

Palestinian gen'l strike rebuffs Shultz

BY HARRY RING

Secretary of State George Shultz said he failed to win support from the governments of Syria or Jordan for his Mideast "peace" plan. But he was dealt his most decisive rebuff by the Palestinian people.

His Mideast visit touched off a two-day general strike in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israel Radio asserted that at least 40 percent of West Bank and Gaza workers employed in Israel had shown up.

But the April 5 *Washington Post* reported that both areas were "paralyzed" by the strike. It said the action was called "to protest the U.S. efforts to revive a Middle East peace initiative excluding the Palestine Liberation Organization."

The shutdown registered popular recognition that the refusal to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which enjoys the support of the Palestinian people, exposed the Shultz plan as a hoax.

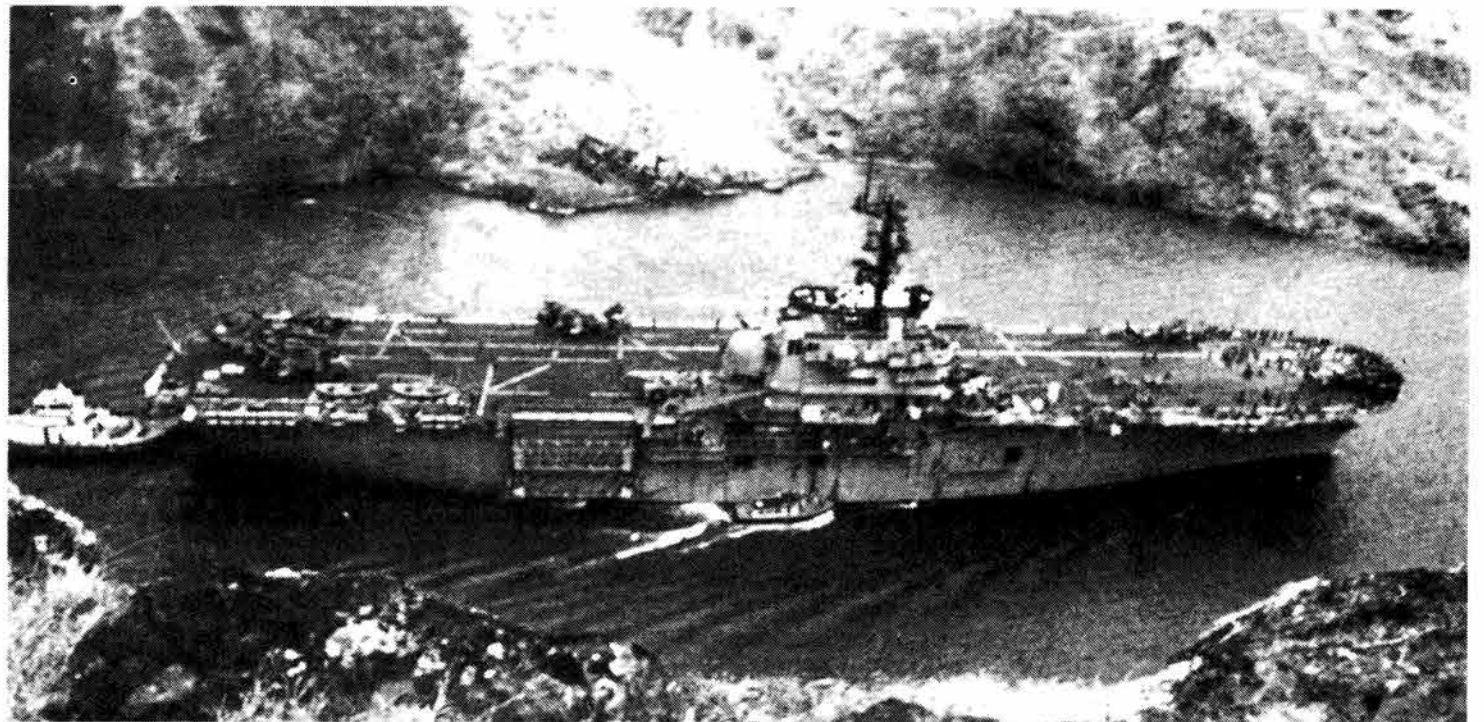
The hoax was confirmed when Shultz, in Jordan April 5, indicated that Washington's view of a "settlement" of the Palestinian uprising came down to turning some part of the West Bank over to Jordan.

And Shultz reiterated that Washington, like Tel Aviv, ruled out negotiating with the PLO.

The general strike was the second in less than a week. On March 30 the people of the West Bank and Gaza acted in solidarity with the Land Day strike of the 700,000 Palestinians living within the "green line."

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Latin American gov'ts hit anti-Panama drive



U.S. helicopter carrier *Okinawa* passes through Panama Canal. Invasion threats, economic aggression against Panama have continued.

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Opposition to Washington's drive to oust Panamanian leader Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega is beginning to grow in Latin America.

It has become increasingly clear that Washington's operation against Noriega — far from being an antidrug move — is aimed at undermining the 1977 Panama Canal treaties and replacing Panama's government with one more subservient to

Washington. This is a threat to the sovereignty and independence not only of Panama, but other countries throughout the region.

The Cuban and Nicaraguan governments have condemned Washington's moves against Panama from the beginning. Mexico's President Miguel de la Madrid has also sharply criticized the U.S. operation against Panama. "We oppose the justification for acts of intervention or

economic coercion," he said March 25.

At the end of March, representatives of 22 Latin American countries met in Caracas, Venezuela, for a conference of the Latin American Economic System (SELA), a regional organization. In response to a request by Panama for solidarity and economic assistance, the SELA meeting voted to condemn U.S. policy toward Panama as "coercive," and decided to consider economic aid to Panama.

The April 6 *New York Times* reported an anonymous senior Latin American diplomat saying, "American intervention is bad, a violation of our basic principles. It has become very worrisome for many." Another diplomat from a country described as generally supportive of U.S. policy in Latin America said he was "greatly alarmed" by reports that the Reagan administration was considering kidnapping Noriega to bring him to the United States to stand trial on drug charges.

Washington's two-year effort to oust Noriega intensified in late February, after Panama president Eric Arturo Delvalle was removed from office by the National Assembly for trying to dismiss Noriega, who heads the country's army.

Since then, Washington — which continues to recognize Delvalle as president — has frozen Panama's assets held in U.S. banks, seized payments due Panama for use of the canal, and taken other steps that have caused an economic crisis in Panama, including closing of the country's banks March 3. Because Panama uses U.S. dollars and has no currency of its own, it is extremely vulnerable to these moves, which have resulted in growing hardship for working people.

In spite of this campaign, however, Washington has been unsuccessful in forcing Noriega out. Meanwhile, Panama's government is trying to take steps to ease the economic crisis. The U.S.-backed anti-Noriega opposition inside Panama, headed by the National Civic Crusade, has been unable to sustain the business "strike" that they vowed would continue until Noriega left office. Panama's banks are also scheduled to reopen this week for at least some banking functions.

The U.S. press reports sharp debates within the Reagan administration over what to do given the lack of success in driv-

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Hundreds attend socialist youth conference

BY SAM MANUEL

PITTSBURGH — "Youth today enter politics at the beginning of an impending generalized social crisis of capitalism both here and around the world," said Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, as she opened the Socialist Youth and Activists Conference held here April 2-3. The conference was sponsored by the YSA and held at the University of Pittsburgh.

"But this is also a time," she added, "when millions of people are engaged in

Political activist Mark Curtis asked participants to support his fight against cop frame-up. His speech appears on page 6.

real politics for the first time in Palestine, Nicaragua, Ireland, and South Africa. That makes this a good time to enter politics."

Some 550 people attended the conference from across the country and around the world. They included members of revolutionary youth organizations from Britain, Canada, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, Nicaragua, and Iceland.

One of the high points of the conference was a panel discussion of youth from these countries.

"The foreign debt crisis results in terrible consequences to our people, in food, health care, education, and housing," said Augustine Fortunato, a leader of the Unity Committee of the Union of Young Dominicans. "We must stop the debt payments and reorganize our economy," he said.

"We cannot accept the linking of the independence of Namibia to the demand by the governments of the United States and

South Africa that Cuban troops be withdrawn from Angola," explained Tji Kuili of the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO). Kuili asked conference participants to redouble their efforts to mobilize people in this country against the racist regime in Pretoria.

Tómas Valdimarsson of the Militant Socialist Organization in Iceland explained some of the attacks by the employers on workers in his country.

He also told how some workers are fighting back. "When the printers' union went on strike the only newspaper that came out for one month was that of the union," said Valdimarsson. He also pointed to the importance of the Cuban revolution to working people around the world.

"The Nicaraguan revolution in its search for peace and in defense of its sovereignty has had a hard struggle economically, militarily, and diplomatically," said Anya Castillo, a member of the Sandinista Youth organization. "The cost in blood and death has been great. More than 11,000 orphans and tens of thousands dead. All of this is the result of a cruel war imposed on Nicaragua," she said.

Castillo concluded by appealing to the conference to continue to defend the Nicaraguan revolution.

Representatives of the Young Socialists in Canada and the Communist League in Britain also spoke on the international panel.

Lively discussions took place in a wide range of classes given by Socialist Workers Party leaders. Topics included the Cuban revolution, nuclear weapons and disarmament, Malcolm X, the new upsurge of the Palestinian struggle, southern Africa, and abortion and women's rights.

Workshops were held on the Pathfinder

Mural Project, building work brigades to Nicaragua, and financing the YSA.

The conference also celebrated an unprecedented victory for democratic rights. The YSA, along with the Socialist Workers Party, had conducted a successful 15-year court fight against the FBI for violations of the groups' constitutional rights. The suit ended in victory, with a federal judge ruling that the government's use of informers, break-ins, wiretaps, and other disruption programs against the two organizations are illegal, and granted an injunction against such action in the future.

Fred Dube led a workshop on academic freedom and the fight against apartheid. Dube, a member of the African National Congress for more than three decades, is fighting to get his teaching job back at New York State University at Stony Brook. Dube was fired on frame-up charges of anti-Semitism. His case highlights a growing campaign against ANC activists in this country.

Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet, gave greetings to the conference.

Mark Curtis, a former national chairperson of the YSA and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, addressed the gathering. In March Curtis was framed up and badly beaten by Des Moines, Iowa, cops for his political activity.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who has been fighting for more than 10 years for the right to live and work in this country, also addressed the conference.

Chants of, "Scabs out, union in!" greeted two leaders of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) as

Continued on Page 5

1,000 in D.C. rally against attacks by Eastern

BY NANCY BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 1,000 union members and their supporters rallied at the Capitol March 23 to protest the union-busting tactics of Eastern Airlines' management.

The rally was one of a series of actions organized by the AFL-CIO around the country to demand "jobs with justice." The protests are a response to company demands for massive concessions from Eastern workers.

The contract of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) expired on Dec. 31, 1987, and the union is attempting to negotiate a new one. The company has proposed wage cuts of as much as 50 percent, slashing benefits, and a new hire wage of \$5 an hour.

More than 15 unions participated in the rally, including contingents from the IAM, Air Line Pilots Association, Transport Workers Union, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Communication Workers of America.

IAM members who work at Eastern came from Kansas City, Missouri; Boston; Baltimore; New York; Newark, New Jersey; Buffalo, New York; Miami; and Washington, D.C.

Mary Jane Barry, president of the Transport Workers Union local that organizes Eastern flight attendants, told of harassment, discipline, and firings of workers. In December, she explained, three flight attendants were suspended for 30 days for refusing to work on an aircraft that had not been de-iced at Denver's Stapleton Airport.

"We have to stop Frank Lorenzo," she said, referring to the chairman of Texas Air, Eastern's parent company. "Our success will be labor's success."

Barry encouraged people to "fly Eastern and wear union buttons and stickers to show you support Eastern workers."

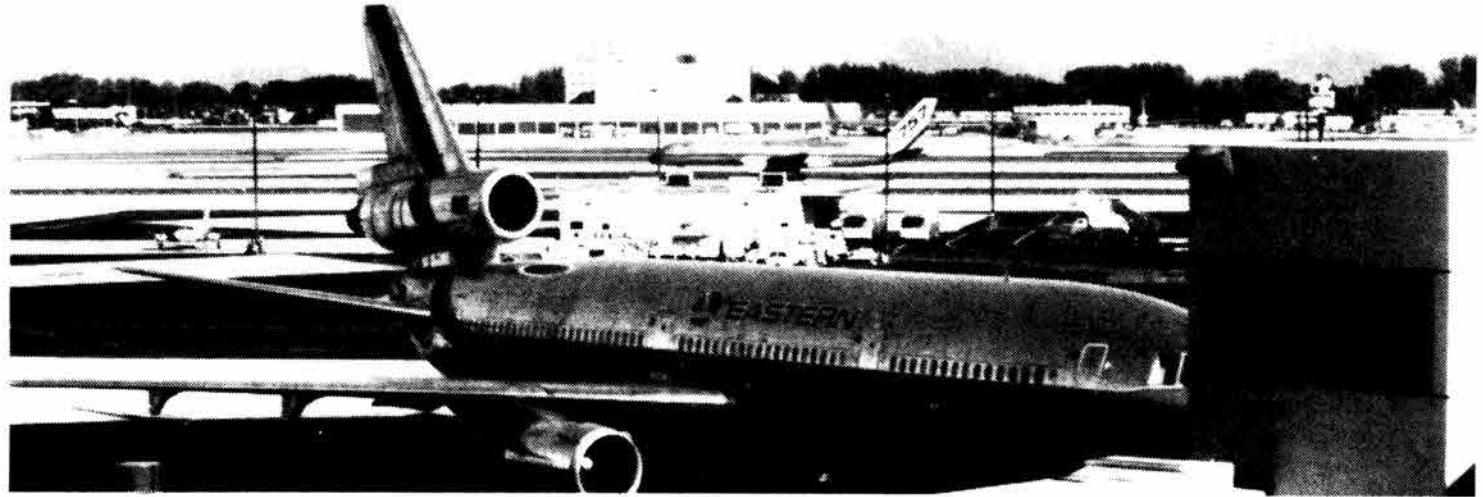
Twenty members of IAM Local 796 who work as mechanics and ground support crews at D.C.'s National Airport attended the rally. Members of the local have organized an "outreach committee" to speak before other unions and community groups and explain the importance of their fight.

They distributed a leaflet at the rally entitled "Stop union-busting at Eastern Airlines."

"We're standing up for ourselves as human beings with dignity who deserve a living wage and a decent work environment," the leaflet reads. "Our battle aids all working people. . . . If Lorenzo has his way, it will embolden the other airline owners to demand further wage and benefit cuts. But if we beat back Texas Air, it will be easier for other airline workers to hold the line against concessions."

"We can't win alone. The active solidarity of the labor movement and public support are critical."

On April 21, the IAM, Transport Workers Union, and other unions are organizing a picket line at the Eastern Airlines ticket office at 16th and K streets N.W. in Washington, D.C.



Eastern is demanding that Machinist union members accept wage cuts and reduced benefits

Militant/Stu Singer

Palestinians protest Shultz visit

Continued from front page

Israel's pre-1967 borders.

Land Day has been an annual event since 1967. It protests Israel's theft of Palestinian land and commemorates the six killed and hundreds wounded by Israeli forces on the first Land Day.

This year it was decided that in addition to the customary marches and rallies, there would be a general strike. In response, the clandestine leadership of the West Bank-Gaza uprising then called for a three day solidarity action.

Israeli authorities correctly saw the projected united Land Day action as a major political challenge and took big steps to try to thwart its success.

In the West Bank and Gaza, mass arrests were accelerated, with a reported 700 jailed the week prior to Land Day.

On March 30 the West Bank and Gaza Strip were sealed off and the entire Gaza population put under a two-day house arrest curfew.

The Palestine Press Service was shut down. A Palestinian agency with an extensive network of correspondents throughout Gaza and the West Bank, the service was widely used by the general media and recognized for its extensive, reliable reporting.

Israeli troops became even more murderous. The week of March 25, at least 17 people died in Gaza and the West Bank, with a record six shot in a single day.

Within the green line, a number of moves were made to curb the Land Day action.

Prior to the strike, at least 100 Palestinians were arrested and another 200 called in for grilling by the cops.

On March 25, *al-Itihad*, newspaper of the Israeli Communist Party, was ordered shut down for a week for publishing "inciting and inflammatory" articles. An Arabic-language daily, *al-Itihad* was promoting the Land Day action.

But all of the trampling on democratic

rights could not stem the protest.

In the Galilee region, 10,000 people marched.

Thousands of Israeli cops were deployed to Palestinian areas, but they decided to avoid confrontations and stay out of towns and villages.

The March 31 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the strike "was nearly total on both sides of the 'green line.' Schools were closed and shops were shuttered . . . the underlying theme of the day was Palestinian unity."

It is this growing unity of the Palestinian people — on both sides of the green line — as well as the implacable West Bank and Gaza resistance that pushes the Israeli rulers to continue escalation of the repression.

Palestinian lawyers and activists estimate that as many as 8,000 people are jailed. Israeli prisons have been long notorious for their cruel and inhumane conditions. Now new, and apparently worse, prison camps are being thrown up.

Marvin Frankel, a retired U.S. federal judge and chair of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, succeeded in visiting a new prison camp for political prisoners in

the Negev Desert.

He found the conditions "quite terrible."

About 1,500 prisoners are being held in tents there, nearly half under "administrative detention," that is, without charges or trial.

Despite the desert heat, Frankel found, water was not available most of the day and, when available, only in a trickle.

He saw about 125 prisoners crammed into four tents with an open sewer running by.

Meanwhile the PLO may be on the verge of an important gain.

It was reported April 2 that the organization may win the right to reopen its office in Beirut, Lebanon.

Large numbers of Palestinians, driven from their homeland, live in Lebanon, mainly in impoverished refugee camps. The camps have traditionally been a powerful base of support for the PLO.

But in 1982, in the wake of the Israeli assault on Lebanon, the PLO guerrilla fighters were forced to leave Lebanon and were dispersed in other Arab countries.

Gradually, though, the PLO rebuilt and regrouped its forces in the camps.

Call grows for 'Hands off Panama!'

Continued from front page

ing Noriega out. A variety of further economic and military measures are being considered, from kidnapping Noriega to a CIA-backed coup.

Efforts by Washington to foment divisions in Panama's army are being actively promoted. "Every effort we can take to foster discontent in [Panama's army] I can assure you, we are taking," said a senior Reagan administration official according to the April 6 *New York Times*.

Washington began sending 1,300 additional troops to Panama on March 29, in-

cluding military police and marines "to insure the continued safety of U.S. personnel and facilities," according to the Pentagon. Additional helicopter gunships, troop transport helicopters, and other war matériel are also being sent. There are 10,000 U.S. troops already in Panama.

Washington is also considering further economic moves against Panama, including invoking the International Emergency Economic Powers Act. This act, which has been applied only to Libya, Nicaragua, and Iran, would mean extreme economic sanctions against Panama.

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SPECIAL
OFFER



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Young socialists mobilize for drive to win 9,000 subscribers

BY NORTON SANDLER

PITTSBURGH — "The Socialist Workers Party 1988 campaign has an international strategy — not a Southern strategy, not one for super Tuesday, not one for a miracle in Michigan, not one to win the Hispanic vote in New York or Los Angeles."

Selva Nebbia, editor of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* and a member of the SWP national campaign committee, was speaking at a national campaign rally held on the University of Pittsburgh campus. The rally was part of the Young Socialist Alliance conference held here April 2-3.

Nebbia encouraged the several hundred people present, including many young people attending their first socialist campaign event, to actively back the SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells and the campaigns of dozens of SWP congressional, senatorial, and gubernatorial candidates around the country.

Nebbia said the central activity for campaign supporters this spring will be the 10-week international drive to win 9,000 new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mun-*

dial, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

The drive kicks off with an April 9-16 campaign target week. Distributors of the three publications in Canada, New Zealand, Britain, and other countries will participate in the circulation effort.

"Our strategy is to reach as many people as we can, whether they are U.S.-born workers, or Colombian-born workers living in Queens, New York; London, England; or Bogotá, Colombia," Nebbia said.

"We are going to kick off this campaign in a big way," she continued. "Doing well during the April 9-16 target week can be a boost to winning 6,000 subscribers to the *Militant*, 1,500 to *PM*, and selling 1,500 individual copies of *New International* by June 15."

During the target week, Nebbia said, supporters will be talking to working people and students at plant gates, on campuses, and in working-class communities. Several areas already have plans for trips to campuses and factories outside their cities, she added.

Nebbia pointed out that for most areas the target week will provide the first oppor-

tunity to get out "in a big way" the proposals being put forward by the SWP candidates.

"We will be talking to employed and unemployed workers," she said, "to workers who are homeless and to those who are not. To workers who have documents and to those who don't. We will be talking to high school and college students, to farm workers, to coal miners, to auto workers, and to garment and textile workers."

In the coming weeks, supporters of Warren and Mickells will also be petitioning to get the SWP ticket on the ballot in a number of states. Petitioning efforts will begin soon in Maine, Alabama, Ohio, and elsewhere.

"As we talk to tens of thousands of people about the SWP campaign, we will have many opportunities to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*," Nebbia emphasized. "We will ask people to buy a copy of *New International* and come by our campaign headquarters and Pathfinder bookstores to find out more about what we stand for," she said.

"Our most important asset," Nebbia stated, "is those of us in this room and everyone we can win over in the course of the campaign."

"By reading the *Militant* every week," she noted, "we'll be able to follow what Warren and Mickells are doing, and to arm ourselves to explain the ideas being put forward by the candidates."

Participants at the conference purchased more than 200 copies of the *Militant* and *PM*. A dozen subscriptions to the two publications were sold along with 10 copies of *New International*.

* * *

This week we are running our first spring circulation drive scoreboard. In-



Militant/Nancy Cole

Selva Nebbia, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, reported on spring circulation drive at youth conference.

cluded are sales goals that have been decided upon by supporters of the publications in some 30 U.S. cities and in Britain and New Zealand. They do not yet add up to a combined total of 9,000 for the three publications.

We will reach 9,000 by distributors in several other cities in the United States taking goals. These goals will be added to the scoreboard along with those of supporters in Canada, Australia, and other countries.

And we anticipate that many subscriptions will be sold by Warren-Mickells campaign teams.

We want to encourage all our readers to participate.

If you want to take a goal or order copies of the *Militant*, *PM*, and *New International* contact our business office at (212) 929-3486.

Marx, Engels are best sellers at youth meet

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

PITTSBURGH — "What should I read that explains the difference between capitalist politicians and socialist politicians? What is going on in the Soviet Union? What should I read on the U.S. labor movement?"

These were among the many questions participants attending the Socialist Youth and Activists Conference here asked Socialist Workers Party leaders staffing the Pathfinder literature table. Volunteers from Canada, Iceland, and New Zealand also took turns helping to sell books and pamphlets.

The answers to these questions were found in the many books prominently displayed. *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, was the most common title recommended. This famous pamphlet, written by the founders of modern communism, was the biggest seller at the conference.

All the participants who approached the tables were offered the new Pathfinder catalogue.

Centrally featured were *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* and *The Communist Manifesto*. In addition, there were displays of the *Militant* newspaper; the magazine *New International*; *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, by Engels; *Value, Price and Profit*, by Marx; *State and Revolution*, by V.I. Lenin; *In Defense of Marxism* and *The Revolution Betrayed*, by Leon Trotsky; *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, by James P. Cannon; *Re-*

volutionary Continuity, by Farrell Dobbs; and *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, a collection of reports and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party.

Throughout the two-day conference, the Marx and Engels section needed constant restocking. The same for books by Marx and Engels in Spanish. One group of young workers from the Dominican Republic came by several times to browse through the Spanish titles, each time buying yet another book or pamphlet.

One woman asked: "What book should I read about Marx and Engels?" The reply was: "None." Instead of reading a book about Marx and Engels, she was encouraged to read what Marx and Engels wrote themselves. After a discussion she decided to buy 15 volumes of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*.

"I've read the *The Communist Manifesto*, and *Socialism on Trial*, by James P. Cannon. What should I read now?" a young woman coal miner asked. We recommended *Revolutionary Continuity*, a two-volume study of Marxist leadership in the United States. She followed the advice.

The classes held during the conference had a big impact on Pathfinder sales. For example, after the class "Does the world have too many people?" by SWP leader Tom Leonard, all copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Too Many Babies? The Myth of the Population Explosion* were sold.

In all, conference participants bought \$1,400 worth of literature.



Militant/Osborne Hart

Literature table at young socialist conference in Pittsburgh

Spring Sales Goals

Area	Drive Goals	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions	<i>New International</i> single copies	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions
	Goal	Goal	Goal	Goal
Atlanta	205	150	40	15
Austin, MN	85	60	15	10
Baltimore	185	150	30	5
Birmingham	170	140	25	5
Boston	350	240	50	60
Charleston, WV	120	100	15	5
Chicago	350	215	60	75
Cleveland	145	110	20	15
Des Moines	195	140	30	25
Detroit	250	185	40	25
Greensboro	170	140	20	10
Houston	215	140	30	45
Kansas City	130	90	20	20
Los Angeles	600	340	100	160
Miami	225	145	40	40
Milwaukee	150	100	25	25
Morgantown, WV	132	115	15	5
New York	1,200	600	300	300
Newark	460	275	85	100
Oakland	265	150	50	65
Omaha	125	80	25	20
Philadelphia	210	140	30	40
Phoenix	240	135	30	75
Pittsburgh	240	185	45	10
Portland	140	100	25	15
Price, UT	55	40	10	5
Salt Lake City	150	115	20	15
San Francisco	350	200	75	75
Seattle	275	200	25	50
St. Louis	250	190	50	10
Twin Cities, MN	275	230	25	20
Washington, DC	250	170	50	30
U.S. city totals	8,162	5,370	1,420	1,372
Britain	200	130	50	20
New Zealand	130	90	30	10
Totals	8,492	5,590	1,500	1,405
Drive Goals	9,000	6,000	1,500	1,505

Visit to farm on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast

Coast autonomy helps throw back contras, opens way to peasant advances

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

KAMA RIVER, Atlantic Coast, Nicaragua — "Imagine, three years ago it would have been too dangerous for us to make a trip like this without military escort," said Vicente Sevilla as he cruised up this river in a small motor boat on a bright, hot day last month.

Sevilla is president of the pro-Sandinista National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) in the southern part of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. He took two *Militant* reporters on a fact-finding tour up the Kama River, about 30 miles northwest from the Atlantic Coast port of Bluefields.

The Kama flows south into the Escondido River. It connects the western part of the South Atlantic region with Bluefields and the rest of the country. It calmly winds its way through a dense tropical forest that is uninhabited except for a few isolated farms and three or four settlements. There are no roads here and the river, at times barely 50 feet wide, provides the only transportation.

"The contras had a strong presence here during 1983 and '84," continued Sevilla. The U.S.-supported mercenaries "practically controlled the area, and ambushes along the river were a constant danger," he said.

The revolutionary government and mass organizations such as UNAG had virtually no contact with the peasants here. "I remember coming here once in a convoy, with one boatload of heavily armed soldiers leading the way and another boatload of soldiers in the rear," said Sevilla.

The military situation has improved considerably since then. This is a product of the decision by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to champion the struggle for autonomy of the Indian, Black, and Spanish-speaking peoples who live on the Coast. The political, economic, lan-

guage, cultural, and religious rights of the Coast peoples are now guaranteed by law. And autonomous Coast governments are being established. This has helped convince many who had joined the contras to lay down their arms.

In addition the Nicaraguan army here, now largely made up of people from the Coast, has driven back the remaining contras and made it safer to travel through most of the region.

"We don't need an army escort to travel here now," Sevilla said. He did bring his AK-47 automatic rifle along. "Just in case," he remarked.

Nevertheless, he and the boat's pilot felt relaxed enough to worry more about hunting iguanas than in looking out for contras. He caught two, which were cooked for dinner that night.

Peasants' self-defense

Two hours up the Kama River is the Cristóbal Aragón Sánchez collective farm. The settlement consists of several dozen wooden houses that lie in a hilly clearing overlooking the river.

During the day, there are mostly women and children in the settlement. They haul water and chop firewood, wash clothes and dishes, and prepare the evening meal. Small children play noisily outside their homes.

There is no electricity here. Dim oil lamps and smoky kitchen fires provide the only illumination in people's homes at night.

By late afternoon, the men return from the woods where they have been clearing land to make new pastures for their cattle. All are armed and are members of the self-defense militia.

The farm has two defense posts on hills overlooking the settlement, and each house

has a dugout shelter. The peasants maintain an armed guard 24 hours a day. This farm was attacked three times last year. The first two attacks left five dead and 13 wounded, although the peasant militia managed to drive the attackers away. By the third time, a militiaman said, the contras didn't dare launch a full assault, but only "harassed the settlement" by firing rocket-propelled grenades from a distance, wounding one person.

While we were there, an UNAG member and a member of the collective farm were debating a new problem posed by the war:

A few days before, the Nicaraguan army had overrun a contra encampment in the jungle 30 miles north of the farm. In the process, the army had found 40 women and children — presumably relatives of contra fighters — whom they brought to the farm.

The UNAG member thought the evacuees should be taken to the city of Bluefields or to the town of Rama. "They'll only cause problems here," he said. "They're women of the contras, and they'll just try to find their men when they can. They could help set up an attack here." Eight had run off the night before, he pointed out, and headed north where they had come from.

The collective farm member had a different view, though he agreed that relations with the newcomers were tense. "They were with the contras for years, and have only been here a few days. It's not possible to have a full discussion with them yet."

Nonetheless, the peasants had taken the evacuees into their homes and given them food, clothing, and medicine. "They're better off with us than they were with the contras," he maintained. "The families they are staying with are beginning to talk with them. If we can get them resettled and give them support, it's possible we can integrate them. We're taking little steps right now."

The discussion ended when an army lieutenant who works with the militia explained that they did not have the boats or resources available to relocate the evacuees in any case.

How the collective farm was organized

That night the farm's executive committee gathered to explain the history of their farm.

Santos Chamorro, the farm's president, said that before the 1979 Sandinista revolution, "we didn't live here. We had our own farms elsewhere and lived on our own. We didn't have any idea about organizing ourselves." The FSLN did not have a presence in much of this region before 1979. Thus, "we did not participate in the war of liberation" against dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Many peasants here are Spanish-speaking mestizos who are not originally from the Atlantic Coast, but migrated more than a decade ago from the central and western regions of Nicaragua. "My parents were very poor," one peasant recalled. Their plot of land was too small to support their family. "We came 15 years ago from Chontales [in south-central Nicaragua] in search of land to work," he said.

Because of the concentration of land in the hands of a few big ranchers in Chontales, "poor folks had to take to the mountains to find a living," he said.

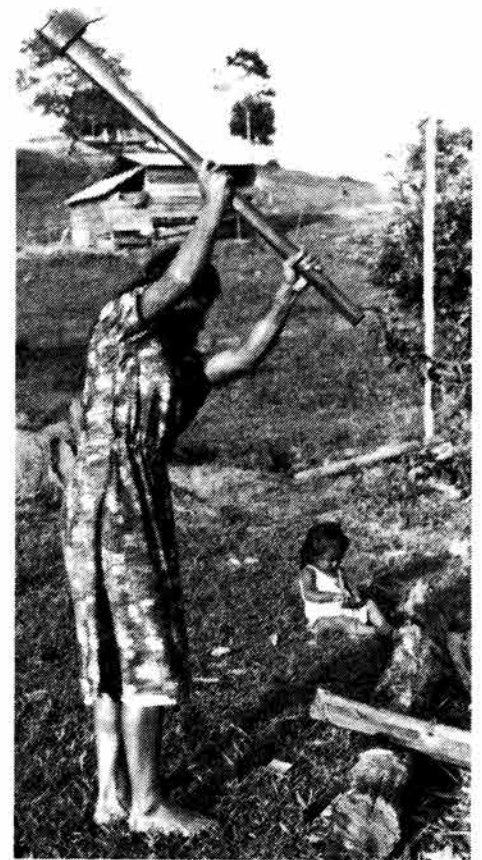
After the revolution the escalation of the contra war forced many peasants here to leave their farms.

"We left our lands and the government relocated us here on the banks of the Kama River," Chamorro said. "At first we were organized into three small collective farms that barely produced enough for our own subsistence." Their efforts to farm were also severely hampered by the need to mobilize men for defense.

"At the end of 1987," Chamorro continued, "we started talking with the comrades here about organizing one united collective that would be stronger, and in January 1988 we decided to merge."

The collective farm now has 27 families and owns 3,600 acres of land. The land is owned and worked collectively. An additional 28 unaffiliated peasant families also live here.

Most of the nonmember families work on land allotted free of charge by the collec-



Militant/Roberto Kopec
Peasant woman at Cristóbal Aragón Sánchez collective.

tive farm. These individual farmers do not own the land they work on, but do own the crops they raise. If they wish, they can join the collective as full members. For some this is only a temporary arrangement while they get land of their own or return to the farms they were forced to abandon because of the war.

The collective farm's main activity is raising cattle, though members also plant corn, beans, and rice for their own consumption.

The farm has a school and an adult education center, with six teachers. Basic health services and first aid are provided by local residents with paramedic training and a doctor who visits once a month.

Before the revolution, noted Chamorro, peasants in the area "had no doctors, no health brigades, no nothing. There were only a few midwives and some gifted persons who cooked roots and herbs," for medicinal purposes.

Under the Somoza dictatorship peasants here lived under the domination of a local boss called the *jefe de mesta* (a rough translation would be sheriff), said Roselí Aragón. That officer was appointed by the regime to keep the peasants under control and worked closely with the dictator's National Guard.

The jefe de mesta owned the only store here and was the only one to whom the peasants could sell their produce, Aragón said. "Everything we didn't produce ourselves we bought from him, and everything we produced we sold to him. He charged us whatever price he wanted and paid us whatever price he wanted. Other merchants could not come and deal directly with us. If they did, they ran the risk of getting killed by his men."

The farm now has a supply store organized by UNAG and run by the peasants themselves.

The farm also has boats so the peasants can take what they produce downriver to Bluefields where they sell it in the public market or to the government.

Chamorro and his comrades were quite optimistic about the future. "In 1984 and 1985 the situation was more tense," Chamorro commented. Although "there has been some fighting early this year, we know that the counterrevolution is losing steam," he said. "It doesn't have the strength it used to. Its social base is not the same because a lot of contras from around here have accepted the government's amnesty and given up their weapons," he added.

As the meeting ended, a young man sleeping nearby was gently awakened by his mother. He was a member of the peasant militias and it was his turn to go out and do guard duty.

S.F. musician teaches roots of jazz to Nicaraguans

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Licks and riffs, swing and bebop, the harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic concepts of jazz. These were topics of intense discussions by a group of Nicaraguan musicians here in February.

They were participating in a series of workshops led by Richard Lesnick, a jazz saxophonist from San Francisco. Lesnick was invited by the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC) to lead a week of workshops to introduce Nicaraguan musicians to American jazz.

Lesnick spent his mornings rehearsing with the Nicaraguan band *Igni Tawanka*, and his afternoons in workshops with some 20 musicians from different groups. They discussed and practiced some of the musical concepts basic to American jazz.

In the evenings, Lesnick played selections from jazz tapes that further illustrated the music practiced during the afternoon, and held a question-and-answer session. He also donated a collection of jazz tapes to the ASTC musicians' union.

"These musicians had never heard much jazz," Lesnick said, "though some knew of the major artists by name. Thus the workshops were an eyeopener. The Nicaraguans were very enthusiastic and now want to learn to play jazz themselves."

"In addition to the musical concepts, I tried to present a social understanding of the roots of jazz," he continued.

"I wanted them to understand jazz politically, and understand why it is a unique culture that grew out of the oppression of Black people. I tried to explain the African roots of jazz, African tribal music forms, the impact of slavery, and the role of the Black church." He noted that the Nicaraguan musicians, who are part of the revolution here, were more interested in the social and political aspects of jazz than are many U.S. musicians.

Lesnick said he was impressed by the fact that the ASTC paid a fulltime salary to many Nicaraguan musicians, giving them



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Richard Lesnick

more time to develop and practice their music. In the United States, he added, many jazz artists cannot make a living from their music. Lesnick himself plays with jazz bands in New York and California, but also works as a mechanic for United Airlines. He is a member of the International Association of Machinists.

While in Managua, Lesnick performed with the Swedish jazz group *Mynta* in a concert presented in the Rubén Darío National Theater. He was interviewed by Sandinista television, Radio Sandino, and *Ventana*, the weekly cultural supplement to the Sandinista daily *Barricada*.

"His love for Nicaragua was obvious," wrote *Ventana*, "and thus he visited our country, but with the novel intention of giving a jazz workshop to Nicaraguan musicians."

The interview reported Lesnick's views on the history of jazz and its importance for Nicaraguan musicians, as well his opposition to the U.S.-organized contra war. "His solidarity was expressed this time through a music workshop given to 20 Nicaraguan artists," *Ventana* reported.

Kickoff rally gives big boost to socialist campaign

BY SAM MANUEL

PITTSBURGH — To the cheers of a packed and enthusiastic rally of more than 500 at the Socialist Youth and Activists Conference, James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, declared, "The decade of the '80s will mark when their empire began to crumble, to come apart at the seams."

The SWP had announced its ticket of Warren and Kathleen Mickells, candidate for vice-president, at a news conference in New York on March 9.

The impending social crisis will "for the first time in 45 years present the challenge and opportunity for workers and farmers around the world to forge a unity of the likes never seen before," observed Warren. That unity, he continued, "will be forged in the battle to prevent the capitalist rulers from imposing their solution to this crisis on us."

"Their solution to the last great social crisis, in the 1930s, was millions of people unemployed and homeless. Their solution was World War II, which destroyed the economies of Europe and Japan and took the lives of tens of millions of people — 20 million in the Soviet Union alone."

"In the fight to prevent them from imposing this solution on us," Warren explained, "we will not be powerless, or helpless. We will fight back!"

Warren pointed out that this fight will be strengthened by the large influx of immigrant workers from Asia, Africa, and Latin America into every imperialist country. "There is no such thing as the average U.S. worker today," explained Warren. "Have you been through London? What is the average British worker?"

"These workers are not submissive, or helpless. They are fighters. And they bring the justice of their struggle for their rights to the struggle of the entire working class in the countries they end up in," Warren said.

Cuban revolution

The SWP presidential candidate underscored the importance of the Cuban revolution in politics today. "The hatred of U.S. imperialism for Cuba flows not from any one act of solidarity by Cuba with the oppressed, but from Cuba's general position as an opposite pole of attraction for politicized working people in the world. One pole is that of U.S. imperialism. The other is Cuba," Warren stressed.

"The Democratic and the Republican candidates tell working people that the decisive thing to be done in politics has to do

with pulling a lever," said Warren. "We are telling working people that the most decisive things we can do in politics this year is what we do to defend ourselves against worsening conditions today and against the impending social crisis tomorrow," he concluded.

Mickells stressed the need to fight for measures that can overcome the divisions imposed upon working people in the United States and around the world by the capitalist rulers.

The biggest division, she explained, is between employed and unemployed workers. "The bosses use unemployment against us. They try to get us to cease seeing the unemployed as workers. They become the 'underclass' or 'temporary' workers at best. But there is no job that is your job. To the bosses we are all 'temporary' workers," said Mickells.

Proposals for fighting back

Mickells proposed that the labor movement fight for a 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay in order to spread the available work around. "This must be an international demand," she added. "The average workweek in Japan is 48 hours. In South Korea it is 54 hours."

"We must fight for affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, and women, who have suffered the most. There must be no second-class citizens in our class," Mickells emphasized.

The vice-presidential candidate explained that the labor movement must take up the fight to relieve an enormous burden weighing down on working people in the colonial and semicolonial countries: the foreign debt. "The foreign debt is a lethal economic weapon used by the imperialist rulers against the colonial world," she said.

Selva Nebbia, editor of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, reported on how *PM* and the *Militant* are publicizing the socialist campaign. Supporters of the two publications have launched a 10-week drive to get new subscribers beginning April 9. The effort will include winning new readers to the journal of Marxist politics and theory, *New Internationalist*.

The drive will be combined with campaigning for the candidates. Nebbia also reported on plans for trying to get the socialist candidates on the ballot this year in some 20 states.

An international campaign

Joining Warren and Mickells at the rally was Jean Dupré, a leader of the Revolution-



James Warren and Kathleen Mickells have begun speaking tours that will take them to many states and other countries.

Photos by Tony Savino

ary Workers League in Canada and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. He pointed to the signs of increasing willingness to fight by workers in Canada.

Two examples are the recent ruling won by the Canadian Supreme Court affirming a woman's right to an abortion and a successful strike by nurses in the province of Alberta challenging antilabor legislation. Dupré underscored the importance of the fight for the rights of immigrant workers in Canada today. Recently the Canadian government launched a campaign to deport Turkish workers. There are some 2,000 Turks in Canada.

"But the government has been confronted with large mobilizations in defense of immigrant workers. So far the government has been unable to deport one Turkish worker," he said.

Warren was the victim of racist and political victimization by Canadian and U.S. immigration authorities last September at Montreal's Dorval Airport when he tried to visit Canada. He was grilled, strip searched, and finally sent back to the United States. Dupré explained that a campaign in defense of civil liberties and against this kind of cop harassment has won Warren's right to travel to Canada.

Pauline Francis, a member of the Communist League of Britain, condemned the

murderous campaign of the British government against the Irish independence movement. She pointed to the case of three Irish freedom fighters murdered in cold blood by cops in the British colony of Gibraltar. The cops had followed them for six months.

"Just being a member of Sinn Féin is enough to get you shot in the back," said Francis, referring to the revolutionary political party in Ireland that is allied to the Irish Republican Army.

Defense of working-class fighters

Mark Curtis and Héctor Marroquín, also seated on the platform, were introduced to the audience. Curtis, a former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, was framed up and beaten by Des Moines, Iowa, cops in March for his political activities.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born SWP leader who has been fighting for 10 years for his right to remain in the United States.

This was the first national rally of the Socialist Workers 1988 campaign. It was chaired by Aaron Ruby, a member of the YSA National Committee from Boston. The YSA is actively backing the SWP campaign. In response to an appeal for campaign donations by Ruby, \$3,350 was raised.

Hundreds at youth conference

Continued from front page

they were introduced to the conference. The union is on strike against the giant International Paper Co.

Dennis Couture, vice-president of UPIU Local 14 in Jay, Maine, and Ed Long of UPIU Local 1787 in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, thanked the YSA for its support to their strikes and invited everyone to a solidarity rally in Jay on April 30.

Both unionists participated later in a workshop on the paperworkers' struggle. Another workshop was conducted by leaders of the United Farm Workers of Washington State.

In the closing session of the conference, YSA National Executive Committee member Greg McCartan outlined the main activities of the YSA for 1988. At the heart of the YSA's plans is winning support for the Socialist Workers Party's 1988 election campaign.

"Putting support for the socialist candidates at the center of all our activities is the best way to clearly present our views and build a revolutionary socialist youth organization," explained McCartan. The YSA will play an important role in the 10-week-long spring drive to circulate the socialist press and in organizing campaign teams to help get the socialist candidates on the ballot across the country.

The YSA will also continue to expand solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution by helping to organize work brigades to Nicaragua. And the YSA will help involve as many youth as possible in the June 11 national antiwar marches in New York and San Francisco. "Supporting these actions is a concrete way to continue to campaign

against aid to the contras," McCartan said. "In addition we demand that the U.S. government give massive aid to the Nicaraguan government for the reconstruction of that war-torn country."

For many of the young fighters present, it was the first time they attended a YSA conference. Many were thirsty for socialist ideas. Political discussions continued in the hallways, at literature tables, and during breaks. Some \$1,400 in books and pamphlets were sold during the conference.



Militant/Osborne Hart

Participants in YSA conference

Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign

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

* * *

Campaign volunteers needed!

- ☐ Send me literature on the campaign.
- ☐ Send information about national tours, local socialist campaigns, and ballot petitioning drives in my area.
- ☐ I endorse the Warren-Mickells ticket.
- ☐ Enclosed is my \$_____ contribution to the campaign.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Clip and mail to Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign, 79 Leonard Street, New York, N.Y. 10013. Tel. (212) 941-1174.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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Paid for by the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee

'Why Des Moines cops beat me up and want to railroad me to jail'

Political activist Mark Curtis addresses socialist youth conference

The following speech was presented April 2 by Mark Curtis to the Socialist Youth and Activists Conference held in Pittsburgh. The conference was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

As a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a former member of the Young Socialist Alliance, I'm sharing the victory in our lawsuit against the FBI. We have pushed back government spying, break-ins, and disruption not only of our own organizations but for unions, antiwar groups, and others.

But while we've pushed them back, they haven't been pushed out of the picture by any means.

We must now use what we've won in that battle to fight the next challenges to our democratic rights.

Last month I became a victim of political repression.

Because of my political activity, the Des Moines, Iowa, police framed me up on false charges, took me to jail, and beat me up. The police know who I am and that I am innocent of any crime. They set me up.

Their goal is to stop me from doing what I've been doing and to intimidate others from becoming involved in struggles against war, for the rights of immigrant workers, and against racism. They want you, my coworkers, antiwar activists, and others to think twice before they become active in politics.

This frame-up is also an attack on your organization, the Young Socialist Alliance. They don't want young people, as I did 11 years ago in Albuquerque, New Mexico, to join the YSA.

Why I joined the YSA

I joined the YSA then, as a student at the University of New Mexico. It was my first

involvement and education in revolutionary politics. I joined because of my experiences growing up on the Navajo Indian reservation and identifying with the native peoples' fight against racism. In addition, I had worked at the United Nuclear uranium mine and saw the dangers to the workers, community, and environment it created.

I joined the YSA at the time we had just begun a fight in defense of one of our members — Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who was fighting for his right to stay in this country.

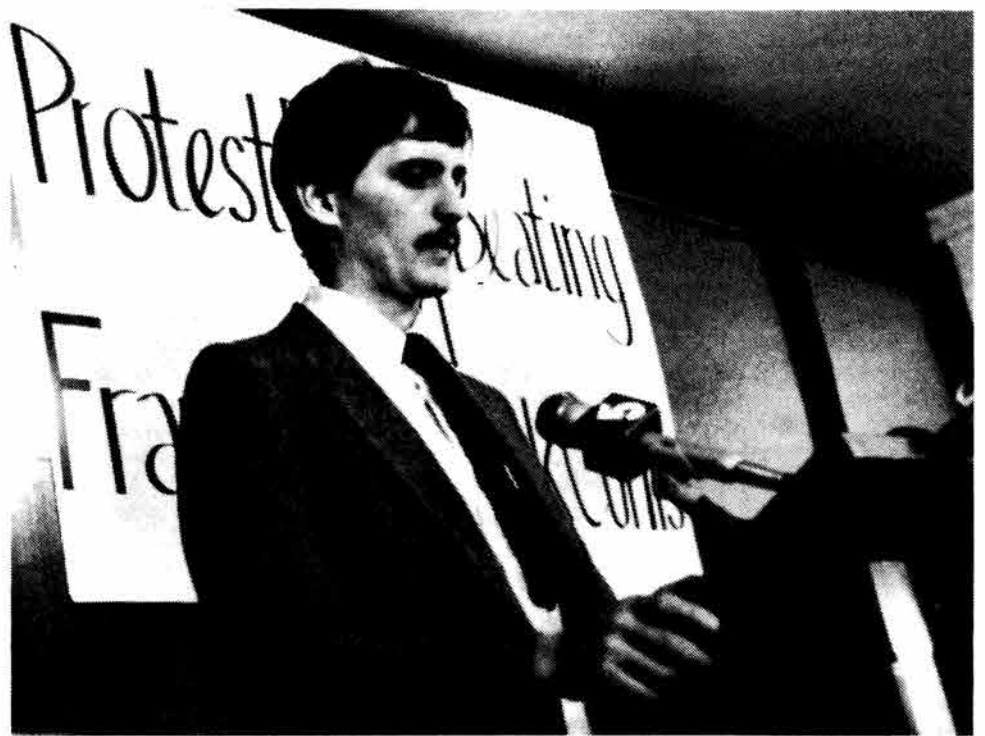
I supported Héctor and helped set up meetings for him to speak before hundreds of students in Albuquerque and in El Paso, Texas.

In 1981 I jumped at the chance to go to Birmingham, Alabama, to become a member of the YSA chapter and SWP branch there.

In Birmingham I worked with a group of people who were opposed to the U.S. government's war in Central America. We formed a committee called the Birmingham Committee in Solidarity with Central America. We didn't like the fact that the U.S. government was sending guns to the dictatorship in El Salvador, guns that end up in the hands of the death squads, who torture, rape, and murder unionists and farmers who dare to speak out. Our group was affiliated with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, CISPES.

We also opposed the U.S.-backed "covert army" — which was later to become a public secret known as the contras, who are fighting a dirty war against Nicaragua.

For the Birmingham committee, just as for the YSA, Nicaragua was an inspiring example. It is an example to the U.S. government too, only a bad example, of a



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis: "My real crime is being a political activist, speaking Spanish, building demonstrations, and being a communist."

country breaking with imperialism, of a people getting control of their own country and resources.

The U.S. government doesn't like that and they want to crush it. But to us it's inspiring to see a revolution that is making advances for the human race. It's an example of what people are capable of when they take control of their society away from the Somozas and their bosses in Washington, D.C.

I've learned a lot from the Nicaraguan revolution. One of the most important things is what it has pointed out to me about Cuba.

So when I got the chance — when the U.S. government temporarily lifted its ban on travel to Cuba — I signed up for a YSA-organized youth tour in 1981.

A person doesn't become a communist all at once — you evolve into it — and my trip to Cuba helped push that evolution along. By talking to Cubans, I became convinced that it was possible to create a new society, one that serves all humanity, not the greed of a few rich people.

In Birmingham I got a job at Hayes Aircraft plant as a mechanic. Hayes repairs war planes — the C-130s you see unloading soldiers and guns in Honduras — as its main business. I joined the United Auto Workers union and helped organize workers to go to the Jobs, Peace and Justice rally in Washington, D.C., in 1983.

Management at Hayes Aircraft didn't like having an antiwar, antiracist socialist right in the plant. Working with a core of right-wingers tied to the Ku Klux Klan, the company tried to run me out of the plant a number of times. But I fought back and stayed there for three and a half years, even running as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress.

The company fired me and another SWP member in 1985. They said they reviewed our job applications (out of 2,000 workers in the plant), and found discrepancies. This is a common ploy used by the employers when they want to get rid of a worker.

Naturally, they found some discrepancies. Like the applications of most other workers who have to get a job, there were discrepancies. It wasn't some special thing because I'm a socialist.

FBI spied on me

In my investigation to get facts on the Des Moines police frame-up of me I have also found out that the FBI spied on me as part of their illegal surveillance, break-ins, and harassment of CISPES.

The FBI file on me, "Mark Curtis aka Mark Stanton Curtis," lists me as one of several individuals "acting in the leadership roles in the Birmingham area."

The file goes on to smear the organiza-

tion: "Group is led by students from University of Alabama in Birmingham (UAB) and have had several peaceful protests in Birmingham area. . . . Last known protest in area was Veteran's Day, 11/11/83. Captioned group advocates 'peace' — not just absence of war, but nurturing of human life."

"Captioned group believes U.S. foreign policy of late advocates the overthrow of any foreign government, which is not in agreement with the Reagan Administration. While this group does not favor civil disobedience, they will ally themselves with any group, violent and non-violent, in order to further their goals."

Far from "terrorism," which is what the FBI claimed they were investigating, our group put on slideshows, organized peaceful demonstrations, etc.

When I look at this document now, it makes me wonder if this surveillance was part of my firing from Hayes Aircraft in 1985.

Soon after my firing, I moved to New York City to work in the YSA's national office. I worked on the YSA's newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, anti-apartheid demonstrations, national finances, speaking tours, and organized our participation in national demonstrations, including the abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., in 1987.

I've been a supporter of women's rights for a long time, especially the right of a woman to control her own body. This is a necessary condition for women to be equal with men in society, in the workplace, in education, and in every sphere of life.

A year and a half ago I moved to Des Moines to start up a new branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Party members from around the country came to Iowa, Omaha, Nebraska, and Austin, Minnesota, to join struggles there. These included the fights by farmers for the right to work their land, the fights by workers, particularly meat-packers, against the forced speed-up, dangerous conditions, and lower wages the bosses are forcing on them, and the fights by students against CIA recruitment on their campuses and student solidarity with South Africa's anti-apartheid movement.

We established a branch, opened a Pathfinder bookstore and began a Militant Labor Forum series. That was my assignment, director of the Militant Labor Forum.

Working at Swift plant

I got a job at the Swift Independent Packing Co.'s meat-packing plant in Des Moines and joined United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431. We take a cow and make it into sirloin tip.

I took a job there for the same reason I

'Mark's support for immigrants has won him deepest respect'

The following letter was sent to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder from Héctor Marroquín. A Mexican-born worker and leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, Marroquín has been waging a decade-long battle for his right to stay in this country and be given permanent residence status. The letter, written on March 26, protests the beating and frame-up of Mark Curtis at the hands of the Des Moines police department.

I would like to express my outrage at the beating and brutal frame-up of Mark Curtis and demand that all charges against him be immediately dropped. Furthermore, I demand a full investigation into his beating and that all those responsible be prosecuted.

As a Mexican-born worker who has been fighting against the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for my right to live and work in this country, I am particularly outraged at the police reference to Mark as a "Mexican-lover."

I have known Mark throughout the long struggle for my rights. He has always been an outstanding supporter of my fight. I have also shared with him over a decade of joint political work as members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

If his support for the rights of Mexicans and other immigrants qualifies him as a "Mexican-lover" and target for a brutal beating by the police, it definitely has won him the deepest respect and admiration of many immigrants and other working people for his dedicated commitment to this part of the struggle against racist and political discrimination.

As I and many other individuals and organizations celebrate the recent victory in the Socialist Workers Party and Young So-



Militant/Martin Koppel

Héctor Marroquín in letter to Des Moines police chief demanded full investigation into frame-up of Curtis.

cialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and INS in rallies being held around the country, we will make certain that every supporter of that case knows about Mark's political victimization.

I will appeal to every worker — citizen and foreign born — every antiwar activist, every antiapartheid activist, every fighter for Black and women's rights, every fighter against police brutality, and every individual and organization concerned about democratic rights to lend their support and solidarity to Mark's fight against this political frame-up.

As Mark has always done, I will join in his fight with redoubled commitment, for Mark's fight is my fight and he will not be silenced.

I am confident the brutal political frame-up against him will be exposed and defeated.

and other socialist workers came to Des Moines — to become a part of what's going on in the working class and to bring our ideas there, especially through sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

That's what communists do. We discuss with coworkers how our class can advance. We have no interests separate or apart from that goal. We have knowledge about the history of the class struggle and lessons learned from it, and a perspective generalized from it. This is an internationalist perspective that sees the working class as one class living in different countries but with the same interests. It is a revolutionary perspective that points toward overturning capitalist political rule and establishing a workers' and farmers' government as a necessary step in transforming society.

Packinghouse workers have been brutally attacked by the companies in the last several years. The tremendous speed of the line, the lack of safety equipment, training, or regulation has made meat-packing the most dangerous job in America. Workers are getting cut with the knives used, suffering crippling injuries of their hands and wrists, and suffering lower wages too.

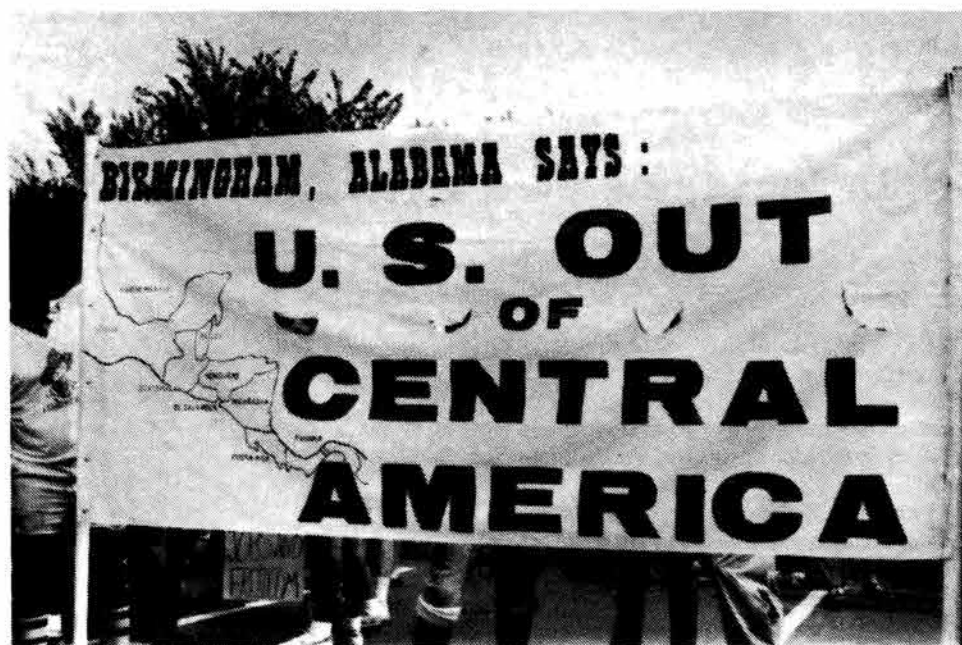
I was fired, for example, because I left the line to see the company nurse about a back injury after the foreman refused to let me go. I injured my back cutting and pulling large, heavy cattle paunches off the gut table. It's not unusual to get fired from Swift; it has a notorious reputation. But what was unusual is that I fought and won my job back with the help of my coworkers and the union. This was a big victory.

The people who work at Swift come from many different countries: the United States, Mexico, Laos, El Salvador, and Thailand. Des Moines is like the rest of the country that is experiencing a changing composition of the working class. There are more and more immigrants, exercising their right to travel, work here, and live here. And they are more confidently demanding equal treatment with their fellow workers born in this country.

Defending their rights is an important part of defending the rights of *all* workers in this country — born here or not. And because the SWP holds this view, and because I have been able to learn some Spanish, I became more and more in the center of the struggle at Swift to build a union of all workers to fight for our rights.

The companies and government don't like that idea — erasing divisions between workers. They are the source of the anti-immigrant propaganda. Not because they want to deport all immigrant workers, but to use fear of deportation to pressure undocumented workers to accept lower wages and other conditions of second-class status.

That is why the government hoped to set a precedent in Des Moines on March 1. The Immigration and Naturalization Ser-



Birmingham marchers at 1983 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Curtis' activity in Birmingham Central America solidarity activities at the time led FBI to open a file on him.

vice and federal marshals came into the Swift plant and arrested 16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran worker. They threw them into jail and charged them with using false work documents — a felony punishable with imprisonment, not only deportation.

This opened a big discussion at the plant, with some workers for the arrests and a growing number against, in which a communist who speaks English and Spanish can play an important and critical role in helping to unify and lead.

Immigrant workers, fighting for their rights, will play a leading part in transforming the unions into tools we can really fight with.

Swift 17 meetings

On Friday, March 4, a meeting was called by Hispanic activists to discuss the "Swift 17," as they have come to be known. The meeting took place at the United Mexican Cultural Center near the plant at 2 p.m. A raging discussion took place there as family members of the jailed Swift workers lit into the INS agents — *la migra* — who lied to the meeting about the raid. Several of the Swift 17 had applied for "amnesty" under the new immigration law and were told that all the information they provided was "confidential." But the INS then took this information and searched through the Swift personnel files to bust the workers.

Those of us who were working on the kill floor wanted to attend the meeting at the cultural center but were told we couldn't leave work.

At 2:00 p.m. eight Mexican workers walked off the job in protest. That was enough to shut the line down until the company promised to set up another meeting for us, which took place after work that day. At this meeting it was decided to have a demonstration the next weekend to protest the raid and demand freedom for the "17."

After the meeting I went with my coworkers to a nearby bar to have more discussion. There were some other white workers there too, and they were inspired by the militancy of the Mexican workers in the walk-out that day. "That's the way we should do it every time the foremen mess with us,"

one said. He's right. That's what working-class leadership is and where it will come from.

This is real politics. It's the kind of thing that Swift is afraid of because it threatens to educate the wage slaves on the Swift meat-packing plantation. It teaches the slaves who their friends are and who their enemies are.

Communists who join together with other thinking workers play an important role in this process.

More than anything else, the U.S. government fears the possibility of workers, farmers, and the oppressed waging a battle under their own leadership.

What happened to me after I left the bar that Friday night is an example of an arm (at least one arm) of the government acting to protect the interests of Swift, Hayes Aircraft in Birmingham, and any company.

I drove to my house, called a couple of other members of the Des Moines SWP to tell them I'd be out at the grocery store, but I'd be right back because I was expecting to put a YSA member and his companion up at my house for the night. Then I went to the grocery store to buy food for the next night's Militant Labor Forum, which I'm in charge of organizing. We had a forum planned on Nicaragua with three *brigadistas* who had just returned to Iowa and Missouri.

At the traffic light five blocks from my house a woman stopped my car and asked me — pleaded with me really — if I would give her a ride home. She said a man at the bar down the street was trying to hurt her, and I said I would.

When we got to her house four blocks away, she asked if I would wait on the porch while she checked the house.

A few moments later the police landed and arrested me. They came so suddenly it was like they had landed.

It wasn't until after my arrest that I realized I was being framed up on the charge of attempted rape.

I want to say something on the question of rape, because as communists we fight to stop violence against women that this society fosters so much. Women who are victims of violence, especially the violent crime of rape, have a right to speak with other women who are trained to work with victims. Society must take responsibility to help the victims of rape. And the individuals who perpetrate this violent crime should be investigated, arrested, and prosecuted.

My interrogation was really nothing but a crude attempt to force a confession out of me. The cops asked me if I was a "Mexican-lover" and a "colored-lover."

I don't talk to the police. Everything I'm involved in is legal and public. So when the police try to get you to talk to them it's not for their education. It's to get you or someone else in some kind of trouble. I knew I had a right to a lawyer and I knew I had a right not to say anything to them.

So when that didn't work, they choked me, they jumped on my ribs, they beat me, and they cracked my left eye with a night stick, fracturing my cheekbone and leaving my eye swollen shut and my body bruised all over.

They sent me to the hospital, stitched me up, sent me back to jail and charged me with assaulting the cops who beat me up. They put me naked in a bare cement cell for the rest of the night. My friends and comrades weren't allowed to see me until the

next day when they raised the \$30,000 bond required. They are now prosecuting me and hope to sentence me to 25 years in jail.

I'm being framed up. The Des Moines police arrested me and beat me up. The FBI spied illegally on me and kept computerized files on me. FBI and federal police agents went through the personnel files at Swift prior to my arrest.

These things happened not because of any crime I committed. I am innocent and the police know it. My real crime is being a political activist, what the racist cops call "Mexican-lover," "colored-lover," for being "Mark Curtis aka Mark Stanton Curtis" acting in leadership role of CISPES in the Birmingham area.

For speaking Spanish, for selling the *Militant* newspaper, for organizing forums, for being a 10-year YSA member, national chairman of your organization, and building demonstrations and fighting the KKK.

For being a communist — and like all real communists, we put ourselves in the middle of the fights and the political education the working class is going through and seeking to lead.

More frame-ups

We are now entering a new political period in this country. A post-stock market crash period of great capitalist economic crisis. This period will also see the fights, battles, struggles, and strikes that emerge as working people try to solve this crisis.

There will be more frame-ups. More unionists like the five Kentucky miners involved in leading a strike against the Massey company will be framed up.

The more the government uses military force to crush uprisings overseas, the more police will swing their clubs against demonstrations and strikers here in this country.

But a victory in my fight will be a setback in their drive against democratic rights. They want to use me to send out a warning. Let's send *them* a warning. No frame up! Drop the charges!

I'm asking you — fellow activists, anti-apartheid fighters, antiwar rabble-rousers, women's rights and antiracist fighters, workers, students, farmers, members of the YSA.

I need your help. Stand with me. Fight this fight.

Send so many protest messages to the Des Moines police chief that he'll drown in paper. Make the police wish they'd never heard the name Mark Curtis, much less arrest him.

Raise money for my defense and raise hell for the police. Let Chief Moulder know: if they laid a finger on me, they laid a hand on you, and it had better come off *now*!

This is part of the same fight on a different front as the fight against the war in Central America. Fighting the frame-up of an antiwar fighter is part of fighting against the war.

An injury to one is an injury to all. That's certainly true. But the flip side is also true and that's what we're aiming for — a victory for one in my fight will be a victory for all.

How you can help

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. Contact the committee to order brochures on the Curtis case, to become an endorser of the defense effort, and to make donations, which are urgently needed.

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Arthur Kinoy, Center for Constitutional Rights.

Mark Curtis, Iowa activist fighting cop frame-up.

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Behind Armenians' massive protests

Bureaucracy in USSR perpetuates centuries-old oppression of nationalities

BY SAM MANUEL

Massive social protests continue to grip the Soviet socialist republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Since mid-February thousands of Armenians have rallied both in the Armenian republic and in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani republic. They are demanding the reintegration of Nagorno-Karabakh into the Armenian republic.

The area was made part of the Azerbaijani republic in November 1923 by the Soviet government. This administrative move was contrary to the sensitivity with which the Communist-led government had been carrying out its policy in relation to oppressed nationalities since 1917. It reflected the emergence of growing bureaucracy and conservatism in the Soviet Communist Party and the government.

Armenia and Azerbaijan are two of 15 republics that make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Most of the republics are based on the national groupings that were oppressed under the Tsarist empire. They include Georgians, Ukrainians, Turkmen, Uzbeks, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and others.

In the recent protests, *Pravda* has condemned the Armenians' demand as "anti-socialist." Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said on March 9 that the Armenian demand would not be approved. Soviet militia troops in Nagorno-Karabakh have been instructed to restore order.

Following a February 26 meeting with two leaders of the Armenian protest, Gorbachev promised to look into their grievances concerning the lack of Armenian-language schools, books, and television in Nagorno-Karabakh. Gorbachev has also unveiled a \$664 million economic development program for the region.

The protests have resumed after a one-month suspension following the February 26 meeting. Strikes by Armenians have shut down factories and schools and halted rail cargo in the capital of the region. The March 29 *New York Times* reported that Azerbaijani workers came to the plant gates but refused to work when they learned that the Armenians were on strike.

Legacy of discrimination

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Armenia, which included part of what is today the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, was conquered and divided between the Ottoman and Persian empires. Under the Ottoman Turks and the Persians, both Muslim, Armenians suffered discrimination for their religion, language, and culture. Most Armenians are Christians.

For example, in addition to regular taxes on crops and other property, under Ottoman rule, the Armenian peasants also paid a head tax for each Christian between the ages of 15 and 65. Ottoman troops quartered in the countryside lived at the expense of Armenian peasants.

Armenians were also charged a tax for exemption from compulsory military service, even though they were excluded from such service. They had no channel for re-

dress since, as Christians, their testimony was inadmissible before any court.

Tsarist intervention

Throughout the early 1800s Armenian nationalists appealed to several European powers, including Tsarist Russia, for help in winning freedom from the Turkish and Persian yoke.

Motivated by its own expansionist interests, the Russian monarchy brought the Persian-dominated part of Armenia under its "protection" at the end of the Russo-Persian war of 1828.

Following the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, the Tsarist regime also attempted to annex Turkish-dominated Armenia. The Russian monarch's plans were blocked by the British government, which sought to advance its own imperialist interests in the region. The Tsar was forced to settle for the eastern Turkish-ruled Armenian provinces of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum. The rest remained under Turkish domination.

The Armenians who came under the domination of the Tsar, however, did not win their freedom. They remained oppressed. The Armenian language was suppressed under a Russification policy begun after 1884. Nonetheless, the Russian occupation of the eastern provinces stirred Armenian nationalists' hopes of breaking completely from the Ottoman empire.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation

Several Armenian nationalist parties were formed that functioned in both the Russian- and Turkish-dominated parts of Armenia. The most prominent political group was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), formed in 1890. Although it had the support of many Armenian peasants, the ARF was dominated and led by wealthy merchants, traders, and academic and literary figures.

On Aug. 26, 1896, some ARF members took over an Ottoman Bank in a desperate attempt to attract European attention to their plight. Using this incident as a pretext, the Ottoman sultan, Abdul Hamid, declared the Armenians in revolt and launched a bloodbath against them. An estimated 4,000 to 6,000 Armenians were slaughtered in the capital, Constantinople. By the end of the year, more than 200,000 Armenian men, women, and children had been killed throughout Turkey.

The Young Turks

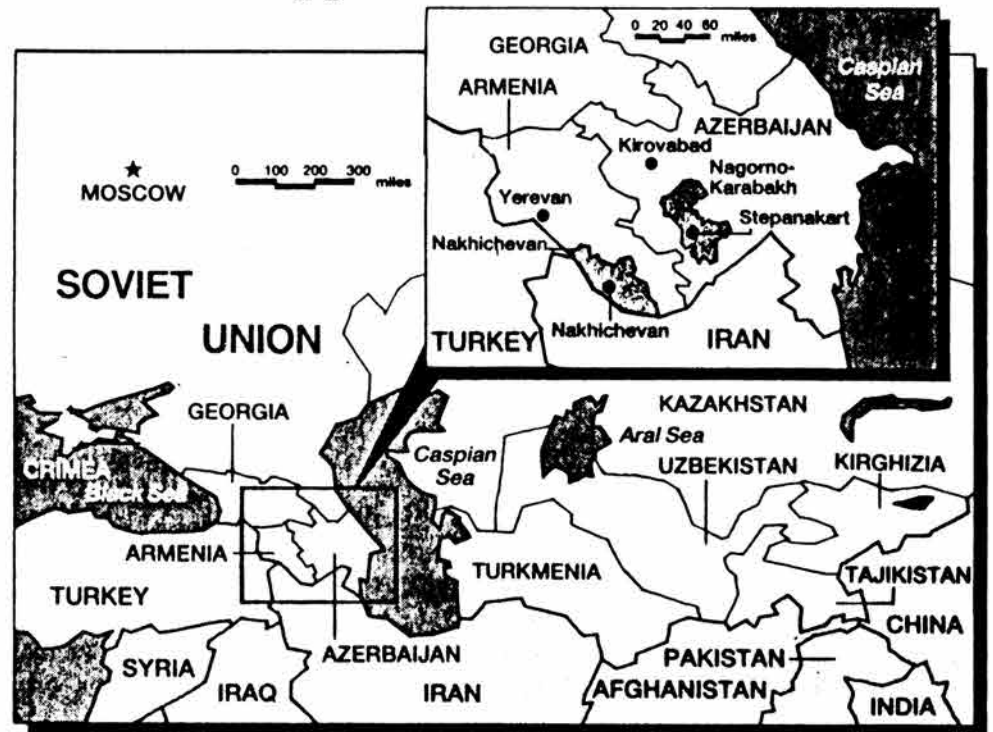
In 1907 Turkish students exiled in France organized the Committee of Union and Progress. Against the Turkish monarchy they advocated a pan-Turkish empire that would unite all its citizens regardless of race or religion. The Committee of Union and Progress, whose supporters became known as the Young Turks, condemned the Turkish sultan not so much for his oppression of the Armenians as for his ceding parts of the empire to the big European powers. But the Armenians shared a common goal with the Young Turks — the destruction of the despotism of the sultan and the setting up of a democratic republic.

A group of Turkish military officers led by the Committee of Union and Progress staged a revolt in 1908. Troops sent to arrest them rebelled and shot their commander. The sultan was forced to concede restoration of the 1876 constitution, which provided for a two-chamber parliament subordinate to the sultan. Armenians were permitted to join the military.

But under the pressures of World War I and the imminent collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the nationalist ideals of the Young Turks were revealed to be not far removed from the chauvinism of the Turkish monarchy in relation to the Armenians.

Massacres of 1915-16

From 1915 to 1916 the Turkish government, which was dominated by the Young Turks, organized the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians. Another 600,000 were driven into the deserts of Mesopotamia, (today Iraq), where most of them perished. The regime justified this heinous act by claiming that the Armenians in Turkey were sympathetic to, if not collaborators with, the Tsarist regime.



Inset shows area of Armenians' protests in Soviet Union

In preparation for entering World War I on the side of German imperialism against Tsarist Russia, the Young Turks appealed to the ARF to foment rebellion among its supporters in the Russian-controlled parts of Armenia. The ARF had strong support in these areas due to its opposition to Russification.

The ARF in Turkish Armenia turned down this appeal at its eighth congress held at Erzeroum in August 1914. The congress urged the Turkish government to remain neutral in the war. But leaders of the ARF in Russian Armenia saw in the war an opportunity to free Armenia from Turkey. When Turkey entered the war, Armenians in Russia fought in support of their imperialist government. The Armenians in Turkey supported the Ottoman rulers.

The Bolshevik revolution

In October 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia overthrew Tsarist rule, bringing an end to Russian domination of Armenia. The policy of the revolutionary government, headed by the Bolshevik Party under V.I. Lenin's leadership, was to grant the right to self-determination, up to and including independence, to all those nations oppressed by the Tsarist empire.

This policy was key to uniting the workers and peasants of all nationalities in the fight to overthrow Tsarist rule, and for defending the young workers' and peasants' republic in the subsequent civil war. Within months of taking power, the Bolshevik government granted independence to Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Armenia, and other oppressed nations.

In early 1918 the ARF remained the dominant political party among Armenians. The Armenian Communist Party was not founded until the beginning of that year. The ARF blocked with opponents of the Bolshevik government to form the Transcaucasian Commissariat, a joint government that included parties from Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Transcaucasia declared independence from the Soviet government in April 1918.

This federation fell apart, however, under the impact of military intervention by Germany, Turkey, and Britain. Subsequently the ARF declared an independent Armenia on May 28, 1918, and signed a separate peace treaty with Turkey.

Late in 1919 the British government was forced to withdraw its forces from all of Transcaucasia. A Communist-led rising in the industrial city of Baku established Soviet power in Azerbaijan. In October of that year a renewed Turkish offensive in Armenia led to the collapse of the ARF government. This opened the door to the establishment of the Armenian Socialist Republic in November.

The overthrow of the anti-Bolshevik regime in Georgia and the establishment of a Soviet republic in that country followed in February 1921. The three Transcaucasian socialist republics established links to

Soviet Russia through military and economic treaties.

On Dec. 13, 1922, the Armenian, Georgian, and Azerbaijani republics established the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Later that month, this new Soviet republic, along with the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, constituted the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In 1936 the Transcaucasian SSR was dissolved into its component parts — Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan — each of which became separate autonomous republics of the USSR.

Reestablishment of the Russian empire

The Communists' policy, under the leadership of Lenin, to respect the rights of oppressed nations, had begun a transition toward overcoming the oppressive legacy of the Tsarist empire dominated by the Russian nation. But this process was cut short by the emergence of a privileged, bureaucratic caste that usurped political power from the workers and peasants and reversed this revolutionary course.

Significant sections of the Soviet working class and peasantry had become exhausted, and over time demoralized, as a result of the civil war and the absence of relief that would have been provided by victorious revolutions in other countries.

A layer of demoralized workers and party functionaries began emerging that sought, above all, stability — a guarantee of its own material well-being and security in the midst of economic scarcity and imperialist threats.

This growing conservatism attracted petty-bourgeois layers whose social weight began to increase in the party and the government, diluting the role of workers and peasants.

Lenin sounded the alarm against this growing danger, until a stroke forced him out of political activity in March 1923. He fought to bring more rank-and-file workers and poor peasants onto party bodies and into the government to counter the tendencies toward bureaucracy, corruption, conservatism, and provincialism. Among other problems, Lenin criticized the insensitivity and administrative arbitrariness in relations with oppressed nations that was developing among leaders of the Communist Party, including General Secretary Joseph Stalin.

Following Lenin's death in early 1924, political differentiation accelerated in the Soviet CP leadership. By the end of the 1920s, the bureaucratic caste led by Stalin had consolidated its control over the party and state apparatus. The Leninist policy toward oppressed nationalities was reversed and Russian domination over the USSR established. It is more than six decades of this domination that has prepared the soil for the Armenian people's assertion of their national rights and Gorbachev's bureaucratic and persistent resistance to conceding those rights.

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When U.S. attorney general was held in contempt of court in gov't spying suit

Introduction

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

One of the most important episodes in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against FBI spying and harassment was the fight in 1978 to force the attorney general of the United States to turn over files of 18 FBI informers. By refusing to do so, Griffin Bell became the first attorney general of the United States ever held in contempt of court.

In 1973 the SWP and YSA filed suit against the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government agencies, charging that the government's political police had carried out illegal, covert disruption activities against the socialists for decades. The suit asked for a court injunction to put an end to this.

In 1986 — 13 years later — federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the FBI and other defendants were guilty of violating the constitutional rights of the SWP and YSA to privacy and freedom of association. The judge ruled the government must pay the socialists \$264,000 in damages.

One year later, Griesa issued an injunction barring the government from using information from 10 million pages of secret files compiled on the socialists since the 1940s.

The 15-year battle against the FBI was brought to a successful conclusion last month when the government decided not to appeal Griesa's decision and injunction.

One of the most important accomplishments of this fight was exposing the extent of the covert operations of the U.S. government's political police. Millions of working people became aware of how the government had carried out secret disruption operations against the Black rights movement, the movement against the Vietnam War, socialists, and other critics of government policy.

The hundreds of thousands of pages of files the government was forced to turn over to the SWP in the first years of the suit revealed that these disruption programs were the norm, not the exception in dealing with opponents of the government.

The concession the government was forced to make in turning over these files, however, didn't call into question its right to use informers and to keep the identities of these spies and the facts about them secret.

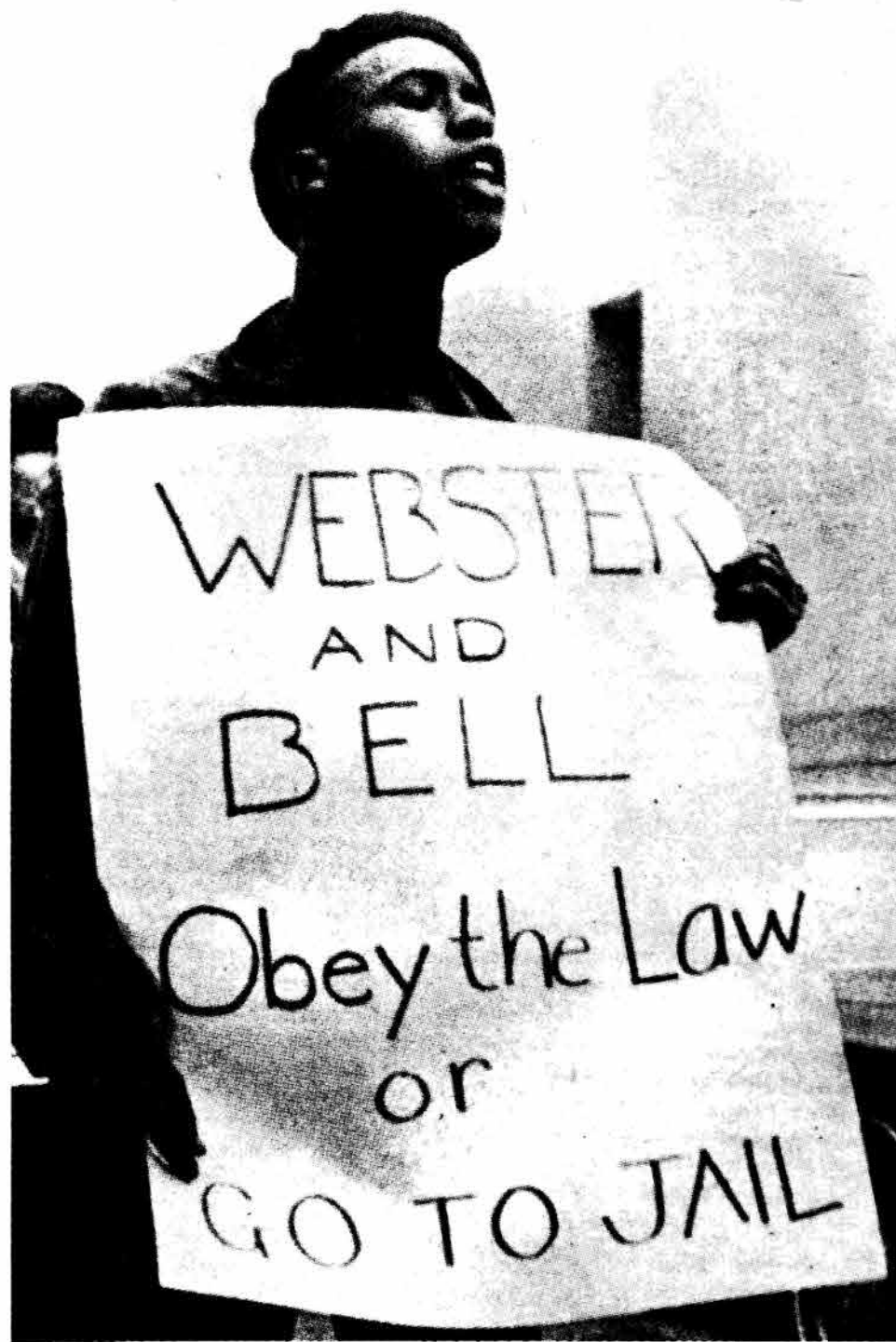
That's why the battle over the 18 informer files became such a dramatic moment in the SWP's case. It struck at the heart of what was involved in the socialists' suit: whether the government has the right to use covert informers to spy on people. It took on the alleged inviolability of the main arm of the government's political police operation — its vast army of tens of thousands of secret finks.

'Informer privilege'

The government went to great lengths to protect what it calls the "informer privilege." In the summer of 1978, when the SWP lawyers asked Judge Griesa to order the FBI to turn over the files of a representative sample of 18 informers, the Justice Department immediately appealed. They argued that the order "strikes at the heart of this entire [informer] program" because it would violate the rule that the identity of undercover informers can never be disclosed.

The government then took the unprecedented step of having Attorney General Griffin Bell inform Griesa that he would not obey the court order. Griesa found him in contempt of court, the first such ruling in U.S. history.

The Justice Department appealed the contempt ruling and a federal appeals court decided in the government's favor, reversing the ruling. Eventually the contents of



Militant/Robert Allen

A 1978 picket in St. Louis demands then FBI director William Webster and then attorney general Griffin Bell end cover-up of informers' crimes.

the files were summarized by a special appointee of the appeals court and made part of the trial record.

The SWP agreed to let Judge Griesa read the informer files, even though the party was denied the right to see these materials itself. The socialists had no hesitation in doing this, because they were confident that nothing in these files would show policies or actions of the SWP that would contradict what the party said publicly. The SWP does not have any program or policies it keeps secret from the working class because it has no special goals of its own separate from the historic goals of the world's toilers.

The *Militant* is being expanded from 16 to 20 pages in the next several weeks in order to reprint previous coverage of some of the political highlights from the SWP's and YSA's successful fight against the FBI.

This week we're reprinting four articles by Larry Seigle that focus on the fight over the informer files.

The first article is a news story that appeared in the July 14, 1978, *Militant*. This is followed by a three-part series on informers that appeared in the July 7, 21, and 28 issues.

* * *

BY LARRY SEIGLE

JULY 4 — The clock is running out on Attorney General Griffin Bell. Barring a sudden about-face by the administration of President James Carter, Bell will be the first attorney general ever held in contempt

of court, at 5:00 p.m. on July 7.

After that date the Socialist Workers Party will renew its motion in federal court that Bell be locked up. The party is demanding that Bell be confined to prison until he obeys a court order to turn over files on 18 FBI provocateurs and spies used against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

President Carter's Georgia buddy, a former federal appeals court judge, will thus gain the distinction of becoming the nation's number one law-breaking official.

The judgment against the attorney general came in a sweeping 64-page decision handed down June 30 by Federal District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the SWP and YSA suit against government spying and harassment.

The American people, Griesa declared in his opinion, have a right to be "protected against the illegal and unconstitutional use of informants to interfere with the exercise of basic political rights and to invade the privacy of persons and organizations."

Griesa raked Bell over the coals for creating an "unjustified delay and obstruction to the production of evidence in a case involving serious charges of illegal use of informants."

Responding to Justice Department pleas that holding Bell in contempt would be unprecedented, Griesa said, "No one can deny that it is a grave step to enforce a court order to the extent of holding the Attorney General of the United States in contempt. However, the issues in this case are grave in the extreme, involving charges of

abuse of political power of the most serious nature."

'Essential evidence'

Griesa upheld the party's contention that the files on the FBI spies are "a unique and essential body of evidence regarding the allegations of wrongdoing in this case."

He ruled that the case involves "the most fundamental constitutional rights . . . the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from governmental organs."

"This decision has far-reaching implications for everyone involved in political activity. It will be drawn on for years to come — if it is upheld on appeal," said attorney Mary Pike.

Pike, along with Margaret Winter and SWP chief counsel Leonard Boudin, has fought the issue out in numerous legal briefs leading up to the historic June 30 ruling.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes hailed the ruling as "a milestone in the fight to uncover the truth about FBI political spying."

In a statement sent out over the wire services and quoted on the front page of newspapers across the country, Barnes said, "The attorney general's flagrant defiance of Judge Griesa's order is part of the government's continuing cover-up of the criminal acts of the FBI's secret army of stool pigeons and provocateurs."

"We demand that President Carter immediately direct Bell to comply with the court order."

"We will take this case to the American people and join with all supporters of democratic rights to demand that the Carter administration stop stonewalling and hand over the files."

Fundamental contest

Behind the legal conflict between Bell and the socialists lies a fundamental contest over the government's right to use spies and finks as weapons against socialists, against labor, and against the Black and women's movements.

Throughout the history of the workers' movement, capitalist governments have used secret agents to sow dissension, create provocations, and engineer frame-ups of class-struggle victims. Political police have always constructed their repressive machines on the foundation provided by subterranean networks of informers.

Without its army of rats, the FBI would be severely handicapped in its job of disrupting movements that seek to challenge government policies.

However, after years of revelations about FBI and CIA crimes — including many sordid details about the role of FBI snitches — the American people are not sympathetic to government efforts to protect the FBI's informer network behind a curtain of secrecy.

On June 27, at a court hearing convened to hear arguments on whether Bell should be found in contempt, United States Attorney Robert Fiske complained strenuously that handing over the files "would have a major adverse effect on law enforcement in general and also on foreign counterintelligence."

In the past, such an appeal from a high government official would have carried considerable weight. Today, it rings as false as did President Richard Nixon's sniveling pleadings about "national security" to conceal the Watergate crimes.

Judge Griesa brushed aside this defense argument, insisting that turning over the files would be "in the broad public interest."

Summarizing the central issues in the case, Griesa wrote: "Plaintiffs [the SWP and YSA] allege, among other things, that the FBI used its very considerable power to

Continued on Page 12

The battle over government informers

Why Att'y General Bell won't release spy files

BY LARRY SEIGLE

A chain of extraordinary developments has once again thrust the socialist suit against the FBI onto center stage. The issue is the government's right to use informers to infiltrate, disrupt, and spy on its opponents.

The rulers' informer network constitutes the main operational arm of their political police and of their war against labor, oppressed minorities, the women's movement, and the entire left.

Thus, the unfolding struggle over this issue involves very high stakes.

In a major public address on May 3 of this year, William Webster, President James Carter's new FBI chief, put it this way:

"Not many people know very much about informants; and to many people it's kind of a queasy area. People are not comfortable with informants. There is a tradition against snitching in this country."

"I have to say to you, however, that the informant is *The*, with a capital 'T', *The* most effective tool in law enforcement today — state, local, or federal."

The immediate topic of Webster's concern is not "law enforcement" in general, but the FBI's political war against critics of the government. In this underground struggle, informers are essential.

The government is prepared to go to great lengths to prevent any weakening of its informer system. That is why Carter is willing to have his attorney general risk contempt of court and is ready to pay the political price for such a move.

The Carter administration's naked refusal to obey a court order makes former president Richard Nixon's gang, by contrast, look like a troop of law-abiding boy scouts. It truly amounts to a declaration that the government and its spies are above the law. If Carter can get away with this, it will be at the expense of the rights and liberties of all Americans.

Legal fireworks

The legal fireworks now exploding in Judge Thomas Griesa's courtroom are unmistakable signals that the case known as *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* has reached a decisive round. After nearly five years of preliminary sparring, the SWP and the attorney general are now slugging it out, toe to toe, over the informer issue.

The earlier rounds produced dramatic exposures detailing the nature and extent of FBI crimes. These disclosures have played a significant role in educating the American people about the true character of the capitalist government and its political police.

The government was forced to turn over tens of thousands of pages documenting massive illegalities carried out in the name of "national security." These revelations were concessions the rulers were forced to make, under the pressure of the massive outcry against government crimes, and under the unrelenting and skillful prodding of the SWP and YSA case.

Government officials, politicians, and the capitalist press all joined in criticizing the FBI for its excesses of the past. They promised that such evils would be ended.

Newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, authoritative organs of the ruling class, gave prominent coverage of the SWP suit. This was part of their campaign to make the FBI serve the rulers' needs more effectively, by forcing an adjustment in tactics and rhetoric in light of the new political climate of post-Watergate and post-Vietnam America.

In November 1976 the Ford administration went so far as to announce that it had directed the FBI to halt its investigation of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Of course, the "investigation" wasn't stopped, nor was it intended to be. But the statement represented another bow to public opinion and to the widespread support for the socialist lawsuit.

No concession on informers

However, the concessions the government made didn't include any weakening of their right to use informers or of their right to keep the facts about these informers behind an iron curtain of secrecy.

In fact, in 1974, when Judge Griesa issued a temporary order to block informers from attending the Young Socialist Alliance convention in St. Louis, the Justice Department immediately took an emergency appeal to the higher courts in a successful bid to get that order overturned.

And when Griesa, in May 1977, ordered the FBI to produce unexpurgated files on 18 of the informers it has used against the SWP and YSA, the government dug in its heels.

The order to turn over the files, said the FBI, "strikes at the heart of this entire [informer] program." It would have "a devastating impact on the overall investigative effectiveness of the FBI."

The government is worried about the new revelations contained in these undeleted files, comprising some 25 drawers of raw reports. But it is far more worried about the "devastating impact" that handing over the files would have on what the government claims is the "informer privilege."

This privilege amounts to an absolute rule that protects the activities and identities of government snitches from disclosure even in court proceedings.

The government insists this privilege must be preserved, because people won't agree to become informers for the cops unless they are guaranteed anonymity. They also argue that the finks would be harassed and subjected to physical retaliation if their identities are disclosed.

The Supreme Court has generally, although not under all circumstances, upheld the "informer privilege" for people who give evidence of a crime to the police.

But there is not a single piece of evidence pointing to any illegal acts by the socialists in all the material collected by the FBI stool pigeons. Griesa himself, who has reviewed the files, says they contain "a consistent recital of peaceful, lawful, personal activities, and a total absence of any criminal activities or plans of any nature whatsoever."

The real criminals

There is evidence of crimes in these files. But it is the crimes of the FBI informers, not of the socialists.

In fact, the informer files will help the socialists prove in court that not only did the informers commit a multitude of specific criminal acts, but that the entire so-called investigation by the FBI has been an unconstitutional violation of fundamental rights.

No "informer privilege" can be used to cover up these crimes. The FBI can't hire informers to commit illegal acts and then claim immunity from disclosure under the "informer privilege."

Yet that is exactly what the Carter ad-

ministration is trying to establish as the law.

The refusal of the Supreme Court last month to overturn Griesa's order on the files was a significant victory. It weakens the "informer privilege." It will be easier for others in the future to force disclosure of spy files.

But that is only a dent in the privilege. What would really blow it out of the water, legally, would be for the SWP attorneys to actually gain possession of the files. Once that historic step is completed, the FBI will never again be able to claim that its informers believed their identities would not be disclosed. Any informers still working for the FBI or any other government agency would obviously be well aware of the decision in the SWP case. Therefore, the major rationale for the claim of "informer privilege" would disappear.

What's more, since there would be no harassment or physical retaliation against the identified rats, that ridiculous argument would also collapse.

In other words, the actual delivery of the informer files would deal a devastating blow to the "informer privilege."

Police informers versus the wo

"Our informants are concerned, people in the field tell me, about a number of things that are happening today," lamented FBI chief Webster in a recent public address.

"One case in New York," said Webster, referring to the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit, "which I shall not discuss but which is sort of a symbol of the open question of whether or not informant information will be disclosed, is known to informants around the country, and they are asking this question of our agents in the field, 'Are you really going to keep this information confidential?'"

This is a very gratifying picture: thousands of present and former finks all across the country quaking in their boots as the battle progresses over whether or not the FBI can keep secret the truth about its illegal informer operations. These stool pigeons know that their livelihoods may be ruined by the outcome of *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*.

This historic case will have great significance for the massive spy networks maintained by federal, state, and local cops all over the country. Can the cops continue to use informers as disrupters and provocateurs, direct them to commit all kinds of criminal acts, and then cover up these activities by invoking the claim of "informer privilege"?

Bismarck's spies

The fight to defend political and trade union activity against infiltration and sabotage by government agents goes back to the very beginnings of the labor and socialist movements.

In 1887 the German Social-Democratic Party, harassed and hounded by spies in the pay of German Chancellor Bismarck, decided to fight back. The party's newspaper, the *Sozialdemokrat*, published in full the names of Bismarck's police spies.

So much for their "informer privilege." The mighty force of the Russian revolution of 1917 also poked a few holes in the "informer privilege" of the Tsarist police agents.

The FBI of those days, the hated Okhrana, was a special target of the insurrectionary workers. When the March 1917 revolution broke out, Tsarist stool pigeons took drastic measures to keep the Okhrana's informer files from falling into the hands of the people.

In his book *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, Victor Serge recorded the events: "In the first days of the March 1917 Revolution,

What a victory that would be!

But that is exactly what the Carter administration is taking such extreme measures to prevent. And that is why voices of the ruling class, such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, have suddenly turned around and started arguing in favor of FBI secrecy. They are worried that the SWP and YSA are now going too far.

That is why there has been no editorial outcry against the spectacle of the attorney general, supposedly the nation's top law enforcement officer, declaring open defiance of a court order. Rather, what we get are embarrassed apologies for this outrageous stand.

Said the liberal *Washington Post* in its lead editorial on June 17: "At first glance, the position of Attorney General Griffin Bell in the Socialist Workers Party case seems outrageous. . . . Once you examine this case closely, however, Mr. Bell's action is neither outrageous nor even illogical. He believes the government has a legal right to protect the confidentiality of its sources." Says the *Post*, "Mr. Bell has a strong legal position."

In the words of the *New York Times*, in a lead editorial June 20: "The Justice Department says giving up files would violate a basic law-enforcement principle: that the identity of informants must be scrupulously protected."

the Petrograd Palace of Justice had gone up in flames. We knew that the destruction of its archives . . . had been the work both of the criminal underworld, which was interested in destroying these documents, and of police agents. At Kronstadt a 'revolutionary' who was also a police-spy had carried off the Security archives and burnt them."

Despite these desperate efforts to conceal the identities and crimes of the Okhrana spies, the Bolsheviks did gain possession of extensive files.

The police archives recorded the activities of between 30,000 and 40,000 agents provocateurs over the previous 20 years. The records of the year 1912 chronicled the work of 55 police agents active in revolutionary groups in Petrograd. These included 20 among the Social Democrats (both Mensheviks and Bolsheviks), 17 among the Social Revolutionaries, 3 anarchist groups, and the rest scattered among student societies and among the Liberals.

"For the first time" wrote Serge, "the entire mechanism of an authoritarian empire's police-repression had fallen into the hands of revolutionaries."

The case of Malinovsky

Among those whose identities were contained in the secret files was Roman Malinovsky. Malinovsky had been the head of the Bolshevik group of deputies elected to the Tsarist Duma (legislature) in 1912. The files proved that he had been an informer for the police all along and that the cops had, in fact, worked vigorously to get him elected.

Because of the Tsarist repression, the Bolsheviks organized much of their educational and agitational work through their Duma deputies, who were less vulnerable to arrest. Malinovsky was thus in a particularly good position to turn over to the cops details on upcoming meetings, addresses where literature was stored, and the real and assumed names of revolutionists working underground.

He turned over to the cops lists of subscribers to the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* and names of contributors to the paper's fund drives. His treacherous deeds delivered countless revolutionaries into the bloody hands of the Tsarist police.

However, even this strategically placed informer was incapable of altering the course of events in a major way. Malinovsky — and all of the other Tsarist spies — could not prevent the Bolsheviks from becoming a mass party and establishing the

In New International magazine:

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.

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"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1978

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"That principle may not be absolute, but it is not trivial, either. Informers are often essential. . . . It is surely conceivable that violating that pledge [of secrecy] in this case would reverberate in many others."

The *Times* argues that there is good reason for Bell "to say he will not obey Judge Griesa's orders, even if held in contempt. . . . It is permissible to resist an order so as to test it."

Adding a note of caution to this novel advocacy of civil disobedience by the government, the editors hastily add, "but that subtlety is not widely understood and a contempt citation would make the Attorney General appear defiant."

Indeed it would.

Pro-Carter forces may find all kinds of arguments to justify Bell's defiance of a court order — and more importantly, his defiance of the right of the American people to learn the truth, not just about past FBI crimes, but about the FBI's continuing crimes.

All the more reason then to bring about the widest possible unity of all the victims and potential victims of the nation's secret police. It is time to rally these forces with renewed determination to support the efforts of the SWP and YSA in this landmark case.

The stakes have never been higher.

Working class

first workers state the world had ever seen.

Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin later described the situation this way: "It is obvious that by helping to elect an *agent-provocateur* to the Duma and by removing, for that purpose, all the competitors of the Bolshevik candidate, the secret police were guided by a vulgar conception of Bolshevism, or rather, a distorted caricature of Bolshevism. They imagined that the Bolsheviks would 'arrange an armed insurrection.' In order to keep all the threads of this coming insurrection in their hands, they thought it worthwhile departing from their own standpoint and having Malinovsky elected both to the Duma and to our Central Committee.

"But when the police achieved both these aims they found that Malinovsky was transformed into a link of the long and solid chain . . . by which the party influenced the masses, namely *Pravda* and the Duma fraction. The *agent-provocateur* had to protect both these organs in order to justify his vocation.

"Both these organs were under our immediate guidance. Zinoviev and myself wrote *daily* to *Pravda* and its policy was entirely determined by the resolutions of the Party."

Thus, concluded Lenin, "Malinovsky could and did ruin individuals, but he could neither hold back nor control the growth of the Party nor in any way affect the increase of its importance to the masses, its influence over hundreds of thousands of workers."

In 1918 Malinovsky was put on trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Moscow. In the face of testimony against him from former superiors in the Okhrana, and documents from police archives, this snitch — responsible for the death and torture of many revolutionists — was found guilty and executed.

Informers' true role

In the world of police spies, not a great deal has changed since the days of the Okhrana. Even the advent of sophisticated electronic surveillance equipment has not diminished the role of informers.

Why? Because the real purpose of stool pigeons is not to gather information but to sow dissension, provoke inexperienced activists into illegal acts, engineer frame-ups, and the like.

Even the most advanced electronic listening device can't suggest that a bomb be thrown or plant faked evidence naming a

loyal activist as an FBI snitch. Informers can. And do.

That is why informers are so crucial to the FBI's political disruption schemes. The statistics bear this out. A 1976 study by the General Accounting Office found that paid informers are by far the FBI's most widely used technique in so-called domestic intelligence cases. Informers were used in 85 percent of the "domestic intelligence investigations" surveyed by the GAO. In contrast, electronic surveillance was used in only 5 percent of the cases.

Of course, informers do collect massive amounts of information. What they compile, however, has nothing to do with criminal plans or "national security." FBI spies are directed to obtain the most intimate personal details about activists — details that can themselves be used to devise "counterintelligence" (Cointelpro) disruption schemes.

One ex-informer in Vietnam Veterans Against the War summed it up this way: "I was to go to meetings, write up reports . . . on what happened, who was there . . . to try to totally identify the background of every person there, what their relationships were, who they were living with, who they

How police serve needs of the ruling rich

How extensive is the government's network of police informers?

FBI boss Webster made headlines a few months ago by announcing that the FBI now has only 42 informers working on "domestic security" cases. In 1975 the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence found the FBI had some 1,500 "domestic intelligence" stool pigeons. In 1976 the FBI budgeted \$7 million for the care and feeding of these spies.

Webster's figure of 42 is pure fakery. For example, snitches used against the Communist Party are no longer counted in the "domestic security" totals because the CP has been reclassified into the "foreign intelligence" area.

Informers used against members of the Weather Underground and others forced to live under assumed names are not included in the 42 either. They have been reclassified as "false identity" investigations. Other informers in the political arena are now simply listed on the rolls of "criminal informants."

were sleeping with, to try to get some sense of the local structure and the local relationships among the people in the organization."

Inside the Communist Party

One FBI memo, from 1956, details the disruption plans of FBI informers inside the Communist Party. The document, obtained by the Senate Intelligence Committee, includes the following passages:

"During its investigation of the Communist Party, USA, the Bureau has sought to capitalize on incidents involving the Party and its leaders in order to foster factionalism, bring the Communist Party (CP) and its leaders into disrepute before the American public, and cause confusion and dissatisfaction among rank-and-file members of the CP.

"Generally, the above action has constituted harassment rather than disruption, since, for the most part, the Bureau has set up particular incidents, and the attack has been from the outside. At the present time, however, there is existing within the CP a situation resulting from the developments at the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union [where Khrushchev made his famous speech admitting some of Stalin's

No matter how many FBI informers there are, they comprise only a small percentage of the tens of thousands of secret agents now at work in this country.

In pleading his case for informer secrecy, Attorney General Griffin Bell has said that turning over 18 spy files to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party would "adversely [affect] the ability of other law enforcement agencies, such as the Internal Revenue Service; the Drug Enforcement Administration; the Secret Service; the Postal Inspection Service; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the Securities and Exchange Commission; and the Department of Labor to attract and maintain sources of information."

Bell's list, long as it is, is not a complete rundown of federal agencies that rely on informers. For some unknown reason, the attorney general forgot to list the CIA. He omitted reference to the military intelligence services, too.

He also left off the U.S. Customs Ser-

crimes, an admission that sent shock waves throughout the Stalinist movement] and the Government's attack on the Party principally through prosecutions under the Smith Act of 1940 and the Internal Security Act of 1950 which is made to order for all-out disruptive attack from within. . . .

"ACTION: . . . submit to the Bureau the identities of certain informants who will be briefed and instructed to embark on a disruptive program within their own clubs, sections, or districts or even on a national level. These informants will raise objections and doubts as to the success of any proposed plan of action by the CP leadership. They will seize every opportunity to carry out the disruptive activity not only at meetings, conventions, et cetera, but also during social and other contacts with CP members and leaders."

Here we have irrefutable proof that the FBI uses its informers not merely to obtain information, but, in the words of the SWP's lawsuit, as "offensive weapons employed to . . . sow and exploit discord within the organizations, thereby fundamentally affecting plaintiffs' rights to free association, speech, and lawful political activity."

This is the truth that the Carter administration is going to such extreme lengths to conceal from the American people.

vice, which relies on paid spies.

But the list doesn't end there. State and city agencies have their own stool pigeons. State police "red squads" have stables of informers. Every municipal police force and county sheriff's department in the country has its own roster of snitches.

The nation is plagued with these vermin, who swarm out of virtually every department of the government bureaucracy and police agencies.

'Law enforcement'

"But," a reader might object "you began by talking about *political* informers. Now you are talking about the police and the government in general."

All right. Let's back up a minute. We have described how informers are essential to the FBI and other political police agencies.

But the same is true for police in general. Once you leave the Hollywood fantasy land where clever detectives match wits with crooks and diligently track down

Continued on next page



Judge Griesa after his decision

POLICE
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accepted bribes
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The Washington Post

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SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1978

Attorney General Facing Contempt Citation Friday

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

In an unprecedented order a federal judge

Terrence B. Adamson, Bell's spokesman, said
it wasn't likely that the attorney general would
turn over the informant files by Friday. "We've

DAILY NEWS

DAILY NEWS, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1978

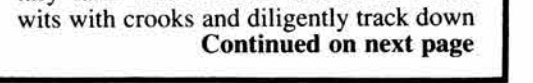
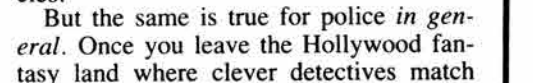
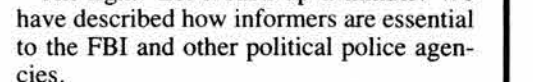
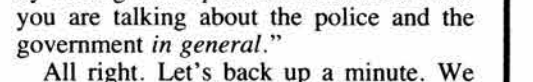
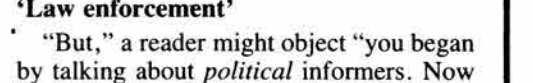
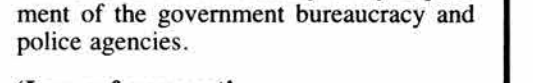
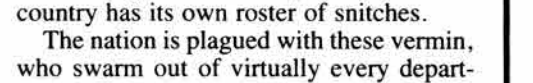
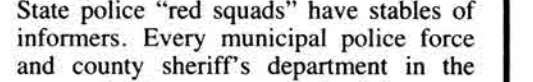
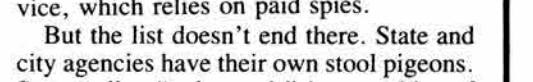
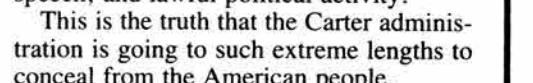
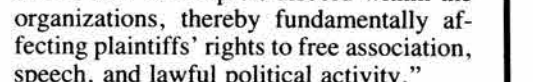
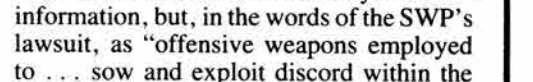
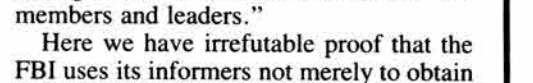
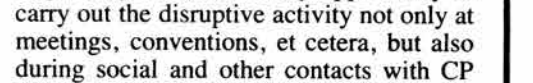
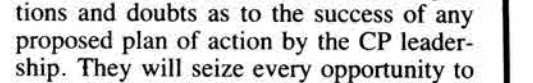
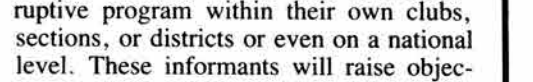
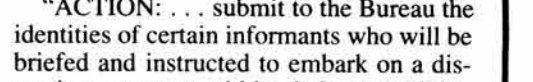
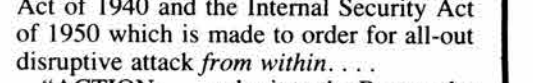
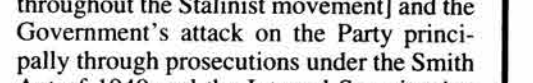
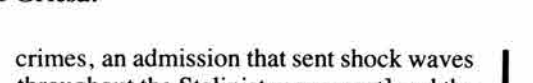
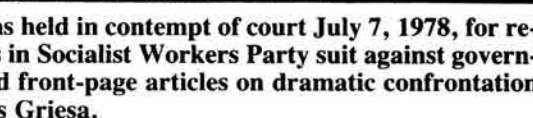
FBI Files, or Else: Judge to Bell

SAUNDERS and ARTHUR MULLIGAN

Federal Court Judge Thomas P. Griesa said
he would hold Attorney General Griffin Bell

system of government — the right to
engage in political organization and to
speak freely on political subjects with-
out interference and harassment from

Attorney General Griffin Bell (inset) was held in contempt of court July 7, 1978, for refusing to turn over 18 files on informers in Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying. Major newspapers carried front-page articles on dramatic confrontation between Bell and federal Judge Thomas Griesa.



How police serve needs of rich: behind fake neutrality

Continued from previous page

clues, you are left with a simple fact of life:

There are only three ways the cops know who committed a crime. First, they do it themselves (and pin it on somebody else). Second, they catch someone in the act, either by chance or, more often, by advance notice from a snitch. Third, someone later tells them who did it. It's that simple.

It is, concluded Anthony Marro in the *New York Times* recently, "a basic fact of law enforcement: Informants, whether cooperating for money, out of fear, or to win favor, are essential to police work. . . . Veterans of a quarter-century with the [FBI] and Federal drug agencies say they cannot recall one case of importance solved without an informant."

This brings us to another question. Is there a qualitative difference, from the standpoint of the exploited and oppressed of this country, between the FBI and "non-political" cop agencies? Should we be in favor of strengthening the hands of the police in "criminal law enforcement," while trying to disarm them in their war against the labor movement, the oppressed minorities, and political activists?

To answer this we have to look at the social role of the cops in capitalist society. The police are part of the capitalist state machinery. The cops, along with the standing army, constitute what Frederick Engels called the "special bodies of armed men" (today we would add, "and some women") who are the chief instruments of state power.

"This public force exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men, but of material appendages, prisons, and repressive institutions of all kinds" wrote Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

Engels explained that the state appears to stand apart from and above the conflict between different classes. It appears to function as merely a mediator between them. But this is only its appearance. In reality, the state exists to protect the rule and advance the interests of the dominant economic class.

Thus, the army, the cops, the courts, and the jails are all instruments of repression and coercion in the hands of the capitalist class that rules this country.

'Neutrality' stripped away

In times of sharp social and class conflict, the real role of the repressive machinery becomes clear for all to see. The fake neutrality is stripped away, and naked force and violence are used to beat down any challenge to capitalist rule. That is what happens in a revolutionary upsurge.

And it is a lesson of history that pent-up hatred and anger of the masses against the police plays a role in all social revolutions. Things never go well for the cops during working-class upsurges.

We see the same thing on a more limited scale when the capitalists use the police to break strikes. Or when they get their courts to issue antiunion injunctions. Or when they send in police and the National Guard to occupy the communities of the oppressed nationalities in order to terrorize and intimidate those fighting for social justice.

But the police, the courts, and the prisons play the same social role every day. They defend private property and the privileges of the owners of the factories, mines, and mills not only against organized, massive challenges, but also against desperate attempts to find a solution to the inequalities of this society on an individual basis.

Every day judges are kept busy sentencing the victims of this society to prison for the crime of being poor.

Every day the cops brutalize the most oppressed, gunning down in cold blood those whose crime is to be Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, or Native American.

Do cops stop crime?

This leads us to another question that is often asked: "How can we survive in this society without protection from muggers, rapists, and drug pushers? Don't we need the police?"

Let's start with the fact that the cops themselves are among the biggest crimi-

nals around. It is well known that the police are up to their rotten necks in drug pushing in the Black communities. All the rackets operate with police protection, purchased at a high price.

It is also common knowledge that if the cops arrive on the scene of a robbery and find anything of value left behind, they are more than likely to remove it themselves.

And what about assaults and homicides? Ask the residents of Crown Heights in Brooklyn, who have seen the cops — with immunity from city hall — repeatedly kill innocent Blacks.

Or ask the Chicano community in Houston, where the cops who murdered 23-year-old Joe Campos Torres were given token one-year sentences — a move that amounts to granting racist cops a license to kill in the state of Texas.

Moreover, we should keep in mind the illegal acts committed by the FBI and its informers — including burglaries, thefts, bombings, and assaults. The latest revelations about Gary Rowe, an FBI informer, show that he shot down Black citizens of Birmingham with FBI and local police sup-

port and encouragement.

The police also cooperate with and provide protection for ultraright terrorists, Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, and the like.

But there is an even more fundamental reason why working people can't count on the cops for protection from crimes and random acts of violence. In this society, violence is rooted in the very system of exploitation and oppression the cops are there to defend and protect.

It is poverty, unemployment, and the despair that comes when young people see no future in this society, no hope of ever getting a decent job, that leads to individual, desperate attempts to find a way out.

Police do not "stop crime." All they do is victimize those who are already victims of capitalist oppression.

Only by ending the system that breeds unemployment, war, racism, and sexist oppression, can the conditions that drive individuals to acts of violence against others be eliminated.

But it is that very system — capitalism — that the cops and the FBI are assigned to uphold.

The goal of the Socialist Workers Party is to kick out the capitalist parties and bring to power a workers' government that can begin the process of reorganizing society on a rational, humane basis. A workers' government will place the needs of working people before profits. Such a government, representing the majority, will begin to construct a socialist America and lead the struggle for a socialist world. It will do away with the FBI, the CIA, and the other capitalist police agencies. It will unlock the prison doors and restore freedom to the victims of capitalist "justice." It will dismantle the entire repressive apparatus created by the capitalist class.

It is because we are fighting for that goal, and are among the ranks of the exploited and oppressed, that the FBI has targeted our party as an enemy to be harassed, spied on, and disrupted by informers and agents provocateurs.

And it is because we are staunchly committed to that goal that we will not let the FBI and the Carter administration off the hook in this historic fight for the informer files.

Attorney General Griffin Bell held in contempt of court

Continued from Page 9

conduct a systematic covert campaign to manipulate and disrupt the plaintiff organizations and interfere with their lawful activities.

"Plaintiffs allege that a prime device used in this campaign was to infiltrate the plaintiff organizations, with paid, undercover informants, who were instructed to take various actions designed to harm the organizations, and to furnish the FBI information so that the FBI could take additional steps to harass and hamper the organizations and their members. . . .

"Plaintiffs contend that there was no valid law-enforcement or crime-detection purpose involved in the FBI surveillance and the other activities carried out by the FBI against the SWP, the YSA, and their members.

"In this connection," the judge added pointedly, "it should be noted that in September 1976, some three years after this action had been commenced, and after a Senate subcommittee had severely criticized the FBI with respect to its activities against the SWP and the YSA, Attorney General Levi terminated the investigation of the SWP."

Sharpening clash

The sharpening clash between the Carter administration and the federal judge poses a risk of conflict between two branches of the capitalist government that the ruling class would obviously prefer to avoid.

"The Attorney General has no 'right' to defy a court order," declared Griesa.

"The Court possesses, and must possess under our system of law, the authority to enforce an order for the production of evidence. . . ."

However, Carter and Bell have shown no sign of relenting in their defiance of Griesa's order. A spokesperson for Bell responded to the judge's ruling by announcing, "I know nothing that changes the attorney general's previous statements about the merits of his position."

No one in Washington would answer reporters' questions about whether Bell would be willing to go to jail rather than comply with the law.

The confrontation reflects continuing divisions within the ruling class over how far to go in making concessions to the public outrage over FBI crimes.

Griesa has spent the last year or so reviewing these top-secret files and has made it clear that while they show not a solitary illegal act by the SWP or the YSA, they document massive criminal deeds by the FBI and its stool pigeons. His far-reaching decision on the files reflects the conviction that airing the truth about these crimes is necessary to force the FBI to act more in tune with current political realities, and restore public confidence in government institutions.

But the Carter White House has decided the opposite. The administration is prepared to fight hard against any moves that would let the American people know even a small part of the dirty truth about the government's informer system. And it is prepared to go to war to prevent any breach in the wall of secrecy known as the "informer privilege." Such a breach, they correctly fear, would weaken the political police apparatus.

Next steps

Judge Griesa wrote in his opinion that if Bell does not respond to the contempt ruling by handing over the files, the court would "entertain a motion for more drastic sanctions." Attorneys for the socialists will refile their motion that Bell be sent to jail.

The Justice Department has said it will appeal the contempt ruling. But, explained attorney Pike, "There is no appeal allowed from a civil contempt finding until after the whole case is decided. Legally, Bell can't appeal."

Pike noted that this is set forth clearly in Griesa's decision, which asserts flatly, "It is a settled rule that a party to a civil case does not have a right of appeal from a civil contempt citation until final judgment."

"Of course," Pike added, "the fact that an appeal would be totally frivolous may not prevent the government from trying it. They have large staffs of lawyers and inexhaustible supplies of money to do it with."

In arguing against the contempt citation in court, United States Attorney Fiske expressed shock and concern that the SWP and YSA would actually have the audacity to press the demand that Bell be sent to the slammer. Such a thing has never happened before, he whined.

"There has never been a case yet," he said, "where the court or the plaintiff's counsel said the government official must be held in contempt because there is no way that the parties and the court can work out an appropriate compromise."

That may be true.

But there has never been a case before where the SWP and the YSA had the attorney general of the United States on the ropes.

On July 2 the *New York Times* summed up the impending showdown by speculating that Bell might actually be ordered to jail "unless someone on either side blinks."

Said SWP leader Barnes: "It's up to Bell. We won't bat an eye."

Spread the word about victory against FBI!

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 and injunction at \$1 per copy.
- ☐ Please send me _____ copies of *Una lucha por derechos políticos*. (A Struggle for Political Rights), a pamphlet in Spanish about the case at \$1 per copy.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Title/Union/Organization _____
(for identification purposes only)

Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 761, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10007. Telephone (212) 941-1174.

N.Y. forum protests destabilization of Panama by U.S.

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — "A full-scale campaign has been mounted against Panama for its refusal to go along with the U.S. war on Nicaragua," Esmeralda Brown said to a meeting on "United States Destabilization, Militarization, and Intervention in Panama" held here March 31.

Brown, a Black Panamanian, is the resource coordinator for Latin America and the Caribbean for the United Methodist Office at the United Nations and an activist in New York's large Panamanian community.

Brown gave a brief report on her recent trip to Panama, during which she was able to speak with unionists, Blacks, Indians, women, and others who wanted Washington to quit meddling in Panama's internal affairs.

"De qué se van, se van!" — "Let there be no doubt, they [the U.S.] will have to get out!" — a popular chant in Panama, was heard throughout the evening.

More than 80 people participated, including Panamanians and activists from the Central America solidarity movement.

Guest speakers from Panama were denied visas by Washington at the last moment.

The program was sponsored by the Women's Workshop in the Americas, the Institute for Development and Adult Education, and the Solidarity Movement in New York.

Robert Knight, producer of the "Contragate" program on WBAI radio here, spoke about the U.S. destabilization campaign, calling Washington's economic strangulation of Panama a "slow-motion coup."

Dr. Carlos Russell, a professor at Brooklyn College and former alternate delegate to the UN from Panama, described some of the gains made by Panama's working people under the regime of Gen. Omar Torrijos from 1968-81.

Before 1968, the predominately white landowning and commercial ruling class in Panama — known as *rabiblanco* (white behinds) — ran the government and the economy in collaboration with Washington, Russell explained.

After the military coup that brought Torrijos to power, changes in the structure of



Howard Air Force Base, one of 11 U.S. military installations in Panama. New York meeting protested stepped-up threats to use U.S. troops to oust Panamanian government.

the National Assembly and the army were made, and measures to benefit working people and unions were taken. Under Torrijos, "Black and brown faces began to be seen in positions of power for the first time," Russell said.

These gains, along with the 1977 Panama Canal treaties, which turn the canal over to Panamanian sovereignty at the end of 1999, are targets of the U.S.

government's current drive against Panama's government. The chief source of Washington's ire is Panama's refusal to go along with U.S. war objectives in Central America.

Speakers condemned the U.S. big-business media blackout of virtually all news from Panama reporting on actions in defense of the country against U.S. destabilization.

W. Virginia rally celebrates victory against FBI spying

BY BARBARA MUTNICK

MORGANTOWN, W.Va. — "The fight to live and think and feel the way we see fit — that's what the victory we celebrate tonight is about," said Roger Banks, executive director of the Mountain State AIDS Network.

Banks was speaking at a victory rally here on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the FBI. The ruling in the case, which declares government spying illegal, "will not only benefit your group," said Banks, "but organizations like mine as well. The government has used AIDS to further stigmatize gays and IV drug users. But AIDS should be treated like any other terminal illness, without threat of losing insurance, a house or apartment, or our humanity."

"This is the 40th week of our strike," said Larry Shade of United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania.

Shade described how pickets and supporters have been arrested throughout the strike and then forced to pay huge fines despite the fact that they have committed no crime.

"Our rights are on the books," he said, "but as soon as we try to exercise them against the corporations, they go by the wayside."

"I know the government will never apologize to you for what they've done, but your victory means a lot to us," Shade added. "Our fight is similar to yours in that we have the right to do what we're doing, but the government takes the side of the corporations and uses the law against us."

"We are confident we will be able to beat the government in what they're doing

to us and the labor movement," he concluded.

Eileen Yacknin of the National Lawyers Guild and the Central America Mobilization Committee in Pittsburgh spoke about the information that has come out about FBI spying and disruption of the Central America solidarity movement. "The depth of FBI spying has surprised many of us — even the most seasoned activists," she said.

"It has been a massive six-year spy effort directed at CISPES [Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador] and all other groups that have questioned U.S. policy in Central America."

Yacknin explained that the purpose of the spying was "not to protect internal security, but instead to intimidate and disrupt organizations lawfully engaged in activity opposing government policies."

She said some of the documents gained through the Freedom of Information Act during the course of the CISPES suit read like a detective novel. She handed out samples of the files obtained.

Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*, also spoke. Referring to the decision in the SWP-YSA suit, Jenness said, "It is not a neutral act to have informers in organizations like the SWP, to keep tabs on them. The decision says it is an invasion of privacy to plant informers in organizations and pay them to provide information."

He explained, "We said in 1973 when this suit was launched that we could win this fight — not just find out a lot of information, valuable as that was."

"The victory we won is codified in this decision," Jenness said, as he held up a copy of Griesa's ruling. "But this guarantees nothing. What means something is the number of people who are *conscious* of this victory and can use it."

Rights triumph hailed in Detroit

BY BOB BRUCE

DETROIT — Supporters of democratic rights held a news conference here March 24 to celebrate the victory in the Socialist Workers-Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against FBI spying and harassment.

Speaking at the offices of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) were Mark Friedman, representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund; Howard Simon, executive director of the Michigan ACLU; and Tom Goddeeris from the Central America Solidarity Committee.

Two Detroit-area television stations and other media covered the event.

News conference participants discussed how the victory in the SWP-YSA case could be used in other fights against government spying.

A message was read from U.S. Rep. John Conyers, which said in part, "The Federal court victory against illegal government harassment is a victory for all who believe in those rights guaranteed by our Constitution. It should serve as a lesson that other victories are possible — in ballot access and voting rights, in domestic and foreign policy debates, in assuring that the Constitution is adhered to and in holding liable those who violate it."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

ANC to see files on plan to kidnap Tambo

Lawyers acting on behalf of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa have won an important court decision in London. The ruling will allow them to see documents seized by police from four men who were arrested and charged last year with attempting to kidnap 14 leaders of the ANC, including its president Oliver Tambo.

High Court Justice Martin Wright ruled March 6 that the lawyers could see some of the 2,000 documents, which are now in police custody. The files are expected to provide the basis for a legal action by the ANC for damages for the kidnapping conspiracy and an injunction to restrain the defendants from assault and kidnapping.

The four defendants, previously employed by the Rhodesian and South African security forces, were released and charges against them dropped after the public prosecutor consulted with MI5, the British secret service. Three of the men claimed to be working for British intelligence. One of them, Jonathan Wheatley, is a former British paratrooper. He has dropped out of sight since his release.

The documents include British Ministry of Defense passes, identity cards, passports on which the ANC members were to be taken out of the country, records of meetings that set out the kidnapping plot and surveillance of ANC members in London, interviews, and statements made by the four men.

Caribbean targeted for dumping toxic waste

The Caribbean is being targeted as a dumping ground for cancer-causing toxic waste from the United States according to officials of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) and Greenpeace. They also reported that several Caribbean states facing economic difficulty have been offered large sums of money in exchange for the dumping sites.

Noel Browne, director of UNEP's New York liaison office, said that an unnamed eastern Caribbean country was offered \$18 million for 100 acres of land to be used as a toxic waste dumping site. On the advice of UNEP, the offer was rejected by the island country.

Browne asserted that the U.S. government was opposed to the dumping policy but was powerless to stop it.

The British colony of Turks and Caicos is considering a plan to use

thousands of tons of U.S. toxic wastes as fertilizer. Should the deal go through the colony would be paid millions by Applied Recovery Technologies Ltd.

Some of the toxins in waste that would be bound for the Caribbean include aluminum, arsenic, cadmium, and mercury. Doses as low as 0.12 grams of arsenic compounds found in incinerator ash have been known to cause malaise, deliriums, and coma death. Chronic arsenic poisoning causes liver and peripheral nerve damage, and possibly lung and skin cancer.

Israeli gets 18 years in jail for 'treason'

An Israeli nuclear technician was sentenced to 18 years in prison after being convicted of treason. Mordechai Vanunu told the *London Times* in September 1986 that Israel was building nuclear bombs in an underground plant. Vanunu had worked at the plant for 10 years before he was laid off in 1985.

Vanunu left Israel for London carrying documents proving the existence of the nuclear bomb plant. The documents showed that Israel had produced nearly 200 nuclear bombs over the last 20 years. Shortly after the disclosure, Vanunu was lured from London by a



Mordechai Vanunu

woman agent of Mossad, the Israeli secret service. He was captured and returned to Israel in chains where he was held in solitary confinement.

Reporters and the public were barred from attending the seven-month trial conducted by a panel of three judges. The entire courtroom was boarded up, including the windows.

Vanunu's attorney argued his client was justified in making the disclosure because the nuclear bomb program violated international laws on nuclear proliferation. The Israeli government has never acknowledged it possesses nuclear weapons.



Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, U.S. President James Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin after signing of 1978 Camp David Accords.

Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation:

The PLO under fire, 1975-82

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Fourth in a series)

Recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people by the United Nations, Arab League, and other international bodies reflected the massive support it had won throughout the Middle East.

These gains came in the wake of the October 1973 war between Israel on one side and Egypt and Syria on the other. The Israeli military took heavy casualties and failed to score the kind of overwhelming military victory that it had won in 1948, 1956, and 1967.

These developments were a challenge to U.S. imperialism's domination of the region, in which Israel's armed forces of 400,000 were expected to play the role of regional cop.

The U.S. rulers responded by increasing aid to Israel, which soared from \$230 million per year before 1973 to \$2.3 billion in the aftermath of the war. By 1983, all aid was in the form of grants requiring no repayment.

Washington's diplomatic support to Israel stepped up as well. In a September 1975 agreement with the Israeli rulers, the U.S. government reaffirmed that it would "not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist."

The U.S. government also insisted that the PLO endorse UN Security Council Resolution 242. Adopted after the 1967 war, the resolution demanded recognition of Israel and made no mention of the national rights of the Palestinian people. By insisting on recognition of the "territorial integ-

riety" of all Middle Eastern states, the resolution sought to outlaw the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

Washington's diplomatic boycott of the PLO was backed up by a propaganda campaign against the PLO and Arabs in general as "terrorists."

After King Hussein of Jordan crushed an upsurge of Palestinians in that country in the 1970 "Black September" bloodbath, Lebanon became the most important base of operations for the Palestinian fighters. More than 400,000 Palestinians lived as refugees in that country of some 3 million people.

After the Lebanese government was defeated in its effort to crush the independent Palestinian movement in 1968 and 1969, a 1969 agreement reached in Cairo, Egypt, gave the Palestinians and their fighting organizations wide latitude to organize and to control the refugee camps.

Old order challenged in Lebanon

This victory deepened the revolt in Lebanon against an archaic political and social setup. The French imperialists, who had ruled Lebanon until 1946, imposed a political system that required that the president and armed forces chief of staff come from the Maronite Christian sect. The much less powerful post of prime minister was to be held by a Sunni Muslim. The largely symbolic post of speaker of the Chamber of Deputies was to be held by a Shiite Muslim.

The system effectively barred the Muslims — who included most of the workers and farmers — from exercising real politi-

cal power, even though by 1975 they made up at least 60 percent of the population. Control of the army guaranteed the dominance of Maronite merchants and landlords, who worked hand in glove, first with the French, and later with the U.S. imperialists.

An invasion by 14,000 U.S. troops quelled a revolt against this setup in 1958. The rise of the Palestinian movement helped spur a new uprising, beginning in 1975. A broad range of opposition groups pressed for re-vamping the political system and supported the Palestinian struggle.

The power of the Maronite-dominated army and rightist militias was increasingly challenged by militias based in the predominantly Muslim communities. The army began to disintegrate as revolts spread among officers and rank-and-file soldiers who supported majority rule.

From the start of the conflict, leaders of the Phalange — an ultrarightist paramilitary party based in the Maronite communities — declared that the disarming of the Palestinians was a top priority.

Fatah, the leading group in the PLO, had advocated nonintervention in political disputes in host countries, provided the Palestinians were granted freedom of action in the fight for Palestine. But the PLO, including Fatah, joined forces with the Lebanese nationalists against the rightists when the latter destroyed a refugee camp, inhabited mostly by Palestinian Christians, and laid siege to the Tel al-Zaatar camp, inhabited by more than 50,000 people.

Syrian troops move in

As the coalition of rebel forces, including the Palestinians, gained ground, Syrian troops entered the country in April 1976 to prop up the government and prevent the defeat of the ultrarightists.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad favored modifications in the Lebanese political structure that would strengthen Muslim — and thereby, he hoped, Syrian — influence in Lebanon. But he opposed the revolutionary upsurge that threatened to topple the reactionary regime.

Syrian troops tied down Lebanese nationalist and Palestinian fighters outside Beirut while the ultrarightists began to close in on Palestinian refugee camps. This culminated in the siege and fall of the Tel al-Zaatar camp. In the aftermath, more than 1,500 camp residents were slaughtered by rightist forces.

In a news conference before reporters were allowed in to view the carnage, Bashir Gemayel, commander of the Phalange militia, proclaimed, "We are proud of what you are going to see here." Gemayel was to become the first choice of Washington and the Israeli regime to rule Lebanon six years later.

On October 13 Syrian troops attempted to deal further blows to the Lebanese nationalist forces and their Palestinian allies with an attack, backed up by the Phalangist militia, on the village of Bhamdoun. They were set back, and the struggle in Lebanon settled into a stalemate.

In October, in the wake of these battles, five Arab heads of state met with PLO chairman Yassir Arafat in Saudi Arabia. They authorized the Syrian troops, together with a few units from other countries, to police Lebanon under the Lebanese government's command. But they also reaffirmed the 1969 accords permitting Palestinian forces to operate in Lebanon.

Another big blow came the following year from the Egyptian government headed by President Anwar el-Sadat. Sadat sought large-scale U.S. economic and military aid in order to stabilize his regime. His difficulties included an economic crisis and resistance to attempts to roll back some of the gains that workers and farmers had won from the regime of Gamal Abdul Nasser.

Sadat also sought Washington's help to press the Israeli rulers to return the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. Israel had captured this territory in the 1967 war. Help from the U.S. rulers had a price tag: recognition of Israel, a "peace" treaty at the expense of the Palestinians, and support to Washington's drive against anti-imperialist struggles throughout the region.

The blows dealt to Israeli forces in the October 1973 war made the Israeli regime, which had previously dismissed Sadat's calls for withdrawal from the Sinai, more willing to discuss this. By dealing with Egypt, it hoped to break the government of the most developed and militarily strongest Arab country from the anti-Israel bloc.

Camp David accords

In 1975 Egyptian and Israeli officials signed a three-year "interim" agreement. The pact was engineered by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who shuttled between Israel and Egypt since the two sides did not meet openly together.

Both governments agreed to end military clashes for the duration of the agreement.

Israeli occupiers pulled back from oil fields and key passes in the Sinai in exchange for guarantees that Israeli shipping could use the Suez Canal.

On Nov. 9, 1977 Sadat announced that he was willing to go to Israel to reach a further agreement. He did so on November 19 — shattering a nearly 30-year Arab boycott of such open diplomatic dealings with Israel.

This began a process that led to the Sept. 17, 1978, signing of the Camp David accords — so called because they were brokered by U.S. President James Carter during negotiations between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Sadat at the presidential resort in Camp David, Maryland.

Sadat and Begin agreed to negotiate a peace treaty. The accords included a section on the West Bank and Gaza proposing the establishment of a "self-governing authority" in these territories. An unspecified number of Israeli troops would then withdraw from these areas, and the remainder would concentrate in certain zones.

Within three years, according to the Camp David scheme, the Egyptian, Israeli, and Jordanian governments — together with "elected" Palestinian representatives — would negotiate the disposition of the territories. Israel and Jordan would then sign a peace treaty. This was to take place over five years.

This proposal diplomatically accepted and legitimized the Israeli conquests. It offered Palestinians little more than the promise of a period of "self-government" under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza.

On March 26, 1979, in Washington, D.C., the Egyptian and Israeli governments signed a peace treaty. In exchange for diplomatic recognition of Israel and the establishment of economic ties, the Israeli rulers agreed to withdraw from the Sinai

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Life near U.S. base in Philippines

Huge Clark Air Base spawns sea of slums, prostitution, unemployment

BY PETER BRADLEY
AND RUSSELL JOHNSON

ANGELES, Philippines — In early March we were able to visit this city that abuts the United States' vast Clark Air Base 50 miles north of Manila. We went as guests of a group of activists within the base workers' union, the Filipino Civilian Employees Association (FCEA). In this way we were able to obtain a firsthand glimpse of the economic and social impact huge U.S. military facilities have had on the Philippines. And the affront they represent to the sovereignty and dignity of the Filipino people.

Angeles is home to most of the 18,000 Filipino base workers at Clark. Some 6,000 of them are direct employees of the U.S. military and belong to the FCEA. There are 12,000 nonunionized contract workers, taxi drivers, "house girls," and watchmen.

Strung out from Clark's main gate are 500 bars, flashing names such as Bullseye, Boomerang Jacks, or Canned Heat, and offering "booze, broads, and boogie" as one sign put it. It is from these that most of the more than 10,000 "hospitality girls" and "dancers" work in shifts to "entertain" the thousands of U.S. soldiers and Australian male "sex tourists" that throng the city day and night.

Living conditions around base

Driving out along dusty potholed tracks that follow the base perimeter fence we found the homes of Angeles' poorest citizens. Some houses were built of concrete blocks. Many were made from cardboard, plastic, and scraps of timber scavenged from the base.

Squatting on U.S. military reservation land, the barrios had few amenities or legal rights. Residents got their drinking water by tapping into the base water supply.

One resident explained that they were periodically told to leave by the U.S. authorities. "But we just stayed here."

Few in the barrios that we visited were employed on the base, and our union guide estimated unemployment to be 50 to 60 percent in that particular area.

Many of the young men made a living, he said, as "callboys" — those who scaled the base perimeter wall, eight feet high and tipped with broken glass, and burglarized soldiers' homes for television sets, refrigerators, and motorcycles. This provided other barrio members with employment — as guards over the homes inside the base.

Visible through holes in the wall carved by the callboys lay a different world. Inside the base, 10,000 GIs and their families drive late model U.S. cars along paved highways that connect their modern homes with their exclusive recreational and shopping areas, and with the extensive military facilities that they work in.

Clark Air Base is a huge complex, covering 136,000 acres and spreading into the provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac, and Zambales. In addition to large numbers of fighter bombers and transport planes stationed there, there is a jungle warfare training school, a large target range for practicing air-to-ground warfare, and sophisticated communications and monitoring systems that are used for electronic spying throughout the Philippines and Asia.

Base employees' union

The FCEA had been founded in 1968, our union hosts explained, and succeeded in negotiating a collective bargaining agreement with the U.S. military authorities.

Wages for FCEA members were now significantly better than could be earned elsewhere, they said. Nevertheless, a U.S. citizen hired to do the same job received 10 times the salary of the Filipino working alongside.

And the nonunionized majority of the base work force often had to be content with the national minimum wage of 60 pesos a day (\$3), or less.

Another source of rancor was workers' treatment by the military brass. Within the perimeter of the base, Philippine authorities have almost no powers at all. Over the years Filipinos have been shot by

guards, mauled by military-police dogs, raped by servicemen, without any serious action being taken against those responsible. At most, the U.S. personnel involved in such incidents were transferred out of the Philippines, we were told.

Union activists had also been harassed by military intelligence.

While the FCEA officials had on occasion authorized strike action during wage negotiations, the union activists said, they had never attempted to seriously mobilize the membership to close the gates and tie up the base.

An important turning point came in March 1986, shortly after the overthrow of U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Some 24,000 union members at Clark and the United States' Subic Bay Naval Station struck over the terms of their collective bargaining agreement. Pent-up resentment among the base workers boiled over into militant picket lines that shut the soldiers inside Clark and Subic for more than a week, despite efforts by some top officials to stop this action.

Following the strike, the workers tried to elect to the union leadership the activists that had led the militant picketing. At Subic, connivance between U.S. military officials, the Philippine government, and the incumbent union officers led to the firing and blacklisting of the militants. But at Clark many of the strike leaders were elected to the FCEA leadership in February 1988.

The new union leaders have called for an organizing drive among the 12,000 non-unionized workers on Clark.

Should bases stay or go?

While some of the union activists we spoke to expressed their personal opposition to the bases being retained after the current agreement between the U.S. and Philippine governments expires in 1991, they considered it unrealistic to advocate such a stand within the union. Most workers would support the bases remaining, they thought, because it was their only apparent means of livelihood.

They said U.S. base authorities at the Subic naval base, with the support of the Philippine government, had been able to fire 40 union activists who had advocated the dismantling of the bases. The demand had been raised by the workers during the 1986 strike.

At least half of the 300,000 Angeles residents are economically dependent on the bases. If they were shut down without any alternative employment being provided,



Militant/Russell Johnson

Union of Filipino workers at Clark Air Base is fighting to improve conditions for workers and their families who live in surrounding area. Above, children scavenging in market ruins near Clark.

Angeles itself would become a ghost town, they thought. It was this issue of the government providing alternative employment when the bases go that the activists tried to focus on within the union.

A similar view has been put forward by the new mayor and vice-mayor of Angeles, who were elected in January with the support of many union activists. Prior to election, both had been associated with groups that had taken stands against the bases. They have said they will now be guided by a referendum on the question.

Strong support for retaining the bases comes from Angeles bar owners, mostly expatriate Australians and former U.S. servicemen, we were told.

The union activists first came into contact with the women from the bars during the 1986 strike. Due to all the soldiers

being confined to the base, the bars were empty and the women working in them going hungry. The "bar girls" tried to break the picket lines. In the process some began to talk with the pickets, who shared their food with them and encouraged the women to return to town. "The bar owners didn't like that," we were told.

'Slave conditions'

The way it was described to us, a "bar girl" lives in conditions akin to slavery. She has to live on the bar premises, where the owner provides her with a bed and two meals a day. Earning 10 pesos (50 cents) a night as a dancer, she must sell herself to the customers.

She cannot leave the bar on her own accord. A man has to pay a "bar fine" to the

Continued on Page 17

'It's a miracle we have survived'

BY PETER BRADLEY

SAPONG BATO, Philippines — During our visit to Angeles City we were taken here to the village of Sapong Bato.

Built on a hill overlooking Clark Air Force Base's sophisticated communications installations, its inhabitants more closely resembled Melanesians from the South Pacific islands than they did other Filipinos we had met. They were Negrito Aetas, we learned, one of the tribal minorities that still survive in some mountain regions of the Philippines.

The Negritos are direct descendants of the original people who settled Southeast Asia and the Pacific through to Papua New Guinea and Australia more than 40,000 years ago. The Aetas were a nomadic hunting and fishing people who have been displaced from their ancestral lands by the construction of Clark and the Subic naval base, the two largest U.S. military installations outside the United States.

We learned about the impact of this upon the people of Sapong Bato through speaking with two of the village elders.

The villagers were first driven into the surrounding hills during the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in World War II, when the Japanese military took over the small existing airfield at Angeles. The Negritos waged a bow-and-arrow guerrilla war against the Japanese troops and protected U.S. soldiers, who they regarded as their friends, the elders said.

Following the war, however, Negritos who tried to return to their homes were evicted by the U.S. authorities, who had seized vast areas of land as they began to build Clark Air Base. The Negritos moved to an area on the base's perimeter, only to be evicted several more times in subsequent years as the U.S. facility expanded.

Today, one elder explained, the U.S. military officials were trying to move them out again. But they were refusing to leave unless Washington provided them with houses and farm lots. Given what they have been through, he said, "It's a miracle we have survived."

The village was desperately poor with no modern amenities. Some huts we had passed were no more than cardboard boxes tacked onto a wooden frame. We asked whether the Negritos had benefited at all through employment on the base.

Looking around at the villagers that had gathered during the interview, one elder replied that of the 300 men in the village, no more than 10 had been able to obtain work and then only of the most menial kind. They were hired by U.S. soldiers to watch over the airmen's homes, for which they were lucky to receive 100 pesos (\$5) every 15 days.

Racial discrimination against the Negritos is one of the legacies of U.S. colonialism.

Not surprisingly the Sapong Bato residents were among the strongest opponents of the U.S. bases we met in Angeles. If the bases were dismantled, they said, they would be able to farm some of the land for themselves.

In the meantime, the community had some small lots in the surrounding hills on which it grew sweet potato and other food crops. Totalling a meager 25 acres, the nearest lot was a 3 mile walk away; the farthest, 7 miles. Lacking machinery or caribao (buffalo), all the cultivation had to be done by hand, one woman stressed.

Even these lands were now under threat by wealthy ranchers from the capital city of Manila who have been trying to convert the hillsides into pasture land for their stock, despite 1986 court orders against them.

"The problem always starts with the rich people who want to land grab," an elder said. Indicating his people's willingness to fight back as they had against the Japanese, he concluded, "If the rich people insist on ranches, we will eat the cows."

Asked whether the overthrow of Philippine dictator Marcos two years ago had brought any benefits to the Negritos, the old man chuckled ironically. No Philippine president since Manuel Quezon in the 1930s had ever done anything for the Negritos, "not even brought us medicine," he said.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

U.S. Hands off Panama! Speaker: Barry Fatland, 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

Concord

Stop the Arms Shipments to El Salvador. Block weapons shipments from Concord Naval Weapons Station to El Salvador. Civil disobedience and legal protest. Sun., May 1, 11 a.m., main gate, Concord Naval Weapons Station. Sponsors: Bay Area Pledge of Resistance, San Francisco Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Oakland/Berkeley CISPES, others. For more information call (415) 655-1177 or 648-8222.

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.

What's Behind the U.S. Drive Against Panama? Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

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.

San Francisco

Benefit to Support Miguel Marmol's USA Tour. Video: *La Casa Llena de Humo*, and speaker. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. Good Samaritan Church, 1294 Potrero Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: MASPS (Broad Movement in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People). For more information call (415) 621-7048.

Art as an Act of Liberation. Paintings by Elizam Escobar. April 19 to May 14. Preview reception, Sat., April 16, 6-11 p.m. Featuring Roy Brown in concert, 8:30 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. Donation: \$8 in advance, \$10 at door. Tickets on sale at Modern Times Bookstore in San Francisco and La Peña in Berkeley.

Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice. March and rally against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Cesar Chavez, president, United Farm Workers; Mario Obedo, national co-director Rainbow

Coalition; speakers from Nicaragua and El Salvador. Sat., April 30, 11 a.m. gather at Precita Park, 12 noon march through the Mission District, rally at 1 p.m. Dolores Park. Sponsors: Casa El Salvador, Casa Puerto Rico, Centro Cultural Nicaragüense, others.

FLORIDA

Miami

Protest British Occupation of Northern Ireland. Speakers: Jim Panarow, Irish Northern Aid Committee, recently returned from Northern Ireland. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Environmental and Occupational Hazards. Speakers: Rick Castelli, Georgia Environmental Project; Gary Washington, Campaign for a Prosperous Georgia; Jeff Jones, Young Socialist Alliance. Video showing of United Farm Workers' *The Wrath of Grapes*. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

IOWA

Des Moines

Speak-out Against Cop Frame-up and Beating of Mark Curtis. Hear activists in the struggle against racism and the war in Central America; hear fighters for the democratic rights of immigrant workers, and unionists, farmers, students, and women. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

Cease-fire in Nicaragua: What Does It Mean? Speaker: Ted Leonard, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Cuba Today. An 11-part weekly educational series. Tuesdays at 6:30 p.m. and Saturdays at 2 p.m., through April 16. 140 S 40th St. Donation for series: \$1.50. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

Celebrate victory in suit against FBI spying

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Tue., April 19. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Letter Carriers' Hall, 774 Valencia St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, national leader of Socialist Workers Party; John Foster, vice-president Nebraska Public Employees Local 251; Merle Hansen, president, North American Farm Alliance; John Bohlman, United Transportation Union, legislative representative Local 305; Mark Curtis, political activist and victim of police frame-up and brutality, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431; Hasine Hatutale, member South West Africa People's Organisation; John Taylor, executive director, Nebraska Civil Liberties Union; Buddy Hogan, president, Omaha National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Sat., April 16, 7 p.m. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 23rd and O streets. Donation: \$2. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Speakers: Angela Sanbrano, executive di-

rector, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); John Studer, executive director, Political Rights Defense Fund; Arthur Kinoy, Center for Constitutional Rights; Angel Domínguez, president, Farmworkers Support Committee (CATA); Mark Curtis, Iowa activist fighting cop frame-up, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431; Margaret Jayko, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 23. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Mable Dean Bacon High School Annex, 240 2nd Ave. (near 15th St.). Donation: \$5. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Speakers: William Johnston, president, United Food and Commercial Workers District Council 17; Dan Smith, National Lawyers Guild; Tomas Villanueva, United Farm Workers of Washington State; representative, Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes; Héctor Marroquín, national leader Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 23, reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. C.A.M.P., 722 18th St. (upstairs). Donation: \$5. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

All events sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Sucre Noir. A film in Creole about Haitian sugar workers in the Dominican Republic. Plus music performed by Ayizan. Sun., April 17, 5 p.m. Clara Barton High School (between Clason and President streets). Donation: \$10. For more information call (718) 434-3940.

Manhattan

A Celebration in Support of Our Communities: No More Contras Anywhere! Benefit for 19th contingent to Cuba of the Venceremos Brigade. Music by D.J. Will K. Wilkins. Cash bar and food. Sat., April 9, 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W 14th St. (off 6th Ave.) Donation: \$6 in advance, \$7 at door. For more information call (212) 349-6292.

Thiago de Mello and Friends Perform at Pathfinder Bookstore. Jazz composer Thiago de Mello; special guest, Brazilian drummer Lillian Carmona. Proceeds benefit new construction at bookstore. Sat., April 16, 8 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Tickets: \$10 in advance, \$12 at the door. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

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.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

What's Coming After the Stock Market Crash? Speaker: William Arth, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip:

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Palestinians' Revolt for Land and Freedom. Speakers: Nizar Al Horani, president of Palestinian Students Association, West Virginia Tech; Dick McBride, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., April 16, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Socialist Campaign Rally: An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Working People. Speakers: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president; Dick McBride, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from West Virginia; Ellie Beth Brady, SWP candidate for West Virginia secretary of state. Sat., April 9. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers '88 Campaign. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

The Struggle Against British Rule in Ireland. Speaker: Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate. Sat., April 16, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Barricada Internacional

Barricada Internacional, the biweekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is available in Spanish and English. The price is \$24 for one year.

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Conference to support Hartford 15

BY ARTEMIO CAMACHO

NEW YORK — The Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression is hosting a conference here April 8-9. The committee organizes defense of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15.

Participants are expected from all over the Northeast. They will discuss building support for the frame-up victims and linking the case of the 15 Puerto Rican independence fighters with other struggles against government repression.

On Friday evening, several Puerto Rican activists will lead panel discussions on the problems facing Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and in the United States.

On Saturday there will be workshops and plenary sessions to discuss fights

against racist violence, political repression, and economic inequality.

Participants will include Dennis Rivera, vice-president, Local 1199, Hospital Workers Union; Elombe Brath, a leader of the struggle against the racist lynching in Howard Beach, Queens; José Rivera, New York City councilman; and several of the Hartford 15 defendants.

The Friday night panel will take place at Casa de las Americas, 104 W. 14th St., at 6:30 p.m. Saturday's activities will be at the New School, on 5th Avenue between 13th and 14th streets, from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.

For more information call the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression at (718) 972-7361 or (212) 927-9065.

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850. **Tucson:** YSA, c/o Ursula Kolb, P.O. Box 853. Zip: 85702-0852. Tel: (602) 795-2146.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **Seaside:** YSA, c/o Brian Olewude, 1790 Havana St. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-7948.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

INDIANA: Muncie: YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619½ N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

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

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843. **Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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

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

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

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

Plain-talk dep't — Folk in Pennsylvania and western New York who hunt, hike, or fish in the huge forest area owned by the union-busting International Paper



Harry Ring

Co. will have to start paying \$80 a year for a permit (minors and seniors, \$50). "We own the land to produce an income," an IP official explained.

They care — Ex-GIs who did time as war prisoners in any U.S. conflict since World War I are eligible for a new medal — to be issued without cost. And certainly far more useful than decent homes, jobs, or medical care.

Probably so — Commenting on the sudden departure of six aides from the ship, Ed Meese assured, "Business is operating as usual at the Justice Department."

Hardly worth mentioning — At the Indian Point 2 nuclear power reactor, about 25 miles from the Big Apple, officials found that 8,400 gallons of "slightly" radioactive water had leaked into the Hudson. The Nuclear Regulatory

Commission assured it posed no health hazard.

Accidents will happen — There were 2,810 reported accidents at U.S. nuclear power plants in 1987. Fines were imposed against utilities in 46 cases.

Leave them a note to stay indoors — Weighing possible sites for a toxic waste plant, Florida officials lean toward locating it on the grounds of a state prison. One problem they're mulling over is how to conduct an evacuation if it springs a leak.

That makes two of you, right? — Speaking of the prez, former White House spokesman Larry

Speakes advised, "Frankly, I don't believe the man can tell a lie."

There you go — "An expert system developed by Rand Corp. to help military leaders use computers to simulate international conflicts generally kept concluding that escalation into war was irrational. So the Pentagon ordered Rand Corp. to reprogram the system to declare war more often." — *Federal Computer Week*.

Weak on arithmetic — In exchange for dropping criminal charges, Bell Helicopter will pay the government \$90 million for spare-part overcharges to the army. A Pentagon official assured there was no fraud involved, only

"an accounting problem."

Can't settle in the hereafter? — Six months after the pope's nine-city tour, the hierarchy in three cities are still hustling bread to pay the bills. In San Francisco, with a remaining tab of \$2 million, there are plans to sell pieces of the six-tier stage used for the outdoor mass.

Natural selection — Scoffing at charges that it would permit the wealthy from other countries to buy U.S. citizenship, the Senate approved a bill setting aside 4,800 visas for immigrants who promise to, and can, invest \$1 million in a business.

Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation

Continued from Page 14

Peninsula over a three-year period — including dismantling settlements they had established there.

Reaction to Camp David

Sadat's moves were widely condemned. In November 1977 when Arafat and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad jointly called "on the great Egyptian people and its intrepid army" to oppose Sadat's course, the Egyptian president ordered the closing of the PLO offices in Cairo and the Voice of Palestine broadcasting station.

The Ninth Arab Summit meeting in November 1978, at which all governments belonging to the Arab League except Egypt's were represented, voted to expel Egypt from the league.

On the day after the Egypt-Israeli peace treaty was signed, the Arab League called for a diplomatic and economic boycott of Egypt. Almost all the member states broke diplomatic ties with Egypt.

Sadat's reactionary course won him no popularity among the working people and many others in Egypt. When he was assassinated by soldiers during a military parade in 1981, there was no widespread mourning for him in Egypt.

The Camp David accords opened up a period of accelerated Israeli aggression.

The Israeli rulers stepped up their drive to integrate the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza into the Israeli economy. As part of this process, the number of Israeli settlers in the West Bank rose from about 7,000 to 65,000 between 1978 and 1987. And a network of settlements was set up in Gaza as well.

These settlements were used as pretexts to step up confiscation of Arab land and water supplies, forcing ever more Palestinian farmers off the land and into jobs in Israel. The settlements also provided paramilitary forces to back up the army in these territories.

The repression against Palestinians increased, including deportation of Palestinian mayors who supported the PLO. As one of the expelled mayors, Mohammed Milhem, remarked, "After Camp David, the Israelis felt able to use live ammunition against our demonstrators."

In March 1978 some 25,000 Israeli troops invaded and occupied southern Lebanon. The raid was portrayed as "retaliation" for a Palestinian commando operation in Tel Aviv, Israel, that resulted in 44 deaths. By April 8, the Lebanese government had confirmed more than 1,100

deaths. About 265,000 people had been driven from their homes.

In the face of UN calls for withdrawal and other diplomatic pressure, Israeli forces withdrew in stages after the arrival of a UN "peacekeeping" force. The PLO agreed to a cease-fire in south Lebanon.

The Lebanese military had proven incapable of putting up even a token defense of the country. The Israeli invasion dealt a blow to the morale of Lebanon's workers and farmers. They became more susceptible to imperialist, government, and rightist propaganda claiming that there would be no Israeli aggression if the Palestinian movement was driven from Lebanon.

Even before the 1978 invasion, the Israeli rulers had begun forging a rightist militia in southern Lebanon, near the Israeli border.

Iranian revolution

U.S. and world imperialism took a massive blow in the region, however, when a popular upheaval swept away the Iranian monarchy in 1979.

The Shah's regime, which played host to U.S. military bases and thousands of U.S. advisers, had been an Israeli ally in the region. The monarchy had diplomatic relations with Israel and supplied the regime with oil.

The revolution was followed by the dismantling of the U.S. bases, expulsion of the U.S. advisers, breaking of diplomatic ties with Israel, and the halting of oil shipments.

"The victory of the Iranian revolution in early 1979 caused much rejoicing in Palestinian ranks," wrote Helena Cobban in *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation*. "On 17 February 1979, Yassir Arafat was the first foreign leader to be invited to Teheran by the Iranian capital's new rulers. He was given a tumultuous hero's reception during his five days there, addressing rallies and prayer-meetings almost as vast as those which had swept Khomeini to power. On 18 February, he inaugurated the new PLO office in Teheran, in the building which had previously housed Israel's diplomatic mission to Iran."

Washington attempted to contain and, if possible, roll back the Iranian revolution by backing the invasion of Iran launched by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in 1980. The Iraqi rulers' reactionary war strengthened Israel's hand against the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples. The monarchies, emirates, and other reactionary regimes in the region concentrated



Refugees fleeing village in southern Lebanon following 1978 Israeli invasion

ever more resources in backing the war against Iran. This emboldened the Israeli rulers.

In 1981 attacks on Lebanon were stepped up. Israeli air raids left one person dead on July 10, 1981; five dead on July 12; 10 dead on July 14; 35 dead on July 16; and on July 17, 200 dead as Israeli bombers struck West Beirut.

From August 1981 to May 1982, the UN Secretary General reported 2,096 Israeli violations of Lebanese airspace and 652 incursions into Lebanese waters.

On June 4, 1982, waves of Israeli planes bombed refugee camps and other targets in Beirut, killing a minimum of 45 people. The bombings were described as retaliation for the shooting of an Israeli diplomat in London. The PLO denied responsibility for the attack.

On June 6, 1982, the Israeli government launched "Operation Peace for Galilee" — its name for the all-out invasion of Lebanon. The next article will take up the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon, the forced withdrawal of the PLO fighters, and subsequent developments there.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 35¢
April 14, 1978

One of the biggest political demonstrations in Israel's 30-year history took place April 1. A crowd estimated at 45,000 persons by a Reuters dispatch, and at 30,000 by *New York Daily News* correspondent Joseph Fried, demonstrated in Tel Aviv.

The "Peace Now" movement, as it is known, was organized by a group of 300 army reserve officers. According to Fried, their demand has been for "the Israeli government to change its priorities and to adopt a policy involving compromise to obtain peace and security."

Although the "Peace Now" demonstration was organized by loyal supporters of the Israeli state, it represents a deadly danger for Zionism.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
April 15, 1963 Price 10¢

A new wave of antisegregation demonstrations is sweeping the South. The most spectacular of these are taking place

in one of the most heavily industrialized and unionized cities in the country — Birmingham, Alabama.

The Birmingham demonstrations, which police have attacked with trained dogs, are under the leadership of veteran rights fighter Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which he heads. So far more than a hundred demonstrators have been arrested in 10 days of sit-ins and protest marches seeking to desegregate downtown Birmingham.

The United States Justice Department, headed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, has been urging Negroes to call a moratorium on the Birmingham demonstrations until a new city administration takes office.

The new city government, which was elected April 2, is scheduled to take over April 15 but may be prevented from doing so by a court action instituted by Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, head of the previous administration. Federal agents have told Negro leaders that the new council is expected to be more moderate than Connor, and that the Negroes' demands should be presented to it rather than pressed through direct action.

Shuttlesworth rejected the advice, declaring: "We have had all the moratoriums we want. We are in this to the end."

Life near U.S. base in Philippines

Continued from Page 15

owner and she is then released for 24 hours to accompany him.

Many of the women must borrow money from the bar owners for the treatment of the venereal diseases that are rife in the town, or for an illegal abortion placing them in debt and tying them further to the owner.

Some of the bars put on grossly humiliating sex shows.

We were reminded that drugs are big business around the base, and a means of escape for the women, when we viewed the coffin of a 19-year-old dancer who had collapsed and died in a bar on a drug overdose a few nights previously.

Despite this degradation of thousands of women, one local schoolteacher we spoke to who opposed the bases said she thought that most Angeles residents did not feel so directly affected by it because the bar women were almost all immigrants from the Visayas, Bicol, and Mindanao islands way to the south. In contrast, most base workers were local people born in Angeles or nearby towns.

Last year two U.S. soldiers and one ex-serviceman were shot dead in Angeles streets. The government blamed the urban guerrillas of the New People's Army. U.S. servicemen were placed on a curfew. The gates of the base are now sandbagged.

Cuba's victory on human rights

A big victory was scored for human rights, the Cuban revolution, and the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Latin America, Asia, and Africa at the recently concluded session in Geneva, Switzerland, of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

In the face of certain defeat, the U.S. delegates were forced to shelve a motion to condemn Cuba on trumped-up charges of violating the human rights of prisoners and others.

Instead, the 43-member commission adopted a proposal initiated by Cuban representatives and backed by those of several Latin American governments to have a team of observers visit Cuba's prisons for five days and report back to next year's meeting of the human rights body. The decision was made public March 10.

The Latin American proposal won the backing of commission Chairperson Alioune Sene of Senegal, who will head the observers. U.S. government officials denounced the proposal as a "fraud" and insisted on a vote on the frame-up charges. They retreated only when it became clear that the move to condemn Cuba would be voted down.

The outcome marked the defeat of a U.S. strong-arm drive to blackmail governments to vote with Washington.

U.S. diplomat Armando Valladares, who was employed as a cop under the dictatorial Batista regime in Cuba, warned that the U.S. government would regard a negative vote as an unfriendly act. Vernon Walters, U.S. ambassador to the UN, reiterated the threat.

Valladares reminded delegates, many of whom represented poverty-ridden countries, that the Indian government had been denied \$15 million in previously promised assistance after it helped block a similar U.S. move in the commission in 1987.

The U.S. charges faced rejection, in the end, because they were so transparently false that it was difficult for some of Washington's European allies to justify voting for them. Few people in the world believed Walters when he declared Cuba to be "one of the world's darkest dungeons."

Walters, Valladares, and their cohorts were never able to disprove Cuban President Fidel Castro's statements about human rights in Cuba. "There has never been an instance of a tortured or murdered prisoner," he said, in an interview published in the March 6 issue of the Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review*. "And, of course, none has ever been disappeared, or anything of the sort, in the history of our revolution because this policy has been maintained with absolute loyalty and no exception! Not a single exception."

The delegates knew that Cuba is not like Chile, Haiti, Paraguay, El Salvador, South Africa, Israel, and many other countries where political dissenters and other prisoners are routinely tortured, beaten, disappeared, and assassinated.

Cuban prisons are also not like those in the United States. There are no penitentiaries in Cuba like Attica, where thousands of working people are systematically brutalized; or like the federal jail in Atlanta where many immigrants from Cuba were held for years under horrifying conditions; or like the detention centers and "reformatories" where thousands of young people are locked up.

After backing down, U.S. officials passed off the decision as a victory for their side. "This has not been a spontaneous and voluntary offer from the government of Cuba," claimed Valladares. "We were pounding on Cuba's door. The Cubans knew we were going to knock in that door."

As the March 14 *Granma Weekly Review* pointed out, the door Washington claimed to be knocking down was wide open.

"Our country has nothing to hide nor is it hiding anything," *Granma* explained. "Visitors of goodwill, regardless of their political views or nationality, who want to learn firsthand about the human rights situation are welcomed to our country with open arms. . . .

"These same facilities that we have provided countless times for organizations and individuals from all over the world, including religious figures, professionals, jurists, journalists, politicians and scientists, will be available for the chairman and members of the Human Rights Commission invited to visit our country."

"Cuba can only stand to gain if honest and worthy people come to see for themselves what the human rights situation is in the country."

"What Cuba rejects is the slander, the lies and the outrageous manipulation by the U.S. government, which has no moral standing to give anybody lessons about rights or humanity."

The outcome of the debate in the UN commission is a victory for human rights. Washington was set back in its effort to divert attention from the savage violations of democratic rights that are taking place around the world, above all the countless ones carried out or backed by the U.S. government.

The visit by the UN commission is likely to help make the truth about Cuba's respect for human rights more widely known. That's something that Washington has done everything in its power to prevent, including by barring U.S. citizens from traveling to Cuba.

Where do profits come from?

BY DOUG JENNESS

It's funny how we often hang onto old ways of describing things even though scientific discovery has undermined the basis for our descriptions. We still refer, for example, to the Sun rising in the east and setting in the west, even though it was shown several centuries ago, and is nearly universally accepted today, that the sun does not revolve around the Earth.

To the contrary, our planet rotates on its axis once every 24 hours as it revolves around the Sun. This creates

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the appearance of the "rising" and "setting" Sun. What we *appear* to see is different from the *reality* of the relationship between the Sun and the Earth.

This discrepancy between appearance and scientific truth is also true for the formation of profits.

It appears to us, for example, that the value of a television produced for sale on the market is equal to the costs of producing it. The manufacturer puts up the capital to pay for the costs of materials, machinery, tools, rent, maintenance, and workers' wages. When these costs are totaled up, it doesn't seem that there is any place in the production process itself where profits can come from.

The profits must be created, it seems, after the product goes out of the factory door and onto the market. The TV manufacturer, for example, must make his profit by selling televisions above their cost or what he calculates to be their value. If his costs are \$150 per television, he may try to sell them for \$200 each to realize \$50 profit. The wholesaler then adds on another \$25 and the retailer another \$25. So it appears that profits come from what we commonly speak of — like the "rising" Sun — as "markups."

But this is not the way that profits are produced. If sellers consistently sold products above their values in order to make a profit — and most do make a profit — then all purchasers must consistently pay more than the value of the commodities.

But all sellers are also purchasers. For example, after our TV manufacturer sells each of his televisions for \$50 above costs, he then becomes a purchaser of the tubes, wires, and plastic that go into assembling a television. The sellers of these materials, to realize a profit, will also sell above their costs. So the \$50 per TV that the manufacturer thought he had received as profit gets eaten up when he enters the market as a buyer.

We can go round and round in this process of buying and selling. But no lasting profits are created; they cancel each other out.

But we know that the capitalists make profits. It doesn't *seem* to happen in production, and it can't happen in the market. So where do profits come from?

To answer this question, we first need to make a distinction between two different kinds of production costs. One part of the capital put up by manufacturers goes to buy new materials and cover the depreciation of machinery. No new value is created in doing this.

The other part of the employer's capital goes to the costs of paying workers' wages. Under capitalism, workers' capacity to work is a commodity bought and sold on the "labor market." In this sense, it is like other commodities that are bought and sold. Unlike other commodities, however, workers' labor power is a creative force, capable of producing value.

The value of labor power is determined on average by how much it costs workers — in a given society, with a given relationship of class forces — to feed, clothe, and shelter themselves and to bring up children to replace themselves in the labor market.

But during the time period for which workers have sold the use of their hands and brains, they create more value in the factory than is necessary for the employer to pay them to cover the costs of their labor power. For example, a group of workers hire on to work 40 hours a week. In 20 hours they create enough value to maintain themselves. Yet, they are still obligated to continue working another 20 hours.

During this 20 hours that these workers are not paid for, they create additional value, all of which is kept by the employer. It is from this excess or surplus value that the capitalists derive their profits.

While one part of the workers' weekly labor is paid, and another is unpaid, the way workers receive their wage — a small payment for each of the 40 hours, or sometimes for each unit produced — creates the impression that their labor was paid for in full.

The value of a television that costs the manufacturer \$150, and includes \$50 of unpaid labor, will be \$200. Even if the capitalist sells the TV for \$160 — \$40 below its full value — he would still make a profit of \$10 per TV. On average, taking into account market fluctuations, commodities will sell at their value, not above their value.

To study this question more extensively I urge readers to take a look at a pamphlet by Karl Marx, *Value, Price, and Profit*, which is available for \$1.50 from Pathfinder, 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

Justice needed for Brawley!

The campaign to press New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and State Attorney General Robert Abrams to investigate and prosecute the case of Tawana Brawley is faltering and urgently needs to be renewed. The Black 16-year-old from Wappingers Falls, New York, has the right to justice.

But as the case drags on toward the end of its fifth month, this victim of a racist assault is increasingly being vilified by TV broadcasters, newspaper publishers, politicians, and others. They are conducting their own investigations and concocting their own versions of what happened to Brawley. Most of them purport to reveal contradictions and discrepancies in Brawley's account.

The February 29 *New York Times*, for example, carried a 6,000-word story — the work of six reporters and a rewrite man — that cast suspicion on Brawley's account. But even the *Times*' metropolitan editor admits, "It's one of those stories in which the more information you get, the less you know."

It would be an error for the forces defending justice for Brawley to be diverted into answering these stories. This can only take the heat off of Cuomo and Abrams, the independent prosecutor in the case, and fuel the fire that's being built up around Brawley.

Enough facts are established to unambiguously demand that this case be investigated and prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Brawley was found Nov. 28, 1987, partly naked and wrapped inside a plastic garbage bag. Patches of her hair had been hacked away from her head. She had been smeared with dog feces. The word "nigger" had been written on her stomach and the letters "KKK" across her chest.

Unable to speak clearly for a few days, Brawley scribbled notes and made disjointed statements to give her account of being abducted, beaten, raped, and sodomized by six white men. One of the men, she said, had what appeared to be a badge and told Brawley he was a cop.

In spite of the condition that Brawley was found in and her account, county and state authorities have shamefully

dragged their feet. It took protests and a major effort to publicize the case throughout the state and the country in order to force Cuomo to appoint an independent prosecutor.

A 23-person grand jury began hearing testimony in the case in March and is expected to meet two days a week over the next six months, according to the prosecutor's office.

As shown in the Howard Beach case — in which three white youths were sentenced to prison earlier this year for their roles in a lynch attack on three Blacks — massive protests have to be brought to bear on the prosecution to guarantee that justice is done.

Unfortunately, Brawley's attorneys, C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, have taken a course that has undermined the kind of mobilization that is necessary. They have demanded the removal of Abrams and the dissolution of the grand jury.

Once the demand for an independent prosecutor was won, arguing with Cuomo over who should carry out the prosecution instead of pressing Cuomo and Abrams to move it along as rapidly as possible demobilizes the defenders of justice for Brawley.

Mason and Maddox are also working closely with Al Sharpton, an admitted cop informer who has been permitted to play a key public role in the case. Sharpton has absurdly likened Cuomo and Abrams to Adolf Hitler. He has threatened a citizen's arrest of Deputy Attorney General John Ryan, and organized protests to try to block witnesses from testifying at the grand jury.

Mason's and Maddox's reliance on legal maneuvers and Sharpton's disruptive actions are an obstacle to building an effective protest movement and should be repudiated.

The millions of people who want justice to be done for Brawley can't appoint the prosecutor or the grand jury. But we can demand that they investigate, prosecute, and convict those who beat and rape someone simply because their skin is Black. Mobilizing the forces to press for this is what's needed today.

Mexico: economic crisis transforms everyday life

BY JUDY WHITE

I recently came back from a two-month stay in rural Mexico, in a town near where I had lived for a year and a half in the late 1970s.

There has been some modernization in Cihuatlán — more people have TV sets; dish antennas have sprouted here and there; the streets in the downtown area are in the

AS I SEE IT

process of being paved; the *ejido* (farming cooperative) where I lived in 1978 now has running water and electricity.

However, the biggest changes I saw were the effects of Mexico's economic crisis on the workers and farmers of the area. The relationship of prices to wages has radically altered some very basic things in everyday life.

Take chicken, for example. Its price is set by the federal government and currently costs 6,000 pesos per kilogram (2.2 pounds). Since the average wage paid in

Cihuatlán is 8,000 to 10,000 pesos a day, a favorite dish of the area — *caldo de pollo* (chicken soup) — has virtually dropped out of the diet.

Milk — another item in the family food basket whose price is set by the government — costs 645 pesos a liter if it is packaged in a plastic bag. The trick is to find it for sale. Because if you have to buy milk in a carton, you pay 825 pesos, and if the milk is low fat, it costs even more.

A gallon of gas now costs the same in Mexico as it does in the United States, which means that anything that has to be transported has dramatically risen in price.

For items not considered to be of basic necessity, the situation is even more striking. For example, in mid-January when I first arrived in Cihuatlán I bought a 12-ounce can of coffee for a little under 2,000 pesos. But the following week when I went to buy another can, there was no coffee available. When it finally came back on the shelves, the same brand was selling in 3-ounce bags for almost the same price the 12-ounce can had cost.

The exact same refrigerator I paid 614,000 pesos for at the end of November on a previous visit cost more than 1

million pesos by early March.

In addition to hoarding, merchants have found other ways to get around government regulation.

Pan dulce (sweet roll) is a staple of the Mexican diet. Its price is set at 150 pesos per roll. Recently, however, bakers have raised the prices of many varieties to 200 pesos. They escape the fixed price by adding an ingredient like eggs or butter in minuscule amounts to the dough. The tortilla, the most basic item in the Mexican diet, has also been adulterated. For some time now it has been possible to buy a better tortilla in San Diego or Los Angeles than in Mexico because of the quality of the corn used.

On March 28 Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid announced that wage and price controls placed in effect in December "seemed" to be stemming the inflation that these examples are a partial manifestation of. His statement "There should be satisfaction with what has been achieved so far" I'm sure is being greeted only with derision by working people in Cihuatlán and throughout Mexico.

LETTERS

Benjamin Linder

I just bought a book called *Ventura Tips and Tricks*, which is about computerized desktop publishing. I thought your readers might be interested in the dedication page. It reads: "This book is dedicated to the memory of Benjamin Linder."

David Segal
New York, New York

Scab hunters

The February 24 issue of *Labor*, a joint publication of the railroad craft unions, featured an article on how six rail unions in East Ridge, Tennessee, ran a scab-hunting outfit, called Railfinders, out of town.

Railfinders, Inc., was set up by the rail companies to hire scabs in the event of strikes on the nation's railways. The Chicago & Northwestern was employing this outfit, which advertised for applicants to show up at a local motel in East Ridge on January 28.

On January 24, J.J. Davis, local president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, confronted the motel manager with the facts about Railfinders.

When the manager said he could not cancel the room, Davis contacted the Chattanooga Area Labor Council for assistance in setting up informational pickets around the motel.

Four days later, pickets from six unions sprang up around the motel. Railfinders canceled their room and local TV and radio stations covered the protest. Flyers were handed out to potential applicants and the general public.

The local unions vowed to again picket any place where the scab hunters might attempt to set up business and urged all rail labor unions to do the same.

Jim Miles
Chicago, Illinois

Cuban music

Some thoughts were sparked by your March 11 editorial on the U.S. government's cultural boycott of Cuba, shown recently in its refusal to admit the Tropicana performers.

The editorial's description of the show's music as "salsa, rumbas, and African music," for example. Cuba for decades, in the 1940's, '50s and '60s, was the crucible for a variety of music and dance styles that subsequently swept the world's dance floors (often severely watered down for popular Western consumption).

The rumba is one example; the cha-cha and mambo others. The sealing off of Cuba following the revolution in 1959 effectively stymied this process. The music developed along separate lines, inside and outside Cuba.

Cuban exiles, basing their music on styles such as the

guaguanco and *son*, created salsa. Rather the style was created for them. As top Cuban musician Arturo Sandoval has explained, "Salsa was invented by some clever people in America who wanted to block the Cubans out of the commercial market. With the use of the word salsa they were trying to promote the idea that salsa is the modern, upmarket stuff, and that what is going on in Cuba now is passé; that there were no longer any good musicians in Cuba. So that way, they could corner the whole market with the brand of mainland Cuban music." This salsa is played by Radio José Martí from Miami today.

Inside Cuba the music also developed, and that is what the State Department is trying to keep you from hearing. Luckily in England such a ban does not exist. In recent times we have had the chance to see and hear quite a few Cuban bands and dancers. A compilation album of contemporary Cuban music has also recently been issued.

The description of the Tropicana troupe's music as "African" is also a bit strange. With a large population of African origin, much of Cuba's music is obviously African-influenced or based. It is generally referred to as Afro-Cuban. This is true of all the countries of the Americas — styles such as cumbia, merengue, cumbia, samba, soca, blues, zydeco, and many others are all African-based musics. What is true of Cuban rumba, however, is that it has had a return influence on African music, which is unique. It formed the basis for the New Rumba, or soukous style, which subsequently swept Africa in the '50s and '60s from Zaire and the Congo.

When the boycott of Cuba is eventually ended, she can resume the position held for many years as the inspiration for much of the world's best music.

Phil Waterhouse
Nottingham, England

Same cause

I think that we are fighting for the same cause. The only thing is you're fighting out there and I'm fighting in here. But the beat goes on.

I'd like it very much if you would send me *Nelson Mandela, The Struggle Is My Life*.

A prisoner
Walla Walla, Washington

Renewals

Enclosed are renewal subscriptions to the *Militant*. One is from a student at Tuskegee University; she especially liked the *Militant's* coverage on racism.

Another is from a woman who had gotten a subscription last winter from a door-to-door team. She said several articles caught her eye



Oliphant

recently, and she decided to renew. She said the *Militant* "opens up your eyes to what is going on in the world."

Also enclosed are four subscriptions sold to paperworkers in the South. One told me he decided to get the paper because of the coverage on the labor movement.

Alyson Kennedy
Birmingham, Alabama

Socialism

I hope someday socialism will come to America. Then I can be free. Keep up the good work.

T.L.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Haiti

A political discussion is taking place in Puerto Rico over what attitude to have toward the new government of Haiti.

One point of view was expressed at a meeting in solidarity with Haiti held recently in Caguas, an industrial town in the mountains 15 miles south of San Juan.

The gathering was sponsored by Caguas War Against Hunger and the Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

The main speaker was Lilianne Jean Claude, a Haitian journalist who anchors the popular 4:00 p.m. news program on Radio Haiti. She explained that the majority of the Haitian people have rejected the regime of Leslie Manigat and are continuing to struggle for a truly democratic government.

The election of Manigat, she said, was a farce. He "won" only because he was acceptable to the military. The Haitian journalist expressed opposition to any intervention in Haiti by the United States or other countries.

A different point of view was expressed by Jorge Heine, an associate professor of political science at the University of Puerto

Rico in Mayagüez, in a newspaper column that appeared in the English-language daily *San Juan Star*.

Heine attended the inauguration of Manigat and believes the Puerto Rican government should have sent a delegation.

"The country has been undergoing a difficult process of transition from authoritarian to democratic rule," he wrote, and "President Manigat, a man of impeccable democratic credentials, deserves to be helped, not ostracized."

But even Heine is forced to admit that the January election was "highly irregular."

Ron Richards
Trujillo Alto, Puerto Rico

The real criminals

At a time and in a country where the philosophies of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have been so distorted, it is a wonder how your paper can still exist.

Our failed economic system has insured us of an unplanned economy. Though I am a criminal, so they say, it is those that persist with and support a failed economic system that are truly the criminals.

A prisoner
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Private prisons

Last December a letter was published in the *Militant* about Silverdale Workhouse, which is managed by Corrections Corp. of America (CCA) and located just outside Chattanooga, Tennessee. In 1984 it became the world's first privately run prison and a classic example of exploitation of prisoners.

I would like to shed additional light on this travesty of justice. I was a prisoner there under Hamilton County management prior to CCA coming into the picture. I broke my leg irons and escaped from Silverdale's custody.

By my escape I fled an over-

crowded, racist, filthy, and inhumane correctional facility where prisoners were worked in shackles. Punishment for any disciplinary infraction included no due process rights or protections and the punitive cells were dark. One meal was allowed every three days.

Dormitory assignments were determined by race as were work-gang assignments. Whites and Blacks were segregated in living and working conditions.

It is not difficult for me to believe that Rosalyn Bradford, a Black female prisoner, was allowed to die for lack of medical treatment in January 1987.

A favorite saying of the county employee who played at being medical personnel, when approached by someone so ill they could barely stand, was, "You just go out there and do the best you can." Medical care was a hoax then, so under private management it could only have become worse.

The Concerned Citizens For Justice based in Chattanooga needs support and aid from other anti-racist, civil rights, or prisoners' support groups to stop this trend in corrections from catching on and becoming the way of the future.

A prisoner
Pikeville, Tennessee

Correction

The introduction to the article "How suit against government spying exposed FBI's counterintelligence program" in the April 8 *Militant* incorrectly states that attorneys' fees have been awarded by the court in the Socialist Workers Party suit against the FBI.

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.

500 rally against racism in N. Carolina

BY SHERRIE LOVE

LUMBERTON, N.C. — More than 500 people participated in a lively march and rally here on April 4 in commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr., and two local activists, Lumbee Indians John Godwin and Julian Pierce.

Godwin, who died March 10 as the result of an auto accident, was one of the founders of Concerned Citizens for Better Government, a coalition of Blacks, Native Americans, and whites formed in 1986 after the shooting death of an unarmed Lumbee by a Robeson County deputy.

Pierce, who was murdered March 26, was running in the Democratic primary for state superior court judge against the current district attorney. His campaign had become a focal point for activists in the county fighting racism and corruption. They labeled his murder a political assassination.

The march went from the county courthouse to a community center. Speakers included community activists, church leaders, and political candidates.

Community leaders called for an end to racial injustice and the replacement of the county sheriff and district attorney. They demanded a special congressional investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of Pierce and 18 other Native Americans and Blacks in the county whose murders have never been solved.

Late last week, the sheriff's department arrested a young Lumbee Indian it claims has confessed to taking part, along with another young Lumbee, in the murder of Pierce. According to the authorities, the second youth committed suicide shortly before he was to be arrested.

North Carolina Gov. James Martin and officials from the FBI and Justice Department held a press conference the following day to back up the county sheriff's claim that Pierce's murder was not politically motivated. They announced an end to state and federal investigations of the killing.

Rally speakers called for a special session of the state legislature to allow another

candidate to file in Pierce's place. This demand was presented to the government last week. If it is not met, Joe Freeman Britt, the current district attorney, will automatically receive the judgeship.

The audience responded enthusiastically to Betty McKellar, mother of a young Black man who died in jail in January after prison officials refused to give him medication for a chronic asthma condition.

She voiced her support for Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs, two Native Americans currently being held without bail for taking over a local newspaper to draw attention to the county government's racist practices. "I would have been right by their side," she said.

Black rights activist Ben Chavis received a resounding response when he said, "There's been a lot of talk about the possibility of violence here. Violence is already here in Robeson County. Poverty is violence. Racism is violence."

For more information contact the Robeson County Justice Committee at (919) 521-0488.



Militant/Mike Fitzsimmons

April 4 protest in Robeson County, North Carolina, demanded congressional investigation into circumstances surrounding the deaths of 19 Blacks and Native Americans.

April 30 march to back Maine strikers

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — The labor solidarity demonstration scheduled to take place here April 30 takes on special urgency in light of the collapse of negotiations between striking paperworkers and International Paper Co.

The talks, held in Louisville, Kentucky, broke down April 5 when International Paper (IP) once again insisted that the 2,200 scabs at three struck mills are permanent employees. The company offered to allow 40 union members to return to work in Jay; 20 in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and 10 in De Pere, Wisconsin. The remaining 2,100 union members would be subject to recall at the mills through attrition over a period of years. This offer was rejected by the United Paperworkers International Union, which represents most of the paperworkers at the three mills.

The talks between IP and the paper union began March 28, and had been scheduled to run for three weeks.

The paperworkers at the three sites have

been on strike since last June, fighting company demands for concessions on wages, work rules, holidays, and other issues.

Another 1,200 workers have been locked out at the company's Mobile, Alabama, mill since March 1987 over the same issues. IP now says nearly 300 of these workers have been permanently replaced.

The company offer also included large payments to senior workers who agree to leave and forgo retirement benefits, and a \$1,000 check for any scab or striker who voluntarily leaves IP.

UPIU Local 14 President Bill Meserve of Jay, who took part in the negotiations, reported on the breakup of the talks to the 1,200 strikers and supporters gathered at the biggest weekly union/family meeting in months, held here April 6.

News of the failure of the negotiations had spread through the area before the meeting, so those present were not surprised by Meserve's report. The mood of the strikers was angry and defiant. Chants

of "scabs out, union in!" roared through the packed bleachers.

A plea by Local 14 Executive Vice-president Felix Jacques to make the April 30 solidarity demonstration the "biggest in the history of Maine and New England" was seconded with cheers and shouts, as he appealed for national support for the action. The march was called by the Maine AFL-CIO several weeks ago. An attractive leaflet has been produced, and the paperworkers have begun leafleting at area plant gates for the action.

In addition, the activities of the Corporate Campaign have been resumed. The campaign is a New York-based labor support group that has been helping to organize outreach and solidarity activities for the paperworkers. Their efforts had been suspended by UPIU International President Wayne Glenn as a gesture to IP at the start of the talks.

For more information about the April 30 rally, or to request a speaker on the strike, contact: UPIU Local 14, P.O. Box 272, Jay, Maine 04239; (207) 897-5423.

Socialists hail N.C. demonstrators

LUMBERTON, N.C. — Socialist Workers Party candidates were part of a "meet the candidates" program after the march and rally in Lumberton.

Campaigning for governor of North Carolina, Stuart Crome called for all charges to be dropped against Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs, two Native Americans facing charges related to actions protesting racism in Robeson County. "The real criminals are not Hatcher and Jacobs, but the so-called investigating body, which refuses to cooperate with the citizens of Robeson County to see that justice is carried out," said Crome.

SWP presidential candidate James Warren saluted the audience. "It's people like you fighting and standing up who are an example for other fighters," he said. "We will take the story of your fight to others throughout this country. In fact, what you are doing here is what we will encourage thousands of working people and others fighting for their rights to do: Act in your own interests. Look to no one to solve your problems for you; fight to solve them for yourselves."

"Your actions are the reason the powers that be are forced to address themselves to a situation that has existed for decades in this county. It's only by your continued action that it can be resolved in our favor."

A campaign team distributed hundreds of leaflets and sold 15 copies and two subscriptions to the *Militant* and \$40 worth of socialist literature.—S.L.

Chinese gov't attacks Vietnam territory

BY NORTON SANDLER

The Vietnamese government is demanding that the Chinese government withdraw its warships from the Truong Sa archipelago and put an end to all violations of Vietnam's sovereignty. This follows a March 14 attack by Peking military forces on three Vietnamese supply ships.

A statement released by Vietnam's Foreign Ministry says the freighters were hit by fire from large-calibre guns and missiles. Sailors fleeing the burning ships were fired on indiscriminately and 74 remain unaccounted for.

Chinese troops also went ashore at Gac-Ma island of Truong Sa and killed a number of unarmed soldiers.

In addition to preventing the rescue of fleeing sailors, Chinese warships "have also halted the normal movement of Vietnamese supply ships in the Truong Sa archipelago," explained the ministry statement.

China has made longstanding claims on the Hoang Sa (Paracels) and the Truong Sa (Spratly) islands in the South China Sea.

In 1974, before the end of the Vietnam war, China won a two-day battle for control of Hoang Sa, defeating the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese government.

After U.S. troops were forced to flee South Vietnam in 1975, marking the end

for the Saigon government, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam set up a few small installations including a meteorological station on the sparsely populated Truong Sa archipelago, which is 290 miles southwest of the Vietnamese mainland.

Made up of islands, coral reefs, and shoals, the Truong Sa contains potentially rich oil and gas reserves.

The archipelago is located near major sea lanes in the South China Sea. Malaysia, the Philippines, and Taiwan, in addition to China, have raised territorial claims on the islands.

The latest provocation over Truong Sa began this January when Chinese troops occupied Chu Thap island. They have since sent troops ashore at several other reefs and islands. And the Vietnamese government says Chinese troops have begun erecting permanent installations.

There have been numerous Chinese attacks on Vietnam over the past nine years. In 1979, after Vietnam helped drive the hated Pol Pot regime out of neighboring Kampuchea, Beijing, with Washington's backing, invaded Vietnam's northern provinces with 200,000 troops. The Chinese regime was forced to pull back, but not before tens of thousands were killed.

In early 1987 Chinese forces fired 14,000 artillery and mortar rounds at Vietnamese army positions before sending



troops across the border between the two countries.

The Beijing government is refusing to negotiate with Vietnam over the Truong Sa.

In a statement issued April 6, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren said, "I condemn this latest Chinese government attack on Vietnam's sovereignty. Beijing must immediately remove its warships and troops from the Truong Sa islands and agree to Vietnam's request for negotiations to settle the dispute."