America will not be tolerated."

Right-wing forces throughout Central America have been encouraged in their bloody work by the shift to the right of the U.S. ruling class, as expressed in Reagan's program.

A "well-placed Guatemalan" quoted in the November 30 *Times* bluntly explained: "No one can be sure what policies Reagan will finally adopt toward the region. So the idea is to present him with a fait accompli. It also means that Reagan need not be associated with the bloodbath."

While feigning concern for human rights in El Salvador, the U.S. rulers have secretly been backing the murderous actions of the Salvadoran junta from the beginning.

Now, Washington is using the killings of the Revolutionary Democratic Front leaders to throw up its hands in mock despair, claiming that the situation is so out of control that the U.S. has no more leverage.

As State Department spokesperson

John Trattner put it, the murders reduce "the chances to bring about a dialogue between the leftist political

front and the Government, which we were hopeful would begin as a way of pacifying the country."

The Washington meeting between the Salvadoran businessmen and Reagan's advisers included a frank discussion of how the U.S. can help prepare El Salvador's military for its counterrevolutionary drive. The businessmen, "who are in close touch with the leaders of the armed forces," according to the *Times*, "say the 12,000-member army needs mobile equipment, training and better staff planning to undertake a sustained offensive against guerrillas operating out of rural strongholds."

If Reagan decides to step up aid to the Salvadoran military, "a public commitment of military aid and combat training for the security forces would be expected to follow quickly after the inauguration," according to the *Times*. This would also mean beefing up economic aid above the \$90 million given to El Salvador last year.

From Intercontinental Press

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Social democrats back Central American struggle

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The Fifteenth Postwar Congress of the Socialist International (Second International), held in Madrid November 15-17, adopted a special resolution calling for stepped up solidarity with Nicaragua.

The resolution, passed by unanimous vote, established the International Committee for the Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, a body composed of Social Democratic leaders from 12 countries, headed by Felipe González of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE).

The committee includes such prominent figures as Willy Brandt of West Germany, Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen of Denmark, Olof Palme of Sweden, Bettino Craxi of Italy, François Mitterrand and Michel Rocard of France, Michael Manley of Jamaica, and Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela.

The Social Democratic congress set forth four tasks to be carried out by the new committee: "To support the self-determination of the Nicaraguan people and their process of national reconstruction; to demand the non-interference of foreign countries in the affairs of Nicaragua; to provide information abroad about the current situation of the revolution; and to promote international solidarity with the Nicaraguan people."

Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, explained in an interview with Sofia Montenegro of the FSLN daily *Barricada* that the establishment of the international committee "was the result of a resolution I prepared after a frank and serious conversation with Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce who was here at the conference."

The congress of the Socialist International also called on the U.S. government to immediately halt all military and political support to the ruling junta of El Salvador (see box).

Concerning this, Willy Brandt told *Barricada*: "I strongly hope that no one will fall into the temptation to intervene militarily" in El Salvador. The Socialist International, Brandt said, "must use political means to convince or to make clear to the Americans that this is something that we cannot accept."

The congress also adopted a final resolution that stated the following with regard to Latin America:

"We believe that the victory and achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution reflect the hopes for social change in the region as a whole. We reiterate our support for the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

"Violations of human rights and political repression have nonetheless increased in the Southern Cone and in various Central American countries. We commit ourselves to support the progressive forces of those countries in their struggle for democracy and freedom. The Socialist International warns in the sharpest terms against any attempt by foreign powers to intervene in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean."

According to remarks made to reporters by Commander Bayardo Arce upon his return from Madrid November 17, the delegation of observers sent by the FSLN played an important role in pressing for such a firm stand by the Socialist International, *Barricada* reported November 18.

In a November 16 editorial *Barricada* pointed to the importance of the Social Democrats' decisions in Madrid:

"As our leaders have said, the Sandinista Revolution is a conquest not only of Nicaraguans, but of all the peoples who struggle for national self-determination and social progress. As such it continues to evoke the joint efforts and solidarity of forces such as the Socialist International...."

"The formation of this anti-interventionist bloc constitutes a victory for the people and a defeat for the domestic reactionaries who long for imperialist aggression as the only means of returning to power."

From Intercontinental Press

El Salvador repression hit

The Fifteenth Postwar Congress of the Socialist International adopted a resolution on El Salvador that included the following paragraphs:

"The Socialist International calls on the government of the United States to terminate its political and military support to the current junta in El Salvador and to acknowledge that the junta has not managed to prevent continued bloodshed."

"We reject the thesis that the

Salvadoran problem is one of a junta that is struggling against the extreme right or left. Rather it is a question of a despotic regime whose actions have brought about a state of civil war.

"We place our deepest hopes and our most active solidarity with the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, to which our member party the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] belongs."

—F.M.

FDR declares struggle continues

Salvador junta slays 6 revolutionary leaders

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The U.S.-backed rulers of El Salvador have committed another vicious crime against the people of their country.

On November 27, six members of the executive committee of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador were kidnapped and assassinated.

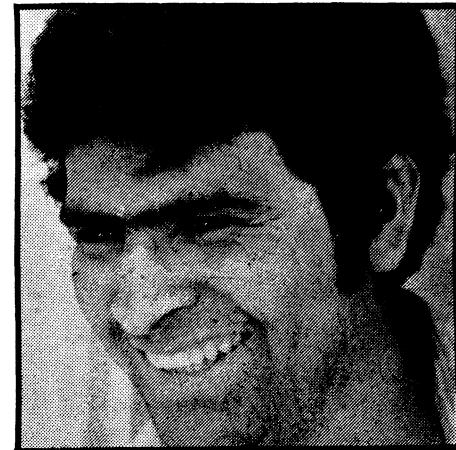
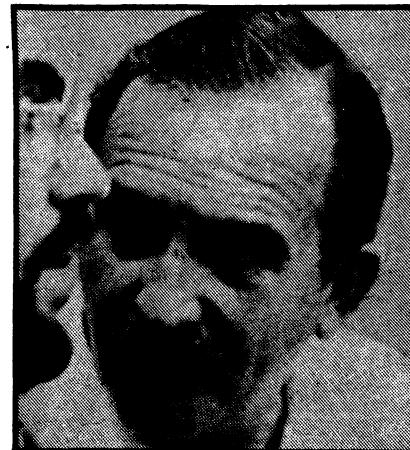
Their bodies, riddled with bullets and showing signs of torture, dismemberment, and strangulation, were found at a lake near Ilopango International Airport, east of the capital San Salvador.

Among the dead was the FDR's chairman, former minister of agriculture Enrique Álvarez Córdova. Álvarez was a member of one of El Salvador's wealthiest land-owning families; he had broken with the ruling oligarchy to join the forces fighting the dictatorship.

Also murdered were Juan Chacón, general-secretary of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR); Manuel Franco, a leader of the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN); Humberto Mendoza of the People's Liberation Movement (MLP); Enrique Barrera Escobar of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR); and Doroteo de Jesús Gómez Arias of the Slum Dwellers Union (UPT), which is part of the BPR.

Rightists raid news conf.

The six were captured shortly before noon on November 27 as they were about to hold a news conference at the



Murdered: Manuel Franco, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, Juan Chacón

San José High School in San Salvador.

According to eyewitness reports, the school was surrounded by about 200 men in Army and National Police uniforms. About twenty men in plain clothes burst into the school and forced everyone to the floor. The FDR leaders were beaten, blindfolded, and carried off in pickup trucks. Some twenty-five other persons who were in the school at the time were also captured.

Soon thereafter a group called the "Maximiliano Hernández Anticommunist Brigade" called news media in San Salvador to claim credit for the kidnappings and to say that the FDR leaders had all been killed. Maximiliano Hernández was the military dictator who massacred 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants after the defeat of an uprising in January 1932.

The military/Christian Democratic junta quickly denied all knowledge and responsibility for the murders and kidnappings, but it is well-known that the junta allows Death Squads such as the Maximiliano Hernández Brigade to operate with total impunity. These gangs are made up of security personnel and extreme right wing activists and are commanded by top military officers.

Government helicopters

Moreover, the Salvadoran military had announced early on the day of the murders that its intelligence units had broken up a supposed "guerrilla plot" to assassinate members of the junta and the armed forces. The FDR charged that government helicopters hovered over the school during the attack.

The junta's disavowal of responsibility for the killings of the FDR leaders was further discredited by the first news dispatch on the events sent from the Salvadoran capital by the Associated Press.

"The authorities have announced the capture of the top leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front," the AP said. "A government source said that the specific charges against each one of the detainees would be made known later."

The bodies of the assassinated FDR leaders were first taken to the Cathedral of San Salvador in the center of the capital. Hundreds of activists from the organizations that make up the FDR gathered to pay homage to the fallen leaders.

But the terrorists had not finished their work. During the evening of November 28, a powerful dynamite blast was set off in front of the cathedral. It destroyed the massive wooden doors of the church, injured five persons inside, and damaged the casket of BPR leader Juan Chacón.

Credit for this new attack was also claimed by the Maximiliano Hernández Brigade, which went on to issue



December 3 funeral for six leaders of Revolutionary Democratic Front killed November 27 in El Salvador. Thousands turned out despite army mobilization and threat of more killing. U.S.-backed junta ordered news blackout and expelled United Press International reporter.

Massive roundup of journalists in Haiti

By Andrea Baron

MIAMI—In an unprecedented wave of repression, the Haitian government has arrested more than 150 journalists, human rights activists, and leaders of opposition parties. Information on the crackdown was released at a news conference here December 1 by Haitian activists.

By the afternoon of November 28, the Tontons Macoutes, the Haitian secret police, had rounded up the editors and leading reporters of nearly every newspaper and radio station in Haiti that is not directly controlled by the Duvalier dictatorship. Many stations were forced off the air, and the police smashed the transmitting equipment of at least one, Radio Cacique.

Also arrested were Lafontant Joseph, the secretary general of the Hai-

tian League of Human Rights. Joseph is also the attorney for Sylvio Claude, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, who has been in prison since October 13. Sylvio Claude's daughter, Marie-France, was arrested a week after him. Claude's wife and son were also arrested in the latest wave.

News reports here say that Jean Dominique, an independent journalist with Radio Haiti-Inter, linked the crackdown to the publicity given to the Cayo Lobos incident. Two hundred eight Haitians seeking an escape from Haiti were stranded on the small island of Cayo Lobos. When they were forced to return to Haiti, the incident received international press coverage. Twenty-one of the refugees disappeared on the return trip.

According to Dominique, Haitian

independent reporters covering the return were harassed and threatened by police. Since the Cayo Lobos incident, open criticism of the government in the news media has increased.

A statement released December 1 by the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. in Miami explained: "These Haitian reporters dared inform the public about the Cayo Lobos ordeal. And, secondly, they were about to publish a press release from Sylvio Claude's sympathizers demanding the resignation of the Duvalier dynasty."

At the news conference here, Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste of the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. called for an international campaign to demand that all the political prisoners in Haiti be released.

Haitians here in Miami are demanding the immediate resignation of the

Duvalier government. Jean-Juste reported that there is a petition campaign in Haiti to demand Duvalier's resignation and hundreds of people are lining up in the streets to sign the petition.

Also speaking at the press conference were Mrs. Levy Ady, mother of Ady Jean-Garvy, one of the arrested journalists from the newspaper *Inter-Jeune*, and Kern Grand-Pierre, editor of *Inter-Jeune*. Grand-Pierre has been in the U.S. to cover the presidential elections. He came to Miami to help publicize the arrests and win the release of the journalists and human rights activists.

The Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. is organizing a series of vigils and rallies in support of the prisoners and to demand their release.

Salvador killings spark protests across country



Some 300 people protested in San Francisco demanding 'No U.S. aid to the junta!' Militant/Tom Kilpatrick

By Suzanne Haig

Actions protesting the assassinations in El Salvador and demanding "No U.S. aid to the junta" are taking place across the country.

In response to the killings, Archbishop John R. Roach, head of the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops, sent the following message to a press conference held in Minneapolis on December 3:

"My heart bleeds for those who have suffered violence, death, and loss of human rights in El Salvador. A lack of respect for persons and institutions, including the Church, is a blight on our society. The prayers of all of us are with these victims of injustice."

Present at the news conference—organized by the El Salvador Solidarity Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned—were: Sen. Nick Coleman, state-senate majority leader; Sister Del Marie Gibney, provincial administrator, Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration; Frank Guzman, National Chicano Alliance; Professor Julio Quan, Fulbright Scholar, visiting professor at Hamline University, from Guatemala; and others.

Some 100 people attended a broad El Salvador solidarity meeting in New York City, November 30.

The meeting was called out of a picket line November 28 at the Salvadoran Consulate, attended by 100 people in the pouring rain.

Individuals came to the planning meeting from the following groups: El Salvadoran, Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and Panamanian solidarity groups; Casa de las Americas; Coalition against Conscription; Mobilization for Survival; National Council of Churches; Methodist Federation; Committee in support of the People of Vieques; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Communist Party; and others.

Two members of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador addressed the meeting. They pointed out the need to publicize the truth about the role of the Salvadoran junta—to "unmask its genocidal character" and repudiate the lie that the terror in El Salvador comes from the paramilitary right-wing groups and not from the government itself.

They spoke of the need to oppose the U.S. government's support to the military junta and to organize broad, visible, and united actions throughout the country.

The meeting decided on the following protest actions: a telegram and petition campaign to the U.S. State Department calling for no U.S. aid to the junta; a picket line every day at the Salvadoran consulate in New York City; a mass and candlelight march December 4; and a hunger strike December 2, 3, and 4 to coincide with the national days of mourning in El Salvador.

Some of the students also proposed an educational activity to occur within the next few weeks.

In Chicago, an emergency picket line of 125 people occurred November 28 at the El Salvador consulate, and on December 2, 125 people picketed at the Federal building.

On November 28 more than 300 people in the San Francisco Bay Area marched and picketed at the El Salvador consulate. Chants included: "CIA out of El Salvador;" "No draft, no war, no troops to El Salvador."

Solidarity groups came from all over the Bay Area. The Committee for Solidarity with El Salvador in San Jose came with fifty people. Groups and individuals came from the Oakland/Berkeley area.

A second rally was called out of this action. On November 30, 300 people, primarily Latinos, marched in the Mission District of San Francisco.

International outrage mounts

Demonstrations and protests around the world began immediately as news of the murder of the FDR leaders spread. Thousands of Nicaraguan students and workers marched on the Salvadoran embassy in Managua on November 28.

In Mexico City members of the External Commission of the FDR headed a march of thousands, which terminated at the Salvadoran embassy in that city.

Trade union leaders from eight Latin American countries meeting in Costa Rica sent an energetic protest

to the Salvadoran junta and called for stepped up international solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Olof Palme, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, sent a letter to the ruling Salvadoran junta stating: "We denounce the outrageous murders committed against FDR leaders and condemn the bloodbath under your regime. We pledge continuous solidarity with democratic forces in El Salvador, especially with the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR)."

From Intercontinental Press

Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



El Salvador: new button

The El Salvador Solidarity Committee of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, has produced a button reading: "U.S. Out of El Salvador."

The black and yellow button is 2 1/4 inches in diameter.

The prices are: \$1.00 each plus 50 cents postage; 75 cents each for two to fifteen buttons plus \$1.00 postage; and 60 cents each for more than fifteen.

Contact El Salvador Solidarity Committee, c/o Jerry Lamecker, 1849 East Seventh Street #7, St. Paul, Minnesota 55119. Telephone (612) 739-6235. Checks should be made out to El Salvador Solidarity Committee—Twin Cities.

Film showings

Bob Warren from Houston wrote in saying: "The Houston El Salvador Solidarity Committee held its first major public event with the showing of the film 'El Salvador: Revolution or Death' at the University of Houston November 14."

He reports that more than 135 people attended and the meeting was co-sponsored by the Arab Students Association. Over \$100 was collected to build the committee.

He points out that "Houston is a vital center for El Salvador solidarity work because there are literally thousands of Salvadoran refugees coming here."

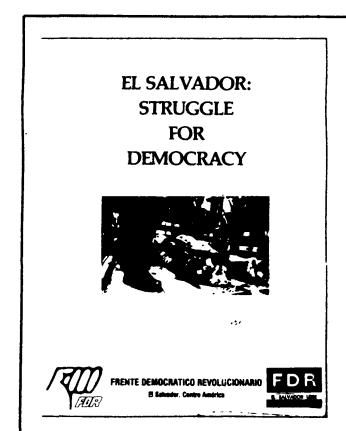
We also received a note from Dennis Drake that an El Salvador solidarity meeting was attended by about seventy-five people at Indiana University in Bloomington. The film, "El Salvador: Revolution or Death," was shown and there was a speaker from the Chicago El Salvador Solidarity Committee.

The film "El Salvador: Revolution or Death," is available from Unifilm, 419 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016. Telephone: (212) 686-9890.

FDR booklet available

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador has published a seventy-page booklet in English with valuable information about the civil war in that country. It is titled, *El Salvador: A Struggle for Democracy* and is available for \$2.00 from the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005.

The booklet contains statements by the FDR, letters of resignation by civilian members of the junta, reports on U.S. military aid, information and statements about refugees, and expressions of international solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador.



'Grenada News' and 'Caribbean Perspective'

Two publications that will interest readers of this column are *Grenada News* and *Caribbean Perspective*.

Grenada News is published by the Permanent Mission of Grenada to the Organization of American States, 1424 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Suite 203, Washington, D.C. 20036. It is distributed free.

Caribbean Perspective is a new monthly magazine published by the Caribbean People's Alliance. It is available for ten dollars for a one-year subscription. The address is P.O. Box 2194, Brooklyn, New York 11202.

The September 25 issue (Volume 1, Number 3) features murdered Guyana revolutionary Walter Rodney on the cover.

Women's rights in Nicaragua

The October/November issue of the *National NOW Times*, put out by the National Organization for Women, had the following item in the "In Brief" column:

"Recently, we alerted readers to a report that following the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, poor women were hoarding contraceptive pills in anticipation of a pro-natalist government's making it difficult to obtain them."

"We have heard directly from Lea Guido, Nicaraguan Minister of Health, who says: 'There is no government policy to restrict the availability of contraceptives and no plans to do so in the future.' She added that the Ministry of Health is promoting educational programs on family planning in cooperation with AMNLAE, the nationwide women's organization in Nicaragua. Ms. Guido emphasized, for the record, that 'Women's health care is a national priority at this time.'

"Included in her statement were translated copies of several new legal dispositions which are designed to protect the rights of nursing and pregnant Nicaraguan women who wish to work; they are impressive by any country's standards. Our thanks to the Minister for providing us with this updated information."

—Stu Singer

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

YSA tours spread truth about Cuban revolution

By Harry Ring

In the weeks before the election several national leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance made speaking tours of various parts of the country. Their aim was to win support for the Socialist Workers presidential ticket and to build attendance at the YSA national convention to be held in Indianapolis December 27-30.

On their return, I talked with three who had been on tour, Kara Obradović, Richard Fawkes and Agnes Chapa.

Obradović, national secretary of the YSA, visited seven West Coast cities from Seattle to San Diego.

Fawkes, a YSA national staff member, toured a number of southern cities, while Agnes Chapa, editor of the *Young Socialist*, spoke in New York and New Jersey.

All reported a particularly good response to the YSA's defense of the Cuban revolution. Even though people are subjected to the barrage of U.S. propaganda against Cuba, more and more are willing to listen to the other side.

"Somehow," Kara said, "They seemed to feel in their bones that the media is lying about Cuba. I think this is especially true among Blacks and



Militant/Stu Singer
YSA tour speakers from left: Kara Obradović, Agnes Chapa, Richard Fawkes



Militant/Fred Stanton



Militant/Osborne Hart

Latinos. They don't identify with the arrogance the papers show toward Cuba."

Slide shows

Agnes and Kara both visited Cuba recently and showed slides of their trips. They felt this brought more people to meetings than if there were just a talk announced.

People asked a lot of questions about everyday life in Cuba. Is it true they can't buy a lot of clothes? What about rationing?

"At first they thought rationing was real bad," Kara said. "But not when I explained that it's the fairest way to deal with shortages, make sure everyone

gets a share. Not like here where you can have everything you want—if you can pay the price."

Kara was encouraged by the progress the YSA is making on the West Coast.

In Portland, a new YSA chapter organized a well-attended forum for her and then a successful meeting at Lewis and Clark College. Twenty-five students came to it.

At San Jose City College forty-five students attended the slide showing and talk.

Richard spoke about Cuba and Grenada at two mainly Black high school classes in Washington, D.C. "When you compared the situation of youth there and here," he said, "you really got a good discussion."

Richard was particularly excited about an after-shift meeting he had with Black Lockheed workers in Atlanta. Several had been brought to meet him by YSAers who work in the plant. Then another half dozen workers in the bar where the discussion was held just sat down and joined in.

Made sense

"When I talked about racism in Cuba and how they eliminated it when they got at the root of the problem—the profit system—they thought that was pretty good. It made sense to them.

"They also liked the idea of working people in this country having their own party—a labor party," Richard added. "There were questions about whether it could be brought about right now. But certainly everyone was convinced that there was nothing to be gained by supporting either of the big-business party candidates."

Richard drove up to Virginia Polytechnic Institute with YSAers from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to meet a student who had written to the SWP national campaign. Since then he's been selling a bundle of ten *Militants* each week.

He organized a campus meeting, and a dozen people came. Eight or nine of them considered themselves socialists and are among the leaders of the anti-draft movement on campus.

"A group of them want to come to our convention so they can get a better feel for the YSA," Richard said.

Agnes Chapa said her most exciting experience was her two visits to John

Jay High School, a mainly Black and Latino school in Brooklyn.

First, she participated in an election symposium attended by more than 500 students. There her sharp opposition to the draft made a visible impression.

Then she was invited to speak to classes about her visit to Cuba.

"One thing I focused on was education," Agnes said. "How in Cuba education is totally free, all the way up to even medical school."

"I told them about the textile factory I visited, where the workers get an hour off with pay each day to take courses right there at the plant."

"I described several workers who are going to the University of Havana at night. They told me that fifteen days before exams they get time off with pay to study. I asked the people I was talking to if they could imagine that in this country."

No scalpers

"Then I told them about sports in Cuba. How it's in the constitution that sports have to be accessible to everyone. I said that, for instance, if the World Series had been held in Cuba, the tickets would have been free, like all other sports in Cuba."

A lot of the students were especially interested when she told them how Cuba got rid of racism.

"They asked, 'How? How did they do that?'"

"I explained that it's the law. But unlike this country, they enforce it. I gave them the example that if you were refused service in a restaurant because you were Black you'd get the closest police officer and have that person arrested."

Some of them wanted to know how they could get to Cuba.

"We have friends at that school now," Agnes said. "A couple of days after I was there, two came to the forum I gave in Brooklyn. Then they came the next day to a class on the *Communist Manifesto*.

"When you talk about Cuba," Agnes concluded, "it gives people hope. You can explain that what's been done in Cuba can be done here. And it would be even better because we've got a big head start economically. This is the richest country in the whole world. And it's the workers and young people who know how to run the country."

Join the fightback: attend the YSA convention!

WE WANT NOT THE DRAFT
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE



The fight against Reaganism and racist terrorism will be at the top of the agenda at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

To be held December 27-30 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

For more information on attending, check your local area in the directory on page 27, or write to:

YSA
Box 471, Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

Mexican socialist, a peasant leader, murdered

By Aníbal Yáñez

Donaciano Sorcia González, a Mexican peasant leader from the state of Veracruz, was murdered November 12 by landowners' agents because of his participation in the struggles of his community of Palmarillo.

Sorcía's death took place at dawn, after he got off a bus on his way to Palmarillo. He was traveling with Gregorio Paredes, a national leader of the Independent Revolutionary Peasant Coordinating Committee (CCRI) and of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT—the Mexican section of the Fourth International). Sorcia was also a member of both organizations.

After they had gotten off the bus,

a pickup truck that had been following them stopped a few yards behind them, then started up rapidly and tried to run them down. Paredes was able to jump free, but Sorcia was run over and killed.

The Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* reported the murder November 13, along with the charge of CCRI General Secretary Margarito Montes Parra that Sorcia was murdered because of his political activity.

PRT National Secretary Sergio Rodríguez declared: "We believe this is a clear-cut case of political assassination carried out by landowners from the states of Sonora and Veracruz.

"One of the objectives," he stressed, "was the murder of our comrade Gregorio Paredes, since just a few days earlier he had participated along with the Independent Peasants Front (FCI), which is a member organization of the CCRI, in land seizures in the state of Sonora, in the Yaqui Valley."

Paredes had been arrested by the police for his role in the land seizures in Sonora. After being held incommunicado for several days he was released over the state border in Sinaloa and warned never to return to Sonora.

Paredes has also been a prominent leader of the Palmarillo peasants in Veracruz, organizing struggles for land in that area. He got the peasants

of Palmarillo to join the CCRI and also recruited a number of peasant leaders to the PRT, among them the murdered comrade Donaciano Sorcia.

All this would suggest that the attack that resulted in Sorcia's death was aimed at Gregorio Paredes. It is an integral part of the attempts by the government and landowners to stop the advancing process of independent organization of the Mexican peasantry. And in particular it is an attempt to intimidate the most militant peasant organizers who are involved in the building of groups such as the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*

Socialist Workers leadership

Central activity to focus on suit against U.S. govt

By Harry Ring

An expanded meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party was held in New York November 15-17. In addition to committee members, participants included SWP branch organizers and leaders of SWP fractions in various industries.

A central point on the agenda was the organization of an extensive political campaign around the party's suit against the federal government, slated to come to trial next March 16.

Sales & tours

It was agreed to expand the sales of subscriptions to the *Militant*, which will provide extensive coverage of the trial.

There will be national speaking tours by SWP leaders to report on the case.

In addition to the *Militant* coverage, special literature about the political issues involved in the trial will be made available for wide-scale distribution.

To finance this campaign, it was agreed to raise a special party fund of \$75,000. This is in addition to the fund-raising efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund to defray legal expenses.

The party fund will be launched at a nationwide rally on the suit, to be held during the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Indianapolis December 27-30.

The YSA is a co-plaintiff in the suit, which is seeking \$40 million in damages for illegal harassment and disruption by various government agencies, as well as a permanent injunction against such political victimization.

The report on the case was made by SWP Political Committee member Larry Seigle.

Seigle stressed the importance of utilizing the remaining weeks before the trial to mobilize maximum public support for the suit. Members of the SWP and YSA should spread word of the case wherever they are politically active, especially among co-workers.

Popularize socialism

This will also provide an extraordinary opportunity to popularize the socialist ideas which are, fundamentally, the central point in the suit. Explaining these ideas in the context of an effective fight against government efforts to contain them will give added attractive power to the socialist program.

The suit against the government,

including the CIA, FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other agencies, was filed back in 1973. Now the suit comes to trial, Seigle observed, at a moment of escalating class conflict on a world scale. World imperialist forces led by U.S. capitalism are pitted against rising revolutionary forces. The imperialists are working doggedly to stem the advances of the revolutionary forces and to thwart the further development of an international revolutionary leadership.

Within the United States, he continued, the working class and oppressed minorities face an accelerating employer offensive tied to the international drive of capitalism.

The employers utilize two key weapons in this fight. One is the legally constituted repressive forces—the FBI, INS, local police, the courts with their antilabor injunctions, and so on.

And in tandem with these, they deploy extralegal repressive forces like the KKK, Nazis, and gangs of counter-revolutionary exile thugs like the murderous Omega 7. These forces operate with police cover and protection.

In the fight against the reactionary moves of the federal government, Seigle emphasized, the defense of socialists Marian Bustin and Héctor Marroquín assumes special importance.

Marroquín is currently appealing a deportation order back to Mexico.

Bustin is a permanent resident of the United States who was born in Scotland. The INS is now trying to establish that her membership in the SWP and YSA is grounds for deportation.

What is so important about Bustin, Seigle explained, is the fact that she is like a whole host of other workers in this country. Bustin is a coal miner. She is an opponent of the draft and an activist in the women's rights movement. She helped to build the recent Pittsburgh labor conference on safe energy. She is an active fighter against the KKK.

And, Seigle added, "she is a union militant who believes her union, the United Mine Workers, should not bow down before the coal bosses when their contract comes up for renewal next March 27."

Pointing to a rising wave of violence against Blacks, Seigle noted the government threats of prosecuting Black leader Jesse Jackson as an unregistered "foreign agent" for defending Palestinian rights. He also pointed to the harassment and red-baiting of Socialist Workers Party member Mel Mason, an elected member of the Seaside, California, city council.

'A way to fight back'

By putting the government on trial, Seigle said, the SWP/YSA case will be of special interest to activists in the Black movement, union fighters, Latinos and others facing deportation, and other targets of the government. "It will convince people," he said, "that there is a way to fight back. We will set an example of what can be done."

With the inclusion of the INS as a defendant in the suit, he continued, the trial assumes an added international significance.

Defense of int'l solidarity

A principal concern of the SWP is to help advance the development of a world revolutionary leadership. Through the trial, the party will be fighting for its legal right, without harassment or spying, to engage in collaboration with sections of the Fourth International and with other revolutionary forces on a world scale.

It is anticipated, Seigle reported, that



*Militant/Lou Howort
SWP suit will further expose complicity between government and racist killers.*

tional campaigns in solidarity with the Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Cuban revolutions. It involves the right to engage in joint activity with British labor in the campaign against the establishment of U.S. cruise missile installations; solidarity actions with Mexicans in the fight against deportations of the undocumented; collaboration with Canadian unionists, many of whom are members of the same international unions as U.S. workers.

It is estimated that the trial will last for four to six weeks.

The socialists will present the ideas that the government has illegally attempted to proscribe through the testimony of SWP and YSA leaders as well as members who have been particular victims of government victimization.

Seigle reported that the *Militant* is planning extensive coverage of the trial. The pages of the *Militant* will be the principal place where the full story of the trial proceedings will be available.

The SWP will also be conducting 1981 mayoral and other local and state campaigns. These will be invaluable in further publicizing the trial.

Plans for activity relating to the trial were also presented by SWP National Committee member Craig Gannon.

Gannon pointed to the activity of socialist coal miners around the Bustin case as an example of what can be accomplished by other industrial workers in the party.

In several areas, Gannon reported, major rallies featuring the trial are being planned in conjunction with the organization of special socialist educational weekends.

The SWP Chicago/Gary District is mapping plans for such an event for Saturday, December 13, as a means of launching the pretrial publicity.

The the party's New York/New Jersey District will host an East Coast education conference January 31-February 1, with a major rally on the case January 31.

Party to deepen activity

The Socialist Workers Party leaders approved a report by National Committee member Craig Gannon, outlining a series of activities leading up to the party's national convention next August.

Fight against draft

The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance will be actively involved in the continuing fight against the draft. The next round of draft registration is scheduled for January. Like many other youth, draft-age socialists are refusing to register.

Gannon emphasized the importance of encouraging the broadest possible participation in the antidraft fight, with a special stress on involving unionists.

One immediate activity socialists will join is helping to build the national antidraft conference slated to be held in Detroit February 14-16.

Abortion activities

Actions will be held in January to challenge the anti-abortion forces. It is important, Gannon said, that members of the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women seek to involve their organizations in these actions.

An important follow-up date is March 8, International Women's Day. One valuable focus of International Women's Day, he suggested, would be educational events on the gains being made by women in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

The section of Gannon's report dealing with the fight for Black liberation was given added significance by the announcement that day of the acquittal of the Klan-Nazi murderers in Greensboro. The National Committee decided to immediately help mount the strongest possible nationwide protest against this ominous act.

Gannon pointed to the role of unions in the October 25 countermobilization in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, against a KKK rally held near there.

United Mine Workers members in nearby Morgantown initially proposed a protest action against the Klan. Then Steelworkers District 15 in the Pittsburgh area got involved, along with other miners, in building an effective response. Leaders of the National Organization for Women and Black organizations also joined in.

Combating racist violence

Pointing to the growing national pattern of racist violence directed against Black communities, Gannon charged that the impetus for this came from the "official" violence of trigger-happy cops in cities such as Miami and the stepped-up assault on Black rights by Congress, the courts, and the White House.

But, Gannon stressed, people are fighting back. In many cities, he said, Black protests are on the rise. Socialists have a big responsibility to learn about local Black community struggles and to help build support for them.

In Buffalo, for example, some 5,000

Rally against FBI

CHICAGO
SOCIALISTS SUIT PUTS GOVERNMENT ON TRIAL
Public rally to support the lawsuit

Speakers:
Larry Seigle, national coordinator, Socialist Workers Party suit against the government
Marian Bustin, mine worker, UMWA Local 2095, victim of government harassment
Héctor Marroquín, member of SWP and Young Socialist Alliance fighting government efforts to deport him

Saturday, December 13, 7:30 p.m.
434 South Wabash
Donation: \$2
Ausp: SWP, YSA
For more information call (312) 939-0737

maps key party campaigns

Support to revolutions in Americas a top priority

Joel Britton and Mac Warren reported on the socialists' work in solidarity with revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, along with the advancing revolutionary struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala. The recent murders of revolutionary Salvadoran leaders point up the urgency of this work.

Britton explained why such solidarity campaigns are at the center of the party's work. "Revolutionary Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba need our active support. They are under attack from the imperialists, U.S.-dominated capitalist governments in Latin America, and counterrevolutionary exile gangs," he declared. "And now to prevent the spread of revolution to El Salvador and Guatemala, the imperialists are in an all-out drive to drown in blood the rising revolution in El Salvador."

Active, visible solidarity with these revolutions "is an elementary duty for internationalists," he continued, and "can help make a difference between victory and defeat in El Salvador."

Get out truth

At the center of this work is getting out the truth about these revolutions and demanding an end to U.S. intervention in behalf of the military butchers ruling El Salvador. Millions of dollars in economic and military aid have been pouring into El Salvador, and U.S. military personnel are directing and reportedly participating in the fighting.

Britton reported on the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which is now providing national coordination from offices in Washington and other cities. This movement is building on the efforts of militants in the Salvadoran communities in this country and work

by other solidarity committees and church groups.

Antidraft groups and the solidarity committees have begun to work together, seeing the importance of supporting each others' activities and working together for an end to U.S. intervention. Strengthening that natural alliance is a key task, Britton said.

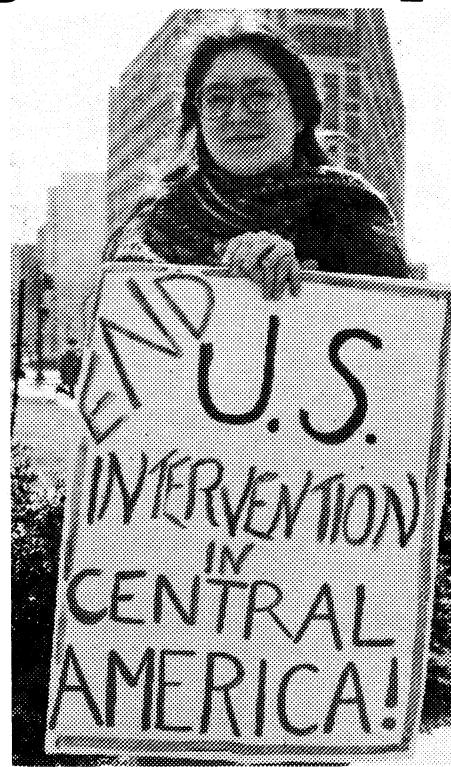
Build solidarity in unions

Generating activity within the unions in solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador is of special importance to socialist workers. "Rank-and-file workers need the facts on the repression in El Salvador and the fightback being waged by workers and peasants there. By distributing our press and the newly published *El Salvador Alert!* newsletter, we can help get a discussion going in our unions on how to aid our brothers and sisters in El Salvador," Britton said. "We can begin to counter the scandalous backing given to the junta by the AFL-CIO executive board."

Solidarity activities with the deepening revolution in Nicaragua remains vital, Britton said. The National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People is continuing to organize speaking tours, most recently that of Silvia Reyes, a Sandinista National Liberation Front combatant and leader of the mass women's organization.

The Eyeglasses for Nicaragua campaign announced by the United Steelworkers is one in which socialist steelworkers are getting actively involved. This effort coincides with Nicaragua's present "Year of Health." If taken to the ranks of the union, the eyeglasses campaign can be of significant help to the people of Nicaragua.

Another union that has backed the idea of solidarity with Nicaragua is the



Militant/Michael Baumann

United Auto Workers, which passed a resolution at its 1980 convention supporting economic aid to Nicaragua.

Two activities in solidarity with revolutionary Cuba were singled out by Britton. One is the national conference to end the U.S. blockade against Cuba now slated for February in Washington. The other is a national conference on education in Cuba to be held in Boston in January.

An important activity in 1981 will be organizing to get members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to visit Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada to see firsthand the achievements of these revolutions. The *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* will organize tours to coincide with Sandino Day commemorations in Nicaragua in February, the second anniversary celebrations in Grenada in March, and the massive May Day rally in Cuba.

Mac Warren, recently returned from a visit to Grenada, reported on activity in defense of that revolution.

He stressed that such defense has added importance because imperialism is on a drive to isolate revolutionary Grenada and block the spread of its gains in the Caribbean. He pointed to the CIA's role in helping install the right-wing Seaga regime in Jamaica. He noted stepped-up collaboration with Washington by other Caribbean regimes, like that in Barbados.

In addition, the U.S. government continues to protect ex-Grenadian dictator Eric Gairy, refusing to extradite him and allowing him to organize counterrevolutionaries in this country.

The most important way of developing solidarity with Grenada, Warren reported, is building the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. The society has chapters in cities across the country that work to get out the facts on the Grenadian revolution and build U.S. solidarity.

Several recent events, he noted, confirm the potential for involving thousands in solidarity activities.

The first was the response to an effort by ousted-dictator Eric Gairy to hold a public meeting in New York as an initial move in the effort to topple the new People's Revolutionary Government.

A countermobilization by Grenadians and other supporters of the revolution turned the pro-Gairy meeting into a pro-revolution rally. The few Gairy supporters were entirely outnumbered, and Gairy ended up holding a small, private meeting instead.

And, shortly thereafter, a Brooklyn rally of 500 was held for Selwyn Strachan, a leading figure in the Grenadian government.

Tour of Grenada leader

The Grenada Friendship Society is currently helping sponsor visits to several U.S. cities by Joseph Burke, Grenada's consul general to North America. Burke spoke at five colleges, a high school, and a Black community meeting in Los Angeles. Hundreds signed up to do work for the society.

This is no exceptional situation, Warren said, but can be duplicated in every city where the society is active. With organizing initiative, chapters can be established in new cities as well.

Because Grenada is the first English-speaking Black country where workers and farmers have taken power, the revolution there has a special attraction for U.S. Blacks, Warren said.

The society can involve broad forces in the Black community, as well as labor, students, left groups, and others.

Another important aspect of our defense of the Grenadian revolution, Warren added, is the coverage of events in Grenada and the Caribbean in the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Intercontinental Press*. These publications provide a major part of the news available in this country about Grenada.

Another important source of information that should be utilized in all areas is the *Free West Indian*, published in Grenada and available through subscriptions.

While Warren and Britton focused mainly on Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador in their reports, they made clear that solidarity with revolutionary Cuba will also become more important in the days ahead.

Britton noted that Washington is increasingly seeking to place blame on Cuba for the revolutionary developments in the Caribbean and that its anti-Cuba drive is sharpening.

Just as each of these three countries is firmly committed to defend one another, so U.S. socialists see defense of all of them as a single major responsibility.

in fight against nukes, racism, draft

turned out October 19 for a rally against the murders of Blacks there, with unions playing a significant role.

In Atlanta, thousands have mobilized for weeks to search for missing Black children and to protest police inaction.

Winning support for busing

And Black activists have launched a national Black party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans. Gannon also noted that current school

desegregation suits involve dozens of cities. He emphasized the need to involve the unions in the fight for busing to achieve equal education. In Boston and other areas, unions have responded positively on the issue. If socialists carry the issue to the shop floor, support can be won and greater union involvement achieved.

Gannon suggested that SWP branches mark the February 21 anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X, pointing to the continuing

relevancy of his work and teachings.

In participating in the 1981 elections, Gannon said, particular attention should be paid to areas where KKKers or Nazis run for office. Both groups have indicated they intend to step up their electoral activity and where possible they should be actively opposed by SWP candidates.

Fight against nuclear power

A significant portion of Gannon's report related to the fight against nuclear power.

He cited the angry protests over the latest accident at New York's Indian Point nuclear power plant as an indication of deepening antinuclear sentiment.

In this context, he continued, the successful October labor conference on safe energy in Pittsburgh assumes special importance.

Central role of miners

Coal miners played a central role at this gathering. The miners effectively explained that they support coal as an alternative to nuclear power not simply because it would improve their employment prospects but because they are concerned for the safety of their children.

The entire conference, he said, confirmed that labor can and must take the lead in the fight against nuclear power. And it confirmed that the coal miners, rail workers, and other unionists will play a central role in the fight.



Miners activity has demonstrated power of labor in fight against nuclear threat.

Philadelphia political convention

Leaders discuss goals of Black party

The following are excerpts from speeches given at the November 21-23 national Black political convention in Philadelphia. The convention founded the National Black Independent Political Party.

Manning Marable, Barbara Sizemore, Ron Daniels, Rev. Ben Chavis, and James Turner all participated in helping to organize the convention.

Marable and Turner teach at Cornell University, Sizemore at the University of Pittsburgh. Daniels is the former president of the National Black Political Assembly. Chavis is a leader of the Wilmington 10 defendants.

Marable: 'Mis-leaders brought us here'



MANNING MARABLE

We are here in part because the so-called Black elected and appointed officials have failed so miserably to do anything constructive or meaningful on behalf of the masses of our people.

At a time when neither Jimmy Carter nor Ronald Reagan merited the support of the majority of African people in this country, our so-called Negro leaders stumbled hastily over themselves to get behind the evils of two lessers.

Malcolm X taught us that the political philosophy of Black nationalism means we must control the politics and politicians of our community.

We must organize and sweep out of office all so-called Negro politicians who are the puppets of outside forces.

Look at the past twenty years of Black political history.

The number of Black elected officials has risen dramatically from 100 in 1964 to 1,100 in 1970 to over 5,000 today.

Blacks became mayors in cities like Atlanta, New Orleans, Detroit, and Cleveland.

But real political power escaped the clutches of these would-be Black power brokers.

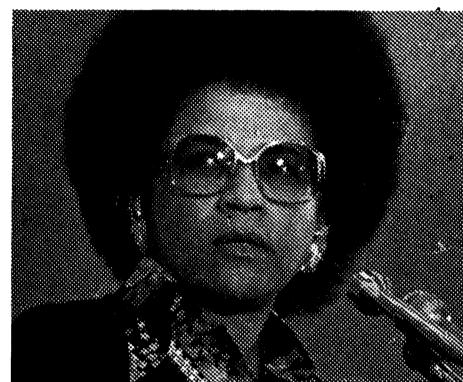
Too many of our people gave their hopes and their votes to so-called leaders—most of them Democrats, but Black Republicans as well who had nothing to offer us.

For these and other reasons we have come here to begin the difficult and painful task of constructing an independent national Black political party.

We cannot wait to liberate ourselves by looking on high. Only the masses can liberate themselves.

Black activists interested in joining the National Black Independent Political Party can contact party organizers at (215) 849-4944.

Sizemore: 'Twin parties of capitalism'



BARBARA SIZEMORE

Our problem is teaching the masses of Black people in this country that there is only one party. That indeed the Republicans and the Democrats are the same people.

We do not have two parties in this country. We only have one party—that is the capitalist party of America.

It has two branches. The Republican and Democratic.

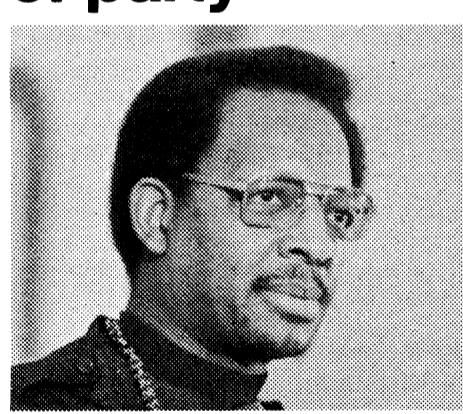
We've got to teach our people to be on guard against people who are for sale for money.

We have to teach our people to be suspicious of even our Black independent organization if it comes to us talking about supporting anybody who is not responsive to our needs.

We must be conscious of this.

This organization first and foremost must be independent. It must represent the interests of Black people.

Daniels: 'Ours a new kind of party'



RON DANIELS

We're creating a new kind of party. Some people are asking, what is it going to look like?

The first thing we have to be clear about is what it will not look like.

It will not look like the Democratic Party and it will not look like the Republican Party.

It is unlike anything we have ever seen in recent times on the American scene.

It is a party that stands for the politics of social transformation.

We recognize that we are afflicted by racism in this country.

We are also afflicted by a capitalist political economy.

. . . we must struggle to transform this political economy as a basis for self-determination of the Black nation and of reparation for the Black nation. We have never been paid for all the work that we've done.

It's a community-building party. It will stress community organizing.

Some people are trying to tell us that the only kind of politics is electoral politics.

They say we're not talking about elections.

We are talking about elections. But we refuse to say that elections and Black elected and public officials is politics. It is not politics.

It is only one aspect of politics.

Malcolm X taught us that we must struggle by any means necessary.

So if it is demonstrating, that's politics.

If it is organizing welfare mothers, that's politics.

Tenants unions . . . economic boycotts, that's politics.

All those things put together equals Black politics by any means necessary.

Our party must have a mass base.

It must be a popular party.

We want your mothers and fathers to join.

It's a party that will help people to understand the need to struggle against capitalism in a popular way. With a popular language, a popular program.

Chavis: 'Atlanta, Buffalo, Miami, Los Angeles'



REV. BEN CHAVIS

The interest of our party must not be to improve the political lot of a small group of radical intellectuals.

The interest of our party must be to improve the living conditions of all of our people as we progress in the struggle to eradicate the demonic system of monopoly capitalism and white racism.

In 1965 the prophet Malcolm X correctly predicted that it is impossible for capitalism to survive. Capitalism needs some blood to suck, he said.

As the nations of the third world are gaining their independence, capitalism has less and less blood to suck and it becomes weaker and weaker.

It is only a matter of time, said Malcolm, before it will collapse completely.

This is a very crucial moment in history.

I wish I could detail all of the things that have happened to us as a people in this nation.

From Atlanta, Georgia, where our children have been killed. To Buffalo, New York, where our brothers have had their hearts cut out.

To Miami and Los Angeles, which is becoming the capital of police brutality—where white policemen have choked young Black men to death and shot defenseless young Black women.

The two party system in the United States has not failed.

We are the ones who have failed by allowing ourselves to be manipulated by the Democratic and Republican parties.

We must not fail our people now.

We are here to take care of some business in the interest of Black liberation.

James Turner: 'No draft---No war!'

All of the Caribbean, and even Nicaragua, is going to come under maximum pressure by the rise of the right-wing tide in this country.

That means . . . the prospect of not only a draft but in fact a new move to militarization in which the Black working class youth will bear the major brunt of any international military adventures on the part of the U.S.

We cannot be party to that.

We have to raise the question of *no draft, no military participation!*

The option to unemployment is not the military.

We must include in the international program of the party the call for breaking off diplomatic relations with South Africa, and removing all commercial offices of South Africa from inside the United States. . . .

We must understand clearly what Malcolm's last message to us was. That we are not involved in a domestic struggle. That it is in fact a human rights struggle.

Our party must have an international perspective.

The move to expand markets and to control vital strategic seaways and marketplaces in the world is also related to the same crisis that has caused a growing move to support the employers against the workers; a growing move to support the landlords against the renters; the growing need to promote profit over human welfare.

International and domestic issues are linked. We must have an international program that's on the side of national liberation struggles in Africa, liberation struggles in the third world, and progressive movements inside the industrial countries.

Protest treatment of Puerto Rican prisoners

By Nelson González

Despite police harassment, 100 demonstrators gathered at the Dwight Correctional Center in Dwight, Illinois, on November 29. The demonstration was organized to protest the treatment of four Puerto Rican independence fighters imprisoned there.

The four and seven others were convicted and jailed on charges of terrorism earlier this year. All were accused of belonging to the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

In an attempt to intimidate the demonstrators, a state police airplane buzzed their car caravan as it approached the prison.

According to the protest organizers, the four prisoners, all women, are denied the right to meet collectively with their attorney. They are not allowed reading material of their own choice. They have been given punitive work assignments. One of the women, who has an injured hip, was refused the right to consult with an outside doctor.

The five Puerto Rican Nationalists jailed for their pro-independence actions in the 1950s suffered similarly cruel treatment.

The inhuman treatment at Dwight Correctional Center must stop immediately. All supporters of Puerto Rican independence and human rights should join in demanding an end to these conditions.

National Black independent party: sign of political ferment

By Nan Bailey

The formation of the National Black Independent Political Party by 1,500 Black activists meeting in Philadelphia November 21-23 is a promising development in the struggle for Black rights.

It points the way forward not only for the Black community but for working people across the country.

Serious Black activists have every interest in helping to promote the new party's development along the anti-racist, anti-capitalist, and politically independent lines that its founders have outlined.

New leaders

The Philadelphia meeting was a leadership conference. It brought together some of the new, young leadership that is emerging from among the masses of Black people.

The 1,500 who attended represented a broad cross section of the Black community. They included community activists, young people, women, students and workers.

They came to Philadelphia determined to fight back against racist attacks, cop brutality, rising unemployment, inflation, the threat of war, and intolerable conditions in housing and the public schools.

They came disgusted with the dead-end political strategies of Black elected officials and other misleaders. They came determined that they must become their own leaders if progress is to be made in the fight for Black rights.

Most came looking to found a new kind of political party—one that would challenge the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. They wanted a party that would represent the interests of Black people.

A large portion of the delegates were young people. Many were getting involved in this kind of political action on a national level for the first time.

Radical views

The views expressed in Philadelphia in support of women's rights, affirmative action, democratic rights, against U.S. imperialist military interventions, and for a political break with the twin parties of capitalism reflected the radical sentiments of millions of Blacks.

Outrage at racist terror in Atlanta, Buffalo, Miami, and across the country was a prominent theme of the formal and informal discussion at the gathering.

The convention offered a glimpse of the extent to which the capitalist system has exposed itself in the eyes of millions of Black people. Many pointed to capitalism as the root of the racist oppression and economic exploitation of Blacks.

The convention expressed the growing disillusionment within the Black community with the Democratic and



Delegates at the Philadelphia Black political convention.

Militant/Christopher Davis

Republican politicians—Black and white.

The most repeated phrase describing the new party was the declaration that it *would not* be like the Democratic and Republican parties.

Both these parties represent the wealthy, convention participants overwhelmingly agreed.

Educator Barbara Sizemore was enthusiastically applauded when she said, "We do not have two parties in this country. We only have one party . . . the capitalist party of America. It has two branches. The Republican and Democratic."

A new strategy

The founding of the National Independent Black Political Party distinguishes the Philadelphia convention from other Black political conventions sponsored by the National Black Political Assembly. The NBPA was founded at the 1972 conference of 8,000 Blacks in Gary, Indiana.

The fundamental political error made at those conventions, beginning with Gary, was the pursuit of a strategy of working in or with the Democratic party and its politicians, instead of charting an independent course.

Eight years later, it is clear that this strategy was a failure.

Recognition of this fact by millions of Black people is what pressed leaders of the National Black Political Assembly to join with others to implement the resolution presented on the floor of the NBPA's August convention in New Orleans, to call a convention to found an independent Black party.

This is how the Philadelphia convention was initiated.

It was unfortunate, as many activists in Philadelphia pointed out, that the majority of the convention deliberations were devoted to adopting an organizational structure for the party.

This means the discussion still

ahead for the party is the adoption of a political program that can direct the party's work.

The character of the political program adopted will play a decisive role in charting the future course of the party.

But the political thinking of convention participants and their proposals for what such a program should be came through in many ways at the convention.

It was evident in the discussions in the women's, youth, and student caucuses that met at the convention.

The hundreds who attended these caucuses discussed the political problems facing Black women and youth. The youth caucus focused much of its attention on the problems of youth unemployment and the draft, for example, and adopted these as two important issues that the caucus will take up in its ongoing work.

The political thinking of delegates was revealed in the convention discussion on the need for a woman's caucus and the political role of such a body in the Black party.

Delegates showed a clear understanding of the issues involved when they overwhelmingly rejected the proposal that a male caucus be organized if there was going to be a women's caucus.

Delegates also overwhelmingly approved the formation of a labor caucus, an idea that was not originally set forth in the proposed party charter. "Black workers are going to play a central role in this party if it is going to have a future," the delegate from Maryland said when he made the proposal.

A rich political discussion went on in the corridors as well. Hostages in Iran, the shooting of Vernon Jordan, the Reagan administration, the U.S. role in the Caribbean, police brutality, and

Black education were some of the topics of discussion in the hallways.

Most of all, the majority of those who came to Philadelphia wanted to initiate some political action in defense of Black rights.

As convention organizer Ron Daniels put it,

"We refuse to say that elections and . . . public officials is politics. It is not politics. It is only one aspect of politics.

"Malcolm X taught us we must struggle by any means necessary.

"So if it's demonstrating, that's politics.

"Organizing welfare mothers . . . tenants unions . . . economic boycotts . . . that's politics.

"All those things put together equals Black politics by any means necessary."

Pre-convention discussion

The plans for a national congress in July or August, 1981, and the mandate for local chapters of the new party to hold local conventions to build the congress mean that the next several months will be a rich pre-convention discussion period for the National Black Independent Political Party.

It will continue the political discussion that was not completed in Philadelphia.

The party has much to gain by involving as many Blacks as possible in this discussion. Recruiting to the party and its activities in the next period will mean also recruiting to what promises to be an educational discussion.

Challenges ahead

The National Black Independent Political Party and its founding members face important challenges in building the organization.

The task of beginning now to take action to oppose racist attacks and economic injustice is posed for the local chapters. Millions of working people are looking for a leadership that will mobilize such a political action campaign.

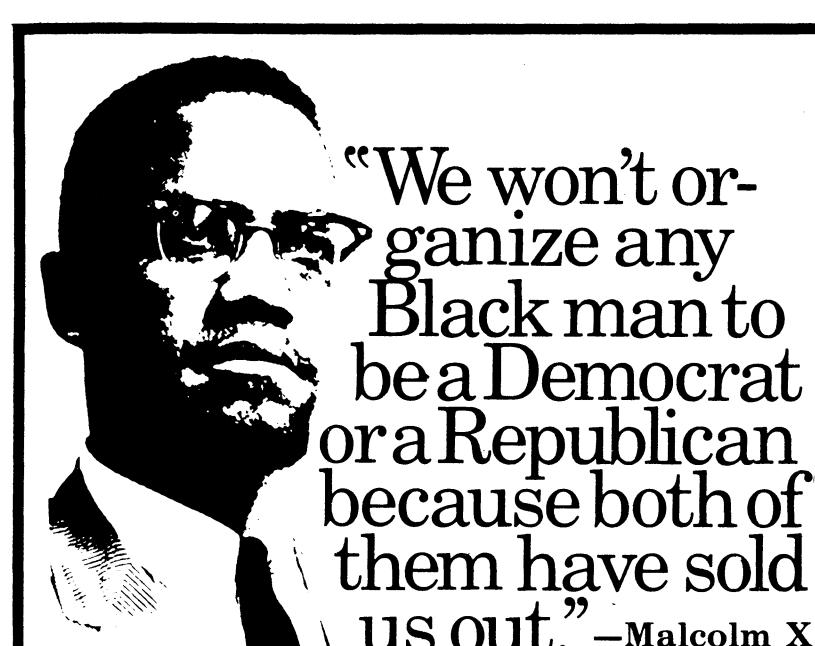
This leadership in action will attract even more activists to the ranks of the Black party.

Organizing an open and democratic discussion of the party's program and aims will also be a challenge.

Such a discussion, beginning on the local level, will mean political views can be thoroughly discussed and a programmatic policy adopted at the party's national congress.

In launching this independent political party, Black activists have taken a step in leading not only the masses of Black people, but also other oppressed nationalities and the ranks of the labor movement.

These forces will watch the party's development with interest and will be affected by its actions. More on this in a future article.



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The story they tried to keep from American people

By Stu Singer

In the following pages the *Militant* reprints the entire text of a document by U.S. government employees called "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America."

We think it represents the most important revelations to date of the secret war the United States is conducting in Central America.

According to this document, the United States has made "operational plans for multilateral and unilateral deployment of military forces in El Salvador and Guatemala."

In addition to preparing to send troops to Central America, the U.S. is playing a major role right now in the El Salvador civil war. The U.S. government is giving surveillance data to the Salvadoran armed forces and increased training for their officers.

U.S. military advisers in El Salvador are helping the junta improve military communications and rapid troop deployment.

Like the Pentagon Papers, which blew the lid off the real U.S. policy and decision making in the Vietnam War, this document exposes the lies of the U.S. government about what it is doing in Central America.

Why was such a document released?

The authors identify themselves by writing, "The views articulated in this paper are shared in private by current and former analysts and officials at NSC, DOS, DOD and CIA. [See box for what initials represent.]

"Members of Congress and their staffs . . . also participated in this effort."

The authors indicate they share the American government's objective of isolating the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions and preserving imperialist domination in Central America. They say they are afraid the direction of government policy toward military intervention will lead to a defeat for the United States.

They propose what they call a "Zimbabwe option"—a negotiated settlement of the conflict in El Salvador and the establishment of a coalition government.

But in order to make their case, the authors are forced to make public extensive information on the current war plans of the U.S. government.

The facts deserve wide circulation in the United States and elsewhere.

Issue number two of *El Salvador Alert!*, published by the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), reports on the dissent paper and the importance of stepping up solidarity work in light of its revelations. CISPES has also made copies of the entire document available, with an introduction by Philip Wheaton. (Order from CISPES, Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005. Enclose \$1.50 for the document and \$10 for a one-year subscription to *El Salvador Alert!* It comes out every two weeks.)

The dissent paper has received limited attention in the capitalist news media. The December 1 *New York Times* ran an Op-Ed column about it by Anthony Lewis. The *Boston Globe* ran an article by Stephen Kinzer, its Latin American specialist.

The lack of headline news is partially explained in the document itself. One of its revelations is the success in manipulating news coverage about El Salvador.

Key to abbreviations

ARA—American Republics Area, a bureau of the U.S. State Department; CIA—Central Intelligence Agency; COPEI—the ruling Christian Democratic Party in Venezuela; DOD—Department of Defense; DOS—Department of State; FBI—Federal Bureau of Investigation; FDR/DRU—Revolutionary Democratic Front/Unified Revolutionary Directorate of El Salvador; FSLN—Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua; IBRD—International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; IDB—Inter-American Development Bank; IMF—International Monetary Fund; INS—U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service; NGO—non-governmental organizations; NSC—National Security Council; PRI—Institutionalized Revolutionary Party, the longtime ruling party of Mexico.

State Dept. reaction

I called the State Department December 3 to ask them about the dissent paper. They knew what I was talking about right away.

"It cannot be accurately described as a dissent paper. We received it in the mail. It is a forgery of a dissent paper," according to Kate Marshall, a press officer.

She informed me it is full of lies. Then she said she had not read it.

Donald Mathes, the Public Affairs Adviser for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, called me back at the *Militant* office. He explained there are such things as dissent papers, for employees to express disagreement with a policy. But this was not one. "It was not in the dissent channels and it was not signed," he said.

Why did papers like the *New York Times* and the *Boston Globe* run articles on it, I asked.

"Maybe they want to start a discussion on these questions."

—Stu Singer

Why was the media manipulated?

"To avoid Nicaraguan style publicity for opposition insurgents," the dissenters explain.

"A poll conducted in June 1979 found that 2 of every 3 Americans opposed the Somoza regime and about half of those were sympathetic to the Sandinista insurgents. More pertinent however, is a poll in August 1980 which found that the public attitudes of June 1979 had not changed significantly despite critical media coverage of the first anniversary of the Sandinista government."

According to the dissenters, the junta has failed to rally significant support; only a small fraction of the urban middle class is committed to its survival; domestic and foreign businesses have nearly completed liquidating their assets.

On the other hand, they acknowledge that the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) has widespread support throughout the country and internationally; the military capabilities of the opposition are much more significant than has been revealed by the U.S. news media.

The authors of the dissent memo think this information would trigger the kind of antiwar opposition in the United States that was seen during the Vietnam War.

Some of the ruthlessness of what is going on in El Salvador comes through behind the official jargon of the dissent paper.

For example, it says that while the news media is fed the line about "extremists of the right and the left" opposing the junta, U.S. military advisers are "seeking to bring under unified command the paramilitary units operating in the country."

This is a reference to the terrorist gangs which have murdered thousands in the past year.

The document also explains that "US intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile groups in Guatemala and in Miami and it is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the US. . . . no attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in or out of the US or to interfere with their activities."

The dissent paper reveals more than the authors probably intended. They say the highly touted agrarian reform "failed to neutralize the peasant population and has not succeeded in isolating the guerrilla forces."

The dissent paper says the U.S. intervention and attention to El Salvador "exceed those allocated to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965."

U.S. Marines invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965 to prevent the elected government of Juan Bosch from taking power.

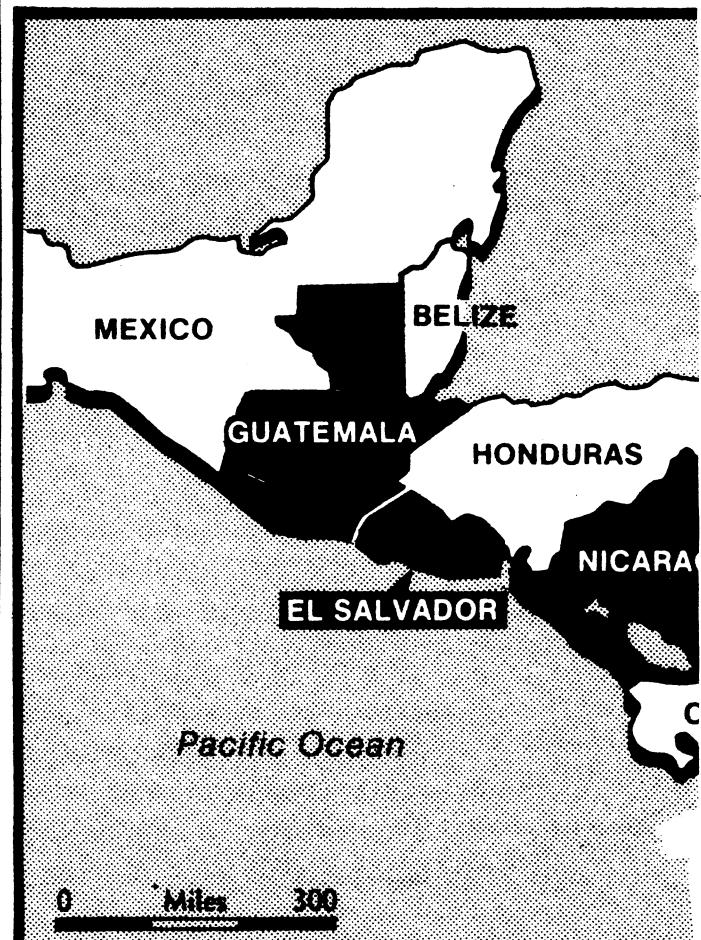
The authors of this dissent paper say that "Reagan's foreign policy advisors have made deeply disturbing statements about their plans for Central America and the Caribbean basin." But they correctly point out that "should President Reagan choose to use military force in El Salvador . . . the setting for such actions had been prepared in the last year of the Carter Administration."

Getting out the truth about U.S. government policy will help organize opposition to it.

Getting out this dissent paper, with its revelations from the horses' mouths, is an important weapon in this campaign.

Washington secret Central

State Dept. 'disseminated' U.S. covert operations



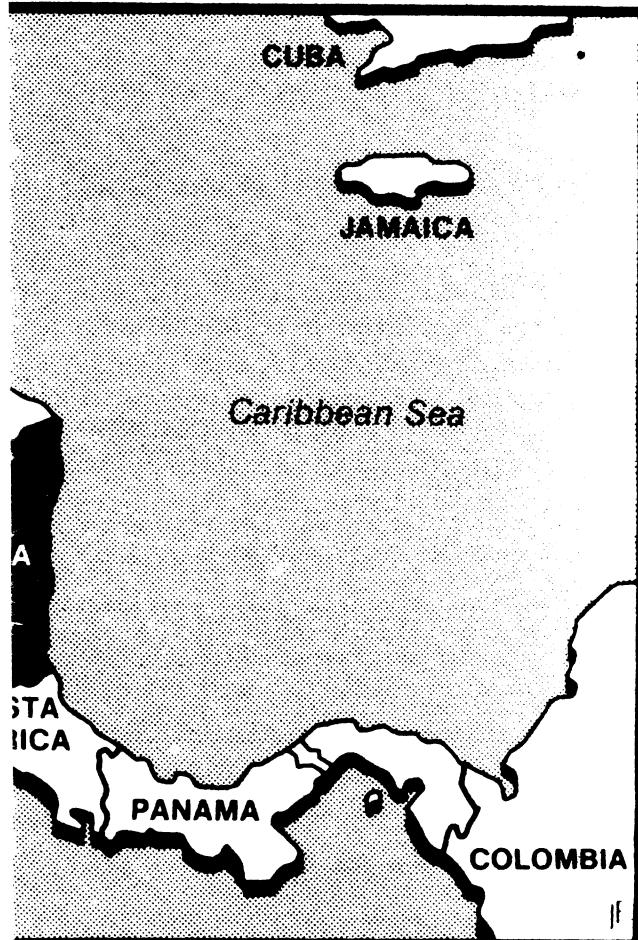
'Should President Reagan choose to use military force in El Salvador . . . the setting for such actions had been prepared in the last year of the Carter Administration.'



'Neither the government nor the opposition demonstrate their will or ability to end the repression of civilians.'

gton's war in America

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ty to avoid indiscriminate

Full text of memo

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CURRENT US ROLE IN EL SALVADOR

1. Improving political and economic conditions
2. Protecting international legitimacy
3. Counter-insurgency capabilities
4. Contingency plans
5. Congressional and public opinion support

B. ALTERNATE VIEW OF REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS

1. El Salvador's domestic situation
2. Regional factors: Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Panama, Ecuador.
3. International context
4. US public opinion

C. IN SEARCH OF A NON-MILITARY OPTION

1. U.S. objectives
2. The context for dialogue
3. The Zimbabwe option
4. Attitudes of regional actors: Mexico, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, others.

D. OPENING MOVES OF AN ALTERNATE POLICY

1. Recognition of the FDR
2. Signal willingness to abandon confrontational track
3. Maintaining a low profile
4. Encouraging pluralistic media coverage

The Reagan Administration's first international crisis may well be in El Salvador. Candidate Reagan's foreign policy advisors have made deeply disturbing statements about their plans for Central America and the Caribbean basin.

However, should President Reagan choose to use military force in El Salvador, historians will be able to show that the setting for such actions had been prepared in the last year of the Carter Administration. There may still be time to change course during the transition period. If the effort fails we will continue to argue for a negotiated resolution of the conflict. We recall, perhaps with unwarranted optimism, that it was Mrs. Thatcher—and not her Labor predecessors—who brought the Rhodesian crisis to a peaceful end. We hope that moderation and reason will prevail among President Reagan's appointees.

We see current US activities in El Salvador as leading to increased military engagement with far reaching implications for our strategic interests in the Caribbean basin. Support for our policies is limited and unreliable. Our identification with the governing Junta in that country has placed us in a collision course with key regional actors with whom we need to maintain friendly and cooperative diplomatic and economic relations.

By contrast, the non-military, negotiated solution proposed in this paper may well enjoy broad international support and acceptance. This option is seen as most effective in achieving the two key objectives of US policy in this region: limiting Cuban and Soviet expansion and promoting the emergence of stable and pluralistic governments.

The views articulated in this paper are shared in private by current and former analysts and officials at NSC, DOS, DOD and CIA. Employees from other agencies active in El Salvador and Central America—but normally excluded from policy debates—also contributed to these notes. In this case, their close contact with the situation in the field provided us with valuable insights and uncommon objectivity.

Members of Congress and their staffs, concerned by developments in the region and disturbed by the implications of some aspects of current policy, also participated in this effort.

It is our intention that this dissenting paper circulate widely among makers and executors of policy, in the Carter and Reagan administrations. We trust it will promote open discussion of realistic alternatives to our potential escalated military involvement in Central America and the Caribbean.

Washington D.C., November 6, 1980

Summary and recommendations

The Carter administration has gradually increased US political, diplomatic, economic and military involvement in support of the civilian-military coalition government in El Salvador. This involvement is extensive and growing. The resources invested in this effort exceed those allocated to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965.

Resource allocation and official public statements have identified our strategic interests in Central America and the Caribbean with the fate of a relatively weak, unpopular and internationally isolated regime.

Various government agencies have taken preparatory steps to intervene militarily in El Salvador. Policy makers appear to have concluded that such a move could succeed in preventing the collapse of the current regime.

Current policy consistently underestimates the domestic legitimacy and international support enjoyed by the opposition FDR/DRU coalition. Furthermore, policy makers fail to recognize the scope of military capabilities of opposition guerrilla forces and ignore the logistical value and potential impact of their support in neighboring countries.

Contingency scenarios for US military deployment tend to underestimate troop requirements, estimates of casualty rates, and the time and geographic scope of required engagement. Politico-military analysts downplay the potential for regionalization of armed conflict in the isthmus. In particular they underestimate the implications of the Nicaraguan and Cuban commitment to provide military support to Salvadorean guerrilla forces in the event of continued escalation of US involvement. No serious

consideration appears to have been given to global security implications of an escalated regional conflict involving US, Cuban, Nicaraguan, Venezuelan and other participants.

Diplomatic analysts overestimate the extent of current Venezuelan and Costa Rican commitment to continue to support our current policy in El Salvador. They also tend to minimize the political costs of world reaction to follow any increased deployment of US military personnel or equipment in the area.

The articulation of US policy for public and congressional audiences has misrepresented the situation in El Salvador emphasizing the viability of the current regime, downplaying its responsibility for the excesses being committed by security and paramilitary forces, exaggerating the positive impact of current reforms and portraying opposition forces as terrorists unsuitable for and unwilling to engage in constructive dialogue. These misleading rationalizations of our policies have played upon domestic frustrations resulting from perceived setbacks in other theaters, and have legitimized grossly inadequate arguments in favor of military intervention.

Our actions and our words have narrowed down our policy options to a single path of gradual escalation of direct military involvement in a region vital to our national interests and within a political context that gives the use of force few chances to achieve a satisfactory outcome.

The search for a non-military option in El Salvador must be urgently reopened. The process must begin with a realistic redefinition of our objectives, it must be based on unbiased intelligence analysed within a framework that reflects the new power distribution in the Caribbean basin.

A key objective of US policy in Central America is to limit Cuban and Soviet bloc influence throughout the region. Communist potential for projecting their influence relies principally on the opportunistic willingness to provide military equipment and training to subversive groups. Their obvious weakness under conditions of political stability and relative peace gives way to ominous strength when armed conflict spreads.

To limit opportunities for Soviet-Cuban expansion, the US must avoid the regionalization of armed conflict in Central America by reversing the current trend towards escalation of our own military involvement.

A second strategic objective of US policy should be to promote the emergence of stable governments capable of effective management of sorely needed reform programs while encouraging responsible private sector activity and normal economic relations with foreign business communities.

Clearly the current government of El Salvador is not stable and the security forces are unable to win a military confrontation on their own. Local and foreign businesses have already been severely weakened. Continued warfare will further erode their influence and limit their role in the post war period. Polarization and the hatred built up through years of violence will continue to reduce tolerance and eliminate respect for individual rights.

The sooner the conflict is brought to a negotiated end, the easier it will be to moderate the policies of the new status quo.

The two principal objectives and arguments presented apply with equal weight to the Guatemalan situation. Our support for a negotiated solution in El Salvador will serve notice to the Guatemalan hardliners that their time has run out. The chances for a less radical and less traumatic transition in Guatemala will be greatly improved.

Recommendations

A new policy towards El Salvador will have to address the following issues:

1. Recognition of the FDR/DRU

There can be no improvement of our negotiating position and no resolution to the current conflict without the US officially signaling the world community that it acknowledges that the FDR/DRU coalition is a legitimate and representative political force in El Salvador.

This recognition will be a key indicator to intransigent sectors on the left and the right that a real change of attitude has taken place in Washington.

2. Signal our willingness to abandon the confrontational track

Salvadorean and international public opinion perceive the US as being committed to a military solution in Central America. We must signal our willingness to abandon this course of action under certain conditions if an appropriate environment for negotiations is to emerge. To do so we must consider:

- 1) Taking actions which will clearly separate us from those sectors inside and outside the armed forces responsible for gross excesses against the population. The individuals involved have been identified by the FDR/DRU and by our own intelligence services.

- 2) Taking actions to reduce the level of military support we are currently providing to the armed forces, for example, by reducing or interrupting our training program and military supply flows.

- 3) Condemning the intervention plans of Guatemalan military and paramilitary forces and indicating our opposition to Honduran encouragement of hostile actions against Nicaragua.

- 4) Expressing privately and publicly our concern regarding continued involvement of Southern Cone countries in El Salvador and urging all our allies, including Israel, to act with caution in the region.

3. Maintain a low profile throughout the process of disengagement

The US does not have at this time the political credibility to do so. *Continued on next page*

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ity to spearhead a mediation effort. We should encourage and support initiatives taken by other regional actors avoiding direct participation. Our direct involvement may limit our ability to influence the process and may become an obstacle to mutual concessions.

4. Encourage pluralistic media coverage

Conditions in El Salvador and our official posture have not encouraged adequate media coverage. Influential US journalists have been banned from the country by threats on their lives. Salvadorean government restrictions on visiting reporters have kept a tight lid on many critical events in the past six months. Informal signals to foreign desk editors during the electoral campaign discouraged their interest in the region.

Appropriate, objective and pluralistic media coverage will make a positive contribution to the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict in El Salvador and, indeed, throughout Central America.

A. CURRENT US ROLE IN EL SALVADOR

Policy statements on Central America, whether for internal use or for congressional or public consumption are inadequate starting points for discussion of our current role in the region. Rather than focusing on the articulation of policy objectives and their rationale, we

military developments in El Salvador to the armed forces.

4. Updating detailed contingency plans for US alternative responses to deterioration of conditions in the region to include:

- Political and diplomatic initiatives to be taken in the event that military engagement of US forces is required to preserve the current regime.
- Operational plans for multilateral and unilateral deployment of military forces in El Salvador and Guatemala.
- Cost, casualty and time estimates under favorable and unfavorable conflict scenarios.
- Evaluation of readiness status and recommendations on preparatory exercises to be undertaken.
- Assessment of the need and preparation of contingency plans for actions intended to disrupt support and supply lines of Salvadorean guerrilla forces in Cuba and Nicaragua.

5. Assuring continued congressional and public opinion support for current policies through liaison and press relations efforts that emphasize:

- A moderate and reformist image of the current government.
- US support for extensive but moderate reforms in

'Media coverage of El Salvador has been responsive to official government policies: greater emphasis on US interests in the region, continuous reference to Cuban involvement, understatement of the 'human rights' dimension, effective use of the 'extremists of the right and the left' formula.'

prefer to outline the actions of our government agencies which affect developments in El Salvador.

We have ascertained that the activities grouped and listed below are being implemented by no less than twelve agencies of the government and supported by numerous NGO's.

The following is a partial list of these activities:

1. Improving political and economic conditions to increase viability of current governing coalition through:

- Accelerating disbursement of bilateral economic aid and providing administrative and technical assistance.
- Supporting approval and expediting disbursements of IBRD, IDB and IMF new and pipeline programs and projects under consideration.
- Setting up of US/Salvadorean technical and managerial team to assist in government planning and administration to prevent economic collapse.
- Expanding resource flow and tightening administration of agrarian reform program to reduce its impact on traditional elite and to increase short term benefits to target population.
- Expanding short-term resource flow to private sector to discourage current capital exodus and strengthen sectoral confidence.
- Monitoring closely and moderating latent and open differences among members of governing Junta and the officers corps.

2. Improving and protecting the international legitimacy and prestige of the regime through:

- Encouraging Salvadorean recruitment of moderate, reformist personnel for diplomatic representation.
- Providing logistical support and orientation through US embassies and missions.
- Actively encouraging increased diplomatic support from sympathetic Latin American and other allied governments.
- Discouraging resolutions and other diplomatic initiatives critical of current government or possibly contributing to the legitimization of opposition forces.
- Activating mechanisms to disrupt opposition efforts to obtain international support and legitimacy and to limit the impact of such efforts.
- Creating favorable conditions for other countries' involvement in support for US initiatives in the OAS and the UN in relation to the situation in Central America.
- Closely monitoring and feeding US and world media coverage of the region and publicizing widely US confidence in and support for current process in El Salvador.

3. Strengthening counter-insurgency capabilities of armed forces through:

- Increased training for middle and low ranking officers.
- Improving military infrastructures for more effective urban and rural combat communications and for rapid troop deployment.
- Setting up adequate supply lines and stockpiling materiel in cooperation with regional and extra-hemispheric allies.
- Providing strategic and tactical command advisory assistance.
- Increasing cohesion and coordination among various command structures within Salvadorean armed forces.
- Seeking to bring under unified command the paramilitary units operating in the country.
- Establishing and/or improving communications and cooperation among armed forces and paramilitary organizations in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.
- Making available US surveillance data pertinent to

the region as a means to contain extremist and communist expansion.

- Linkages between opposition guerrilla groups in El Salvador and Guatemala with Cuba.
- Discrediting centrist spokesmen of opposition as puppets of hardline guerrilla leaders.
- Careful monitoring of US press coverage of developments in El Salvador to avoid Nicaraguan style publicity for opposition insurgents.
- Arranging regular closed session briefings for congressional committees, sub-committees and key MC's concerned with the issue.

This partial list of activities implies an allocation of bureaucratic and financial resources exceeding those made to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965. No such allocation could have taken place without a major high level decision in the administration. This decision was made in part to prevent the crisis in El Salvador from climaxing prior to the elections. However, the choices made have strategic implications reaching beyond domestic political considerations.

The Carter administration came to the conclusion that the collapse of the current civilian-military coalition government in El Salvador and its replacement by a left wing regime would constitute a threat to our strategic interests in the Caribbean basin.

Policy makers also agreed that the US still has a chance of preventing such developments through the provision of overt and covert political, military, economic, technical, diplomatic and public relations assistance to the current regime. However, if this effort failed to stabilize the local situation, the US would let it be known that it is prepared to and will use military force in conjunction with others, or, if necessary, unilaterally.

We consider these activities and the policies they imply to be dangerously misguided. Current policy, as we interpret it, is based on inaccurate intelligence, and on the suppression within various bureaucracies of verified contradicting information.

The options and recommendations on which policy decisions were made have been based on irresponsibly self-serving evaluations and analyses of intelligence reports available within the agencies. Critiques and dissenting views were systematically ignored.

Underlying these apparent bureaucratic maladjustments one finds a fundamental lack of understanding of general conditions and trends in Central America and the Caribbean.

B. AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING EL SALVADOR

In this section we outline a characterization of the situation in El Salvador and its international context which is drastically different from the one commonly accepted within the Department.

The outline is based on a condensation of statements, commentaries, reports and memoranda available throughout various agencies of the government. We are not aware of any request for this information to be assembled for evaluation or for discussion.

1. El Salvador's domestic situation

- The governing Junta and the armed forces have failed to rally significant support for their reform and counter-insurgency programs.
- The land redistribution effort has failed to neutralize the peasant population and has not succeeded in isolating the guerrilla forces.
- The urban middle class is divided among those who have already chosen to side with the FDR opposition, those seeking to leave the country and those remaining neutral for the time being. Only a small fraction of this sector can be said to be committed to the survival of the current regime.

• Domestic and foreign businesses have nearly completed liquidating their assets and withdrawing their capital from the country. No significant private investment is taking place. Infusion of foreign assistance and loans is not having any significant impact on economic recovery.

- Conflict among members of the ruling coalition continues to spread. New defections from the Christian Democratic party and factional fighting among and within branches of the armed forces impede regime consolidation.
- The documented expansion of military capabilities of the opposition forces, including their ability to recruit and organize large contingents of displaced peasants, and to cause heavy casualties among government forces, makes it highly unlikely that a short term military defeat of the guerrilla forces might be achieved.
- Neither the government nor the armed forces have been able to demonstrate their will or ability to avoid indiscriminate repression of civilian personnel thus contributing to the rapid deterioration of their image among the population and internationally.

2. Regional factors

It is misleading to examine developments in El Salvador outside the Central American and Caribbean context. Although policy statements and analyses routinely include references to regional concerns, seldom is an attempt made at relating domestic developments in one country with those within its neighbors'.

GUATEMALA

The trends below are pertinent to short term developments in El Salvador:

- Political power in the country is firmly in the hands of the hardline faction of the military, paramilitary and civilian elites. Among them there is near unanimous rejection of any reformist or moderating changes in regime composition or program.
- In recent years, the Guatemalan military have been referring to an expanded definition of their country's national and territorial interests that contemplates the possibility of intervention in neighboring Belize and El Salvador.
- Opposition forces have unified in a broad coalition which includes moderate reformers, parts of the church, and the marxist and populist guerrilla groups.
- A paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries has been formed in the past year. Spokesmen for this contingent have expressed their intention to intervene in El Salvador "when the situation requires it."
- There has been a significant improvement of the military capabilities of the guerrilla forces in Guatemala. Their prestige and following among Indian peasants as well as among the urban middle classes has been well documented.
- Repression of moderate political and trade union leaders continues to accentuate political polarization and has led to the practical liquidation of the political center. Reflecting this internal situation, the international image of the regime continues to deteriorate.
- In the past year Salvadorean and Guatemalan opposition forces have increased contacts, communication and cooperation on political and military matters.

It should be noted that US intelligence has kept informed of the plans and capabilities of the paramilitary strike force in Guatemala. US intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile groups in Guatemala and in Miami and it is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the US. Charges that CIA has been promoting and encouraging these organizations have not been substantiated. However no attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in and out of the US or to interfere with their activities. Their mobility and their links with the US—it seems reasonable to assume—could not be maintained without the tacit consent (or practical incompetence) of at least four agencies: INS, CIA, FBI and US Customs.

HONDURAS

During 1980 DOD has devoted considerable resources to expanding communications and improving relations with the Honduran armed forces. DOD's stated objective has been "to create a new balance in the region" after the fall of Somoza's National Guard. The discussions with Honduran officers have been characterized as "encouraging", "fruitful", and "successful" at different stages of the process. These discussions included the following topics:

- Agreement on role of the US as mediator in seeking a settlement of disputes between El Salvador and Honduras.
- The need for increased cooperation between Honduras and El Salvador armed forces to reassert government control over disputed border areas currently held by Salvadorean guerrillas.
- US and Honduran cooperation in resupply efforts to El Salvador's armed forces in the event of a large scale insurrectionary offensive.
- US willingness to assist Honduras in case of outbreak of open hostilities with Nicaragua.

Although our efforts in Honduras have already proven very useful, their impact has been exaggerated by a failure to take account of domestic developments in that country:

- A hard line majority within the military establishment has been pressuring to contain and even reverse the democratization process. It is with representatives of this faction that the agreements above were discussed.
- This hardline faction favors counter-insurgency

cooperation with El Salvador, tolerates and encourages National Guard exile groups hostile to Nicaragua to operate from Honduras, and believes it could win a military confrontation with Nicaragua.

- A minority moderate faction within the armed forces is seeking closer relations with the civilian democratic opposition. It favors friendly relations with the Nicaraguan government and with the FSLN. It wants no Honduran involvement in El Salvador. It considers that open conflict with Nicaragua could prove dangerously destabilizing for Honduras and is not convinced of the possibility of defeating the new Sandinista army and militias.
- There has been a notable increase in trade union, religious, professional and political activity in Honduras. The organizations involved share a sympathetic view of the Nicaraguan process and oppose Honduras support for El Salvador's armed forces.
- Rural and urban guerrilla groups have begun to operate in Honduras in the past year. Although their capabilities pose no threat to internal stability, their disruptive potential in the event of gradual regionalization of conflict should not be underestimated.

NICARAGUA

The following background items should be kept in mind in attempting to predict Nicaraguan behavior in the event of escalated US involvement in El Salvador:

- Cooperation between the FSLN and various branches of the Salvadorean guerrilla groups can be traced back to the mid 1970's. Salvadorean contingents participated and provided logistical support during the war in Nicaragua. Historically, cooperation between the two countries against US interventions is documented in the 1920's and during the 19th century.
- Prior to July 1979, the FSLN maintained support networks in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. FSLN commanders and troops are familiar with the terrain and the population. Nicaraguans have extensive family ties in these countries.
- Widespread popular support for the opposition forces in El Salvador and Guatemala, the high level of military preparedness of the population, the recent combat and insurrectional experience, and the high levels of unemployment would make recruitment and training a relatively simple and rapid operation.
- Despite economic recovery and surprisingly effective planning, administration and management, the Nicaraguan economy remains weak and vulnerable to a war effort. An outbreak of hostilities would force the Nicaraguan authorities to adopt "war communism" methods. This would imply labor conscription, extending government control over private sector activities, and generally would radicalize the Nicaraguan political process.
- Nicaraguan military supplies are sufficient to cope with internal disorders and limited border skirmishes. Nicaraguan involvement in regional hostilities would require expanded supplies and would provide ample opportunities for increased Cuban and Soviet bloc leverage in that country.
- The FSLN has consolidated firm control over government, armed forces, and mass organizations. The size, discipline and morale of regular army and militia units are impressive. Their newly acquired transport and communications equipment would make them serious contenders in any regional conflict.

Other political and diplomatic factors also deserve our attention. The FSLN and, in general, the Nicaraguan process continue to enjoy broad international support. During their first year in government the Sandinista government has gained influence and legitimacy in international forums notably in the OAS, the UN and the non-aligned movement. The Nicaraguan government and the FSLN have opened diplomatic and party relations in most Soviet bloc countries.

The Nicaraguan leadership remains divided on how to respond in the event of a direct US military intervention in El Salvador or in Guatemala. A moderate wing favors emphasis on diplomatic actions, extending humanitarian support for refugees and opposition forces but avoiding a military engagement that would severely hurt the prospects for economic recovery. The hard liners on the other

hand favor full support for the guerrilla forces and, if needed, direct participation of Nicaraguan forces in regional operations.

MEXICO

US policy makers have failed to give adequate consideration to the potential impact of Mexico's policy towards the conflict in El Salvador. Yet Mexico's continuing economic growth, its oil wealth and its internal political stability have sharply increased its prestige, capabilities and willingness to influence developments in the Caribbean basin and Central America.

Analysts in Washington project a continuation of Mexico's rhetorical posturing and downplay recent changes. But current intelligence suggests that Mexico is unusually determined to promote the emergence of stable, progressive and representative governments in Central America capable of asserting their independence from the US and willing to develop friendly and cooperative relations with their powerful northern neighbor. There are two principal reasons for this affirmative policy:

- 1) Mexico sees with growing concern and displeasure Venezuelan and US involvement in security matters close to its own oil fields.
- 2) PRI analysts have concluded that the process in El Salvador is irreversible. In their view the best way to influence developments there is to establish early friendly relations with opposition forces and provide political and economic support for the new regime.

The PRI would like to limit the domestic impact of the Central American process and capitalize for itself Mexican sympathies for opposition forces in El Salvador and Guatemala. The PRI feels that the best way to insure non-interference in Mexico's internal politics by the new government is to recognize and to support them.

This policy does not depart significantly from Mexico's diplomatic tradition. Their current position towards Central America can be seen as an updated version of the successful and mutually convenient arrangement maintained between Mexico and Cuba for the past two decades.

The following factors link Mexico with the current situation in El Salvador:

- The PRI maintains cordial relations with and recognizes the legitimacy of the FDR/DRU coalition.
- Relations between the Mexican Government and the Salvadorean Junta have deteriorated steadily in the past six months.
- A significant percentage of the arms flowing into Guatemala and El Salvador originate in Mexico. This flow could not take place without the tacit consent of the Presidency.
- Mexico has already indicated to the US that it opposes current and escalated US and Venezuelan involvement in El Salvador. It has shown its willingness to lead a diplomatic counteroffensive and may link withdrawal to other bilateral issues of concern to the US.
- Public opinion in Mexico enthusiastically supports the Guatemalan and Salvadorean opposition forces. Government and private print and electronic media give clearly biased and distorted coverage of Central American events reflecting almost exclusively the views of the opposition in the two countries.
- Mexico has recently signed a series of accords with Cuba. Some of these include clauses that pertain to the two countries' common security concerns in the Caribbean and in Central America.
- Mexico is providing generous economic and technical assistance to Nicaragua. The PRI maintains fraternal relations with the FSLN. Some reports indicate that Mexico may have agreed to increase its economic support to Nicaragua in case of regionalized conflict.

VENEZUELA

The government of President Herrera Campins has become an indispensable ally in our current policy in Central America. Venezuelan policy towards El Salvador—and indeed on most regional and global issues—largely coincides with our own.

COPEI's Social Christians identify with and support in many valuable ways their Christian Democratic colleagues in the Salvadorean Junta. Venezuela's official economic and security assistance to El Salvador complements and provides needed legitimization to our own efforts.

It is especially pertinent to examine some factors that might alter their current position:

- Venezuela's domestic situation has continued to deteriorate during 1980. The economic picture is not encouraging. Trade, fiscal and inflationary problems have led to increased unemployment, lower wages and a restless social environment.
- Social Democratic and left wing opposition to the government's economic and social policies has been growing. The opposition's control over the trade union movement gives their tactical coordination significant disruptive power.
- Herrera Campins' foreign policy does not have broad popular support in Venezuela and does not attract international sympathy. In many circles the release of Cuban terrorists is seen as damaging the country's democratic international image and prestige.
- Accion Democratica recognizes and supports the FDR/DRU coalition. AD has shown its determination to use this issue to build up their pressure on Herrera Campins. Some COPEI congressmen do not share their party's position on El Salvador. There are indications that a single issue coalition could be formed in the Congress that could impose a policy change on the executive.
- Officials in Herrera Campins' entourage are increasingly concerned about the implications of developing tensions with Mexico as Venezuelan involvement in El Salvador escalates.

These factors will become more critical in the event of a joint US/Venezuelan military deployment. The possibility of de-stabilizing developments in Venezuela should not be ignored. As pressures on the COPEI administration mount, the US should expect policy differences between the two countries to emerge.

COSTA RICA

The domestic political and economic situation in Costa Rica in many ways parallels that prevailing in Venezuela. President Rodrigo Carazo supports Venezuelan and US policies in El Salvador and his party maintains cordial relations with the Duarte/Ehrlich wing of the Salvadorean Christian Democratic Party.

But Costa Rican support is largely symbolic as the country lacks the economic, security and political resources to make a significant contribution to the joint effort. Furthermore, President Carazo and his party have become sensitive to domestic pressures seeking a change in Costa Rica's position toward El Salvador. Finally, Costa Rica's energy-short and trade-dependent economy makes the government sensitive and vulnerable to Mexican and Nicaraguan pressures.

PANAMA

The US is making extensive use of its remaining military facilities in Panama in the expanded training program for Salvadorean personnel. This training program is the largest ever sponsored by the US for any Latin American country in a single year.

The Latin American press has carried accusations suggesting that DOD may be using our facilities in Panama for stockpiling military supplies intended to play a key role in an eventual logistical supply air-lift to Salvadorean armed forces. We have obtained some evidence supporting these allegations.

The critical importance of Panama for the US in the current scenario would be sharply increased should we become more heavily involved in the escalating conflict in El Salvador. Yet General Torrijos—who continues to exercise control over the armed forces and veto power over government policies—is described in our character profiles as "volatile, unpredictable . . . a populist demagogue (with) a visceral anti-American bias . . . and a penchant for the bottle", hardly the description of a reliable ally. Our precarious situation in Panama was recently evidenced by President Royo's public condemnation of our training program for the Salvadoreans.

Consider the following additional links between Panama and El Salvador:

- Although initially supportive of the 10/15/79 coup, General Torrijos—and the Panamanian government—have improved ties with the FDR/DRU coalition moderates.
- Panama's economic difficulties and its dependence on the US banking community make it potentially responsive to our pressures. However the same factors combined with our tendency to act heavy-handedly may encourage a resurgence of "anti-imperialist" sentiment.
- In the past six months Panama has been expressing its displeasure on a number of issues related to perceived grievances linked to the implementation of the treaties.
- General Torrijos is in a position to assert control over two key tactical resources in any direct US military operations in the region: the canal and the bases.

ECUADOR

Earlier this year there were widely circulated allegations in Ecuador to the effect that DOD and ARA envoys had visited the country seeking to enlist government and armed forces support for the set up of an Andean Pact "peace keeping force" that could move into El Salvador in coordination with Venezuelan, US and Costa Rican contingents. Subsequent official denials did not change the perception that domestic and international counter pressures had succeeded in blocking the US initiative.

Despite its limited military capabilities, Ecuador's democratic government and relatively healthy economy wield disproportionate political and diplomatic influence on its Andean Pact partners and on other Latin American countries.

Since May, President Roldo's position on El Salvador has shifted further in favor of recognition of the FDR.

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European Social Democratic sources believe that Roldos may support diplomatic initiatives in favor of a new government which would include their participation.

3. International context

In the aftermath of the 10/15/79 military coup, international public opinion was unanimous in its support for the new government and its proposed reform program.

That first coalition Junta had the participation and support of Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, Communists and even some sympathy from the "popular organizations". A fact seldom referred to by official spokesmen of our government is that the first, broadly representative coalition government collapsed in early January 1980. Junta members and their organizations felt the government was powerless to implement the reforms and control repression. From that moment on, international support for the successor coalitions dwindled rapidly. A year after the October coup the international context has changed drastically.

A brief review is pertinent to assess the support to be found for current US policies:

- The Christian Democratic movement and its member parties are divided. Its conservative wing favors continued support for the current government and for US policy. The youth sector of the movement—considered by many observers to represent majority factions in most parties—identifies with the FDR opposition.
- The Social Democrats have unanimously moved to provide active political and humanitarian support for and through the FDR leadership. SD commitment to the Salvadorean opposition is seen consolidating along the same lines it did with respect to the FSLN in late 1978. The German Social Democratic Party, a key actor in the movement, appears determined to continue its support for the FDR. This has already been a source of some tension between us and the German government.
- Communist parties around the world also abandoned their "wait and see" attitude when the CPES resigned from its positions in government ministries in January 1980. Not surprisingly, the Cuban CP is advising their Salvadorean counterparts to moderate their program, to broaden their alliances and to continue to seek compromises with the "progressive sectors in the military". Above all, the Cubans (and the Soviets) are urging utmost caution to avoid a direct confrontation with us.
- The most solid bloc of support for the current government and its counter-insurgency efforts comes from the southern cone military regimes. Among these, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay provide training and advisors on intelligence, urban and rural counter-insurgency, and logistics. Argentina has become the second largest trainer of Salvadorean officers after the US.
- Protestant and Catholic religious hierarchies in the hemisphere had been divided along the same lines as the Christian Democratic parties. The assassination of Archbishop Romero had a profound effect both on the hierarchies and on the village level priests and pastors who held the armed forces and the government ultimately responsible for the killing. Since then, a consensus in favor of the FDR has emerged.

The above changes in organized public opinion have had an impact on the expected behavior of governments in the international organizations. UN voting patterns on resolutions on El Salvador would show, at this time, a two thirds majority against the government and opposing US involvement. High ranking UN diplomats familiar with the Central American situation affirm that reaction to US military engagement would be equivalent to that which confronted the Soviets after their invasion of Afghanistan. The important diplomatic gains we made since would be lost overnight.

At the OAS the situation is not more encouraging. An unpublished study among representatives to the OAS found that about half of the members would oppose any form of military intervention in Central America regard-

less of the circumstances, about one in five would support it and the rest would abstain, support or oppose "depending on the circumstances".

4. US public opinion

Public awareness of the situation in Central America was increased through mass media coverage of the Canal treaty negotiation process and the war in Nicaragua.

A poll conducted in June 1979 found that 2 of every 3 Americans opposed the Somoza regime and about half of these were sympathetic to the Sandinista insurgents. More pertinent however, is a poll conducted in August 1980 which found that the public attitudes of June 1979 had not changed significantly despite critical media coverage of the first anniversary of the Sandinista government.

However, our efforts to emphasize the differences between the situation in El Salvador today and the one prevailing in Nicaragua before July 1979 have had an impact on public perceptions. Media coverage of El Salvador has been responsive to official government policies: greater emphasis on US interests in the region, continuous reference to Cuban involvement, understatement of the "human rights" dimension, effective use of the "extremists of the right and left" formula. Therefore, the current domestic environment is generally supportive of current policy as articulated for public consumption.

We believe that this support would not survive the introduction of US troops in the region. For example, an October 1980 poll found that 60% of all males and 68% of females interviewed opposed the use of US military force in trouble spots in developing countries. The still to be analysed reaction to the draft registration drive and the drop in support for intervention in Iran after the rescue attempt, suggest that assertions to the effect that we have overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome" may be premature.

There are also some indications that church involvement in the current drive to attract attention to the situation in El Salvador in support for opposition forces and against US intervention may begin to influence public perceptions of our role in that country. Congressional staff familiar with the lobbying potential of this network foresee some changes in current attitudes and voting patterns in the event of escalated US involvement in Central America.

C. IN SEARCH OF A NON-MILITARY OPTION

In this section we propose a redefinition of US objectives in Central America and argue that conditions exist for achieving them through a negotiated solution to the conflict in El Salvador.

1. US objectives

A key objective of US policy in Central America is to limit Cuban and Soviet bloc influence in the region. We do not agree with those who belittle the threat of Cuban expansionism. But we try to distinguish between Cuban desires and intentions and their actual capacity to expand.

Cuban and Soviet bloc domestic political and economic difficulties and their overextension in Africa and Asia severely limit their ability and willingness to make new and potentially costly economic and political commitments. Neither Cuba nor its Soviet bloc backers are capable or interested in assuming the costs of displacing the US as the region's major aid donor and trade partner. We should be reminded that in Nicaragua—outside the highly publicized volunteer teachers and doctors from Cuba—Soviet bloc assistance has been minimal, a fact which has been a source of sobering frustration to the Sandinista leaders' expectations of a year ago.

But Cuban and Soviet bloc limitations in the economic field should not be mistaken for powerlessness. Their potential for projecting and expanding their influence relies fundamentally on their opportunistic willingness to provide military equipment and training. Their obvious weakness under conditions of political stability and relative peace gives way to ominous strength when armed conflict pervades.

Few developments would open more opportunities for Cuba in Central America and the Caribbean than the regionalization of armed conflict that would follow the

escalation of US military involvement in El Salvador.

The Sandinistas, threatened by what they will perceive as the beginning of an offensive against them, would be under strong pressure to make a strategic alignment with the Soviet bloc through response mechanisms similar to those that pushed Cuba into their orbit in the 1960's.

Regionalization would justify the emergence of "internationalist brigades" that could roam the isthmus from Colombia to the Mexican border. And any government that might emerge during or after a military confrontation with the US in El Salvador would be forced to seek the protective umbrella of other regional powers. A likely candidate is, obviously, Cuba.

Therefore, to limit opportunities for Soviet-Cuban expansionism, the US should avoid regionalization of armed conflict by reversing the current trend towards escalating its own military involvement.

A second strategic objective of US policy should be to promote the emergence of stable governments capable of effective management of sorely needed reform programs while encouraging responsible private sector activity and normal economic relations with the foreign business communities.

Clearly the current government of El Salvador is not stable. It can not carry out the reforms it decreed and it can not provide a social and political environment conducive to economic normalization. Growing casualty rates and continued destruction of property make it apparent that the Salvadorean security forces can not gain a military victory on their own. The private business sector and foreign investors have already been severely weakened. Continued warfare will further erode their influence and limit their role in the reconstruction period.

Political analysts tend to overlook the radicalizing effect of prolonged "liberation wars" on the insurgent leadership and on the masses. Polarization, widespread destruction, and the hatred accumulated through years of bloodshed reduce tolerance and eliminate respect for individual rights. The longer the process, the more evident this trend will become. The sooner the conflict is brought to a negotiated end, the easier it will be to moderate the policies of the new status quo.

The two principal objectives and arguments made apply with equal weight to the Guatemalan situation. We have tried unsuccessfully for nearly four years to strengthen centrist moderate forces in the country and to press the government to limit repression and allow for political relaxation. Our support for a negotiated solution in El Salvador will serve notice to the Guatemalan hardliners that their time has run out. The chances for a less radical and less traumatic transition in Guatemala would be greatly improved.

2. The context for dialogue

Conditions for a negotiated resolution of the conflict in El Salvador will be present when the principal domestic contenders and their respective international allies conclude that complete military victory is no longer possible, or that the costs of achieving such victory are no longer justifiable.

In this section we argue that the most key actors are now prepared to consider supporting and/or participating in a negotiated disengagement.

We have been saying privately and publicly that the Salvadorean opposition is unwilling to dialogue with the armed forces or with the Junta. We have been promoting the view that the guerrilla leadership is seeking a full fledged military confrontation to liquidate or dismantle all existing political and military institutions. These are gross misrepresentations that, through mere repetition, have acquired an aura of veracity that does not correspond to reality.

The FDR/DRU leadership feels confident about their continuing growth in and out of El Salvador but two major tactical currents remain clearly identifiable:

- One argues that they have sufficient power to impose their own terms on the armed forces and the Junta. In their view mediated negotiations are identified with the 78/79 US promoted, tripartite effort in Nicaragua. This form of dialogue they reject.
- The other tendency, reportedly gaining influence within the coalition, favors opening discussions along the lines of a Zimbabwe type transitional arrangement.

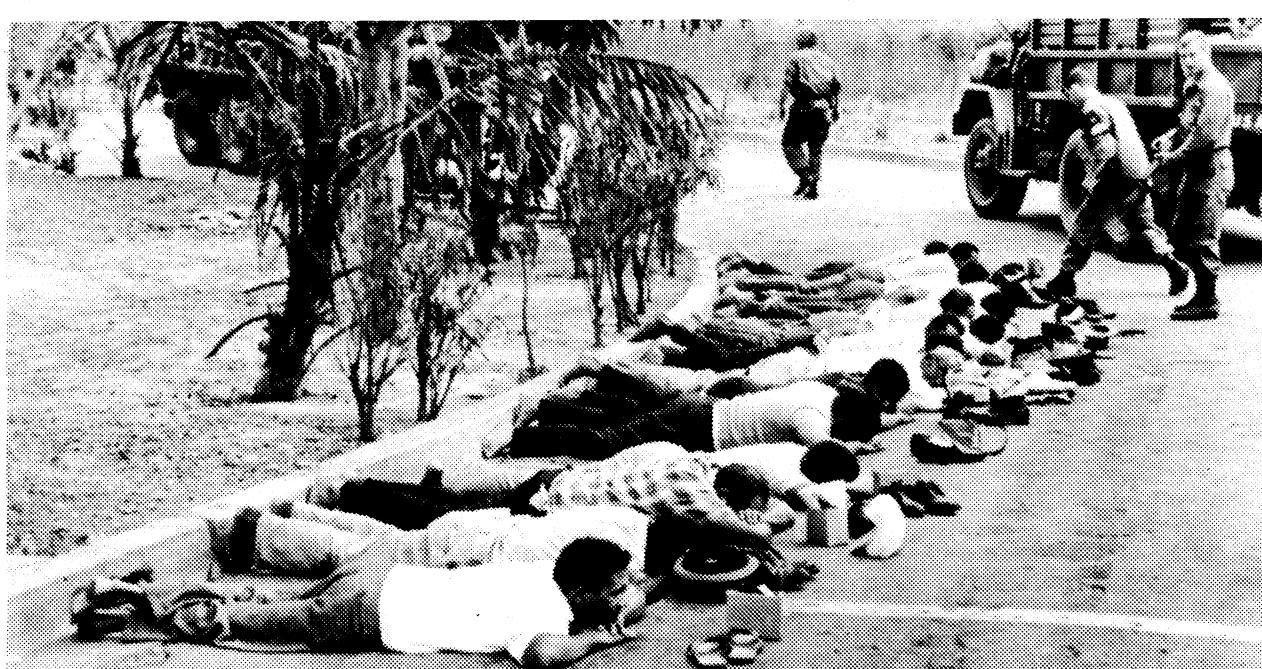
Both tendencies are aware of the following factors:

- An insurrectional offensive may not be completely successful or sufficiently swift to avoid a stalemate in the internal war and a dual government situation that may sharply increase the social costs of their insurrection as well as the chance of US intervention.
- Even a successful insurrection might entail such high human and material costs that a military resolution might make reconstruction and regime consolidation dangerously difficult.
- Direct US intervention would impose a change of tactics away from localized insurrections to "prolonged people's war" on a regional dimension. This would postpone indefinitely the emergence of a representative popular government and would raise the social costs of the war effort beyond all previous projections.

Both tendencies reject any dialogue with representatives of groups or sectors identified with or directly responsible for "acts of indiscriminate repression and genocide". But they also agree on the need to reopen conversations with representative spokesmen for the private and foreign business sectors currently identified with the Junta. Close international allies of the FDR/DRU feel that a more conciliatory attitude is a necessary prerequisite for resolving the present stalemate. They also feel that such an attitude is steadily gaining ascendancy within the coalition.

A similar trend is also discernible on the government's side away from continued confrontation tactics towards a recognition that negotiations with the insurgent opposi-

'The resources invested in [U.S. involvement in El Salvador] exceed those allocated to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965.'



30,000 U.S. troops invaded Dominican Republic in 1965 to back military overthrow of elected reform government.

tion might be unavoidable. There is a growing realization that a total military victory is no longer a realistic objective for the government and for the armed forces. Thus, the options facing the more lucid sectors identified with the governing coalition are:

- Defeat following insurrectional offensive
- Complete identification with and reliance on a US rescue operation
- Starting a mediated negotiation process towards a new coalition government

Clearly the situation in El Salvador is highly complex. Its complexity contrasts with the simplistic generalizations being made by senior US officials to the effect that the opposition is only interested in a military resolution of the current stalemate.

3. The Zimbabwe option

The Junta's proposal to hold elections in two years was officially predicted and denounced by the FDR as a political maneuver. Internally however the electoral offer is being discussed as one component of the "Zimbabwe option". The argument being made is based on the conviction that they would win those elections if they had the freedom to mobilize their supporters and access to mass media. However, even the strongest supporters of this option admit that the sector of the armed forces now in control of the political process—who know the extent of mass support enjoyed by the opposition—have no intentions to allow a truly participatory electoral dynamic to develop.

There are obvious differences between the situation in Zimbabwe in 1978 and 1979 and the current situation in El Salvador. But there are also numerous structural parallels worth the attention of policy makers:

- The Patriotic Front was a coalition of centrist and marxist forces each with its own strong guerrilla army.
- Outside support from Cuba, the PRC and the Soviet Union, and a long and bitter guerrilla war had strengthened the liberation armies and weakened the Rhodesian forces. Terrorism on both sides became common in the last year of the war and brutal acts continued even as the Westminister talks proceeded.
- The threat of South African involvement, the Cuban commitment to intervene with troops and the implications of a regional war were important factors in favor of reaching a negotiated solution.
- The Muzorewa regime lost prestige and credibility through its identification with traditional white interests, its participation in the counter-insurgency efforts and its inability to implement structural reforms.
- The international climate around El Salvador is beginning to approximate the one prevailing in the last six months of the Muzorewa regime.

What is most clearly missing in the Salvadorean case is the will of the regional dominant power—the British in Rhodesia, the US in El Salvador—to concede that the time has come to grant its recognition to the new emerging status quo. It is interesting to recall in this context that a majority of US congressional and executive branch policy makers maintained the view that Mr. Mugabe was a marxist extremist and limited representation until his landslide electoral victory made him a prestigious and influential head of state.

4. Attitudes of regional actors

In our review of regional trends running counter to current US policy we made reference to factors favoring a negotiated solution, these were:

MEXICO

Washington policy makers do not wish to recognize the extent and significance of the changing power relations between the US and Mexico. Yet this change must be reflected in the two countries' attitudes and actions in Central America and the Caribbean.

Mexico has already indicated that it will support any initiative directed at containing the conflict in El Salvador as long as such an initiative enhances the chances of a truly representative popular government with FDR/DRU participation coming to be in that country.

NICARAGUA

Nicaragua's commitment to the FDR/DRU has been noted. The Nicaraguan Junta and the FSLN are keenly aware of the social costs of a prolonged war in El Salvador with regional repercussions.

There are clear signals coming from Managua that they would support a solution that would lead to a transitional government with FDR/DRU participation.

VENEZUELA

We already noted President Herrera Campins concerns relating to the rising domestic and international political costs of his policy in El Salvador.

But COPEI has invested its reputation within the Christian Democratic movement on continued support for their Salvadorean colleagues. COPEI wants to avoid the appearance of betraying its friends, and abandoning Venezuela's senior partner. A bipartisan consensus wants to ease the growing tensions with Mexico. President Herrera Campins would probably welcome a face-saving formula that would allow for a needed policy adjustment without domestic or international humiliation.

PANAMA

Negotiations in El Salvador would serve conflicting currents in Panamanian domestic politics. General Torrijos' dual allegiance to the reformist wing of the armed forces and to the centrists in the FDR/DRU would allow Panama to play a key role in the mediation effort.

The broad based anti-interventionist sentiment now focusing on the use of Panama's territory for support of counter-insurgency in El Salvador could be diffused through a negotiated disengagement.

The threat of disruptions to the peaceful implementation of the Canal treaties would be largely neutralized.

CUBA

Cuban attitudes towards a negotiated settlement in El Salvador would largely depend on the nature of the process itself, on the response of the FDR/DRU and on their perceptions of the chances for adequate representation in a coalition transitional government.

It is pertinent to examine briefly aspects of the Cuban government's attitudes vis-à-vis the Zimbabwe negotiations. We stress that Cuba was prepared to intervene militarily in support of the Patriotic Front under the following conditions:

- A formal request from the two factions of the Patriotic Front, a formal request from the front line states, acquiescence from the OAU.
- Escalated South African intervention in Zimbabwe initiating the internationalization of the conflict.
- Formation of a Provisional Revolutionary Government.

From the Cuban point of view, the costs of involvement in Zimbabwe were much lower than those associated with their intervention in El Salvador. Their actions in Zimbabwe were surprisingly cautious even under such favorable circumstances. Mr. Castro surprised international observers when he gave full support to the negotiations in Westminister. We will emphasize again the strategic importance of reaching a solution in El Salvador that proves that Cuban military assistance is a dispensable factor in the democratization of Central America.

OTHER REGIONAL ACTORS

The list of likely supporters of a negotiated settlement that would guarantee FDR/DRU participation in a new coalition government is extensive. The arguments in each

encouraging flexibility on the part of the contenders.

We must be willing to meet privately or publicly with a representative delegation of the opposition FDR/DRU coalition. We must avoid the temptation to try to choose or impose interlocutors. The instinctive tendency on our part to speak only with accomodating moderates named by us beforehand will have the effect of limiting these individuals' chances of playing a constructive role within the coalition. If a preference needs to be stated, the US should choose to meet with representatives of the toughest and least likely to compromise factions of the coalition. We must seek to overcome the view that recognition and negotiations are only tactics to divide, or just another form of intervention.

SIGNAL OUR WILLINGNESS TO ABANDON THE CONFRONTATIONAL TRACK

Salvadorean and international public opinion perceive the US as being committed to a military solution in Central America. We must signal our willingness to abandon this course of action under certain conditions, without necessarily closing that option. To do so we must consider:

- 1) Taking actions which will clearly separate us from those sectors in and out of the armed forces responsible for gross excesses against the population. The individuals involved have been identified by the FDR/DRU and by our own intelligence services.
- 2) Taking actions that indicate our willingness to reduce the level of military support we are providing to the armed forces, for example by reducing or interrupting our training program and supply flows.
- 3) Condemning the intervention plans of Guatemalan military and paramilitary forces, indicating our opposition to Honduran support for hostile actions against Nicaragua.

'We believe [public] support would not survive the introduction of US troops . . . an October 1980 poll found that 60% of all males and 68% of females interviewed oppose the use of US military force in developing countries. The reaction to the draft registration drive and the drop in support for intervention in Iran after the rescue attempt, suggest that assertions to the effect that we have overcome the 'Vietnam Syndrome' may be premature.'



Antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C., May 1980

Militant/Lou Howorth

case may become repetitive. Costa Rica would follow with relief Venezuela's lead. President Roldos of Ecuador would see the opportunity to cancel out competing pressures on his administration. Caribbean countries would perceive US support for such a process as a step away from gun boat diplomacy and in favor of political pluralism. Religious organizations would support the moderating potential of negotiations and as a way to heal internal differences.

D. OPENING MOVES FOR AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY

The results of the elections, new appointments in Washington, and, above all, events in El Salvador will confirm the need for a new US policy. There is a wide gap between the prevailing attitudes among policy makers in Washington in November 1980 and those that will be required for the US to be able to make a positive contribution to this process. When re-evaluation gets underway the following key issues will need to be addressed:

RECOGNITION OF THE FDR/DRU

There can be no improvement of our position and no resolution of the current conflict without the US officially signaling to the world community that it acknowledges that the FDR/DRU coalition is a legitimate and representative political force in Salvadorean politics.

This recognition will be a key indicator to intransigent sectors of the left and the right that a real change of attitude has taken place in Washington.

When and how this recognition is extended is a critical factor in the prospects for success, in discouraging or

- 4) Expressing privately and publicly our concern regarding Southern Cone countries' involvement in El Salvador, and urge all our allies, including Israel, to act with caution in the region.

MAINTAIN A LOW PROFILE THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS

Political analysts reflecting on the US role during the mediation efforts in Nicaragua point as its main weakness to the insistence of the Carter administration and the Congress to spearhead the effort. We should not initiate any mediating efforts. Instead we should support such initiatives and encourage those with whom we maintain influence to join in. Our direct participation may actually limit our ability to influence the outcome and may become an obstacle to mutual concessions.

ENCOURAGE PLURALISTIC MEDIA COVERAGE

Conditions in El Salvador and our official posture have not encouraged adequate coverage. Influential US journalists have been banned from the country by threats on their lives. Salvadorean government restrictions on visiting reporters have kept a tight lid on many critical events in the past six months. Informal signals to foreign desk editors during the electoral campaign discouraged serious investigative journalism.

Appropriate, objective and pluralistic media coverage will make a positive contribution to the search for a peaceful solution to the Salvadorean, and indeed, the Central American conflict.

Socialist city councilman in Calif.

'Mel Mason: portrait of a radical'

The following are major excerpts of an article printed in the August 13, 1980, edition of the 'Seaside Post' under the headline quoted above.

The article was written after the election of Socialist Workers candidate Mel Mason to the Seaside, California, City Council.

By Robert Miskimon

Some people were probably disappointed when Mel Mason didn't show up for his swearing-in as a Seaside councilman wearing bandoleers, waving a submachine gun, and smoking a marijuana joint.

And an equal number of people have probably been surprised at the 37-year-old socialist's equanimity on the council and his willingness to work with other councilmen in avoiding ideological clashes.

Mason confesses that many people in Seaside who fear him just don't know him, and have been led to see him as some kind of wild-eyed revolutionary more interested in preaching Marxist doctrine than in serving the community.

In his third attempt at elected office, Mason won a seat on the city council last March by getting 859 votes, without the assistance of what has been regarded for years as the black political power structure in Seaside, particularly black ministers.

"I think a significant portion of the votes for me came from black people, but I think I had a lot of white support, too. I had a cross-section of votes from the community, because now the system is starting to impact on people across the color line."

Mason feels that his relative youth and his political orientation, even though the city council is a non-partisan office, indicate that people are searching for some new answers outside the traditional politics.

The revelation that Mason was a member of the Socialist Workers Party was apparently the catalyst which drove off some of his supporters, although a few . . . stuck with him through the entire battle.

Harassment

Some of the threats and insults directed at him during the campaign are indicative of deep-seated attitudes that have characterized Seaside politics for years, Mason said.

"In addition to a constant flow of letters to the editor denouncing me for my beliefs, toward the end of the campaign I received numerous threats that I'd be shot and that my house would be bombed," Mason said. "They constantly referred to me as 'you black nigger bastard communist,' sometimes calling at 3 or 4 in the morning."

"At about 3 o'clock one morning, I was sleeping and I heard the sounds of something like a truck pulling up to the front of my house. There was a loud noise, like an engine racing, and a screech of tires, and I went outside and found the front of my car completely destroyed, to the tune of \$1,000 in

damages.

"A couple of hours later, I received a call saying: 'Next time, it'll be you, nigger.' And the local bank where I did business bounced three of my house payment checks for insufficient funds, when the funds were there. My mortgage was nearly foreclosed on."

"The company I was renting a burglar alarm from said I was behind in my payments to the tune of \$48, and said they would take out the equipment if I didn't pay right away. So I came home from work one day and the burglar alarm was gone, but I never even got a bill for the \$48 they said I owed them."

Mason believes all of this was "orchestrated by the rulers of this community."

Istanbul

Mel Mason was born in Providence, Kentucky and moved to Seaside with his mother in 1956 at the age of 13, an only child. He entered Monterey High School as a freshman and graduated in 1960. Sports, particularly track and basketball, played a big part in his high school life.

He attended Monterey Peninsula College in 1960-61, where he continued his basketball, until entering the Air Force in 1961. It was during his service in the Air Force that his first political awakening occurred.

"The first time the plight of blacks really had an impact on me was when I was in Istanbul, Turkey, in the Air Force. A Turkish officer asked me why blacks in America don't have a revolution because of the way they were being mistreated.

"I got angry with him and explained that things were getting better for blacks and they were waiting for changes to take place. The officer laughed at me and showed me a picture in a Turkish newspaper of dogs being set loose on Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights demonstrators.

"Just seeing that picture in another country's newspaper was what woke me up. I was horrified and angry."

Mason's Air Force career included two court martials for assault, ending in a bad conduct discharge in 1965.

"Partially, it was a reaction to the second-class treatment that black airmen were getting at the two bases where I was stationed—Carswell Air Force Base in Fort Worth, Texas and in Turkey—but mostly I was young and wild and rough."

Mason returned to Monterey Peninsula College in 1966 after his Air Force discharge, with a resolve to change his life. He wrote to former Sen. Thomas Kuchel, acknowledging that his bad conduct discharge was his fault, and asking whether it would be possible to have the discharge reviewed and upgraded.

"Senator Kuchel wrote back to me and told me that he would try to help me, when I got my A.A. degree, when I was an All-American basketball player, and when I had been accepted at a four-year college," Mason recalled.

MPC basketball star

Mason made good on all counts, becoming the only All-American basketball player in Monterey Peninsula College's history, and gaining admission to Oregon State University with a full athletic scholarship, after earning his A.A. degree.

The senator from California kept his part of the bargain, and personally worked on Mason's case for more than a year, eventually succeeding in having his discharge upgraded to honorable. Mason still holds all scoring and rebound records for MPC basketball.

"After I'd already signed the scholarship at Oregon State, they told me they had two sets of rules—one for black athletes and one for white athletes," Mason said. "They specified such things as when to be off the streets and other behavior; I didn't know about it until after I got the scholarship."

"I challenged that, but I was the only black athlete who did, and I didn't win. I was blacklisted so I couldn't play at Oregon State or anywhere else." Shortly thereafter, Mason left Oregon State and moved to San Jose, where he took a job as an engineer's assistant at Western Electric.

Once again, institutionalized racism confronted him.

"I began to notice that there were some inequities in promotions for the black employees there," Mason recalled. "Some black employees had worked there for six years without a promotion or a step



MEL MASON

Militant/Susan Muysenberg

raise. Black employees, especially women, were being verbally abused and harassed on the job."

With his cousin, Joseph Sloan also from Seaside, Mason organized the Black Workers Unity Caucus, to bring the problems of black workers to the attention of the Western Electric management. As a result of their efforts, six black employees who had never received a promotion were promoted, and a new policy was instituted governing treatment of workers on the job by supervisors. Mason also found time to earn his A.B. degree from Golden Gate University while working at Western Electric.

During the organization process, Mason was fired but rehired because of protests by other black workers. It was while involved with the Black Workers Unity Caucus that Mason had his first contacts with the then-infant Black Panther Party.

Black Panther Party

"When I met a few people from the Black Panther Party, that was when I first began to look at the problems affecting black people on a national and international scale, by linking our problems with those of other Third World countries," Mason said.

He joined the Black Panther Party in 1968, but by the time he returned to Seaside in 1969, his affinity for the group had worn off, partly because he questioned the Panther doctrine of guns and violence as a means to bring about progress for blacks.

"Through its own ultra-left rhetoric, the Panthers had isolated themselves from the very people it was intending to help. J. Edgar Hoover had launched a full-scale offensive against the Panther Party, and it had become nothing more than a series of scattered splinter groups which was no longer effective.

"I still feel the Black Panther Party was the forerunner for the kind of politically independent organization black people need to have," Mason said. "The Panthers were beneficial in showing blacks they could have an organization run and controlled by them, and not by the Ford Foundation and other organizations dependent on the government for their existence."

"We'd had two so-called riots [in Seaside], in 1965 after Watts and another one in 1966. They were mostly the result of pent-up anger. A few stores were firebombed and some windows broken. It hadn't made that much of an impression on me, because at that time I was just running the streets of Seaside like everyone else."

. . . when he returned [to Seaside] in 1969, it was with a different awareness and a new political viewpoint, influenced strongly by Malcolm X and his assassination.

Malcolm X

"I knew a little about who he was, but mostly he scared me," Mason said. "The press made him appear as some kind of black monster. When he was assassinated, that was another jolt. It made me aware of how tenuous the situation can be for black



MALCOLM X. His writings introduced Mel Mason to socialism.

people.

"When I came back to Seaside, I noticed hard narcotics for the first time in the black community. My feeling is that it wasn't accidental, and that after the 1966 outburst in Seaside, the rulers of this area had seen the potential for an energized movement on the part of young blacks in Seaside, so they sent in narcotics to tranquilize them."

"The political climate at city hall was best expressed by the police," Mason said. "The air in Seaside was one of repression. Everywhere you looked, there was a cop. No one was speaking out. Community leaders had taken an accommodationist attitude—the one they're still taking."

In his readings about Malcolm X, Mason noticed that the slain black leader had mentioned the Socialist Workers Party favorably several times, and he became curious. The more he learned about the party, the better he liked it, until he became a member.

Acknowledging that the Socialist Workers Party platform is based on Marxist principles, Mason points out that the SWP was formed in 1939 "when it became clear that the Communist Party would not denounce Stalin as a 'murderous dictator.'

The Socialist Workers Party said that Stalin had completely corrupted the communist principles, and it continues to take a position against human rights violations in Russia.

"The primary objective of the SWP today is the education of people to think for themselves, so that



Mason was member of Black Panther Party from 1968-69. Above, 1970 Panther demonstration in Washington, D.C.

they will be free to make a choice for socialism, if that is what they desire," Mason said.

"Our main role is to get people to think for themselves," Mason said. "Even though the SWP advocates socialism."

The closest thing to a Marxist government as envisioned by the Socialist Workers Party is the Castro regime in Cuba, Mason said.

People seek alternative

His election to the city council as an avowed member of the SWP "speaks to the fact that more and more people are questioning the political and economic system we have in America. People are looking for an alternative because they see this system is not working."

Mason hopes that, as a result of his election to the city council, more young people in Seaside will become involved in the political process, and he hopes to establish some kind of city-wide political education organization to accomplish that objective.

"The people running the government in this city should be much younger than I am."

Mason said his support has "increased dramatically" since his election to the council, and he maintains that the only reason he is there is to carry out his campaign promises, specifically in the areas of affordable housing, jobs, affirmative action, youth programs, increased citizen participation in government, and economic development.

N.C. drops final charges against KKK-Nazi murderers

By Steve Craine
and Greg McCartan

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Giving a final blessing to the murder of anti-Klan demonstrators here a year ago, North Carolina authorities announced November 26 that they were dropping all remaining charges against the Klan and Nazi death squad.

Ten of the avowed racists still faced felony charges in the slaying of five Communist Workers Party members on November 3, 1979.

District Attorney Michael Schlosser justified this action by pointing to the November 17 acquittal of six Klan and Nazi gunmen by an all-white jury. "All the powers on this earth cannot change this verdict," Schlosser declared. "It is the final verdict. We must live with it."

Some thirty-five Klansmen and Nazis participated in the murderous assault. Less than half were ever indicted. Prosecutors made a special point of steering clear of the role of two police informers involved in planning and carrying out the attack.

In an attempt to portray the latest travesty of justice as "evenhanded," Schlosser also announced

he would not pursue prosecution of six anti-Klan demonstrators. These victims of the attack had also faced felony charges. Ending the frame-up against them has been a demand of civil rights forces around the country.

Schlosser may consider the acquittal final, but many Greensboro residents disagree. A public hearing sponsored by the Human Relations Commission here November 21 heard repeated condemnations of the state's handling of the case.

"It was a lie, an L-I-E lie," one older Black man said, his voice choked with outrage. "I can't understand how people in Greensboro can even sleep with that kind of verdict. They should come in and investigate. I think they should investigate the district attorney."

A minister from the United Light Church of Christ spoke representing several Black churches: "We have been trying to keep some things under the rug. The time to act is now. It is time for us to stop dragging our feet."

Anne Welsh of the American Friends Service Committee called on "city, state, and federal officials and agencies to take steps . . . to explain to Greensboro and the wider national and international community the roles of the informers and agents in the tragic events that have occurred."

Bobby Hopkins, a student from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (A&T), demanded to know "how can you get an all-white jury where you have a population that is 20 percent Black?"

The president of the A&T National Organization of Black University and College Students said, "It is amazing that we can regress fifteen or twenty years and our leaders sit idly by and do nothing. Something should be done about it."

Signe Waller, whose husband Jim Waller was one of those killed, said the verdict gave "a green light to increased attacks and specifically legalizes killing communists, but also Blacks, Latinos, and Chicanos."

Kate Daher, representing the Socialist Workers Party, demanded federal prosecution of all those involved in the attack. She also called for opening the government files on the cop agents in the Klan and Nazi organizations so the public could learn the truth about police complicity in racist violence.

One speaker summed up the feelings of many at the hearing. "I am appalled by the verdict," he said. "As long as our leaders call for calm and law and order instead of equality and justice we will see November 3 again."

What civil rights?

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Civil rights leaders across the country have demanded that the U.S. Justice Department bring federal charges against the KKers and Nazis who killed five anti-Klan demonstrators last November.

Such charges of violating civil rights laws have been used in other cases where state courts refused to act against racist violence.

But U.S. Attorney H.M. Michaux says "we've got a problem" in prosecuting the KKK-Nazi killers. "He said the government is having a problem finding a civil rights violation in the Nov. 3, 1979, incident," the Greensboro *Daily News* reported November 20.

The paper quoted Michaux as saying, "We have to find a federally protected civil right that these people violated."

The right to hold a rally against the Klan without being murdered apparently doesn't count.

Justice Department spokesman John Wilson said that the federal conspiracy law "seems to fit to you and me because we are laymen, but to lawyers there are legal problems we don't see."

Wilson added that "conspiracy under the federal laws is very difficult to prove."

Ky. rightists attack Blacks, SWP

By Russell Pelle

LOUISVILLE—Police brutality and right-wing terror directed at the Black community, socialists, and other antiracist activists are on the rise here. This follows a national pattern of racist violence, highlighted by the November 17 acquittal of the Klan and Nazis in the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina.

In the latest incident, the front window of the Socialist Workers Party office in Louisville was smashed early Sunday morning, November 23. A Nazi "white power" sticker was placed on the other front window.

On November 7, Claude McCullom, a well-known Black activist in the Louisville Anti-Klan Coalition was shot at as he was entering his house. A total of six shots were fired. McCullom showed a *Militant* reporter several bullet holes by his front door, saying that one shot narrowly missed hitting his head.

The day before the attack, McCullom had been interviewed in the *Louisville Times* on the crisis facing the Black community.

In another incident, in the middle of November, a sixty-one-year-old Black man was shot to death in the back room of a SuperX Drug Store by an off-duty Louisville cop. The victim, Emmanuel Ballard, was accused of trying to steal a bottle of aspirin.

The cop, Marion Vertrees, is still employed by the drug store as a part-time security guard.

Black community organizations and civil rights groups, such as the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have organized an effective boycott of the drug store, demanding that Vertrees be jailed.

A November 26 news conference, initiated by the Socialist Workers Party, condemned police inaction

in countering the wave of right-wing violence. Speakers included Chris Rayson, chairperson of the Louisville Socialist Workers Party; Anne Braden, Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Herman Dozier, field director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Rayson charged that police have refused to seriously investigate the attack on the SWP headquarters. For example, the cops threw away the Nazi sticker posted near the smashed window instead of checking it for fingerprints.

When questioned by the *Louisville Times*, police Captain Carl Lindeman dismissed the harassment of the socialists saying, "It's just one of those things people in that area have to put up with. We have nothing to go on and there was no sign of a break-in. It's just an unsolved crime."

Antiracist organizers are stepping up efforts to counter the campaign of violence here. The Louisville Anti-Klan Coalition is urging that telegrams be mailed to Attorney General Civiletti demanding federal indictments of the Klan and Nazi murderers in Greensboro. Petitions are circulating on the job. One rail worker, a member of the SWP who is a laborer on a track crew, got seven co-workers, all white, to sign a petition condemning the Greensboro murders and urging federal indictments.

In addition, a tour of Kentucky is being organized for Rev. Ben Chavis. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference also plans a march in Louisville on Martin Luther King's birthday, January 15.

Herman Dozier reflected the spirit of solidarity that has emerged when he stated at the November 26 news conference: "We need to clean out our closets from the White House down to the police departments. We've got to get together and change the system. We want everybody, Black and white, to join us in this struggle."

Workers urge revolutionary war policy

Iran makes gains against Iraqi aggression

By Fred Feldman

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Iran is bogged down in the oil producing province of Khuzestan. Iranian forces have not yet been able to expel the invaders, but the Iraqi regime has failed to win control of Iran's oil fields and pipelines, much less bring about the fall of the Khomeini government.

Revolutionary Guards and local defense units, along with guerrilla forces that sprang up after the invasion, have blocked any significant new advances by Iraqi forces since the capture of most of the port city of Khorramshahr in October.

Hussein's prospects took a setback when an attempt to capture the Iranian city of Susangerd was repulsed after heavy fighting. The Iraqi drive against Abadan has also made little headway, despite the destruction wrought by Iraqi artillery.

Iran's air strikes against installations in Iraq have increased. And the Iranian Navy has launched attacks against Iraqi oil ports. These developments came as Hussein was claiming that Iraq would once again be able to make massive oil deliveries to the imperialist powers.

Antiwar mood in Iraq

Within Iraq, the war is deepening opposition to Hussein's dictatorship.

The Iraqi rulers have tried to meet this hostile mood with repression. "Hundreds of pro-Iranians have been arrested," reported Youssef M. Ibrahim in the November 30 *New York Times*, "and, according to diplomatic sources, many have been executed."

According to *New York Times* reporter Drew Middleton, fear of dissent within the army ranks has further slowed the Iraqi military drive. Commanders fear that more aggressive attempts to take Iranian cities "would increase the loss of life among Iraqi soldiers, on whose loyalty the regime rests. . . . A high percentage of the Iraqi rank and file are Shiites, the sect of Islam that dominates Iran."

"Under present battle conditions the loyalty of the Shiite soldiers is not in question," claimed Middleton, "although there is evidence that the command has weeded out some from front-line units. But the Government would expect a serious situation to arise, a NATO intelligence officer said, if many Shiites were killed fighting their religious brothers from Iran."

"The effect, the source said, would be bad both for the army and for public opinion represented by the families of the fallen soldiers."

Nor is it just the Shi'ite majority that the Iraqi regime is worried about, although the capitalist media tries to present the class polarization within Iraq and the Middle East as a whole in religious terms.

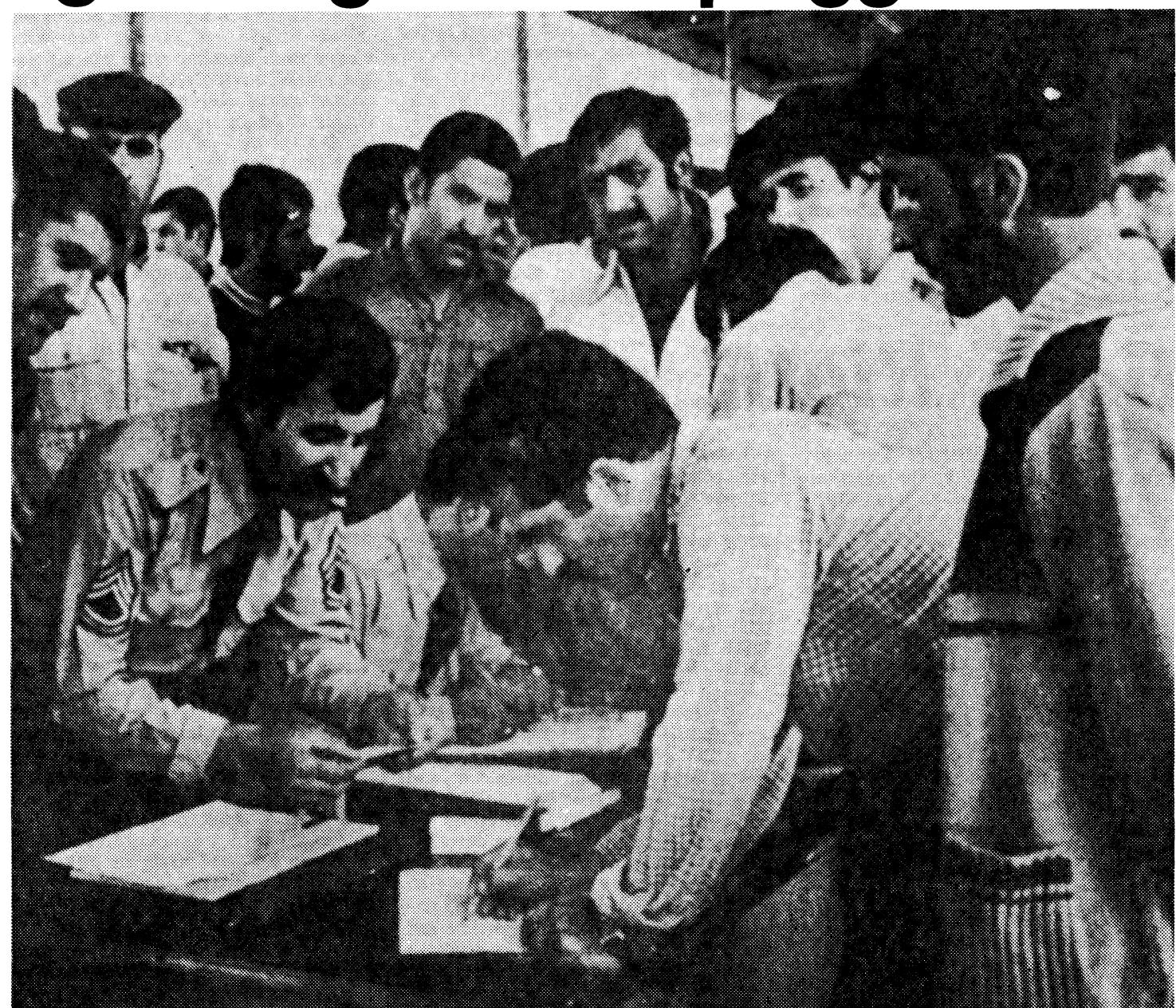
At the start of the war, there was hope in imperialist circles that quick Iraqi victories might lead to the early restoration in Tehran of a regime like the shah's. Now their main concern is that setbacks to Hussein may precipitate the extension of the Iranian revolution.

"A defeat for Iraq would certainly bring down President Hussein," warned the London *Economist* November 1. "And an Iranian victory could ignite Islamic fundamentalism throughout the Middle East."

While opposition to Hussein's war fuels the class struggle in Iraq, the class consciousness of working people in Iran has been sharpened by the need to mobilize to militarily defend their revolution.

According to socialists in Iran, the workers have become increasingly insistent that they be armed and that the economy be reorganized to meet the demands of war.

The bourgeois government of Kho-



Iranians sign up to fight. Workers are demanding that government arm them and mobilize entire population to defend revolution.

meini, Bani-Sadr, and the Islamic Republican Party fears such moves as threats to the existence of the capitalist state and capitalist property relations in Iran.

Disputes over how to respond to the Iraqi invasion and the mobilizations it has sparked are leading to deepening factionalism within the government. This factionalism is the target of growing criticism by Iran's working people.

As in the past, one response of the government to criticism of its actions has been attempts at repression. The offices of the Tudeh Party, a pro-Moscow Stalinist organization, were shut down and its paper was suppressed for a time. Members of the Mujahedeen (an Islamic group proclaiming socialist goals that played an active part in the anti-shah struggle) have been arrested and their paper has been banned.

In a gross frame-up, Mohammed Reza Saadati, a leader of the Mujahedeen, was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of spying for the Soviet Union. His attorneys claim that they were not invited to the trial, shown the alleged incriminating evidence, or even permitted to know the name of the presiding judge.

Repressive moves unpopular

Such attempts at repression have always been highly unpopular among the Iranian workers, who fought hard against the shah for the rights they have won. Their opposition began to find massive expression when the government took action against some of its bourgeois critics. After a television broadcast where he criticized the government, former Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh was jailed November 7.

He was released November 10 at the order of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, after tens of thousands of names were collected on petitions for his release. Few working people agree with Ghotbzadeh's call for the arming and

Zadeh—he represents a current that favors conciliating U.S. imperialism—but his arrest was seen as a threat against the rights of all.

An attempt by a group of self-proclaimed Islamic militants to occupy and shut down *Mizan*, a newspaper reflecting the views of former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, was also rebuffed.

The Tudeh Party's newspaper is now publishing again, the socialists say, and the Mujahedeen distribute their press in defiance of the government ban. The regime's police have difficulty stopping them because of the support the Mujahedeen get for their rights.

The Iranian section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) denounced all the attacks on civil liberties.

Two million march

On November 19, according to Iranian socialists, up to two million people gathered in Iran's main square for a rally celebrating the Shi'ite Muslim faith's most important religious holiday.

They responded enthusiastically as Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr denounced violations of democratic rights ranging from the arrest of Ghotbzadeh to the repression of left groups and even incidents of torture. He contrasted these actions to the goals of the anti-shah revolution.

Bani-Sadr is attempting to build a following for his faction in the government by appearing as a supporter of democratic rights. But other positions he holds are unpopular among the workers and farmers. This is particularly true of his defense of the army command—including many holdovers from the shah's regime—who have held their forces back from the defense of Abadan, Khorramshahr, and other cities.

Khomeini's call for the arming and

military mobilization of the whole country has not been implemented. But the masses are arming as best they can.

Factories have formed their own armed units. Workers and farmers have dug up guns buried after the February 1979 insurrection. Armed demonstrations of workers and youth have become common events in Iranian cities.

The masses increasingly demand that a new military command structure and a new armed force be created by integrating the Revolutionary Guards, the armed groups, and the army units that want to fight. The obstructionism of the army high command and the lack of a unified command have significantly slowed down the defense of Khuzestan.

The HKE has found that its demand for universal military conscription of workers gets a good response. This demand is opposed by the government and the capitalist forces.

Anticapitalist sentiment

Anticapitalist sentiments, inspired by the hoarding and disruptions caused by profit-seeking manufacturers and merchants, continue to rise. Some communities have formed night patrols that catch merchants who are carrying out illegal business.

Socialists report that the success of rationing in assuring sections of the masses food and heating oil at low prices is convincing many that capitalism and profiteering is the prime cause of shortages and inflation.

Neighborhood and factory *shoras* (committees) are increasingly taking on functions of local government, the socialists say.

In the view of the Iranian socialists, the advances scored and problems faced by the Iranian revolution in its present fight for survival are posing more sharply the need to establish a workers and peasants government.

From Intercontinental Press

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Capitalism for beginners—Venezuelan capitalists have initiated a campaign to deal with the 40 percent illiteracy rate. But not by organizing literacy brigades like Cuba or Nicaragua did. Instead they will promote portable phonographs and records at twenty-three dollars each. Asked if this might not be a problem for the poor, a spokesperson explained, "We do not wish to give anyone a gift. We want people to have a motivation. . . ."

Just a turkey—Florida's Turkey

Point nuclear plant shut down automatically when a circuit broke. Attempted manual restoration led to "a great slosh of water" that shook the control room "like an earthquake." Inspection also disclosed two stuck valves and three faulty welds. Officials dismissed the incident as "just routine" mechanical failure.

Never too proud—Some say it's better to elect rich people because they don't have to steal. We don't know how

rich New York's Governor Carey is, but he did recently buy a \$500,000 coop apartment. Meanwhile, he used more than \$10,000 in state funds to pay household workers who cooked and cleaned for his children and their friends at his private vacation home.

Like fighting fire with a water pistol—A San Francisco resident returned home inebriated and found a heavier than usual presence of cockroaches. Desperate, he tried incinerating them with a cigarette lighter. The

building caught fire. Distraught, he tried cutting his wrists. The roaches, we assume, were pleased he took the chill out of the apartment.

Just making ends meet—Dr. Seymour Cutler, chief medical officer to the New York fire department, also spends three half days a week tending to his private practice. Responding to criticism, the good doctor insisted that his city job had always been considered part time. This is buttressed by the fact that he draws but \$37,444.

Women in Revolt

CLUW backs undocumented workers

One of the many informative workshops at the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) conference on organizing the unorganized, held in Dallas November 14-16, was on undocumented workers.

One of the panelists, Kathy Andrade, is from the Education Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City. She pointed out that the exploitation of undocumented workers exists from the farms of Texas, Florida, and California to the sweatshops of Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York.

Andrade explained that undocumented workers are made to work in the worst jobs and become scapegoats for problems like unemployment. Their second-class status weakens the unions as a whole.

As for the argument that undocumented workers are sponging off the government, Andrade pointed out that while 80 percent of them pay taxes, only 1 percent receive welfare, most of these only for their children. Many are not eligible for unemployment coverage.

In one instance in New York, a group of undocumented workers, all women, came to the ILGWU office. All of them had worked in a shop in Elmhurst, Queens, many of them from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily. Their employer had promised to pay them fifteen dollars per day—for a sixteen-hour day.

But when they went to cash these meager checks, they bounced.

When the union contacted the employer, asking that he issue good checks, he said he would pay

these women only if they produced their "green cards." But he knew they were undocumented workers, and he knew it when he hired them.

The ILGWU has a brochure, which was passed out at the workshop, explaining why unionists should oppose the discrimination against undocumented workers.

It states that "The growth of a 'sweatshop sector' is a reality in today's modern economy." The reason: "... it is profitable—and almost risk-free—to treat undocumented workers like virtual serfs. They can be cheated of their wages, crammed into unsafe shops and forced to work long, grueling hours because sweatshop employers have little to fear. The undocumented workers have learned to live with fear. They are defenseless and tremble at the thought of detection, detention and deportation."

A large majority of garment workers are undocumented, according to María Elena Salazar, another panelist at the workshop, from the Los Angeles ILGWU.

During 1979, ILGWU organizers in New York located more than 500 small, nonunion garment shops in the Bronx and 200 in Manhattan. They estimate that several hundred more operate in Brooklyn and Queens.

"Homework, the scourge of the garment industry 70 to 80 years ago, has returned with a vengeance," the ILGWU brochure explains. "A woman brings work to her home or has it delivered. After working

Suzanne Haig



8 or 9 hours in a factory, she then toils for an additional 5 or 6 hours in small, cramped quarters, usually assisted by her small children."

Although homework is illegal, it is big business, with established distribution routes and daily pickup and delivery service. Employers seeking such workers advertise almost every day in foreign-language newspapers.

In an interview, Andrade told me that the ILGWU is for amnesty for all undocumented workers who are presently living in the United States. The union opposes any legislation imposing penalties on employers for hiring undocumented workers but supports sanctions against employers who use the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deter organizing efforts.

The union has also said it will organize, represent, and protect all garment workers without regard to their status.

Andrade is from El Salvador. She talked to me about her concern for events there. She was highly critical of the role of the U.S. government and the current military junta. "They talk about agrarian reform, but they gave the land to the people and then killed them, so no one will take the land now," she said.

"Washington is providing guns and ammunition to the counterrevolutionaries," she believes. She fears this will be stepped up by the incoming Reagan administration, which has also threatened to cut off aid to Nicaragua.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: 'WHAT REAGAN'S ELECTION MEANS TO WORKING PEOPLE.' Sat., Dec. 13. Classes: 12 noon, 3:30 p.m. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, National Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Rally: 7:30 p.m. to announce 1981 Socialist Workers election campaign. Candidates: James Little for mayor of Los Angeles; Cathleen Gutekanst for Board of Education, District 2. Also speaking: Gary Raimo, president, Black Student Union, Mt. San Antonio College; Jorge Camacho, MEChA, Cerritos College. 2211 N. Broadway, Lincoln Heights. Donation: \$5. Translation to Spanish. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

SAN FRANCISCO

LESSONS OF 1984 SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE. Speaker: Tom Kerr, author of *Workers, Bosses & Bureaucrats*. Fri., Dec. 12, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO DENVER

HOW TO STOP RACIST ATTACKS. Speakers: representative of NAACP; Frank Garcia, Longmont; Lalo Delgado, Chicano poet; Pat Silverthorn, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

EVOLUTION VS. CREATIONISM. Speaker: Tom Vernier, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

REAGAN'S VICTORY: WHAT IT MEANS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speakers to be announced.

Sat., Dec. 13, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 131 W. Main #102. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

of Reconciliation; Hideo Hashimoto, professor emeritus of Lewis & Clark College. Sun., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

Labor Forum. For location call (215) 927-4747.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS. A report from Black Conference in Philadelphia. Sun., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NORTH CAROLINA PIEDMONT

FROM ATLANTA TO GREENSBORO—STOP RACIST ATTACKS. Speakers: Patrick Hairston, president, Winston-Salem NAACP; Khalid Fattah, chair, Winston-Salem Improvement Association; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO CLEVELAND

BIRTH OF A BLACK POLITICAL PARTY: REPORT FROM PARTICIPANTS IN PHILADELPHIA FOUNDING CONVENTION. Speakers: Thabo Ntsweng, Socialist Workers Party; Larry Prince, student, Cuyahoga Community College; others. Sun., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON PORTLAND

THE KOREA CONNECTION: U.S. INVOLVEMENT AND POLITICAL REPRESSION IN KOREA. Speakers: Nora Hallett, director, Oregon Fellowship

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN IRELAND AND SOLIDARITY WITH H-BLOCK PRISONERS. Speakers: Gerry Foley, writer for *Intercontinental Press*; Jack McKinney, columnist for *Philadelphia Daily News*. Sun., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

RALLY AND SPEAK-OUT TO PROTEST KLAN-NAZI ACQUITTAL IN GREENSBORO. Speakers: Paul Blackman, president, A. O. Smith Steelworkers; Hekina Ana, Republic of New Africa; Howard Fuller, Coalition to Save North Division; other speakers to be announced. Theater group, open mike. Thurs., Dec. 11, 7 p.m. Community Baptist Church, 1216 N. 13th St. Ausp: Committee for Justice. For more information call (414) 264-6678.

Forums on El Salvador

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

EL SALVADOR: REPRESSION AND REVOLT. Speakers: member of Casa El Salvador; Sandra Price, went to El Salvador on behalf of Social Justice Commission of Archdiocese of San Francisco, who will show slides of trip. Fri., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN EL SALVADOR. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

EL SALVADOR: A COUNTRY IN CRISIS. Slide show and panel discussion. Sun., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

VIRGINIA NEWPORT NEWS

EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND: REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. SPONSORED BY YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE. Sat., Dec. 13, 7 p.m. "Which Way for Caribbean," forum on Grenada and Jamaica. Speaker: Mac Warren. Classes: Sun., Dec. 14, 1 p.m. "Cuba: Its Revolutionary Role." Speaker: Omari Musa. 4 p.m. "Nicaragua: the Challenge of Revolution." Speaker: Sharon Grant. 111 28th St. Donation: \$3 for whole weekend; \$1 per class; \$1.50 for forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Carlos Fonseca Amador

November marked the fourth anniversary of the murder of Carlos Fonseca Amador by forces of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. Fonseca was the founder and central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which led the workers and peasants to triumph over the dictatorship in July 1979.

The following appreciation of Fonseca is excerpted from the November 16 weekly English-language edition of the Cuban daily 'Granma.' For a longer description of his role in the FSLN, see the article by FSLN leader Tomás Borge in the July 'International Socialist Review,' July 11 'Militant.'

Carlos Fonseca Amador followed the ideas of Sandino, revived Sandino's figure in all its greatness and continued Sandino's struggle.

Fonseca once said, referring to the General of Free Men, "Sandino was not only an anti-imperialist hero and a staunch defender of sovereignty, but he also raised the need for profound social change on behalf of the oppressed and exploited."

Carlos Fonseca Amador dedicated 20 years of his short and fruitful life to achieving such change. He was born in Matagalpa in 1936 and died fighting for the freedom of his country and for the dignity of our America in the mountains of Zinica, Zelaya department, on November 8, 1976.

Fonseca began his revolutionary activities in 1954 as a member of a group of Marxist students. In 1956, following the execution of Anastasio Somoza García, he was sent to prison, although several years later he asserted that he had not been involved in the action carried out by Rigoberto López Pérez.

In 1957 he went to Moscow as delegate to a World Youth Congress and after his return to Nicaragua he wrote a book called *Un nicaragüense en Moscú* (A Nicaraguan in Moscow) in which he described his experiences in the Soviet Union.

Later, he traveled to Costa Rica, Venezuela and Guatemala and then returned to Nicaragua secretly. He was arrested by Somoza's repressive forces and expelled from the country. A military plane took him to Guatemala, from where he traveled to Mexico.

In 1959 he left Mexico for Honduras to join a guerrilla movement, and in El Chaparral, in Honduran territory, where the guerrillas were preparing for action, he was wounded in the chest during a clash with the Honduran army and the Nicaraguan National Guard. He was on the verge of death for several weeks.

When he recovered, he left for Costa Rica where he and other Nicaraguan



CARLOS FONSECA AMADOR

exiles founded an organization called Nicaraguan Revolutionary Youth. In 1960 he made his second clandestine return to Nicaragua, but he was discovered and sent to Guatemala, where he was thrown into prison. He escaped from jail and went to Venezuela and Cuba.

In 1961 he, Silvio Mayorga and Tomás Borge founded the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to which he devoted his efforts, sacrifices, self-denial, intelligence, ability as organizer and thoughts until the end of his life.

"A Sandinista revolutionary," he proclaimed, "must not devote himself solely to teaching the masses. He must learn and know how to be a disciple of the masses."

Nothing was able to stop him, neither the setbacks at Bocay and Pancasán nor the Somozaist genocide, the attacks and threats by Yankee imperialism, the millions of dollars spent by the enemy of his people on bribery and on distorting the cause of his struggle.

He believed that it's in the difficult moments that the revolutionary mettle of a militant is really put to the test. Collectivist awareness, the awareness that the vanguard is composed of the energy of a group, is an indispensable part of the spirit of a militant.

The day when a detailed inventory is made of all the heroic episodes carried out by the Nicaraguan people, of all the examples of patriotism, of all the interminable days of work and sacrifice and of the collective and individual acts of valor and daring, our America will know the full extent of the struggle and dedication of the Nicaraguans and of the role Carlos Fonseca Amador played in that struggle and dedication, and will have one of the greatest books on its own history.

—José A. Benítez

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Letters

SWP needed here

We wish to offer our thanks and appreciation to the travelling Socialist Workers Party team from Portland, Oregon. This team visited the Eugene area and spent the night with us. Members of the team were impressed at the response they received. They sold 27 subscriptions and 108 single copies of the *Militant*. The team also distributed campaign literature.

The presence of the Socialist Workers Party is needed here and hopefully a link has been forged in that direction. Eugene is a university and lumber town with a population exceeding 100,000. We have taken the lead in this community in the antidraft struggle and notably in the struggle against right-wing politics. Andrew Pulley spoke here in the spring and the response was very positive.

We are hoping the SWP will establish a permanent presence here.

Keep on bringing us good news through the *Militant*.
*Gene Maynard
Julie Maynard
Eugene, Oregon*

Engels & languages

Militant readers who read Trotsky's portrait of Frederick Engels in your November 7 issue might be interested in the following excerpt from a letter from Paul Lafargue, a son-in-law of Karl Marx, to Russian revolutionist Nikolai Frantzevich Danielson, dated December 14, 1889:

"It is quite extraordinary the way he manages the job of getting out [Marx's] works as well as carrying on a comprehensive correspondence with people in almost all the countries of Europe and America. I don't know whether he writes to you in Russian, but he reads it fluently and he is in the habit of writing to his correspondents in their own languages.

"He is truly a polyglot [fluent in many languages], and knows not only written languages, such as Provençal such as Icelandic, and ancient languages, such as Provencçal and Catalan. His knowledge of languages is by no means superficial; in Spain and Portugal I have seen letters from him to friends down there, who found that they were written in flawless Spanish and Portuguese, and I know that he also writes in Italian. However nothing is harder than keeping straight these three related languages, which are so similar to one another.

"And E[ngels] is a wonderful person; I've never met a person who is intellectually so youthful and mobile and who possesses such encyclopedic knowledge. If you consider that he was in charge of a shipping house in Manchester for twenty years, then you ask yourself where he got the time to store up in his head everything he knows."

The letter comes from Volume 37 of the German edition of Marx and Engels's works.

*Duncan Williams
New York, New York*

Teamsters & elections

Many Teamsters voted for Ronald Reagan for very different reasons than their president Frank Fitzsimmons did.

For "Fitz" and his cronies, it was another chapter in their bid to be the most reactionary of today's union officials. I was loading freight on the second shift the night of the election. About 6:00 o'clock, the dock foreman announced that Carter was getting trounced, and a cheer went up. As I asked people why they voted for Reagan, I got the same answer every time: "Because I could never vote for Carter after what he's done to us."

"I wasn't voting for Reagan, I was voting against Carter."

I asked them what they felt about Reagan's antilabor positions. Many were unfamiliar with his antilabor record. The break room had Reagan literature in it that hailed Reagan as the first former union official to run for president. In it he denies that he is for "right to work" (for less) laws.

With Carter, they knew what they were getting: inflation, unemployment and a drive to weaken the Teamsters union. Carter signed the bill to deregulate the trucking industry. The union had campaigned hard against it because it has the potential of throwing thousands of union members out of work. Many felt that anything would be better than four more years of Carter.

The next night, I was talking with a young worker who was unloading a trailer with me. He said he hadn't voted but leaned toward Reagan. He asked, "Don't you think he'll do some good?" I said no and explained Reagan's real antilabor aims. I told him Reagan was opposed to Social Security. To that my co-worker answered, "If he messes with Social Security, I'm picking up a gun."

Reagan and the bankers and



Learning About Socialism

Cuban CP on revolutionary strategy

businessmen behind him are starting out the new administration in deep trouble. They hope to use the election as cover to ride herd over the gains of labor, of Blacks, and of women. The hopes and attitudes of my co-workers, of Blacks and women, is just the opposite.

*Jon Olmsted
Cincinnati, Ohio*

Struggle of Blacks

What's happening or becoming of the Black people today?

The explosion in Atlanta, which led to the killing of four children and an adult, is a reminder of the 1963 killing of four Black girls in Birmingham, Alabama, at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.

This type of repercussion that we are again experiencing has been with us in the past, the racist violence, the lack of police protection within our communities, the futile promises around election periods.

We as a people are not going to emigrate to Africa under force or anywhere else. Our ancestors cultivated this land, they were the proliferation that got America's capitalism. They were the pioneers in sciences, medicine, art, architecture, writing, and the first builders in stone, etc.

The draft is reinforced, but, Mr. President, wouldn't it be wise for the fight of justice to begin at home first, if we are to survive as a nation?

For the young brothers and sisters, I urge you to become more involved in essential ingredients like educational programs and to finish out school because the measures of civilization replace oppression and brute force. It is necessary for us to get ourselves together, to perceive the goings-on in politics and our economy, the fact that we as Black people are being oppressed by capitalism. We seem to be politically enslaved, economically exploited, and socially deceived and degraded because someone feels that he has the right to commit genocide.

This is not one man's fight, it's all of our struggle to live better, be educated, and have humane rights. But we must have unity.

*A prisoner
Pennsylvania*

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The following is from an article which sums up some of the conclusions drawn by the Cuban Communist Party leadership about the current stage of the revolutionary struggles in Latin America and the strategic road forward. It is reprinted from the November 2 English-language weekly edition of the Cuban daily 'Granma.'

BERLIN, October 21—Jesús Montané Oropesa, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, said here today that the revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada were the most important events in Latin America since 1959.

Speaking at the International Scientific Conference on the Struggle of the Working Class against Imperialism, the Cuban leader added that these victories took place amidst a U.S. imperialist counterrevolutionary offensive against the peoples of the hemisphere.

In his paper, Montané, the third speaker during the morning session held at the Palace of the Republic, discussed the movement for national and social liberation in Latin America and the Caribbean. He said that the victories of Grenada and Nicaragua were an expression of the upsurge of the popular and revolutionary movement in the area.

The head of the General Department of Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba said these new gains should be viewed in the framework of the historical stage which opened up in the hemisphere following the victory of the Cuban Revolution. These new victories did away with the myth that other revolutions in the hemisphere were impossible, he added.

Montané said the Nicaraguan process showed that the United States is unable to resort to fascist or reformist measures when faced by a genuine revolution grounded in the armed and united masses.

The enemies of the Revolution will be much less successful than they were in 1959 if they try to have people believe that the victories in Nicaragua and Grenada are isolated and unique cases which do not reflect the realities of the peoples' struggle for genuine liberation in Latin America, he said.

The Cuban leader stated that Nicaragua's victory confirmed the effectiveness and viability of armed struggle as the decisive means to take power in countries where all other paths are closed and the vanguard relies on the masses and achieves firm unity.

He stressed that these countries had shown that the only guarantee for the development of a program of radical anti-imperialist change is the elimination of the bourgeois state apparatus and the creation of a new army recruited from the people.

On referring to the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, Montané said a great historic shift is under way there. He explained that, although the revolutionary movements have different features, take different forms and advance in varying degrees, they are all part of the historic trend toward anti-imperialist national liberation.

He said the shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and the development of the popular and revolutionary movement in Latin America has transformed what was formerly the backyard of U.S. imperialism into an area

that the imperialists are finding increasingly difficult to control and to impose political decisions on.

"The United States has no structural or intermediate solutions to ease the economic and social crisis in underdeveloped Latin America. It is having increasing differences with many governments which it is no longer able to manipulate like puppets."

Montané said that the strategic military, economic and political value which Washington attaches to Latin America and the Caribbean poses a challenge to the revolutionary movements for national and social liberation in the area.

He added that, following the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. ideologues realized that the popular and revolutionary parties and movements in Latin America based their actions on profound ideological and political factors.

This led the imperialist ideologues to chart a course of action aimed at carrying out provocations to discredit the socialist model as the only alternative which could pave the way for liberation and economic development. They also tried to split the revolutionary forces, he added.

In spite of the Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, coups and reformist pipe dreams, he said, they were unable to stop the advance of revolution initiated by Cuba in 1959.

Regarding the forms of struggle in Latin America, he said that at times a false alternative has been posed between armed and other forms of struggle.

"The revolutionary content of any form of struggle is determined by its results, that is, whether or not it leads to an advance or retreat of the masses vis-à-vis their ultimate objectives."

The Cuban leader said experience in his country showed that dividing political and military functions adversely affects both. "Only an integral political-military concept makes it possible to pass at the right time from one main form of struggle to another depending on the stages and circumstances of each process."

In his speech to the Conference which he entitled "The Common Struggle of the Workers and National Liberation Movements against Imperialism and for Social Progress," Montané said that with the advent of the '80s new political, economic and social factors have developed, while the revolution ripens and added possibilities for liberation exist.

In the contemporary revolutionary situation in Latin America, one of the unique features is the growing participation of Christian sectors in the popular and revolutionary struggles, he remarked.

He said it was very important to grasp the features common to the area, focused on united efforts to destroy the common enemy, a view shared by the Communist Parties and revolutionary movements in Latin America.

Montané praised the watchful attitude displayed by Latin American revolutionaries toward the Maoist groups, which are bankrupt, he said, adding that they are insignificant in terms of size but damaging because of their provocative actions which benefit imperialism.

On summarizing the revolutionary upsurge in the region, he said that Latin America is witnessing a merging of class and national liberation struggles, an original combination of democratic tasks linked to socialist objectives and the struggle for anti-imperialist liberation of the workers and peasants from capitalist domination.

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THE MILITANT

Jan. 15 actions called to honor Dr. King

By Vivian Sahner

At a November 25 news conference in Washington, D.C., Stevie Wonder, the world famous composer and musician, announced, "I am calling for a rally to take place on January 15, 1981 in Washington, D.C. . . . to respectfully demand that Congress take action so that day, the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr., be declared a national holiday."

The call was featured on the front page of *Jet*, the Black weekly magazine.

For thousands of Americans the day represents a tribute to the slain civil rights leader as well as an opportunity to speak out about the needs and concerns of Blacks in this country. It is already a legal holiday in fifteen states.

This year's commemoration activities are particularly important. Referring to the recent murders of Black men and children in Atlanta and Buffalo and the assassination attempt on

Vernon Jordan in Indiana, Wonder declared "there is an upsurge of hatred and bigotry in this country."

Making King's birthday a national holiday would "enable us to help those who are unable to express their civil and economic rights," he said.

"We still have a long road to travel until we reach the world that was his dream. We in the U.S. must not forget either his supreme sacrifice or that dream."

At the press conference Coretta Scott King delivered a statement in support of the Washington rally through her son, Martin Luther King III. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center in Atlanta has announced additional plans for a week of activities in Atlanta, which include a silent march there on January 15. Similar activities are also planned in Cleveland, Detroit, and Louisville.

Support for the rally has already come from Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH (People United to

Save Humanity). In a statement to the *Militant*, Frank Watkins, a spokesperson for PUSH, said, "Black people must once again become very highly visible . . . we must go out and be aggressive relative to the rights that have been gained over the last twenty-five years.

Manning Marable, a leader of the newly organized National Black Independent Political Party, told the *Militant* that he strongly encouraged people to participate in the march to commemorate King. "It's important that there be public activities in defense of Black rights at this time," he said.

Mac Warren, a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, explained why he was planning to attend the march in Washington, "It will serve notice to President-elect Reagan and the rest of the Republicans and Democrats that we are not going to sit back quietly and see the rights of Blacks in this country given away," he

said.

"Dr. King was gunned down in the middle of leading support for striking Memphis city workers," Warren noted. "He was the target of a vicious FBI campaign. To this day, the truth about the FBI's role in his murder has not come out.

"Today the attacks by the Nazis, Klansmen, and other racist thugs—as well as the proposed legislation to cripple busing programs, abolish the minimum wage, and draft the young—must be answered.

"I urge everyone—students, unionists, young, and old, to march on January 15."

The Washington march will begin at 10 a.m. at First and Louisiana N.W., near the Capitol. The rally will take place near the base of the Washington Monument.

The following night, Stevie Wonder will hold a benefit concert to cover the costs of the march and rally at Capitol Center in Washington.

Klan suspected in fire bombing of unionist's car

By Linda Nordquist

PITTSBURGH—In the early morning hours of December 1, Linda Mohrbacher's car was fire bombed in the parking area at U.S. Steel's Edgar Thompson Works in Braddock, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Pittsburgh.

Mohrbacher, who was at work on the midnight shift at the mill, is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1219. In her three years at the mill she has become well known as a union activist, especially in organizing for the Equal Rights Amendment and against racist attacks.

Mohrbacher ran for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket this fall. She is also active in USWA District 15's civil rights committee, one of the organizers of an October 25 rally against the Ku Klux Klan in Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

Five cars sustained heavy damage from the fire bombing. But North Braddock police say Mohrbacher's car was the obvious target of the attack.

The car had been broken into and set on fire. The license plates were removed. Flames melted the engine and gutted the car parked next to it. The fire spread to a third car in the half hour or more before it was reported. All the cars were parked seventy-five yards from the guard shanty.

"This violent attack is aimed not only at me, but is an attack on the civil rights of all members of my union," Mohrbacher stated. "Attacks like this encourage an atmosphere of intimidation that weakens the union's ability to defend its members in all areas."

The USWA District 15 civil rights committee is investigating the fire-bombing.

Earlier, Mohrbacher was the target of harassment on her job in the slab mill at Edgar Thompson. A cross was burned at her worksite in November 1979 and racist graffiti was scrawled on the walls and equipment.

A little over a month ago, on October 31, a man identifying himself as a member of the KKK entered Mohrbacher's campaign headquarters, threatening to return with his buddies to disrupt an advertised socialist election night gathering.

This occurred only a few days after the anti-Klan rally in Uniontown, which socialist campaign supporters helped to build along with the steel-workers, National Organization for Women, the NAACP and others.

The man wore a Klan lapel pin and had his Klan robe dry-cleaned at the cleaners next door to the campaign office.

Early on the morning of October 31, campaign workers had found "KKK" scrawled across the storefronts on either side of the campaign headquarters and on a garbage can across the street.

The socialists responded with a news conference protesting the threat and demanding that the city administration provide full protection to ensure that no disruption of the election night rally occurred.

The gathering took place without incident.

Another threat came shortly after the verdict exonerating the KKK murderers in Greensboro, North Carolina. On November 18 the SWP office received a long-distance call from someone identifying himself as "Jim White" from "Winston-Salem, North Carolina." The caller asked, "Have you had any trouble with the Klan?" The person answering the call responded, "No, no trouble." The caller then said, "I'm with the Knights of KKK, and I can come up there and get you some."

Mohrbacher said that "the racist verdict in Greensboro was like a green light to right-wing terrorists across the country to threaten, intimidate, and even murder those who oppose their Klan-Nazi bigotry."

"My union has been in the forefront of organizing against Klan attacks, both on the job and in the community," Mohrbacher explained.

The fire bombing of Mohrbacher's car is an attack on her as a union activist, an anti-Klan fighter, and as a socialist. Mohrbacher is demanding an investigation by the North Braddock and Allegheny authorities and that U.S. Steel take responsibility for the safety of its employees and their property while at work.



Fire bombing destroyed Mohrbacher's car. Klan threats preceded attack.

Rash of threats against SWP

DEC. 3—Socialist Workers Party campaign offices around the country report an increase in right-wing vandalism and threats in recent weeks.

On December 2, the Minneapolis SWP headquarters received a bomb threat by phone. The police refused to do anything but a superficial check of the premises.

On election eve, someone threw a cow's head onto the stairwell of the headquarters.

Rocks and other objects were thrown through the windows of campaign offices in Morgantown, West Virginia; Gary, Indiana; and Louisville, Kentucky in the past two weeks. (For story on Louisville attack, see page 19).

Many offices report threatening phone calls. The Newport News, Virginia, headquarters received a call almost identical to that made

to Pittsburgh socialists (see story above). The caller said, "I'm Jim White from Atlanta. Have you had any trouble from the Klan?" When the socialists answered no, the caller said, "I'm with the KKK and I can see that you get some."

In Birmingham an SWP member got a call at home, at his unlisted phone number. The caller said, "You're going to die before you see your Mama." The socialist was planning to visit his family in the next few days.

In Indianapolis, the socialists got a call December 2 from someone identifying himself as a Nazi, saying, "you better get out of here, you nigger lovers."

Socialists also reported racist, right-wing incidents on the job. In Kansas City, for example, leaflets were given out to railroad clerks saying "Hunting season is over, except for jungle bunnies."