

## Nicaragua gov't, people back cease-fire pact

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have called for increasing pressure on the U.S. government to end its seven-year mercenary war against Nicaragua.

On March 25 hundreds of FSLN leaders met to discuss the cease-fire accord signed by the government and representatives of the contras on March 23. The FSLN meet-

**See editorial against U.S. aid to contras, page 18.**

ing called on "all the heroic people of Nicaragua to forcefully demand" that the contras and the U.S. government comply with the accords.

The FSLN insisted that "the president of the United States and the Democratic and Republican parties cease all types of aid, open and covert," to the mercenaries. It called on Washington to pay reparations to Nicaragua for the lives lost and economic damage caused by the contra war.

The FSLN also demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Honduras, an end to the U.S. economic embargo imposed on Nicaragua, and that Washington begin direct negotiations with the Nicaraguan government "to normalize the political, diplomatic, economic, and commercial relations between the two nations."

The agreement with the contras calls for a 60-day cease-fire to begin April 1, and for negotiations for a permanent cease-fire to begin April 6.

During the truce, the contras are to with-



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

Thousands mobilized in Managua, Nicaragua, last September to support government, Sandinista National Liberation Front, and accords signed in August by Central American presidents.

draw to enclaves within Nicaragua, and are to receive only "humanitarian aid — food and other basic supplies" channeled through "neutral organizations."

The Nicaraguan government agreed to release imprisoned contras and to allow representatives of the mercenaries to participate in political talks now under way here between the government and opposition parties.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said this accord was "a first step" toward ending the war and was a result of the efforts of "the heroic Nicaraguan people . . . who are defending the integrity of the homeland, self-determination, independence, freedom, justice, democracy, and peace."

He said that the contras signed the cease-

**Continued on Page 14**

## Israeli regime escalates repression

BY HARRY RING

Israel imposed a massive three-day clampdown for March 29–31 on the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Within Israel's pre-1967 borders, 4,000 cops were dispatched to Palestinian villages. Another 1,500 were assigned to East Jerusalem.

The moves were made to curb a united Land Day protest in all three sectors of historic Palestine.

Palestinians who live within the pre-1967 borders and are formally Israeli citizens had called a March 30 general strike to mark Land Day. Then the clandestine leadership of the uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip called for three days of protests in solidarity with the strike.

An annual observance, Land Day protests Israeli theft of Palestinian land. It also commemorates the six Palestinians who died and the hundred who were wounded in an Israeli troop attack during a general strike on the first Land Day in 1976.

The measures taken by the Israeli government to blunt this year's nationwide protest are unprecedented.

On the first day of the present action, Israeli forces murdered four Arabs and injured at least 100 more.

Both the West Bank and Gaza Strip were ordered sealed off.

In Gaza the entire population of 650,000 was put under a three-day curfew order. Those who left their homes during the curfew risked being beaten or killed.

In the West Bank the population of 800,000 were ordered restricted to their home areas. A curfew was imposed on eight villages and refugee camps. Eight other villages were sealed off. But the Israelis apparently felt they could not enforce a curfew throughout the entire West Bank.

In a menacing warning to the 700,000 Palestinian "citizens" of Israel, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir declared:

"If the Arabs of Israel won't come to their senses, reality will be harder and laden with impending disaster."

And, he blustered, "I am not afraid. A test of strength between us and them is like a contest between an elephant and a fly."

He didn't say why such extreme threats and measures were necessary to crush a "fly."

The truth is that this year's united Land Day action marks an important advance in the Palestinian struggle. It comes on the heels of the historic December general strike by Palestinians within the pre-1967 borders in solidarity with the West Bank—

**Continued on Page 17**

## April 9–16: key week in drive to win 9,000 new subscribers

BY NORTON SANDLER

Put a circle on your calendar around April 9–16.

That's when supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells will be participating in a national campaign kick-off week. We encourage all our readers to join in this effort.

The April 9–16 mobilization will launch a 10-week circulation drive to win 9,000 new readers to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

Supporters of the socialist publications in Canada, New Zealand, Britain, and other countries will also be participating, making it an international drive. It will run through June 15.

To reach the 9,000 goal, we are going to sell 6,000 introductory or renewal subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1,500 subscriptions to *PM*, and 1,500 individual copies of *New International*.

Selling the three publications will be the central activity of Warren-Mickells campaign supporters over the coming months.

The *Militant* and *PM* will regularly feature the proposals put forward by the Warren-Mickells campaign and cover the activities of the candidates. This week we are carrying the SWP candidates' jobs proposals. They project a course of action to protect working people from the social crisis announced by last October's stock market crash.

Warren-Mickells campaign supporters are going to use the target week to get the circulation drive off to a strong start. In local areas, each supporter is planning to sell the publications several times during that week. They are also reaching out to other *Militant* and *PM* readers and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, encouraging them to join in the effort.

One goal of the drive is to increase the

**Continued on Page 2**

## Panama threatened with U.S. invasion

All opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America should sound the alarm on Washington's escalating threats to invade Panama to install a government more to the liking of the U.S. rulers.

The U.S. Senate voted unanimously March 25 for a resolution that labels the situation in Panama an "unusual and ex-

### EDITORIAL

traordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States."

This incredible statement turns reality completely on its head.

It is the U.S. government, with all its imperial military and economic might — including 10,000 troops stationed in Panama itself — that is threatening the "national security, foreign policy, and economy" of that tiny, impoverished country.

It is the U.S. government that has treated Panama more like a protectorate than a sovereign country since the Panama Canal was built there at the beginning of this century.

It is U.S. corporations and banks that dominate the economic life of Panama. So dependent is Panama that it uses U.S. dollars and has no currency of its own.

It is the U.S. government that has carried out a sustained destabilization campaign aimed at overturning Panama's government.

It is the U.S. government that has frozen Panama's assets and withheld payment for use of the Panama Canal, causing an economic crisis for the country, which has hit working people hardest.

Washington, the Senate resolution continues, should "act immediately to impose additional diplomatic, political, and economic pressure on Gen. [Manuel Antonio] Noriega and should obtain his extradition from Panama" to stand trial on drug



charges, for which he was indicted in Miami in February.

The resolution received support of senators from both parties. "Step aside now, while you still have the chance," urged Sen. Edward Kennedy. Sen. Jesse Helms agreed, commenting that Noriega's "days must be numbered."

Other calls for U.S. action against Panama are being raised, including military intervention. Panama's former president Eric Arturo Delvalle, who was removed from office after he tried to oust Noriega last month, has called for U.S. military action against Noriega.

Perhaps a "commando-type unit could arrest him," said Delvalle spokesperson Juan Sosa at a March 29 Washington news conference. Delvalle, in hiding in Panama, is recognized by Washington as the president, even though Panama's National As-

**Continued on Page 18**



# Socialists will field dozens of 1988 candidates

## Campaigns in more than 20 states will strengthen impact of SWP effort

BY SAM MANUEL

In addition to its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party will be fielding several dozen candidates for congressional, senatorial, and gubernatorial offices in more than 20 states.

These candidates will strengthen the national impact of the SWP's effort in 1988. The socialist candidates are political activists, participants in their unions, and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Rashaad Ali, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland, is a longtime activist in the fight for Black rights. He is a member of Local 27 of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

The struggle conducted by deaf students at Gallaudet College for their rights is an important example for working people, Ali said at a March 19 campaign rally. Unlike the campaigns of the Democratic and Republican candidates, the SWP "builds and supports movements and struggles" of working people both in the United States and around the world, said Ali.

The rally provided a platform for a broad spectrum of fighters for social justice.

Among them were Cathy Mink, a representative of the Baltimore chapter of the Nicaragua Network, and Cindy Trump, a student at Towson State University who recently returned from Nicaragua where she participated in a four-week construction brigade.

"We decided to say no to concessions and enough is enough. The only way we could win was by fighting and by sticking together," said Shirley Probst, a member of

United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787. UPIU locals in several cities are on strike against, or locked out by, International Paper Co.

William Shisana, a representative of the African National Congress, pointed to the important role of international solidarity in winning a reprieve for six Blacks in South Africa who are facing the hangman's gallows. Shisana himself is facing the threat of deportation by the U.S. government.

Supporters of the socialist campaigns in several states have launched petitioning efforts to win ballot positions for Warren, Mickells, and local candidates. The Socialist Workers '88 National Campaign is considering efforts to get on the ballot in approximately 20 states.

Half of the 800 signatures needed to place Warren and Mickells on the ballot in New Jersey were collected on the opening day of a three-week drive that began March 19. An additional 1,000 signatures are needed to place three additional socialist candidates on the New Jersey ballot. They are Tom Fiske for U.S. Senate, and Joan L. Paltrineri and Mindy Brudno for the 6th and 10th congressional districts, respectively.

That same weekend, 166 people signed petitions to put the socialist candidates on the ballot in Utah. A total of 300 signatures are needed.

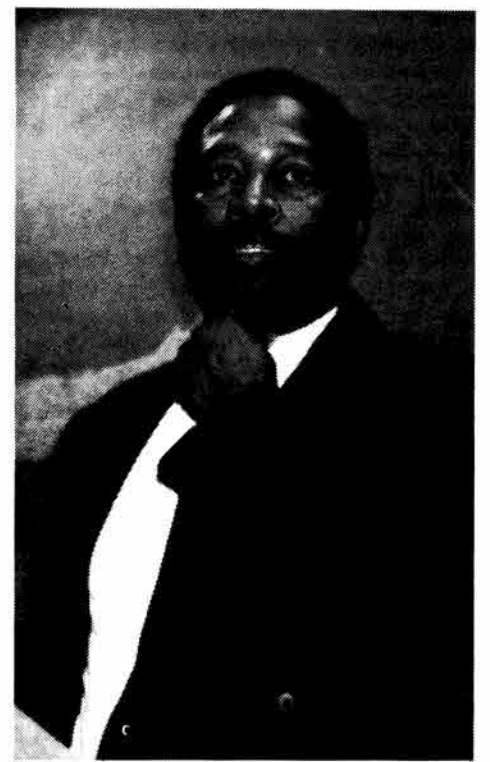
Another 170 signed up to support the right of William Arth, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Utah, to be on the ballot. Many of the signatures were collected at a March 18 protest against the sending of U.S. troops to Honduras. Peti-

tions were also circulated among steel and rail workers in Magna, Utah, home of the giant Kennecott copper mining operation.

Bernie Senter, SWP candidate for governor in Phoenix, Arizona, won a place on the ballot for the special election to be held May 17. Backers of the Arizona socialist campaign collected nearly 6,000 signatures at workplaces, college campuses, and among miners on a Navajo reservation to put Senter on the ballot. The special election was scheduled after nearly 400,000 people signed petitions to recall Gov. Evan Mecham. Mecham has been impeached and is being tried by the Arizona Senate.

Socialist candidates who have been announced in other states include: Stuart Crome, a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 319T, for governor of North Carolina; Lisa Hickler, member of ACTWU local 402T, for the 3rd C.D. in Portland, Oregon; Dan Fein, member of International Association of Machinists Local 289, for U.S. Senate from Seattle; and Tom Leonard for U.S. Senate from Missouri.

This article is based on reports from Edwin Fruit in Baltimore, Becky Ellis in Newark, and Scott Breen in Salt Lake City.



Rashaad Ali, a meat-packer and longtime Black rights fighter, is SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland.

## Drive to win 9,000 new subscribers

Continued from front page

readership of the publications among industrial workers. In many cases this will mean supporters' introducing the *Militant*, *PM*, and *New International* to coworkers for the first time. Unionists who subscribed during the last drive can be convinced to renew.

Distributors will take advantage of the target week to help publicize upcoming rallies to celebrate the final victory in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance's lawsuit against the FBI and other government spy agencies.

Some areas are planning trips to regional plant gates and campuses. A five-person team that has been building the April 2-3 Young Socialist Alliance national conference to take place in Pittsburgh has shown what can be accomplished on regional visits.

Over a two-week period in March, YSA members Juliette Montauk, Ray Parsons, Rich Gaeta, Kevin Preston, and Greg Relaford talked to hundreds of students in Ohio and Pennsylvania about the conference.

In the course of those discussions, they sold 235 copies of the *Militant* and *PM* and 14 subscriptions. They also sold *New International* and Pathfinder literature.

Most of the papers were sold at Bucknell, Lock Haven, Penn State, and Cleveland State Universities and at Oberlin College.

They also sold 15 papers during shift change at the International Paper Co. plant in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and 24 copies and 3 subscriptions going door to door in working-class areas in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Paperworkers at the International Paper plant there have been on strike since last summer.

"Our tables became a center of attention everywhere we went," Montauk reported. "The *Militant* with the headline announcing the launching of the SWP presidential campaign was a real eye-catcher."

The first scoreboard for the drive will appear in next week's *Militant*.

To participate in the drive, look up the nearest Pathfinder bookstore in the directory on page 16, or contact our business office at (212) 929-3486.

## Mickells talks to homeless at 'welfare hotels' in N.Y.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — "When I saw that [rent] check — \$1,150 — I thought, what's going on! If they gave me that money, gave me half that, my family could find a decent place to live."

That was the reaction, understandable enough, of John Rivera. He's an unemployed factory worker, a recent immigrant from Puerto Rico who, with his wife and two children, has been forced to live for five months in a hotel room.

And — Rivera told Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells — he'd just seen the check the city pays each month for his family's tiny quarters in the Prince George Hotel.

The Prince George has become notorious, even among New York's welfare hotels, where growing numbers of homeless working people are housed in conditions so crowded they would be illegal as prisons.

Hundreds of families, including more than 1,000 children, live in this "hellhole, that's the only thing you can call it," a student social worker at the Prince George told Mickells.

"The ones responsible for such inhuman conditions," Mickells said, "are the slumlords, bankers, and city officials."

"By New York City's own count," Mickells said, "there are 28,000 homeless and

72,000 vacant apartments. That is, there are more than two apartments, empty right now, for every family without a home.

"If capitalism really wanted to house the homeless, they could do it in this city tomorrow morning. Just move people into the apartments they need, at a rent they can afford."

"But they don't want to house the homeless. It's not as profitable to the landlords and real estate agents as the 'welfare hotels.'"

In addition to the workers who are already homeless, Mickells said, there is an entire sector of the working class that is no more than a paycheck away from the same plight.

Tarsha Brown, a Black fourth-grader who has lived at the Prince George for nearly a year, listened, then nodded in agreement.

"People think we're animals," Tarsha said. "But we used to have an apartment too, in Brooklyn. My mother went to Monroe Business School. Last summer, after my mother paid the rent, the landlord claimed she didn't and had the police come and evict us."

Now, Tarsha explained, she lives in a single room in the Prince George with her mother, two sisters, and three brothers.

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—Greg Castilla

co-coordinator, Filipino Association for Community Education, Seattle.

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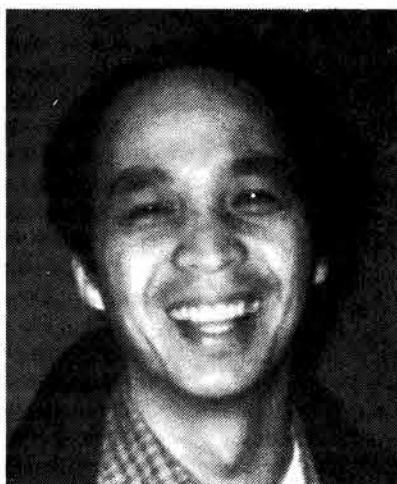
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# African National Congress leader murdered in Paris

BY SAM MANUEL

Dulcie September, the African National Congress representative to France, Switzerland, and Luxembourg, was shot and killed March 29. Her assassins, apparently hidden in a nearby stairwell, fired six shots at September as she attempted to open the ANC office that morning. Two of the shots struck her in the head. September had been the ANC representative in Paris since 1984.

An ANC statement released from its headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, signed by General Secretary Alfred Nzo, said the murder, "revealed the terrorist face of the Botha regime." Pieter Botha is president of South Africa.

The South African government has attempted to blame September's murder on the ANC. Foreign Minister Roelof Botha issued a statement saying, "Serious quarrels exist in the ranks of the organizations that utilize violence to obtain political objectives."

That same day thousands of people poured into the streets in Paris and Bordeaux to protest the murder. Marchers carried banners that read: "Botha, murderer!" and "Chirac, Mitterrand, accomplices!" Jacques Chirac is prime minister of France and a leader of the Rally for the Republic party. François Mitterrand is president of France and a leader of the Socialist Party.

September had received several death threats over the past few months. She informed the Ministry of the Interior and asked for police protection. The police have denied any knowledge of the threats. But Maurice Cukierman, a member of the ANC staff in Paris, reiterated that September had made the request.

Activists in the French anti-apartheid movement reported that the Ministry of Interior had warned September that because she was a political refugee she could not demonstrate in the streets of France against apartheid.

French radio also reported several African countries have charged that the police have been aware for some time of an impending South African government offensive against offices of the ANC in Europe. There has been no response by the French government to that revelation.

South African government officials have often asserted their intent to strike at the ANC wherever it can be found. Two days before the assassination, Belgian police defused a bomb placed outside the ANC office in Brussels. In February Godfrey Motsape, the ANC representative in Belgium, was wounded in a machine-gun attack.

Last October four men previously employed by the Rhodesian and South African security forces were charged in London with planning to kidnap 14 leaders of the ANC including its president, Oliver Tambo. The four were released when the director of public prosecutions dropped charges against them after consulting MI5, the British intelligence agency.

In mid-February three white former Rhodesians confessed to attempted assassinations of ANC leaders in Zimbabwe.

September was from Capetown, South Africa, where she was a teacher. After being arrested for anti-apartheid activities,



Militant/Ernest Harsch

African National Congress contingent marches in June 14, 1986, anti-apartheid protest of 100,000 in New York City. South African government has targeted ANC leaders throughout the world for assassination.

she went into exile in Lusaka, Zambia. There she joined the ANC, eventually becoming a member of its National Executive Committee.

Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president of the United States, spent several days with September while participating in the ANC-sponsored international conference against

apartheid held in Tanzania at the end of last year. Mickells condemned the murder of September as a cowardly act. She demanded that French authorities "immediately arrest and punish those responsible."

Nat London in Paris contributed to this story.

## Dominican gov't blocks int'l conference

BY CINDY JAQUITH

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — A protest campaign has been launched against the Dominican government for blocking an international conference that was scheduled here on the effects of the world economic crisis on Latin America and the Caribbean.

The government move came as meetings and demonstrations continued throughout the Dominican Republic by peasants, trade unionists, and unemployed workers against the soaring cost of living and the driving of many small farmers off their land. For ex-

ample, 1,000 angry peasants gathered here in the capital March 24 for a congress of the Independent Peasant Movement to press their demands on the government.

The international conference on the economic crisis, planned for March 23-26, was to have brought together participants from Mexico, Chile, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Haiti, St. Vincent, Dominica, Grenada, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Jamaica, El Salvador, Canada, the United States, and other countries. It was called by the Center for Investigation and Cultural Support, Inc. (CIAC) of the Dominican Republic.

In the weeks leading up to the conference, CIAC officers contacted the Dominican authorities to be assured that visas would be extended to all the invited guests. Instead, conference organizers got the runaround.

First the Foreign Ministry told them five guests would not be allowed to enter the country. Then the office of President Joaquín Balaguer said all participants could come. Then the Foreign Ministry said no one would be allowed to enter the country.

On the eve of the conference, the ministry said 10 guests would be banned. (The Dominican government, which by its own laws can only bar international visitors who have been convicted of committing crimes in the Dominican Republic, has refused to state any grounds for these undemocratic exclusions.)

Meanwhile, one of the scheduled speakers, Mexican physician Edgar Jarillo, arrived at the airport here with all the required documents, but was detained and submitted to a political interrogation, then deported to Puerto Rico.

In light of all this, CIAC officers decided that the conference would have to be postponed. They held a news conference protesting the government violation of democratic rights, which received extensive coverage in the newspapers and on television.

### Foreign debt

CIAC pointed to the importance of the issues the conference was to discuss. These included the Third World's foreign debt and the pressures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on governments to impose greater cuts in the standard of living of the Caribbean region's working people.

The Dominican Republic, to take one example, has a foreign debt of \$4 billion. The Dominican government's policy for

bailing out the economy is to swing the doors wide open to U.S. hotels and to foreign investment in what are called "free zones," industrial areas where companies are charged no taxes and can ban unions at will.

Land is being taken from poor peasants to build the U.S.-owned luxury resorts, reducing production of food for domestic consumption.

The resulting dependency on imported food and fiber raises prices on basic goods at a time that real wages and peasant income are declining. Instead of refusing to pay the burdensome interest on foreign debts, Balaguer is renegotiating loans with imperialist banks and turning over Dominican factories and tracts of forest land as part of the package. Such deals keep the country in a permanent state of super-exploitation by U.S. and European capital.

### Balaguer meets with Reagan

As the CIAC conference was supposed to begin, Balaguer flew to Washington for a meeting with Ronald Reagan. Balaguer hoped to get at least some of the Dominican debt written off and to get Washington to raise the quota of sugar imported to the United States, which Congress decreased to an all-time low this year.

It is likely that the Balaguer government felt that permitting the CIAC conference to proceed would be an obstacle to talks with the IMF and World Bank. To curry Washington's favor, Balaguer had already called for the overthrow of the Panamanian government, confirming this reactionary stance during his talks with Reagan.

Josefina Padilla, president of CIAC, pointed out that the conference would have advanced discussion of the alternatives to the economic situation imposed on the region by Washington and the IMF. She noted that it would have also afforded an opportunity to bring together participants from the English- and French-speaking Caribbean islands with those that are Spanish-speaking.

CIAC intends to reschedule the gathering and is urging supporters of democratic rights around the world to send letters and telegrams of protest to the government here insisting that it allow all invited international guests to participate.

Protests should be addressed to Sr. Joaquín Balaguer, president of the republic, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Send copies to CIAC, Calle Sánchez 254, Zona Colonial, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

## March 26 rallies oppose contra aid

BY FRED FELDMAN

Nearly 10,000 people marched from the Civic Center to the Presidio military base in San Francisco March 26 to demand no U.S. aid to the contras and that the Reagan administration withdraw troops from Honduras and end threats against Nicaragua.

The demonstration was initiated by Pledge of Resistance; Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Nicaragua Information Center; Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice; and other groups.

Speakers at the rally called for stepped-up efforts to build future protests against U.S. intervention in Central America. These include an April 30 march and rally in San Francisco, a May 1 civil disobedience action at the Concord Naval Weapons Station, and June 11 demonstrations in New York and San Francisco against nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention around the world.

The March 26 action in San Francisco was one of dozens of local and regional protests held that day in response to the Reagan administration's sending of 3,200 troops to Honduras.

The administration began pulling the troops out March 28. The White House had tried to use the troop deployment and baseless charges that Nicaragua had "invaded" Honduras in an effort to torpedo moves to halt the contra war.

The provocation was stymied by the Nicaraguan government, which concluded a successful military offensive against the contras and signed a 60-day cease-fire pact with top contra officials on March 23.

A march of about 1,500 people wound through downtown Boston in a driving rain March 26. Pedestrian onlookers and passing motorists showed their support with cheers and waves.

The rally that followed was chaired by Tess Ewing, secretary of the Massachusetts Labor Committee for Human Rights, Democracy, and Nonintervention.

As the participants huddled under umbrellas, Linda Merchant, a paperworker on strike against International Paper Co. in Jay, Maine, drew cheers when she declared:

"If a tiny, poor country called Nicaragua can force peace on the Reagan administration, then the Jay strikers, our friends, families, and supporters like you can defeat a corporate giant like International Paper."

Other March 26 protests included a rally of several hundred in New York City and marches of 600 in Washington, D.C.; 500 in Chicago; 150 in Seattle; 250 in Portland, Maine; 250 in Miami; and 100 in Springfield, Illinois.

About 40 people lined the highway leading into Fort Bragg in North Carolina, where the 82nd Airborne Division, one of the units deployed in Honduras, had been stationed. The antiwar protesters carried posters reading, "No contra aid" and "Bring the troops home." Some GIs honked and waved in support as they drove into the base.

A protest also took place at Fort Ord in California, where units of the 7th Infantry Division deployed in Honduras were stationed.

Ken Butigan of the Washington, D.C., office of Pledge of Resistance, said protests were held that day in Milwaukee; Pittsburgh; Anchorage, Alaska; Rochester, New York; Tucson, Arizona; Columbus, Ohio; and many other towns and cities.

Some 600 people protested the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua in Los Angeles the next day.



# Socialist proposals to fight for jobs

## Measures to unify working people at home and internationally are needed

BY DOUG JENNESS

Every working person today feels more uncertain and insecure about the future since October 19, when prices on the New York Stock Exchange plunged more than at anytime since 1929.

This crash, which rapidly spread to other stock markets around the world, revealed the explosive pressures that have been accumulating in the capitalist system for nearly two decades. And it signaled that the next downturn in the capitalist business cycle — that is, the next recession — promises to be truly devastating.

What is in store for us as we enter the 1990s is a generalized economic and social crisis that will engulf working people worldwide. Many times more workers will be out of a job. More farmers will be driven off their land. Homelessness will increase, and soup kitchen lines will grow. The breakdowns that we are already seeing in our roads, mass transportation, and education, as well as the destruction of our environment will get much worse.

Life will become even more brutal for the sector of the working class that has become pauperized during the last few years

The sense of insecurity that many are feeling is the beginning realization that none of us are safe from the massive unemployment that has already hit the colonial world and sectors of the most oppressed workers in the United States and other imperialist countries. We are awakening to the reality that no worker is guaranteed a job in capitalist society, that there is no such thing as permanent workers. We are all "temporary" workers.

And without jobs, we don't have any way to make a living. We are dependent on being able to sell our labor power in order to feed and clothe ourselves and our families. The big majority of us have no access to land where we can grow some food to get by on, nor do we have any possibility of becoming independent tradespeople or artisans.

Moreover, we are confronted by the sharp competition between those of us who have jobs and are trying to hold onto them and those of us who don't and want and need work. This gives rise to the most significant division among workers — one the employers, and the politicians and newspaper editors that serve them, persistently use

The bottom line is to get us to collaborate with our employers and to count on their government to defend big-business interests, which are disguised as national interests.

This entire perspective is an obstacle to working people — from the United States to South Korea and from Britain to Argentina — seeing and acting on what we have in common: that is, we are all part of an international class of workers who are exploited by the capitalist employers.

### Course of action

Working people find ourselves divided in the face of the already existing economic and social adversities we confront and in face of the even worse conditions that are coming. In this situation we must seek a course of action that will serve to draw us together and help us recognize our common interests internationally. Unifying ourselves is a necessity to conducting the struggle for measures that can offer us protection against unemployment and all the social evils that accompany it.

The Socialist Workers Party is putting forward a series of proposals that can help accomplish this. James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, the SWP's candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, and numerous state candidates in the 1988 elections are utilizing every opportunity to discuss these perspectives with other workers and to urge the labor movement to adopt and fight for them.

### 30-hour workweek

The first proposal is to radically reduce the workweek with no reduction in pay. If the workweek was shortened to 30 hours, it would immediately open up the possibility of jobs for millions of workers. It would spread the available work to more workers.

This is needed today even before we are hit by the devastating effects of the next recession and will become even more urgent as the downturn begins. The number of jobless around the world right now runs into the tens of millions. The International Labor Organization recently reported, for example, that in 1987 unemployment in Latin America had increased for the seventh straight year and currently stands at nearly 70 million out of a population of 421 million. A similar situation exists in Africa and Asia.

In the more economically developed capitalist countries, the jobless rates are also high. According to government figures, it is 20.3 percent in Spain, 15.2 percent in Italy, 14 percent in the Netherlands, 12 percent in Belgium, 10.4 percent in France, 9.1 percent in Britain, 8.7 percent in West Germany, and 7.4 percent in Aus-

tralia. In New Zealand, the jobless rate is the highest since the 1930s.

In the United States the Reagan administration is crowing that the jobless rate was 5.7 percent in February, a drop from 9.7 percent in 1982 at the peak of the last recession. But what is left out of this celebration is that this figure, which represents 8 million unemployed workers, is higher than all but four years between 1941 and 1975. And those four years were at the peak of the worst recessions in that 34-year period.

Moreover, millions are not counted in "official" government unemployment figures in most countries, including the United States. They include young workers who have never been able to get a job, workers whose unemployment compensation has run out, undocumented workers who do not report to unemployment offices out of fear of being deported, housewives who want a job, and farmers driven off their land who are forced to seek wage jobs for the first time.

In the United States, another 20 million workers are forced to work part-time jobs that average only 22 hours a week.

While 28 million are either out of work or underemployed, millions of others are forced to work overtime. The 40-hour workweek fought for by workers and codified into law in 1938 is a fiction for a good many workers who put in 50, 60, and 70-hour weeks.

For many workers, who do work an average of 40 hours a week, speed-up and reorganization of the work process has intensified the amount of work they have to do.

### Uniting workers

The struggle for a 30-hour workweek can unite workers who are out of work or involuntarily pushed into part-time jobs with workers forced to work overtime and those victimized by speed-up. It's a measure that can give relief to all who face these problems.

And it can help lessen the increasing safety hazards in the work-place and the wear and tear on workers, giving us more time to ourselves or to relax with families and friends.

Reducing the workweek is also an answer to the employers' introduction of new machinery and technology that makes it possible to increase the productivity of workers.

Instead of throwing millions of us into the streets when new technology is installed, we say keep us on and reduce our workweek. We refuse to be the victims of new advances in technology.

The fight to get the government to adopt and enforce a 30-hour workweek should go



James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

as a result of reinforced racial segregation in the job market and housing. This is the consequence of the workings of the capitalist economy in the context of a society with a legacy of racial segregation.

The plight of workers and farmers in the semicolonial countries, most of which are already facing the worst crisis since the 1930s as the result of their huge debt burden, will deteriorate even more.

## Mickells visits Utah, launches ballot efforts

BY SCOTT BREEN

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — "We are confident that our ideas and program for action will hit a responsive chord among the coal miners, steelworkers, garment workers, and farmers of Utah," said Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, at a well-attended news conference here March 16.

Mickells was in Utah to help launch the effort to get the socialist presidential ticket on the ballot here for the fall election.

In her statement to the press, Mickells described the perspective of deep international economic crisis facing working people in this country and throughout the world. One of the reporters then asked her if she wasn't just using "scare tactics."

"I don't think it's scare tactics, and I don't think that we're doomsday people," Mickells responded. "It's reality, it's facts, even though the Democrats and Republicans refuse to discuss it."

Mickells pointed to the socialist candidates' proposal to reduce the workweek, with no reduction in pay, in order to create jobs as a central part of the action program. "At Geneva steel mill [near Salt Lake City]," she said, "workers are working 10 and 12 hours a day, six or seven days a week, while thousands in Utah are unemployed. It seems that we are either worked to death or go hungry."

to pit us against each other.

They attempt to get us to look at unemployed workers as everything but fellow workers. The jobless are categorized as the "poor," the "underclass," a "subclass," the "criminal class," or the "homeless" and are branded as "lazy," "shiftless," "dangerous," and a potential threat to our jobs.

At the same time other differences among workers are used to try to get us to protect the jobs of only certain sectors of the working class. Age, sex, skin color, citizenship, religion, country of origin, skills, and physical disabilities are used to try to get us to identify some workers as more worthy of jobs and promotions than others.

All the big-business politicians from President Ronald Reagan and George Bush to Jesse Jackson and Michael Dukakis to Robert Dole and Richard Gephardt say some form of protection for U.S. industry is needed to protect U.S. jobs.

Some of these Democratic and Republican politicians urge us to join forces with U.S. employers and their government in Washington to impose tariffs, quotas, and other protectionist measures against goods produced in other countries. Others say they are for "free trade" but call for using U.S. government muscle to force other countries to open their doors to more U.S. exports.

In the same vein, some politicians urge us to demand that employers in this country not export jobs to semicolonial countries where they use "slave labor," and instead invest in America and create jobs for American workers.

The protection of U.S. workers and their jobs, it is pounded into us, is linked to protecting U.S. business and helping to make it more competitive. Our alleged common interest with the employers, which is presented as a "national" interest, pits us against Japanese, British, Brazilian, and other "national" interests.

## Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign

### James Warren for U.S. president Kathleen Mickells for vice-president

\* \* \*

### Campaign volunteers needed!

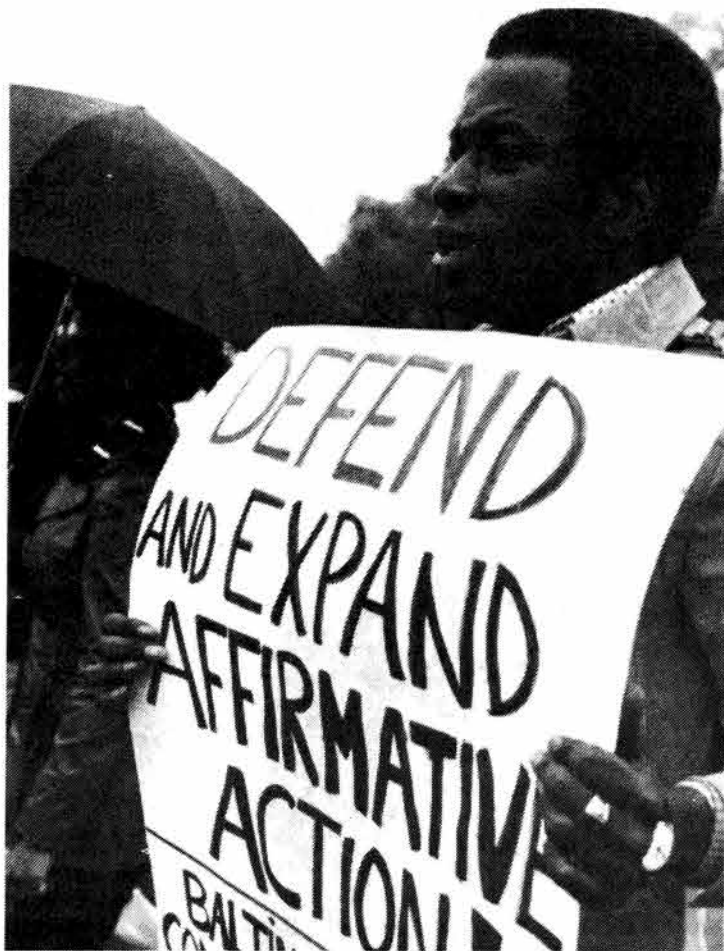
- ☐ Send me literature on the campaign.
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Clip and mail to Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign, 79 Leonard Street, New York, N.Y. 10013. Tel. (212) 941-1174.

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Paid for by the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee





A fight by workers to win affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, and women is key to unifying and strengthening entire working class in face of employers' onslaught. Dual seniority lists are needed to defend affirmative action gains in periods of downturn, when oppressed sections of working class are hit hardest. In recent years West German unionists (right) have been fighting for 35-hour workweek.

hand in hand with demanding that it assume responsibility for rectifying the deteriorating conditions and safety on the railroads, airlines, subways, highways, bridges, and tunnels, and for cleaning up the polluted rivers and lakes and waste dump sites. This can only be done by putting millions of workers to work.

The government also has a responsibility to provide unemployment benefits to workers for as long as they are out of work, and no matter why they're out of work. This should include farmers who have been driven off their land by profit-hungry bankers, and who under current laws are ineligible for unemployment compensation.

Some workers will say, "Yes I think your proposal to reduce the workweek to 30 hours is good, but I can't live on just 40 hours pay. I've been voluntarily working 50 hours a week just to make ends meet. I need 30 for 50!"

In capitalist society, overtime is never "voluntary." Even if we don't face firing, as many do who refuse to work overtime, others confront the gun of economic necessity pointed at their heads.

The answer to this dilemma is that workers need a raise in hourly pay and regular cost-of-living adjustments to keep up with inflation. We've taken a beating the past few years as the employers forced concessions out of us and drove down the real wages of big sectors of the working class.

#### An international demand

The struggle for the shorter workweek is the most effective answer that we can offer to all the protectionist schemes of the employers and the big-business politicians. It is a demand that workers in every country can fight for; it is truly an international demand.

Quotas, tariffs, or any other protectionist proposal can never be an international demand of the working class. Workers in Japan will not be rallied around a jobs proposal that calls for higher U.S. tariffs to restrict the export of Japanese cars into the United States. Workers in Argentina can't be mobilized to fight for European Common Market quotas limiting exports of Argentine beef to Western Europe.

All proposals like this lead to workers seeing themselves as U.S. workers, Japanese workers, European workers, and so on, not as part of the working class internationally. They end up appealing to nationalist and chauvinist sentiments, as opposed to working-class interests.

History has shown too that the struggle for the shorter workweek can unite workers internationally. The fight for the eight-hour day that began in the last century, for example, became an international fight of millions of workers throughout the world.

#### Affirmative action

While the shorter workweek is essential to the fight for jobs for all, it will not substantially overcome the inequalities that exist between Black and white workers, female and male workers, or workers in the colonial world and those in the imperialist countries. Moreover, no fight can be waged

that doesn't unify working people around proposals that can move toward ending these sharp disparities.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics says that 12 percent of all Blacks, that is more than twice the percentage of the working class as a whole, are unemployed. And by its count more than 34 percent of Black youth 16 to 19 years old are without work.

To win equality for Blacks, Latinos, and women who are discriminated against in hiring and promotion — that is those who are last hired and first fired — affirmative action is needed. This requires that quotas be set to guarantee that Blacks, Latinos, and women be hired and promoted.

The fight for affirmative action, however, assumes its greatest urgency when an economic downturn occurs and large-scale layoffs begin. It's then that the gains made by affirmative action programs are most vulnerable and can be most easily wiped out and the proportion of Blacks and women in the work force sharply lowered.

To counter this we must propose dual seniority lists. Dual seniority provides two seniority lists: one for workers hired under affirmative action programs and one list for other workers. During a cutback, layoffs would be made in equal percentage from both lists.

The workers' struggle for affirmative action not only champions these as rights of the oppressed, but also as essential to achieving unity in the struggle against the employers and in the fight to demand that the government guarantee jobs for everybody.

#### Imperialist oppression

The conditions imperialist oppression has imposed upon many people in the semicolonial countries is many times worse than what exists in Western Europe, North America, and Japan. The entire economic and political relationships between Africa, Asia, and Latin America on one hand and the imperialist countries on the other is built on inequality, superexploitation, and domination. The social consequences are devastating. Millions of peasants are being driven off their land; untold numbers of workers have no job or home, and malnourishment, hunger, and disease are rampant.

The ruling families in the economically advanced countries utilize their vast economic power and the political and military clout of their governments to impose unequal trade relations. This generally shows itself through the low prices the semicolonial countries get for their products on the world market and the high prices they must pay for manufactured goods and technology from the advanced capitalist countries.

These disparities are established and maintained through quotas and tariffs, dumping of goods on the market that undercut sales of products from semicolonial countries, and a mass of nontariff barriers. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has identified some 700 nontariff protectionist practices ranging from government subsidies to health and

technical standards to deliberately complex administrative measures.

#### The debt trap

The countries of Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia have borrowed heavily from bankers in New York, Tokyo, Paris, London, and other financial centers, and are deeply in debt.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the total foreign debt in 1986 was nearly \$400 billion; in Africa below the Sahara Desert it was \$102 billion; in North Africa and the Middle East it was \$86.7 billion; and in East Asia and the Pacific \$185 billion.

This debt burden has become the principal form of exploiting workers and peasants throughout the colonial world. In 1986 more than \$22 billion in interest payments from Latin America and the Caribbean alone were transferred to the coffers of the imperialist bankers.

To keep these interest payments flowing in, the bankers demand that the governments in these countries carry out austerity measures to squeeze more out of working people.

On top of all this, these debts must be paid in U.S. dollars, the world's reserve currency. This is particularly onerous because many currencies in the semicolonial countries have been depreciating in value in relation to the dollar.

In country after country hard currency revenues received from export sales have been insufficient to even make the interest payments let alone pay part of the principal or invest in economic development. Consequently, more loans have been taken in order to make these payments and the entire relationship becomes a vicious trap. It's analogous to what happens to working farmers in the United States and other countries who become debt slaves to the banks.

#### Cancel the debt

Proposals are needed that can unify workers as a class to fight to alter the current economic and social relationship be-

tween the imperialist countries and the oppressed countries.

- The debts and interest owed by the semicolonial countries should be immediately canceled. This would provide immediate relief to hundreds of millions of working people.

- All protectionist measures the imperialist countries use to maintain unequal trade relations should be eliminated.

- The imperialist countries' practice of dumping low-priced goods on the world market should be stopped.

- Trade union rights should be championed for workers in the oppressed countries.

- All barriers on travel between countries should be abolished so that workers are free to seek work wherever they want and to hold meetings and discussions with fellow workers in other countries.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has proposed an international campaign around some of these demands.

#### What labor movement should do

This entire set of proposals to unify working people internationally — a shorter workweek, affirmative action, canceling the debt, etc. — should be taken up by the labor movement in the United States. A struggle around them will require an outlook that encompasses all working people, and it will assume a political character as these demands are aimed at the government.

They are measures that the government could carry out immediately. In that sense they correspond to the need to provide protection to working people now and as the crisis deepens.

And in mobilizing for these proposals our self-confidence, political awareness, and recognition of ourselves as part of an international class of workers will become stronger.

As this struggle develops it will more and more point to the need to overturn the capitalist government and establish a workers' and farmers' government.



Many workers in Mexico are forced to live in slum conditions. To unify working people around the world, U.S. workers should champion demand to cancel the foreign debt of Latin American, Asian, and African countries.





November 1974: Yasser Arafat, chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization, at UN.

# Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation: Rise of the PLO, 1967-74

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Third of a series)

In the June 1967 invasion of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, the Israeli rulers seized all of historic Palestine that they had not captured in 1948. Israel expanded to include East Jerusalem and the West Bank of the Jordan River, which had been held by Jordan, and the Gaza Strip, which had been under Egyptian administration.

In addition the Israeli rulers captured the Golan Heights from Syria and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt. The future status of the Sinai, placed under a military occupation regime, was left open. The Golan Heights, a militarily strategic area where only a few thousand Syrian Arabs live, was dotted with Israeli settlements and formally annexed in 1982.

Alone among the newly captured portions of Palestine, East Jerusalem was annexed shortly after the war.

The West Bank was officially renamed Judea and Samaria but remained under military rule, as did the Gaza Strip.

By not formally annexing these areas, the Israeli capitalists were able to deny all political rights to more than 1 million Palestinian residents.

Military rule facilitated the process of stripping them of their land and tools in order to force ever-larger numbers of Palestinians to provide cheap labor for capitalists in Israel. It limited the ability of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to forge ties with the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians living in the rest of Israel or with other workers and farmers in Israel.

The Israeli rulers also began shaping the West Bank and Gaza into a captive market for the products of Israeli industrialists and capitalist farmers.

## Imperialist outpost

With the 1967 victory, Israel became even more important to the imperialists as a military and economic bastion in the Middle East.

In the two decades after 1948, Israel had received \$16 billion in aid from the United States and other imperialist countries. About \$60 million a year came directly from the U.S. government, with the West German government and donations from pro-Israeli Jewish organizations providing most of the rest.

But in the eight years after the 1967 war, direct U.S. aid was nearly quadrupled to \$230 million annually.

The U.S. government and other imperialist powers also supported Israel diplomatically. The British government, for example, sponsored United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, which was adopted unanimously in November 1967.

The resolution gave lip service to the desirability of "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories of recent conflict." But it demanded that all governments recognize Israel's "sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence . . . and [its] right to live in peace within secure and recognized borders free from threats and acts of force."

The Palestinian people and their national rights went unmentioned. The resolution urged only "a just solution to the refugee

problem." (There are estimated to be more than 4.9 million Palestinians. Some 2.1 million live under Israeli domination. More than 2.8 million live — many as refugees — in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia.)

## Pro-Palestinian upsurge

In the wake of the 1967 war, a great wave of popular support for the Palestinian struggle swept the Middle East.

On March 21, 1968, about 300 fighters organized by the liberation organization Fatah stood off an attack by an estimated 15,000 Israeli troops on Karameh, Jordan. Within two days of that battle, 5,000 people volunteered to join Fatah's fighters.

Other independent Palestinian resistance organizations sprang up, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In 1968 and 1969 the Palestinians in Lebanon successfully resisted attempts by the government to reassert tight control over the refugee camps and suppress their independent organizations. Shellings of refugee camps in Jordan by King Hussein's troops in 1968 failed to stem the growth of the movement.

The upsurge spurred a struggle to transform the Palestine Liberation Organization. Founded in 1964, it had been headed by Ahmed Shukairy, who acted more as a representative of the Egyptian government than of the Palestinian people. Under Shukairy, the PLO was characterized by demagoguery and little action.

Palestinians were particularly outraged by the call, attributed to Shukairy, to "drive the Jews into the sea." U.S. and Israeli propagandists had a field day with such statements.

Shukairy resigned as PLO chairman in December 1967. In February 1969 the independent resistance organizations won a sizable majority in the Palestine National Council, the governing body of the PLO. Yasser Arafat was elected chairman.

## Democratic, secular Palestine

In 1970 the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and other groups joined the PLO. It served as a broad front of the fighting organizations of the Palestinian people. Fatah, the grouping that Arafat had helped found and that had the biggest following, played the leading role.

Fatah put forward the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine. In *Towards a Democratic State in Palestine* (a document submitted by Fatah in 1970 to an international gathering in Amman, Jordan, sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students), Fatah explained:

"The new Palestine discussed here is not the occupied West Bank or the Gaza Strip or both. These are areas occupied by the Israelis since June 1967. The homeland of the Palestinians usurped and colonized in 1948 is no less dear or important than the part occupied in 1967.

"Besides, the very existence of the racist oppressor state of Israel . . . is unacceptable to the revolution. Any arrangement accommodating the aggressor settler-state is unacceptable and temporary. Only the people of Palestine — its Jews, Christians,

and Muslims — in a country that combines them all is permanent."

In a democratic Palestine, the document continued, "all the Jews, Muslims, and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right to Palestinian citizenship. . . ."

"It is the belief of the revolution that the majority of the present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the new Palestine, especially after the oligarchic state machinery, economy, and military establishment are destroyed."

## 'Black September'

The growth of independent Palestinian organizations in Jordan was undermining the dictatorial rule of King Hussein.

The strength of the Palestinian movement in Jordan was also an obstacle to the Israeli rulers' drive to consolidate their conquests by economically, politically, and militarily integrating the West Bank and Gaza into Israel.

For several months after June 1967, Yasser Arafat operated out of the town of Nablus in the West Bank. There he coordinated armed resistance to the Israeli takeover.

In Gaza armed struggle against Israeli occupation continued until 1971.

The Israeli regime killed hundreds of Palestinians to suppress this battle against the extension of Israeli rule over Palestine to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Thousands of others were jailed or deported from their own homeland.

In September 1970 — known as Black September to the Palestinian people — Hussein's army launched an all-out attack on the refugee camps in Amman. In the weeks that followed, his regime carried out a bloodbath against Palestinian fighters across the country, retaking control of Palestinian communities and refugee camps. Thousands of Palestinians were killed.

When Syrian tanks briefly went to the aid of the Palestinians, the U.S. and Israeli governments readied military intervention to salvage the monarchy. The Syrian forces withdrew, and the surviving Palestinian fighters were driven out of Jordan.

After the 1967 war the Israeli regime waged a "war of attrition" against Egypt, which included bombing, shelling, and dropping of napalm on Egyptian cities. Following the defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon and the 1970 cease-fire that halted the "war of attrition," President Anwar el-Sadat began probing the possibility of an accord with Israel. Sadat became president of Egypt after Gamal Abdul Nasser died in 1970.

In 1972 Sadat expelled Soviet military advisers from Egypt, aligned himself with Washington, and sought U.S. help in getting the Israeli occupiers to give up the Sinai Peninsula.

The Israeli regime showed no interest in such a deal. As protests against his policy grew in Egypt, Sadat joined forces with Syrian President Hafez el-Assad, who had taken power in a 1970 coup, to launch a war aimed at forcing Israel to return the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt and the Golan Heights to Syria.

On October 6 Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal and entered the Israeli-oc-

cupied Sinai. Simultaneously, a Syrian force began moving down the Israeli-held Golan Heights.

Egypt's ground defenses and air force blocked Israeli forces from establishing air supremacy as they had in the first hours of the 1967 war.

The Israeli military began counterattacking on October 10, and the Egyptian and Syrian forces were slowly pushed back in heavy fighting.

The U.S. government airlifted huge quantities of arms to Israel during the war. More than 20 cargo flights of U.S. arms per day landed in Israel. The matériel included at least 70 jet planes and 150 tanks.

By the end of October, cease-fires were in effect on both fronts.

More than 1,800 Israeli soldiers died in the war, in contrast with 806 in 1967.

Although Egypt and Syria did not win the October war, their sharply improved showing over 1967 gave a big lift to the morale of Palestinians and other Arabs.

During the war, the governments of Arab countries imposed an embargo on oil shipments to countries, including the United States, whose governments backed Israel. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, made up of governments of countries oppressed by imperialism, imposed higher prices. Through these and other moves, Middle Eastern states got more concessions from the imperialist powers who exploited these countries' resources, and more control over the resources themselves.

The October war sparked a renewed upsurge of support for the Palestinian struggle.

On October 6, the day the war opened, an estimated 70,000 Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza employed in Israeli enterprises went on strike.

In December 1973 the Higher Muslim Council in Jerusalem defied the Israeli rulers by openly proclaiming its support to the PLO.

## Worldwide recognition

Thirty-eight heads of state, gathered at the Islamic summit in Pakistan in February 1974, proclaimed the PLO to be "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine nation in its just struggle." Arafat headed the PLO delegation to this meeting.

In October the Seventh Arab Summit met in Morocco. It, too, proclaimed the PLO to be "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

On October 14, by a vote of 105 to 4, the UN General Assembly recognized the PLO as "the representative of the Palestinian people," and invited it to participate in the upcoming debate on Palestine. The U.S. delegate was joined only by those of Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Israel in voting no.

On November 22, nine days after Arafat spoke before the assembly in the course of the Palestine debate, the PLO was granted observer status at the UN by a 95-17 vote.

When Arafat addressed the General Assembly, he explained the PLO's perspective. "Since its inception," he said, "our revolution was not motivated by racial or

Continued on Page 17



# Mayor Koch defends harassment of Pathfinder mural

Reprinted below is an exchange of correspondence between New York City Mayor Edward Koch and Meryl Lynn Farber of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

Koch's letter was sent to the mural project after he received dozens of complaints from around the country protesting the city administration's harassment of the painting of a six-story mural on the Pathfinder Building in Manhattan.

Pathfinder is an international publishing house whose books include the speeches and writings of revolutionary leaders whose portraits will be featured in the mural. Artists from around the world are participating in producing the mural.

On Dec. 3, 1987, an agent of the city's Environmental Control Board delivered 35 citations to the project for "illegally" posting leaflets. The notices advertised an open house where people from the neighborhood could learn more about the mural. The citations carry a maximum penalty of \$100 each.

More than 100 political activists and artists protested this victimization of political art and artists at a January 29 speak-out in New York.

Others who have protested to Koch about the attacks on the mural received similar letters to the one reprinted below.

\* \* \*

February 19, 1988

Dear Ms. Farber:

Thank you for bringing the problems associated with the Manhattan Pathfinder Building mural to my attention. Your suggestion that the political content of the mural has precipitated harassment by the Police Department and the Environmental Control Board is without merit. Please be informed that the 35 environmental control summonses issued by our Sanitation Department for littering city streets with advertisements and posting hand-bills on private and public property has nothing to do with the message or content of the mural project.

Similarly, failure to obtain Building Department construction permits for a massive, six-story steel and lumber scaffolding to be used in painting the mural is a serious violation of the New York City Administrative Code.

The Pathfinder project and its associated artists are not being singled out for harassment because of the Marxist-Leninist luminaries to be depicted on the incomplete mural. However, Pathfinder personnel will be held accountable to obey the lawfully constituted Administrative Code requirements, which have been enacted over the years to insure the health, safety and welfare of all citizens and visitors to our city.

Compliance with code regulations won't prevent or inhibit Pathfinder from completing the Manhattan mural project; it will ensure that the project is done safely.

Sincerely,

Edward I. Koch  
Mayor

March 25, 1988

Dear Mr. Mayor,

We have received your letter of February 19, 1988, in response to the protest we sent you about the citations against the Pathfinder Mural Project.

You state the 35 citations issued by the Environmental Control Board (ECB), each carrying a maximum penalty of \$100, have nothing to do with the political content of the mural. A review of the facts shows the opposite.

On December 3, 1987, an agent from the ECB hand delivered the 35 citations to the mural project for "unauthorized posting of handbills" in the community where the Pathfinder Building is located. The leaflets advertised an open house inviting community residents to meet award-winning Nicaraguan painter Arnoldo Guillén and view

the mural in progress.

Numerous other businesses, schools, and clubs that had leaflets posted on the same lampposts next to the open-house notices did not receive any citations during this period. On what basis, then, were the Pathfinder mural leaflets singled out?

What was involved was selective harassment, a clear attempt to extort a heavy fine from the mural project to make the mural more difficult to complete.

We will contest the citations at our hearing May 23 before the ECB. The mural project will be represented by attorney Edward Copeland of the firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky and Lieberman.

Next, you charge that the mural site is unsafe. You allege "failure to obtain Building Department construction permits" to erect the scaffolding.

A simple call from your office to the Buildings Department would have shown that the Pathfinder Mural Project obtained permit No. 13653 through York Scaffold Equipment Corporation, one of the largest in the city, on November 13, 1987. The permit was renewed February 13, 1988. A copy is enclosed.

Moreover, when a representative of the Department of Buildings visited the mural site on November 4, he was unsure that we even needed a permit, since our scaffolding is on our property and does not overhang the sidewalk. When telephoned, his supervisor was not able to determine the answer either. We obtained a permit anyway.

Nothing could be further from the truth than statements to the effect that the Pathfinder Mural Project is either lawless or unsafe. We contracted for the construction of professional scaffolding at an expense of thousands of dollars to ensure the safety of the artists and helpers working on the project. No one is allowed on the scaffolding before reviewing our safety procedures and agreeing to abide by them.

There is a political reason, nevertheless, for these unfounded accusations and harassment. It's indicated in your letter when you refer sweepingly to the figures to be



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Artist working on Pathfinder Mural Project in Lower Manhattan. Painting will depict revolutionary leaders, which does not please city officials. Mayor Koch falsely claimed project failed to obtain necessary scaffolding permit.

depicted on the mural as "Marxist-Leninist luminaries."

Pathfinder, now in its 60th year as a New York City publishing house, is the publisher — in some cases the principal publisher — of the speeches and writings of many of the world's greatest working-class leaders, including Che Guevara, Augusto César Sandino, Nelson Mandela, Eugene Debs, Malcolm X, Mother Jones, and yes, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels.

The portraits of these and other figures, such as Farabundo Martí, are featured in the mural. They are shown on sheets of paper coming off a huge press which forms the centerpiece of the mural design. The paper that feeds the press rolls off the banners of the mass of men and women in struggle for social justice — from Nicaragua to Ireland, from South Africa and Palestine to the mines, mills, and city streets of North America — to be free from exploitation, colonialism, racism, and war.

The Pathfinder Mural Project hopes through this celebration of the working-class press — six stories high in the heart of Manhattan — to inspire the reading and

study of the works of these outstanding leaders.

The mural project is an international collaborative effort involving dozens of artists from this country and around the world. It is our aim to create an important artistic and political landmark. We are gratified that this goal is approved by literally hundreds of artists, neighbors, and political activists who have expressed support in many ways.

We urge that this harassment cease and the citations be dropped. Moreover, we look forward to the full cooperation of the mayor's office and all city agencies in the completion of this important cultural project.

Some of the individuals who have written you to protest the harassment have informed us that you sent a letter to them repeating many of the inaccurate statements in your letter of February 19 to us. We would appreciate your contacting them to correct the misimpressions you have made.

Sincerely,

Meryl Lynn Farber  
for the Pathfinder  
Mural Project

## Salvador elections mark growing crisis of President Duarte's regime

BY SUSAN LaMONT

The victory of the right-wing capitalist party Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) in El Salvador's March 20 elections marks a new stage in the crisis of the U.S.-backed regime of President José Napoleón Duarte. It reflects the growing class polarization in Salvadoran society under the impact of the eight-year civil war in which more than 60,000 Salvadorans have been killed.

The elections were for more than 250 municipal offices and the 60-seat National Assembly. Although final totals are still in dispute, it appears that ARENA won some 200 of the municipal seats, as well as a majority in the National Assembly. Its candidates won 13 out of 14 provincial mayoral races, including in San Salvador, the country's capital. Duarte's Christian Democratic Party got 22 seats in the assembly, and the small conservative National Conciliation Party won six.

ARENA was formed in 1981 in response to the growth of the armed revolutionary opposition. The party's most prominent leader is Roberto D'Aubuisson, a former army major who was elected president of the National Assembly in 1982.

D'Aubuisson is a leader of the army death squads responsible for the murders of tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants.

ARENA presented a somewhat more moderate image during the elections this time around, concentrating on the coun-

try's severe economic problems, the inability of the government to win the war against the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and charges of government corruption.

ARENA also said it would remove the 55 U.S. military advisors currently in El Salvador. In keeping with the party's new tone, Alfredo Cristiani, who comes from a wealthy coffee-growing family and was educated at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., has been promoted as ARENA's central public spokesperson.

Washington spent \$10 million to get Duarte elected president in 1984, promoting him as a "democratic" alternative to the FMLN.

The Salvadoran economy, wracked by war, stays afloat solely through a massive transfusion of U.S. aid. Although El Salvador has only 5 million people, it is the fifth-largest recipient of U.S. military and economic aid in the world.

Since the civil war began in 1979, Washington has poured more than \$3 billion into the country. Despite this, the 54,000-man Salvadoran army has been unable to defeat the FMLN, which now controls about a third of the country.

Under Duarte, El Salvador's severe economic problems have worsened. Half the country's workers are unemployed, and inflation is more than 25 percent.

More than 70 percent of peasants live in absolute poverty. Most are without land, or with too little land to support their families,

despite the U.S.-initiated "land reform" of the early 1980s. Even this token effort has collapsed; land remains concentrated in the hands of a few superrich families.

Although the number of death squad murders has declined as compared to the early 1980s, there has been a resurgence of death squad activity in recent months and an increase in repression against unionists, human rights activists, and other suspected "leftists."

A recent report on repression against trade unions by Americas Watch documents recent killings, disappearances, interference with strikes and organizing activities, and dozens of detentions of labor and peasant leaders by the army.

Voting is mandatory in El Salvador. Nonetheless, the press reports that between 40 and 50 percent of those eligible did not participate.

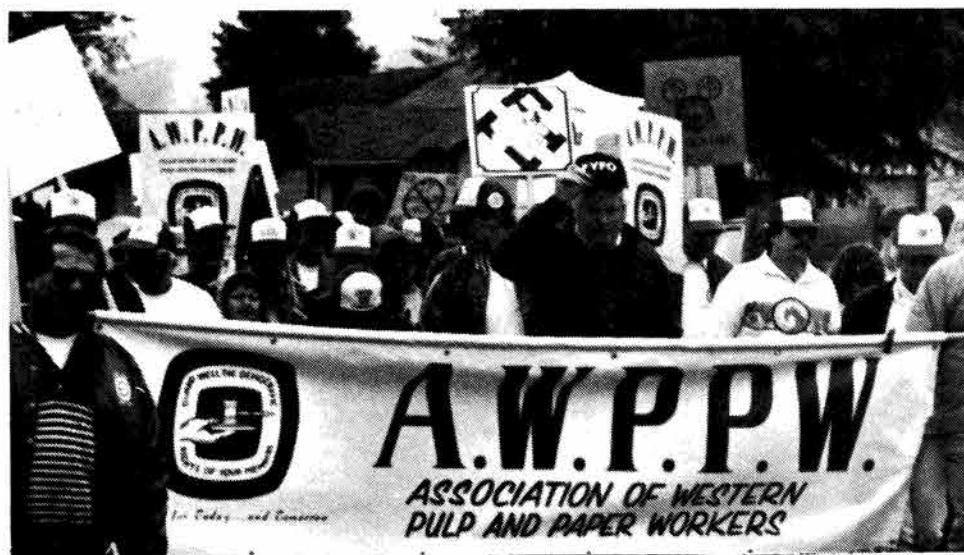
The FMLN termed the balloting an "electoral farce," and did not allow voting to take place in the areas of El Salvador it controls. The FMLN organized a nationwide transportation shutdown, and knocked out electricity and water in much of the country during the voting.

The Democratic Convergence, which was formed last fall by the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Social Democratic Party, abstained from the elections. The FDR is a coalition of political parties, unions, peasant groups, and other mass organizations aligned with the FMLN.



# Contract forced on Ore. paperworkers

## 500 unionists rally to demand "Improvements, not concessions"



Militant/K.C. Ellis

March 5 rally in support of Gardiner, Oregon, paperworkers. International Paper Co. imposed takebacks after workers refused to agree to them.

BY MARK BEDARD

GARDINER, Ore. — On January 18 International Paper Co. implemented its "best and final" contract offer of May 13, 1987, at its paper mill here.

The company's action affects more than 200 members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers Local 101 who work at the Gardiner mill. (The AWPPW organizes most pulp and paperworkers on the West Coast; the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) is the main union organizing pulp and paper mill workers in the South, Northeast, and Midwest.)

Local 101's old contract with IP expired on March 15, 1987. In mid-May, the company made its first "final" offer to the union. By the end of the month, however, it was asking for a 90-day extension on negotiations with the union, realizing that its "final" offer was unacceptable to union members.

The union granted the company their 90 days, in the hopes that when talks resumed in September, the company would be ready to sit down and do some serious negotiating.

Negotiations did resume in September. They continued and recessed, back and forth, through the rest of the year, with neither side getting anywhere.

In January talks between the company and union resumed again for five days. They broke off after January 12, with the company's understanding that the union officials had business out of town the rest of the week.

### Ultimatum

The company then proceeded to make another "best and final offer" and told the union members — at a time when the local's elected officials were out of town — that they had to accept either the new "final" offer or last May's proposal within two days, or the company would proceed to implement the May proposal, effective January 18. This ultimatum understandably infuriated local union members.

The company's new "best and final offer" was a five-year contract with no pay raises. The fourth and fifth year of the proposed contract had \$1,000 lump-sum bonuses for each employee. Other provisions of this offer included an unacceptable drug-testing policy and a big increase in union members' payments for medical insurance — as high as \$400 a month by 1991.

Another central issue was IP's demand for "flexibility," which would enable the company to take a worker off his or her job and use them elsewhere in the mill. The union leadership said it was willing to accept this, if there were agreement on written guidelines. The company, however, was unable to come to terms on the guidelines.

The union's bargaining committee had received strike authorization from Local 101's membership in September 1987. However, the union members so far have elected not to strike.

The company had warned the union that workers would be replaced if there were a strike. To underline its point, IP bought 20 or more mobile homes and erected a trailer park on the mill site. The trailer park is en-

closed by cyclone fences and is patrolled by guards. At one point last summer, IP had people living in the mobile homes waiting to take our jobs.

Last fall, IP ran a series of big antiunion ads in local papers, including announcing it was taking applications for scabs.

### Sawmill shut down

An additional pressure on Local 101 members was the December announcement by IP that it was shutting down the sawmill that's adjacent to the Gardiner paper mill, and selling it to another company. Some 400 workers lost their jobs as a result of the closure.

## Pa. strikers: 'We're the forerunners'

BY CLAIRE FRAENZL

LOCK HAVEN, Pa. — A team of *Militant* supporters visited with paperworkers here recently to get an update on their strike against International Paper Co.

The workers are members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787, and have been on strike at IP's mill here since last June. Along with other IP workers, they are fighting the company's demands for concessions on wages, work rules, subcontracting, holidays, and other issues.

A big part of the paperworkers' recent efforts to gain support for their strike has come from their "caravans," which have traveled throughout the region since January, spreading the word about their fight.

Bill Sanders, press spokesperson for Local 1787, described the welcome that caravan members have received. "People on the street walk right up and grab you, like you were something special. And not only union people — the average person on the street."

"The paperworkers," he continued, "have started a real union movement. No labor person has denied us anything. Steelworkers, teamsters, roofers, laborers, garment workers, teachers — they've all pitched in to help."

We asked the paperworkers why they were getting such a good response.

Lenny Wensel, who helps on the speakers' bureau, said, "This strike is setting a precedent. Everything we do is scrutinized under a microscope, because more and more unions are having to fight. We're telling other unionists to get ready, not to wait like we did. Start organizing now."

Sanders also pointed out that many union members have themselves experienced concession contracts, layoffs, and other attempts to weaken their unions.

The paperworkers have also made a point of visiting other workers on strike in the region, including operating engineers, oil workers, and hospital workers.

All the strikers agreed that the use of Pennsylvania State Police to herd scabs through their picket lines was one of the aspects of their strike that outraged other workers the most. Holly Holland, who has participated in caravans and other speaking trips, said Lock Haven looks like "a scene from the civil rights movement."

The caravans and speakers' bureau ac-

The new concessions contract forced on Local 101 eliminates premium pay for Sunday work, and other takebacks amounting to a 5 percent cut in pay for union members. Health insurance has gone from a \$9 a week payroll deduction to over \$32 — almost a \$100 a month increase. These are similar to concessions IP is pressing for at its mills throughout the country.

Mill manager C.B. Vickery has stated that the company needs these cuts and takebacks from union members to stay competitive. The Gardiner mill, kept operating by Local 101 members, has been breaking production records for the past four years, while maintaining high safety and quality standards. The mill, in fact, just received IP's "cost management award."

The same company that has reported net profits of \$305 million in 1986 and \$407 million in 1987 also claims competition forces it to cut back workers' earnings and benefits. IP went from \$5.5 billion in sales for 1986 to \$7.8 billion in sales in 1987 — a whopping 42 percent increase.

January 1988 was another record month for the mill, with two production records set — one for tons of pulp per day and one for tons of linerboard, which goes into corrugated cardboard.

Mill manager Vickery, in a very distasteful token of appreciation, gave each employee a certificate for a free ham at a local store. This irritated everyone concerned. The union responded in a February 9 letter to Local 101 members that said, "International Paper Co. has decided that your good work habits and your abilities to set records in manufacturing paper, although not worthy of a decent contract, is

worthy of a ham.

"Our first impression was to take these hams and dump them on IP's front lawn," the letter continued. "However, due to the fact that IP has just terminated over 300 workers at the sawmill next door, we would like to collect these certificates and donate them to these displaced workers."

Mark Bedard is a member of AWPPW Local 101 at IP's Gardiner mill.

BY SUZANNE AUGER

REEDSPORT, Ore. — Unionists from all over the Pacific Northwest rallied here March 5 in support of the paperworkers' fight for a decent contract at International Paper Co.'s mill in Gardiner, Oregon.

Chants of "Improvements, not concessions" were shouted as the 500 union supporters marched down Highway 101 from the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers local hall to the high school where the rally was held. Many people from the community showed their support by waving and honking as the marchers passed by.

The rally began with introductions from the audience of dozens of union locals from Washington, Oregon, and Northern California. Paperworkers organized by the United Paperworkers International Union, longshore workers, garment workers, and International Woodworkers of America members were some of the unionists present.

A standing ovation was given to Larry Shade, a striking member of the United Paperworkers from International Paper's mill in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania.

tivities have had a big impact on the morale of the strikers. "Out on the road, you really learn what the union movement and solidarity are all about," said Tina Barrett. There are 720 workers on strike. Sanders estimates that 250 have participated in at least one caravan.

"Going out is a real high," Wensel added. "Our speakers can't wait for the next trip. We're recruiting all the time to the speakers' bureau," which has grown from three to 60 members. He estimated that strikers have spoken before at least 300 locals and trades councils, and have a backlog of engagements. Their activities have taken them to eight states and Wash-

ington, D.C.

"It's amazing what people can do," Wensel commented. "If you asked us a year ago if we could go out and speak, if we would organize caravans of up to 130 people, if we could organize fund-raising bazaars and food banks, all of us would have said no. All we knew was paper and electricity."

Local 1787 Vice-president Ron Grimm felt that all these activities had helped shift public opinion in the small town of 2,000 in favor of the strikers. Amish farmers are helping out by selling food to the union at discount prices. Merchants are also making contributions of money and food.

## April 30 solidarity rally set to back Maine paper strikers

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — The announcement that a major labor solidarity rally for striking paperworkers will be held here April 30 was greeted with cheers and applause by 1,000 people at a March 23 union/family meeting.

Some 1,250 members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246 have been on strike at International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill in Jay since last June. Hundreds of strikers, family members, and supporters attend the weekly union/family meetings, where reports on the strike and messages of solidarity are presented.

The demonstration was announced by Maine AFL-CIO President Charles O'Leary just a few days before a national meeting between union officials and the company was set to begin. Representatives from striking and locked-out locals at International Paper mills in Jay; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama, will be present, along with International union officers.

The Maine AFL-CIO, which is sponsoring the action, will be inviting national participation from other state AFL-CIO federations.

The demonstration is needed, paperworkers Local 14 President Bill Meserve told

the meeting, because the strike is temporarily "shifting gears."

The activities of Corporate Campaign, Inc., headed by Ray Rogers, were "put on hold" by the union for the duration of the national talks, Meserve said. The Corporate Campaign has been helping to organize solidarity activities for paperworkers at the four mills.

The negotiating period, which began March 28, could last as long as three weeks, he added. The decision to suspend the campaign's activities came at the company's request. It was, Meserve told the *Militant*, a "goodwill gesture" agreed to by paperworkers' International President Wayne Glenn.

While the immediate goal of the Corporate Campaign activities, "to get the company back to the bargaining table," had been reached, Meserve said, the union's goal of a "fair and equitable agreement" has not yet been achieved.

The current bargaining session "may not be the end," Meserve added, emphasizing the importance of the April 30 rally.

The challenge facing the union in the negotiations was underlined a few days later, when International Paper sent a letter to the paperworkers that repeated the company's longstanding claim that the strikers had been permanently replaced by hundreds of scabs working in the mill.



# How suit against gov't spying exposed FBI's 'counterintelligence' program

## Introduction

For the next several weeks the *Militant* is being expanded from 16 to 20 pages, beginning with this issue, in order to reprint previous *Militant* coverage of some of the political highlights from the Socialist Workers Party's and Young Socialist Alliance's successful 15-year fight against FBI spying and harassment. This is the best way to bring readers the rich lessons of this historic battle to defend and extend constitutional rights.

In July 1973 the SWP and YSA filed suit in federal court against the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and a range of other government agencies and officials, including then-president Richard Nixon.

The suit charged that the defendants had carried out illegal, covert disruption activities against the SWP and YSA over a prolonged period, and asked for a court injunction to halt such activity.

It took eight years for the case to come to trial, and another five for federal Judge Thomas Griesa to issue a decision.

One of the most important accomplishments of this fight was exposing the scope and character of the covert operations of Washington's political police.

In particular, the exposure of the government's Cointelpro — counterintelligence — program helped educate millions of working people about how the FBI and other government agencies function. Cointelpro, and the "SWP Disruption Program" that was part of it, was a sustained, systematic campaign of secret disruption operations against the Black rights movement, Socialist Workers Party, the movement against the Vietnam War, and other critics of government policy.

The government was forced to turn over hundreds of thousands of pages of files to the socialists, which made it clear that such disruption programs — far from being exceptions — were the norm for the FBI and other government cop agencies.

In August 1986 Griesa ruled in favor of the SWP and YSA, finding the FBI and other defendants guilty as charged of violating the socialists' constitutional rights of privacy and freedom of association. The court also awarded the SWP and YSA \$264,000 in damages, as well as attorneys' fees. A year later, Griesa issued an injunction barring the government from using information from its 10 million pages of illegally obtained files on the SWP and YSA.

The final chapter in the suit is being written now, after the SWP and YSA were notified March 17 by the Justice Department, that the government was not going to appeal Judge Griesa's decision against it. This victory now becomes a weapon in the hands of every fighter against war and social injustice.

This week we are reprinting three articles from the early years of the suit.

The first, by Cindy Jaquith, appeared in the Jan. 25, 1974, *Militant*. It reported the government's admission of the existence of the "SWP Disruption Program" and other spy activities against the SWP going back to 1945 and before. These revelations were part of lifting the lid on the government's broader Cointelpro operations.

The second and third articles are interviews with two longtime leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who were among the chief targets of the government's disruption program.

Clifton DeBerry, the SWP candidate for president in 1964, was the first Black person to run for that office. His history as a communist fighter in the labor movement and Black struggle, especially his close relationship with Malcolm X, made DeBerry a special target for the FBI's illegal operations.

Fred Halstead was a central leader of the movement against the Vietnam War. A union militant for decades, Halstead's experiences include participating in the "Bring the troops home" movement among GIs in the Pacific following the end of World War II.

As the SWP candidate for president in 1968, he visited Vietnam to speak with GIs and to let them know there was a candidate running who opposed the U.S. war against Vietnam. This trip was the target of FBI sabotage.

The interviews with DeBerry and Halstead reveal how the government routinely tried to disrupt legitimate political activity. In telling their stories, these two communist veterans also describe some of the history of the SWP's 50 years of participation in the class struggle, which made it a target of the government's illegal operations.

Both interviews were done by Nelson Blackstock. The DeBerry interview appeared in the May 9 and 16, 1975, issues of the *Militant*. The Halstead interview was printed in the April 25, 1975, issue. The versions reprinted here, slightly abridged, come from *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*. Copyright © 1975 by the Anchor Foundation. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

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## BY CINDY JAQUITH

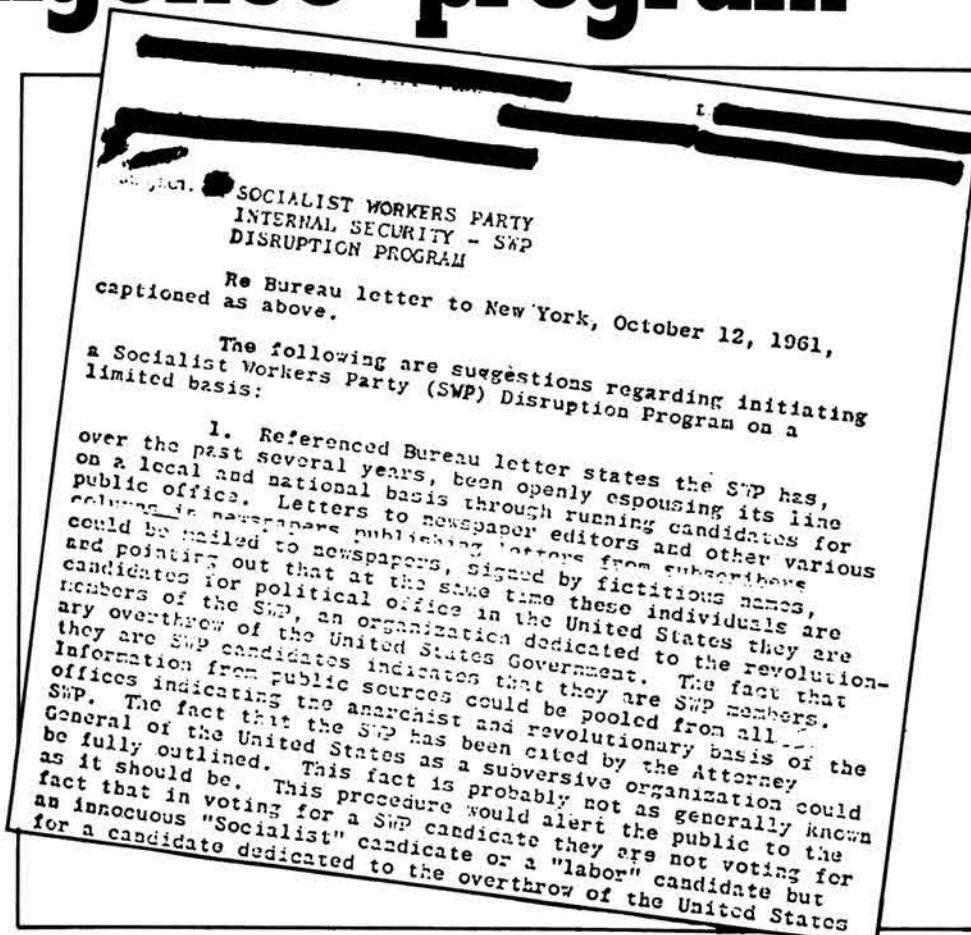
In a major breakthrough for the socialist suit against Watergating, the U.S. government has admitted conducting a broad spy operation against the Socialist Workers Party dating back to 1945, and more recently, against the Young Socialist Alliance.

While conceding the truth of some of the charges against the Nixon gang, the U.S. attorney claims the spy actions are justified because the SWP and YSA are "subversive."

The government admissions were made public at a January 10 news conference in New York by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The PRDF is organizing publicity and fund-raising for the suit against the government filed last July by the SWP and YSA.

The suit charges Nixon and other present and past federal officials with wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, bombing, and other harassment against members and supporters of the SWP and YSA. Noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin is representing the plaintiffs in the case.

It was announced at the PRDF news conference that U.S. Attorney Paul Curran had filed an answer to the charges on January 7, on behalf of all defendants except Nixon and [Attorney General] John Mitchell. The government has filed another motion requesting that charges be dropped against Nixon on grounds of "presidential immun-



Less than one month after FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover launched the "Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program," this 1961 memo suggests sabotaging SWP election campaigns.

ity." Mitchell will apparently file a separate response.

## 'SWP Disruption Program'

In its reply, the government revealed the existence of an "SWP Disruption Program" from 1961 to 1969. It admitted "limited national security electronic surveillance of certain plaintiffs" from 1945 to 1963, and placing a "mail cover" on all correspondence to the SWP national headquarters from January to May 1973.

In carefully worded statements, the government also concedes that its agents single out members and supporters of the SWP and YSA for special victimization, including intimidation from FBI agents and visits to families or employers. This discriminatory treatment is justified on the basis that the SWP is on the attorney general's "subversive" list.

The government's reply admits the following:

- "Investigations are conducted with respect to persons who indicate they are members of SWP."
- These investigations "may include conversations with others having knowledge about the person's background." During such interviews, agents "may have disclosed the affiliation of SWP or YSA members to others which may have influenced the conduct of such persons."

When visiting supporters of the SWP and YSA, FBI agents "may have on occasion characterized the objective of SWP, and asked questions . . . which may have influenced the conduct of SWP members."

• In reply to the charge that government informers infiltrate the SWP and YSA, the government admits that FBI agents "may have induced members of SWP to inform the Government of SWP activities."

The suit charges that members and supporters of the SWP, a legal political party, are prevented from exercising their constitutional rights as a result of this systematic harassment and persecution. In particular, the suit argues, persons active in supporting recent SWP election campaigns have been targeted for government surveillance.

## Government doubletalk

The government's answer is self-contradictory. It denies that "such persons have been singled out because of political activity with respect to the 1972 and 1973 campaigns," but in the same paragraph concedes that "investigations are con-

ducted with respect to persons who indicate they are members of SWP."

At the PRDF news conference John Ratliff, a member of the PRDF legal staff, characterized the government's reply as "delicate doubletalk for a systematic program of harassment."

"The intent of this broad program of government activity is to frighten and discourage supporters and potential supporters of the SWP and YSA," he charged.

Ratliff noted that "anyone who 'indicates' membership in the SWP is subject to an FBI investigation. This obviously inhibits support for SWP election campaigns. In fact, people who simply signed a nominating petition or supported SWP candidates have been subject to such investigations."

Another example of the nature of this surveillance is the case of Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student investigated by the FBI for sending an inquiry to the SWP. Such correspondence — in this case to gain information for a school project — apparently also qualifies as "indicating membership in the SWP" according to the FBI. Paton is suing the FBI for violating her rights.

If the government's position is allowed to stand, anyone who makes contact with the SWP or YSA, for any reason, will be fair game for these secret-police tactics. This includes the thousands of people who came to SWP candidates' meetings in 1972; the 96,000 who voted for the SWP that year; and the tens of thousands of subscribers to the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

But the government doesn't stop there. It also tries to intimidate participants in protest movements by charging that these movements are "dominated" by the SWP. This was the tactic of the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) in 1971, when it held hearings on the antiwar movement. HISC tried to smear the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) by branding it as "dominated" by the SWP.

Thus, as Ratliff explained to reporters, "when the government singles out and harasses a political group on the basis of its ideas and programs, it threatens everyone's First, Fourth, and 14th Amendment rights."

The government was forced to make its far-reaching admissions because it realized the SWP and YSA could prove many

Continued on Page 12

## In Current New International:

### Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

By Larry Seigle

How government has concentrated ever more police powers into its hands to attack trade unionists, Black rights fighters, and other foes of government policies. Article describes how socialists' suit against FBI spying and disruption helped reveal and combat this undermining of Bill of Rights.

To order, send \$6.50 to New International, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Targeting first Black candidate for president

As unionist, civil rights fighter, and socialist, DeBerry had largest FBI file

"A review is being conducted of CLIFTON DEBERRY's file to determine if there is anything derogatory in his background which might cause embarrassment to the SWP if publicly exposed."

Those words appear in a secret FBI memorandum dated Oct. 17, 1963. Of the nearly 1,200 pages of Cointelpro files released thus far in response to the Socialist Workers Party suit, more concern Clifton DeBerry than any other single individual. In 1964 DeBerry became the first Black person ever to run for president of the United States when he was nominated by the SWP.

Why was the FBI so interested in DeBerry? What was it about this man and his political activities that caused the FBI to devote so much energy to trying to discredit him?

In an interview, DeBerry talked about his background — his many years of activity in the union movement and the Black liberation struggle.

DeBerry was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi. His family sent him at a young age to live with relatives in Chicago, where they hoped he would find more opportunities open to him.

Instinctively a rebel, DeBerry was becoming involved in "the gang-war scene and about to get into trouble." Fortunately, he ran into a friend who persuaded him to go down South and take part in some union-organizing efforts.

In late 1942 the two went to Louisiana, where they organized textile workers. "Then we went to a little town just outside Nashville [Tennessee] and organized a John Deere farm equipment plant there," DeBerry recalled.

After returning to Chicago and participating in several different union-organizing drives, DeBerry landed a job at the big International Harvester plant.

"They started me off in the shipping department at 77 cents an hour. Our job classification was 'laborer,'" DeBerry remembered. "I had a talk with the grievance committee representative about changing the wording. We organized the guys and went out on strike for a couple of hours after lunch."

They won. Along with the classification change came a pay boost up to \$1.35 an hour. "After that the guys there wanted to make me shop steward. But they already had one — an old-timer, who I later learned was in the Communist Party."

"But since the workers were determined to make me their shop steward, some people from the CP contacted me. They told me I had to join the CP to become a shop steward. That's how I came to join the Communist Party."

## Strike wave

After the war, a strike wave swept the country. The FBI's investigation of DeBerry's background discovered that "labor trouble" charges were placed on his record during this period. How did this happen?

"We were organized at this time by a very dynamic leader, who later became president of the local. He saw the strikes coming and inspired a lot of us young guys to get prepared."

"We all went out to an old automobile junk yard. There we practiced until we had developed a technique for 'dumping' cars. That means turning them over. In anticipation of possible attempts by scabs to cross the picket lines in their cars, we constituted roving picket squads of five or six each."

The American working class was in a combative mood. They won some healthy wage increases from the corporations, most of which were in a position to grant them because of their huge war profits.

DeBerry soon became well known to the Chicago police "labor squad." They developed the habit of picking up DeBerry and his friends as soon as they appeared on the scene of a strike. The cops would take them to the station but soon release them without pressing charges, thus effectively

preventing them from performing their scab-removal operation. "That is the reason so little shows up on my record," DeBerry commented.

## The Cold War

In the late 1940s the Cold War began to grow more intense. The international offensive by the United States against the Soviet Union was accompanied by a domestic offensive against the labor movement, as well as against the American CP. The trade union bureaucracy capitulated to the ruling class on both fronts.

At first the leadership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) had hesitated to endorse the new Cold War foreign policy. But during the presidential elections of 1948 they backed Truman, and along with this endorsement came support of Truman's Cold War policies. This was codified at the 1948 CIO convention.

The CP followed a smaller wing of the ruling class, represented by Henry Wallace and his Progressive Party, which preferred a kind of détente with the Soviet Union — a continuation of the wartime cooperation.

The cutting edge of the attack on the labor movement was the Taft-Hartley Act, which had been enacted in 1947. The labor movement refused to take up a serious fight against it. Among the provisions of the new law was a prohibition on members of the CP to hold office in trade unions.

"The heads of a few of the unions, including mine [the Farm Equipment Workers], were known members of the Communist Party," DeBerry said. "Philip Murray, the president of the CIO, handed them an ultimatum that they had to get rid of these CP union officials, in accordance with the provisions of Taft-Hartley, or leave the CIO."

It was at this time that DeBerry began to run into problems with the CP. Along with the president of his local, DeBerry was among those union militants who felt that the Stalinist officials were placing their own personal posts above the interests of a unified labor movement.

At the 1949 convention the CP-led unions were expelled from the CIO.

Around this time the Farm Equipment Workers merged with the United Electrical Workers, another Stalinist-controlled union. "After that, the CP took over almost everything in my local," DeBerry remembered.

"I had differences with them on a number of questions, including some of their policies during the Second World War — the no-strike pledge, civil rights, and Black caucuses."

## Black caucus movement

The economic boom during the war brought unprecedented numbers of Blacks into the plants. In some factories, where they were assigned the hardest and most dangerous work, Blacks constituted a large percentage of the workers. A Black caucus movement began to emerge.

"I would discuss this caucus idea with some of the stewards in my shop and with Black leaders I knew in other locals. We decided it was a good and necessary idea in order to fight the special oppression of Blacks," DeBerry recalled.

The Black caucus movement led to the formation of the National Negro Labor Council at a convention in Cincinnati in 1950. "I was a delegate from my local. The CP was very instrumental in setting up the whole thing, but they were actually opposed to the formation of Black caucuses, although they were reluctant to come out and say it."

It was at that convention that Jean Tussey, an SWP member, sold a friend of DeBerry's a copy of the *Militant*. They liked what they read and asked if there was a chapter of the SWP in Chicago. "She said there was and gave us the names of some people to look up."

As DeBerry moved closer to the SWP and began to raise political questions with the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party, the pressure on him mounted. The

CP began to bring in "specialists" who tried to persuade DeBerry politically of the errors of his ways. When that failed, the CP tried other methods.

"I ran into a couple of dudes from the neighborhood hanging around the gates in front of the plant," DeBerry recalled. "I happened to ask them what they were up to, and they told me they were there to 'educate' somebody. After a little probing I discovered they were being paid to 'educate' me."

"I convinced them that they should collect the money from the people who had put them up to this but there was no need to do the job."

Not long after this, things came to a head. There was an impending strike, which the CP was desperately trying to avert. The stewards' body voted to go out, and since the CP-controlled leadership had made no provisions for a strike, the stewards were forced to assume organizational responsibility.

But the combination of a demoralizing scandal over the CP's misuse of union funds, a House Un-American Activities Committee visit to Chicago to red-bait the union, and a well-organized strikebreaking effort led to the defeat of the strike.

"After we went back I was fired," DeBerry said. "I've always thought the CP and the company got together to get rid of me, partly because other CP members on the executive board were retained."

The country was in the grip of the

McCarthyite witch-hunt, and years before the incidents documented in the Cointelpro papers, DeBerry became familiar with the way the FBI operates. "I would get a job, and it would last three days. I would go from one job to another, and it would be the same story. The FBI would visit my boss, and I would be fired."

DeBerry finally managed to hang on to a job when a stubborn employer refused to fire him. Nonetheless, he was told that FBI agents continued to come around every three or four days to "check up" on him. DeBerry eventually became a painter, and he remains one today.

## The civil rights movement

In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its historic decision on school desegregation. Soon the country would witness a new Black civil rights movement and the opening stages of a new radicalization. At this time the center of DeBerry's political activity shifted from the trade union movement to another arena.

DeBerry was active in the Chicago chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and in the Washington Park Forum, a Black community organization. In 1955, news of the lynching of Emmett Till, a Black youth from Chicago, jolted the Black community. Till was murdered by racists while visiting relatives in Mississippi. DeBerry was instrumental in organizing a mass meeting to protest the lynching.

# ...and fingering leads

Early in 1946 a young sailor named Fred Halstead was stationed on a ship off the coast of China. World War II had just ended, but on the mainland of China the fighting had not stopped. A civil war was raging.

Back in Washington the rulers of this country were very interested in the outcome of that struggle. They would have liked to send their army in to back up Chiang Kai-shek's crumbling forces, but their attempts to stall the demobilization of American troops after the war provoked massive protests among the GIs. It was clear that large-scale U.S. military intervention in China was out of the question.

Two decades later when the United States began committing thousands of troops to another Asian country in an attempt to hold back a revolution, Fred Halstead remembered what he had seen while he was in the navy. He was convinced that there were important lessons

for the growing movement against the war in Vietnam.

In an interview, Halstead talked about this and about some revelations contained in the Cointelpro papers. Halstead was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in 1968. During the campaign he made a trip to Vietnam. It now turns out the FBI had tried to sabotage that trip.

Among the documents turned over to the SWP under federal court order is evidence that the FBI wrote a "news story" that it sought to have placed in the military press.

The FBI's purpose was to provoke violence against the socialist presidential candidate during his visit to Vietnam. "It should be an interesting experience for Mr. HALSTEAD when he encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom," the FBI's article concluded.

Before discussing that experience, Halstead described what he had seen at the close of the Second World War.



Militant Fred Halstead (left), antiwar activist since World War II, talks to GIs in Saigon, South Vietnam, during 1968 SWP presidential campaign. FBI tried to encourage physical attack on him there by planting red-baiting information with press read by soldiers.



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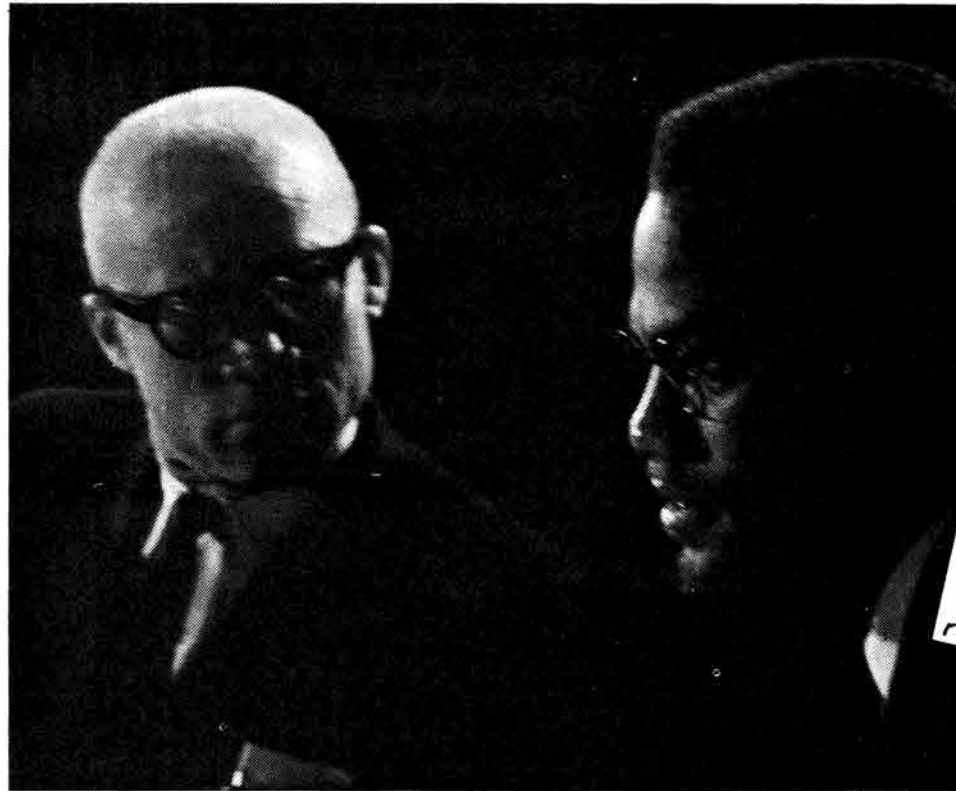
The 1955-56 Montgomery, Alabama, boycott to end segregation on the buses signaled the beginning of the civil rights movement. In Chicago, DeBerry organized a Station Wagons to Montgomery Committee, which raised funds to purchase vehicles for use by boycotters.

DeBerry personally delivered one of the station wagons to Montgomery, where he stayed at the home of E.D. Nixon. Like DeBerry, Nixon was a veteran of the union movement who brought his organizational and political know-how to the new Black civil rights struggle. Nixon was actually the central organizer of the boycott.

"I talked with Nixon about the boycott movement, how it originated, how it functioned, and what they expected to gain," DeBerry recalled. "For the first time I met Dr. Martin Luther King, who had been persuaded to enter the fight by Nixon."

In 1960 DeBerry moved to New York. That same year a sit-in movement to desegregate public accommodations began in the South. Supporters of the desegregation fight organized a boycott of the Woolworth chain in cities outside the South in a successful attempt to bring added pressure to end segregation. DeBerry threw himself into building the Woolworth boycott in Brooklyn.

"We began to make contact with Malcolm X when he was still the main spokesman for the Nation of Islam," DeBerry said. "In late 1963 I went on a speaking



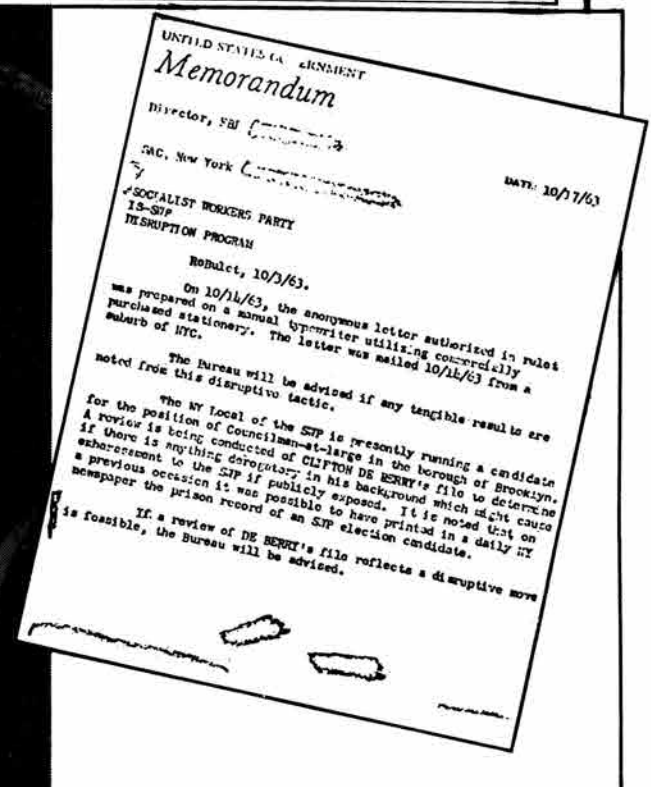
Clifton DeBerry (left) with Malcolm X. FBI memo advises digging into DeBerry's file to determine if anything "derogatory" on him could be used to "cause embarrassment" in DeBerry's 1963 campaign for New York councilman-at-large.

tour for some informal campaigning just before I announced I was running for president. Malcolm was touring at the same time, and I would go to see him whenever I could."

It was during a tour stop in Chicago that the FBI arranged to have DeBerry arrested in order to create a scandal they hoped to use to discredit him. Just as DeBerry was about to address a socialist campaign meeting, the Chicago police stormed into the building, hauled him to the station, and booked him on charges of nonsupport of his ex-wife.

There are many censored passages throughout the Cointelpro papers, but there are *entire pages* concerning this operation that were totally blank when they were turned over to the SWP by the FBI. These blank pages obviously detailed the maneuvers the FBI engaged in to engineer DeBerry's arrest.

"One thing comes to my mind about this setup," DeBerry said. "At the Chicago police station, I ran into a cop I knew. He had been on the labor squad during some of my earlier run-ins with the police. At one point while they were booking me, there



was no one else around except the two of us. In a confidential tone he told me, 'Somebody who is high up is really interested in you.'"

The FBI followed up this episode by spending the *next two years* trying to get the news media to report both the Chicago incident and DeBerry's earlier arrests for "labor trouble." In DeBerry's case, then, the FBI interfered in two election campaigns — his 1964 race for president and his 1965 race for mayor of New York City. This intervention into the electoral process is not only illegal in itself but selective and partisan, targeting only people or parties whose ideas the FBI doesn't like. (It is worth noting that this has been applied to Democrats and Republicans as well, not just socialists. Recent disclosures prove that for years the FBI gathered damaging information about the private lives of members of Congress and major party candidates — and used that information to blackmail its "enemies" and reward its "friends.")

#### The 1964 campaign

On Jan. 7, 1964, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party formally announced the nomination of DeBerry as the SWP's candidate for president.

Lyndon Johnson was running for reelection, and he was opposed by Barry Goldwater. Johnson campaigned as a "peace candidate" who was opposed to escalating the war, while Goldwater favored increased bombing. Most Americans took Johnson's peace rhetoric for good coin, and he won a landslide victory.

Virtually the entire left supported Johnson's candidacy. Among the most enthusiastic backers of the Democratic candidate were the members of the CP, whose attitude was summed up in the title of a pamphlet by Gus Hall: *The Eleventh Hour — Defeat The New Fascist Threat!*

The SWP and some others, in contrast, clearly nailed Johnson as the hawk he was. The historical record now shows how right they were.

In August 1964, a supposed Vietnamese attack on U.S. ships off the coast of North Vietnam provided the excuse for rushing a special resolution through Congress. It was under the authority of this Gulf of Tonkin resolution that Johnson and the subsequent presidents committed the United States to a massive military intervention in Vietnam.

DeBerry charged that the whole thing had been set up by the White House and the Pentagon. "The incidents between the U.S. destroyer and the PT boats were the pretext, not the cause, of the U.S. air attack," DeBerry said at the time. Several years later the Pentagon papers would prove that he was right.

"We of the Socialist Workers Party say get all the U.S. troops, planes, and warships out of Vietnam — North and South," DeBerry demanded. "If as Johnson claims their purpose is to 'protect democracy,'

Continued on next page

## er of opposition to Vietnam War

"I was attached to a ship that was part of the Seventh Fleet in Chinese waters. Ostensibly, we were there to repatriate Japanese troops," Halstead said.

"But after unloading our passengers in Japan, we found ourselves loading up again. This time with Chinese troops, which we took up to a port in northern China. This was part of the use of the American navy to assist Chiang's offensive in the Chinese civil war.

"Well, most of us didn't know there was such a thing as a civil war in China until we found ourselves more or less involved in it."

The GIs had just finished one war, and they didn't like the idea of getting into another one. Soon a protest movement developed.

"I remember walking into the Red Cross building in Shanghai where GIs would go to get coffee and hamburgers," Halstead said. "There I saw this big banner with the words: 'GIs unite! We want to go home!'"

There were mimeograph machines aboard the ships and on the army posts, and leaflets expressing that demand were reproduced. "I didn't organize all this, but I picked up leaflets and passed them out," Halstead recalled.

He also remembers attending meetings where some of the organizers gave speeches condemning imperialism. "But mainly, it was a movement of GIs who just wanted to go home."

They held some big demonstrations. There was one in Manila and another in Shanghai. The message got through, and orders soon came in to return to the United States.

"This made an impression on me that I didn't forget. That you could organize among GIs," Halstead remarked. "Just that simple proposition."

When he got back home, Halstead had some additional experiences that he later found useful in the antiwar movement. He went to work as a civilian seaman in the merchant marine, where he was a member of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific. But before long he was "screened" off that job by the Coast Guard for being a "subversive."

"A fellow named John Mahoney up in

Seattle had been fired for criticizing the bureaucracy of the union," Halstead recalled. "A lot of people who had come to his defense were fired. I had passed out some leaflets on the case. That's probably the reason my name got turned over to the Coast Guard."

#### Union organizing

After going to school on the GI Bill for a while, Halstead got a job as an automobile worker and became active in a United Auto Workers (UAW) organizing drive.

"The Korean War came along, and we lost that drive, in part because of the hysteria around the war and the red-baiting that developed."

Halstead next learned garment cutting, which has been his trade ever since. As a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), he participated in the union's organizing campaigns. At times, Halstead was assigned by the union to get a job in an unorganized shop. The ILGWU paid him the difference between the salary he received there and union-scale wages, while he spearheaded the drive for union recognition.

Halstead also participated in efforts during that period to organize agricultural workers in California.

In 1953 Halstead moved to Detroit, where he had landed a job in an automobile plant cutting cloth for the upholstery in cars.

"I had been working there for about a year when the Square D strike broke out," Halstead said. That strike occurred during the depths of the witch-hunt and was of some importance.

Square D was an electrical manufacturing firm under contract to the United Electrical Workers, which was one of the unions expelled from the CIO for "Communist domination." The company was out to break the strike and was nearly successful.

What finally saved the union was the massive response of UAW militants, including Fred Halstead, who rallied to the defense of the Square D strikers and beat back the company and the scab-herding cops. In the course of the strike, Halstead

became the victim of a frame-up attempt by the Detroit police and their "loyalty" squad. But the cops' red-scare hoax failed, and the charges were eventually dropped.

When the movement against United States involvement in Vietnam began to develop, Halstead became one of its leaders. He joined the staff of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee upon its inception in 1965, and he remained there until he left to run for president in 1967. After his campaign, he again worked in the antiwar movement, and he was involved in organizing every major national demonstration.

Today, after years of antiwar demonstrations by veterans and frequent manifestations of antiwar sentiment within the military, it may seem hard to believe that at first many opponents of the war wrote off GIs as "war criminals" and rejected the possibility of winning them as allies. But that was all too frequently the case.

"When the antiwar movement came along, there were discussions about where we should spread the word," Halstead recalled. "One obvious place, I would suggest, was right inside the army."

"You're crazy," people would say to me. 'They are butchers, and there is nothing we can do about that.'

"I would tell them that they were wrong, that GIs are just ordinary people who will be responsive to the same arguments as civilians," Halstead continued.

"I knew GIs could be reached because I had been a GI myself and I had seen GIs organize."

#### Trip to Vietnam

Why did Halstead decide to visit Vietnam, in the summer of 1968? During the presidential campaign that year Lyndon Johnson tried to convey the impression that the war was almost over. Nixon and Humphrey, the candidates of the two capitalist parties, made a pact between themselves not to make the war an issue in the campaign.

The SWP's candidate went to Vietnam as part of the socialist strategy to try to inject the war into the presidential campaign

Continued on next page



# How suit exposed FBI's Cointelpro operation

Continued from Page 9

charges on the basis of documents already uncovered in related cases.

For example, the existence of a mail cover on the SWP's national headquarters was disclosed in the suit filed by Lori Paton. Her letter was intercepted in February 1973.

The existence of the "SWP Disruption Program" was established by FBI documents obtained by NBC newsman Carl Stern last month. The documents described Cointelpro, a broad counterintelligence program that included the SWP disruption project.

However, some of the details in the government's answers contradict this earlier information.

## 'Alert the public'

The government's answer describes the aim of the "SWP Disruption Program" as simply to "alert the public to the fact that SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky." At the PRDF news conference, Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate in 1972, blasted this cover-up.

She pointed out that J. Edgar Hoover himself outlined the true nature of the Cointelpro program in a secret memo written in 1968. "The purpose of this program," Hoover wrote, "is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership, and adherents."

"We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents," the memo went on. Hoover also warned, "You are cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau..."

"This is the real face of a government that rules on behalf of a tiny capitalist minority," Jenness declared. "The FBI disruption program was obviously not to 'alert the public' but to keep the public from finding out about socialist ideas."

"There is nothing secretive about our views," she added. "In fact, if the FBI would like to offer us a few hours of television time, we'd be more than glad to tell the American people all about our program."

The Hoover documents on Cointelpro bring out other contradictions as well. One memo, for example, calls for the termination of the "SWP Disruption Program" in 1971, two years after the date given by the government in its answer to the suit. In fact, attorneys for the SWP and YSA have already documented 141 cases of FBI visits to plaintiffs since the claimed 1969 "cutoff."

The bugging and harassment did not end with Hoover's memo, either. In 1972, for instance, a wiretap was found on the home phone of James P. Cannon, the national chairman emeritus of the SWP. And in 1973, the FBI intercepted the Paton letter.

The Cannon wiretap proves that the "national security electronic surveillance" did not end in 1963, as the government claims.

Nor did such surveillance begin as late as 1945. Seymour Hersh, writing in the May 24, 1973, *New York Times*, revealed that "... Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt on have permitted covert electronic surveillance and have authorized illegal burglaries to protect the country against what they perceived as threats to its existence."

"From 1941 until 1966, for example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation pursued a policy of making otherwise illegal entries in connection with domestic intelligence-gathering operations," reported Hersh.

## Barely scratching surface

As unprecedented as the government's admissions are, they barely scratch the surface of the attacks directed against the

SWP and YSA in recent years. The government denies, for instance, any involvement in bombing attacks on the socialists' headquarters in Los Angeles and Houston.

In the Los Angeles assault, which occurred in May 1970, a dozen armed men firebombed the SWP offices while four campaign workers were still inside. The four were lucky enough to escape. New information shows that the Cuban exiles involved in the attack had ties with the CIA.

The Houston SWP headquarters was bombed in 1971. U.S. Treasury Department agents, under the pretext of investigating the bombing, instead investigated SWP members, and tried to pin the blame for the attack on the socialists themselves!

The government also denies involvement in the 1971 burglarizing of the Detroit SWP headquarters. But police investigating the break-in commented at the time, "It looks like an FBI job." Persons whose

names were on mailing lists stolen by the intruders were later visited by the FBI.

## Is it legal?

At the heart of the government's assertions in answer to the suit is the statement that "all alleged activities of defendants were in furtherance of their official duties, or within the scope of their authority and were not in excess of their statutory authority..." This wording implies that even such acts as burglaries and bombings are within the scope of "official duties" of government agents!

The significance of this defense goes far beyond the SWP and YSA. It means the government is claiming for itself the right to subject any group it deems "subversive" to all kinds of illegal attacks. This is the reasoning used, for example, to justify the burglary of [Daniel] Ellsberg's \* psychiatrist's office. It has also been the basis for

the deadly raids on the homes and headquarters of Black Panthers.

If the socialists' suit is able to win injunctions against any of these practices, it will be an important victory for all groups who face harassment from the government. It will help legitimize the right of these organizations to freely present their ideas and engage in protest activity.

Attorneys for the suit have already demanded a series of documents from the government on Cointelpro and on mail covers. More documents and other evidence will now be requested on the basis of the information in the government's reply to the charges.

The attorneys are also preparing a brief to counter Nixon's motion for dismissal on grounds of presidential immunity. The recent court order forcing Nixon to turn over White House tapes is an important precedent in this case.

# Fingering antiwar and socialist leader Halstead

Continued from previous page

as the major issue.

"We demanded the immediate withdrawal of the American forces as the only way to end the killing over there and as the only legal and moral thing for the United States to do," Halstead recalled.

"That year there was a tendency on the part of some in the antiwar movement to get into electoral activity as a substitute for antiwar demonstrations. Through this campaign we encouraged the antiwar movement to stay in the streets."

There was another reason for making the trip. "We wanted to illustrate to the antiwar movement that it could reach GIs," Halstead said, "and we wanted to demonstrate to the GIs that the antiwar movement was on their side."

On Aug. 15, 1968, Fred Halstead arrived in Saigon. He was accompanied by Barry Sheppard, who was at that time editor of the *Militant*, a socialist newsweekly. They spent five days in Vietnam, including a visit to the big army base at Long Binh, talking with GIs. The *Militant* carried reports from Vietnam on what they found.

"We were interested in talking to the American GIs who were on the scene," Halstead said. "They had a right to vote and to listen to what the candidates had to say. They also had a right to have an opinion on the war — a greater right than any American citizen, including the president. I went there to ask them what that opinion was."

What did he find? "The overwhelming majority of them were not willing to suddenly join the peace movement, but they weren't supporters of the war either," Halstead remembered.

They were mainly confused, looking for answers, still making up their minds. "That was all the more reason for the antiwar movement to have the stance and attitude that they were interested in reaching GIs — were on their side," Halstead observed.

## 'No hostility among troops'

Barry Sheppard also gave his impressions. "We found no hostility to us among any troops," he recalled, "including those who were for the war at that point."

"There were some antiwar figures who thought I would get into trouble talking to GIs in Vietnam," Halstead remembered. "And I might have gotten into some difficulty speaking to the GIs the way they did. If I had called them butchers and told them they were immoral for not refusing the draft, I probably would have gotten a fist in my face."

Instead, Halstead explained that he was a candidate from the United States who was active in the antiwar movement. He said that he thought this country never belonged in Vietnam and should get out immediately.

"I was received in a courteous and sometimes friendly way," Halstead remembered. "Never in a hostile way."

Is there any evidence that the FBI was successful in its goal of getting their story about Halstead into the military press in

order to provoke an attack? The item was never picked up and printed as far as Halstead knows.

"The response we found among the soldiers in Vietnam is the key to understanding why this particular project failed," Sheppard observed. "Even those who supported the war offered no strong political motivation. They would argue along the lines that since so many lives had already been lost, the war should continue so that those deaths would not have been in vain. An appeal to anticommunism wasn't put forward as a compelling reason to stay in Vietnam."

However, Sheppard and Halstead both remembered something, which in retrospect they feel might have been a setup under FBI influence.

Among the best places to meet and talk with GIs, they found, were the bars. One day the two socialists were sitting on stools at a bar, when a white sailor sat down beside Sheppard and began talking. While Fred was carrying on a conversation with a group of Black GIs on the other side, the white sailor made a remark about "Black power niggers." It was clearly audible to the Black soldiers.

A Black GI immediately reached over and smashed the sailor in the face. There rapidly ensued a fist fight, which Halstead and Sheppard managed to avoid. Fortunately, the automatic rifles which some of the GIs in the bar were carrying did not come into play.

Halstead and Sheppard suspect that the

white sailor could have been acting under instructions to start a fight in hopes that the two socialists would become caught up — or even seriously injured — in a fight between Black and white GIs. On the other hand, they think it could have been, as Halstead put it, "just a little piece of America."

The antiwar movement as a whole would soon be convinced of the possibility of reaching GIs. "What really changed their mind was that they saw with their own eyes the GIs turning against the war," Halstead told me. "You couldn't draft 30,000 youth a month in 1968 and 1969 without getting a lot who had been involved in the antiwar movement in one way or another. Then it just spread all over the army."

The interview with Halstead took place in April 1975. The Saigon army was collapsing and the revolutionary forces were sweeping through Vietnam. By drastically limiting Washington's ability to use its military forces in China, the movement Halstead had seen almost 30 years before when he was a GI in the Pacific had been instrumental in the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Did he see any parallels with Vietnam? "I think the fact that the United States finds it so difficult to put its military forces back into Vietnam is a very important factor in the victories that the liberation forces have won."

"The Pentagon keeps moaning that their hands are tied. Well, what tied their hands is the American antiwar movement."

# Targeting Black socialist candidate

Continued from previous page

then send them to Mississippi and let them do some protecting of Black Americans there."

While the FBI was secretly plotting against the Black presidential candidate, he was publicly blasting the FBI. After the disappearance of three civil rights workers slain by racists in Mississippi, DeBerry exposed the bureau's complicity.

Local cops, who were involved in the murders, had held the three in jail before they were killed. "While the three kidnapped youths were in jail in Philadelphia, Mississippi, their coworkers became fearful for their safety, and telephoned the FBI in Jackson. The FBI agent refused to help and told the rights fighters that he wouldn't have any more dealings with them," DeBerry said.

In July 1964 a group of major civil rights leaders, including Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, issued a call for a "moratorium" on civil rights demonstrations until after election day. The purpose was to make it easier for Johnson to hold on to the racist vote, which was threatening to go to Goldwater.

DeBerry condemned the move: "This is the surest way for Negroes to get nothing. Black people must develop independent political force. That's the only way they can be a power and the only way they can

defend themselves against the attacks of the racists, which will come whether Johnson or Goldwater is elected."

When Malcolm X, who was in Egypt at the time, heard about the moratorium, he had a similar reaction. The Black leaders "have sold themselves out and become campaign managers in the Negro community for Lyndon Johnson," he charged.

During this period DeBerry's relationship with Malcolm continued to develop. "After his break with the Nation of Islam, I used to meet with him almost every Saturday when he was in the country. We would have discussions about politics — often comparing notes and checking up on what each other had been hearing about the developing nationalist response among Blacks," DeBerry recalled.

At the suggestion of Malcolm and his collaborator, James Shabazz, DeBerry spoke at a couple of classes at the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which Malcolm headed.

"We were again touring at the same time, and our paths would often criss-cross. Whenever I could I would attend his speeches. While he was too busy to make it to mine, he would send someone over," DeBerry remembered. "We had that kind of relationship."

A few months later Malcolm would be assassinated. The FBI's role in that event is a story that is yet to be told.

\*Daniel Ellsberg is a former government official who made public the Pentagon papers, a government study of U.S. intervention in Vietnam that revealed the clandestine side of Washington's war.



# Int'l auto workers' forum scores apartheid

BY JANET POST

STUTTGART, West Germany — "The multinational companies may try to put on an acceptable image, yet they reap the fruits of racism in South Africa. The companies try to act as if they don't want the apartheid system anymore, yet they were part of its creation."

These were the words of N. Wellington Nonyukela, vice-coordinator of the council of shop stewards for the South African National Union of Metalworkers. He is also a vice-chair of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in the East Cape region and a steward at the Mercedes-Benz auto plant in East London, South Africa.

Nonyukela was in West Germany attending the March 3-6 conference on working conditions in the auto industry, sponsored by the Trans-National Information Exchange of the Netherlands.

He spoke at a forum attended by 100 unionists, sponsored by the West German Trade Union Federation.

As Nonyukela was preparing to leave South Africa, the cops raided the union's office. Nonyukela was arrested and beaten. The cops interrogated him about the trip to West Germany and placed him in solitary confinement. Under the government's state of emergency, he was sentenced to six months in jail. The next day union members at Mercedes-Benz began a work stoppage that lasted until Nonyukela was released two days later.

"The prison guards told me, 'Don't think we are afraid of international solidarity actions by workers — but go to the plant and show you are free,'" Nonyukela explained.

Also speaking at the forum was Steve

Riley, an officer of Transport and General Workers Union Local 1107 at Ford's Dagenham plant in London.

British Ford workers recently carried out a strike that cut off the supply of auto parts to Ford's other European plants.

Riley told the audience that last year Dagenham workers refused to ship parts and engines to the Ford plant in South Africa. The company threatened to lay off the British workers, but they held firm and Ford backed off.

The conference brought together union members and officials from Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, France, Japan, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, the United States, and West Germany. Its theme was "Protectionism and Internationalism."

A representative from the General Oil Workers Union in Japan presented a slide show on working conditions in a Japanese auto assembly plant.

Many were also able to tour a portion of the large West German Mercedes-Benz complex.

John Gomomo, who works in a Volkswagen plant in South Africa, stressed the importance of union members from around the world staying in touch with union struggles in South Africa.

The conference closed by sending a solidarity message to the Transport Equipment and Allied Industries Union in Malaysia. One of their members, Arokia Das — who works at a Ford plant — was unable to attend the conference after being jailed for his trade union activities.

Janet Post is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1005 in Portland, Oregon.



Militant/Janet Post  
Participants in international conference on conditions in auto industry, held in Stuttgart, West Germany. Left to right: N. Wellington Nonyukela, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa; Steve Riley, Transport and General Workers Union Local 1107 in Britain; and John Gomomo, worker at Volkswagen in South Africa.

## Attacks on Aborigines defeated

BY LEE WALKINGTON

BRISBANE, Australia — Twice in one week attempts to whip up racist hysteria against Aboriginal people here have been resoundingly defeated.

In both cases, residents received leaflets in their letter boxes claiming their communities were under threat from Aborigines. At taxpayers expense, it was claimed, the native population would move in and establish social and sporting facilities for exclusive Aboriginal use, bringing with them drunkenness and crime. These racist leaflets were later found to have originated with right-wing politicians and their real estate associates.

On March 5, some 500 mostly local people turned out at the Sandgate Town Hall for a "fact-finding" meeting called by local Labor Party federal parliamentarian Elaine Darling.

The meeting was told that the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Corporation for Sport had been approached by the local football club about buying the club's grounds and that the corporation was interested in doing so. (The Torres Strait is a group of islands, colonized by Australia, with a largely Melanesian population.)

The meeting was also told that while the corporation is by law protected from a white takeover of its affairs by restricting full membership to Aborigines and Islanders, whites were welcome to join any pro-

posed club as associate members. The planned sporting facilities would in fact be used by all young people in the district irrespective of race or color.

The meeting overwhelmingly endorsed a resolution that supported the right of Aborigines in the area to establish their own club and sporting facilities.

Two days later, in the inner-city suburb of West End, more than 400 people responded to a call by an association of "residents and property owners" to oppose the establishment of an Aboriginal cultural center in nearby Musgrave Park.

The meeting, however, took a different course than the one its organizers wanted. Aboriginal activist Bob Wetherall demanded and got the right to address the meeting. As a director of the Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action, Wetherall described his research, which unearthed records going back to the 1820s showing that the park was a sacred site used by several tribes in the Brisbane region.

Local Labor Party parliamentarian Anne Warner said that instead of calling a meeting to oppose the center, the meeting should have been called to demand its construction. This gathering also dealt a blow to racist propaganda by endorsing a motion from the floor to petition the state government to permit the construction of an Aboriginal cultural center in the park.

## Forum defends Hartford 15, Marroquín

BY TIM CRAINE

HARTFORD, Conn. — "The FBI — the Real Criminals" was the title of a forum sponsored here by the Connecticut Committee Against Repression. The group supports the Hartford 15 Puerto Rican independence fighters being framed up by the U.S. government. Leonard Weinglass, one of the defendants' attorneys, and Héctor Marroquín of the Political Rights Defense Fund addressed the February meeting.

Weinglass detailed FBI misconduct in the months of surveillance of the Hartford defendants preceding their arrests. "This is a clear revelation of what happens when the FBI is given the authority to break into homes to plant microphones," he observed. "Once they have that authority you can forget about constitutional rights."

Marroquín, who fled Mexico in 1974 to escape political repression, recounted his fight to remain in the United States and dis-

cussed the historic lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other police agencies.

His case demonstrates the pervasiveness of FBI surveillance. Files obtained through the Freedom of Information Act showed that the FBI had already opened a file on Marroquín in 1968 when he was a 15-year-old student in Mexico protesting the army's massacre of student demonstrators that year.

Marroquín showed the audience heavily censored pages of FBI documents on its investigation of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Under the guise of "fighting terrorism," the FBI has opened files on hundreds of opponents of U.S. policy in Central America by photographing demonstrators, tracing car license plates, and infiltrating organiza-

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### S. Africa strike marks Sharpeville massacre

More than a million Black workers in South Africa joined a nationwide strike on March 21 to commemorate the murder of 69 Blacks in Sharpeville in 1960. They were killed when police opened fire on a crowd protesting South Africa's pass laws. This law required Blacks to carry a passbook at all times, indicating the bearer's identity, place of birth, employment, and length of time permitted to be in "white areas."

Following the massacre, the apartheid regime carried out a crackdown on its opponents throughout the country. The African National Congress, the leading organization fighting to overthrow the racist regime, was banned and driven underground, along with the Pan Africanist Congress.

The strike was strongest in the Indian Ocean city of Port Elizabeth, where an estimated 80 to 90 percent of the workers stayed away from their jobs. The automobile industry there ceased production for the day.

A ceremony involving 200 people at the cemetery of those killed in 1969 was attended by Leah Tutu, wife of Desmond Tutu, a prominent opponent of the apartheid regime. A busload of people, including African National Congress leader Winnie Mandela, was held up by police for 30 minutes before being allowed to proceed to the ceremony.

The strike is significant in light of the February 24 decree of the regime banning virtually all activities of the major anti-apartheid organizations. The decree singled out the 1 million member Congress of South African Trade Unions. It prohibited the union, among other things, from calling for work stoppages on significant dates in the history of the struggle against the apartheid regime.

### Death squads target left in Colombia

Right-wing death squads linked to the military have carried out a systematic campaign of murder against candidates of the Patriotic Union (UP) in Colombia. In the six months leading up to March 13 elections for municipal offices, 29 of the UP's 87 candidates for mayoral seats were killed. More than 100 of its candidates for municipal council positions were also murdered.

UP candidates and supporters in economically depressed rural districts were special targets of the assassination campaign. At the beginning of March some 20 workers on two banana planta-

tions were abducted from their quarters at night and executed. The UP won 14 of the 1,009 mayoralties.

This was the first election of mayors held in the country. Mayors have always been appointed by the ruling party. The decision to elect them was part of a 1985 peace agreement between the government of former Colombian president Belisario Betancur and some left parties and guerrilla groups. The UP was formed that same year by the Colombian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, one of the guerrilla groups, in order to participate in the elections.

Over the last two years an estimated 600 members of the UP, including one of its former presidential candidates, Jaime Pardo Leal, have been killed.

In many areas across the country the elections were held under conditions of near civil war. The UP has been the only group to take advantage of the 1985 peace agreements. The Revolutionary Armed Forces' guerrilla group maintains a fragile truce with the government. The M-19 guerrilla organization and the National Liberation Army have resumed fighting.

### Aborigines push for probe of prison deaths

An Australian government commission has begun an investigation into the death of Richard Dixon, a 19-year-old Aborigine found last July hanging by a sheet from the bars of his cell window in a South Australian jail.

Dixon's case is the first of 98 incidents that will be investigated of Aborigines who have died in jail or in police custody since 1980. In all of the cases the coroner's report ruled the deaths "suicide" or "death by misadventure."

Representatives of the Committee to Defend Black People's Rights and relatives of those killed in prison will testify that the cause of these deaths was abuse by police and jail wardens.

According to a report by the Australian Institute of Criminology, Aborigines are 23 times more likely to be imprisoned than whites and are regularly jailed for trivial offenses. Although Aborigines make up only 1.3 percent of Australia's population, they account for 15 percent of those in prison.

Most of Australia's 300,000 Aborigines live in rural areas, many of them on reserves. Unemployment rates range as high as 80 percent. A small portion of the indigenous people live in urban centers.



# Sandinistas declare 'total support' for cease-fire accords

On March 25 leading members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) met in Managua to discuss the cease-fire agreement between the Nicaraguan government and representatives of the U.S.-backed contras.

The following is the text of the declaration issued by the FSLN meeting. The translation is by the *Militant*.

The National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Sandinista cadre declare their total support for the Sapoá accords signed by the Nicaraguan government and the counterrevolutionary hierarchy March 23.

The signing of the accords lays the basis for working for a secure and lasting peace in Nicaragua.

The Sapoá accords affirm the sovereignty, self-determination, independence, and desire for peace and democracy of the legitimately constituted government of Nicaragua, which defends the program and the plan of struggle of the Sandinista Front.

The Sandinista Front will continue de-

fending the right of peasants to land; the right of workers to a job and to organize themselves; the right to free speech for workers, peasants, and all the social and economic sectors of the nation.

The Sandinista Front supports the Sapoá accords, which do not call into question the foundations and transformations of the revolutionary process, a process that affirms in the [Nicaraguan] constitution political pluralism, the mixed economy, and a nonaligned foreign policy.

The Sandinista Front calls on all the heroic people of Nicaragua to forcefully demand that the counterrevolutionary hierarchy comply with the Sapoá accords and that the U.S. government respect these accords.

The Sandinista Front demands that the president of the United States and the Democratic and Republican parties cease any type of aid, open or covert, and respect the accords signed in Sapoá.

The Sandinista Front demands that the U.S. government withdraw the U.S. troops that have been sent to Honduras in open de-



Nicaraguan peasants receive title to land at September 1987 ceremony in Matagalpa. Sandinista declaration pledges to "continue defending right of peasants to land."

fiance of the peace efforts.

The Sandinista Front urges the Honduran government not to lend itself as an instrument of U.S. policies at a time when the Reagan administration is trying to create tensions between Honduras and Nicaragua by inventing invasions to justify its plans of aggression, including direct at-

tacks against Nicaragua.

The Sandinista Front, in supporting compliance with the Sapoá accords, urges the governments of Central America to comply with the Guatemala peace plan, just as Nicaragua has been doing.

Faced with the aggressive policies that the United States is carrying out against Nicaragua in all arenas, the Sandinista Front calls on workers, peasants, and all the Nicaraguan people to continue driving forward the tasks demanded by the military, economic, political-ideological, and political-diplomatic defense of the nation.

The Sandinista Front demands that the U.S. government abide by the ruling of the World Court, ceasing immediately all types of direct, indirect, or covert aggression against Nicaragua, and proceeding to compensate the Nicaraguan people for the cost of those killed, wounded, and disabled and for the destruction of the economy. Similarly, the FSLN demands the immediate end of the [U.S.] economic embargo [against Nicaragua].

The Sandinista Front urges the U.S. government to establish a direct dialogue with the government of Nicaragua to normalize the political, diplomatic, economic, and commercial relations between the two nations.

## Red Cross exposes U.S. lies about Nicaragua prisons

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — For years, the Reagan administration and other opponents of the Nicaraguan revolution have charged that the Sandinista government holds 10,000 or more political prisoners.

The Nicaraguan government has maintained that there are about 8,000 inmates in the whole country. None have been imprisoned for their ideas, but for breaking laws. About half of them are convicted counterrevolutionaries or former members of the Somoza dictatorship's National Guard. The remaining half have been convicted of other crimes.

Who's telling the truth?

On February 25, 26, and 27, teams from the International Red Cross fanned out to all the prisons in Nicaragua. They interviewed each inmate individually to determine their identity, the reason for their conviction, and the terms of their sentence.

The Red Cross found that there were 1,822 former Guardsmen and 1,532 contras in the prisons. There were also 4,446 prisoners convicted of other crimes, for a total of 7,800.

The census was led by International Red Cross Vice-president Gian Battista Bacchetto. He indicated that the results came as no surprise to the Red Cross. The organization regularly visits each prison in Nicaragua several times a year, and also provides each inmate with a monthly package containing food and toiletries. During 1986 it provided an average of 8,425 packages per month, Bacchetto said. — H.M.

## Nicaragua gov't, people back cease-fire

Continued from front page

fire now because of "their uncertainty in light of the end of congressionally approved financing, the approaching end of the Reagan mandate, the recent Sandinista military offensive, and the flexibility of the [government's] negotiating commission."

On March 27 the government released 100 contra prisoners, as called for in the cease-fire accord. Nicaragua has agreed to free half of all contra prisoners once the mercenary forces have withdrawn to the enclaves, and the remainder after a permanent cease-fire is reached.

In addition, the government agreed to release imprisoned members of the Somoza dictatorship's National Guard once a permanent agreement is signed. In this case, however, the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States will review the history of each ex-guardsmen to decide who to release, and who should remain in prison for their crimes.

"It is difficult to explain [the contra release] to our people," said Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge March 27. "For many it is a dramatic and painful decision. . . . However, this concession does not bother us as long as there is even the possibility that it means the beginning of the end of the war."

The government had to make "difficult, necessary, and just decisions" in its efforts to "bring about a quick and permanent peace, with dignity and justice," Borge explained. "There have never been any negotiations that did not mean mutual concessions."

The government could make concessions because of the strength of the revolution, he continued. The cease-fire agreement was won "at the very instant when the relationship of forces favored the revolution . . . [due to] the weakness of the Reagan administration, the failure of the U.S. policies, and the military, political,

and diplomatic victory of the Nicaraguan people."

### Defend and deepen revolution

"Whether Reagan and the contras will carry out their parts of the agreement will depend on the incessant mobilization of the people," wrote the March 24 Sandinista daily *Barricada*. The paper called for "continuing and deepening the revolution and upholding Sandinista power. The masses have the strength and the right to do so."

The March 25 FSLN declaration stressed that the agreements "do not call into question the foundations and transformations of the revolutionary process," adding that "the Sandinista Front will continue defending the right of peasants to land; the right of workers to a job and to organize themselves; and the right to free speech for workers, peasants, and all the social and economic sectors of the nation."

*Barricada* also pointed out that even if the war ends, there would continue to be opponents of the government inside Nicaragua "who oppose the people's power and resent their conquests." This includes the possibility that leaders of the contras will return to Nicaragua, with the right to speak out and organize politically. Thus, "at the same time that the military confrontations diminish or cease, the civic political-ideological struggle will increase," said *Barricada*.

In recent months, opposition parties have boycotted talks with the government, waged slander campaigns in their press and radio broadcasts, and in some cases incited violent clashes with supporters of the revolution.

However, despite these provocations, the Sandinista government has reaffirmed its commitment to free political debate and discussion within Nicaragua.

On March 21 the government and eight opposition parties signed an agreement calling for resuming the political talks that the opposition had broken off last December, stopping acts of violence in demonstrations, and "moderating the language used" by government and opposition news media.

The government agreed to review the cases of opposition party members who had been arrested and "give a positive answer," except for those "involved in serious actions against security and public order." By March 26 at least 20 had been released.

The government also agreed to meet with unions led by opposition political parties to try to negotiate a settlement in strikes by building trades workers and auto mechanics that began in February. The meetings, involving government officials, the Sandinista Workers Federation, and opposition unions, began March 23.

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The March issue of PM includes an article about the actions the U.S. government has taken against Panama.

With imperial arrogance, Washington's campaign is aimed at overturning the Panamanian government and establishing one more subservient to the U.S. rulers. This attack on Panamanian sovereignty threatens to reverse the 1977 agreement to turn the Panama Canal over to Panama by the year 2000.



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# Bases key to U.S. domination of Philippines

## Opposition to air, naval stations grows

BY PETER BRADLEY  
AND RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — In early March, U.S. Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Armitage spent four days here. His visit was part of stepped-up efforts by Washington to bring pressure to bear for the retention of extensive U.S. military bases in this former colony. Negotiations are scheduled to begin this month between the Philippine and U.S. governments over the future of these bases.

One of the conditions that Washington was able to extract as its price for conceding political independence to the Philippines after World War II was an agreement to retain and expand its network of military installations here, now estimated to number about 21.

Amended several times over the years, the current bases' agreement is set to expire in September 1991.

Opposition to the presence of these facilities has been a major rallying point for a broad spectrum of political forces who see the bases as central to continuing U.S. domination over the Philippines and the region.

"The reason is that the bases symbolize America's vital and strategic interests in this country and in this region, and that interest is what provides both reason and occasion for its interventionism," the Jose Diokno Foundation wrote to President Corazon Aquino on February 27.

"The U.S. government must have constant assurance that Philippine affairs are being conducted and managed in a way that assures the tranquility and security of the bases, and that our domestic and foreign policies serve American military interests here and in the region. . . ."

While the bases remain, "no government in this country can possibly serve the interest of our people over that of the United States."

Today, Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Station, 50 miles to the north and northwest of Manila respectively, are the largest U.S. military installations outside U.S. territory. At any one time, more than 20,000 U.S. soldiers are stationed at them.

They were major staging posts in Washington's wars in Vietnam and Korea and in the current U.S. naval intervention against Iran in the Persian Gulf.

Almost all of the hundreds of millions of dollars in compensation the U.S. government has paid the Philippine government in recent years for the use of the bases has taken the form of military aid to the armed forces.

In this way Washington was the major prop of the martial law regime of former dictator Ferdinand Marcos. And it remains the quartermaster of the ongoing military campaign against the peasant insurgencies led by the New People's Army and the Moro National Liberation Front.

Defense Secretary Gen. Fidel Ramos was reported to have said February 16 that the Philippine military got more from Washington through bases' compensation than it got from the Philippine government budget.

### Campaign against U.S. installations

The overthrow of Marcos in February 1986 boosted the campaign against the U.S. bases. A number of the leading politicians who had backed Aquino against Marcos, such as former senators Lorenzo Tanada and Jose Diokno, were outspoken proponents of dismantling the bases.

The new Philippine constitution, drawn up by Aquino appointees in 1986 and ratified by national plebiscite in February 1987, bans nuclear weapons from Philippine territory. It is an open secret that the U.S. military has huge quantities of nuclear weapons stockpiled at its bases here.

The Aquino government, however, has increasingly distanced itself from the antibases campaign. Critics of the installations have been purged from her administration, often being replaced by retired generals and other proponents of maintaining the U.S. facilities.

Aquino herself has kept the public guessing, maintaining a "keep-options-open" stance on negotiations over the future of the bases. Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus justified this February 22, saying, "I

see the wisdom in keeping our options open to the very last."

Washington, meanwhile, has embarked on a multimillion dollar propaganda drive in support of maintaining the installations. Armitage's March visit was just one by a succession of top U.S. politicians, diplomats, and military brass who are being flown in to make widely publicized speeches on how the bases "benefit" the Philippines. The U.S. embassy is distributing large quantities of glossy booklets emphasizing the same theme.

More than 68,000 Filipinos work on the bases, making the U.S. military the largest employer in the country after the government. Tens of thousands more make their living from the prostitution and black marketing that thrive around these facilities.

### More military aid

Since the departure of Marcos, Washington has accelerated its military aid and other compensation for the bases. According to *Asiaweek*, "In the first four years of the current five-year agreement, the U.S. has committed \$1.136 billion, already more than the \$900 million it promised on a 'best-effort' basis over the five years."

While in Manila, Armitage promised that payments in 1989 would be raised \$83 million, up to \$263 million. There have been suggestions that Washington may be prepared to pay more than \$500 million a year for continued use of the bases beyond 1991.

Some Philippine politicians and businessmen have proposed that retention of the installations be linked to the U.S. government agreeing to absorb a substantial



Militant/Russell Johnson

Entrance to Clark Air Base, a vast U.S. installation in the Philippines.

part of the Philippines' \$27 billion foreign debt and granting improved access to the U.S. market for Philippine exports.

In face of this, advocates of dismantling the bases have stepped up their efforts. Lorenzo Tanada told the *Manila Chronicle*, "To me there is no price tag on our national sovereignty. As long as the bases are there, we are in great danger."

At a February 27 press conference called to announce a broad-based educational and action campaign against the installations, the Campaign for a Sovereign Philippines

released a statement that said in part, "To make the bases a precondition for an 'economic rehabilitation plan' is to prostitute our land, natural resources and people. . . . We are not for sale."

Among the signatories were pro-Aquino Sen. Wigberto Tanada, former labor minister Augusto Sanchez, and May 1 Movement union federation President Crispin Beltran. Wigberto Tanada has authored a Senate bill that would bring the U.S. bases under the antinuclear provisions of the constitution.

## London action hits attack on abortion rights

BY DENNY FITZPATRICK

LONDON — In a lively demonstration here March 19, thousands chanted, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate."

The action was called to protest a bill sponsored by Member of Parliament David Alton that would make it illegal for a woman to obtain an abortion after the 18th week of pregnancy.

Under the 1967 Abortion Act, an abortion could be obtained until the 28th week. That act made abortion legal for the first time in Britain. As a result, nearly 3 million women have had safe, legal abortions.

An aggressive campaign in defense of abortion rights over the past few months resulted in this national demonstration being jointly sponsored by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Labour Party, and the Fight the Alton Bill Campaign.

Estimates of the size of the protest

ranged from 10,000 to 15,000. Overwhelmingly composed of young women, the march showed the depth of support for defending abortion rights. Many protesters were students and members of local pro-abortion rights groups that had sprung up overnight. White collar unions and local Labour Party branches also sent contingents.

Brenda Dean, general secretary of the print union SOGAT-82, spoke for the TUC General Council at the rally following the march. Dean explained that the trade union movement had for many years fought for freedom of choice and "was not prepared to see the 1967 act defeated."

She pointed out that the 18-week limit on abortion proposed in the Alton bill was "plucked out of thin air." The real attempt, she continued, "was to remove the act. But the antiabortionists can't do this in one fell go."

"If they win this amendment," Dean continued, "they will be back next year."

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock sent a support message to the rally.

At this point, the crowd angrily shouted, "Three line whip!" (A whip is a term used

to describe an organizer that the Labour Party leadership sends around to make sure its members of Parliament (MPs) vote on a certain piece of legislation. A "three line whip" is the maximum amount of pressure that can be exerted.)

This chant reflected the fact that despite clear Labour Party policy for a woman's right to choose some 55 Labour MPs abstained or voted for Alton's bill during its second reading in the House of Commons. The Labour Party leadership had left it to the "individual conscience" of each MP in voting on the issue.

Speakers for the campaign, however, made it clear that Labour Party support was welcome.

Solidarity greetings were also given to the demonstration by Puro Blasco from the Madrid, Spain, Committee on Abortion Rights. To loud applause, Blasco reported that Spanish abortion rights activists had picketed the British embassy in Madrid to protest the Alton bill.

Greetings were also heard from the Irish Women's Abortion Support Group. Canadian prochoice organizations sent a message of support.



G.M. Cookson

Thousands in Britain have condemned Alton bill restricting abortions to first 18 weeks of pregnancy.

## Congressman reports on Israeli brutality

BY CAROLE LESNICK

LOS ANGELES — Rep. Mervyn Dymally, a leader of the Congressional Black Caucus, reported to a meeting here on a recent visit to Palestine's West Bank and Gaza Strip. He was joined by others who participated in a fact-finding trip on the issue of Palestine sponsored by the National Coordinating Committee of the Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations.

More than 100 people attended the February 28 meeting.

Dymally began by showing the audience a U.S.-made bomb he had brought back.

He described his discussion with doctors who treat wounded Palestinians and lawyers who try to defend them.

The attorneys told of cases where they are not even permitted to speak on behalf of their clients. And they spoke of the Israeli military decrees under which Palestinians can be held without charges or even without notifying their families.

Mothers told him how the Israelis are

trying to starve out the protest by taking sons from households in which they are the only breadwinners.

"When I hear my friends in Congress speak of free speech in Israel, I shudder," Dymally declared.

Urging the audience to speak out, Dymally said, "If you advocate the right of Blacks in South Africa to self-determination — and rightly so — then surely you can advocate self-determination for the Palestinian people."

Antonio Rodriguez, director of the East Los Angeles Immigration Project and a tour participant, assailed the racism of the Israeli government.

Alex Massou of the American-Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, described his recent visit to Israel. He said there was growing opposition within Israel to government policy, including resistance among rank-and-file soldiers and officers.

He reported that a group of mothers of Israeli soldiers had marched from the northern part of the country to Jerusalem to protest the government's actions.



# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**No soap** — Gore Vidal, whose Lincoln is now an NBC movie, was a prominent script writer and commentator in the early days of TV. But it came to an abrupt end.



Harry Ring

He says, "I once dared speak the unspeakable truth about American politics on national television. I know one thing for certain. Since then, I have never been granted an opportunity to speak that truth again."

**It figures** — Why did Vidal get bounced from TV? He explains: "There is no difference at all between our two major parties, nor any significant difference among the presidential candidates. They each, no matter what their individual background, represent the interests of America's ruling class. I said that on network television, and I haven't been on the air since."

**How about a handicap?** — Bemoaning the fact that in the recent winter games, the U.S. team took a dismal sixth place in the number of medals won, U.S. Olympic Committee prez Robert Hemlick glumly declared, "Even with our political, social, and eco-

nomic system, there's no reason why we can't do much, much better."

**One for our side** — For two years, the Social Security Administration fought to collect an asserted \$209 overpayment to Gary Bohnsack, a Parkinson's disease victim. Government lawyers argued he had been overpaid because he has accumulated \$80 a year interest on his sole asset, a \$950 burial account. On March 23 a Minneapolis judge threw the government case out.

**The can-do agency** — The Environmental Protection Agency said that more than 14 percent of public schools and commercial

buildings contain damaged asbestos, which causes cancer. But a nationwide cleanup will not be made, the agency said, because it lacks qualified inspectors.

**'American' humor** — Complaints by Asian Americans compelled a Detroit-area supermarket chain to junk "Coolee" frozen food bags featuring a caricature of a child with slanted eyes and buck teeth.

**Son of Bork** — Reagan is trying to get Bernard Siegan, a California law prof, onto the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Among other things, Siegan argues that the 14th Amendment safeguards "only fundamental and natural rights." And, he adds,

neither education nor integrated education are fundamental or natural rights.

**Status item** — Rare imported dogs are in. Like, Dr. Robert Russell of Van Nuys, California, favors the Coton de Tulear from Madagascar — about \$2,500 each. "They're yuppie puppies," he explains.

**That takes care of that** — The feds are planning to classify anhydrous ammonia as a poison, since it can be fatal if inhaled. However, an official assures, this will not require any change in the way the fertilizer is transported on public highways, or onto the fields. But, a warning label will be required on tanks.

## —CALENDAR—

### ARIZONA

#### Phoenix

**U.S. Hands off Panama!** Speaker: Barry Fattland, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Socialist Open House.** Sat., April 9. Food and

refreshments, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### Oakland

**A Community Discussion of the Play The Meeting.** Panelists include John George, Alameda County supervisor; Keryl E. McCord, director of *The Meeting*; Malik Miah, editor of the *Assassination of Malcolm X*; Brenda Payton, *Oakland Tribune* columnist; Oba T'shaka, vice-chair of National Black United Front, chair of Black Studies Department, San Francisco State University. Mon., April 4, 7 p.m. Oak-

land Ensemble Theater, 1428 Alice St. Sponsors: Oakland Ensemble Theater, Marcus Books, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

**The Truce in Nicaragua.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Hoboken

**"The Revolution Is the Birth of Light."** Speakers: Carlos Montenegro, Nicaraguan artist, who will show slides of his work; Renée Majeune, an activist from Newark's Pathfinder Mural Project support committee; Paul Drexel, O Roe Gallery. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., April 2, 7 p.m. O Roe Gallery, 328 Adams St. Donation: \$5. Sponsors: Pathfinder Mural Project, O Roe Gallery. For more information call (201) 420-0545.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**"The Revolution Is the Birth of Light." Art in the New Nicaragua.** Speakers: Carlos Montenegro, award-winning Nicaraguan painter; Mike Alewitz, Pathfinder Mural Project director; Dore Ashton, art critic. Translation to Spanish. Thurs., April 7, 7:30 p.m. New School for Social Research, 65 5th Ave., 1st floor study lounge. Sponsors: Ventana/Cultural Workers in Solidarity with Nicaragua; New School Union of Political Science Students; New School Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; Pathfinder Mural Project. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Build a Movement to Fight Racist Violence and Repression.** Free the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 and all political prisoners! All-day conference, Sat., April 9, 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. Meet Juan Segarra Palmer, Jorge Farinacci, Yvonne Meléndez, Elías Castro, and Lucy Berríos, Hartford 15 defendants. Sponsor: Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. For more information call (718) 972-7361 or (212) 927-9065.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**U.S. Hands Off Panama!** Speaker: Stuart Crome, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of North Carolina. Sun., April 10, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Celebration of Victory Against FBI Spying.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Tues., April 19. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Letter Carriers' Hall, 774 Valencia St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Victory Rally in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI Spying.** Speakers: Al Edden, vice-president of Florida AFL-CIO and chief steward of Transportation Workers Union Local 291; Lavarice Gaudin, Haitian activist in Veye-Yo Committee; Andres Gomez, Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association; Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Vonnell Tillman, mother of police brutality victim Steven Tillman; others. Fri., April 8. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. Caleb Center, meeting room, 54th St. and NW 22nd Ave. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Rally and Dance for Democratic Rights.** Speakers: Riyad Mansour, deputy permanent representative to the United Nations of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Ann Mari Buitrago, representative of Center for Constitutional Rights; Héctor Marroquín, Political Rights Defense Fund; Lynn Hinkel, United Auto Workers Local 879; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; others. Sat., April 9. Rally, 7 p.m.; dance, 9 p.m. United Auto Workers 879 Hall, 2191 Ford Parkway. Sponsors: PRDF, Twin Cities Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Minnesota Clergy and Laity Concerned, Progressive Student Organization, Walker Community Church Sanctuary Committee, Minnesota Library Association; others. Donation: \$5. For more information call (612) 645-1674.

## Spread the word about this victory!

The historic victory in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against FBI spying and disruption is a weapon in the hands of all those fighting for peace, social justice, and democratic rights.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has won broad political and

financial support for this fight since the suit was filed in 1973.

The PRDF is organizing rallies across the country to celebrate this victory and let everyone know about the new ground for political rights that has been conquered.

**Join us in this effort!**

- ☐ I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help the PRDF.
- ☐ Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of Judge Griesa's decision that government spying and disruption are unconstitutional. Booklet also has judge's injunction against use of illegal FBI files. \$1 per copy.
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# Castro: 'Sovereignty of Panama at stake'

BY SUSAN LaMONT

On February 29 Cuban President Fidel Castro spoke with reporters from Panama at the Government Palace in Havana. Parts of the interview were broadcast on Televisora Nacional in Panama on March 2. The interview focused on the Cuban leader's views on Washington's campaign against the Central American country and the importance of other Latin American governments supporting Panamanian sovereignty.

"It is very important," Castro said, "that all progressive, democratic governments of Latin America understand what is at stake in Panama. The sovereignty and independence of a sister Latin American nation is at stake...."

Castro compared the U.S. attacks on Panama to the British war against Argentina over the Malvinas Islands. The Malvinas, located off the coast of Argentina, are under British military occupation. The British seized the islands in 1833. When Argentina tried to regain control of the Malvinas in 1982, London went to war with Argentina.

"At the time of the Malvinas Islands war," the Cuban leader said, "Argentina was ruled by one of the most discredited governments in the world. It was one of the most repressive governments in the world. I would say that government was condemned by world opinion."

"However when the Malvinas conflict came about, all of Latin America and the Third World sided with Argentina. We all forgot about the kind of government Argentina had at the time, and we said: We must think of the Argentine people and their fair demands and rights over that land.... In the end, despite that discred-

ited government, all of the Latin American and Third World countries and peoples supported it."

"There is no war in Panama," Castro continued, "but in a certain way it is a similar, yet very different, situation. The National Guard [former name of Panama Defense Forces, that country's army], the Torrijist process, the Panamanian cause is well known and recognized throughout the world. It has great prestige in the Non-aligned Movement and the United Nations."

He continued, "Yet something more important is at stake in Panama than on the Malvinas Islands. Argentina's independence and sovereignty were not at stake then; the rights over the Malvinas were at stake. However, in Panama, with the canal lying like a sword across the heart of the Panamanian people for decades, much more is at stake. Panama's independence and sovereignty are at stake in Panama now."

"The Torrijist process" is a reference to Gen. Omar Torrijos, who was Panama's central leader and head of the army from 1968 until his death in 1981. Torrijos negotiated the new Panama Canal treaties with President James Carter, which would bring the canal under Panamanian sovereignty at the end of 1999.



Demonstration in Argentina in 1982. Castro compared U.S. attack on Panama to Britain's war against Argentina over the Malvinas Islands.

## Wyoming action backs striking miners

BY SHEILA JONES  
AND KATHY RETTIG

SHERIDAN, Wyo. — Despite blizzard conditions that shut down highways and left union supporters stranded at airports,

more than 350 people attended a rally here March 12 in support of striking miners.

Some 240 members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1972 have been on strike at the Decker Coal Co. strip mine across the Montana State line since October 1. More than 40 UMWA members went on strike at Big Horn Coal Co. near Sheridan a few days later.

Peter Kiewit & Sons and Nerco Coal own the Decker mine. Big Horn is owned by Kiewit alone. Kiewit, one of the largest U.S. construction companies, is demanding that union members accept a wage freeze, cuts in medical benefits, and subcontracting out of work that had been done by union members.

Union members have been forced to stand up to a company scab-herding operation, court injunctions and fines, and repeated provocations from union-busting agencies hired by Decker.

The rally attracted a dozen spirited miners and family members from Zap, North Dakota, where the UMWA is on strike against North American Coal. The miners' union is holding a rally for the North Dakota strikers in Zap on April 9.

Other miners and supporters came to the rally from Colorado, Montana, and Utah.

Nmonde Ngubo, a South African on the UMWA International staff, was the keynote speaker.

Ngubo said the U.S. coal companies are trying to "stay competitive" with coal produced in South Africa under conditions of apartheid. "Slave labor anywhere will indeed lead to slave labor everywhere," she said.

Ngubo stressed the importance of international solidarity in minimizing attacks on workers by employers with operations in more than one country.

"I look forward," Ngubo said, "to the day when the United Mine Workers of America will be sitting at the negotiating table with the National Mine Workers of South Africa negotiating a contract with the same company that employs workers from both countries."

Other speakers included UMWA International attorney Michael Holland and Robert Wages, an International vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

Following the Sheridan rally, a caravan of 25 trucks and cars drove through town to the mine portals at Decker and Big Horn.

Several picket shanties are set up outside the Decker mine, and strikers there waved to their supporters as they passed by.

Contributions and messages of support for the Decker strikers can be sent to UMWA Local 1972, Box 66, Sheridan, Wyo. 82801.

## Iowa rally hails victory in lawsuit against FBI spying

Continued from back page

counted a long history of government harassment and intimidation against that organization.

Alfredo Alvarez, chairperson of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, denounced the Justice Department-Immigration and Naturalization Service arrests of the Swift 17. "By saying it doesn't matter if you register or are eligible for amnesty, if you have ever falsified documents, you can be arrested, the government has pushed thousands into hiding."

Pat Kearns from the Progressive Student Network, at the University of Iowa, in

Iowa City, said that the 18 students recently acquitted for criminal trespass charges stemming from protests against CIA recruitment on that campus are now fighting threatened expulsions.

Protest messages demanding that the frame-up charges against Curtis be dropped, protesting his brutalization by the cops, and demanding an investigation into the beatings should be sent to: Police Chief William Moulder, 25 E. First St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

Copies should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Funds are urgently needed.

## Palestine and rise of PLO

Continued from Page 6

religious factors. Its target was never the Jew as a person but racist Zionism and undisguised aggression. In this sense ours is also a revolution for the Jew as a human being as well. We are struggling so that Jews, Christians, and Muslims may live in equality, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, free from racial or religious discrimination....

"In my formal capacity as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and as leader of the Palestinian revolution, I proclaim before you that when we speak of

our common hopes for the Palestine of tomorrow we include in our perspective all Jews now living in Palestine who choose to live with us there in peace and without discrimination....

"We offer them the most generous solution that we might live together in a framework of just peace in our democratic Palestine."

The next article will describe the blows that were dealt to the Palestinian struggle — including the 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon — in the years that followed.

## Israeli gov't escalates repression

Continued from front page

Gaza uprising. It confirms that the liberation struggle embraces the entire Palestinian people, not only those in Gaza and the West Bank.

The Palestinian paper *Al Fajr* reported March 13 on the preparations for Land Day.

Called by the Nazareth-based Committee for the Defense of Arab Land, planning for the action began weeks in advance. *Al Fajr* reported it involved "organized meet-

ings in every town and village and lecturing in Arab schools to discuss Land Day and the uprising in the occupied territories."

The paper quoted Shehadeh Shehadeh, head of the sponsoring committee:

"We cannot separate our struggle against the policy of land confiscation and other forms of discrimination from the national struggle being waged by the entire Palestinian people. We consider ourselves at the center of a national battle."

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25c

April 7, 1978

The Justice Department announced March 27 it would appeal to the Supreme Court an order to turn over 18 FBI informer files to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP is suing the FBI and other government agencies for \$40 million, charging years of illegal harassment. In the course of the suit, federal Judge Thomas Griesa ordered the bureau to turn over the files of 18 informers who spied on the SWP.

The government asked the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit to overturn Griesa's order, but the court twice refused. However, the judges did grant the government a delay until April 3 to allow time to file an appeal with the Supreme Court.

FBI officials have already indicated they might ignore a court order to turn over the files even if the Supreme Court upholds Griesa's ruling.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

April 8, 1963

Price 10c

On March 25 the Supreme Court, by a 5-to-4 vote, reversed the Florida conviction of Rev. Theodore Gibson. Reverend Gibson is the former president of the Miami branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) who was convicted of contempt when he refused to turn the NAACP membership list over to a state legislative "investigating" committee.

An earlier Supreme Court decision in the *Barenblatt* case held that legislative committees can compel witnesses to testify about possible communist associations. The racists have utilized this breach of civil liberties to harass Negro organizations. The Florida State committee tried to obtain the NAACP membership list from Reverend Gibson under the pretense of an investigation of "communism."



# U.S. move to sabotage cease-fire

The accord signed March 23 by leaders of the Nicaraguan government and officials of the U.S.-run contra bands marked a big victory for the working people of Nicaragua and their government, and for working people all over the world. The pact calls for a 60-day cease-fire beginning April 1.

Now the White House and Congress are trying to head off further steps toward ending the contra war against Nicaragua.

On March 30 a bipartisan majority in the House of Representatives, headed by Democratic Speaker James Wright and Republican minority leader Robert Michel, voted \$47.9 million in funding for the contras and related operations. The vote was 345 for to 70 against. The measure reportedly includes \$17.7 million in food, clothing, and medical supplies for the next six months, and \$1.5 million in what is termed "communications equipment" for the mercenaries.

In a cynical move, the measure earmarks \$20 million for medical treatment for injured children in the contra camps and in Nicaragua. This bill seeks to keep the contras, who are responsible along with Washington for the suffering of these children, in fighting trim.

The aid plan provides the contra killers with an incentive to remain organized as a military force against Nicaragua, stall on signing a permanent cease-fire, and demand the maximum concessions from the Nicaraguan government in future negotiations.

The March 23 cease-fire was signed despite a last-minute effort by the Reagan administration to head off an agreement by sending more than 3,000 troops to Honduras. The pretext was the claim that Nicaraguan soldiers, who had carried out a successful drive to push the U.S.-organized terrorists out of Nicaragua, had "invaded" part of Honduras where Washington had provided them with bases.

The presence of the bases was a violation of the accords signed last August by the five Central American heads of state.

The sending of U.S. troops was announced March 16, four days before talks between the Nicaraguan government and the contras were to begin again.

A top administration official told reporters March 24, just after the cease-fire was announced, that Colin Powell, Reagan's national security adviser, and others "seemed surprised today that the contras were agreeing to these things."

"I think the feeling was that . . . the contras would stand tough at the table and we would be able to get some help to them relatively soon." He voiced "discomfort" about the cease-fire.

The agreement is a major defeat to Washington's drive to overturn the Nicaraguan revolution.

For more than six years Washington bankrolled, armed, and trained mercenary bands to attack Nicaragua. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans died and many others were maimed, tortured, raped, or kidnapped by the marauders.

During the last six years Congress has voted the contras more than \$200 million to carry out such actions. And the administration provided them with untold additional sums.

The contras have never taken and held a single Nicaraguan town or city. Without popular support, they were completely dependent on secure base areas in Honduras and U.S. air drops of war matériel.

By the end of 1985, as Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega explained at the time, the contras were suffering a "strategic defeat." It had been demonstrated in battle that they could not bring down the Nicaraguan government.

In an effort to revive their fortunes, bipartisan majorities in Congress voted to provide them \$27 million in 1986, \$100 million in 1987, and more than \$14 million in the first months of 1988.

The funding enabled the contras to take more lives, but they made no headway in the war. By March of this year, they were being routed from parts of northern Nicaragua where they had concentrated their efforts.

The defeat dealt the contras produced growing disarray and dissension among the U.S. rulers over how to pursue their drive to weaken, isolate, and, if possible, reverse the Nicaraguan revolution. This disarray was one of the driving forces behind the crisis that gripped the administration after the exposure of the Iran-contra arms deals at the end of 1986.

U.S. allies in Central America began taking their distance from Washington's policy. This led in August 1987 to the signing of accords by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua that barred any aid to the contras.

The growing disunity was reflected when the House voted down an administration proposal to fund the contras in February and a Democratic-sponsored proposal in March.

In the wake of the cease-fire agreement, the Sandinista National Liberation Front demanded "that the president of the United States and the Democratic and Republican parties cease all type of aid, open or covert, and respect the [cease-fire] accords signed in Sapoá."

The latest House vote shows that the U.S. rulers remain determined to keep maximum pressure on the people of Nicaragua. They will seek to undermine the cease-fire as they have attempted to block implementation of the Central American peace accords.

Opponents of the contra war in this country can help defeat these attempts by continuing to build marches, rallies, and other protests, such as the national rallies being held June 11 in New York and San Francisco to oppose nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention.

We should step up demands that instead of providing \$50 million to the contras, Washington must lift its embargo on trade with Nicaragua and provide hundreds of millions to help the Nicaraguan people rebuild what Washington's dirty war has destroyed.

No aid to the contras! No U.S. troops in Central America! For massive U.S. aid to Nicaraguan reconstruction!

# U.S. threatens Panama invasion

Continued from front page

sembly voted to replace him with Manuel Solís Palma.

Figures associated with the business-dominated National Civic Crusade, which has organized the so-called strikes and other protests against Noriega, have also asked Washington to intervene.

Indicating that the Reagan administration is open to such calls, White House spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater warned March 29 that "there are limits to our patience."

The same day Pentagon officials reported the U.S. amphibious landing ship *Okinawa*, with 700 marines aboard, had passed through the Panama Canal, and would remain in the region for several days.

Why is Washington so hell-bent on removing Noriega? Not because of "drug trafficking," although this smoke screen has confused some who otherwise would have seen the U.S. pressure campaign for what it is.

Washington's drive against Noriega is aimed at getting a more cooperative Panamanian government in place. It wants to undermine the measure of independence won by Panama's workers and farmers in the past two decades, especially regarding foreign policy. This includes the treaties negotiated in 1977 with U.S. President James Carter that return control of the Panama Canal to Panama by the year 2000.

Panama is strategically important to U.S. imperialism. It is located in the region where workers and peasants have won the most important victories against imperialism recently — Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada — and where a powerful revolutionary movement among the toilers in El Salvador continues to grow.

The U.S. Southern Command, with its complex of

bases and thousands of troops, is located in Panama and is the headquarters for U.S. military operations throughout Latin America.

But Panama's working people refuse to be part of Washington's counterrevolutionary operations in the region.

Expressing the feelings of Panama's toilers, former Panamanian leader Gen. Omar Torrijos told a United Nations Security Council meeting in 1973 that Panama, "will never be an associated state, a colony, or a protectorate. Nor will we add another star to the flag of the United States."

An international campaign is urgently needed to defend Panama against U.S. threats. A "Solidarity With Panama" conference was held in Panama City at the end of March, attended by representatives of 27 Latin American and Caribbean countries and organizations, including from Puerto Rico.

A recent meeting of the Latin American Economic System, which involved 22 countries from the region, also condemned U.S. economic sanctions against Panama and decided to consider providing Panama with economic aid.

Unionists, farmers, students, antiwar activists, Black rights fighters, and others in this country should add their voices in protest against Washington's strong-arm tactics, especially the threat of military intervention, which would be a big blow against the peoples of the entire region.

End the economic sanctions against Panama!  
Defend Panama's right to self-determination!  
Hands off Panama!

# Washington hangs onto its last colonies

BY DOUG JENNESS

Nearly 3.7 million people live under direct U.S. colonial rule. If you count Hawaii, which there are many sound reasons for doing based on its history of subjugation and current patterns of land ownership and domination, the figure would be 1 million more.

But either way, the U.S. government is the principal colonial power in the world today after Britain. And if you don't count the 5.6 million people of the British

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Crown Colony of Hong Kong, which is scheduled by treaty to be returned to Chinese sovereignty in 1997, Washington is the number one colonial ruler.

The other countries today subjugating people under direct colonial rule are Australia, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, and South Africa.

The largest of the U.S. colonies is Puerto Rico with 3.2 million people. It was part of the booty the U.S. ruling families won during the Spanish-American War in 1898-99. The major conquests of that war — Cuba and the Philippines — have since won independence.

Washington purchased the three islands and 50 islets that are part of the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917. For \$25 million the U.S. government acquired 132 square miles of land and all the people living on it. Some thousands of Virgin Islanders were transferred from Danish to U.S. authority without a single consideration of what they wanted.

The other U.S. colonies are located in the Pacific. Among them are Guam, Northern Marianas, Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau, and American Samoa.

The precise legal status of each of Washington's colonial possessions varies. Puerto Rico, for example, is characterized as a "self-governing commonwealth freely and voluntarily associated with the United States." Under its constitution, Puerto Rico can elect a governor, a legislative assembly, and a nonvoting representative to U.S. Congress.

The Northern Marianas have a similar status and a bill is currently in Congress proposing "commonwealth" status for Guam too.

The residents of the Republic of Palau, located in Micronesia, voted last August to accept a compact of "free association." In exchange they ended their ban on nuclear weapons on the island. Congress, however, has held up approval of the compact.

Other colonies, such as American Samoa and the Virgin Islands, remain under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

But all the fancy language about "self-governing" and "voluntarily associated" can't change the reality that these possessions remain direct colonies. They are a vestige of the vast colonial empires that existed just a few decades ago.

At the end of World War II, huge portions of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, and most islands in the Pacific and Indian oceans, were under colonial rule.

Today, most of these peoples have thrown off the colonial yoke — a fact that is registered by the changing composition of the United Nations. This body has grown from 51 members in 1945 when it was founded to 159 members today. The big majority of the new members are former colonies that have won political independence.

Behind these figures are the hard-fought battles that it took to sweep away colonial rule and win independence. Millions lost their lives in bitter wars and revolts against colonialism — in Algeria and Indochina against France; in Indonesia against the Netherlands; in Angola and Mozambique against Portugal; in Congo (now Zaire) against Belgium; and in India and Sri Lanka against the British.

Replacing the British, French, U.S., Portuguese, and other flags of the colonial rulers with their own has not brought full national liberation for the former colonies. The mammoth debt burden these countries owe to bankers in the imperialist countries is evidence of that.

But these victories showed that hundreds of millions are now entering the stage of history as active participants in the making of their own lives and shaping their futures. They registered a major gain for the oppressed workers and peasants in the relationship of forces with the imperialist powers.

Washington's persistent efforts to defy history and hang on to its last colonies exposes ever so clearly its pretensions of opposing colonialism and supporting the right to self-determination.



# U.S. Machinists give impressions of Nicaragua

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

Mike Gaylord, a mechanic at the United Airlines Maintenance Base in San Francisco, was one of 11 members of the International Association of Machinists who visited the mountain city of Matagalpa in northern Nicaragua last November. We laid a wreath at the grave of Benjamin Linder, an engineer from the United States whom the contras murdered last April while he was helping build electrical power plants in rural Nicaragua.

Gaylord saw the visit as a way of paying his respects to a close personal friend. "I had been planning to come to

tion. We talked with representatives of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* and the independent *El Nuevo Diario*.

We toured a Managua daycare center, a coffee cooperative, and met with workers at the Victoria de Julio sugar mill, the IMEP steel fabrication plant, Aerónica airline workers, and Texnica textile plant.

"We were able to travel freely and talk with whomever we wanted," said Ernie Geisker, who works with Gaylord at the United Airlines base. "In fact, the only people who wouldn't talk with us were *La Prensa* and the U.S. embassy. Other people discussed things very openly."

Gaylord recalls that the doorman at a hotel where we stayed didn't like the government much. "He stood out in a lobby filled with total strangers, telling us at the top of his lungs how he couldn't speak freely. The situation spoke more clearly than his words."

"It really hit home to hear from people what life was like under Somoza," Gaylord said. "They told us how people disappeared in the night, were tortured, were thrown into lakes and volcanoes. The National Guard shot kids with skinned knees because they figured they must be guerrillas. Even the people at the opposition union federation admitted that people didn't disappear under the Sandinistas."

Geisker was struck by how different the Nicaraguan police were from those he had seen in Mexico. "In Mexico City we saw cops in full riot gear — helmets, guns, and batons. In Nicaragua the cops don't wear guns. They even have poetry workshops."

George Guerra, a ramp worker at United Airlines in Los Angeles, described his visit to the family of a young market peddler who lived in a Managua barrio. "They were poor, but all the little kids were in school. And the mother had just come back from Cuba, where she'd gone for an operation she needed. It didn't cost a thing."

Union representatives at the IMEP steel fabrication plant in Managua described winning vacations, funeral leaves, provision of lunches and uniforms, training, and medical care since the revolutionary government came to power. Gaylord noted, "But they stressed that the benefits themselves were not the point of the revolution. The point was that it was *them* — the unionists and farmers making the decisions."

Daniilo Andrade, a shop inspector at the United Maintenance Base who was born in Ecuador, was especially inspired by the visit to Matagalpa and the surrounding countryside.

"When we visited the coffee cooperative, we saw people working together to produce something," he said. "Some of them had worked this same land for a landowner under Somoza. Now it is theirs."

In the wake of the trip, the IAM members agreed that more workers should see Nicaragua.

"The best thing I can tell people is to go themselves," said Andrade. "Personal experience makes the most impact. Sift it through your brain, ask your own questions."

"The Nicaraguans want more unionists to go," said Mike O'Toole, an IAM shop steward at FMC in San Jose. "We'd like to help other union groups go down there. Everybody, really, not just unionists."

"The main thing people need is information," Ernie Geisker said. "When the U.S. government lies to you, you have to go see for yourself."

Participants in the tour are willing to speak about it to gatherings of unionists and others. For further information contact the Union Fact-Finding Tour, P.O. Box 2087, 2140 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Telephone (415) 695-9570 or 891-9776.

Kathleen Denny works as a machinist at United Airlines and is a member of IAM 1781.

## UNION TALK

Nicaragua to visit Ben," he told me. "After the contras killed him, I had to come to learn more about this country that he loved so much. I wanted to find out why the contras would kill someone who was bringing electricity to the countryside."

The machinists who went to Matagalpa were part of a tour of Nicaragua by 14 Californians. It was the product of several months of preparation that included selling hundreds of raffle tickets to coworkers to raise funds for the Luis Hernández Aguilar School of Agricultural Mechanization in Sébaco, which is near Matagalpa.

Clark Johnson, director of the International Association of Machinists' Human Rights Department, donated IAM caps, buttons, and pencils for the group to distribute in Nicaragua. International President William Wimpinger sent greetings to the tour group and to the trade school in Sébaco.

In Nicaragua we met with representatives of the human rights commission, the government, and both the mass Sandinista and a much smaller opposition union federa-

## LETTERS

### Death penalty

This week William Darden was electrocuted — murdered — by the state of Florida. He was sentenced to death for a crime he did not commit. An international campaign was waged in his defense. His case was featured in international news on Cuba's Radio Havana.

Darden's case makes it clear that the death penalty is a racist, cruel, criminal practice used by the capitalists' government against humanity. We must renew our call for the abolition of the death penalty in all cases.

I've read recently in the *Militant* that a historic shift has occurred in the course of the capitalist system, and that a generalized social crisis will grip and tear capitalist society within our lifetimes.

Those of us fighting today to overturn capitalism face new challenges. In this context, the reason working people must champion human rights, including the demand "No death penalty," stands out sharply: it will help the working class unite.

Last week I heard a striking radio interview with Darden. He explained how his case had been a racist frame-up from the beginning. And he pointed out that while they could take his life, they could not take away his dignity.

"This case is not a Willie Darden case," he told the interviewer. "My case is your case. My case is the case of every human being in this world."

"Injustice anywhere," he concluded, "represents injustice everywhere."

Andy Coates  
Chicago, Illinois

### Irish prisoner writes

I'm very interested in what's happening in Nicaragua and the *Militant* gives one all of what's happening in revolutionary Nicaragua, and also Cuba. I get news out of it I wouldn't otherwise get. We just have to look at the rubbish the British press puts out.

I'm in now nearly four years. I'm doing life. Plenty of republicans doing the same.

One thing jail has done for me, it has made me more politically aware about our own struggle. And our struggle has to be more

than just "Brits out."

Capitalism, imperialism, these words didn't mean anything to me outside. In here, there is a lot of education. There are classes going on many times a week. The education is Marxist-Leninist. That is the thinking within this jail. I'm no expert on this myself, but I'm learning.

A prisoner  
H-Blocks, Long Kesh prison  
Northern Ireland

### SWP candidates

On March 16 at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Salt Lake City, I listened to the party's vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells present the socialist platform. After years of attending various political meetings I was finally, pleasantly surprised to hear a candidate who is articulate, well-informed, and able to present the issues without doubletalk.

She presented a very graphic picture of the coming world economic crisis and what it would mean to the Third World and capitalist countries.

As an independent socialist I left this meeting convinced that I would never again vote for a capitalist candidate — regardless of how progressive and radical they may sound.

I urge all other independent socialists and anyone who is concerned about our country's future to consider the Socialist Workers Party's candidates as a viable and thoughtful alternative.

John-Michael Eggertsen  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### Political police

Presently I am engaged in a heated legal battle in the courts against prisonrats to expose their political repression against me because of my revolutionary beliefs.

The political police are as vicious, or even more so, inside prison walls as outside — against those of us who take up human rights struggles.

Our discussions (contained in letters) on socialism and working-class revolution are being used against us to "criminalize" our multiracial, prison democratic movement and to label us "subversives" or even "terrorists." Yet we never encourage individual terror against



Don Wright

anyone, and only encourage other prisoners to take up political revolutionary education.

This is the identical type of Salem witch-hunt used by this government against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance as reported in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*, against CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), and against other anti-war groups or individuals who criticize the war policies of this government, the No. 1 violator of human rights (not Cuba!) and oppressor and exploiter of the peoples of the world.

A prisoner  
Tennessee Colony, Texas

### Philippines

Thank you for your timely articles relating to the Philippines. I must say, your coverage is rather Luzon-centric.

Mindanao, the southernmost large island of the archipelago, is experiencing a crisis. The Moro National Liberation Front has applied for membership in the Organization of Islamic Conference. If their bid is successful, as some postulate, the liberation front will request independence rather than autonomy from the Philippines.

Once again, the Philippine government will be stretched to extremes not seen since the Marcos

regime's marshal law years. How will they react?

Regionally, the potential struggle carries immeasurable importance. War may send Christian Filipinos scurrying back to the depressed central islands of the archipelago, a region mired in a perpetually elusive economic recovery.

P.B.U.  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Editors reply. The March 25 *Militant* carried an article on the struggle of the Moro people of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan.

### Rail strike

I wish to bring up to date an article I wrote for the "Union Talk" column, which appeared in the March 18 *Militant*.

The strike by 1,200 members of the United Transportation Union against Springfield Terminal has been declared legal by the U.S. Railroad Retirement Board. The strikers are now eligible for unemployment benefits.

Springfield Terminal now controls all of Maine Central and Boston & Maine railroads. Attempts by Guilford Transportation Industries to transfer its third large railroad, the Delaware & Hudson, were rejected by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Dela-

ware & Hudson employees are not on strike.

Also, for now, the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad is apparently safe from acquisition by Chicago West Pullman, which wanted to lay off two-thirds of the work force and rewrite work rules for the remainder. CSX Transportation and the Railway Labor Executives Association have proposed a joint acquisition of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie.

James Thornton  
Stratford, New Jersey

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: **Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.**

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Iowa rally hails victory over FBI

Activist Mark Curtis tells meeting why he became target of Des Moines cops

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Cheers and applause echoed through the Friends Meeting House here at a celebration of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance victory in a 15-year battle against government spying and harassment. The Political Rights Defense Fund, which won broad backing for this fight, sponsored the meeting.

Mark Curtis, a member of the SWP who is the victim of a brutal cop beating and frame-up because of his political activities, explained why he shared in the victory against the FBI and other federal agencies.

Curtis, who lived in Birmingham, Alabama, from 1981 to 1985, was a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) there. He presented slideshows on El Salvador and participated in demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America while in Birmingham.

For this, he said, he came to the attention of the FBI, which spied on him and other activists. Curtis recently obtained the FBI files on him through a CISPES lawsuit. "I wasn't a criminal," Curtis said, "but the FBI carried out an illegal campaign against people exercising their democratic rights."

Curtis, who worked at the Hayes Aircraft Co. in Birmingham, then moved to New York and served as chairperson of the YSA. While there, he participated in marches and rallies against apartheid and the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua, and demonstrated at the massive abortion rights rally in Washington, D.C., in March 1986.

After moving to Des Moines a year and half ago, Curtis continued, he began working at the Swift Independent packinghouse and became a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431.

A month ago, 17 immigrant workers were arrested at Swift by federal agents, Curtis explained, for the "crime" of being here, working here, and feeding their families.

On March 4, a few hours after going to a meeting with his coworkers to protest those arrests, Curtis was arrested by the Des Moines police on a phony attempted rape charge and then brutally beaten by the cops while in jail.

Curtis said the PRDF victory has given him more confidence in his fight for justice. He noted that it is an important weapon that can be used to help organize a campaign to defend him from the police frame-up.

### 'We stand with you'

The rally heard greetings from CISPES Executive Director Angela Sanbrano. "Just like we are outraged at the use of our tax money to wage war against the people of El Salvador because of their demands for better wages and working conditions, we are equally outraged at the attacks and repression against the Latino workers and all the workers at the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines."

"We stand with you in your struggle to defend your rights as workers and with Mark Curtis for his courageous stand in support and defense of your legitimate rights. We deplore the death-squad-type tactics used against Mark" and "demand justice and fair treatment in his case."

A joint statement was sent by J.F. Bohlman, United Transportation Union legislative representative, Local 305, in Lincoln, Nebraska, and Paul Swanson, general chairman, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way of Denver, Colorado. The message congratulated the PRDF and said, "The police attack and frame-up on Mark Curtis is another example of the long line of such attacks on unionists and political activists in the history of the U.S. labor movement."

Before the PRDF rally, 18 people met to form the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. A fund appeal was made at the rally and more than \$600 was collected.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who is a leader of the SWP, gave the keynote talk. He has been fighting for 10 years for his right to stay in the United States. Marroquín explained that the SWP victory against the FBI was "built on a deep history and tradition of struggle in this country."

"The government attacks against the SWP, CISPES, and Mark Curtis," Marroquín continued, "were aimed at discouraging political activity, narrowing the protection of the Bill of Rights, and decreasing room for political activity."

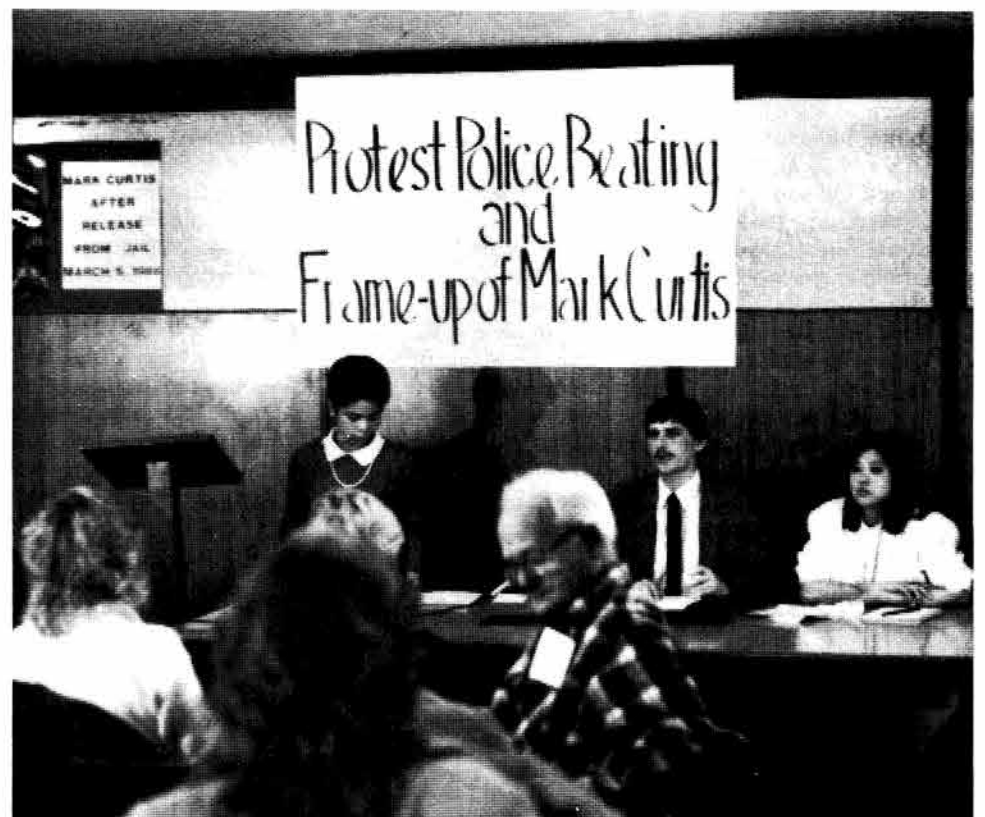
"The PRDF victory does the opposite. We are in a stronger position to fight back and can use this precedent as an aid, a tool to defend and extend democratic rights."

Marroquín called on all who made the PRDF victory possible to support the case of Mark Curtis.

Ed Sparks, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 387, decried the government-employer squeeze on the right to organize unions.

Don Zmolek, on the staff of the National Farmers Organization for 15 years, re-

Continued on Page 17



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis at March 19 press conference in Des Moines. Messages were sent to rally in support of Curtis from Central America solidarity activists and unionists.

## Ky. miners fight to overturn frame-up

BY NORTON SANDLER

"It's a shame that the federal government can frame innocent people, destroy our unions, and take our jobs just so companies like Massey, big oil, steel, and auto giants around this country can make even higher profits."

This is an excerpt from an appeal for support issued by Donnie Thornsby, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 2496 in eastern Kentucky.

Thornsby's public statement and a similar appeal for support by UMW member Paul Smith mark an important step forward in efforts to fight the frame-up of five Kentucky miners.

Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby,

Arnold Heightland, and James Darryl Smith were convicted last December on federal charges in the shooting death of a scab. The case against the miners was cooked up by the coal operators, FBI, and Kentucky state cops after a scab coal hauler was killed during the 1984-1985 UMW strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. and affiliated mines. The four were sentenced early this year to between 35 and 45 years in jail.

Paul Smith was tried separately and acquitted on federal charges. But he was immediately rearrested by Kentucky officials and charged with murder. That trial is scheduled to begin in June. Smith is out of jail on \$100,000 bail.

The statements by Donnie Thornsby and Paul Smith are being circulated by Citizens for Justice, a committee that raises funds for the miners' legal defense.

In his statement, Thornsby explains that during the Massey strike, the miners' "picket lines were shot up almost daily."

"Finally a truck driver was killed. It was widely believed the company had it done to put the blame on my local."

"Now I tell you I was innocent completely and will continue to fight this gross injustice to me and my union," Thornsby emphasized.

Paul Smith explains that the "government and the companies spent two years trying to frame up the union and me."

Smith and Thornsby are urging union members, students, farmers, and other defenders of democratic rights to widely circulate their statements exposing the frame-up and to help raise funds for defense efforts for the five.

The February issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* contained a letter from Citizens for Justice members Charles "Hawkeye" Dixon, Rose Taylor, and Mary Smith urging UMW members to contribute to the Kentucky miners' defense effort.

Miners' union President Richard Trumka visited Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in early March for a showing of the film *Matewan*. During a question and answer session after the film, Trumka told the audience of 200 that the recent trials and convictions of the Kentucky miners was a "setup."

Trumka explained that witnesses at the trial had presented contradictory testimony.

Dominador Mamangun, education and information secretary of the May 1 Movement (KMU) in the Philippines, has sent the UMW members a message stating that the Philippine trade union federation "strongly condemns the convictions" of the miners "based on what appear to be trumped-up charges."

Contributions for the defense of the Kentucky miners can be sent to Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.

Messages can also be sent to Donnie Thornsby 02458-032, 888 FCI Ashland, Ashland, Ky. 41101.

## N. Carolina Indian leader murdered

BY SHERRIE LOVE

PEMBROKE, N.C. — "This is the sort of thing you read about in a Third World country with a right-wing dictatorship," said Chuck Eppinette in reaction to the March 26 murder of Julian Pierce in this town in Robeson County, North Carolina. Eppinette is a legal services lawyer who worked alongside the murdered man.

Pierce, a Lumbee Indian, was running for a judgeship in the Democratic Party primary against Joe Freeman Britt, the current district attorney in this county that borders South Carolina. Britt has been repeatedly charged with racist harassment of Native Americans and Blacks and has been linked to drug trafficking in the county, along with the sheriff's office. He holds the record in sending the most people to death row of any prosecutor in the United States.

Pierce's campaign had become a focal point for activists in the county fighting injustice and corruption.

The shotgun killing of Pierce was initially characterized by both his supporters and the authorities as a political assassination. On March 29, Sheriff Hubert Stone named two suspects and stated that Pierce's murder was the result of a broken romance, rather than politically motivated.

American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt responded with a call for an independent congressional investigation

into this and other unsolved murders in the county.

Speaking at the Militant Labor Forum in Greensboro, Helen Oxendine, administrator of the Robeson County Justice Committee, said, "They have taken a great man from us, but they have made a terrible mistake. This will not stop us, it will only make us fight harder for our dignity."

Oxendine, and Betty and John McKellar, the parents of a young Black who died in the Robeson County jail in January, also spoke to cotton mill workers at the regular meeting of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1391T in Greensboro and at a rally in Winston-Salem opposing U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa.

They urged people to participate in a memorial march for Pierce and in commemoration of the work of Martin Luther King, Jr., which will take place in the county seat of Lumberton on Monday, April 4, 9:00 a.m., at the county courthouse.

At a meeting of 150 community activists here, Bellecourt brought greetings from the American Indian Movement and lent his support to the march.

For further information on the march and other activities, contact the Robeson County Justice Committee at (919) 521-0488.