

New round opens in fight against gov't spying

A battle with far-reaching consequences for democratic rights has begun in a federal court in New York. Attorney General Edwin Meese's Justice Department has warned U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa that an injunction the judge has said he will issue against Meese "puts the Nation's vital interest of self-preservation at risk."

The injunction is being sought in a case filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against Meese, the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

The immediate issue is whether the federal court has the power to issue an order

EDITORIAL

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barring the attorney general and the other defendants from continuing to use the secret files they compiled on supporters and members of the SWP and YSA, as well as on individuals who have expressed interest in the organizations.

According to court papers, the FBI alone has 10 million pages of such files.

The Justice Department court papers rely heavily on a 1951 Supreme Court ruling affirming the conviction of Eugene Dennis and other leaders of the Communist Party. The CP leaders were found guilty of violating the Smith Act, a thought-control law that makes advocacy of revolutionary ideas a crime.

Citing this McCarthy-era ruling, Meese's lawyers assert:

"The Supreme Court has noted that self-preservation is the 'ultimate value of any



Militant/Osborne Hart
New York protest against FBI. Attorney General Edwin Meese is backing FBI, CIA, and other government agencies in fight against court ruling that would limit their ability to use illegally obtained spy files.

society.'" The need to protect this "ultimate value," the Justice Department argues, overrides constitutional protections of the rights of groups and individuals.

In 1976 under the pressure of widespread opposition to FBI and CIA policies that had come to light in the Watergate scandal, one of Meese's predecessors as attorney general, Edward Levi, was compelled to order the FBI to halt its spying and harassment of the SWP and YSA.

A decade later, in August 1986, Judge

Griesa ruled, in a historic decision, that the Bill of Rights guarantees the freedom of groups such as the SWP and YSA to publicize their views and engage in lawful political activity free from government interference.

Griesa found that the FBI's use of informers against the two groups and their members and supporters violated "the constitutional rights of the SWP and lacked legislative or regulatory authority."

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1,000 striking meat-packers march in Iowa

BY ANDREA BARON
AND JOE SWANSON

SIoux CITY, Iowa — A thousand meat-packers marched through downtown Sioux City March 17 chanting "we want a contract."

The meat-packers were mostly members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 222 from the Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) plant in Dakota City, Nebraska, a few miles away. They were joined by a substantial delegation of UFCW Local 1142 members from the John Morrell & Co. packing plant here. The Iowa and Nebraska plants are separated by the Missouri River.

The meat-packers marched through the business area of town handing out leaflets explaining the attacks on them by the packinghouse bosses. They carried signs and wore St. Patrick's Day green T-shirts reading "Justice for workers, we are together — 1142 and 222"; "Dignity, justice, and respect — we are going to go for it," and "1983 — the union gave concessions, 1987 — Morrell gave us the shaft. No more!"

More than 2,300 members of Local 222 held a meeting March 15 to discuss IBP's latest demands. In a stand-up vote that was almost unanimous, they decided to strike.

The meat-packers had been locked out since mid-December after they rejected a concession contract.

IBP announced before the latest vote that it planned to end the lockout and force the opening of the plant March 16.

There have been five strikes at IBP's Dakota City plant since it first opened in 1969.

Wages have been frozen here since 1983. The company's latest contract demands included pay and benefit cuts for both slaughter and production workers.

The company is also refusing to improve safety conditions. Union members explain that during the 1980s IBP greatly increased the chain speed in its slaughtering operation, leading to a skyrocketing injury rate.

The union leadership's recommendation to strike was influenced by the fact that union members would retain their right to food stamps and other government assistance if they did not return to work.

The officials explained that even if they

did return to work without a contract, the company would eventually provoke a strike. This was the case at the neighboring Morrell plant, where members of UFCW Local 1142 were forced out on strike March 9.

During the IBP union meeting, a group of Morrell strikers unfurled a banner reading "UFCW 1142 supports Local 222 — solidarity." This received a thunderous ovation from the membership.

Local 222 business agent Bill Schmitz told the *Omaha World Herald* that less than 20 workers showed up March 16 for the IBP's first reorientation session for those who want to return to work.

Behind latest votes on 'contra' aid

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Despite the losses the Nicaraguan *contras* have suffered on the battlefield and the disarray in the White House resulting from the Iran arms-*contra* exposures, the U.S. rulers are still seeking ways to keep their mercenary war against Nicaragua alive.

This was reflected in the March 18 vote in the Senate, which narrowly approved continued U.S. aid to the *contras*. The measure affects the \$40 million that had not yet been disbursed out of the \$100 million for the *contras* approved by Congress last year.

A few senators who voted for continued financing of the *contras* sounded a defensive note, however. Some hinted that it might be their last vote for *contra* aid. Sen. Robert Dole, the Senate's Republican

leader, declared, "Let me be honest, those of us who support aid to the *contras* have not done a good job. The administration has not done a good job. We had better start doing a better job."

The CIA thinks so as well. The very day of the Senate vote, U.S. officials revealed to reporters that the CIA is now providing the *contras* with more precise information on dams, bridges, electrical substations, port facilities, and other targets in Nicaragua, in preparation for a projected *contra* offensive in the spring.

The CIA is also counselling the *contras* to avoid direct clashes with the Nicaraguan army and militia. "If they go head to head against the Sandinistas, they're dead," one U.S. official said.

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Nonaligned nations meet in Guyana

BY SAM MANUEL
AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

GEORGETOWN, Guyana — Foreign ministers and other delegates from 84 countries and national liberation movements gathered here March 9-12 for a Special Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

Included were representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

The meeting had been called to give special consideration to the crippling foreign debt burden in Latin America and the Caribbean and to examine the situation in Central America, where delegates affirmed Nicaragua is the victim of U.S.-organized aggression. These two questions dominated the discussion on the floor of the meeting, in the drafting commission, and in informal exchanges.

At the opening session of the gathering and throughout the proceedings, many delegates paid special tribute to President Samora Machel of Mozambique, who was killed in an airplane crash shortly after the eighth summit conference of the Nonaligned Movement held in Harare, Zimbabwe, last September. All the evidence suggests the South African apartheid regime was responsible for the fatal crash.

Two documents were adopted by the ministerial meeting.

The first was a major communiqué analyzing the political and economic situation in the Latin American and Caribbean region and setting forth the main positions adopted at the meeting.

The second was a shorter document that became known as the Georgetown Peace Appeal. It established a standing committee of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement to follow developments in the region, express solidarity with Nicaragua, and to support the Contadora Group's actions in favor of peace in Central America. The group is made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela.

'Most serious economic crisis'

The conference communiqué opened with a graphic description of the political and social consequences of the enormous foreign debt that burdens the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It pointed out that the current economic crisis is the "longest, most serious, and generalized of the last 50 years." It noted, "Of all the regions of the world, Latin America and the Caribbean has the largest external debt, amounting to \$400 billion."

According to the communiqué, most of the countries in the region are allocating more than one-third of their foreign exchange and one-quarter of their domestic savings to interest payments. This severely inhibits their capacity for accumulation of capital for growth, for new productive activities, and for the import of needed goods.

The ministers concluded therefore, "that the external debt of Latin America and the Caribbean cannot be paid under current conditions and without sustained economic development." They reaffirmed the right of

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Nicaraguan press on April 25

Barricada, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, and *Barricada Internacional*, the FSLN's international weekly, have both run articles publicizing the April 25 Mobilizations for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa to take place in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

The February 26 *Barricada Internacional* said, "This event marks the first time a national demonstration underlines the common suffering of the peoples of Central America and South Africa caused by U.S. foreign policies."

After reviewing the context of the demonstrations, the article says, "The negative impact of foreign policy inside the United States with its resulting homelessness, decaying public education system, lack of national health care, and unemployment is another strong element that joins U.S. citizens in opposition to their government."

The article calls attention to the broad endorsement — particularly from union officials — for the actions and reports that the April 25 organizers "call on groups around the world to show their solidarity by holding demonstrations in front

of all U.S. embassies and consulates on this date."

Va. Machinists endorse action

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The executive board of the Virginia Council of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) voted at its February 28 meeting to endorse the April 25 march and rally in Washington, D.C.

The board approved sending a letter to every IAM local in the state encouraging them to mobilize their members for the antiwar and anti-apartheid action.

Ohio oil union publicizes D.C. march, rally

TOLEDO, Ohio — A recent newsletter published by Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-912 in Toledo, Ohio, reports, "At our January meeting, the local voted to endorse the march on Washington scheduled for April 25." A leaflet containing details on the action was included in the newsletter. Information on the coalition building Toledo-area support for the march

was provided as well.

"Last fall, OCAW Local 7-912 sent two members to a similar regional march in Chicago. We would like to be represented even more in the national march, which will be bigger and broader," the newsletter said.

British miners print pamphlet on apartheid

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in Britain has published a pamphlet entitled *Against Apartheid*. It describes the conditions the country's Black majority faces under the apartheid system and features extracts from a report by British miner Steve Brunt who visited South Africa.

"South Africa is a time bomb of discontent and a source of world wide shame," the pamphlet concludes.

The publication reviews the notorious conditions in South African mines and states, "The South African miners chose in 1982 to organize under the name of the NUM. This was because of their admiration for our Union. The NUM of South Africa recognize that they cannot separate industrial and political struggle. They are firmly convinced that only by end-



Button put out to build April 25. Order from The National Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa, 712 G St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Cost of these 2-inch buttons is \$1 each.

ing the system of apartheid will they achieve freedom and equality."

The pamphlet describes the support the British government of Margaret Thatcher gives to the apartheid regime and urges sanctions against Pretoria. "If the Tory [Thatcher] Government won't stop trading with South Africa — we can," the pamphlet says.

Miners are urged to "make sure your NUM Branch is affiliated to the anti-apartheid movement and that it takes part in the 'Month of Action for People's Sanctions' to be held in March 1987."

Copies of *Against Apartheid* are available from NUM, St. James' House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield,

South Yorkshire, S1 2EX, England.

South African rabbi condemns apartheid

BY JANE ROLAND

DURHAM, N.C. — South African Rabbi Benjamin Isaacson, on tour for the World Conference for Religion and Peace of South Africa, spoke here at the end of February.

More than a hundred people packed into a local synagogue to hear him. Isaacson spoke strongly on the need to support the struggle for a nonracial, unified, democratic South Africa based on one person, one vote.

He said that members of Jews for Justice, an anti-apartheid organization, often find themselves under government surveillance, and that their lives are threatened for carrying out anti-apartheid activity.

As cofounder of that organization, Isaacson says he's been dragged in for questioning dozens of times by the police.

He said that involvement in the struggle for human rights in South Africa doesn't mean issuing a statement once a year, it means being an activist in the streets.

New round opens in battle against FBI spying

Continued from front page

This ruling marked an expansion of the legal protection for all political activity, and particularly for the right to privacy of individuals and groups.

Griesa's decision left open one decisive question: the character of the injunction to be granted concerning the continued use of the federal cops' files on the SWP and YSA. The judge decided that further court proceedings would be needed to determine the content of the injunction.

It is on this terrain that the Department of Justice — which, until now, had not commented on Griesa's decision — has decided to launch its fight. Its goal is to weaken Griesa's decision or have it overturned entirely by a higher court.

Griesa's ruling stressed that the FBI, despite decades of "investigation," has been unable to come up with any evidence of lawbreaking by the SWP. But this fact, Meese's lawyers insist, "did not of itself make the investigation or the techniques used in it illegal — the FBI was and is authorized to conduct such investigations." (Our emphasis.)

Moreover, they add, "it was — and is — reasonable for the FBI and other agencies

of the Government to believe that the SWP and its members have a revolutionary ideology whose goal is the violent overthrow of our democratic processes and form of government."

Therefore, they argue, it is essential that the files remain active, regardless of the fact that the court has ruled that many of them were obtained illegally.

Meese puts special emphasis on two areas that directly affect millions of people. First, the Immigration and Naturalization Service must continue to have use of the secret files to be able to "make informed decisions about an individual's political views" in ruling on their right to visit or remain in this country.

Second, the files are needed to carry out the government's political screening of millions of unionists in plants where production under government military contracts takes place. These inquisitions, under the guise of ruling on security clearances, are used by the employers and the cops to intimidate union militants, housebreak the unions themselves, and even fire workers who refuse to accept the bosses' orders regarding what they can read or say, and who they can associate with.

On top of this, the Justice Department insists that the files on the SWP and YSA are critical to "the Government's interest in preventing espionage and sabotage in the Nation's defense plants." This despite the fact that the FBI has never found a hint of proof that any member or supporter of the SWP or YSA was involved in spying or sabotage.

Meese's aggressive stance opens a new stage in the fight over the government's domestic *contra* operation — its war against the rights of people in this country to be politically active free from government stool pigeons, break-ins, and disruption operations.

The battle over the secret files has become the cutting edge of a broader confrontation. The federal cop agencies, the police arm of the executive power, are telling Judge Griesa that they do not accept the right of any judge, in acting to uphold the constitutional rights of the people, to tell them what they can and can't do to protect "national security."

The stakes are high in this confrontation. On one side stand the attorney general and his cop agencies, insisting that constitutional protections must be subordinated to

the needs of the police.

On the other side stands everyone with a stake in protecting, and expanding, the space for political activity and privacy for groups and individuals.

This includes, first and foremost, the labor movement and every working-class organization. It includes the Black movement, and every Chicano and Puerto Rican organization. It includes everyone organizing to oppose U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and demanding an end to U.S. ties with the apartheid regime in South Africa. It includes everyone who defends free speech and freedom of association.

This week we are printing an expanded issue, with coverage starting on page 7, to bring our readers as complete a selection of the documents in this case as we can. Our purpose is to arm readers with the facts to prepare all of us to join the campaign being launched by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the SWP and YSA suit against the attorney general.

We will bring you news of this battle as it unfolds every week. We appeal to you to join us in using these facts to mobilize support for this fight.

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. We provide first-hand coverage of important struggles in other countries, such as Angola, Haiti, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

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If you already have a subscription, by renewing now for six months or a year you'll receive a free issue of *New Internationalist* (cover price \$5.00), a magazine of Marxist politics and theory published in New York. The current issue features the article, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," by Jack Barnes.

The Militant

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Court action demanded in harassment case

March 23 hearing set on socialists' motion for legal fees in suit filed by Gelfand

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Supporters of democratic rights are urged to turn out for an important federal court hearing in Los Angeles on March 23.

Federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer will hear a motion that day for the immediate awarding of attorneys' fees to the Socialist Workers Party. The money would cover part of the enormous expenses incurred by the socialists in defending themselves from a lawsuit filed to disrupt their party.

Background to case

Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for the county of Los Angeles, filed the suit. He had entered the SWP in 1976 as part of a disruption campaign against the socialists organized by the Workers League (WL), a small U.S. sect, and the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), which has since split into several groupings.

Gelfand was expelled from the SWP in January 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the party was an FBI front and its leaders were government agents.

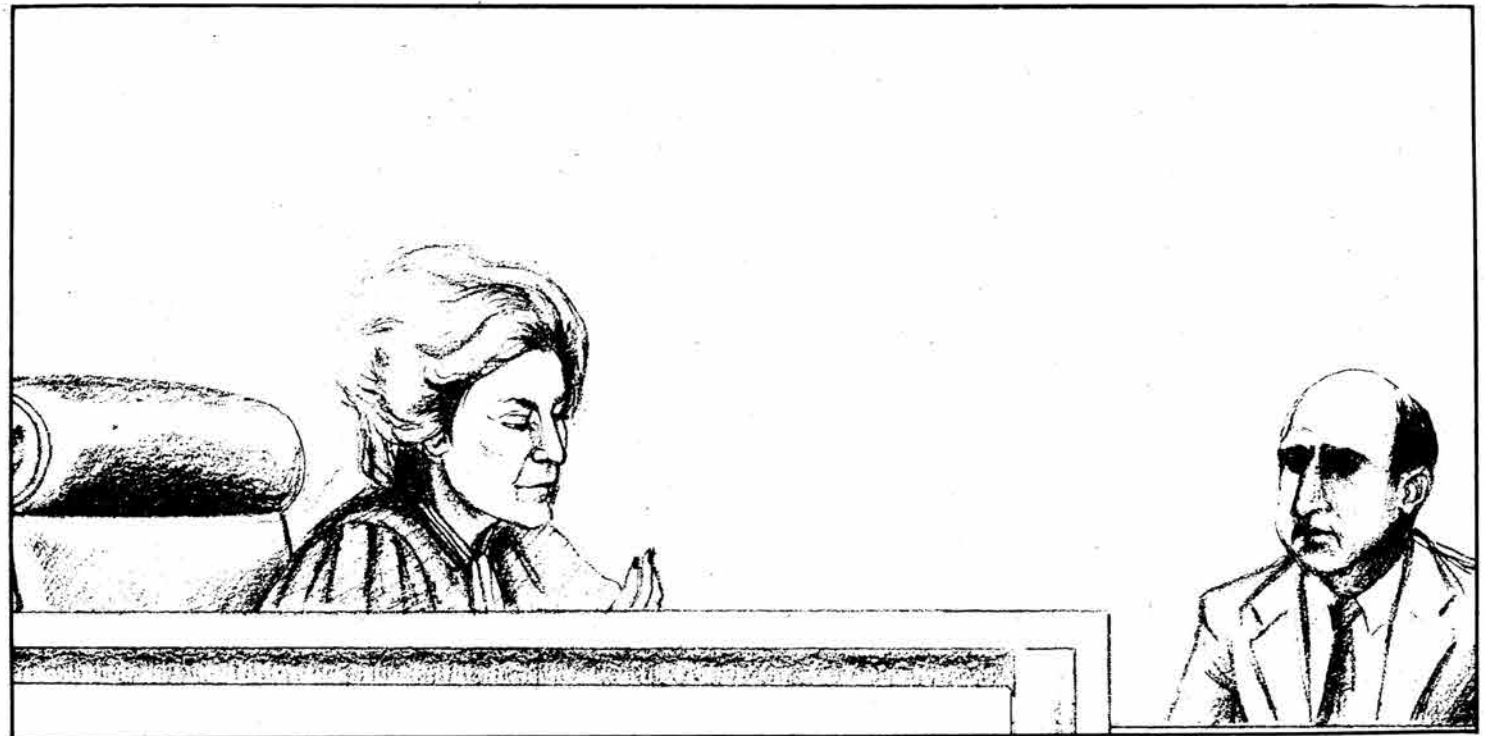
Gelfand then filed suit against the SWP, calling on the courts to remove the party's elected leadership from office and restore him to membership. He claimed that "FBI agents" in the SWP had expelled him, thereby violating his constitutional rights.

In court, Gelfand had to admit that his lawsuit was conceived, organized, and financed by the WL, which, along with the WRP, had been waging a scurrilous frame-up campaign against the socialists, accusing their leaders of being U.S. and Soviet police agents, without ever offering the slightest bit of proof.

From the start, the SWP fought to have Gelfand's suit thrown out of court. The socialists pointed out that for a court to tell a political party who its members and leaders should be is a violation of the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of association. Such a case threatened the rights of other organizations, such as unions and civil rights groups, which could also be victimized by unconstitutional government intervention in their internal affairs.

But Pfaelzer rejected every attempt by the socialists to have the case dismissed. In doing so, she allowed Gelfand and his backers to continue forcing the party to devote large amounts of money and leadership resources to legal defense.

Pfaelzer let pretrial proceedings drag on for four years. During that time, Gelfand's attorneys, from the high-priced Fisher & Moest firm, subjected SWP members to



Los Angeles County attorney Alan Gelfand testifying before federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer in 1983 trial of his harassment suit against Socialist Workers Party.

more than 350 hours of pretrial questioning about their personal lives and political and philosophical views.

Case goes to trial

When the case finally came to trial in 1983, Gelfand was unable to offer a single piece of evidence in court to back up his slanders against the SWP. Unionists, civil rights activists, and civil libertarians waged a nationwide campaign before and during the trial, demanding that the case be thrown out. That effort contributed to Pfaelzer stating at the trial's end that Gelfand had never produced "one shred of evidence" to back up his spurious charges.

"You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove," she told Gelfand and his lawyers. "Nothing... I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party."

However, she issued no ruling.

At a follow-up hearing shortly afterward, Pfaelzer said she would give favorable consideration to an SWP motion that she order Gelfand and the Fisher & Moest law firm to repay at least part of the SWP's legal expenses and costs. Lawyers for the SWP then filed such a motion.

But today, almost four years later, the judge has still not ruled on that motion.

The issue of the attorneys' fees is an important part of the political fight against this kind of disruption campaign. Gelfand and his lawyers must be penalized for violating the rights of the SWP, in order to discourage them and anyone else from launching similar harassment lawsuits to attack political organizations in the future.

Without action by the judge, Gelfand and his lawyers are getting off scot-free from responsibility for their seven-year campaign to harass the SWP and drain it financially. They have not been forced to pay one cent for the hundreds of thousands of dollars and enormous amount of time the SWP had to expend to defend itself in court. Fisher & Moest, meanwhile, are several hundred thousand dollars richer for helping Gelfand disrupt the SWP.

The SWP motion that will be heard in court March 23 requests Pfaelzer to order Gelfand and Fisher & Moest to immediately pay a portion — \$101,000 — of the legal costs they owe the SWP.

New evidence of case's nature

The motion was filed by David Epstein of the Margolis, McTernan, Scope & Epstein law firm, which represents the SWP in the case. The firm has a long history of defending democratic rights. Epstein himself has represented framed-up Black activists and the United Farm Workers. John McTernan and Ben Margolis defended members of the Communist Party when they were indicted in the 1950s under the Smith "thought control" Act.

In his motion, Epstein brings to the judge's attention a book published by the Workers League in 1985, *The Gelfand Case: A Legal History of the Exposure of*

U.S. Government Agents in the Leadership of the Socialist Workers Party. The two-volume book consists largely of transcripts of court-ordered depositions of SWP members, concerning their personal lives and political views.

As Epstein points out, the two volumes are further evidence that Gelfand's lawsuit "has been conducted to advance political objectives, not to vindicate legal rights, constitutional or otherwise."

He quotes from the foreword, which states, "The 1983 federal court trial in Los Angeles established that the central leadership of the anti-Trotskyist SWP is dominated by agents of U.S. imperialism and that the government takeover of the SWP has its origins in the preparations by the Stalinist secret police, the GPU, for the assassination of [Russian revolutionist Leon] Trotsky."

The Workers League continues to use the case to promote its anti-SWP slanders, circulating documents that appear to have the legitimacy of "official court records." The book "fully bears out the Court's observations, before and during the trial, that plaintiff and his counsel, had used and abused the judicial proceeding to establish ideological and organizational doctrine," said Epstein.

"To delay a fee award," he explained, "would work substantial hardship" on the SWP and its attorneys and "discourage resistance to litigation instituted and conducted in bad faith, while at the same time encouraging such conduct."

The March 23 hearing is scheduled for 10 a.m. in Room 15 of the Federal Courthouse, 312 N. Spring St., Los Angeles. For more information, call (213) 380-9460.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? FBI targets antiwar group

The FBI admitted it was investigating the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). This was a nationwide effort to infiltrate, discredit, and "break" this antiwar organization.

"Not once did I find, see, hear, or observe any illegal conduct of any nature," said Frank Varelli, the former undercover agent who revealed the operation.

The March issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes an article about the revelations by Varelli, which also connect the FBI to death squads in El Salvador.

"We will continue our work to change what is an unjust and immoral U.S. policy toward Central America," said CISPES national coordinator, Angela Sanbrano, as she demanded an end to FBI disruption.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world.

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Behind Congress 'contra' aid votes

Continued from front page

In fact, the contras have been mainly targeting civilians — murdering, kidnapping, and terrorizing villagers in the more remote areas of the countryside. Despite a few lame efforts to polish up their "human rights" image, their terrorist character still comes through. "Contras Burn Clinic During Raid on Village," declared one *Washington Post* headline.

Doubts about the contras' continued effectiveness were raised in the debate preceding the Senate vote. They were also voiced during an earlier March 11 House vote that called for a temporary suspension of the \$40 million in aid.

These debates revealed considerable agreement, among conservatives and liberals alike, over Washington's general stance toward Nicaragua — continued opposition to the advances of the Nicaraguan revolution and support for the goal of bringing down the Sandinista government.

But disagreement ensued over where the

contras now fit into that policy. Some congresspeople argued that the contras appeared doomed to defeat, with or without more U.S. aid. "I doubt if they have overwhelming control of one bordello in Central America," commented Rep. James Traficant.

The disarray among the contra leadership was dramatically highlighted March 9 when Arturo Cruz announced his resignation as one of the three directors of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), the contras' political organization. A former bank official and ex-member of the Nicaraguan government junta, Cruz had been used to provide some political cover for the contra terrorists.

A few days after Cruz resigned, he asserted that "UNO is dead" as a result of internal power struggles. While such a conclusion may be premature, Cruz' departure is certainly another blow to Washington's mercenary war against the Nicaraguan people.

Iowa meat-packers give 'Militant' great response

BY JASON REDRUP
AND LINDA MARCUS

DES MOINES, Iowa — Workers at the John A. Morrell packing plant in Sioux City, Iowa, hit the street March 9. The strike was

and sold to workers coming out from day shift.

The response was great. A majority of workers stopped to talk to us. In 45 minutes, 24 *Militants* and one pamphlet on the

paycheck. I'll take it for awhile," said one worker. Another thought the union should shut the plant down and set up picket lines.

One worker who bought a copy of the *Militant* said, "I was fired today for being a militant. Give me one of those."

An older unionist, who parked across the street, came back over to talk to the sales team. "I'm not a communist," he said, "but I have some socialist ideas." He mentioned that he had seen the paper before.

He went on to explain that this is a battle and that there were going to be some casualties. "You have to expect it. I'm in this for the long haul," he added.

After the sale at Morrell, we stopped by the IBP lockout shacks. Workers were friendly to the *Militant*. Our discussions revolved around the lockout and around the contract fight at the Morrell plant. Five *Militants* were given out and one pamphlet on the Hormel strike was sold. One worker said that he was going to

show the *Militant* around at the union hall.

The response *Militant* supporters received at Morrell and IBP has been typical of the reception the paper has gotten at other packinghouses around Iowa.

Ninety miles southeast of Des Moines, at Hormel's plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, *Militant* supporters have attempted to sell regularly. We've carried out three sales over the last two months. Workers bought an average of 20 papers each time.

Our most regular plant-gate sale is at the Swift Independent packing plant in Des Moines.

On our first sale, we sold 20 *Militants*, two *Young Socialists*, the newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance; one *Militant* subscription; and one pamphlet on the Hormel strike.

Another time, we sold 40 *Militants* and two *Militant* subscriptions, two copies of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* and three *PM* subs, and

two pamphlets on the Hormel strike. After four sales at Swift, we've sold 100 *Militants*.

The sales at Swift have taken place during a contract extension agreed to by the company and Local 431 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, which organizes the Swift plant. Many workers at Swift feel that the outcome of the IBP lockout will have a direct impact on their situation.

The Swift work force includes a number of immigrant workers from Asia. One worker in his 30s told the sales team, "The union should reach out to Asian workers so they know what the union is. It's the union that defends us. Does this paper come in Laotian? I could use it to explain things to these other workers."

Militant supporters have also begun to expand their sales to plants organized by the United Auto Workers and United Rubber Workers unions. Teams have sold at Maytag and John Deere and at the Firestone tire company.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

called after 37 workers were suspended for an "unauthorized" walkout on March 6. The walkout occurred after the company fired one of their coworkers.

In February, Morrell workers, members of Local 1142 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), voted down the company's takeback demands but decided to continue working without a contract.

Before the March 9 strike, a *Militant* sales team visited the plant. Despite the presence of a number of local police and security guards, we set up at a stop sign

1985-1986 Hormel meat-packers' strike in Austin, Minnesota, were sold. We also passed out leaflets announcing the grand opening of Pathfinder bookstore in Omaha, Nebraska.

We introduced the *Militant* by explaining that this paper opposes another Vietnam War in Central America and by pointing to articles on the Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) lockout and the Morrell contract fight.

Morrell workers had many different opinions about the union's decision to work without a contract. "It's better to have a

Brooklyn meeting commemorates Grenada revolution

BY STEVE CLARK

BROOKLYN — A meeting to mark the eighth anniversary of the Grenada revolution was held here March 13 at Medgar Evers College.

The meeting was sponsored by the Grenada Foundation; Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement Support Group; and the Medgar Evers College Student Government and Center for Women's Development.

Roderick Thurton, who teaches Caribbean and African studies at Queens College, opened the program. He focused on the fight to make the region a zone of peace and counter growing U.S. militarization of the Caribbean.

The March 13, 1979, victory in Grenada, Thurton said, brought to power the first revolutionary government in a predominantly Black, English-speaking country. "Since we spoke the same language," he

said, "this achievement by an Afro-Caribbean people had a big impact on Afro-American people in the United States."

The U.S. government, Thurton said, falsely portrayed the Grenada revolution as a product of Soviet expansion in this hemisphere. Washington made the ridiculous charge that this tiny country posed a threat to U.S. national security.

But that was not the real reason that the U.S. government hated revolutionary Grenada.

"Like the people of South Africa and of Nicaragua, the people of Grenada between 1979 and 1983 showed that they were unwilling to have their society and economy dominated and exploited by U.S. imperialism," he said.

The Reagan administration, Thurton said, invaded Grenada to display its power

against struggles throughout the Third World. But the invasion was hardly a show of strength, he said.

Quoting Cuban President Fidel Castro, Thurton said that the U.S. invaders only succeeded in killing a corpse in October 1983, since earlier that month the revolution "had already been destroyed by a group of counterrevolutionaries" in the government and New Jewel Movement.

Many people were "downspirited" by what happened in Grenada, Thurton said. But "the fact of the revolution itself and its accomplishments demonstrated the capacity of Afro-Caribbean and other oppressed peoples to chart an alternative course to improve the health, education, and way of life of the majority."

"That is why Cuba remains so important," Thurton concluded. "Because Cuba

more than any place else shows the capacity and the determination of the Caribbean peoples to chart an alternative social and political course to build a new society."

Wilton DeCoteau of the Grenada Foundation reviewed some highlights of the freedom struggle in Grenada from the days of slavery and colonization in the 18th century up through today.

Safiya Bandle of the Medgar Evers Center for Women's Development spoke about the big advances in women's rights and political activity promoted by the revolutionary government in Grenada.

Several poems with feminist and anti-imperialist themes by Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American authors were read by Maureen Denton of the Progressive Youth Organization of Jamaica.

Socialists to Host Conferences in 6 Cities

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be hosting active workers conferences in six cities in March and April.

Members and friends of the SWP and YSA and supporters of the *Militant* will discuss U.S.

and international politics.

Each conference will feature a public talk by an SWP leader and reports on "U.S. Politics: New Openings Emerging for Workers and Farmers" and "Organizing the Revolutionary Party."

Participants will discuss the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI and Attorney General Meese and the upcoming campaign to increase the circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

March 21-22

Host city
New York
Participating
Amherst, Mass.
Annandale, N.Y.
Baltimore
Boston
Capital District
Newark
Norfolk
Philadelphia
Rome, N.Y.
Stonybrook, N.Y.
West Haven, Conn.

Reports:
"U.S. Politics":
Craig Gannon
"Organizing the
Party": John Gaige

Host city
Los Angeles
Participating
Carmel, Calif.
Fresno
Gualala, Calif.
Oakland
Olympia, Wash.
Phoenix
Portland
San Diego
San Francisco
San Jose
Seaside, Calif.
Seattle
Stockton

Reports:
"U.S. Politics":
Mac Warren
"Organizing the
Party": Pat Grogan

March 28-29

Host city
Houston
Participating
Austin
Baton Rouge
Dallas
Edmond, Okla.
Kansas City
Kennedy, Texas
Lubbock
New Orleans
San Antonio

Reports:
"U.S. Politics":
Mac Warren
"Organizing the
Party": Joel Britton

Host city
Atlanta
Participating
Birmingham
Greensboro
Low Gap, N.C.
Miami
Montgomery
Morganton, N.C.
Tampa
Tallahassee
Washington, D.C.
West Palm Beach

Reports:
"U.S. Politics":
James Harris
"Organizing the
Party": John Gaige

April 4-5

Host city
Chicago
Participating
Austin, Minn.
Cleveland
Columbus
Detroit
Hudson, Wis.
Madison
Milwaukee
Oberlin, Ohio
Toledo

Reports:
"U.S. Politics":
Mac Warren
"Organizing the
Party": John Gaige

Host city
St. Louis
Participating
Ames, Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa
Cincinnati
Denver
Des Moines
Fremont, Neb.
Iowa City
Lawrence, Kan.
Louisville
Northfield, Minn.
Omaha
Twin Cities

Reports:
"U.S. Politics":
Craig Gannon
"Organizing the
Party": Pat Grogan

For information on the times and locations of the conferences contact the SWP and YSA. See directory on page 16.

Malcolm X Today Hear Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Los Angeles, Sat., March 21, 8 p.m. at New Olympian Hotel, Chariot Room, 1903 W. Olympic Blvd.

Atlanta, Sat., March 28, 8 p.m.
Cabana Hotel
870 Peachtree St. NE
(corner of 7th St.)

Chicago, Sat., April 4, 8 p.m.
Americana-Congress Hotel
520 S. Michigan Ave.
(South Loop area)

The Nicaraguan Revolution Today:

Hear Cindy Jaquith Nicaragua bureau director of *Militant* and PM
New York City, Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m.

Halloran House, 525 Lexington Ave. (between 48th & 49th)

The Nonaligned Movement and the Revolution in Southern Africa: An Eyewitness Report

Hear Sam Manuel Reporter for *Militant* and PM

Houston, Sat., March 28, 8 p.m.
Holiday Inn Downtown
801 Calhoun St.

St. Louis, Sat., April 4, 8 p.m.
Holiday Inn
2211 Market St. (downtown)

What U.S. hoped to gain from Iran talks

Tower Commission report provides account of secret negotiations

BY CINDY JAQUITH

In February 1986, for the first time in more than five years, U.S. and Iranian government officials held a face-to-face meeting.

According to the Tower Commission report, the meeting took place in Frankfurt, West Germany, with Lt. Col. Oliver North of the National Security Council representing the White House. Upon his return, North triumphantly reported that the two sides had agreed that a high-level U.S. delegation would visit Iran. During the visit, the Iranian government would use its influence to get all U.S. hostages released in exchange for Washington selling Iran 4,000 TOW missiles.

Hostages a 'subsidiary benefit'

As we explained in last week's *Militant*, the arms-hostage exchange was never the end goal of the White House probe. Release of the hostages, as North put it, would be a "subsidiary benefit" that would "relieve a major domestic and international liability."

The principal aim of the negotiations was to establish U.S. relations with at least a wing of the Iranian government. Ever since the overthrow of the shah of Iran in a mass revolutionary upsurge in February 1979, the White House had hoped that the new government would somehow be toppled. After several years, however, U.S. ruling circles came to the conclusion that the new relationship of forces in Iran and the Mideast could not be reversed quickly. Washington would do better to establish a relationship with the Iranian regime it had branded "terrorist" and "fanatic" for six years.

With the collaboration of the Israeli government, the White House established relations with Manuchehr Ghorbanifar, an Iranian arms dealer who had been an agent of SAVAK, the shah's murderous secret police. He acted as an intermediary, arranging meetings between U.S. and Iranian officials and organizing the weapons sales. The arms-hostage exchange itself had been plagued by snafus, so when the possibility of a trip to Iran emerged, the White House saw it as a big breakthrough.

'Talking points'

North proceeded to draft "talking points" for the Tehran meeting. "The ultimate objective in the trip to Tehran is to commence the process of improving U.S.-Iranian relations," he wrote in a memo reprinted in the Tower report.

He proposed that the U.S. negotiators begin by telling the Iranians: "We view the Iranian revolution as a fact. The U.S. is not trying to turn the clock back."

Then the U.S. officials would quickly get to the following points:

"Iran has used 'revolutionary Islam' as a weapon to undermine pro-Western governments and American interests throughout the Middle East. As long as this is Iran's policy, we are bound to be strategic adversaries."

The negotiators would seek to convince Iranian officials that "subversion of Western interests and friends objectively serves Soviet interests on a global scale."

This applied not only in the Mideast, North wrote, but in Central America: "Iranian support to Sandinista regime in Nicaragua aids and abets Soviet design — makes U.S.-Iranian relationship more difficult (\$100 million in oil last year, plus arms)."

North proposed that the U.S. side raise three "possible intersections of U.S. and Iranian interests."

Washington would offer to help Iran combat the "Soviet threat." This would include bringing to the meeting "real and deceptive" CIA spy information on the Soviet Union, wrote North, designed to convince the Iranians they faced an immediate threat from the Soviet Union and needed U.S. government help to repel it.

Second, U.S. negotiators would tell the Iranians, "[W]e have parallel views on Afghanistan. . . . We have ties with different elements of the Mujahideen. But our objective is the same." The U.S. officials would propose a united effort to aid the right-wing Afghan groups.



Afghan rightists. During his secret May 1986 visit to Tehran, Robert McFarlane (right) proposed a 'united effort' to aid Afghan guerrilla forces.

Third, Washington would offer to intervene to help end the Iran-Iraq war. North proposed the negotiators say that "a decisive Iranian victory in the war with Iraq would only unleash greater regional instability, a further erosion of the Western position, and enhanced opportunities for Soviet trouble-making."

They would add at the same time, "[W]e have no interest in an Iraqi victory over Iran. We are seeking to end this conflict and want to use an improved relationship with Iran to further that end." (To show Washington was serious, North had earlier sent the Iranian officials U.S. spy information on the Iraqi military.)

Ronald Reagan selected Robert McFarlane to represent him at the Tehran meeting, which took place in May 1986. North went as well. They brought with them Amiram Nir, the Israeli prime minister's special assistant on "counter-terrorism." The Iranians were told Nir was a U.S. citizen.

Upon arriving at the Tehran airport, McFarlane was quite miffed that no top-level Iranian official was there to meet him. He surmised that the central government leaders did not want to participate in the secret meetings because they were "traumatized by the recollection that after Bazargan met with Brzezinski . . . he was deposed (so strong was popular sentiment against doing business with the Great Satan)."

Mehdi Bazargan was Iran's first prime minister after the 1979 overthrow of the shah. But when he secretly met with Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security advisor to then-U.S. president James Carter, massive protests in Iran forced his ouster from office in late 1979. Revolutionary students took over the U.S. embassy and began publishing the secret CIA files they found inside, including documents that exposed U.S. contacts with officials in the new Iranian government.

According to the Tower report, McFarlane's talks with Iranian officials, said to be aides from the office of the prime minister, were inconclusive. While McFarlane laid out the "talking points" drafted by North, he also insisted that the U.S. hostages in Lebanon be released immediately as a show of Iranian "good faith."

The Iranian officials, says the Tower report, wanted a promised shipment of U.S. military hardware first.

Profits for the 'contras'

Finally, in a huff, McFarlane took his delegation and left Iran. He later told the Tower Commission that the trip had demoralized him but that North tried to cheer him up. "North said well, don't be too downhearted, that the one bright spot is that the [U.S.] government is availing itself of part of the money for application to Central America."

Indeed, the White House was turning a huge profit on arms sales to Iran, some of which was being funneled to terrorists attacking Nicaragua. The White House had charged the Iranians \$21 to \$24 million, for example, for \$6.5 million worth of military spare parts.

Nor did the U.S.-Iran talks end with the Tehran meetings. Several months later, a relative of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, head of the Iranian parliament, contacted the White House. North met him with several times.

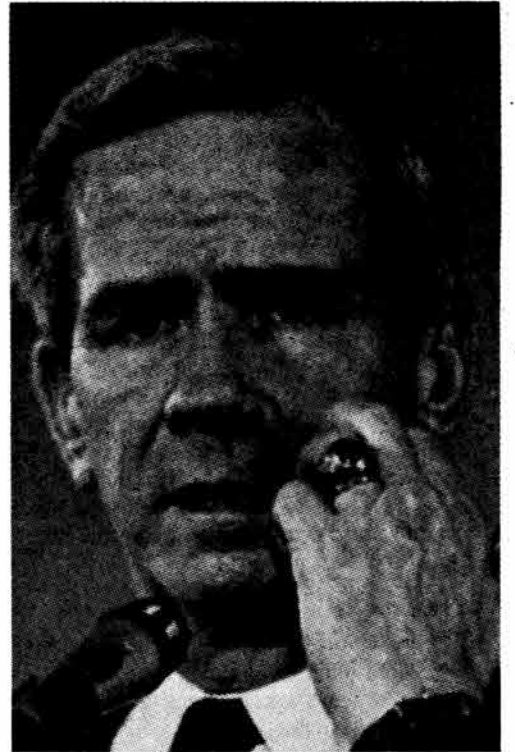
For these meetings, North proposed that Reagan sign a Bible, to be exchanged for a Koran. Reagan did so, using a quote from Abraham said to be a favorite of the relative.

Presenting the Bible to the Iranians, North said:

"We inside our Government had an enormous debate, a very angry debate . . . over whether or not my president should authorize me to say, 'We accept the Islamic Revolution of Iran as a fact.' [The president] went off one whole weekend and prayed about what the answer should be and he came back almost a year ago with that passage I gave you that he wrote in front of the Bible I gave you. And he said to me, 'This is a promise that God gave to Abraham. Who am I to say that we should not do this?'"

Story comes out

It was not long after this meeting, however, that the secret U.S.-Iran talks came to



public attention. In mid-October a group of anti-imperialist Islamic students put out a leaflet in Iran reporting details of McFarlane's May trip to Tehran. The students, who were also active in the fight of Iranian peasants for land reform, sharply opposed the talks that had taken place. Their leaders were promptly arrested.

But then the information in their leaflets got picked up by a newspaper in Lebanon. The next day, Rafsanjani gave a speech in Iran acknowledging the McFarlane trip. He said, however, that the Iranian government had arrested McFarlane upon his arrival and rejected all his overtures.

In subsequent public statements, Rafsanjani has conceded that Iran did receive U.S. arms but denies that the Iranians knew Israel played any part in the transactions. He has left the door open to further arms purchases, and possible Iranian mediation on the hostages.

Despite the most recent White House denials, it is obvious that the Reagan administration hopes to find a way to pursue its efforts to establish relations with Iran. And it is clear that this shift in policy is agreed to by the majority of U.S. rulers.

The real complaint of the Tower Commission is simply that the operation was botched, and that even worse, its exposure led to the unraveling of the secret funding of the *contras* in Nicaragua. As a result, U.S. working people have had the opportunity to see firsthand how the U.S. government really conducts its foreign policy behind our backs.

Minn. rally supports meat-packers

BY NORTON SANDLER

AUSTIN, Minn. — Some 650 meat-packers and their supporters participated in a "Turn Up the Heat on Hormel" march and rally here March 14.

Sponsored by the Austin United Support Group, the events concentrated on efforts to win back the jobs of 850 meat-packers at Hormel's Austin plant. The 850 were put on a "preferential hiring list" last September as part of the sweetheart contract settlement Hormel forced through after defeating the 1985-1986 strike at the plant. Several speakers, including Jim Guyette, former president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, and support group leader Barbara Collette, said a boycott of Hormel products will continue until the 850 get their jobs back.

After a march through downtown Austin, a rally was held in the National Guard Armory.

A substantial majority of the participants were Austin meat-packers and their families, but unionists also attended from many other cities.

A few cars of meat-packers came from the Ottumwa, Iowa, Hormel plant, which the company says it will close permanently

in August.

Fred Dube from the African National Congress spoke at the rally. He described advances being registered by South African freedom fighters in spite of the continued backing Washington gives the racist regime.

He urged everyone to join the April 25 march and rally in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in Central America and apartheid in South Africa.

Cathy Zwarich, a leader of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, and two other IFFA members described their fight to regain their jobs at TWA.

Other rally speakers included Ray Rogers from Corporate Campaign, Inc.; Pete Kennedy, spokesperson for the North American Meat Packers Union; former P-9 business agent Pete Winkels; United Mine Workers of America member Kathy Mickells; Dave Foster from the National Rank and File Against Concessions; Phil Kwik from *Labor Notes*; and Karen Gandara from the Denver P-9 Support Group.

Singers Cathy Heaton, Utah Philips, and John McCutcheon performed, and the Concept Theater from Detroit staged a one-act play.

Nicaragua's plan for 'economic survival'

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government has presented a 1987 economic plan that projects modest recovery over the next year as Nicaragua continues to battle the U.S.-organized mercenaries known as the *contras*.

"The 1987 plan corresponds to our political and military reality — the war that we face," said Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. It is a plan for "an economy of survival," he said, that "demands an extraordinary effort from all of us."

The plan was presented at a January 29 "Face the People" meeting here, chaired by Ortega. Invited to the gathering were members of trade unions, including those opposed to the Sandinistas; the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers; and capitalists and big landlords, who still carry considerable weight in the Nicaraguan economy. A lively debate took place among these participants during the meeting. (See story below.)

Cost of war

Minister of Planning Dionisio Marengo presented the 1987 plan.

The war has taken a serious toll on the economy. Nicaragua is forced to devote about half its national budget to military defense and has suffered more than \$1 billion in destruction of crops, farms, machinery, vehicles, and buildings.

The trade embargo imposed by the Reagan administration in May 1985 cost Nicaragua more than \$100 million. In addition, the U.S. government has blocked more than \$400 million in credits and assistance to Nicaragua from the Inter-American Development Bank and similar institutions.

Nicaragua has also suffered from falling world prices for its major exports — coffee, cotton, and sugar.

In 1985, Nicaragua registered a 5 percent economic decline. The average Nicaraguan family suffered a 5.8 percent decrease in consumption of basic goods.

During 1986, however, the economy declined by only .4 percent.

The 1987 goal is an overall 2 percent economic growth. The projected increase in production is based on a number of factors.

More land in production

The amount of land under cultivation increased in 1986 by 15.5 percent over the previous year. The Sandinista army's continued military victory over the *contras*, driving them out of many war zones, was a major factor.

There was also an increase in labor productivity, both in industry and agriculture, during the second half of 1986.

Honduran army shells border town, kills four Nicaraguan youths

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

SANTO TOMÁS DEL NANCE, Nicaragua — Four Nicaraguans were killed and eight wounded when mortar shells fired from Honduran territory pounded this small border village in early March. The artillery attacks lasted from March 5 to March 9, forcing the evacuation of the town's 1,400 inhabitants to the village of Ojo de Agua, about a mile away.

The Nicaraguan government charged the 11th Infantry Battalion of the Honduran army with responsibility for the attacks.

Santo Tomás del Nance, in the northwestern department of Chinandega, is a little more than a quarter mile from the Honduran border. It is located in a hilly region devoted to agriculture.

On March 9, three young men aged 13, 14, and 16 — and a 20-year-old soldier home on leave — were killed in two separate mortar attacks on Santo Tomás. Their bodies lay in state in Ojo de Agua when reporters arrived March 10.

Major César Delgadillo, Sandinista army chief of staff for this region, said that Honduran air force helicopters helped coordinate the artillery attacks, repeatedly violating Nicaraguan airspace in reconnaissance missions.

Delgadillo also reported that on March 8, Honduran infantry and artillery units



At economic planning meeting in Managua, landlord (left) attacks Nicaraguan revolution. "It is workers and peasants who hold power now, and we have not failed," said one meat-industry worker (right).



Militant photos by Roberto Kopec

In general, productivity rates in both industry and agriculture have been lower since the 1979 revolution than they were under the Somoza dictatorship. In the countryside, for example, the work day had fallen to two to three hours a day in many cases.

In mid-1986 the Rural Workers Association, which organizes farm workers, launched a campaign to increase the work day to six hours. This goal was met on many farms, with farm workers putting in 10 or more hours during peak harvest times.

In industry, the Sandinista Workers Federation began organizing production brigades made up of workers willing to put in extra hours each week to help raise output. Industrial workers contributed about half a million hours of volunteer labor in 1986.

1987: defense remains priority

The top priority in the 1987 plan is military defense. This means devoting as many resources as necessary to feed, clothe, and supply the nation's soldiers.

The second priority is increasing the production of dollar-earning exports. The goal is to export \$320 million this year. Last year, exports earned \$218 million.

Coffee produces about half the country's export income. Due primarily to the war, production plummeted from an all-time high of 78,000 tons in the 1982-1983 harvest to a low of 45,000 tons in 1985-1986.

Today, as the *contras* are being driven back from the coffee regions, production is

gradually picking up. The goal of the 1986-1987 harvest is 48,000 tons, and 54,000 tons for 1987-1988.

The projected \$320 million in exports will still fall far short of the \$900 million Nicaragua will have to pay for its imports. International aid, particularly from the Soviet Union, will help bridge this gap.

Domestic consumption

The third priority in 1987 is increasing production for domestic consumption.

Nicaraguan working people suffer severe shortages of most basic goods, particularly food, the production of which is seriously disrupted by the war.

To help defend the standard of living of workers and peasants, the government gives them priority in its distribution networks. The government gives preference to getting goods to the rural areas and to the Atlantic Coast, where most Nicaraguans

Continued on Page 15

Workers and farmers debate capitalists on 1987 plan

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Workers and farmers at the economic planning meeting here reacted angrily to charges that their revolution is "a total failure."

The charges were made during the discussion by Gilberto Cuadra, acting president of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP). COSEP is the pro-U.S. association of Nicaraguan landlords and capitalists.

Cuadra and other COSEP members accused the Sandinista National Liberation Front of bringing hunger and suffering to Nicaragua. They said the Sandinistas were paralyzing production, violating union rights, stifling commercial activity, and discriminating against private industry.

A special target of COSEP's attack was the Sandinista agrarian reform program. Under this program, tens of thousands of poor peasants have received land, some of it property that formerly belonged to COSEP landlords.

But the COSEP speakers argued that the agrarian reform is responsible for food shortages and the massive peasant migration to the cities.

"It is we, the workers and peasants, who hold power now — and we have not failed!" responded one worker.

"The tables have turned on [COSEP]," added a meat-packer. "What they want is to once again run the whole show by themselves." He asked where COSEP was when he was a child. His family was so poor his mother "had to find ways to trick my hunger."

A leader of Nicaragua's farm workers union explained what COSEP's concept of union rights was: the boss's "right" to choose the union representing his workers.

This farm worker said he once worked on a farm owned by the Bolaños family, top leaders of COSEP. "If you were considered 'rebellious,' you'd be out of work the next week," he recalled. Workers were contracted for only one month at a time, with no guarantee they'd be rehired.

Responding to the charges that the revolution is driving peasants off the land, a unionist suggested that COSEP members take a trip to the United States. "See for yourself how many farmers have lost their land up there because of low prices for their products." Here in Nicaragua, he said, the government sets guaranteed prices for farmers.

A capitalist cotton farmer, who quit COSEP to join the pro-Sandinista National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, also spoke. COSEP is bitter, he said, "because they no longer enjoy the privileges of the old days. They can't plunder the nation like they used to." He also denounced COSEP for failing to mention the U.S.-run aggression against Nicaragua.

President Daniel Ortega responded to COSEP's charges at the end of the meeting. "What has failed is Reagan's policy. The revolution hasn't failed," he said. The very fact that Nicaragua's economic plan was being discussed that day "is something the imperialists can't swallow," he added. If the U.S.-organized *contras* were winning the war, "we wouldn't even have time to discuss these plans."

Ortega strongly defended the land reform program and said the government would continue to give land to poor peasants. "This is a necessity, a commitment the revolution has to the peasants," he stressed.

COSEP "doesn't want to accept the fact that Nicaragua has had a revolution," Ortega concluded, "that in Nicaragua, power is effectively in the hands of the working people." — R.K.

30,000 in Honduras demand 'Contras, U.S. troops out'

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On March 5, some 30,000 people marched in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, demanding the expulsion of U.S.-backed *contras* and U.S. troops from Honduras.

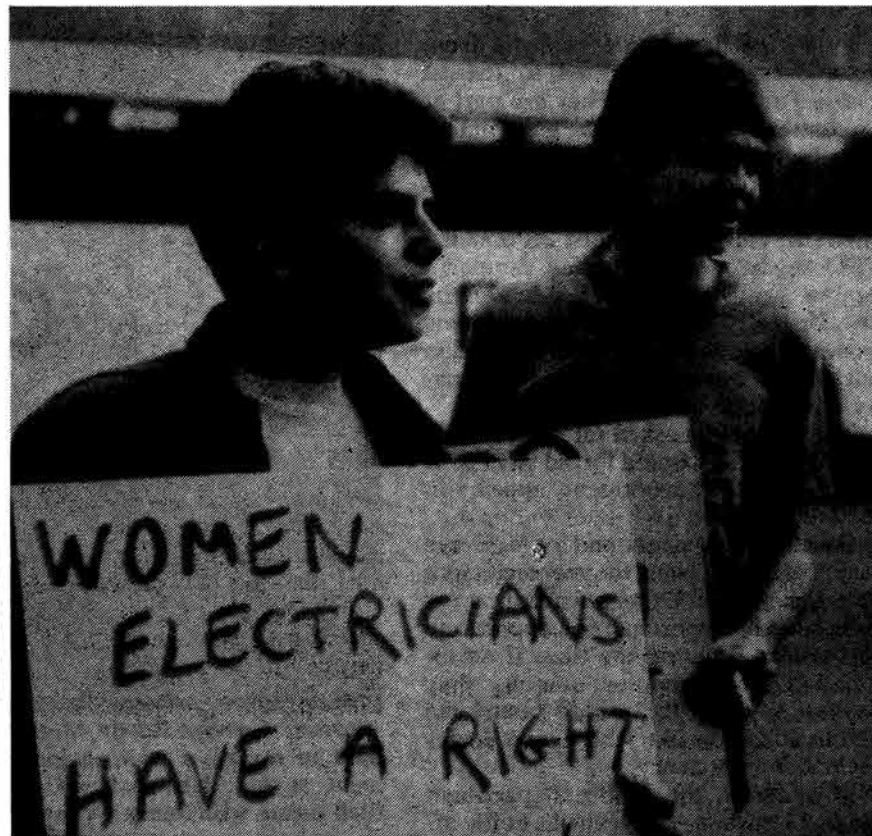
The march was called by the United Workers Federation of Honduras, the National Federation of Rural Workers, and Coordinating Committee of People's Organizations (CCOP).

That same day, a "Women For Life and Peace" convention sponsored by the CCOP heard testimony from Honduran peasant women, who denounced their suffering at the hands of the *contras*. The convention called for the expulsion of the *contras* from Honduras.

Justice Department opens fight to gut ruling against FBI spying



U.S. police agencies target working people. Immigration Service cops (above, at border with Mexico) aim to terrorize immigrants so they won't fight for rights or speak their minds. Defense Investigative Service targets workers at plants with arms contracts. Sally Goodman (right) blocked DIS attempt to have her fired from job as electrician at Martin Marietta plant because of her socialist and prounion views. Both agencies say they must use FBI spy files in their attacks on political rights.



BY JOHN STUDER

NEW YORK — On March 6 lawyers for the Justice Department filed legal papers in federal court here directly challenging the historic ruling in defense of political rights handed down by Judge Thomas Griesa last August.

Griesa ruled that the FBI's decades-long spying and disruption operation against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance was unconstitutional and illegal. He also ruled that the SWP and YSA are entitled to an injunction barring government agencies from using or disseminating the resulting illegally gathered information.

The Justice Department papers argue against such an injunction.

The FBI alone maintains 9,801,114 files on the SWP, the YSA, and tens of thousands of individuals the FBI found to be associated with these groups during its 40-year-long "investigation" of them.

Proposed injunction

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP, has submitted a proposed injunction to Judge Griesa that would implement the court's decision. It states that no illegally obtained information can be "used, released, or disclosed in any manner within or outside the Government" by the FBI or the other defendants "except in response to a court order or in response to a request under the Freedom of Information Act."

The Justice Department argues that police agencies must be permitted to use these files today. It claims that "the vital interest of self-preservation of this Nation's form of government . . . outweighs individual rights." Therefore, the brief argues, government agencies must be able to continue to use the fruits of the FBI's illegal operation against the SWP and YSA.

This argument is buttressed by affidavits — sworn legal statements — from officials of 11 federal agencies. These include the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Defense Investigative Service, and National Security Agency.

These agencies all join in the fight against any restrictions being placed by the court on their use of the secret police files on the SWP and YSA. Some of them are defendants in the case. Others, such as the National Security Agency, are not, but argue they will suffer an adverse "impact" from an injunction barring use of the files.

The affidavits reveal how widespread government agencies' current use of files on political activists is.

An official of the Office of Personnel

Management (OPM) — which used to be called the Civil Service Commission — notes in his affidavit that his agency conducts "250,000 background checks or investigations each year" on people who work for or apply for jobs with the federal government. Hundreds of thousands of unionists — such as post office workers, government secretaries, and air traffic controllers — who are members of the American Federation of Government Employees or other unions, are subjected to political investigations into their "suitability, reliability and loyalty."

The OPM official warns against any injunction that would prevent his agency from searching cop files to see if these workers have ever been associated with the SWP or YSA. Evidence of association with or membership in the SWP or YSA is "a lead that OPM must fully address and re-

solve through its investigation" of anyone who wants a government job.

Under the government's "Industrial Personnel Security Clearance Program," the Defense Investigative Service (DIS) maintains computer files on more than 15 million people who work or used to work in plants with Pentagon contracts. Files are opened on new hires who have to get security clearances to hold jobs. Political records kept by the FBI are searched for information on individuals, including their political views, sexual orientation, or any other areas that might turn up facts the cops consider derogatory.

Investigations target workers

Thomas O'Brien, director of DIS, submitted an affidavit arguing that DIS needs continual access to all police files on work-

ers' associations with the SWP and YSA. "The establishment of this affiliation," he stated, "provides a basis for expanding the investigation."

Today, if members of the International Association of Machinists or other unions in plants with military contracts speak out against the employer's takeback demands or oppose the U.S. backed *contra* war against Nicaragua, they are open to victimization. DIS can scour the millions of files developed from illegal FBI spying on the SWP to search for some justification to lift workers' clearances and cost them their jobs. This technique can be — and has been — used to drive union activists out of certain plants.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service asserts its need to get FBI information about the political associations of foreign-

Continued on Page 14

Campaign launched to defend rights

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Political Rights Defense Fund is opening a nationwide effort to win broad support — including raising \$75,000 — for the latest, crucial stage of the battle against government spying and harassment.

The fundraising effort, scheduled to conclude May 31, is needed to finance the fight to defend the August 1986 court decision in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the FBI, CIA, and other government secret police agencies. (See story above.)

A minimum of \$15,000 will be needed for legal expenses. In addition, tens of thousands of dollars will be required for printing, mailings, travel, and other costs to publicize the issues in this case.

PRDF activists plan to raise the \$75,000 by seeking contributions from the thousands of supporters of the suit, and from those who will be won in the coming weeks as the stakes in the battle become more widely known.

"The importance of the fight will become clear to anyone who reads the court papers submitted by the FBI and other government agencies attacking the judge's decision," said John Studer, the PRDF executive director. (These documents are reprinted starting on the next page.)

PRDF supporters will be seeking donations on the job, at union meetings, and on picket lines. They will discuss the fight and the importance of actively participating in it with the broad array of groups and indi-

viduals that are building the April 25 anti-war, anti-apartheid demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

The money will be raised from those protesting racist lynchings and police killings of Blacks; from supporters of revolutionary struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, and southern Africa; from women fighting to defend their right to abortion and affirmative action; and from democratic-minded people in all walks of life.

The PRDF is launching this drive with an 8,000-piece mailing describing the U.S. attorney general's proposed injunction, which would allow the political police to continue to use millions of pages of illegally obtained spy files. The PRDF published the judge's decision in the case, which found the FBI guilty of breaking the law in a booklet titled *Decision: Government Spying and Disruption Is Unconstitutional and Illegal*. Copies of this booklet are available from the PRDF. The defense fund is now preparing materials on the latest stage of this fight.

The efforts to broaden support for the case will include public meetings in May and June in as many cities as possible where the PRDF has supporters.

The speakers' platform at these meetings will reflect the breadth of support the PRDF has gained for the fight to defend political liberties. One of the nine unionists who are PRDF spokespeople will address

each meeting, in conjunction with regional tours in some cases.

The spokespeople are Kipp Dawson, United Mine Workers of America; Maceo Dixon, United Auto Workers; Fred Halstead, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Kip Hedges and Chris Horner, International Union of Electronic Workers; Greg Nelson, International Association of Machinists; Willie Mae Reid, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Rich Stuart, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and Joe Swanson, United Transportation Union.

Thousands become sponsors

One indication that there are good prospects for achieving the \$75,000 goal and winning much more backing for the fight against government spying was the success of the drive the PRDF launched last fall to win thousands of new endorsers. More than 2,000 sponsors have been added so far. The defense fund's goal is to get a total of 4,000 sponsors by the end of May.

Kip Hedges, a General Electric worker who is a PRDF spokesperson in the Boston area, described the response he's gotten:

"We've signed up more than 100 sponsors so far, and sold about 75 copies of the decision in the case. Reading and discussing the decision has convinced a number of unionists that this case isn't about democratic rights as an abstraction, but that what is at stake are democratic rights that

Continued on Page 13

Government demands 'right' to use illegally obtained files

Following are major excerpts from legal documents submitted to federal Judge Thomas Griesa. They are part of the battle over whether the government is to be barred from using illegally obtained spy files on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Griesa ruled last August 25 that the FBI's spying and disruption campaign against the SWP and YSA broke the law. He stated then that a future hearing would decide the scope of an injunction barring the government from using material obtained by such methods.

The injunction asked for by the SWP and YSA, which would forbid any use of the files by the government, appears in the box below.

On these two pages and page 13 are major excerpts from the memorandum that the Justice Department's lawyers submitted in response. They oppose any restrictions on using the files. If an injunction is to be imposed, however, they propose wording that would permit the FBI to utilize the files whenever it deems such action necessary.

In addition, the Justice Department asked 11 government agencies to file affidavits. Excerpts from nine of them appear on pages 10, 11, and 12.

They argue that barring the use of illegally obtained files on the SWP and YSA would seriously hamper their work.

Their explanations shed light on the extensive political surveillance carried out by all these agencies, especially against government employees, workers employed by companies with government contracts, and prospective employees of the government or contractors.

Introduction

On January 27, 1987, the Court held a conference on the record for the purpose of considering the parties' respective proposed orders for injunctive relief. In that proceeding the Court rejected the plaintiffs' proposed order as too broad and the defendants' proposed order as too narrow when measured against the Court's August



Attorney General Edwin Meese, defendant in socialists' suit against government spying. His Justice Department filed memo with Judge Griesa's court.

25, 1986, Opinion.

At the conference the Court orally confirmed that it deemed information acquired by the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI") through the use of informants and by means of surreptitious entries to be "illegally obtained" within the means of its Opinion. It thus defined the scope of injunctive relief as embracing information obtained through those methods.¹

We submit that any order of an injunction entered by the Court should contain a provision whereby the affected government agency can in an emergency situation or exigent circumstances make *ex parte* application to a district court to use or disseminate the information otherwise subject to the constraints of the injunction. The order should further provide that, in emergencies where a court order cannot be obtained in time, the agency be permitted to disseminate the information and inform the court subsequently. An appropriate

form of order accompanies this memorandum.²

Discussion

I. The Government has Legitimate and Important Interests which Require an Order that Would Permit It to Apply *Ex Parte* to a Federal Court to Make *Ad Hoc* Use of Information Otherwise Barred by This Court's Order

Concerning the nature of its powers to afford relief, the Court noted in its general formulation of the proposed relief that it has the power to grant an injunction concerning documents that the Government obtained unlawfully "and the maintenance of which serves no legitimate purpose for the agency which possesses them." As shown below and as demonstrated in the at-

In *Paton* the court of appeals held that the plaintiff had standing to challenge the FBI's retention of its file on her, but went on to vacate the district court's order of expungement because it had not considered five factors: 1. the accuracy and adverse nature of the information; 2. the availability and scope of dissemination of the records; 3. the legality of the methods by which the information was compiled; 4. the existence of statutes authorizing its compilation and maintenance and/or prohibiting destruction of records; and 5. the value of the records to the Government.

The aforesaid decisions are clear in teaching that the methods by which the Government has acquired information are not the sole determinant of whether an expungement order or an order barring the use and dissemination of information

“U.S. agencies have important legitimate needs for use and dissemination of information deemed by the court to have been unlawfully obtained . . .”

tached exhibits, the defendant agencies have important legitimate needs for *ad hoc* use and/or dissemination of information deemed by the Court to have been unlawfully obtained.

The constraints on the Government's use or dissemination of information coming within the scope of the injunction can be reconciled with the Government's legitimate needs for that information under certain circumstances by including a provision in the order for injunctive relief that permits the affected defendant government agency to make *ex parte* application to a federal court for an order permitting use or dissemination of information otherwise barred by the order, and in extreme emergencies to act in advance of obtaining such an order.

This Court cited *Paton v. LaPrade* and *Chastain v. Kelley* as authority for the form of relief contemplated here.

1. The court found the FBI's covert disruption activities to be unlawful but it made no finding that the FBI obtained information through such activities. Rather, the findings reflect that the FBI utilized information previously obtained by some unspecified method of acquisition to formulate and implement disruption activities. E.g. FBI learned that [Clarence] Franklin had criminal record of earlier offenses and FBI learned from an informant that CAMD [Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants] was receiving support from NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People].

Thus there is no record evidence that the FBI utilized its covert disruption activities to obtain information, and such activities should be excluded from any determination of unlawful methods of acquiring information about the plaintiffs.

2. In submitting this memorandum and the accompanying form of order defendants do not acknowledge that injunctive relief in any form is warranted. Although the Court found particular FBI activities to afford a basis for liability in damages, it did not make the requisite finding of a sufficient likelihood that any one of them would recur and that a remedy in damages for injuries flowing from such recurrence would be inadequate.

As to the form of relief contemplated by the Court, a prohibition on the use or dissemination of information deemed to have been unlawfully obtained by the FBI, such relief is inappropriate because, apart from the FBI's use of certain information in its SWP Disruption Program, there was no finding by the Court that any defendant agency used or disseminated such information in a manner that was unconstitutional. The proposed injunctive relief thus transgresses well established precepts that govern a court's discretion to grant injunctive relief.

should be entered. The applicable factors apply to this case as follows:

The Nature of the Information

The Court has found that "It is safe to characterize the FBI investigation of the SWP from the early 1950's onwards as a national security investigation." It follows that the file contents are not criminal records or records of criminal conduct: "thousands of reports recording peaceful, lawful activity by the SWP and YSA." Hence they are not inherently prejudicial or adverse in the sense contemplated by *Paton*, *Chastain*, and *Hobson*. That factor should accordingly be weighed in favor of the Government.

The Accuracy of the Information

The information obtained by the FBI was obtained by methods having a high degree of reliability. The Court found that a significant portion of SWP and YSA membership consisted of FBI informants. A number of those informants achieved positions of responsibility within the plaintiff organizations, with approximately 51 informants serving on executive committees or executive boards. The Court also found that informants supplied the FBI with approximately 12,600 SWP and YSA documents of which 7,000 were intended to be available only within the organizations.

The information obtained through surreptitious entries was contained in documents photographed or removed from SWP or YSA premises. Such information necessarily has verbatim accuracy. Information obtained through electronic surveillance, both microphone and telephone, has a similar degree of accuracy. In any event, the Court made no finding that the information obtained by the FBI is inaccurate. The factor of accuracy should accordingly be weighed in favor of the Government.

The Governmental Interests Involved

The governmental interests affected by denial of use or dissemination of information concerning the plaintiffs held or provided by the FBI are legitimate and substantial. The information, regardless of how it was obtained, serves, in this Court's formulation, "a legitimate purpose for the agency which possesses them."

The governmental interests in question principally concern federal statutes establishing loyalty requirements for federal employees, related executive orders and directives requiring security clearances for federal employees and employees of government contractors involved in providing classified equipment and services, and the needs of certain agencies having responsi-

Socialist Workers Party proposal for injunction barring use of files

1. No document (including all documentary material and information maintained in any form) in the custody, possession, or control of defendants which was obtained unlawfully or developed from unlawfully obtained information shall be used, released, or disclosed in any manner within or outside the Government, and no information contained in or developed from any such document shall be used, released, or disclosed by defendants within or outside the Government for any reason except in response to a court order or in response to a request under the Freedom of Information Act.

2. In the event of a court order or a request under the Freedom of Information Act for any document within the scope of Paragraph 1, defendants shall not disclose the name or otherwise identify any individual or non-governmental entity without their written consent.

3. For the purposes of this order, the term "document obtained unlawfully or developed from unlawfully obtained information" means

a. any document or information obtained as a result of surreptitious entries by the defendant Federal Bureau of Investigation, its agents or employees, of

SWP and YSA offices or premises occupied by SWP or YSA members;

b. any document or information obtained after July 1, 1955, as a result of the use of FBI informers regarding the SWP and YSA, their members, supporters or financial contributors;

c. any document obtained or created in connection with the FBI "counterintelligence" programs (COINTELPRO) directed against the SWP or YSA including the "SWP Disruption Program"; and

d. any document or information obtained after July 1, 1955, as a result of a mail cover concerning the SWP or YSA or their members requested by the FBI; and

e. any document developed from information or documents obtained as described in this paragraph.

4. In the event that defendants can not determine whether a document falls within or without the scope of Paragraph 1 it shall be presumed that such document falls within Paragraph 1.

5. The provisions of paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4 shall be binding upon defendants, their employees, agents and successors in interest and any individual or entity acting in concert with them.

bilities to provide physical protection to persons and, where possible, to prevent acts of terrorism.

This Court found that the SWP subscribes to the political and economic doctrines of Marx and Lenin as further articulated by Trotsky. It also found that although the SWP appeared too small to implement its goals, it nevertheless viewed itself as a revolutionary or "combat" party, which "has not deserted the theory and example of Lenin and Trotsky favoring ultimate violent revolution." The Court also found the SWP's stated opposition to terrorism to be unconvincing: through the Fourth International the SWP remained affiliated with other Trotskyist groups that both advocated and practiced terrorism.

For those and other reasons it was — and is — reasonable for the FBI and other agencies of the Government to believe that the SWP and its members have a revolutionary ideology whose goal is the violent overthrow of our democratic processes and form of government.

Inasmuch as revolutionary ideology is an ingredient in the body of information



FBI headquarters in Washington, repository of millions of illegal files collected on Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members.

applicants for non-critical sensitive positions may be required to undergo full field investigations at the discretion of the relevant agency head. As this Court noted, "[T]he basic loyalty-security program of E.O. 10450 remains in place."

The effectiveness of the government's loyalty-security program rests in the first instance on investigations that are as thorough in their execution and accurate in

dividual's access to sensitive or classified information "is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security," E.O. 10450, will be made on the basis of an investigation that is inherently not thorough. Where, as here under the proposed injunction, a body of information that is relevant to the investigative process and which may be relevant to the decision-maker in the ultimate determination of whether to issue or deny a security clearance is arbitrarily excluded from the entire process, the national security interests at stake are necessarily compromised.⁴

Similar considerations apply to the responsibility of the FBI to make name check information available to the Department of Defense in connection with the latter's responsibilities for maintaining the industrial security program pursuant to Executive Order 10865, as amended by Executive Order 10909. The Department of Defense has an obvious interest in having all available information in order to conduct thorough background checks before issuing security clearances in connection with its industrial security program. That program affects private sector employees for whom a security clearance is required by

tion's defense plants is "not insubstantial." *United States v. Robel*. There the Supreme Court recognized the right of the government to deny access to its secrets to those who would use that information to harm the Nation.

We are not unmindful of the congressional concern over the danger of sabotage and espionage in national defense industries, and nothing we hold today should be read to deny Congress the power under narrowly drawn legislation to keep from sensitive positions in defense facilities those who would use their positions to disrupt the Nation's production facilities.

By the same token, agencies of the Executive Branch should not be denied through court order the authority to conduct specific focused investigations based upon realistic national security concerns. The governmental interest in having valid and reliable lead information in this context to conduct an appropriate investigation is the same as that noted in connection with the federal employee loyalty and security program.

In addition to the foregoing areas of responsibility, the Government has important interests in having timely access to FBI file information in a variety of special situations. Foremost among these in terms of sensitivity are verification of suitability for White House staff employment and the protection of the President and foreign dignitaries.

Similar interests of somewhat less sensitivity arise in connection with providing all available background information on law clerks and other employees of the United States courts who occupy positions of trust. Whether a particular SWP or YSA member is susceptible or responsive to the Fourth International and predisposed to carry the party's program into effect

“Governmental interests in question principally concern federal statutes establishing loyalty requirements . . .”

about the plaintiffs obtained by the FBI during its investigation, it implicates the vital interest of self-preservation of this Nation's form of government under the Constitution. The Supreme Court has noted that self-preservation is "the ultimate value of any society." *Dennis v. United States*. Revolution — replacement of the present form of our government by means not provided for in the Constitution — necessarily poses a threat to the fundamental interest of self-preservation. "This governmental interest outweighs individual rights in . . . associational privacy. . . ." *Uphaus v. Wyman*. "[W]hile the Constitution protects against invasions of individual rights, it does not withdraw from the Government the power to safeguard its vital interests."

In light of the teachings of these authorities, this Court should avoid entering an order for injunctive relief that puts the Nation's vital interest of self-preservation at risk.

The principal area where the Court's proposed order may adversely affect the Government's recognized vital interests concerns the responsibilities of the defendant agencies in providing, receiving, or acting upon information concerning the loyalty and security of government employees and government contractors. In 5 U.S.C. 7311 Congress prohibited the employment of anyone who is a knowing member of an organization that advocates the violent or forcible overthrow of the Government. Executive Order 10450 effectuates that statutory mandate. Section 3(a) of that order prescribes that the appointment of each civilian employee shall be made subject to investigation, with a national agency check being the minimum investigation. The scope of any investigation pursuant to that order is to be initially determined with reference to the degree of adverse effect the occupant of a position could have on the national security.

The Executive Order further directs that where questions arise in an investigation indicating that "the employment of any such person may not be clearly consistent with the national security, there shall be conducted with respect to such a person a full field investigation . . ." or such lesser investigation as will be sufficient for the agency head to determine whether the employee's retention is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security. Applicants for critical sensitive positions must be subjected to full field investigations, and

their product as each situation warrants. Where the issuance or denial of a security clearance for access to classified information or equipment is in question, the public interest is best served when all information pertinent to the subject of an investigation is available so that the decision-making process is an informed one.

The obvious starting point for any investigation is information that the responsible agency has on hand or information available to it through a file search of other agencies, such as the National Agency Check. That information, even though it may appear to be stale because of its date of acquisition and may not directly bear upon the ultimate security clearance determination, is important for the leads that it affords the investigator and for identifying questions requiring resolution through inquiry to other — and ultimately contemporary — sources of information. It is also important for assessing an individual's credibility and truthfulness: for example, whether a candidate for a security clearance admits or denies past SWP membership where information obtained through a surreptitious entry shows him to have been an active member in 1976 or earlier.³

Unless the Court permits the defendant agencies in emergency or exigent circumstances to make *ex parte* application to a federal court to permit use of the information concerning the plaintiffs obtained by the FBI, the decision whether or not an in-

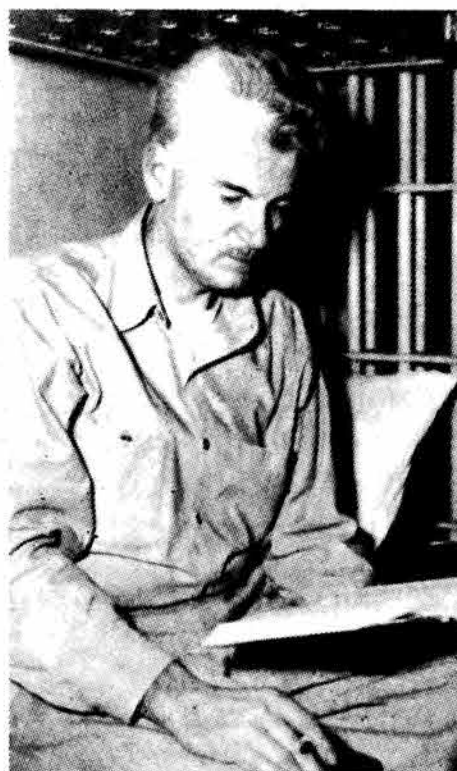
3. Even in a criminal case, the Government would be entitled to use illegally obtained information to impeach the false testimony of a defendant. The Government should be no worse off when assessing the credibility of an applicant for employment who will be entrusted with the most sensitive secrets of state.

4. It appears that the Court may not intend this result. Toward the end of its opinion it said: Any indication that the SWP or YSA has a current program of carrying out violent revolution or acts of violence or terrorism would not reflect the presently known facts. This does not, of course, prevent legitimate inquiry about the actions and attitudes of an individual to the extent that they bear on relevant questions of loyalty and security. Nevertheless, the present and the past, particularly in individuals' lives, are inextricably linked in a continuum. The past illuminates the present. An order that excludes from consideration virtually all information obtained in a certain period perforce frustrates the accuracy of any determination regarding an individual's present circumstances.

“The Supreme Court has noted that self-preservation is 'the ultimate value of any society.' *Dennis v. United States* . . .”

virtue of their involvement in research, development, or production contracts for classified matters.

The Supreme Court has expressly recognized that the Government's interest in preventing espionage and sabotage in the Na-



Eugene Dennis, then general secretary of Communist Party, in jail following Smith Act trial in 1949. U.S. court seeks to use his witch-hunt conviction as precedent for overriding Bill of Rights in SWP suit.

through unlawful means or to commit a violent act is a valid subject of inquiry. Again, party membership, although not determinative, is a starting point for inquiry to rule out the prospect of injury to recognized governmental interests in special situations. It raises questions about reliability and stability requiring resolution by the agency that has the responsibility for carrying out the governmental interests discussed above and reflected in the exhibits submitted with this memorandum. The responsibilities imposed by those interests are ongoing and inescapable.⁵

The foregoing considerations dictate that no injunctive relief should be entered at all. At the very least, relief should be drawn as narrowly as possible, and should allow for *ad hoc* use even of illegally obtained information where exigent circumstances warrant.

II. The Court's Proposed Order Presents Practical Problems in Implementation and Compliance

Insofar as it would bar the Government from using or disseminating information about the plaintiffs and their members that was obtained by the FBI by methods which the Court determines to be unlawful, the proposed order presents certain practical

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5. An ironic feature of the proposed relief is that information governed by the proposed order, no matter how accurate and pertinent to an agency's mission, would not be available to the Government even though the same information would be available to Soviet intelligence services through the Freedom of Information Act.

Nine agencies insist spy files are vital to their c

Office of Personnel Management

Gary B. McDaniel, being duly sworn, states as follows:

I am the Chief of the Investigations Operations Division, Office of Federal Investigations (OFI), U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM). In that position, I have oversight responsibility for the performance of the personnel background investigations done nationwide by OPM, including the assembly and transmittal of the final product to the customer agency.

OPM's OFI conducts approximately 250,000 background checks or investigations each year on individuals who are applicants for or holders of positions in the United States Government or Government contractors. Approximately 150,000 of these are on individuals who will have access to sensitive classified information, materials, or sites. All of these latter investigations are done under authority of Executive Order 10450 and the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. Both the Order and the Act require that persons who will be granted such access be, among other things, loyal to the United States and its democratic system of Government.

OPM does not itself grant security access clearances (except to its own employees) but, rather, conducts a variety of background investigations on a reimbursable basis as a service to almost all Executive branch departments and agencies except for the Department of Defense and some other investigative agencies. These customer agencies grant or deny security clearances based largely on the reports of investigation furnished by OPM. To provide an adequate investigation upon which such critical decisions can be made, OPM must have access to as much information as possible. This is necessary to present a complete picture of each individual investigated as to their suitability, reliability, and loyalty. Among OFI's sources of information are the various investigative and intelligence agencies of the United States, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Mere membership in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or the Young Socialist Al-

liance (YSA) would not, in and of itself, be an issue under E.O. 10450 or be the final determinant in the granting or denying of a security clearance. The information is, however, a lead that OPM must fully address and resolve through its investigation. Such factors as the extent of involvement, the recency of it, whether such involvement was with full knowledge of the intents and aims of the organization and, if the person is no longer a member, the nature and extent of the person's activities since being a member, all must be considered when making a security clearance adjudication. Consequently, OPM's investigation cannot consist only of a fact of membership but must delve into all these other aspects to present as complete and accurate a report as is possible. Access to the information thus permits OPM to conduct the investigation in such a manner to assure that all relevant facts, including favorable or mitigating information, are included in the report and are considered by the agency making the security determination.

Either OFI or the customer agency which receives OFI's report of investigation does a subject interview in almost all cases. During this interview, individuals being investigated are made aware of the information developed and afforded the opportunity to explain, refute, or make a statement regarding the information. All such responses are made a part of the investigative file. In addition, OPM's investigative files are rigorously safeguarded from unwarranted disclosure, and the subjects of OFI investigatory records have the protections of the Privacy Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

If OFI were denied access to, or could not use, information on membership in the SWP or the YSA obtained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation between July 1, 1955, and September 1976, either now in OFI files or gained in the future from FBI name checks, the OFI investigation and the customer agencies' security programs could be seriously compromised. OFI considers this information important because these organizations in the past were op-

posed to our form of Government and the national interest. A person who successfully conceals such membership or activities and seeks security access for purposes inimical to the national interests or security could gain such access and be in a position to do extreme damage to the United States. The access in question could include classified defense information and nuclear weapons materials and sites.

Any information obtained from the FBI through a name check request, including information on SWP or YSA membership, becomes part of the file on the particular

individual involved. All files are maintained, either as hard copy or on microfilm, in secure, locked storage with access limited only to authorized personnel. Release of these files is governed by and in accordance with established security procedures and law. Since the information in question is maintained by individual file, it is not accessible by subject matter. Any effort to retrieve information specifically concerning the SWP or YSA could only be done by retrieving and reviewing each and every one of the over four and one-half million files currently in the system. No files are maintained concerning the SWP or YSA *per se*.

Central Intelligence Agency

I, Lee E. Carle, hereby declare and say:

I am the Information Review Officer for the Directorate of Operations (DO) of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

I am generally familiar with the terms of the Order entered by the Court herein on 25 August 1986 and with the transcript of the hearing held in this case on 27 January 1987 regarding the proposed terms of an injunction to be entered by the Court against use of material concerning the Socialist Workers Party (hereinafter "SWP") and members thereof which was obtained unlawfully by the FBI. I am submitting this Declaration to address some of the problems which such an injunction could cause for CIA files.

If the Court enters an injunction herein which is worded broadly, it could create substantial administrative hardship for the DO because of the problem of identification and segregation of all records DO possesses derived from "unlawful" FBI activities, as described in the Court's opinion. Although some CIA records may be readily identifiable as concerning the SWP and derived from FBI reports, it is highly unlikely that a significant number of such records would indicate the specific FBI source (e.g., whether the information resulted from an illegal break-in, an informant, a wire-tap, or other source) and whether the source was lawfully or unlawfully used by the FBI. Also, information in CIA records which was derived from an unlawful activity of the FBI may not evidence any indication of a relationship between the information and the SWP. For example, if a name trace on an individual is requested of DO, DO may have information on the indi-

vidual pertinent to the request but not indicating any SWP connection, even though the individual was first brought to DO's attention as a result of unlawful FBI activity. If the Court enjoins the use of *all* derivative information which is not readily identifiable as derived from unlawful FBI activity, such action would cause serious administrative hardship in complying therewith. The distinction between lawfully obtained and unlawfully obtained information provided by the FBI to CIA would be very difficult to make in a comprehensive manner from the records systems as maintained by CIA.

A second problem area could result from a potentially over-broad prohibition on use or dissemination of any information resulting from FBI activities, without an ability of CIA to use the information in connection with matters of compelling national security interests. Because of the difficulty in identifying whether the FBI information was lawfully or unlawfully obtained, use or dissemination of information in an emergency or national security situation would be seriously curtailed. Of course, it is impossible for me to state that such situations will occur or which form they may take. However, such situations could involve at a minimum terrorism, counterintelligence, threats to U.S. Government personnel, and related categories. Because of the critical speed required to respond to national security emergencies which cannot be reasonably anticipated, judicial procedures allowing modification of a broad injunction only on an *ad hoc* basis would be too slow to allow any meaningful use of information which could be vital if timely used.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

I, Robert W. Scherrer, do declare and state as follows:

I am employed as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and have been so employed since February 13, 1961. I am currently the Section Chief of the Records Section, Records Management Division (RMD), Federal Bureau of Investigation Headquarters (FBIHQ), Washington, D.C. In this capacity, I have direct responsibility for all official files and records maintained at FBIHQ.

I have been advised that the Court intends to enter injunctive relief that will bar the defendants from using or disseminating information concerning the plaintiffs obtained by the FBI through methods determined by the Court to be unlawful. I make this statement for the purpose of explaining to the Court the effects that such an order will have upon the responsibilities of the FBI and difficulties which may be encountered in complying with the order.

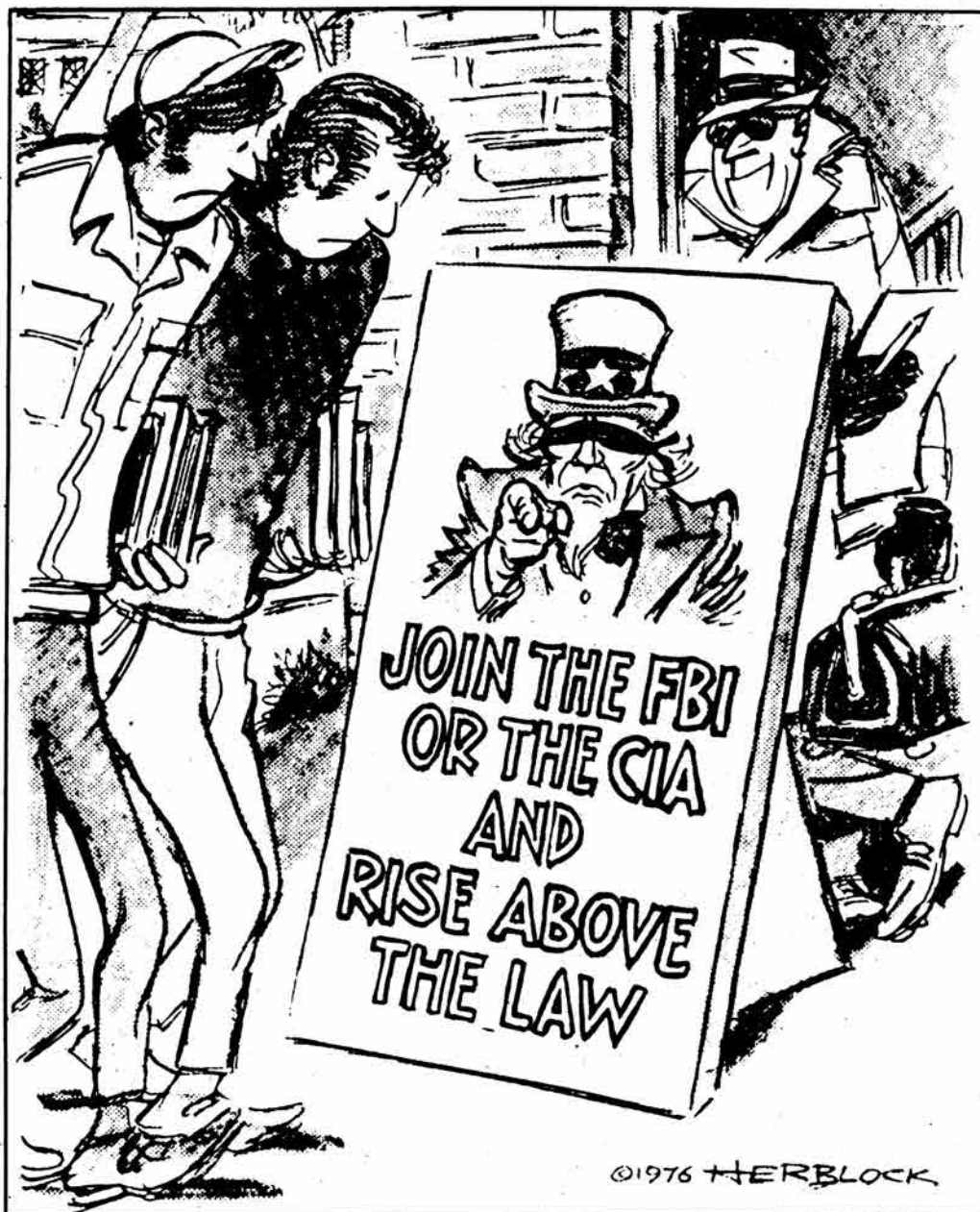
The FBI has standing responsibility for conducting full field investigations of persons who are candidates for employment with the FBI, the Department of Justice, the Drug Enforcement Administration, the Department of Energy, and the United States Courts. In addition, the FBI conducts full field investigations pursuant to special inquiries of prospective employees of the National Security Council, the White

House staff, and certain congressional committees.

These investigations are conducted for the purpose of enabling the employing agency to make a determination of suitability for federal employment and trustworthiness for access to classified national security information. In the case of the FBI, all employees are required to be cleared for access to information classified Top Secret. The FBI makes its own determination as to whether an employee shall be granted a security clearance for access to classified information. In the case of the other agencies and governmental components, the clearance determination is made by the employing entity on the basis of information provided to it.

The FBI also has responsibility for conducting full field investigations of members of the private bar in connection with their clearance for access to classified national security information under the Classified Information Procedures Act. The clearance determination in such cases is made by the Department of Justice.

Under Executive Orders 10450 and 10865, the FBI provides information from its files in response to National Agency Check requests from the Office of Personnel Management and the Department of Defense. In addition, the FBI furnishes information from its files upon request to



Operations

local and state law enforcement organizations in emergency or life-threatening situations.

In those instances where the FBI conducts a full field investigation, there is a need at the commencement of such an investigation to have all available information at hand regardless of its age or apparent utility. Information concerning the plaintiff organizations and their members obtained by the FBI during the period 1955-1976 can provide important lead information that is not otherwise available to an investigator. At the same time any questions about a prospective employee's suitability or trustworthiness presented by that information can be resolved by further investigation and development of contemporary sources. It is apparent that any investigation conducted without access to and benefit of the information that appears to be subject to the Court's proposed order will necessarily be incomplete. A report based on such an investigation may well be inaccurate and lead to a determination of trustworthiness that would not have otherwise been made had all information been available. Such a risk is inconsistent with the FBI's responsibilities in this area and presents serious implications regarding the effectiveness of the FBI's role in this process.

The FBI's responses to National Agency Checks and other requests for information contained in its files would be similarly deficient. Such responses could be misleading if the FBI through the operation of the Court's order was put in the position of having to deny the existence of pertinent information contained in its files. Any such omissions would compromise the integrity of the National Agency Check process.

The proposed order would also present certain practical problems for compliance

by the FBI because of the way its files are organized and information from them is retrieved. The FBI has a file on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as organizations. In addition, it may have files on individuals which contain information on the SWP or YSA. Those latter files are accessible only through use of a personal name and other identification data such as date of birth or Social Security number.

During the course of its investigation of the SWP and other investigations, the FBI may have placed information into both categories of files without regard to how it was obtained. Both the file on the organizations and the files on individuals may contain information obtained during other authorized investigations that is commingled with that obtained in the SWP investigation. Because of the manner in which information was sometimes extracted or summarized as it was placed in various files, it may not now be possible to readily determine the investigation in which the information was obtained, the method by which it was acquired, or, in some instances whether the information actually pertains to the SWP or YSA. In addition, the FBI's practice of preparing its reports in a manner which protects the identity of the source of information further impedes any process of attempting to determine the method by which particular information was acquired. Reconstruction of accurate source identification from the contents of a particular file would be very costly and time-consuming. These factors may lead to inadvertent or unwitting violation of the Court's order by FBI personnel charged with the responsibility of responding to requests for FBI file information consistent with the responsibilities outlined in paragraphs 3 and 4 above.

State Department

I, Roger H. Robinson, declare and say as follows:

I am the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Department of State.

I have been advised that the court intends to enter an injunction that would bar the Government from using or disseminating information regarding the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its members that was obtained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in its investigation of the SWP through methods that the court has determined to be unlawful. I understand that the information that will be subject to the injunction will, in effect, include nearly all information that the FBI obtained about the SWP and its members during its investigation until it was terminated in September 1976.

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security does not maintain a subject file on the Socialist Workers Party in our records system. However, two offices within the Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS) do perform security functions for the Department of State involving information review that may include information from the FBI and other sources relating to the Socialist Workers Party. Those DS components are the Office of Investigations (DS/I) and the Threat Analysis Division (DS/TAD) within the Office of Policy Coordination (DS/P). Both offices assert their need for continued access, maintenance, and use of information that may relate to the Socialist Workers Party obtained from the FBI or other sources in connection with a specific investigation or threat inquiry.

DS/I is responsible for granting security clearances for employment in the Department of State and the Foreign Service. Executive Order 10450 dated April 27, 1953, as amended, requires that a sensitive position "be filled or occupied only by a person with respect to whom a full field investigation has been conducted." A thorough investigation is essential to ensure that only persons of demonstrated loyalty and trustworthiness fill these sensitive positions at home and abroad. Foreign Service

employees in particular spend the majority of their professional careers posted overseas; they are subject to more opportunity for hostile intelligence development and to an environment offering reduced constraints against improper activities. Certainly any information about the activity of an applicant or incumbent which includes interaction with a group advancing a hostile ideology would be relevant to a security clearance determined under E.O. 10450. Although mere membership in an organization itself would not automatically preclude a clearance, it would be weighed with other significant factors.

DS is responsible for making informed decisions and therefore has the obligation to avail itself of any such information developed by the FBI or other sources. Even though this information may be 10 to 30 years old, this does not make it stale for investigative purposes; it may indeed be extremely relevant to current investigations. The integrity of the process requires that all possible information be available in order to reach an informed determination. This integrity is necessarily compromised if useful or relevant information is excluded. Failure to obtain this significant information would risk granting clearances to applicants or incumbents who could act to affect adversely the security of the United States.

The mission of DS/P/TAD is to evaluate threats to our diplomats and other Americans abroad as well as to analyze potential threats to those visiting foreign dignitaries who might need U.S. Government protection. In carrying out these responsibilities, it is imperative that TAD has access to information or resources that could even remotely impact on the health or safety of their charges. This holds true of any group, regardless of its ideological perspective. To prohibit access to information about any hostile organization which has consistently posed a threat to free governments, would inhibit TAD from fulfilling its critical role as well as establish an adverse precedent concerning the flow and use of essential information.



Militant/Lou Howort

Protesters demand end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. FBI spying on groups opposed to Washington's backing of Salvadoran dictatorship has recently been exposed. State Department affidavit defends spying on organizations that it deems "consistently posed threat" to U.S.-backed regimes.

Immigration Service

I, Edwin W. Dornell, state as follows:

I was appointed as Acting Assistant Commissioner for Intelligence, Office of Enforcement, Immigration and Naturalization Service on January 5, 1987.

I have been advised that the Court is considering an injunction in the above case that would bar the FBI from providing information to the INS about the Socialist Workers Party and its members that was gathered by surreptitious entry and informants between 1948 and 1976. I am also advised that under the injunction, INS would be barred from using any derivative information gathered from the above means.

INS is entitled to gather information and make determinations about individuals pursuant to 8 U.S.C. and 1182(a)(28)(D) and (F), 8 U.S.C. and 1251(a)(6)(D) and 8 U.S.C. and 1424(a)(3). Further, criminal authority exists to prosecute certain of these cases under 8 U.S.C. 1327. These sections govern whether or not an individual who advocates world communism or the establishment of totalitarian dictatorship can be deported, excluded, or naturalized. The new Immigration Reform and Control Act also denies legalization to individuals who espouse the above aims.

The inability to receive information from the FBI regarding membership in the Socialist Workers Party during the proposed time period could adversely affect the ability of INS to make informed decisions about an individual's political views. Although membership in the Socialist Workers Party would not alone result in any change to one's immigration status, it is certainly a factor that would need to be examined in accordance with our statutory mandate. Failure to have the information could impact on our ability to properly determine an individual's proper immigration status.

INS maintains a file in its central index that contains information about the

Socialist Workers Party from 1948 to 1976. The information is segregated from other files. There are approximately 25 folders containing information about the Socialist Workers Party. It is not cross referenced by individual names, and it only contains general information. To my knowledge, the information is at most background information and is not used in any particular case. Most of the information in the file is compiled from and consists of FBI reports. There is no information in the file after April 30, 1976. There are no indicia of the means by which the FBI gathered the information in the files.

To my knowledge, INS maintained no specific file after that date regarding the Socialist Workers Party. I have checked with our office of Investigations, and they advise me that they also do not keep a file on the Socialist Workers Party. The same is true for our offices of Adjudications and Inspections.

INS gathers information about individuals on a case-by-case basis. Files are set up by individual name and case number. There is no other way of determining what is in the file.

There is no way INS can go through its tens of millions of files developed since 1945 to determine if any of the information in the SWP file is in individual files. Information can only be checked by name, date of birth, or by file number. INS would have no way of knowing whether or not there is any information about the SWP or YSA activities obtained from the FBI in individual files.

If INS was to initiate a new case, it would go to various investigative agencies to check on an individual's status. It would not rely on our segregated file on the SWP. Thus, for example, if there was information that the INS could not receive from the FBI because of the means in which it was obtained by the FBI, it would be deprived of the information.

Defense Investigative Service

I, Thomas J. O'Brien, do hereby state and declare:

I am currently the Director of The Defense Investigative Service (DIS), Department of Defense (DoD). I have held this position since August 1981.

The authority for DIS to conduct Personnel Security Investigations (PSI) is found in Executive Orders and directives. Executive Order 10450 (April 29, 1953) governs the conduct of PSI's on Federal civilian employees. It also provides for the accep-

tance and retention of civilian employees in the Federal government. Executive Order 10865, (February 23, 1960), as amended by Executive Order 10909, (January 18, 1961), governs investigations of industrial personnel who require access to classified information. The conduct of PSI's on members of the armed services is governed by DoD Directive 5200.2, "Department of Defense Personnel Security Program" (December 20, 1979). Director of Central In-

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telligence Directive No. 1/14 (April 14, 1986) governs investigations of persons who require access to sensitive compartmented information. It provides for an investigation which encompasses a 15 year period of time.

Executive Order 10450, section 8(a)(5), provides that

Membership in, or affiliation or sympathetic association with, any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons which is totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive, or which has adopted, or shows a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means

is of security significance.

In the course of conducting PSI's the DIS routinely requests that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) review its files for information pertaining to the subject of our investigations. These records checks

may, among other things, disclose that the subject of a DIS investigation has been affiliated with an organization characterized by Executive Order 10450.

The information obtained from the FBI may serve to corroborate or establish an affiliation with such an organization. However, the membership in such an organization, per se, is not the security concern. Rather the establishment of this affiliation provides a basis for expanding the investigation.

Because DIS files are not organized, segregated, indexed, or retrievable by political party affiliation it is virtually impossible to assess the quantitative value of this FBI information. However, this information is valuable because it is otherwise unavailable since investigative subjects may not disclose their affiliation on their personnel security forms.

Without access to this information the DIS will lose a valuable source of investigative leads, and may be hindered in its efforts to further its investigative mission. In addition, when evaluating this information for its investigative purposes the DIS is and would be unable to determine the manner in which the FBI obtained it.



Attorney General Edward Levi ordered end to FBI investigation of SWP in 1976. But affidavits indicate that government agencies seek up-to-date spy data on political and other activities of suspected SWP members.

ties under Title 18, Section 3056 of the United States Code, as set forth in paragraph 2 above, the Secret Service routinely makes inquiry of the FBI regarding information contained in its files that may pertain to the Secret Service's protective mission. Information coming to the attention of the Intelligence Division, whether from the FBI or another source, is routinely disseminated to agents of this Service who are actively engaged in physical protection, as well as agents who are conducting protective intelligence investigations of individuals who may constitute a possible threat to the safety of Secret Service protectees. In addition, the Secret Service utilizes information supplied by the FBI and other sources in determining the suitability of applicants for national security clearances, as well as clearances for members of the press and other individuals, such as contractor support personnel, who request admission into the White House complex. Restrictions on Secret Service access to information maintained by the FBI, including that pertaining to the Socialist Workers Party and its members, could seriously jeopardize the ability of the Secret Service to carry out its protective mission.

At my direction, a search of Secret Service files was conducted for information pertaining to the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Information concerning these organizations that is relevant to the Secret Service's protective mission has been excised from original reports received by the Secret Service and has been transformed into a computer generated format. The original sources of the information, in almost all instances, cannot now be ascertained.

Information concerning the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance which is maintained in Secret Service files enables the Intelligence Division to advise Secret Service agents regarding matters such as what type of demonstration activity may be expected from the group, the number of protestors which the group is capable of amassing, and the group's ability as well as its propensity to disrupt or otherwise interfere with the movement of a protectee. I consider the information maintained by the Secret Service to be vital to our protective mission.

support of its mission, the Secret Service needs timely, accurate, and complete intelligence information.

The Secret Service receives intelligence information from a variety of sources, including state, local and, most important, federal law enforcement agencies. The Secret Service is heavily dependent upon the FBI to provide information which it has that may affect the protective mission of the United States Secret Service, including information concerning attempts, threats, or conspiracies to injure, kill, or kidnap persons protected by the United States Secret Service or other United States or foreign officials in the United States or abroad; information concerning attempts or threats to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means; and, information concerning persons or groups who may be considered potentially dangerous to individuals protected by the United States Secret Service because of their background or activities.

In carrying out its statutory responsibili-

United States Army

I am Anthony J. Gallo, Jr., Colonel, United States Army, Director of Counterintelligence, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff For Intelligence, Department of the Army.

From the mid-1960's to the early 1970's, the Department of the Army received counterintelligence information from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.). This information related to individuals and/or organizations. In the case of information relating to individuals, it was stored at the Investigative Records Repository (IRR), Fort Meade, Maryland, and accessed under the individual's name. Organizational data was maintained in an old Army filing system called the Counter Intelligence Research File System (CIRFS).

Information received from the F.B.I. during the period in question was distributed to files of individuals or organizations identified in the data. The information in individual files is accessible only by name of the individual and some personal identifier, such as, birth date or social security number for positive identification. IRR files cannot be searched by organizational names to determine affiliation.

The source of information contained in a file may or may not be identifiable. Many times information is extracted from the original source document, in this case the F.B.I. report, and distributed to a number of different individual files. Even where the document is identifiable as being from the F.B.I., the information may not indicate the context or particular circumstances in which it was collected, e.g., it may not indicate any connection with the Socialist Workers Party or any specific organization.

The proposed court order limiting use of information illegally obtained by the F.B.I. would work a substantial hardship on the Army. Since the data in these files is, more often than not, untraceable to its source and is unrevealing as to the context of its collection, there would be no way of

knowing whether the court order applies to any particular data.

Moreover, even if information can be identified as concerning the SWP or YSA and originating with the F.B.I., the proposed order would, in effect, require the Army to forward all documents containing the words "Socialist Workers Party (SWP)" or "Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)" to the F.B.I. for a determination as to origin of its information. This process would be unduly disruptive, time consuming, and expensive.

The Army has identified two groups of files associated with the SWP and YSA. The first group consists of 129 personnel files of current or former employees of the Army that are related to early discovery actions in this case and contain no illegally obtained information. They are segregated and held for future use to allow the Department of the Army to perform background investigations prior to making determinations on security clearances for soldiers, Department of the Army civilian employees, and contractors. These individual files were created and are maintained in the IRR.

The second group of files is contained in the CIRFS. These files are indexed by organization names and located on approximately 1,000 microfilm tapes with other unrelated files in random order. A review of the index for this record system reveals that is very vague and possibly inaccurate. Because of the age and disuse of the file system, the records may not be at the indexed location or may not exist. Search of the CIRFS system of records would be extremely time consuming and would involve a page-by-page examination of hundreds of thousands of documents just to determine if the document relates to SWP or YSA. After that review is completed, it would then be necessary to attempt to determine whether the material is subject to the court's proposed order. This entire process could take as long as six months.

or foreign government, and, at the direction of the President, other distinguished foreign visitors to the United States and official representatives of the United States performing special missions abroad. Finally, the Secret Service is authorized to furnish protection to major presidential or vice presidential candidates.

Inherent in the performance of this protective function by the Secret Service is the need to determine and, to the extent possible, anticipate the actions of those individuals and groups who come to the attention of the Secret Service and who on the basis of their past history, ideology, or avowed goals, may constitute a possible threat to the physical safety of the individuals receiving Secret Service protection. In

National Security Agency

I am the Deputy Director for Administration at the National Security Agency (NSA). In this capacity, I am responsible for the administration of the NSA personnel security system.

The National Security Agency ("NSA") was originally a named defendant in the Socialist Workers Party action, but was dismissed from the suit in 1981. While not directly affected by the decision in this case as reported at 642 F. Supp. 1357 (S.D.N.Y. 1986), the final terms of the court's injunction may have an impact on NSA's security clearance determinations.

NSA was established in 1952 as a separately organized agency within the Department of Defense. The Agency conducts the communications security and signals intelligence missions of the United States government. NSA's functions include the development and provision of cryptographic materials and equipment used to secure classified and sensitive communications of the Government. In addition, NSA's signals intelligence mission involves the acquisition and analysis of foreign signals, and intelligence derived from those signals.

The extreme sensitivity of NSA's mission has been recognized by the Congress. Public Law 88-290 (50 U.S.C. 831-835), Personnel Security Procedures in the National Security Agency, mandates that all persons employed, detailed, or assigned to NSA be cleared for access to Sensitive Compartmented Information, or SCI. SCI consists of data about sophisticated technical systems used for collecting intelligence and the information collected by those systems. These controls serve to restrict access to protected information to persons who have a clearly established official need for that information, and who meet more rigorous and stringent personnel security criteria. Persons cleared for Confidential,

Secret, or even Top Secret information are not automatically eligible by virtue of those clearances for access to SCI. Contractors and contractor employees who are engaged in work on behalf of NSA must be cleared for access to SCI.

The personnel security criteria for access to SCI are established by the Director of Central Intelligence and promulgated in Director of Central Intelligence Directive (DCID) 1/14.

The eligibility of NSA personnel and NSA contractors and contractor employees for access to SCI is evaluated against the criteria set forth in DCID 1/14. The scope of the background investigation is also defined by DCID 1/14. In order for NSA to determine whether an individual is eligible for access to SCI, NSA has a legal obligation to conduct an extensive background investigation as set forth in Public Law 88-290 and DCID 1/14. To the extent that a government agency such as the FBI has information relevant to the conduct of the special background investigation that cannot be disseminated to NSA, NSA would be prevented from fulfilling its statutory and regulatory mandate to ensure that proper decisions are rendered in security clearance cases.

Information such as membership or activities in an organization such as the SWP or the YSA would be relevant to the conduct of a background investigation. The information would not in itself be dispositive, but it would be necessary in order to complete the background investigation in a manner that fulfills the requirements of DCID 1/14 and allows NSA to determine if the individual in question meets the established criteria for access to classified information. In addition, background investigations are only undertaken where an individual seeks a security clearance for access to NSA information.

Secret Service

I, Richard A. McCann, having been duly sworn hereby depose and say:

I am the Special Agent in Charge of the Intelligence Division of the United States Secret Service.

Pursuant to Section 3056, Title 18 of the United States Code, the Secret Service is authorized to protect the person of the President of the United States, the President-elect, the Vice President, or other officer next in order of succession to the Office of the President and the Vice President-elect, and the members of their immediate families. In addition, the Secret Service is also charged with the responsibility to protect former Presidents and their spouses for their lifetimes, their minor children, the person of a visiting head of a foreign state

Government demands 'right' to use illegal files

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problems of compliance for the defendant agencies and their employees. These problems are indicated in the exhibits submitted with this memorandum. They exist apart from any provision for *ex parte* emergency relief that the Court might include pursuant to the considerations presented in Part I of this memorandum.

The principal problem is posed by the structure of the defendant agencies' files,

inform their operating personnel of the provisions of the Court's order in terms adaptable to daily working level application.

Although the defendants will make a good faith effort at compliance, the realities of their filing systems and operating procedures are such that there may be instances of an apparent but unavoidable violation of the Court's order. Any order entered by the Court should make allowances for such instances so that an unwitting

an exclusionary rule) against its societal costs, the result should be obvious. A deterrent is utterly unnecessary because, as this Court correctly found, the FBI's violations of law occurred long ago and are unlikely to recur. On the other side of the scale is the societal cost of permitting individuals to have access to highly sensitive secrets of state while requiring the Government to turn a blind eye to information that might, at the very least, justify further inquiry. Such a cost should not be imposed by this Court.

III. The Order Proposed By Plaintiffs Is Consistent With Neither This Court's Opinion Nor The Law

In several particulars, the proposed injunction annexed to plaintiffs' memorandum dated February 11, 1987, goes beyond the decision of this Court or is not authorized by law.

First, this Court's opinion directs that any documents or information covered by its order may be disclosed "in response to legal process or Freedom of Information Act requests." Plaintiffs' proposed order would add a prohibition against disclosure, even in the circumstances contemplated by the Court, of the identities of individuals or non-governmental entities without their written consent. There is no provision in law entitling plaintiffs, let alone individuals or entities that are not even parties to this law suit, to such relief. It will be recalled that the Court dismissed all claims arising under the Privacy Act, which is the only relevant statute regulating governmental disclosure of information about individuals. Accordingly, paragraph 2 of plaintiff's proposed order should be stricken.

Second, paragraph 3(d) would include mail covers within the definition of illegal methods of obtaining information. This Court made no finding that the use of this technique against the SWP, even at the request of the FBI, was illegal. This provision should therefore not be included in this Court's order.

Third, paragraph 4 of plaintiffs' proposed injunction would in effect require a presumption that information was obtained illegally, unless the FBI can determine that it was obtained legally. In view of the practical difficulties described above in identifying the source of information, and the public interest in permitting the Government at least to be able to use information

obtained legally, the presumption should be the other way around. At the least, paragraph 4 should be stricken from plaintiffs' proposed order.

Fourth, plaintiffs' proposed order (paragraph 3(b)), would define as illegally obtained documents "obtained after July 1, 1955, as a result of the use of FBI informers. . . ." At the January 27, 1987, conference before this Court there was some discussion of the appropriate cutoff date for documents and information subject to the court's order. The Court suggested that an appropriate cutoff would be congruent to the discovery cutoff of 1960. Plaintiffs, in their memorandum in support of their proposed order, appear to be arguing that the earlier date of 1955 is appropriate because of this Court's finding that from the early 1950's onward the FBI's investigation was a national security investigation. However, that fact did not of itself make the investigation or the techniques used in it illegal — the FBI was and is authorized to conduct such investigations. The Government respectfully submits that the cutoff date suggested by the court is more reasonable than that proposed by plaintiffs.⁷

Conclusion

The governmental interests and responsibilities discussed above and reflected in the exhibits submitted with this memorandum are legitimate, substantial, and important. They merit this Court's protection. While the Government argues that no injunctive relief whatever should be granted, in the context of the Court's proposed injunctive relief some protection is effectuated by including in any order a provision such as that set forth in Paragraph 3 of the defendants' proposed order which will permit any affected agency of the Government in exigent or emergency circumstances to apply *ex parte* to any federal court for an order permitting use, disclosure, or dissemination of information otherwise barred from use, dissemination, or disclosure by other provisions of the order for injunctive relief.

7. We reiterate that nothing in this memorandum should be construed as consent by the Government to the entry of any injunction, or to any particular terms of the injunction the Court intends to enter. The Government continues to maintain that no injunction at all is warranted by the record in this case or by law.

“The Court should avoid entering an order for injunctive relief that puts the Nation's vital interest of self-preservation at risk . . .”

the form in which information obtained by the FBI is placed in them, and the manner in which information is located and retrieved from them.⁶ By far the greatest volume of file holdings consists of files on individuals — over 4 million in the case of the Office of Personnel Management alone. Information in those files is accessible only through the use of a personal name coupled with additional identifying information such as date and place of birth or Social Security number. There is no method of access that can be based upon SWP or other membership, and the plaintiff organizations do not appear prepared to provide the defendants with the names and other identifying data of their members.

In addition to the files on individuals, certain of the defendant agencies maintain separate files on the Socialist Workers Party as a subject of interest. Information in them is accessible through an index, usually based upon personal names, or through physical page-by-page examination of the file.

The FBI disseminated information about the plaintiff organizations and their members in a form that concealed or protected from identification the source or method by which the information was acquired. The FBI observed similar precautions in channeling or distributing information obtained in the SWP investigation to files on specific individuals maintained by the FBI. Outside the FBI a recipient agency would often extract information from an FBI report and insert it in an individual's file or insert only pertinent portions of an FBI report in a particular file.

A consequence of these practices is that information in the defendant agencies' files that was obtained or furnished by the FBI does not always show that it originated with the FBI. Even if it did, the other agencies would be unable to determine how the FBI obtained the information. Within the FBI the manner by which particular information was obtained can only be determined after a lengthy and costly reconstruction and interpretation of underlying records generated in the course of producing the substantive information. Outside the FBI that determination cannot be made at all. In many instances it will not be possible to determine whether the information concerns the plaintiffs and their members, even though it may have originally been acquired by the FBI by methods deemed by the Court to be unlawful.

A practical consequence of these factors is that there will be many instances when an investigator, analyst, or file clerk in the defendant agencies will be in a position of inadvertently or unwittingly violating the Court's order because there will be nothing in the papers or information before that person serving to alert him to the fact 1. that it originated with the FBI, 2. that it pertained to the plaintiffs as such, 3. or that it was acquired by means that violated the plaintiffs' constitutional rights.

These problems will obtain even if it is possible for the defendant agencies to formulate internal directives that will serve to

ting government employee or his superior is not unjustifiably faced with proceedings for contempt.

Furthermore, the defendants respectfully submit that no injunction should bind any defendant other than the FBI because this court found no violation of law, or misuse of information, by any agency other than the FBI, after a plenary trial that offered plaintiffs a full opportunity to prove that they were entitled to relief against these agencies. Having failed in such proof, plaintiffs should not now obtain an order that would impose a substantial burden on innocent agencies. There is no "exclusionary rule" in many, if not all, non-criminal proceedings, and even if there were, a rule that would require agencies found to be innocent of wrongdoing nevertheless to purge their files, otherwise segregate information received from the FBI, or ignore such information despite its pertinence to the agency's mission, would not further the policies of the exclusionary rule, which is to deter government wrongdoing.

The Supreme Court's recent decision in *INS v. Lopez-Mendoza* suggests, as we have previously argued, that no injunction should issue at all. In that case the Court held that the exclusionary rule did not apply to civil deportation proceedings, finding, *inter alia*, that the limited deterrent effect of applying the rule was far outweighed by the societal cost of sanctioning an illegal alien's continued illegal presence in the country. When one weighs the deterrent effect of an injunction here barring use of illegally obtained information (in effect,

Campaign launched to defend political rights

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workers need in order to protect our unions and our living standards."

In addition to the many individual unionists and others who have signed up in the Boston area, United Steelworkers Local 8751, which organizes Boston school bus drivers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 470 voted to become sponsors after hearing PRDF speakers.

These new backers include the executive board of Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and Cynthia Domingo of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Vienes.

Silme Domingo and Gene Vienes were Local 37 officials who were murdered in 1981 because of their opposition to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. The committee has gathered evidence that agents of Marcos' regime were involved in the killings, and that U.S. government agencies helped cover up their role.

Among the new sponsors signed up by supporters in Birmingham, Alabama, was George Paris of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. The FSC defends the interests of Black farmers in southern Alabama. Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, is also a PRDF supporter.

Flight attendant speaks out

Marcia Halverson, a leader of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants who took part in last year's strike against takebacks and union-busting at TWA, has

been speaking out for the PRDF in the Cleveland area.

On February 9 she addressed the Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women, which endorsed the suit and published an article on it in the chapter newsletter. On February 19 she got seven more endorsers at a meeting of the Cleveland chapter of Witness for Peace.

"I am involved because I believe in constitutional rights," Halverson told the *Militant*. "I don't think the government should be able to operate above the law. I think it is important for unions and other groups to have the protection of the precedent in this case. It gives them more confidence to operate politically."

Recent endorsers in the New York City area include Wilton Decoteau of the Grenada Foundation; T.L. Cuesta of the Antonio Maceo Brigade; Wendell Singh, a supporter of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana; and Carlos Maldonado of the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression.

Anti-apartheid fighters

Fred Dube, a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, also signed up. He has been denied tenure as a professor at the State University of New York's Stony Brook campus because of his political views.

David Reed, chairperson of the San Francisco Anti-apartheid Committee; the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement; and John George, an Alameda County supervisor who heads the Bay Area anti-apartheid group, have also become PRDF

sponsors.

Foes of the U.S. war in Central America who signed endorser cards included Charlie Liteky of Veterans Fast for Life; Leslie Cagan, national coordinator of the April 25 actions; Central America Solidarity Alliance (Albany, New York); and Thomas Reifer, national student organizer of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Steve Nelson, the national commander of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, is another new endorser. Nelson was framed up and jailed in the 1950s because of his membership in the Communist Party.

The Cleveland chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America also voted to add its name as a sponsor. Letisha Wadsworth, a supporter of the newspaper *Frontline*, became an endorser, as did Dirk Struik, editor emeritus of *Science and Society* magazine.

Many made donations when they signed up. Skip Niederdeppe, president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 22 in Fremont, Nebraska, gave \$25. Longtime antiwar activist Sid Peck donated \$100. Jenapio Laureano Molina, president of the Federation of Teachers in Vega Alta, Puerto Rico, gave \$8. The Rockville, Maryland, branch of the National Association of Letter Carriers gave \$25. Robert Baldauf, pastor of the Grace United Church of Christ in Norton, Ohio, contributed \$10. And Dave Slaney, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 2431 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, donated \$10.

6. The affidavits and declarations submitted herewith set out in detail the difficulties posed by an injunction against use of information. The National Security Agency has submitted a declaration, although it was dismissed from this action in 1981, because it may be adversely affected by any ban on dissemination of FBI information.

Justice Dep't fight against ruling on FBI spying

Continued from Page 7

born individuals in order to "make informed decisions about an individual's political views."

The INS argues that such information is needed to determine whether people are "deported, excluded or naturalized."

Millions affected

All of the other government cop agencies make similar arguments. Their point is that no court has the power to rule that the Bill of Rights requires limits on police agency spying.

According to the Justice Department's brief, "Inasmuch as revolutionary ideology is an ingredient in the body of information about [the SWP and YSA] obtained by the FBI during its investigation, it implicates the vital interest of self-preservation of this Nation's form of government under the Constitution. . . . Revolution — replacement of the present form of our government by means not provided for in the Constitution — necessarily poses a threat to the fundamental interest of self-preservation. . . ."

"[W]hile the Constitution protects against invasions of individual rights, it does not withdraw from the Government the power to safeguard its vital interests. . . . this Court should avoid entering an order for injunctive relief that puts the Nation's vital interest of self-preservation at risk."

Judge Griesa ruled that the SWP is entitled to an injunction covering all the government records "obtained illegally or developed from illegally obtained information" after he analyzed the FBI's 40-year campaign to spy on, harass, and disrupt the SWP and YSA. He detailed the widespread use of paid stool pigeons to spy on meetings, copy down the names of anyone attending SWP campaign meetings, search through party supporters' trash, and steal confidential hospital records.

Griesa ruled that the use of these informers "was wholly incompatible with the SWP's First Amendment right to freely assemble and freely speak on political matters."

The judge's opinion documents the scope of FBI "black bag jobs" into SWP offices and homes of SWP supporters. At least 193 such break-ins occurred, just in New York, from 1958 to 1966. He ruled that these burglaries were "obvious violations of the Fourth Amendment," which protects people from unauthorized searches.

Griesa described 46 operations carried out by the FBI under its "SWP Disruption Program" between 1961 and 1969. These operations included sending poison pen letters, attempting to disrupt relations between the SWP and other groups, and trying to create racial friction inside the SWP. He finds that "these disruption operations were patently unconstitutional."

Judge Griesa described how from 1948 to 1957, and again in 1973, the post office carried out a "mail cover" against the SWP — copying down for the FBI the names and addresses of all those corresponding with the party. Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student who sent a letter to the party asking for information for a school project, was targeted for an FBI investigation. She sued the FBI and won a court ruling that the mail cover was unconstitutional. The judge incorporated this ruling into his decision.

Miles of files

These and similar FBI operations produced the millions of pages of files at the center of the fight unfolding today. They are maintained in FBI headquarters in Washington and in field offices all across the country. Information from these documents has been transmitted to dozens of other government agencies. From the raw material in these files, countless additional files have been generated for use in targeting individuals and victimizing them for their membership in or association with the YSA or SWP.

The Justice Department lawyers argue aggressively that no injunction should, in fact, be issued by the judge. They are put-

ting the judge on notice that they intend to challenge and appeal any order he writes that bars government police agencies from use of the files.

If there is to be an injunction, they insist it include provisions allowing the cops to evade any restrictions on use of the files in case of "special" need. Any order, they claim, must contain a loophole allowing the cops to go to any federal court in the country to get permission to "use or disseminate the information otherwise subject to the constraints of the injunction." They conclude, "The order should further provide that, in emergencies where a court order cannot be obtained in time, the agency be permitted to disseminate the information and inform the court subsequently."

The belligerent tone of the Justice Department's papers conveys a clear message: "We are the executive power, and when it comes to protecting 'national security,' we do what we want, when we want, how we want, to whom we want, and no judge is going to tell us differently — Bill of Rights or no Bill of Rights."

Attorney General Meese

There is no better spokesperson for this stance than Attorney General Edwin Meese. Meese is the chief defendant in the case, the head of the Justice Department, and point man for the Reagan administration in its ideological campaign against constitutional rights.

He has opposed the Supreme Court's rulings on abortion rights, affirmative action, voting rights, and defendants' rights to legal representation.

And, using the scare campaign about drugs, he has urged employers to increase spying on workers, including sending undercover agents into bars in working-class neighborhoods.

When cops have gunned down Blacks on the street, the attorney general has been silent. In the face of mounting evidence of government involvement in political burglaries of the offices of opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America, the Justice Department has refused to conduct an investigation.

In essence, the stance of the Justice Department concerning illegal FBI activities at home is the same as the stance of the White House toward its funding of the Nicaraguan contras, even though Congress had, for a time, made any such funding illegal. When necessary, the executive branch must be allowed to act outside of the law. Judge Griesa's avowed intention to issue an injunction to limit certain practices of the federal police agencies poses a direct challenge to this position.



The legal documents submitted to Judge Griesa by the Justice Department lawyers paint a picture of virtual paralysis in government if his injunction were to be issued — and obeyed. In fact, the extreme examples cited lead one to conclude that the FBI and other cop agencies are presenting their justification for refusing to obey any injunction, should a federal court be so arrogant as to try to limit their activities.

For example, the Justice Department warns the judge that it must act to uphold "the Government's interest in preventing espionage and sabotage in the Nation's defense plants." The Secret Service cites its mission to prevent "attempts, threats, or conspiracies to injure, kill or kidnap persons protected by the United States Secret Service." The Office of Personnel Management refers to its statutory authority to prevent subversives from gaining access to "nuclear weapons materials and sites."

The CIA adds its task of preventing "at a minimum terrorism, counterintelligence, threats to U.S. Government personnel and related categories."

The National Security Agency (NSA), a spy operation, asserts its need for the FBI files in case someone who might have been associated with the SWP should ever apply for a job with it.

It submitted to the judge a 27-page "Annex" to its affidavit, which details the areas of personal activity that require "careful scrutiny" by its agents in considering whether job applicants should be allowed to work for the agency. Similar documents govern security clearances in plants with military contracts. The subjects to be investigated include "loyalty," "sexual considerations," "co-habitation," "un-

desirable character traits," "alcohol abuse," and "involvement in outside activities." The NSA investigates whether its employees engage in "deviant sexual behavior," which "includes but is not limited to, bestiality, fetishism, exhibitionism, necrophilia, nymphomania or satyriasis, masochism, sadism, pedophilia, transvestism, and voyeurism," and also looks for any "homosexual conduct."

FBI broke the law

All of the Justice Department's arguments run up against the fact that Judge Griesa has ruled that it was the FBI, not the SWP and YSA, that violated the law. This ruling came after a three-month trial in which the Justice Department had the opportunity to submit evidence from its informers or any other source, covering decades of intensive spying.

Griesa found that "in the case of the SWP, however, there is no evidence that any FBI informant ever reported an instance of planned or actual espionage, violence, terrorism or efforts to subvert the governmental structure of the United States. Over the course of approximately 30 years, there is no indication that any informant ever observed any violation of federal law or gave information leading to a single arrest for any federal law violation."

In 1976, under the impact of the SWP lawsuit and the Watergate revelations about government spying and disruption, then attorney general Edward Levi informed the FBI he was considering ordering an end to the SWP "investigation."

The FBI prepared a memorandum arguing for continuing their operation. They utilized all the same arguments the Justice Department raises now.

Nonetheless, on Sept. 9, 1976, Attorney General Levi ordered the termination of the FBI spy operation against the SWP and YSA.

Ten years later, Judge Griesa reviewed all these arguments once again and ruled that the FBI's informers, the break-ins, the mail covers, and the FBI's "Disruption Program" were "patently unconstitutional."

The Department of Justice's brief and affidavits sharply and concretely pose the key issue in the case — political rights versus governmental interference. They are the opening shots in a determined drive to overturn Judge Griesa's decision. The Department of Justice has come out with guns blazing.

Their arguments will be answered in court by the SWP and attorney Leonard Boudin. They must also be exposed and countered politically by supporters of political rights all across the country.

Join the fight for democratic rights . . .

Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights against spy agencies

- **Contribute to the \$75,000 fund**
- **Sponsor the suit against FBI spying**
- **Get & distribute information on suit**

- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to keep up the fight.
\$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$10 _____ other \$ _____
- ☐ I want to be a sponsor of the PRDF.
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of a PRDF reprint of this 8-page pullout.
Send me _____ copies of the judge's decision (\$1 each).

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Organization _____
Signature _____

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

Workers fight for New Caledonia's freedom

BY SAM MANUEL

NOUMÉA, New Caledonia — This South Pacific island country, held as a colony by France since 1853, is a world famous vacation spot. Thousands of tourists come to Nouméa, the capital city, to enjoy the beaches and resorts.

The good life enjoyed by tourists stands in stark contrast to the racial discrimination and poverty suffered by 60,000 Kanaks, the indigenous people. They call their country Kanaky. Their oppression has fueled a struggle for independence from France.

At the end of last year, the South Pacific Forum — composed of 13 governments of countries in the Pacific — proposed that New Caledonia be placed on the United Nations list of countries requiring decolonization. This was supported by an overwhelming vote in the UN General Assembly.

To counter growing international support for Kanak sovereignty, the French government has scheduled a July 1987 referendum on independence. By French law, everyone who has been residing on the island for six months or more is eligible to vote.

This includes all French and other foreign settlers, and even French occupation troops.

The Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), the main independence group, demands that only those with at least one parent born in the country be allowed to vote.

Kanak workers' role

Kanak workers have played a central role in the struggle for independence. The Federation of Unions of Kanak and Exploited Workers (USTKE) was founded in 1981 by Kanak workers who had been rebuffed when they attempted to involve

the unions dominated by French settlers in the struggle against racial discrimination and French rule.

Though they are more than 40 percent of those living in the country, Kanaks are less than 10 percent of the organized work force. About 80 percent of Kanaks live in the countryside — mostly as subsistence farmers.

The USTKE is the third-largest union federation on the island and has ties with unions in France. It organizes postal and communications workers, municipal workers, and teachers, as well as virtually all the workers at the airport.

The USTKE is a vital part of the independence movement. Its members participated in the popular uprisings of 1984-1985 that shook French rule. The union belongs to the FLNKS.

Hnaliene Uregei, secretary for information and propaganda of the USTKE, told me, "We had to break out of the chains of the other unions. We have supported all of the mass movements of our people. Our policy is one of revolutionary trade unionism."

The USTKE attempts to organize all workers on the island, and 40 percent of its membership is non-Kanak. Most of the non-Kanak workers are immigrants from Melanesian and Polynesian islands, such as Tahiti, Fiji, and Samoa.

Building a national consciousness

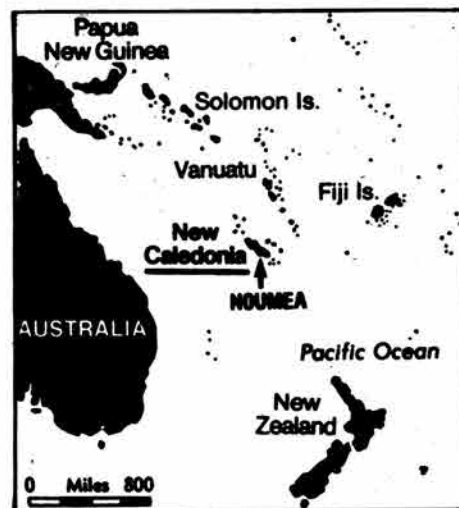
"Non-Kanaks are represented at every level of the USTKE," Uregei said. "We knew that through common struggle we would build a common consciousness among the workers. The task of fighting for workers' rights is the task of all the exploited here. It is part of building a national consciousness. For this goal we had to organize a union of Kanaks and non-Kanaks."

The USTKE seeks international backing

for the independence fight. It is a member of the South Pacific Trade Union Forum, the first international body to support Kanak independence. The union also participates in the struggle for a nuclear-free Pacific.

"We attach a great importance to training our members and involving them in the region and internationally," said Uregei. Posters displayed in the union office expressed solidarity with Nicaragua and the people of South Africa.

Uregei concluded, "The USTKE is a growing force in the labor movement. It is a guarantee that the interests of the workers are taken into account in the struggle for independence."



—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Ecuador follows Brazil in suspending debt

Ecuador's March 13 announcement that it was suspending payment on its \$8.3-billion foreign debt comes as a new jolt to U.S. bankers. Earlier, on February 20, Brazil declared a suspension of interest payments on its \$108-billion debt.

Reinforced by Brazil's decision, Ecuador's President León Febres Cordero



President León Febres Cordero

acted in the wake of an earthquake which took a huge human toll and destroyed a 25-mile stretch of Ecuador's main oil pipeline. Oil accounts for 60 percent of Ecuador's exports.

Ecuador had announced earlier that tumbling oil prices compelled it to postpone payment on the \$500 million in interest due this year. The money goes principally to Bank America, Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, and Morgan Bank.

Throughout the colonial and semicolonial world, there has been growing sentiment for cancellation of foreign debts, which are now so astronomical as to make repayment impossible. Cuba has taken the lead in fighting for the idea of cancellation.

Responding to Brazil's announcement, Fidel Castro hailed it as a "historic" moment. "The day of the world's poor people has arrived," he declared.

Regarding possible Brazilian negotiations with creditors, Castro said that negotiations or not, "it will be the debtors who have the last word from now on."

South Africans: 'Free the children!'

Demonstrations across South Africa marked National Detainees Day March 12. Since the state of emergency was imposed last June, some 25,000 South Africans have been jailed at some point. Of these, an estimated 10,000 are children.

The Detainees Parents Support Committee reports children being whipped and subjected to electric shock and other torture.

In Soweto, the black township outside

Johannesburg, thousands joined in a demonstration. When they attempted to hold a march after a candlelight vigil, police attacked with tear gas.

In Johannesburg, some 800 Blacks and whites packed a church center for a "free-the-children" rally.

Meanwhile, a South African white, Johan Breytenbach, pleaded guilty March 5 to "culpable homicide" in the death of a Black woman.

According to trial testimony, Breytenbach and three friends went to a park to chase Black children with his car. Then he turned the car toward Maria Rametsi, 58, who was resting on the grass. He claimed the car slipped out of control when he skidded on the grass.

He is due to be sentenced the end of March. Most whites pleading guilty to culpable homicide reportedly are given suspended jail sentences and fines.

Hungarians, Czechs press for rights

A reported 2,000 Hungarians, mostly high school and college youths, marched without interference March 15, demanding democratic rights and an end to Moscow's domination.

Such protests are held annually on that date, a patriotic holiday, but this year's was reportedly the biggest since the 1956 workers' uprising against a hated Moscow-imposed regime was crushed by Soviet troops.

Meanwhile, in Czechoslovakia, pressure for democratization was reflected in the relatively light sentences given leaders of the popular Jazz Section, an organization that persisted in its activities after it was ordered dissolved.

Founded in 1971 as a section of the musicians' union, the 5,000-member Jazz Section earned public support and official distrust by promoting such music trends as punk rock and by publishing provocative art articles, as well as an uncensored novel by a major Czech writer.

The judge commended the work of the Jazz Section, but added that "it requires a legal form because social values must be regulated."

One defendant was given 16 months, a second 10 months, and three were put on probation.

France will develop new chemical weapons

Continuing its drive for an expanded stockpile of lethal war material, the French government is proceeding with plans to develop new chemical weapons.

Pushed by right-wing Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, the decision to do so makes France the first NATO country to follow Washington's lead in developing chemical weaponry.

This project is part of a five-year plan for a major French military buildup. The plan includes tripling the available number of nuclear warheads, building a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, and developing a new fighter plane and a new tank for ground warfare.



Demonstration of Kanak independence activists. Banner reads: "Colonial law: enemy of the struggling Kanak people."

Nicaragua's economic survival plan

Continued from Page 6

who are Black or Indian live.

In government-run stores, industrial workers, farm workers, and peasants have priority on goods in short supply. Government and service workers have access to fewer items, and professionals even less.

However, the government does not control distribution of many products. Capitalist merchants market a significant amount of the food, clothing, and farm tools available, at prices many times higher than those charged in government stores.

The current situation with the supply of beans, the main source of protein in the Nicaraguan diet, is a graphic example. The government tries to buy up as much of the bean crop as possible, so as to get it to working people at a low price. But capitalist merchants offer farmers a higher price for beans than the government does, thus siphoning off part of the crop for sale at inflated prices.

Currently, the government supply network is providing beans to the army, rural regions where beans are grown, the Atlantic Coast, and workplace cafeterias in the cities. But it has stopped supplying beans

to the neighborhood stores of Managua, the capital city where one-third of the country's population lives. These corner stores are the main source of cheap basic foods for the working-class family.

Beans brought into Managua are sold on the private market for about 700 córdobas a pound. A minimum-wage worker only makes 4,000 to 5,000 córdobas a week.

Social services

Within the tight limitations it faces, the government is seeking to preserve as much as possible of the health and education gains working people have won here.

The 1987 plan allocates 25 percent of the national budget to education, health, and other social services. The government will increase the number of medical checkups to 6.5 million and carry out 5.7 million vaccinations.

In this country of 3 million people, more than one million will be enrolled in some form of educational program, ranging from elementary school to adult classes. A literacy campaign in rural areas is also under way.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

More promises — "Silence Marks the New Reagan Style" — news headline.

But not to worry — "WASH-



Harry Ring

INGTON (AP) — The Army is trying to modernize its procedures for handling the remains of fallen soldiers because the recovery of bodies from battlefields of the fu-

ture may expose personnel to deadly chemicals or radiation. This concern has already led a study group to consider the need for new equipment such as radiation detectors and a new type of pouch to handle remains."

Maybe they meant black-hearted — An Associated Press dispatch reporting that Frank Rizzo, racist ex-mayor of Philadelphia, will run again, stated, "The 66-year-old former police commissioner was the city's first black mayor from 1972 to 1980."

Morality, Inc. — Papal concern for purity was underlined by the Italian warrant out for Arch-

bishop Mancinkus, head of the Vatican bank. The bank was a key shareholder in the Banco Ambrosiano, which collapsed after lending \$1.3 billion to 10 Latin American dummy companies controlled by the Vatican bank.

Can stretch a dollar further? — "PITTSBURGH (AP) — In the world of business, the thinner and taller the executive, the higher the salary, according to a pair of researchers. Typically, an extra inch is worth an extra \$600 a year."

All heart — Morton Thiokol Inc., maker of the defective O-rings that contributed to the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger, donated \$100,000 to the

Challenger Center, a foundation set up by the families of the seven dead crew members.

Foolproof — Arriving at Great Lakes Naval Base, 19 recruits were given urine tests, with all 19 showing indications of morphine. A further check showed they had all eaten sandwiches on poppy seed rolls. Poppy seed comes from a plant botanically related to the one producing morphine.

A better future in A-bomb — The Lear Siegler company is divesting Smith & Wesson, the longtime handgun maker. Smith & Wesson is still doing well profit-wise, a spokesman said, but the parent company decided to get rid

of its recreational holdings.

True grit — According to a *Boston Globe* obit, the recently departed Henry Heinz II ("57 Varieties") "started at the bottom in the family business, working his way up as handyman, pickle-sorter, and bookkeeper. He became president and chief executive officer in 1941, at age 33."

A trendy company — An artist is suing L.L. Bean, Inc., claiming that the hunter and dog he painted for its fall catalog cover was altered to make the hunter look like a yuppie. He said the company changed the face of the dog and the hunter's hat and removed the hunter's beard.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA Birmingham

Protest Alabama School Board Book Burning — Speak Out Against Judge Hand's Ruling. A panel discussion with Dave Ferguson, 1986 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, member United Steelworkers of America Local 6612; others. Sat., March 21, 7 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA Oakland

Chile Today: An Eyewitness Report Back. Speakers: Tamar Rosenfeld, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Diego

Portrait of Teresa. A Cuban film on the changing roles of women in revolutionary Cuba. In Spanish with English subtitles. Fri., March 27, 7 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Imperialism and Revolution in the Middle East. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; toured Israel in November 1986. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

IOWA

Des Moines

Pathfinder Books Grand Opening. Build April 25 mobilization for justice and peace in Central America and Southern Africa. Speakers: activists from the Black, antiwar, anti-apartheid, and labor movements. Sat., March 28. Open house, 1-5; dinner, 5:30; rally, 7:30. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3. For more information call (515) 246-1695. 20% off all titles on opening day.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Rally to Defend the Bill of Rights Against Government and Employer Attacks. Speakers: Carol Doherty, director, Coalition for

Choice; Joe Swanson, Political Rights Defense Fund; Annette Diaz, Boston Committee for Puerto Rican Civil Rights; James Barrett, president, United Steelworkers of America Local 8751 (Boston school bus drivers). Sat., March 28. Reception, 7:30 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop U.S. intervention in Central America! Detroit Area March and Rally. Sun., March 29. Assemble 1 p.m. at New Federal Bldg. (Michigan and Cass); rally 2 p.m. at Kennedy Square. Sponsor: March 29th Coalition. For more information call (313) 965-5724.

Open House, With Showing of Slides from Nicaragua. Sun., March 29, after demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America, 3 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Refreshments served. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

What Way Forward for Meat-Packers in the Fight Against Employer Offensive? Speakers: John Dillon, member New Jersey P-9 Support Committee; others. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Behind the Struggle Against Repression in El Salvador Today. Speakers: Mary Ellen Donnelly, member Monmouth County Pax Cristi who attended In Search for Peace conference in San Salvador last year; representative of student delegation to University of El Salvador in January; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Northern Ireland: Britain's Vietnam. Speaker: Marc Lichtman, Socialist Workers Party, visited Ireland in 1986. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 20, 7:30 p.m. 114E Quail St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Racism and Violence: Albany — Howard Beach — South Africa. A community forum. Rep. Roger Green, New York City assembly-

man; Don McKeever, community representative; Kim Russell, community representative; El Wise, Five Percent Nation of Islam; Alice Green, representative of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Tue., March 24, 7 p.m. Arbor Hill Community Center, 50 N Lark St. Sponsor: Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism.

Manhattan

Cosmetics and the Exploitation of Women. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor of *Militant*. Showing of film *Killing Us Softly: Advertising's Image of Women*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 27. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Struggle of Meat-Packers Against Corporate Attacks. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

TEXAS

Dallas

Wanted: Young Fighters to Change the World. Speakers: Frederick Lerouge, chairperson, Dallas Young Socialist Alliance; Doug Mitchell, YSA election campaign director. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: YSA. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Soviet Union: Its Real Role in World Politics Today. Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Video of speech by Mikhail Gorbachev. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Support the Farm Workers in Yakima Valley. Speaker: Tomás Villanueva, president of United Farm Workers of Washington State. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Celebrate the Publication of Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life. Featured speaker: Neo Mnumzana, chief delegate of the African National Congress of South Africa to the United Nations. Sat., March 21. 1 p.m. tree planting and press conference; 1:30 p.m. book reception and cultural activity; 3 p.m. rally. Atlanta University, Woodruff Library. Sponsored by The Struggle Is My Life Committee; Mayor Andrew Young; Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Joe Beasley, Rainbow Coalition; Malkia M'Buzi, Georgia Coalition for Divestment; Tandi Gcabashe, American Friends Service Committee; Pathfinder Press; David Ndaba, African National Congress; U.S. Out of Southern Africa Network; Timothy McDonald, Concerned Black Clergy; William Boone, professor, Political Science Dept., Atlanta University; Call to Conscience Emergency Response Network for South Africa; Rev. Fred Taylor, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Heather Gray, Africa Peace Committee. For more information call (404) 577-4065 or 622-6107.

Iran-Contragate and the U.S. Government Crisis. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 3, 7:30 p.m. Husky Union Bldg., room 204MN, University of Washington. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance and SWP. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

From Montgomery to Selma. Speaker: Fred Halstead. Sat., April 4, 4 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: YSA and SWP. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Imperialism vs. Revolution in the Mideast. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, National Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Nicaragua: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Ellie Brady, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from coffee brigade; others. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pathfinder bookstores.

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Zip: 35203. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W. 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-

4065.

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

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3640 Magazine St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 895-1961.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Zip: 02134. Tel: (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 2135 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48201. Tel: (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114E Quail St. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Pathfinder Books,** 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: SWP, YSA, 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409

Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave. Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Nonaligned countries discuss Nicaragua

Continued from front page

all states to "make their own decisions regarding the policy they consider suitable to face the crisis and to foster their development."

Support for Nicaragua

The more controversial discussions took place around the sections of the communiqué related to the U.S.-imposed war in Nicaragua and Central America and other political developments in the region.

The decisions of the meeting took on a special significance in light of the "contragate" revelations in the United States concerning the extensive international network organized by the White House to circumvent temporary congressional restrictions on arming and equipping the mercenary army camped on the Nicaraguan border. The *contras* have been responsible for the torture, murder, and kidnapping of thousands of Nicaraguan civilians and soldiers and the destruction of vital economic interests of the country.

The Georgetown Peace Appeal stated, in part, "Over the past several years, Nicaragua has been the victim of a cruel, unfair, and unequal war imposed on it by the most powerful country in the world. We express our firm rejection of the threat or use of force, particularly military pressure aimed at subduing the political will of any Central American state, and urge the United States administration to respect these principles."

In the closing ceremony of the meeting, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca stated, "The appeal can push forward the efforts of our countries to oppose U.S. aggression against Nicaragua and in the region."

The communiqué was marked by its strong language and its stringent condemnation of the U.S. government. A number of delegations, led by Argentina and Colombia, opposed formulations that referred to the United States by name and in general sought to soften the anti-imperialist content of the document.

However the final communiqué, unanimously adopted after long hours of debate by the drafting commission, noted, "The crisis in Central America had worsened since the last meeting of the Nonaligned in Harare as a result of the intensification of imperialist intervention through the continuation of an increase of financial support to mercenary forces that were attacking Nicaragua, and the new threat and direct overtures at intervention toward Nicaragua aimed at overthrowing the legitimate government of that country."

It called upon the U.S. government to immediately cease all acts of aggression against Nicaragua and appealed to Washington to resume negotiations with the Nicaraguan government to secure a peaceful solution to the crisis in the region.

Clearly placing the responsibility for the continued war in Nicaragua on Washington, the delegates declared "that the United States of America was still preventing the adoption of a negotiated political solution."

By contrast, the communiqué, "commended the government in Nicaragua for its continuing commitment to support for, and active cooperation with, the Contadora process; and for the constructive steps it has taken in the interests of a peaceful settlement."

It expressed "firm solidarity with Nicaragua and appealed to all members of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, as well as the international community, to give their support and all such assistance as Nicaragua may require in order to preserve its right of self-determination, national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity."

Condemns Israel, South Africa

In a new step, the ministerial meeting also condemned the Israeli and South African governments for their complicity with U.S. military intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Israelis have been instrumental in the installation of an "electronic security belt" around Nicaragua similar to that around Palestinian and Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. This electronic equipment is used to facilitate the activities and supplying of the *contras*.

Speaking at a press conference, Zehdi

Terzi, PLO representative to the United Nations, pointed to the Israeli role in funneling money to the *contras* to buy arms. He also stated that Israeli reserve military officers had been sent to Central America to give training to the *contras*. He explained that some delegates had opposed any reference to Israel by name but were convinced that such action was in order due to the preponderance of evidence presented by the PLO and others.

In strongly condemning the racist South African regime, the communiqué said "Pretoria's interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America once more proves that regime's contempt not only for the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia, but for the peoples of Central America as well." The ministers strongly condemned the racist government for its collaboration with the U.S. administration in providing logistical support for the *contras*.

The communiqué also "expressed concern" over the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers aimed at intimidating Nicaragua and "urged the Honduran government to give a favorable response to the proposals made by Nicaragua for prevention of border incidents."

In relation to El Salvador, the delegates noted that the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front had taken the initiative to put forward a proposal for a negotiated political settlement to the conflict in that country. The ministerial meeting called upon the government of El Salvador to "immediately reopen negotiations with the FMLN-FDR." The ministers also urged Washington to "adopt a constructive attitude in favor of a political solution in El Salvador."

Moreover, the meeting expressed concern at the serious violations of human rights that continue to be committed by the Salvadoran regime.

Puerto Rican political prisoners

After considerable debate the conference strongly reaffirmed the Nonaligned Movement's longstanding support for the independence of Puerto Rico, rejecting a retreat from that position to one of support for the right of self-determination only. The communiqué proclaimed further that, "Puerto Rico is an integral part of Latin America and the Caribbean by reason of its historical, cultural, and geographic ties."

An additional important victory was scored in winning support for the rights of Puerto Rican political prisoners in the United States.

Members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party delegation, headed by Olga Santamaria, came armed with extensive documentation on the situation facing Puerto Rican independence fighters in U.S. prisons, and were able to win support for their plight. The communiqué expressed, "concern at reports pertaining to the imprisonment of Puerto Rican patriots in the United States and urged the country to respect the civil rights of all Puerto Rican patriots."

All the most consistent anti-imperialist forces in the movement considered the positions adopted on Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Puerto Rico to be strong.

They viewed the position adopted on Guatemala, however, as a retreat from that adopted at the Harare summit. The Harare meeting of the heads of state of the Nonaligned countries condemned the continued violations of human rights by the government of Guatemala. At the Georgetown meeting, however, when agreement could not be reached on a paragraph that placed responsibility on the Guatemalan government for continued repression and human rights violations, the paragraph was dropped altogether.

The ministerial meeting decided to "note with satisfaction that a new government had been installed in Guatemala and to express concern at the continued violence and hoped that the government would continue taking the necessary steps to halt that violence."

Support for Cuba

The communiqué also strongly reaffirmed the opposition of the movement to the escalation of aggression against Cuba. It stated, "The perpetuation of these hostile



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Cooperative in Nicaragua attacked by *contras* in June 1986. Nonaligned meeting condemned, "cruel, unfair war imposed on Nicaragua by most powerful country in world."

actions by the United States against Cuba was a negative factor in this hemisphere."

The movement reaffirmed its call for the immediate lifting of the blockade against Cuba and the cessation of all other forms of pressure, threats, or intimidation by the U.S. government. They also called upon Washington to "return the territory illegally occupied by the Guantánamo naval base and to pay compensation to Cuba for the considerable material losses which they have been made to suffer as a result of the blockade and similar acts of aggression."

Support for peoples of Latin America

Among the other important positions adopted by the ministerial meeting were:

- Condemnation of mercenary attacks against the government of Suriname, and expression of support for the fight by the people and government to preserve their independence and sovereignty.
- Solidarity with the people and government of Panama in their efforts to secure full compliance by the U.S. government with the Panama Canal treaty.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

March 25, 1977

OSAGE, W. Va. — The first days of March brought more coal miners out of the pits as frustration about judicial interpretation of their contract grew to new levels.

The most recent strike originated in a 1976 grievance. The dispute began when Eastern Associated Coal Corp. removed David Morris from the mine safety committee of its Federal No. 2 mine in Blacksville, West Virginia.

The case went to arbitration and in late February the arbitrator upheld Morris' removal on the grounds that he had capriciously ordered a declaration of imminent danger because a communication system failed.

Morris' coworkers in United Mine Workers Local 1570 agreed with his action, however, and showed their support by striking Federal No. 2. Within 24 hours 17,000 northern West Virginia miners in UMW District 31 joined the strike in solidarity.

In neighboring Pennsylvania several thousand miners walked out when mine supervisors expelled a union safety committee during a mine inspection. The miner's anger over safety issues was fueled by recent deaths of anthracite coal miners in Tower City, Pennsylvania.

The walkouts underscored the strong feelings of the ranks about safety.

Frustration with unfair arbitration awards and court injunctions also sparked wildcat walkouts in Illinois over absenteeism and in southern West Virginia over seniority violations.

By March 5, some 40,000 of the UMW's 160,000 bituminous coal miners were off their jobs. For many of these miners the fundamental question is whether the union leadership will hold out for right-to-strike provisions when the contract expires in December.

• Reaffirmation of support for Argentina in its efforts to end Britain's colonial presence in the Malvinas Islands.

• Solidarity and full support for the people of Haiti and the full restoration of civil, political, human, and economic rights there.

• Solidarity and support for the legitimate aspirations of the Chilean people to recover their freedom, democracy, and basic human rights.

• Reaffirmation of unconditional support for the independence and territorial integrity of Belize.

At the Harare summit of the Nonaligned Movement several delegations, among them those of SWAPO, Mozambique, Angola, Libya, and Cuba, had supported a proposal that the next full summit of the movement, scheduled for September 1989, be held in Nicaragua. Such a move would be a further significant step in mobilizing international opposition against U.S. aggression in this region. That issue will be decided at the next regular ministerial meeting, to be held in Cyprus in 1988.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

March 26, 1962 Price 10c

The heroic, seven-and-a-half year fight of the Algerian people has finally forced French imperialism to concede independence to the North African colony.

The agreement signed after weeks of negotiations between representatives of [French President Charles] de Gaulle and the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) at Evian-les-Bains on the French-Swiss border was announced March 18.

The accord provides for an immediate cease-fire by French and Algerian troops and the holding of a national referendum in Algeria on self-determination. This referendum is to take place within three to six months. In the meantime Algeria is to have a temporary government of a French-appointed high commissioner and an executive committee composed of four French appointees, four FLN appointees and four others agreed to by all.

The Algerian Army of National Liberation (ALN) is to retain its weapons and the areas it presently holds. The FLN becomes a legal political party in French-occupied territory. All Algerian prisoners of war, political prisoners, and internees are to be freed within 20 days. Refugees can return immediately to Algeria.

Though the referendum ballot will have the alternative of Algeria remaining French on it, the accord states, "The formation after self-determination of an independent and sovereign state appears to conform to Algerian realities..."

The section on independence states: "The Algerian state will exercise its full and complete sovereignty both internally and externally... The Algerian state will freely decide on its own institutions and will choose the political and social regime which it deems most suitable to its interests."

The road to meat-packers' power

On March 14, Austin, Minnesota, meat-packers and their supporters hosted a "Turn Up the Heat on Hormel" march and rally. (See news story page 5.)

The day's activities focused on how best to advance the fight to force Hormel to rehire 850 meat-packers, former members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9, at the Austin plant.

Local P-9 relied on mobilizing the maximum number of meat-packers and other workers in the struggle during their 1985-1986 strike. The March 14 events clearly showed that the fight to force Hormel to rehire the 850 unionists will have to rely on that same source of power.

P-9 members and their supporters have a slogan that sums up their experience: "Some people went on strike for themselves and went back. Some people went on strike for others, and stayed out."

P-9 members correctly explained when they appealed for solidarity that they weren't just fighting for themselves but for all meat-packers. If the Austin meat-packers were able to beat back Hormel's concessionary drive, all North American meat-packers would benefit.

The P-9 strike was defeated. In September the company succeeded in imposing a sweetheart contract on the rump union the UFCW top officials created after putting P-9 in trusteeship.

The situation has never been more difficult for Austin meat-packers, as well as for meat-packers in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, who were fired for honoring P-9 picket lines.

The company is exerting pressure on these workers to end their struggle. The courts and the cops are working hand in glove with Hormel, trying to tie up the financial resources of the support group and harassing the meat-packers and members of their families. Top UFCW officials are collaborating with Hormel.

But P-9 members have refused to give up their goal of winning their jobs back as the first step in advancing the fight of meat-packers at the Austin plant. Their struggle merits the continued support of unionists throughout the country.

While conditions are more difficult in Austin, Fremont, and Ottumwa today than they were during the strike, they are considerably better in the rest of the meat-packing industry. If one can legitimately call the period of the P-9 strike, from August 1985 to September 1986, "the P-9 year," from the point of view of the importance of this battle for the entire labor movement, the time since can best be described as "the year of packing workers' struggles."

The employers' concessionary demands and the murderous working conditions imposed on workers have led to one battle after another. There have been strikes at FDL plants in Rochelle, Illinois, and Dubuque, Iowa; at John Morrell & Co. in Arkansas City, Kansas; at Swift Independent Packing in Marshalltown, Iowa; and at Gainers in Edmonton, Alberta, in Canada.

Meat-packers are now on strike at IBP in Dakota City, Nebraska; at Morrell in Sioux City, Iowa; at Cudahy in Milwaukee; and at Cook's Family Food's in Detroit.

There have been large rallies of meat-packers fighting to retain their jobs at Superior's Brand Meats in Massillon, Ohio. Union organizing drives are under way at several plants. Meat-packers have just voted in a union at the Armour plant in Mason City, Iowa.

After a decade of concessionary contracts and a brutal increase in chain speed, meat-packers, especially young ones, are fighting back.

At no time in recent memory have the packinghouse bosses had to confront this depth of resistance.

The first step to winning these fights is mobilizing meat-packers in action.

This is true for:

- UFCW members involved in strikes
- members of independent unions, such as the workers at Swift in Marshalltown
- workers fighting to get their jobs back at Hormel, whom UFCW officials have tried to drive out of the labor movement
- meat-packers at Armour plants in Mason City, Iowa, and Kansas City who are fighting to organize a union for the first time.

These struggles all reinforce each other. If one wins, it advances the others.

The battle in meat-packing in the last year and half has seen the use of militant strike action, including roving pickets.

It has seen meat-packers travel to unions around the country asking for support.

The goals of the struggles under way range from trying to win strikes, to winning a recertification election, such as at the Austin plant, to union-organizing drives.

And workers are using a variety of tactics in these fights. They include calling for a boycott of a company's products, picketing stockholders' meetings, informational leafleting at grocery stores, and others.

The challenge before all packinghouse workers is helping to advance all these struggles, regardless of the forms they take now.

If P-9's original goals of improving working conditions and wages and benefits inside the Austin Hormel plant were set back with the defeat of the strike, the struggles by workers to win at Cudahy, at IBP, and other plants make it possible to begin advancing the Austin battle again.

The strength of all meat-packers comes from this resistance to the employers, which has the potential to grow into a rebellion of packinghouse workers that can put the coordinated use of meat-packers' power on the agenda.

Use of meat-packers' power is the road to a victory in strikes at IBP and Cudahy. It is the road to a union at Armour in Kansas City. It is the road to a liveable chain speed at Wilson plant in Cherokee, Iowa. It's the road to winning 850 jobs back in Austin.

And anything that cuts across any one of these struggles is an obstacle to advancing the fight of meat-packers.

A new generation of young leaders will emerge out of those who are pushing these fights forward today. It is through this process that a fighting, democratic North American meat-packers' union will be built.

How clerical jobs ended up being "women's work"

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Last week I explained how wages are determined under capitalism. They are based on the value of workers' labor power, not on the job we do or the goods we produce.

This is important to keep in mind in trying to come to grips with why women's wages are generally lower than men's and what can be done about it.

Women are not paid less because they do jobs that require less education and skill, as many employers claim. For example, the labor performed by sewing-machine operators in the U.S. garment industry today involves a

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

high level of skill and experience. Yet, since most garment workers are women and immigrants, they are among the lowest-paid workers in the United States, with some of the worst job conditions.

Women's status as the oppressed sex is an example of what Karl Marx described as a "helpless condition of some sections of the working class, a condition that prevents them from exacting equally with the rest the value of their labour-power." (*Capital*, vol. 1). The same is also true of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the undocumented, and any other group of workers that is the target of social discrimination.

Neither are women's lower wages a consequence of the value of the goods produced in industries that employ mostly female labor. The product a worker produces has nothing to do with determining the value of the worker's labor power or the wages a worker receives.

Last week I wrote that sex segregation of industries and job categories within industries is a *result* of the fact that women are a relatively cheap labor source, not the *cause* of it.

Consider the case of clerical work.

Before the Civil War, this was considered a "man's job." During the war, however, women began being brought into government offices as clerical workers to replace the men who were fighting.

"Upon my word . . . the females [are] doing more and better work for \$900 per annum than many male clerks who were paid double that amount," remarked Gen. Francis Elias Spinner, the U.S. Treasurer at the time the first women were brought in.

Today, 98.8 percent of all secretaries are women. It's considered "women's work." And the low wages reflect that.

Sex segregation of the work force results from the lower value of women's labor power. It is a key piece in reinforcing and reproducing the oppression of women under capitalism in all its myriad forms.

The capitalist system inherited the position of women as degraded household slaves — a position that women occupied in ancient slave and medieval feudal societies. The capitalists have turned this historical inequality to their own account.

Taking advantage of this socially determined discrimination, the employers have reaped added profits in a variety of interrelated ways. The bosses use women as a source of cheap labor. This pool of low-paid labor, in turn, helps the bosses hold down the wages and worsen conditions of all workers.

In addition, the oppression of women helps keep the work force divided and more weakly organized. And by having women perform housework and child care for free, the bosses fatten their profits with wealth that would otherwise have to be used to meet these social needs.

Women's economic dependence on men is perpetrated by the lower wages paid to women, and by their social role under capitalism as the primary parent responsible for caring for children. This economic dependence bolsters every other aspect of women's second-class status under capitalism.

The fight to break down employment divisions along sex lines is central to raising the value of women's labor power and ending this dependency. By fighting their way into union-organized, higher-paying jobs in industries that have previously been male, women force the bosses to pay them the same wages as men.

Under union contracts today, for example, a female coal miner or auto assembly-line worker is paid the same as a man in the same job category. These higher wages, in fact, raise the income of these women above the value of women's labor power in this society.

Over time, however, the erosion of job segregation will result in raising the value of women's labor power and therefore the average level of women's wages. It will weaken the bosses' ability to use women as a source of cheap labor.

Next week's column will discuss why the fight for affirmative action, and not "equal pay for work of comparable value," is the road to ending the wage gap.

New Howard Beach cover-up ploy

A move is under way in the Howard Beach lynch case to make the victim the criminal.

Lawyers for two of those charged with murder say they will argue that the victim, Michael Griffith, was impaired in his judgment by cocaine and therefore their clients may not be responsible for his death.

One defense lawyer said that while it wasn't "a particularly large amount" of cocaine, it might have been enough to negatively affect Griffith's judgment in attempting to cross the Belt Parkway to escape his attackers.

Griffith, a Black construction worker, was killed last December 20. After their car broke down near the white New York community of Howard Beach, Griffith, along with his father-in-law Cedric Sandiford and a friend, Timothy Grimes, were set upon by a racist gang.

Grimes managed to escape his attackers. Sandiford was clubbed unconscious, and Griffith was chased by members of the gang onto a highway, where he was killed by a car. Three people have been indicted for murder, and nine on lesser charges.

Recently it became known that the office of city medical examiner Elliot Gross made a report December 29 asserting that Griffith's body contained one-tenth of a milligram of cocaine per liter of blood.

This, defense lawyers claim, poses the question of "how this person went out onto the highway."

But the question has already been answered by the available evidence: he was chased onto the highway by his armed assailants.

C. Vernon Mason, an attorney for the victims of the assault, responded that the defense theory would now become: "That when they chased him with the bats and sticks, shouting 'nigger,' that if his judgment weren't impaired, he would have stayed there and been beaten."

That sums up the matter. No claimed amount of cocaine in Griffith's blood can alter the fact that his attackers forced him onto the highway and are therefore responsible for his death.

Mason also pointed to another important fact: the credibility of the medical examiner's report. There is, Mason declared, "no public confidence" in the medical examiner's office.

And rightly so.

Chief Medical Examiner Elliot Gross is currently facing investigation for medical misconduct by the New York State Board for Professional Medical Conduct. The case against Gross is based on autopsies on people who died in police custody or soon after.

Twice in 1985 Gross had to step down. But despite the evidence against him, Mayor Edward Koch insisted on reinstating him.

The case that put the spotlight on Gross was that of Michael Stewart, who was clubbed to death by transit cops in 1983. Initially, Gross claimed Stewart died of a heart attack.

Earlier, there was the case of a Brooklyn man, also beaten to death by cops. A Brooklyn coroner's report found he had died of head injuries, including a cracked skull. Later, Gross changed the findings to heart failure.

But the problem is not just Gross and his readiness to tailor autopsy findings to the needs of the police. From the outset in the Howard Beach case, city officials tried to put over a cover-up. Only a big public outcry forced the state indictments that followed.

Now, release of the medical examiner's report underlines the continuing determination to whitewash the Howard Beach killers. Continuing strong public protest is essential to ensure that those who committed this crime are prosecuted and jailed to the fullest extent of the law.

Workers in Northwest follow lockout at Lockheed

BY DAN FEIN

For nearly four months, the eyes of working people in Washington state's Puget Sound area have been on Lockheed Corp.'s attack on shipyard workers.

The company locked out 900 workers at its Seattle shipyard last November after the Metal Trades Council,

UNION TALK

the bargaining representative for the 10 unions in the yard, rejected a concession contract that would have cut wages \$3 an hour for journeymen and \$7 an hour for other workers.

In addition, the company wanted to gut seniority rights and institute a two-tier pay scale.

Shipyard workers in Washington and Oregon have faced big takeback demands recently. Todd Shipyard in Seattle arbitrarily implemented its "final offer" in December after workers there refused to ratify a concession contract.

A Tacoma shipyard imposed a wage cut in 1985 after first declaring bankruptcy. The same thing happened at Northwest Marine Shipyard in Portland.

Until recently, all West Coast shipbuilders were covered under one contract. With wages and work rules basically the same up and down the coast, the companies had some difficulty in trying to pit workers in one yard against those in another.

Between 1983 and 1986, industrywide bargaining came to an end as the employers used a variety of schemes to force through pay cuts and changes in work rules.

Navy Secretary John Lehman got into the act saying the navy could no longer afford to give out contracts to West Coast shipyards because workers' wages were too high.

This is the context in which the Lockheed lockout occurred. Lockheed workers rejected a second contract offer December 4. The Department of Unemployment Security then denied the unionists unemployment benefits, claiming they were involved in a "labor dispute", not a lockout.

Three hundred workers rallied at the shipyard gates December 15 and then drove to the capitol in Olympia to lobby the governor for unemployment benefits.

The company began hiring scabs in January. Petitions were then circulated throughout the labor movement in this area demanding unemployment benefits for the Lockheed workers.

Last summer the National Labor Relations Board ruled that employers could maintain production during lockouts by hiring replacement workers. Since the ruling, five companies in Washington state have done just that.

Articles in the local papers have also noted the growing willingness of employers to instigate lockouts, citing the examples of what happened to steelworkers at USX, meat-packers at Iowa Beef Processors, and auto workers

at John Deere.

On February 13, some 200 workers gathered at Lockheed and blocked the entrances. The company quickly obtained a court injunction limiting pickets.

Five days later Lockheed announced that it had stopped bringing in replacement workers and was up to full production. The legislature then granted unemployment benefits.

"We got our unemployment, but we would rather have our jobs back," said Lockheed worker Norm McDonald. "We didn't get anything we didn't deserve," said another.

Summing up the desire of shipyard workers to step up the fight against Lockheed, Ray Randall exclaimed, "We won the battle, but we haven't won the war."

There is strong sentiment on the part of shipyard workers to transform the lockout into a struggle against the company that can win some advances. Workers throughout the area are willing to help.

In the plant where I work there are regular discussions about the Lockheed struggle. Many have commented that our own situation may well be affected by the outcome.

Whether Lockheed's 500 replacement workers become more than temporary will be decided by the struggle of the shipyard workers and the solidarity they receive from the rest of the labor movement.

Dan Fein is an assembly line worker at Kenworth Truck and a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 289.

LETTERS

\$9 million back pay

This is part of an article that was in the *Des Moines Register* that you might find room in your paper to run. It is not a complete back-pay settlement, but under the Reagan rule, just about anything is good:

"A settlement requiring Land O'Lakes Inc. to pay \$9 million to 270 former packinghouse employees in Spencer [Iowa] should send a signal to U.S. employers that there may be 'substantial penalties' for violating federal labor laws, union officials said this week.

"The workers, who alleged they were illegally refused re-employment after a closed plant reopened eight years ago, will divide the \$9 million, with most receiving more than \$40,000.

"It was one of the largest back-pay settlements in National Labor Relations Board history....

"Closing union plants and reopening them as non-union operations under new ownership has been fairly commonplace in meat packing and in other industries in recent years, [a United Food and Commercial Workers lawyer] said....

"Union officials said the Spencer settlement is a significant victory for organized labor because it could influence similar cases still pending....

"The only type of signal employers understand is a monetary signal," said UFCW spokesman Al Zack. "When they understand that obeying the law costs less than disobeying the law, then they will begin obeying the labor laws of the land."

L.W.
member UFCW
Local 152
Spencer, Iowa

Reagan

I am no longer interested in listening, hearing, or reading about our president, Ronald Reagan, and I think most Americans are also feeling this way.

He has overstepped his powers, violated our Constitution, and lied to the American people much more than did our former president, Richard Nixon, who was forced to resign.

Reagan supported Israel's invasion of Palestine and Lebanon, killing thousands of Palestinians and other Arabs.

We train terrorists here in America to overthrow the govern-

ment of Nicaragua by mining their harbors and supplying the *contras* with our money and materials, killing their people and destroying their land.

Samuel Slyman
New Kensington, Pennsylvania

Nicaragua coverage

I would like to see more coverage of Vietnam and an ongoing analysis of what that country is doing to reconstruct itself after the savage American war.

While your coverage of Nicaragua is the best of any paper that I read, I would like even more coverage of El Salvador and Guatemala, and perhaps more coverage of the drug running to the United States by the *contras*.

Keep up the good work.

J.L.
Portland, Maine

No further contact

When I subscribed to your paper I was of the understanding that it was a labor paper. Since it is more communist propaganda than labor, and since I am anticommunist, I wish to have no further contact with your organization.

May I suggest that you sell your paper in Moscow.

C.S.
Hagerstown, Maryland

Learning about socialism

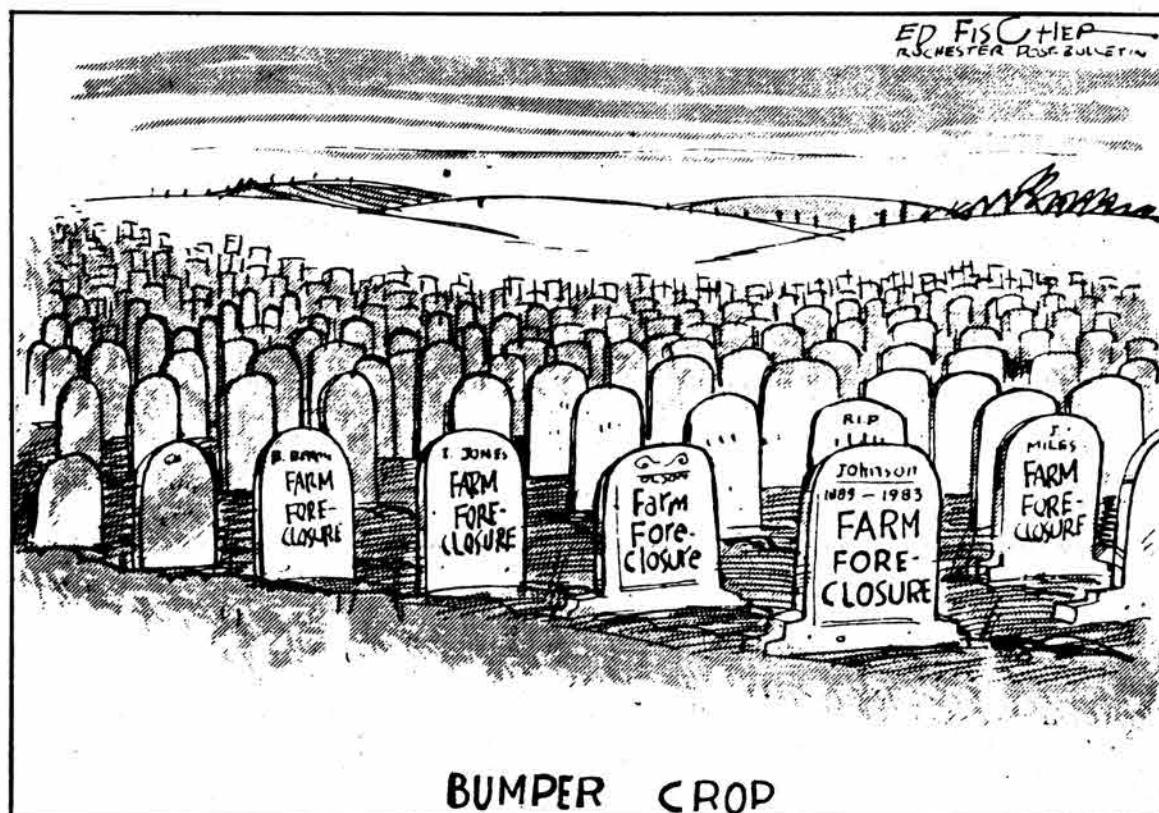
I have enjoyed reading Doug Jenness' "Learning About Socialism" column and look forward to each week's topic.

The series on the class nature of the Soviet Union comes at a particularly good time in light of recent developments in that country. At the end of each column, I find myself encouraged to do additional reading on the topic covered.

At the end of one article, Jenness recommended two books by Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian revolution. I think this practice of providing further readings should be continued whenever possible.

After reading the article in the February 20 *Militant* entitled, "Why Soviet Union invaded Hungary and Czechoslovakia," I thought of two further sources that *Militant* readers might want to pursue.

One is the Education for Socialists bulletin titled *Class, Party, and State, and the Eastern European Revolution*.



The other is the Education for Socialists bulletin titled "De-stalinization," the *Hungarian Revolution and World Trotskyism*. Meryl Lynn Farber
New York, New York

Editor: These bulletins, as well as others in the Education for Socialists series, are available from Pathfinder Press. *Militant* readers can buy them at the Pathfinder bookstores listed in the directory on page 16.

Baby M

This letter is written in response to the letters that appeared in the March 13 *Militant* about the "Baby M" case.

It seems to me that the custody battle and the publicity around it are part of a ruling-class offensive against the rights and dignity of women. The aim of this offensive is to shift the relationship of class forces in favor of the bosses by weakening the combativity and class-consciousness of workers who are women.

I remember when I stopped reading about the Baby M case on a regular basis — it was on the day the *New York Times* ran an article with the headline "The only thing that I'm good at is being a mother."

One thing that seems certain to me — whichever woman gets custody of Baby M, the kid is in for a rough time. She'll be raised by someone who has been driven to

distraction by the unrelenting propaganda that a woman is worthless without a child.

It's true that there is a class aspect to the barrage of publicity around the Baby M case. Just like working women can't be "real" women because we can't afford expensive makeup and clothes, so too, we are told that we can't be "good" mothers because we can't provide financially stable environments for our children.

Just think of the sons and daughters raised in "financially stable environments" — like Edwin Meese III — to figure out the answer to that one.

It seems to me that the increase in surrogate mothers is not due to "advances in technology," but is due to the effect of antiwoman propaganda on wealthy women. They have been driven to the point of going to any lengths to get their "own" baby.

Marea Himelgrin
Newark, New Jersey

More so than expected

I used to get *Intercontinental Press* and when it merged with the *Militant* I thought I just would let my current subscription run out.

Well, the *Militant* does not completely fill the void left by *IP*, but more so than I expected. So let's continue this — and thank you for making a highly readable paper.

G.W.
Uppsala, Sweden

Not about to stop

Thank you for the great coverage in the *Militant*.

It's interesting that sometimes you know the news before the mass media. I've been subscribing for quite awhile, and I'm not about to stop. Actually, people admire me for the things I know from reading the *Militant* here in San Diego.

I would appreciate it if you would spend a little more time criticizing the U.S. government about making individuals pay high prices for medical care, as opposed to socialist-inspired countries. This is what seems to get through to others best in getting them to open their minds to socialism.

D.H.
San Diego, California

Correction

In the March 13 *Militant*, Denny Mealy was incorrectly identified as national Hormel boycott coordinator.

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.

U.S. Blacks at Africa film festival

BY ERNEST HARSCH

OUAGADOUGOU, Burkina Faso — "We are in the process of bridging the gap between those who stayed here in Africa and those who left some time ago."

With those words, the Burkinabè actor and filmmaker Rasmané Ouédraogo welcomed to Burkina several dozen Black directors, actors, film distributors, writers, and others resident in North America, the Caribbean, and Europe. Identifying themselves as part of the African "diaspora" that was scattered across the globe during the era of the slave trade and after, they came to this West African country to take part in the 10th Pan-African Film Festival of Ouagadougou (FESPACO).

"If you are here," Ouédraogo told them, "it is because there is something that links you to Africa."

Ouédraogo, who is also deputy general secretary of the Pan-African Filmmakers Federation (FEPACI), explained that the pan-African approach of the federation and of the festival is not limited to the African continent alone. "We are building a common front of African people," Ouédraogo said, "and we are now extending this front to the United States."

Haile Gerima, an Ethiopian by birth who now lives in Washington, D.C., said that in his discussions with Burkina's President Thomas Sankara, Sankara requested that Blacks from the United States and other countries outside Africa mix with the Burkinabè people, to explain their experiences, to "energize" them, since the people of Burkina generally know little about the situation of their brothers and sisters of the diaspora.

At the last FESPACO in 1985, Black U.S. filmmakers came here for the first time in an official capacity. Film historian Pearl Bowser, who has helped arrange showings of African films in the United States, was the first U.S. citizen to serve on a FESPACO jury.

At this year's festival, the participation of Blacks from the United States and other non-African countries skyrocketed. They made up a large bulk of the nearly 100 U.S. participants in FESPACO. Some brought their films with them, and about three dozen films and videos from the Black diaspora were shown during the course of the festival. Others came to look for African films and videos that could be shown in their own countries. Sheila Walker, a U.S. anthropologist, served on FESPACO's 12-member jury.

Paul Robeson Prize

For the first time, the festival devoted a special prize — called the Paul Robeson Prize — for films from the diaspora. The winner was *Handsworth Songs*, a documentary on the Black rebellions in the Handsworth district of Birmingham, England, in 1985.

On February 27, a panel presentation was held on Paul Robeson, the Black U.S. singer, actor, and political activist. Various speakers touched on aspects of Robeson's artistic work and pan-African views.

Robert Van Lierop, an Afro-American filmmaker and currently the ambassador to the United Nations of the South Pacific country of Vanuatu, chaired the panel. He

expressed the sentiments of many of the U.S. participants when he thanked the government and people of Burkina for their sacrifices in hosting the festival. "Every scarce resource, every piece of food, every bit of electricity, every hour that a cadre spends with you could have been used for Burkina's economic development," Van Lierop pointed out.

But revolutions do not involve economic development alone. In Burkina, where a democratic revolution has been under way since August 1983, strengthening African cultural and national identity and forging ties of solidarity with peoples in other parts of the globe are just as high a priority.

Meeting with Sankara

In a March 1 meeting with about 30 of the festival participants, most of us from the United States, President Sankara proposed organizing an exposition of Afro-American films and other artistic works here in Burkina in the week before the next FESPACO in 1989.

Sankara noted that there were some politicians in the United States and western Europe who would be afraid of such a development, who are concerned about the political impact within their own countries of the developing ties that Blacks from the diaspora are forging with the African revolutions.

These politicians, Sankara said, are already complaining that FESPACO is becoming "too politicized." They want to sabotage FESPACO, urging that it no longer be held in Burkina. "We have to protect it," Sankara said.

To an extent, Sankara continued, the film festivals held in Ouagadougou reflect a "rebirth of pan-Africanism," in the militant spirit of Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, and other African leaders of the late 1950s and early 1960s.



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Opening ceremony at film festival in West African nation of Burkina Faso on February 21. Sign reads: "Welcome to free land of Burkina Faso — crucible of the African cinema."

Peasant leader under attack in Philippines

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — President Corazon Aquino has ordered sedition charges filed against Philippine peasant leader Jaime Tadeo. Tadeo is accused of having incited farmers to violence during a

January 22 demonstration outside the Malacañang presidential palace.

Nineteen demonstrators were killed and 100 wounded when soldiers barricading the Mendiola Bridge leading to the palace opened fire without warning on more than 20,000 peasants and their supporters.

An investigation ordered by Aquino became the pretext for an attack on the Peasant Movement of the Philippines (KMP), which called the demonstration. The march demanded land redistribution and other steps to relieve the oppression of the peasants. It was the culmination of a prolonged "people's camp," a mass sitdown protest outside the Ministry of Agricultural Reform.

Prior to the January 22 protest, the KMP had demanded that Aquino fulfill promises of land reform made during her presidential campaign at the beginning of 1986. Peasants affiliated to the KMP occupied farmland formerly owned by ousted dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his cronies and now held by the government. Other idle land has also been occupied.

Aquino, whose family is one of the country's biggest landowners, refused to meet with representatives of the KMP and other peasant groups before the protest.

Peasant leader Tadeo explained in a statement issued on the eve of the demonstration: "Three times the president has snubbed farmers who went to Malacañang. During the first two instances, Cagayan farmers were refused an audience. Recently, during the Oct. 21, 1986, rally and march of the KMP, she did the same."

"Tomorrow no barricades shall stop us from proceeding to Malacañang. We shall demand the immediate implementation of the KMP's minimum program, and the im-

mediate resolution of local struggles."

Statements like this were deemed seditious by the Citizen's Mendiola Commission appointed by Aquino to quiet public outrage over the mass killing.

After a month of hearing testimony from eyewitnesses and viewing photographs and videotapes made by journalists, the commission whitewashed the role of the military and recommended criminal prosecution of Tadeo and four other KMP leaders for "inciting to sedition" and "holding a rally at Mendiola without first securing a permit."

While conceding that there was "no rational necessity to fire guns" at the demonstrators, the commission recommended only administrative sanctions against the top military and police officers who directed the massacre. No action was taken against them for refusing to identify the military personnel who had been filmed firing into the crowd.

But the commission accepted the officers' word that some of the demonstrators carried guns, even though not one of the dozens of photographs and videotapes confirmed this.

Tadeo deplored the commission's "double standards." The KMP chairperson contrasted the government's filing of sedition charges against him with the kid-glove treatment of right-wing military elements who tried to bring down Aquino in January and on several other occasions.

Following the government's move against the peasant leaders, the KMP announced that it was ending its cooperation with the Cabinet Action Committee on Agrarian Reform, which the government set up in the face of the outcry over the Mendiola massacre.



Jaime Tadeo

Militant/Sam Manuel

Corrections

Because of telex transmission difficulties, a number of factual and typographical errors appeared in the articles from Burkina Faso published in the March 13 *Militant*. Following are corrections for some of the errors:

The acronym for the Pan-African Film Festival of Ouagadougou is FESPACO, not FESCAPO. It was the 10th festival, not the 19th. The date of the opening ceremonies was February 21, not February 26. And the number of U.S. participants was nearly 100, not 200.