

## U.S. intervention sparks explosion in Honduras

BY NORTON SANDLER

Rage over the U.S. government using Honduras as the staging ground for its contra war against Nicaragua exploded April 7 as demonstrators attacked the U.S. embassy in the capital city of Tegucigalpa.

The spark that ignited the explosion was the U.S.-organized kidnapping of Juan Ramón Matta a few days earlier. Matta is a Honduran citizen whom the Reagan administration accuses of being a drug dealer.

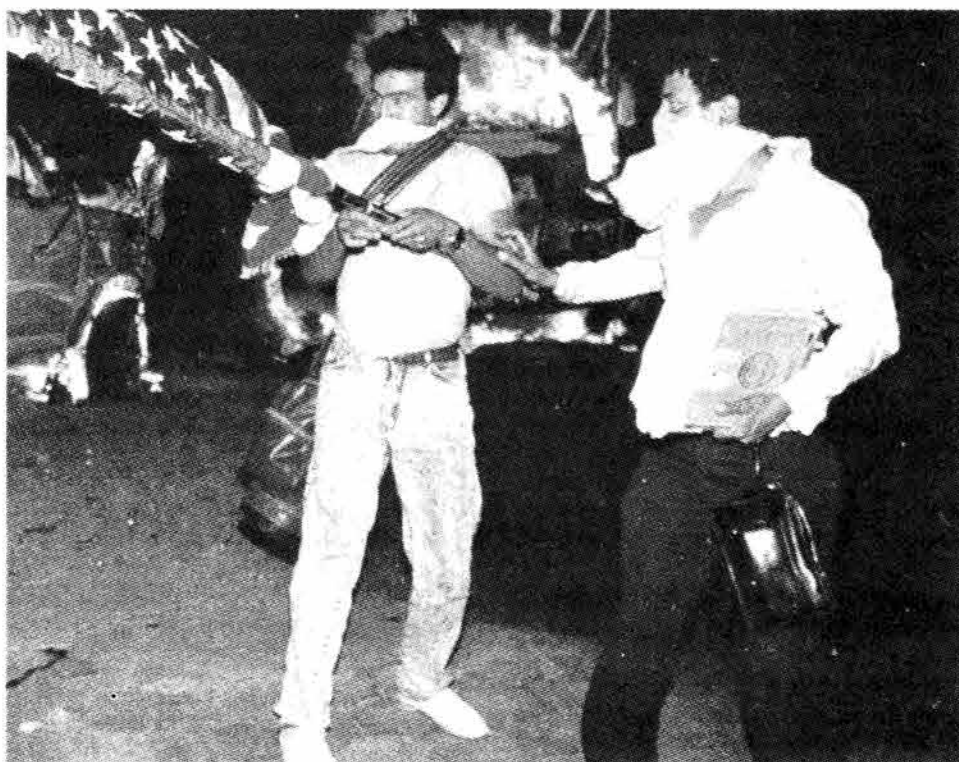
Though Honduran law prohibits the extradition of its citizens to another country, Matta was arrested at his home in Tegucigalpa. U.S. officials say he was put on a plane to the Dominican Republic and later transferred to another plane bound for the United States.

Matta is now being held at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois. His attorney, Martin Stolar, says U.S. agents and Honduran soldiers directed his client's kidnapping.

Stolar said the agents also tortured Matta with an electric stun gun on his back, feet, and testicles during the drive from Tegucigalpa to the U.S. air base at Palmerola.

Resentment immediately swelled in Honduras over the Matta kidnapping.

"It doesn't matter whether he is a drug trafficker or a law-abiding citizen," said Héctor Ordóñez, a chauffeur and mechanic. "There are certain procedures that should be followed, and they were not. He



Students sacked U.S. embassy after Washington kidnapped Honduran citizen

was treated like a dog, picked up on the streets and taken away to the pound."

On the evening of April 7, some 1,500 university students marched on the U.S. embassy protesting both Matta's arrest and the recent deployment of 3,200 U.S. troops to Honduras.

The angry crowd burned the annex where the offices of the U.S. Consulate, Agency for International Development, and United States Information Agency were located. A portion of the embassy itself and 20 vehicles were set ablaze. Four

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## New victory in Héctor Marroquín case

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW YORK, April 14 — This morning the Immigration and Naturalization Service handed a temporary residence card to Héctor Marroquín. For the first time in 14 years, Marroquín is now a legal resident in this country.

This victory for Marroquín's right to live and be politically active in the United States came under the government's one-year-old amnesty program. Marroquín was the first person on line to apply for legal residence status the day the program opened — May 5, 1987.

On April 12 Marroquín received notice from G. Tabor, INS regional director, that said, "upon consideration, it is ordered that your application for status as a temporary resident alien under section 245a of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 be approved."

Marroquín has been fighting for legal status for 11 years. He came to the United

States from Mexico in 1974 because his life was threatened in his native country, where he faced frame-up charges by authorities there because of his political and union activities.

Marroquín became politically active in the United States, became a leader of a Teamsters union organizing drive where he worked, and joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In September 1977 the INS arrested Marroquín and began deportation proceedings against him because of his political views and SWP membership.

Marroquín's fight to remain in the

United States and to halt government efforts to deport him have continued since then. This included a fight for political asylum that went all the way to the Supreme Court, which decided not to hear his case.

He also has a separate application for permanent residence based on his being married to a U.S. citizen, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín. This application is still pending.

In winning amnesty, Marroquín receives a new residence status. This category was created for the first time by the 1986 im-

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## What primary elections reveal

BY DOUG JENNESS

The Democratic and Republican presidential primaries and caucuses don't often reveal much about the current state of relations between working people and the capitalist rulers or show shifts in thinking by working people. However, the results of the more than 30 such contests held so far this year reveal more than usual.

For one thing, the primary races are occurring in the context of the defeat of Washington's contra war in Nicaragua. The end of this war and the beginning of peace discussions between the Sandinista government and the contras has dealt a resounding blow to the Reagan administration and to the right wing. During the Iran-contra arms scandal a number of right-wingers were dismissed from the White House staff. Others quit, and many more are demoralized. Consequently there is little wind in the sails of right-wing elements in the current election campaigns.

Of the Democratic and Republican presidential contenders, the debacle in Nicaragua poses the biggest problem for Vice-

president George Bush, who has been part of the Reagan administration for the past seven years and has consistently supported the contra war.

But the contra war is now over. The tactical dispute within ruling circles over whether to continue the war is coming to an end. And the furor over the Iran-contra arms scandal that was provoked by the failure of the mercenary forces in Nicaragua is receding.

The lessons of Washington's defeat in Nicaragua are still being absorbed by capitalist politicians and class-conscious workers alike. Moreover, Washington's difficulties in toppling General Noriega's regime in Panama and the popular revolt in Honduras show that the repercussions of this victory for working people are beginning to be felt.

Bush, who has sewed up the Republican nomination, appears to be successfully turning his back on the contra war fiasco and the Iran-contra arms scandal to present himself as a champion of peace. He is

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## U.S. drive against Panama falters

BY HARRY RING

The U.S. drive to oust Gen. Manuel Noriega from the government of Panama is running into major stumbling blocks. One sign of its growing difficulties is the split in the Panamanian coalition supporting Washington's anti-Noriega drive.

Leaders of the Popular Action Party announced their break with the coalition April 7. They said they had the backing of the Authentic Panamanian Party, reportedly the largest of the parties in opposition to Noriega.

Leaders of the Popular Action Party charged that U.S. moves to throttle the Panamanian economy were hurting the people more than they were impairing the Noriega government.

"For us, no recipe that comes from Washington has been favorable to the Panamanians," declared Popular Action Party leader Mauro Zúñiga.

The split in the anti-Noriega coalition came the day before Washington imposed new, even harsher economic sanctions against Panama.

Meanwhile, the brutal trampling on the country's sovereignty is spurring opposition in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The government of Barbados in an April 5 statement scored Washington's "unilateral imposition of coercive economic measures" on Panama.

In the Caribbean, the only declaration of support for Washington's drive came from its puppet government in Grenada. Even the right-wing government of Edward Seaga in Jamaica, which carefully toes the U.S. line, has ducked taking a stand on Panama.

Last month, at an economic conference in Venezuela, 22 Latin American nations voted to condemn the "coercive" U.S. policy toward Panama.

Earlier, Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid sharply scored the U.S. aggression.

An important factor in generating these declarations in defense of Panama has been the firm stand, taken from the outset, by the governments of Nicaragua and Cuba.

Washington has tried for two years to push Noriega out in order to replace him with someone more compliant. Noriega had balked at lining up behind the U.S. war on Nicaragua and resisted efforts to undermine the U.S. agreement to yield control of the Panama Canal to Panama at the end of the century.

White House strategy has been to draw the economic noose around Panama so tightly that it will either spark a military coup or uprising against Noriega.

In the initial blow, \$50 million in Panamanian assets were frozen, along with \$7 million in payments for the Panama Canal.

Then, on April 8, Reagan issued a decree prohibiting all U.S. payments to Panama.

The new sanctions require that such outfits as Texaco, which has a refinery in Panama, and United Brands, a major fruit dealer, violate Panamanian law by refusing to pay taxes, leasing fees, and utilities bills.

Panamanian business and banking interests took a dim view of the Reagan move.

The former head of Panama's National Bank, Luis Arias, said, "The new sanctions won't force Noriega out... but they will hurt the private sector, which is already in shambles."

The *New York Times* cited "another

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Héctor Marroquín

Militant/Sam Manuel



# New York meeting hears Nicaraguan artist



Militant/Sam Manuel  
Nicaraguan artist Carlos Montenegro toured several U.S. cities speaking on culture in the new Nicaragua. He also participated in painting a mural in progress on the wall of the Pathfinder Building in New York.

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

NEW YORK — At a meeting here on "Art in the New Nicaragua," Carlos Montenegro talked about the impact of the July 1979 Sandinista revolution on the dignity of the Nicaraguan people. The revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, made it possible to rebuild a Nicaraguan identity and culture, he explained.

A renowned artist from Nicaragua, Montenegro recently did a speaking tour of the United States. His tour was sponsored by the Pathfinder Mural Project and Ventana, a group of U.S. artists and other activists in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

"As the imperialist countries were enriched," Montenegro noted, "the culture of both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of Nicaragua was taken away from us." Today, the distinctly Nicaraguan culture that artists are recapturing is part of forging a united Nicaraguan nation for the first time.

The April 7 meeting at the New School for Social Research in Manhattan also included prominent New York art critic Dore Ashton and Pathfinder Mural Project Director Mike Alewitz. It was sponsored by the New School Union of Political Science Students and the New School Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

In his description of the support the Nicaraguan government gives artists despite the economic problems caused by the contra war, Montenegro noted the "popular culture centers everyone can be part of." Both the old and the newly developing art forms, he said, are being taken to the most isolated parts of the country so "all our people can take advantage of cultural and artistic expression."

Montenegro's talk was accompanied by a slideshow of his work. Many of his drawings, intricate pen and india ink creations, depict the characters of the Nicaraguan legend "Güegüense."

The legend tells of the brutal Spanish colonization of the indigenous Indian population in the 18th century. As the story goes, the Indian chief of the village was able to marry his son to the daughter of the Spanish colonizer. Out of this union the Nicaraguan people were born. A dance-theater production performed throughout the country is based on this legend.

Ashton discussed the explosion in Nicaragua's arts she witnessed during a recent trip. While in Nicaragua she was able to talk with Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal and Rosario Murillo, head of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers.

Alewitz described the work of the Pathfinder Mural Project, a six-story mural being painted on the wall of the Pathfinder Building in Manhattan. The painting de-

picts revolutionary fighters whose speeches and writings are published by Pathfinder, an international publishing house.

Three folksingers from Masaya, Nicaragua — members of the National Chorus of Nicaragua studying in New York City — performed several songs.

Montenegro also spoke to artists at the O Roe Gallery in Hoboken, New Jersey, as well as to students at the State University of New York at Purchase and at Boricua College in Manhattan.

BY DIANA CANTÚ

SAN FRANCISCO — Carlos Montenegro presented his slideshow on art in Nicaragua at a meeting that drew 150 people at the Mission Cultural Center here. The event was cosponsored by the Pathfinder Mural Project, the San Francisco/Bay Area Peace Council, Mission Grafica, Centro Cultural Nicaragüense, and others.

Joining Montenegro were two well-known figures in the art world, Ray Patlán and Jim Prigoff. Patlán is a community muralist who helped initiate the Placa project — antiwar and solidarity murals that decorate a street in the city's Mission District, which is predominantly Latino. He showed slides of murals painted in Nicaragua as part of an exchange project.

SF/Bay Area Peace Council leader Prigoff, author of the book *Spray Can Art*, documents mural and street art. He showed slides of murals from the Netherlands, Ireland, and Nicaragua that celebrate the struggles of working people.

Fifty students at a San Francisco Art Institute meeting gave Montenegro an enthusiastic reception, asking him questions about the goals of the Nicaraguan revolution, the extent of artistic and political freedom in the country, and the contra war. In response to Montenegro's description of army theater groups, poetry groups, and artistic endeavors involving working people throughout the country, many of the students expressed a desire to go to Nicaragua and see this for themselves.

## Revolutionary fighter C. Frank Glass dies

C. Frank Glass, a pioneer leader of the communist movement, died in Los Angeles March 21, four days before his 87th birthday.

He had been a founder of the Communist Party of South Africa. In this country, he was for several decades a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. He served for a period on the editorial staff of the *Militant*.

A journalist by profession, he spent the 1930s in China, participating in revolutionary politics there and writing extensively under the pen name, Li Fu-jen.

In this country, he was known to many by his political pseudonym, Frank Graves.

An article on his political career and contributions will appear in our next issue.

## Socialists launch W.Va., Utah campaigns

BY SAM MANUEL

At a well-attended Charleston news conference on April 6, the Socialist Workers Party announced its slate of candidates for the 1988 elections in West Virginia. They are Andrew Pulley for governor, Dick McBride for U.S. Senate, Ellie Beth Brady for Secretary of State, and Jim Gotesky for Congress in the 3rd Congressional District.

The party also announced it will challenge the state's undemocratic election laws to help win a spot on the ballot for its state and presidential tickets. The SWP is running James Warren for president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president.

The West Virginia candidates said they would file suit in federal court to overturn required filing fees, which come on top of already stiff petitioning requirements. The suit will also challenge the filing deadline, the disenfranchisement from voting in the primary of those who sign the petition, and other restrictive aspects of the election law.

The American Civil Liberties Union has pledged its aid in the challenge as have other supporters of democratic rights.

The SWP first succeeded in getting a presidential candidate on the ballot in West Virginia in 1984. Since then the state has moved to tighten access to the ballot. The new formula on the filing fee would amount to more than \$5,000 for the slate of

candidates the SWP is running, or collecting an additional 20,000 signatures in lieu of the fee.

"Taken together, the restrictions on ballot access amount to keeping working people out of the elections," said gubernatorial candidate Pulley. "The Democrats and Republicans, having guaranteed themselves all the ballot spots, then strut around as the only 'serious' candidates," Pulley explained.

The SWP in Missouri kicked off its 1988 statewide campaign at a Militant Forum in St. Louis on the world economic and social crisis. The March 26 forum featured Tom Leonard, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. He has been a socialist activist in the labor movement for decades.

The socialist candidates, Leonard said, have proposals "to protect workers, farmers, and youth on a world scale from the effects of the impending social crisis" that was signaled by last October's stock market crash.

The axis of this program is the fight for jobs. "That fight," Leonard concluded, "is not an economic struggle. It is a social and political struggle that requires a social protest movement."

Joining Leonard on the platform was Ellen Haywood, a steelworker at Granite City Steel and member of United Steelwork-

ers of America Local 67. Haywood is the SWP candidate for Congress in the 21st C.D. in southern Illinois.

In a March 24 press conference in Salt Lake City, Utah, attended by three television and radio stations and both daily newspapers, the SWP announced it is running William Arth for U.S. Senate. Arth is a mill operator and a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 2-591. He is running against Republican Sen. Orrin Hatch.

Condemning U.S. intervention against Nicaragua, Arth said, "Our campaign offers a perspective of solidarity. We should send aid to help the workers and farmers of Nicaragua in their effort to build a better, more just society — not finance mercenary armies to stop their progress, as Senator Hatch desires," said Arth.

Prior to the press conference several of Arth's coworkers had signed nominating petitions to get him on the ballot. The next morning, several others signed the petitions after hearing Arth's entire statement read on the morning news show of KBER radio.

*This article is based on reports from Joanne Murphy in Charleston, Andrea González in St. Louis, and Scott Breen in Salt Lake City.*

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# What primaries show about U.S. politics

Continued from front page

focusing on support for the Reagan administration's nuclear arms agreement with the Soviet Union and the negotiations for another arms pact.

## Anticipation of devastating crisis

The most revealing thing about the primary elections is the shift in workers' attitudes after a decade of the employers' offensive, in which union after union accepted giveback contracts, and real wages for many workers were reduced. This goes hand in hand with the insecurities generated by the anticipation of a devastating crisis following the October 1987 stock market crash.

While there has been bipartisan agreement on the use of military power to protect U.S. imperialist interests around the world since World War II, bipartisan agreement on social and economic policy at home is more recent.

From the mid-1930s until the end of the 1960s, the Democratic Party presented itself as a party of social reform — the party of Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal," Harry Truman's "Fair Deal," and Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" and "War on Poverty."

This distinguished the Democrats from the Republicans not only in stance, but also to some extent in practice as some government social programs were adopted.

But the post-World War II economic boom drew to a close at the end of the 1960s, and in the mid-1970s the ruling class began a drive to reduce real wages, cut social services, and generally lower the living and working conditions of workers.

In this context, the Democrats, for the most part, abandoned their social reform posture and became much less distinguishable from the Republicans. They tended to zero in on similar policies in the face of intensified competition from capitalists in other countries.

Democratic nominee Walter Mondale's campaign promise in 1984 to raise taxes in order to balance the budget and protect the dollar showed how far from New Deal liberalism he and other leading Democrats had strayed.

But since the 1984 presidential elections, two important developments have occurred that are being reflected in the current primaries. The first is that many workers, who thought that they could gain some respite by agreeing to concession contracts, are learning that that doesn't work. Instead of looking to find some accommodation with the employers to try to get through the difficult times, more workers are looking for help from the government. This was reflected in a modest way in the 1986 elections, which gave the Democrats a majority in both houses of Congress.

## Tremor before an earthquake

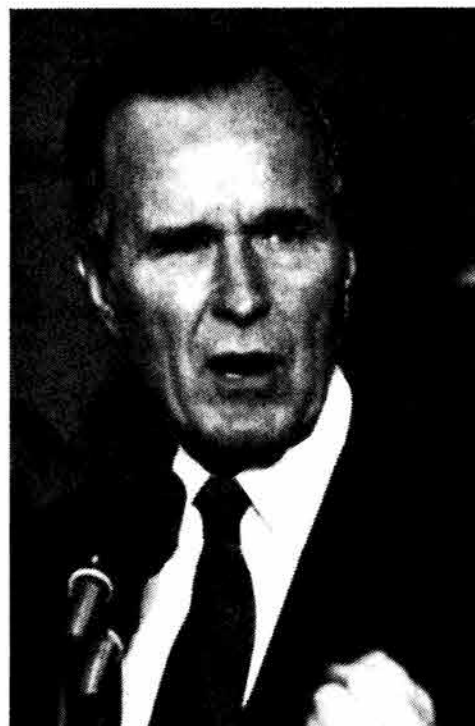
The second, more dramatic, occurrence was the stock market crash, the deepest since 1929. This was like a tremor before an earthquake. When a geologist explains to a community that it lies on an earthquake fault and is in danger, many people will often not pay much attention. The threat seems remote and "how does the geologist know anyway." But when the first tremor comes, even a short one, there will be more people living in fear of an earthquake that no longer seems so unlikely.

The stock market crash has aroused uneasiness among millions of people about the prospect of a recession that will be deep, worldwide in scope, and that can turn into a full-scale depression.

This is the explanation for the significant response that Jesse Jackson is getting for his campaign in the Democratic primaries.

## Liberal tradition of Roosevelt

Jackson — who is now in second place, close behind Massachusetts Gov. Michael



Presidential candidates Bush (left) and Dukakis.



Dukakis — has mounted a campaign much more in the liberal tradition of Roosevelt, Truman, and Johnson than any leading Democratic contender has done for a long time.

He promises to help those who are suffering from the effects of the worsening economic and social situation — workers, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, small businesspeople, and others. He says that he will help use government power to deal with their problems.

Jackson's stance is shaped by his promises, not by any specific or substantive program. He says he wants to get elected so that he can use the powers of the presidency to help the victims of the deteriorating economic conditions of the last decade. Unlike his 1984 campaign for the Democratic nomination, Jackson is not even making a pretense that he's trying to build a broad social movement — a "rainbow coalition" — to change society. This time around "Jackson action" is his rallying cry.

Many journalists have expressed surprise that someone who makes so many "radical" proposals should be doing so well in the primaries. Jackson, however, is not making "radical" promises, but *liberal* ones. It's only because the entire framework of capitalist politics has shifted to the right in the past couple of decades that a New Deal-type liberal appears to many today to be a flaming radical. They think he is barely on the fringe of acceptable mainstream politics that Dukakis adheres to, and so are surprised that he's doing so well.

Others are astonished that Jackson has received as much support as he has from workers, farmers, and small businesspeople who are white. Their amazement shows that they thought most workers who are white are more racist than they turned out to be. Some point to this as a big new breakthrough against racism compared to even four years ago when Jackson ran before, but won nowhere near the same support.

There is no question that 15 or 20 years ago the possibility of a Black being selected by the Democratic or Republican parties as a candidate for president or vice-president was excluded. Today, that's not the case. Jackson's success shows that. This reflects the conquests of the civil rights movement in the 1960s and the gains won during the following decade of economic expansion and big increases in jobs. This includes gains in affirmative action in hiring and education.

## Civil rights conquests

One of the conquests of the civil rights movement, in addition to defeating the Jim Crow form of legal segregation, was breaking down the myth of Black inferiority. This opened the minds of millions of whites to an acceptance of the legitimacy of demands for equal rights for Blacks and joining with Blacks in struggle.

This was shown early last year when thousands of whites mobilized with Blacks in Forsyth County, Georgia, against the attempt by racists there to maintain the county as a bastion of segregation.

What is revealed in the response to Jackson's campaign is that race has not been a barrier to him getting votes. The key to the support he has won from whites and Blacks is not that he's Black, but that he promises government help. That's what a

growing layer of people are looking for. If Jackson was making reactionary promises, he would not be getting the same measure of support — from Blacks or whites.

Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt attempted to tap the discontent of workers and farmers by focusing on promises to protect U.S. industry from "foreign competition." But his economic nationalist demagoguery only promised *indirect* measures to provide relief to jobless workers or those threatened with losing their jobs or to farmers being driven off their farms. If protective trade policies were adopted, then production would be increased and more jobs added, he argued.

Jackson's liberal reforms, however, promise *direct* government help to provide jobs as well as relief for farmers. This is what more and more working people are seeking. Thus Gephardt's ploy didn't fly, and fell by the wayside, while Jackson's campaign won more support.

The worries about an anticipated recession reflected in the turnout for Jackson come even before a recession is here. This confirms the depth of the uncertainties and fears that exist about the coming economic crisis. And, if a recession was already upon us, Jackson's chances of heading the Democratic ticket in the November elections would be greatly increased.

A corollary to that is that if the social crisis were deeper now, Republican contender Pat Robertson's right-wing demagoguery would have found a larger reservoir of support. While he did poorly at the polls, his campaign is a harbinger of what we can expect as a generalized social and economic crisis polarizes politics in the United States.

## Socialist campaign brochures available

Brochures describing the political backgrounds and activities of Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president James Warren and Kathleen Mickells are now available in both English and Spanish.

Both Warren and Mickells are working-class political activists with rich experience in many struggles. They are currently touring the United States and Canada, presenting proposals to unite working people in a fight to advance their interests. Their biographies show the kind of people that join the SWP.

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Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson

## Support grows for April 30, June 11 antiwar demonstrations

BY JUDY WHITE

A march and rally against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean will be held in San Francisco on April 30.

The demonstration is scheduled to assemble at 11:00 a.m. at Precita Park. A march will then proceed through the Mission District to a 1:00 p.m. rally at Dolores Park.

Called by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice — a coalition of organizations and prominent individuals from the unions, Central America solidarity organizations, churches, and others — the action will include contingents coming by train and bus from San Jose, Sacramento, and San Diego in California, Reno, Nevada; and Salt Lake City, Utah.

The protest has been called around four demands: no U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, end U.S. support for South African apartheid, freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race, and jobs and justice, not war.

Speakers at the rally will include Cesar Chavez, president, United Farm Workers; Lt. Robert Demmons, San Francisco Black Firefighters Association; Al Lannon, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6; and activists from El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The April 30 march is also viewed as a building action for the national demonstrations to take place on June 11 against U.S. nuclear weapons and military intervention. They will be held in New York and San

Francisco and are timed to coincide with the United Nations Third Special Session on Disarmament.

Among the more than 100 organizations and individuals that have signed the call for June 11 are the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); National Mobilization for Survival, Local 1199 of the Health and Hospital Employees Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Communist Party, War Resisters League, Democratic Socialists of America, Socialist Workers Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Quixote Center, Pledge of Resistance, Leadership Conference of Women Religious, Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, and Asia Resource Center.

Prominent individual signers include Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit; Joseph Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and William Winpisinger, president, International Association of Machinists.

The Nicaragua Solidarity Network of Greater New York is promoting a Central America contingent for the New York City demonstration.

For further information, in New York contact: SSDIII National Coalition (212) 608-8155; New York Mobilizing Committee (212) 673-1808. In San Francisco contact: Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice (415) 626-8053.



# How foreign debt and U.S. corporations strangle Dominican workers, peasants

BY CINDY JAQUITH

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — The shacks in the Los Guandules section of this city cling to the banks of the Ozama River. At floodtime, most residents escape as the rising river washes away their homes. A few don't and drown.

Those who survive return to the shores as soon as the water recedes. They have no other home.

Many of the workers of Los Guandules once did have homes, in the countryside. And they had productive jobs, working as small farmers or as sugarcane cutters.

Today in the Dominican Republic, only 27 percent of the work force is fully employed. Another 32 percent pick up occasional day jobs or peddle things on the street. More than 30 percent are totally without jobs.

Even for those who are working, survival is no easy task. The minimum wage here is 300 pesos a month. But the cost of enough food to feed a family of six for a month ranges between 800 and 1,000 pesos.

Malnutrition is on the rise, claiming especially the most defenseless — newborn babies. In the last five years, the infant mortality rate has shot up from 64 babies per 1,000 to 80 per 1,000.

Ironically, the Dominican Republic is the site of a proliferation of medical schools, mainly recruiting students from abroad, including many from the United States. But like the U.S.-owned citrus farms and garment and electronics shops that have sprung up here in recent years, the medical schools have not been built to meet the needs of the Dominican people, but to increase the profits extracted from their labor and resources.

## Deeper and deeper into debt

The Dominican government insists that increasingly opening up the country to U.S. hotels, export-oriented agriculture, and nonunion factories is the only way to provide jobs, develop the economy, and overcome the country's enormous foreign debt of \$4 billion. But the reality is that these policies, combined with austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and imperialist-owned banks, are digging the Dominican Republic into deeper and deeper debt and greater dependence on U.S. capital.

As Juan Sánchez, a peasant leader from the coffee-producing province of San Cristobal, said, "The United States policy has one sole purpose — to keep the underdeveloped countries backward. The U.S. government is not interested in seeing any of these countries develop. Instead, it wants to maintain them at the level they're at now so it can keep exploiting them."

Anger at the effects of the debt crisis has flared up more than once here. In 1984, when the government raised prices on basic

goods by 100 percent at the insistence of the IMF, rebellions broke out in the country. Hundreds were killed by troops and police.

Again this year, in late February and early March, protests exploded over the deepening impoverishment of the Dominican masses. The actions were initiated by residents of the gold-mining community of Cotuí, who were being poisoned by cyanide pollution from the mine. They launched a strike that paralyzed the mine, trade, and the schools, demanding the government relocate them. The regime was forced to sit down, negotiate, and agree to find them new places to live.

Although the agreement has not yet been carried out, the Cotuí struggle inspired peasants and workers throughout the country. A rolling wave of strikes, demonstrations, and rebellions broke out in both the cities and the countryside for about two weeks.

The demonstrators called for higher wages, lower prices, an end to evictions, for better public services, and for land. Some protesters were killed by government troops during the struggles, and hundreds were arrested.

President Joaquín Balaguer sought to pacify the masses by proposing that the minimum wage be raised from 300 to 400 pesos and by instituting price controls on a few basic goods. Formal negotiations were opened between the government, labor unions, and employers, with the Catholic church as mediator. But the union leaders walked out when the government and bosses were unwilling to offer more than a 10 percent salary increase and the 400-peso minimum wage.

Balaguer was then suddenly invited to Washington to meet with President Ronald Reagan. Great expectations were raised in the Dominican press that he would succeed in getting an increase in sugar exports to the United States and a reduction of the foreign debt. Instead, Balaguer returned with an insulting U.S. donation of \$10 million in livestock fodder, for which he had traded enthusiastic support to the U.S. government's flagging campaign to overthrow the government of Panama.

## Peasant congress

As Balaguer was leaving for Washington, 1,000 angry peasants met here in the capital at the congress of the Independent Peasant Movement (MCI).

The banners in the hall captured their mood: "Land, roads, and food for peasants"; "We can't eat promises — we want solutions now"; "Long live worker-peasant unity."

The crowd interrupted MCI leader Martín Nivar repeatedly as he gave the opening speech, which described the devastating crisis in the Dominican countryside. In the last three years alone, some 100,000 peas-

ant families have lost their land. This amounts to at least half a million people affected, in a country of less than 6 million.

The dispossessed farmers have been forced to become agricultural laborers, or to migrate to the cities to work in construction gangs if they're lucky. But many end up as street vendors or *motoconcheros*, providing lifts on the backs of motorcycles for a fee.

Many peasants lose their land when their debts become too high to pay off. But there is a great deal of idle land available that belongs to the government. Balaguer's policy, however, is to sell that land to big capitalist investors, such as the Dole Co. and Gulf-Western, as a way of paying off the foreign debt. Much of the land is being used to grow pineapples, melons, and citrus fruits for the export market. Other tracts are being sold to build luxury resorts.

"How long will we Dominicans keep making sacrifices so that the tourists and North Americans can have dessert every day?" Nivar asked the peasant crowd. "We don't even have plantains to eat while the foreigners are producing their delicacies on our land, with our resources!"

The twisting of Dominican agriculture toward export trade directly affects the cost of living here. Eighty-five percent of food for domestic consumption is produced by small farmers. As more and more of them are squeezed off their land, the prices of these basic goods soar.

## 'Land reform of big capital'

The government has a "land reform" program, but in the last 25 years it has provided land to only 54,010 farmers. Nivar estimated that 525,000 need land. Since Balaguer took office in 1986, only 2,067 families have received land. Hundreds of thousands of acres, meanwhile, have been turned over to export agriculture and hotel construction.

"This a land reform for big capital, a land reform that is strangling us, a land reform of the IMF," said Nivar. "It's not the land reform that we Dominican peasants want."

"The national authorities want the men of the countryside to devote ourselves to weeding the gardens and shining the shoes of the foreigners and their local servants. But as long as the independent movement of peasants exists, there will be a solid and powerful hope that the land will belong to the Dominican peasants who work it every day."

Nivar presented the MCI's program of demands to develop the country in the interests of its toilers. He demanded an end to giving land to "local and foreign consortiums," arguing for a land reform that gives land to the peasants to be worked by peasant associations.

He called for government funding to prioritize the countryside, not the cities as is currently the case.

He demanded "suspension of foreign debt payments and the investment of those funds in national production, primarily in agriculture."

He also urged state support to small farmers in the form of cheap credit and technical aid and government subsidies on articles of primary necessity.

Although most of the delegates to the MCI congress were men, a sizeable delegation of women attended, members of the National Committee of Peasant Women. The organization's general secretary, Eufemia Frías, told the *Militant* that the crisis in the countryside has an even greater impact on women. They have more difficulty than men in getting title to land and bank credit, she explained. And they suffer greatly from the deplorable health conditions in the countryside.

A pregnant peasant who wants to give birth in a hospital, for example, "may have to walk miles to get to a bus to take her to town," said Frías. "Many women have died in the process and others have given birth on the way to the hospital."

## Closing of sugar mills

The sugar industry was the country's major source of income — until Congress substantially slashed the sugar quota for all

Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Victor Rufino Álvarez, general secretary of the National Federation of Sugar Workers (Fenazucar), described the devastation in the last five years. Up until 1984, the U.S. government was importing 780,000 tons of Dominican sugar a year at a preferential price. The Dominican quota right now is a mere 160,000 tons.

Twelve of the nation's 16 sugar mills are state-owned. In the first 19 months of Balaguer's administration alone, 25,000 sugar workers have lost their jobs as the government has closed down refineries and sold the land to local or foreign investors for building plush resorts or growing fruits for export.

Fenazucar rejects the idea that it is necessary to close the mills and throw workers out on the street. "We think if the government implemented a program based on using the waste sugar pulp and the cane as a raw material to diversify Dominican industry, the refineries could be profitable," says Álvarez.

"Instead of selling the state land where refineries have been closed to the transnationals for export trade — which does not benefit either the state or the people — we think this land should be given to the workers of these refineries so they can put it to work producing food, organized under a cooperative system."

## Abuse of Haitian workers

The rationalization of the sugar industry here has been combined with stepped-up exploitation of Haitian immigrant workers. The Dominican Republic is part of the same island as Haiti. The Dominican government has run a contract labor program with the Haitian government for years, dating back to the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti.

The Haitian workers are contracted and brought into the Dominican Republic for the harvests. By law, they must take a job in the workplace assigned to them. They are not allowed to change jobs or move outside the area where their work is. They cannot leave the job until it is finished.

These conditions of semi-slavery are reinforced by heavy police and army repression, in the sugar enterprises and outside. Since the mills are state-owned, soldiers are used as foremen. In January, the army shot at several Haitian workers at the Río Haina mill, killing one and wounding two.

The police also persecute those Haitians who escape from the mills and try to get work under less onerous conditions, such as in private mills or as construction workers.

Fenazucar has spoken out in defense of the Haitian laborers, denouncing their treatment as "racist and anti-Haitian persecution." It has also sought to organize these workers, including an attempt to run a Creole-language radio program that the government closed down.

## 'Free zones'

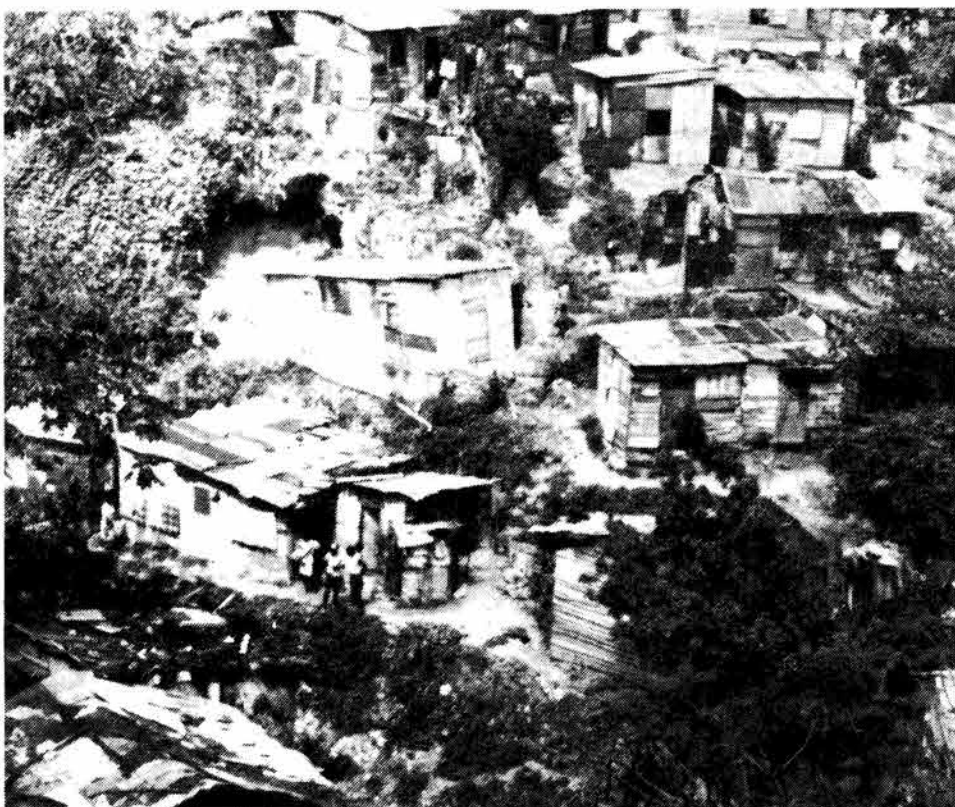
While the government is shutting down sugar mills, it is promoting the opening of dozens of new garment, electronics, and shoe factories in what are called the "free zones." There are about 10 industrial parks in the country, in which the investment is 90 percent from outside the country, not just from the United States, but Europe and Asia as well. The production is — again — for the export trade.

Sucre Antonio Reyes, administrative secretary of the General Workers Federation (CGT), said, "In none of these plants is there the right to form unions. None have medical insurance. They don't even have the right to Dominican social security, because if the boss is a foreigner, he just doesn't pay it if he doesn't want to."

The CGT has begun to try organizing unions in the free zones. The work is very difficult, since the employers can freely fire prounion employees to break up organizing drives.

More than 70 percent of the workers in the free zones are women. Recently the newspaper *Mujeres*, a monthly published in Santo Domingo, reported on some of the conditions they face.

Rafaela Rodríguez, an 18-year-old, used



Shacks in Los Guandules neighborhood, Santo Domingo. Malnutrition, infant mortality on rise in country where only 27 percent of work force is fully employed.



to work at the Clover Co., a garment shop in San Pedro de Macorís, owned by South Korean capitalists.

When Rodríguez objected to an arbitrary disciplinary measure one day, the manager hurled her against a wall, even though she was four months pregnant. Then — instead of sending her to a hospital — he had her arrested for allegedly trying to stab a supervisor with her scissors. By the time Rodríguez got out of jail and into a hospital it was too late. She had a miscarriage. The company then fired her.

Another plant in the same park, Tejidos Internacionales, hires 12-, 13-, and 14-year-old women, according to *Mujeres*, so it can get away with paying them about 128 pesos a month. The workers must put in a six-day week, they have no breaks except for lunch, and new hires must work three days for free before they start getting a paycheck.

At least 80,000 Dominicans are now working in these free zones. The government recently inaugurated another 21 plants in San Pedro de Macorís. Vice-president Carlos Morales Trancoso claimed the continued development of such plants is the Dominican Republic's road out of poverty and unemployment. But only — he added — if "a harmonious management-labor climate is preserved."

#### Privatization

Another form the attack on working people takes here is government efforts to privatize state-owned or state-run enterprises. The energy industry is one example.

Augustín Vargas, a leader of the Union of Workers of the Dominican Electricity Corp., described what the government is doing against his union. The government wants to turn the agency, which functions as an autonomous state enterprise, over to private hands. The union opposes this, says Vargas, "because it means an increase in electricity rates for the people, a greater level of exploitation of the workers, and a reduction of the work force."

Among other things, the union fears that if privately run, the agency will devote virtually all its resources and maintenance to the power plants supplying the big resorts and factories, not for working-class neighborhoods. The power system is already in crisis. Every day I was in Santo Domingo, the lights went out at least for a few minutes.

The government is trying to break or at least greatly weaken the union, with provocative measures such as mass firings of union militants and leaders and freezing the contract. The union has fought back and forced the rehiring of some of its members and leaders. It views its struggle as connected to that of other working people, says Vargas.

"The union is making efforts to link our struggle to this big movement of protests that the peasants, the sugar workers, and other workers are carrying out," he explains. "Because we're up against the power of the state. We're confronting an international policy that comes from the United States, the conditions that the IMF and World Bank have established."

#### Divisions in labor movement

Uniting the toiling masses and deepening their consciousness about the source of their exploitation and the road forward is a challenge. CGT leader Sucre Reyes pointed out that only 15 percent of the Dominican work force is currently organized. In addition, he said, there are seven separate trade union federations and some national unions that are not affiliated to any federation. Several different peasant federations also exist.

As the debt strangulation deepens, it will become clearer and clearer that Dominican workers and farmers cannot overcome the underdevelopment and misery they suffer as long as Washington and the imperialist banks determine their future. Some have already reached the conclusion of Juan Sánchez, the peasant leader from San Cristóbal, who said, "We Dominicans have to



Participants at recent congress of Independent Peasant Movement in Santo Domingo. More than 100,000 peasant families have lost land over last three years. To ease debt burden, government is selling idle land to U.S. corporations.

Militant photos by Cindy Jaquith

organize ourselves to confront this problem. We have to do what Nicaragua has done, what El Salvador is doing, and what Cuba did earlier in order to win our independence from the United States."

I spoke with a number of leaders and members of the Socialist Bloc, a revolutionary workers party that is active both in the peasant and the labor movements.

The Socialist Bloc calls for lowering prices of basic consumer goods, wage raises pegged to the increase in the cost of living, and a distribution of state-owned land to those without land. It also calls for suspension of the foreign debt payment,

with the money reinvested in land reform and subsidies on food; a halt to all repressive measures against the right to demonstrate; and a reform of the political system to eliminate discriminatory laws that make it more difficult for workers parties to participate in elections and other forms of political action.

The Socialist Bloc, along with the Dominican Workers Party and other groups, advocates uniting the broadest possible social forces around these demands as the way to advance the current struggles.

The Dominican workers and farmers I talked to stressed that they wanted U.S.

workers to know and understand what the U.S. government is doing to their country.

Nicomedes Toribio Francisco, a leader of the Social Security workers union, said, "Both the Dominican government and the U.S. government, through its protectionism, bear guilt. It's good for workers in the United States to realize what our situation is here. If this erroneous course is not changed, then the struggle of the Dominican workers, of the Dominican people, is going to deepen. And sooner or later, we're going to need the practical and moral solidarity of U.S. workers. So we send that class message today."

## Teamsters under attack in Puerto Rico

BY SELVA NEBBIA

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — "Since the time of the fire at the Dupont Plaza Hotel in December 1986 up until today, a persecution and harassment campaign has been taking place against the Teamsters union in Puerto Rico," said Luis Carrión.

Carrión is the vice-president of that union. The *Militant* was able to speak with him last month about the current situation facing the Teamsters.

On New Year's Eve 1986, the fire broke out in the Dupont Plaza Hotel here in San Juan and killed 97 people. In June 1987, three hotel workers confessed to setting the fire and were convicted. They received sentences ranging from 75 to 99 years in prison.

Following the fire, the Dupont Hotel management, mass media, and government launched a big attack on the Teamsters. The Teamsters organizes workers at the hotel and at the time of the fire the union had been negotiating a contract with its owners.

#### Bosses' provocation

"We in the union believe that the situation that resulted in the Dupont fire was totally provoked by the bosses," said Carrión. "We were in the middle of the collective bargaining process." The employers wanted to take back important gains made by the workers during previous contract negotiations. The main issues in dispute revolved around jobs and layoffs.

"The tactic used by the bosses during negotiations was one of harassment and threats against the work force," he explained. "They used a security agency that began to set up shop inside the hotel one month before the contract was to expire. During all this time they dedicated themselves to harassing and persecuting the workers and the union leadership inside the hotel. They used foul language and followed workers around the hotel in an attempt to provoke a confrontation. They even followed women workers into the washrooms."

The hotel contracted a strike-breaking law firm to represent it in the contract negotiations.

"We understood that this outfit was actively involved in union-busting, in trying

to rid companies of the union," Carrión said. "It was clear to us that their purpose was to destroy the union at the hotel."

"This is what led to the unfortunate and tragic incident," during which some union members started the fire. "And of course, it is clear to us that their intention was not to cause the damage that resulted, but to use it as a way of pressuring the company during the negotiations."

The company used this opportunity to try to link the union leadership with the fire.

The big-business media went on a big campaign against the leadership, including against Jorge Farinacci. Farinacci is a lawyer for the Teamsters and a well-known and respected activist in the fight for Puerto Rico's independence from the United States. He was also one of those arrested during a massive raid by the FBI in August 1985 and framed up by Washington as being a "terrorist." The ruling class used all this as a way to further smear the union.

"During the whole period following the fire, the newspapers published articles linking the Teamsters to the Dupont fire. Pressure was exerted on our families as a way to get to us," continued the Teamster leader. "They have been surveilling us daily, and this has been going on until the present."

#### Acted on their own

For a year and a half after the fire, the union members accused of the crime repeatedly gave testimony to the effect that they acted completely on their own. But in February 1988, the prosecutors struck a deal with Héctor Escudero Aponte, one of the accused. Escudero Aponte gave testimony that implicated a former vice-president of the Teamsters and two other union members in exchange for a reduced sentence. These three were charged with 97 counts of murder in connection with the fire.

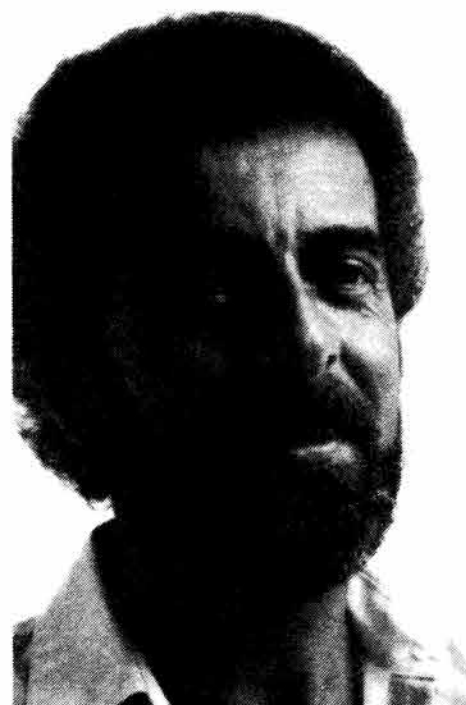
"Finally about a month and a half ago, they filed charges against the leadership of the union," he explained. "Management's intention has been not only to deal a blow against the union but to destroy our local just as they have done with other Teamster locals in the United States."

"In spite of the fact that we are confident that our union officials will be found not guilty, this case has resulted in strong repression and harassment against the union."

Carrión pointed out that Dupont management and the government were not successful in isolating the Teamsters from the rest of the union movement in Puerto Rico. "We received a lot of solidarity from other unions. The legal services workers, casino workers, national health union — which is an affiliate of Local 1199 of New York — were among some of the unions that came to our support," he said.

The Teamsters also received solidarity from the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, as well as other pro-independence and left organizations.

"I think it is very important for U.S. workers to find out more about what the workers in Puerto Rico face. It is important for us to establish closer links and to share our experiences," Carrión concluded.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Luis Carrión, Teamsters' vice-president



# N.Y. campaigners off to strong start in sales drive

BY NORTON SANDLER

NEW YORK — Fifty-two supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells fanned out across this city on April 9, beginning the New York component of the national campaign target week.

Campaign supporters around the country took advantage of the April 9-16 target week to get a strong start in the drive to win 9,000 new readers to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

The 10-week drive ends June 15. Distributors of the publications will sell 6,000 new or renewal subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1,500 subscriptions to *PM*, and 1,500 individual copies of *New International*.

## Morning meeting

New York supporters started their day with a morning meeting at the campaign offices in lower Manhattan.

James Harris, the New York SWP organizer, explained, "This is the first time in 1988 we are going to hit the streets nationally in a big way with our election campaign."

"The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are meant to be useful to those who fight, those who engage in political struggle," Harris continued. "That's why they are our most important pieces of campaign literature."

Harris explained that revolutionary fighters in New Zealand, Australia, Britain, Canada, Iceland, and other countries are participating in the drive.

Campaign supporter Keith Jones made a separate presentation on the role of the Marxist magazine *New International*. He reviewed the contents of the current issue, which includes articles on "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop"; "Cuba: A Historic Moment, Two Speeches by Fidel Castro"; "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Socialist Revolution"; and "Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation."

Jones described the success distributors had last fall selling the magazine from literature tables. He reported plans to circulate the publication to machinists, oil workers, garment workers, and other unionists in the coming weeks.

Jones said the magazine will also be placed for sale at bookstores and newsstands around the city.

Nancy Rosenstock, who organizes campaign outreach, dispatched teams to locations around the city.

Two participants also traveled upstate to Poughkeepsie where they were joined by three members of the Young Socialist Alliance from nearby Bard College. And five went to New Jersey where campaign supporters are petitioning to get the SWP presidential ticket and the New Jersey state candidates on the ballot.

As teams began arriving back at the campaign offices in the late afternoon, Tim Mailhot recorded their results on a chart.

Harris and two other supporters reported that they sold four subscriptions in Harlem. Meryl Farber told Mailhot that a three-person team in the Jamaica section of Queens had sold seven subscriptions and a copy of *New International*.

Georges Sayad said his team had sold \$120 worth of literature and five copies of *Nouvelle Internationale*, the French-language sister publication of *New International*, in the Church and Flatbush area of Brooklyn.

Brian Williams and Marc Lichtman noted that among the 10 people who purchased subscriptions at the Socialist Scholars Conference at Manhattan Community College were participants from Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines.

By the end of the day, 42 subscriptions to the *Militant*, and 14 to *PM*, as well as 14 individual copies of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale* had been sold. People who stopped by the campaign tables also purchased more than \$1,000 worth of



Militant/K.C. Ellis

**Militant supporters campaigned for Socialist Workers Party candidates in 30 cities on first day of drive.**

Pathfinder literature.

All teams had a discussion or two during the day that stood out. The Manhattan 14th Street team had met a young man from Guyana who was interested in the YSA. A team on Canal Street had run into a couple that was especially interested in the *Militant's* coverage of the fight against racism

and corruption in Lumberton, North Carolina.

Next week's scoreboard will show the results of the national target week.

To order copies of the *Militant*, *PM*, or *New International*, or to take a goal for the drive, contact our business office at (212) 929-3486.

## Virginia mine families face hard times

BY CECILIA MORIARITY

A couple of months ago, a *Militant* reporting and sales team spent several days in southwestern Virginia talking to coal miners and their families.

We learned that the small communities that dot this area were originally set up as coal camps by the mining companies. Some of the camps look like ghost towns when you first drive in. Houses are either abandoned or falling down. But people do live there.

Many small houses in the communities we visited were built next to creeks that flood. Others are located close to railroad tracks used to haul coal.

We also saw coal trucks bringing big loads down the narrow streets in front of people's houses. A laid-off miner in Clinchco, Virginia, told us that the Clinchfield Coal Co. was going to tear down eight houses to widen an intersection for the coal trucks.

Adequate housing is scarce in the coal communities. Unemployment is high too.

In Clinchco we asked two young people if they were working. They said no — there aren't any jobs. When we asked what young people in their situation do, they said, "We just walk."

There are no libraries in the coal camps and no theaters or social services for the youth, retirees, the disabled, the unemployed — or the employed, for that matter.

An elementary school student in Trammel told us his mother gives him a dollar to go to the store when he doesn't have anything else to do. It's worse in the winter, he said, because you can't go outside.

Every day we saw coal trucks loaded to

capacity going down the roads. The wealth being produced here stands in stark contrast to the poverty of the miners and their families.

"The miners want to work," a woman told us. "It's the companies that are causing the problems. They destroy our environment, take all the natural resources, and want to leave us with nothing."

Virginia has an Abandoned Mine Lands

program because the operators have left behind unclosed mine entries, piles of debris, clogged streams, and contaminated water supplies.

Island Creek Coal had just donated 10 acres of land to Buchanan County, Virginia, to build a 500-person prison.

In exchange the county is going to build a water line into Island Creek's Virginia-Pocahontas No. 1 Mine.

## Spring Sales Goals

Area	Drive Goals	Militant subscriptions	New International single copies	Perspectiva Mundial 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	135	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	250	185	45	20
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	8,175	5,370	1,420	1,385
Britain	200	130	50	20
Canada	340	200	100	40
New Zealand	130	90	30	10
<b>Totals</b>	<b>8,845</b>	<b>5,790</b>	<b>1,600</b>	<b>1,455</b>
<b>Drive Goals</b>	<b>9,000</b>	<b>6,000</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>1,500</b>

## Warren talks with Wash. farm workers

BY ROBBIE SCHEER

GRANGER, Wash. — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren talked with farm workers here on April 10 at a fund-raising event sponsored by the United Farm Workers of Washington State.

The barbecue and outdoor music festival were held on the lawn adjacent to the union hall. Some 300 farm workers and their children attended.

Participants read with interest the Spanish-language brochure containing biographies of Warren and his running-mate Kathleen Mickells. Many asked socialist campaign supporters about the difference between Warren and Democratic Party contender Jesse Jackson. Some wished Warren luck in the campaign.

Tomas Villanueva, the union's president, asked the band to stop playing for a few minutes so he could introduce Warren

from the podium. He invited the socialist candidate to speak briefly and translated for him.

Warren solidarized with the struggle of farm workers for a decent standard of living and pointed to their fight as an example for the rest of the labor movement to emulate. He pledged the support of his campaign to the ongoing drive to unionize farm workers here.

Several workers stopped by the campaign table and purchased subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* or the *Militant*. A few pamphlets were also sold.

Some asked why Warren was campaigning in the Yakima Valley where many farm workers are prevented from voting because they aren't U.S. citizens.

Warren took the opportunity to explain that "struggles like those farm workers are involved in have more to do with real politics than voting."



# Fight against disruption suit continues

## Right to privacy, freedom of association at issue in attack on socialists

BY SUSAN LaMONT

A major victory for democratic rights was won recently with the successful conclusion of the Socialist Workers Party's 15-year legal battle against FBI spying and harassment. The outcome of that case marked a step forward in the ongoing fight to defend the constitutional rights of privacy and freedom of association for working-class political organizations.

Parallel issues are at stake in another case involving the SWP, which is pending in federal court in Los Angeles.

This suit was filed in 1979 against the SWP as a harassment and disruption effort. It poses the question of the right of political parties to function without interference from the government and its agencies, including the courts.

At issue is whether a court has the right to probe into, give opinions on, and regulate the internal affairs, decisions, and leadership of a voluntary political association, such as the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP is the immediate target in this harassment lawsuit. But its outcome will have implications for trade unions, other political parties, civil rights organizations, farmers' groups, and similar associations.

The question of harassment lawsuits is also at issue. The SWP has spent tens of thousands of dollars and untold time and effort defending itself against this suit, which has had as one of its aims exactly that kind of disruption of the SWP's political work.

Can the courts be used for suits whose aim is to harass, financially burden, and otherwise abuse an organization? And can the lawyers who brought the case, knowing full well it was fraudulent, be held responsible for their actions?

### Background to case

The lawsuit in question was filed against the SWP in Los Angeles federal court by Alan Gelfand. Gelfand had entered the SWP in 1976, as part of a broader disruption campaign organized by the Workers League, a small U.S. sect, in collaboration with a British group, the Workers Revolutionary Party. He was expelled from the SWP after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the party was controlled by FBI agents.

Gelfand then filed a lawsuit against the SWP. He demanded that the court reinstate him into membership and remove the SWP's elected leadership. His constitutional rights were violated, he claimed, because the "FBI agents" in the party's leadership had expelled him.

The SWP responded by demanding that the judge, Mariana Pfaelzer, dismiss the case. No court, the party said, has the right to meddle in the internal affairs of a political party. Gelfand's accusation of an FBI "takeover" of the SWP was absurd, and he

### Union activist fired from British Ford plant

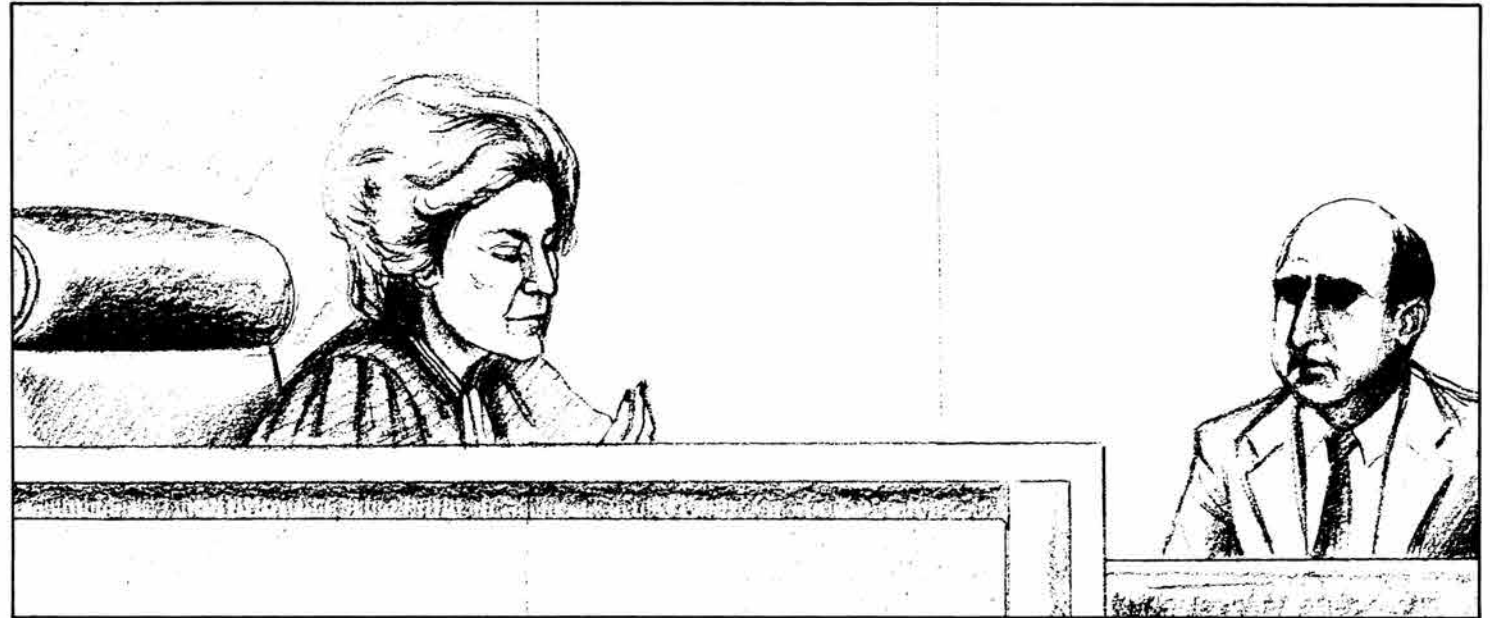
BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — Union activist Paul Davidson was fired from his job at the Ford Motor Co. engine plant at Dagenham in East London on April 8.

Davidson is a machinist who has been active in the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He had been on the job for only four days before Ford fired him. When union representatives inquired into the firing, management personnel told them that it had something to do with British Leyland.

In 1983, Davidson was one of 17 political activists fired at British Leyland's Cowley auto plant in Oxfordshire because of their union-building activity. British Leyland accused the 17 of falsifying their job applications. Several front-page stories on the firings appeared in the British press. The 17 were red-baited as "moles" and "sleepers" bent on disrupting the Cowley plant.

Tony Benn, a prominent Labour Party member of Parliament, called for Davidson's reinstatement at Ford.



Alan Gelfand on stand in 1983 trial. He filed a suit to disrupt Socialist Workers Party. Judge refused to throw case out of court, thus dealing a blow to democratic rights.

hadn't a shred of evidence to back it up.

The judge, however, refused to throw the case out. Gelfand, she said, must have his day in court. The court had a right to decide, the judge insisted, whether Gelfand's expulsion was proper, whether he had been dealt with fairly, and whether the elected leadership of the SWP was fit to hold office.

The trial was held in 1983, four years after Gelfand filed his suit. The judge was finally forced to admit, after the trial was over, that Gelfand never had "a single piece of evidence" to substantiate his charges.

But the fact that the judge agreed to hear the case at all — much less let it drag on for nine years — means that a blow against democratic rights has been struck. It gives credence to the idea that it is legitimate for the courts to intervene into political organizations to decide questions of policy and membership.

What meaning does freedom of association have if a judge — not the members of an organization — can decide who does and does not belong in that organization? Or who should be elected to leadership positions? Or what the group's policies should be?

Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, explained the dangers involved when the case went to trial. "This case," he said, "threatens to establish the precedent of government interference in any political organization, from the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] to NOW [National Organization for Women] to the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador."

### Harassment lawsuits

The SWP has not been the only victim of disruption lawsuits.

Abuse of the courts has often been used as a form of political harassment. The capitalist government, and other enemies of democratic rights with money and resources, know they can do damage to organizations and individuals fighting injustice by dragging them through burdensome and costly legal proceedings.

In Port Gibson, Mississippi, a group of white merchants sued the NAACP in 1969 because of damages supposedly incurred in a boycott organized by the Black community in the late 1960s. The objective of the boycott was to force businesses to hire more Blacks and make changes in the city's government. The purpose of the merchants' suit was to cripple and if possible destroy the NAACP, thereby setting back the struggle for Black rights in the area.

A Mississippi court did in fact order the NAACP to pay the merchants \$1.25 million in damages. The NAACP was able to beat back this serious attack when the Supreme Court reversed the lower court ruling in 1982 and upheld the boycott as a form of "constitutionally protected activity." Over the years, however, the NAACP was forced to spend huge sums of money fighting off racist legal offensives.

Another example of misusing the courts

to harass and to keep democratic rights from being exercised took place on Long Island, New York, in the early 1980s. A local Policemen's Benevolent Association, in response to complaints of police misconduct, hired a lawyer to sue every person who brought a complaint against the cops that subsequently turned out to be "unsubstantiated." Since 95 percent of all such complaints turned out to be "unsubstantiated," the effect of this move by the cops was to effectively discourage anyone from filing complaints, lest they face legal action.

In cases such as these the attorneys share responsibility for the political, financial, and other damage done to organizations and individuals by malicious legal action.

The SWP has fought for the principle that lawyers cannot be allowed to carry out this kind of harassment and profit from it with impunity. That's why the SWP filed a motion in 1983, following the conclusion of the trial, asking the court to rule that Gelfand and the law firm representing him, Fisher & Moest, had to pay attorneys' fees to the SWP. The purpose of this motion was not only to recover some of the tens of thousands of dollars spent by the SWP defending itself in the case. It was also to establish a deterrent to keep other lawyers from taking similar disruption cases in the future.

Los Angeles attorney William Smith, who supports the SWP's fight against Gelfand and his attorneys, explained why this battle to be awarded legal fees is so important. "Armed with seemingly unlimited funds," he said, "[Gelfand] was able to use the power of the court in an attempt to destroy a legitimate political organization. A group with less resources would have been destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of dollars had to be raised for legal fees, transportation, and related expenses. Over 40 days were spent in depositions alone...."

"Are lawyers who would take on such a case — designed only to disrupt or destroy a political group — to be held responsible for their actions? I believe this case presents an excellent opportunity to raise the question of the responsibilities of lawyers in bad faith or frivolous litigation. The arguments on behalf of the SWP are fully justified."

### Abusive interrogations

During the four years of legal proceedings before the trial, the court gave Gelfand's lawyers permission to interrogate SWP leaders and members for hundreds of hours on everything from their childhood activities to their views on religion and philosophy.

Although the judge herself admitted such actions were an abuse of court procedure, she allowed them to continue.

An example of the type of probing by Gelfand's attorneys is the questions asked SWP leader Doug Jenness in a deposition lasting several days. After interrogating Jenness about his adolescent years, his activity in the Boy Scouts, and his father's employment as a professor of biochemis-

try, Gelfand's attorney went on to ask Jenness, "Did your parents, during this period of time believe in God as a supreme being, do you know?" The lawyer then asked Jenness whether he himself did "... still believe in God as a supreme being?"

Some 7,000 pages of such "evidence" was amassed by Gelfand and his lawyers.

The judge then went on to allow similar "evidence" to be introduced in the trial itself.

Thus Gelfand and his lawyers were able to accomplish one of the aims of their lawsuit: to generate more copy for the Workers League slander operation against the SWP. As SWP attorney David Epstein explained, Gelfand's briefs "make it evident that these documents were written, not as legal arguments to persuade the court, but rather as a political attack, which, when published and reproduced by the thousands, could be foisted upon an innocent public readership as bearing the stamp of approval of this court." And Gelfand's backers have in fact published several volumes, based on the "official court record" of this case.

At the conclusion of the five-day trial, the judge declared to Gelfand and his attorneys: "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing.... I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party."

"The whole aura of facts in here," she continued, "leads me to question the motivation for the lawsuit. If I had been presented with one single piece of evidence that [the SWP leaders] are agents of the Government, that would be an entirely different matter. I haven't had a single piece of evidence given to me."

She further stated at the trial's conclusion that she had decided to rule in favor of the SWP.

Five years later, no decision has been handed down in the case, nor on the decisive question of the SWP's request for legal fees.

From the beginning of this case, the SWP, with the help of the Political Rights Defense Fund, has organized a broad campaign to explain the issues involved and to mobilize opposition to the disruption operation.

Public meetings, with platforms that reflected wide support for SWP's defense, were held in more than 50 cities around the time of the trial. Many people have contributed funds to help cover the burdensome costs of the fight.

Union officials, civil rights figures, farm protest leaders, women's rights fighters, Puerto Rican activists, civil libertarians, leaders of the Native American movement, representatives of other political organizations, and elected officials have stepped forward to defend the SWP and democratic rights in this case.

As this harassment suit enters its ninth year, there is a renewed need to spread the word about the case and the critical issues involved, and to demand that the judge end it and force Gelfand and his lawyers to pay the SWP legal fees.



# British government covers up murder of Irish republican

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

BELFAST, Ireland — The British government portrays itself as striving for peace among the warring Irish republican and loyalist communities, impartially trying to uphold law and order against the "men of violence."

(Republicans are those who support an end to Britain's occupation of six of Ireland's northern counties; the loyalists are those who want to maintain Northern Ireland as part of Britain.)

A look into the murder of Aidan McAnespie, 24, earlier this year exposes the reality of British rule in Ireland.

McAnespie was gunned down by the British Army in February in broad daylight. He was killed by a single bullet near a British army checkpoint in the town of Achnacloy, on the border between Northern Ireland and the formally independent south, as he was walking to a Gaelic football match.

The army issued a statement saying the fatal shot was caused by "an accidental discharge" from a machine gun as it was passed from one soldier to another.

The cops in Northern Ireland launched an investigation into the killing. But within hours the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the official police force, reported that three shots had been fired in the "accidental shooting," one of which had ricocheted and hit McAnespie.

The Dublin government announced its own investigation into the killing. But when Dublin requested a second autopsy of

McAnespie's body, it was learned that British authorities had cut away the portion of the body the bullet had entered.

A third investigation has been organized by the Community for Justice, the aim of which was explained by Father Des Wilson during a recent interview.

"From just seeing the press and television, people might take Aidan McAnespie's killing to be an isolated incident. It wasn't that a soldier suddenly went mad," Wilson said. "It's just a more ghastly occurrence in something that's happening all the time."

"Our investigation isn't into the actual shooting. We're investigating the activities of the police and the British Army against the people of that area over a period — the harassment, the insults, threats, and so forth," added Wilson.

McAnespie had long been a target of the RUC and the British Army. He was a republican and a member of the revolutionary nationalist political party Sinn Féin. His sister, Eilish McCabe, had been a Sinn Féin candidate in local government elections.

Every day he had to pass through the border checkpoint twice on his way to work as a packer at Monaghan Poultry Products. McAnespie would park his car at the border that separates the six counties in the north from the 26 counties in the south. He did this to try to avoid up to an hour's questioning and abuse designed to make him late for work. Nevertheless, his life was threatened on numerous occasions.



Militant/Clive Turnbull

Belfast. SF stands for Sinn Féin, the political party that fights to end Britain's military occupation of Northern Ireland. Aidan McAnespie and many others have been gunned down by British Army in attempt to crush nationalist struggle.

An *Phoblacht/Republican News*, published by Sinn Féin, carried a report by McAnespie in its July 24, 1986, issue. He described an incident at the same checkpoint where he was later gunned down. On that occasion an RUC officer assaulted him, and then he was told that he had obstructed a cop in the course of duty.

The day before the killing, McAnespie and his mother had been detained by authorities for two hours.

All 180 of McAnespie's coworkers at the poultry plant left work the day of his funeral and held a vigil in the Monaghan town center.

An earlier inquiry by the Community for Justice into the activities of the RUC and

the British Army in the predominately nationalist town of Strabane also shows that the killing is not an isolated phenomenon.

The committee's report uncovered "terror tactics" against nationalists that ranged from individuals being "stopped, searched and abused in the public streets, to raids on houses and incidents of arrests, torture, and death threats."

In the report, Raymond Gilloway, 21, described how he had been stopped 36 times between November 23 and December 28, 1986. On December 16, he was stopped three times. Christmas provided no respite. Between December 20 and 27, Gilloway recorded being stopped seven times and assaulted on three of them.

Father Joe McVigh, who conducted the interview with Gilloway for the committee, concluded, "This is only one documented case of harassment in Strabane. I believe that numerous individuals are suffering the same kind of harassment on a daily basis."

Copies of Community for Justice reports can be obtained by writing Des Wilson, 123 Springhill Ave., Ballymurphy, Belfast, Northern Ireland.

## Utah: protest hits biological warfare lab

BY SCOTT BREEN

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — "The U.S. Army suffered probably its fiercest attack within Utah since the Indian Wars ended." This was how the *Deseret News* described a March 22 public hearing on an army proposal to construct a new, upgraded germ warfare lab. Called Biological Aerosol Testing Facility (BATF), it would be set up at the Dugway Proving Grounds 70 miles southwest of here.

More than 350 people packed the auditorium where the hearing was held. The crowd shattered army hopes of silently building the BATF at Dugway. Almost everyone present, including elected officials, opposed the military's plans.

In 1985 a federal court issued an injunction halting construction of the BATF. A year later the court ordered the army to prepare a report on the lab's environmental impact and submit it to public discussion. The March 22 meeting was the second public hearing on the army's Draft Environmental Impact Statement.

The army explained its proposal to build a BATF with a "Biosafety Level 4" rating: "The facility will provide the capability to test and evaluate protective equipment, detection devices, and decontamination techniques for known and suspected threat biological materials."

A Biosafety Lab 4 (BL4) is the highest rating possible. It means the army could work with organisms that cause diseases for which no cure or vaccine exist. Examples of possible microbes the army said it might use at Dugway included: *Bacillus anthracis*, which causes anthrax; *Francisella tularensis*, which causes tularemia; and the equine encephalitis virus.

The summary said, "The construction and operation of a BATF pose no threat to the employees, the public, or the environment."

Dugway was chartered as a testing ground for chemical and biological warfare in 1952. Today, it's still a storage site for nerve gas.

Recently declassified army reports indicated that 60 open-air tests of toxic, disease-causing organisms were conducted at Dugway until 1968 — without public knowledge.

Opposition to the army's plans to refurbish and upgrade its facilities at Dugway

was led by Downwinders, a Utah organization that opposes nuclear testing. At a press conference prior to the public hearings, Downwinders spokesperson Steve Erickson said, "The new facility allows the United States to go to a brand new generation, if you will, of biological weapons, and that is cause for concern given the secrecy and track record of research at Dugway Proving Grounds."

Leading up to the hearings, 56 biologists and physicians at the University of Utah signed a statement expressing their concern about the safety of such a lab.

Distrust of the army and its feigned concern for public safety runs deep in Utah. Reflecting this, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran an editorial stating, "The army hasn't always been straightforward in the past. Many Utahns still are suffering the adverse effects of open-air, purportedly safe, nuclear tests during the 1950s."

"After conducting nerve agent tests at Dugway in 1968, when 6,000 sheep in nearby Skull Valley died, the army denied blame. Leonard A. Cole, a Rutgers University political scientist who wrote *Clouds of Secrecy*, cites cases in which the Army used the unwitting public in biological and chemical warfare tests for decades."

That same cynicism was expressed time and again during the army's presentation of its case for the BATF at the public hearing.

When Col. Wyatt Colciasure, director of Dugway, said that the proposed BATF, "will not be used for offensive purposes," the crowd laughed. And when he said that it "will not be covered by a veil of secrecy," the laughter was even louder. But when he mentioned that many microorganisms are useful — such as those making yogurt and cheese — virtually the entire crowd roared.

Utah Gov. Norman Bangerter spoke at the hearing in opposition to the lab construction. Congressman Wayne Owens was represented by an aide who read a statement of opposition saying, "It is unbelievable that the army can say 'Trust us.'"

Both officials however, left open the possibility of opening the lab as a BL3 facility or when they are "satisfied as to its safety."

Most of the crowd, however, had no desire to see the army construct any kind of

new biological warfare laboratory in Utah. Testimony lasted well into the night, as speakers from community, antiwar, and medical organizations spoke in opposition to the plan. These included William Arth, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, who submitted a statement calling for Dugway to be "shut down forever."

## Chicago: finks key in FBI frame-up of Puerto Rican activists

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

CHICAGO — In an attack on the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence, the FBI has framed up four Puerto Rican activists here on charges of conspiring to help two of the four escape from the Leavenworth, Kansas, federal prison.

Government prosecutors constructed a fantastic scenario in which Oscar López-Rivera allegedly masterminded a complex prison breakout involving a helicopter and rockets to blow up guard towers. Additional weapons were procured, according to the government, to be used by López-Rivera and his three accomplices in an urban "terror campaign" following the escape.

López-Rivera is serving a 55-year sentence on frame-up charges cooked up by the government in 1981. The other activists are Kojo Savabu, an imprisoned member of the New Africa movement; Jaime Delgado, a counselor at Northeastern Illinois University; and Dora García, a social worker.

The four were found guilty on Dec. 31, 1987. Three others were also charged: two who have not been captured by the cops and a third who is an FBI informer.

At least as far back as March 1983 the FBI placed informers in Leavenworth to spy on López-Rivera. In addition to tapping all his phone calls, the cops spied on his confidential visits with lawyers, family, and friends. These were video and audiotaped. His visitors' cars and the hotels they stayed at were bugged.

When nothing illegal could be found, informer George Lebosky offered López-Rivera money and weapons to help him

break out of prison. When this didn't work, the FBI produced informer Richard Cobb, who promised he would help López-Rivera escape with a helicopter as soon as he was out of jail.

When the FBI couldn't entrap López-Rivera, it decided to try to get a conviction on the basis of a few snippets of written conversation interpreted by the two paid informers and the "confession" to conspiracy charges of informer Cobb.

The judge overruled all objections to the testimony of these finks despite the fact that Lebosky admitted he had a habit of helping to plan his fellow inmates' escapes, only to betray them in the hope of reducing his own sentence. Cobb, who had a similar history, was paid nearly \$100,000 by the FBI for his activities.

An example of some of the evidence used by government prosecutors to corroborate the informers' testimony is a taped phone call in which comments by Dora García about buying some toys for Christmas and assembling them were interpreted as a coded conversation about buying and assembling rockets!

In her concluding remarks to the jury, in which she smeared the independence activists as "terrorists," the prosecuting attorney made clear what the government's goal is in the case — to intimidate supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

On February 26 López-Rivera was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, Savabu to 5 years, Delgado to 4 years, and García to 3 years. The activists plan to appeal.

For more information and to send contributions, write to National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, 1671 N. Claremont, Chicago, Ill. 60647.



# How FBI's secret affidavit frame-up failed at trial of SWP suit against gov't spying

## Introduction

BY JUDY WHITE

In April 1981 the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government agencies came to trial for their decades'-long illegal spying and disruption operation against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The SWP and YSA suit was filed in federal court in 1973. The eight-year pretrial period drew to a close with the government on the defensive as substantial evidence of its illegal covert domestic operations was exposed. To counter this, the government lawyers suddenly announced as the trial opened that they knew of "loads of illegal acts" carried out by the SWP and YSA. This alleged lawbreaking, therefore, justified the government's disruption effort.

To back up this allegation, government lawyers said they had done up an affidavit with evidence of serious crimes on the part of the SWP and YSA. But it contained information damaging to "national security." Therefore, the affidavit had to remain secret; only the judge would be allowed to see it.

Such proceedings are barred by the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guarantees accused persons the right to "be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation" and "to be confronted with the witnesses against him."

Submitting secret "evidence" is a standard frame-up technique.

### Dreyfus and Rosenbergs

In France in 1894, Alfred Dreyfus was jailed on charges of being a German spy based on testimony of a secret witness and secret evidence.

In the United States, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were sent to the electric chair in 1953 on frame-up charges of giving the Soviet government the "secret" of the atomic bomb. Then FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover claimed the existence of secret evidence — known only to the FBI — that supposedly confirmed their espionage activities.



Militant/Harry Ring  
Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes at federal court in New York during trial. Affidavit fabricated crimes Barnes allegedly committed, yet he and other plaintiffs could not see document and confront their accusers.

In the SWP and YSA suit, Judge Thomas Griesa's initial response to the secret affidavit was to refuse to read it. However, at the urging of the SWP's lawyers, he reversed himself.

The decision of the socialists was unprecedented. It surprised the judge and caught the government lawyers off guard. Why did the SWP make such a bold move?

### Eliminating a threat

The socialists wanted to eliminate the possibility of this secret material being introduced as part of the record in the case if there was an eventual appeal to a higher court. They wanted the judge to assess whatever charges were contained in the secret file on the basis of the facts presented in the trial.

The party was confident that the affidavit wouldn't show any actions that would conflict with what the organization said and did publicly. Anything the FBI had concocted and put into the affidavit would be contradicted by the record in the case.

This confidence was solidly rooted in the Marxist program and working-class character of the party, which like all genuinely communist parties, has no special goals of its own separate from the interests and goals of the working class. This rules out the party having any hidden program or policies.

In fact, much of the testimony at the trial consisted of SWP leaders explaining the party's participation in the working-class movement since its founding in 1938.

### Reviewing highlights of suit

The *Militant* has been expanded from 16 to 20 pages for several weeks in order to reprint previous coverage of some of the political highlights of the SWP's and YSA's successful fight against the FBI. This week, we're reprinting two articles on the secret affidavit, which was one of the central episodes in the case.

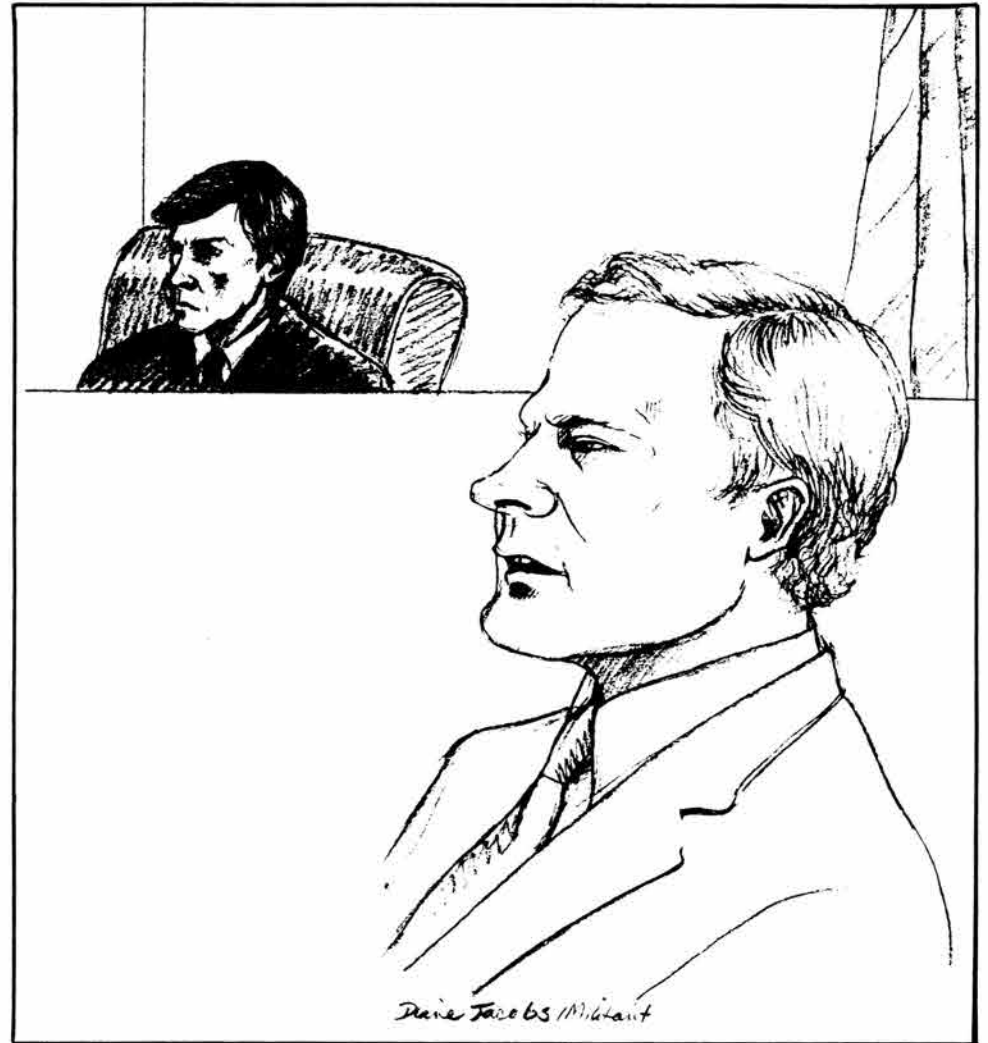
The articles by Nelson Blackstock, from the April 24 and June 12, 1981, issues of the *Militant*, reported on the government's introduction and withdrawal of the secret affidavit during the trial. Another article, by Vivian Sahnner, reviews the use of secret "evidence" in the Dreyfus case. It also appeared in the April 24, 1981, *Militant*.

The judge's August 1986 ruling in the case, which came five years after the trial, was a rebuff to the secret affidavit. Griesa wrote that despite the decades of spying on the two socialist organizations, the government had been unable to come up with a single example of illegal activity.

On the contrary, 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. And he ruled that the government must pay the socialists \$264,000 in damages.

One year later, Griesa issued an injunction barring the government from using information from its 10 million pages of illegal 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 decisions. This closed the book on the secret affidavit. And it marked an unprecedented victory for everyone's democratic



FBI agent Charles Mandigo, author of secret affidavit, testifies at 1981 trial. In back, federal Judge Thomas Griesa.

rights, a victory that can now be used by every fighter against war and for social justice.

\* \* \*

### BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEW YORK — After eight long years it's finally come down to a matter of a piece of paper so secret that only the judge and the government can see it.

It's a crude, secret-police type frame-up — a last-ditch bid to salvage a defense in the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against spying and harassment.

The story was still unfolding April 15, as the trial of the suit wrapped up its second week. It's taking place here at the federal court building on Foley Square.

The socialists find themselves defending the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, which, as Jack Barnes explained in his testimony, stand in contradiction to the sections that enshrine the privileges of private property.

At the same time, the government is following the logic of upholding the rule of a rich few. The are trampling on basic precepts of elementary decency and justice.

The picture has only gradually come into focus. The two key witnesses have been SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, who first took the stand April 4 and continued — with interruptions — for a week; and Charles Mandigo, an FBI agent, who testified April 13.

### Strange questioning

Sitting in the courtroom, you began to figure something fishy was going on when Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward G. Williams suddenly veered off into a strange line of questioning during his cross examination of Barnes on April 9. It involved such things as a so-called Secret International Operational Center in Paris; and the alleged passing of several thousand dollars to a Bolivian revolutionary in a darkened Manhattan movie theater in 1967.

To understand what this was all about you needed to know that there is now a secret affidavit in the hands of Judge Thomas Griesa. It is so secret that none of the socialists or their lawyers can lay eyes on it. Not even Jack Barnes. Despite the fact that the affidavit accuses him of committing

serious crimes. And despite the fact that the government lawyers and the FBI defendants not only have access to it — the FBI wrote it.

The government's last move is made from weakness. In fact, it proves the socialist case on the face of it.

After 40 years of spying — and after almost eight years of court action around this suit — during which the government was able to question SWP leaders for hundreds of hours, they were not able to produce evidence of one single illegal act.

Unable to come up with anything that can stand the light of day, the government has stooped to asserting that they have evidence of a crime. On this basis they are arguing that they should be allowed to continue their disruption of socialist political activity.

They claim they can't reveal the nature of the evidence because it is a "state secret," and to do so will violate "national security." They are hinging their defense on the assertion that although they have evidence of crimes by the socialists, it is more important to safeguard the "source" of their information than it is to prosecute the socialists for their alleged criminal acts.

This is a final gamble to keep the axis of the case off the fundamental issue — which is, does the government have the right to "investigate" so-called subversives, or anybody else? Not because of anything they've done. But because of what they think.

In effect, they are trying to turn the trial into a criminal case — one in which the people accused of the crimes, the socialists, are unable to confront their accuser or refute the evidence.

By trying to establish that there is ample evidence to investigate on criminal grounds alone, they hope to avoid the real issue posed by this case.

### Totalitarian methods

The methods they are trying to use are characteristic of a totalitarian regime — not a bourgeois democracy, in which you are supposed to be guaranteed the right to a fair trial. Under a totalitarian dictatorship, you can be accused, tried, convicted, and sentenced without ever knowing what you

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# How FBI's secret affidavit failed in suit ag

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were supposed to have done.

The government is trying to put this over in the name of protection of "sources." They are raising the protection of a handful of paid stool pigeons higher than the Bill of Rights.

As for the "investigation" they want to continue, the secret FBI files produced during this case proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that it is merely a front for the disruption of legitimate political activity.

In order to understand this turn in the trial, it is necessary to recall how the case developed in recent months.

Until last fall the government had banked on an out-of-court settlement. But when it became clear the socialists weren't settling on their terms, the government had to figure out how to mount a defense at a trial. That's when the government suddenly proclaimed at a pre-trial hearing that they had "loads of illegal acts."

## Mandigo affidavit

The judge asked for a list. After much stalling, it finally appeared in the form of the "Mandigo affidavit."

The judge took one look and called it "completely useless." All it contained, he

**"The socialists became convinced they must take the secret list head on, demolishing its lies. First step was to get the judge to read it . . ."**

said, was "a lot of quotations from public sources, and a lot of history, which anybody could go to the library and find out."

"The real question that we were waiting with bated breath to know was if the FBI had any evidence of any illegal activity by these people." In the affidavit there was none.

At the same time, the FBI said they had another list of crimes, this one secret. They would only show it to the judge *in camera*, meaning privately; and *ex parte*, meaning with the proviso that its contents not be revealed to the socialists or even to one of their lawyers.

This the judge rejected. "The government can't make any case by providing it *in camera* to me," he said. "I'm not going to receive it."

Despite Griesa's initial response, the socialists became convinced that they must take the secret list head on, demolishing the lies it contained. The first step was to urge the judge to read it. This he did.

When Jack Barnes took the stand he testified along the same lines as Farrell Dobbs, former SWP national secretary and the first witness.

Both forcefully stated what the SWP stands for and what it does. Listening to them on the stand, it was clear they were

ready to testify about anything and had nothing to hide.

Under direct examination by attorney Margaret Winter, Barnes' testimony plunged right into areas of socialist activity the government considers most vulnerable from the standpoint of reactionary laws.

## Fourth International

Barnes made clear the SWP's political commitment to the Fourth International. The only reason the SWP does not belong, he said, is because of laws that bar it.

The SWP participates fully in the political discussions and debates in the International.

The witness said he had been to every World Congress of the International since 1969. In 1979 "around 18" SWP members attended the World Congress, he said.

"I gave two reports," Barnes testified. "One was around the issue of the labor movement and the increased opportunities in the unions. The second was a report on the political resolution."

Barnes described the socialists' total support for the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, saying that the SWP views the leaderships in these countries as "sister parties."

In the summer of 1960, Barnes testified, he met Che Guevara in Cuba.

In 1972 in Brussels, Belgium, Barnes met Roberto Santucho, the most prominent leader of the Revolutionary Army of the People, one of the guerrilla organizations that had sprung up in Argentina. Santucho, who had been a supporter of the Fourth International, was breaking with it at the time. He was treacherously murdered by the Argentine government in 1976.

In 1979, Barnes stated, he visited Nicaragua. Noel Corea, a Nicaraguan-born supporter of the revolution there, and Liam James, a leader of Grenada's New Jewel Movement, spoke to an SWP conference last summer.

Barnes also told of his meetings with a member of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations in New York last year to discuss a response to the terrorist bombings and other attacks on Cubans in the United States.

## Terrorism

With the weakening of anticommunist sentiment, the rulers have sought to conjure up another bogey man — terrorism. Today the government tries to smear the SWP, and other opponents as well, with the terrorist label.

One of the ways they have done this is by charging that the SWP harbored a terrorist element within its membership — the Internationalist Tendency (IT), a minority grouping inside the party in the 1970s. Likewise, they accused the International Majority Tendency, which represented one side of a dispute in the Fourth International during those years, with advocating terrorism.

Barnes refuted both lies.

"Did the IT urge SWP members to advocate terrorism? To back terrorist groups?" Winter asked.

"No, they never did that," Barnes answered.

He explained the origins of the dispute in differences at the 1969 World Congress over the strategy of rural guerrilla warfare in Latin America.

In 1977, leaders of the international majority wrote a document sharply criticizing their earlier stance. The 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International voted to rescind the positions on guerrilla warfare in Latin America adopted in 1969 and subsequent years.

Winter asked Barnes about the socialists' policy of using false names, or pseudonyms, at international gatherings. The government has tried to use this to insinuate sinister, conspiratorial motives.

"A certain number of participants come from countries in which they would face death or imprisonment if it were known that they had attended an international gathering of the Trotskyist movement," Barnes said.

To disguise the identity of some it is necessary to assign a pseudonym to all. Otherwise, those with false names would stand out.

This is a gravely serious matter. "Many have been killed in the last decade alone," Barnes testified.

The minutes of the 1979 World Congress list some of their names: César Robles, a delegate to the 1974 World Congress from Argentina; 19 other members of

**"Barnes forcefully stated what the SWP stands for. It was clear he was ready to testify about anything and had nothing to hide . . ."**

the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores murdered by the Argentine dictatorship. There are also names from Spain, Mexico, and Peru.

In several countries of Latin America ruled by U.S.-sponsored dictatorships, death squads roam freely. One only has to mention the name of Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador to make the point that no opponent of oppression is safe in some places.

"Under these circumstances I consider the use of pseudonyms to be an elementary human right and duty," Barnes later told the *Militant*.

Barnes told the court which pseudonyms correspond to the actual names of Americans. But he refused to testify at the trial as to the real names of socialists from other countries.

As a security measure, many participants at international events are known to

the Americans and others only by their pseudonyms. Some of the more prominent figures in the international, however, are obviously known by their real names as well.

In pretrial proceedings the socialists turned over a list of those names they could recall, all of which are public knowledge to one degree or another — under the condition that it be placed under a special protective order. This means that the information is restricted to the court, and to government lawyers involved in the case. Stiff penalties will be assessed if evidence appears that the information has been spread beyond those authorized by the court to receive it.

During his testimony, Winter asked Barnes if "sections of the Fourth International ever engaged in illegal activities."

"Yes," he replied.

"What countries?"

"Since 1969 in South Africa, Nicaragua, Haiti, Iran, Argentina, Chile, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and China; Spain under Franco, and Portugal under Salazar, and many others," he answered.

Asked to describe some of the illegal activities, Barnes said: "It varies from country to country. Newspapers are sometimes illegal, demonstrations. In South Africa it's illegal for Blacks and whites to meet in the same room. Presses and mimeographs are illegal in some places. Or they're registered with the government so they have to be stolen. Sometimes passports have to be forged to travel to meetings. All these are illegal."

"What is the view of the SWP with regard to such activities?" Winter asked.

"We totally politically support it," Barnes answered. "We think it's the only way people in these countries with tyrannical governments can express their ideas."

Williams' cross-examination of Barnes ranged over several topics — often skipping backward and forward to the same subject.

# Dreyfus affair: sordid use of 30

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

We can't show you. It would endanger national security. That's the government's final excuse for not presenting its "proof" that the Socialist Workers Party has committed illegal acts, proof they admit they haven't produced in 40 years of investigation and eight and a half years of pretrial proceedings.

SWP leaders are ready to refute any charge with facts, but the government won't even say what the charges are.

The government's defense is lame. Blatantly undemocratic. And far from original.

Almost 90 years ago, in 1894, the French government used the same trick to condemn army Cpt. Alfred Dreyfus to life imprisonment on Devil's Island.

Dreyfus was a Jew. The French army was hunting for a German spy in their midst and picked Dreyfus for the role. A

hysterical anti-Semitic campaign was launched in the press.

During his trial the government presented only one piece of evidence — a list of documents alleged to have been sent to the German government by Dreyfus. A .d handwriting experts could not agree on whether Dreyfus was the author.

To help the government's case, Major Hubert Henry took the stand. "An unimpeachable gentleman," he testified, had warned him about the traitor. Henry explained that he could not identify the gentleman without endangering the nation.

At the last minute the army provided additional "evidence" to the court. "Evidence" that had to be kept from Dreyfus' attorney to protect the state.

Thin air was the foundation for some of this "proof." The rest consisted of "touched up" documents.

The court ruled Dreyfus guilty.



Secret "evidence" — so secret that it had to be kept from the defense — played a role cases in last 100 years. Captain Dreyfus was sentenced to life and Ethel and Julius Ro evidence.



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.

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



# ainst gov't spying

Only when looked at as a whole — and in light of the existence of the secret affidavit — does a lot of it make sense.

Williams' questions dwelled on the finances of both the SWP and the company that prints the *Militant* and other publications issued by the socialists.

He asked questions about how Barnes and others were paid — cash or check? He asked details of credit card accounts.

Williams asked about expenditures when Barnes lived in Europe in the early 1970s. Who paid the bills and in what form?

Barnes answered that the SWP pays expenses of its members when they are assigned to work abroad.

What Williams was driving at was the existence of an imagined slush fund. (Later, on April 15, David Prince, who handles finances for the socialists, took the stand to detail their financial procedures.)

Williams' probing on finances eventually dovetailed with another line of questioning:

Did Hugo González Moscoso attend the 1967 convention of the SWP in New York City? (González Moscoso is a leader of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.)

Did Barnes, González Moscoso, and others go to see the film *Battle of Algiers* at this time? Did they see it at a theater in Manhattan? During the movie, didn't Barnes slip González Moscoso an envelope containing thousands of dollars?

Williams did not say where he got his information.\*

Barnes answered that most of what was being asked was true, as far as he could recall. Except for one thing: there was no

money passed.

Williams also asked if it was not true that González Moscoso got into this country on false pretenses — to "visit the Mayo clinic" — when his actual purpose was to go to the SWP convention.

Barnes flatly denied this accusation. As he later told the *Militant*, González Moscoso was a very sick man. He had been tortured by the regime, and had sought medical help in this country. (Then, as today, Bolivia was under the heel of a brutal military dictatorship.)

While branding Williams' charge that the SWP passed money to González Moscoso a lie, Barnes does not rule out the possibility that a committee set up to aid victims of repressive regimes had raised money here, which González Moscoso took back with him.

"In pre-trial testimony I told the government lawyers that when González Moscoso came to this country there was deep repression in Bolivia," Barnes said. "It was not long after the murder of Che Guevara in that country."

"The left wing of the labor movement was hit hard. Many miners were in jail."

"In a poor country like that, when the breadwinner goes to jail, a family of five or six find it difficult to even survive," Barnes said.

"So it's entirely possible that people in this country would have raised money to help their families. González Moscoso may have gotten money from some of them."

"People here are willing to do such things. Look at the support for Nicaragua and El Salvador today. There's the eyeglasses for Nicaragua campaign of the steelworkers union. Catholic organizations are coming to the aid of the embattled workers and peasants of El Salvador."

"But the SWP did not give him any money, and he did not ask us for any," Barnes said.

Williams had an additional line of questioning revolving around yet another big lie.

Had Barnes ever heard of a man named "Sarrostro"? Williams asked.

## Sallustro incident

The witness said no, he hadn't. But he had heard the name of an Italian Fiat executive named Oberdán Sallustro.

How did you hear of the kidnapping of Sallustro? Williams asked.

Barnes said that he had read about it in *Le Monde*, the Paris daily newspaper.

In 1972 headlines throughout the world flashed the story that Sallustro had been kidnapped and held for ransom by "Trotskyist guerrillas" in Argentina. He had been seized by the Revolutionary Army of the People.

At the time, Barnes was living in Europe, working with the Fourth International, he told the court.

Williams asked a series of questions that implied the following: Barnes headed something called the "secret International Operations Center" in Paris during this time. Negotiations went on at the headquarters of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, between Fiat executives and leaders of the Fourth International. Although Barnes opposed such negotiations, he nonetheless knew about them — thus supposedly being directly linked to an act of terrorism.

Barnes answered these fabrications in response to Williams and further questions by Winter.

Barnes explained his and the SWP's stance toward the Sallustro affair.

"We thought it was completely wrong," he said in court, "an obstacle to the movement, for the fight in Argentina."

Did he have any knowledge other than what was in the press?

"No," he answered. He read that someone from Fiat came to the Ligue Communiste headquarters in Paris, but that they "were rebuffed and told to meet with the Argentines."

"Did you tell Ernest Mandel, and Pierre Frank and Mary Alice Waters, that you



Justice Department official Robert Keuch claimed in court that U.S. president and executive branch could spy on anyone in name of "national security." According to this totalitarian scheme, socialists' case against FBI should have been thrown out.

thought the meetings in Paris between the PRT and Fiat were a big mistake?" Williams asked.

"That's totally false. I never knew or said anything like that to anyone."

"The PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores] was a section of the Fourth International at the time of the kidnapping of Sallustro, was it not?" Williams asked.

"There were at least five PRTs then," Barnes explained. "Which one was a section of the FI was a great debate."

Barnes said those who claimed responsibility for the kidnapping were moving

rapidly away from the political positions of the Fourth International and already publicly identified with Stalinist leaders such as Mao Tse-tung and North Korea's Kim Il Sung.

The next witness, April 13, was Charles Mandigo, author of the Mandigo affidavit. An FBI agent assigned to the Washington headquarters, he is a man who appears to be in his mid-twenties. He has light blond hair, longish over the ears, slightly balding on top.

The plaintiffs had called him to the

Continued on next page

## ecret evidence

The army tried to derail moves to reopen the case by providing even more secret "evidence" to doubting government officials.

When a court of appeals agreed to review the conviction in 1898, the press branded the judges as traitors. They urged the government not to submit its "evidence" to the court. It would end up in the hands of the Kaiser the next day, they argued.

But the house of cards began to fall apart. The forged documents were exposed. The court reduced Dreyfus' sentence to 10 years.

On Sept. 19, 1899 — after serving five years in prison — he was pardoned. More than 12 years after the original conviction, on July 12, 1906, a court of appeals exonerated him.

That's the kind of "justice" that lurks behind the cloak of "national security."



in two of the most hysteria-provoking spy senberg to the electric chair based on secret

## Celebrate victory in suit against FBI spying

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### Other cities

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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.

#### Omaha, Nebraska

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**, Iowa activist fighting cop frame-up; **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.

#### Salt Lake City

**Marvin Davis**, NAACP; **Carlos Chavez**, Utah Immigration Center; **Rose Hulligan**, Big Mountain Support Committee. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. Trinity AME Church, 239 E 600 S. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

#### Seattle

Speakers: **William Johnston**, president, United Food and Commercial Workers District Council 17; **Dan Smith**, National Lawyers Guild; **Thomas 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.

#### Cleveland

**Thomas Buckley**, professor of law, Cleveland Marshall College of Law; **Ruth Gibson**, chairperson, Central America Solidarity Association; **Charlie Lemon**, president, Barberton Labor Council, AFL-CIO; **Martha Pettit**, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 300; **Leonard Scott**, president, Student Coalition Against Racism, Cleveland State University; **John Taylor**, cochairperson, Students for Peace Through Action, College of Wooster; **Bobby Mauoane**, South African student. Sat., April 23, 7 p.m. Cleveland Marshall College of Law, Room 12, East 18th and Euclid Ave. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

All events sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.



# How FBI's secret affidavit failed in SWP suit

Continued from previous page stand.

Before his examination was recessed, lawyers at the government table were squirming in their seats and the judge was scolding the witness for refusing to answer the questions.

Under questioning by Herbert Jordan, one of the socialists' attorneys, Mandigo adopted a tactic of filibuster and evasion. A lawyer himself, he cited reams of court decisions alleged to back up the FBI's claim to free rein in "investigating" the socialists.

This was not what the judge wanted to hear. "You are not the lawyer arguing the case," he reminded the witness at one point.

It had been Judge Griesa's idea to request the Mandigo affidavit. He said he wanted to know if the government had any evidence of illegal acts.

Now the government objected to the socialists' motion to admit the affidavit into evidence in the trial. The judge, however, readily agreed to accept it, noting, "It is an admission . . . that there was nothing found out about" the six socialist leaders covered by the affidavit. "Except what we have about that in [the secret affidavit] about Barnes," he added.

## Basis of investigation

Under questioning by Jordan, Mandigo said that the file on the SWP had been originally opened in 1940 — only a few months after a directive from President Roosevelt "dated Sept. 23, 1939," instructing the FBI to investigate "subversive" activities.

(Jordan later brought out that the presidential directive was actually issued on a different date and does not even mention "subversive activities.")

At one point the judge took over the questioning of the witness. He zeroed in on what actions the FBI was looking for in its investigations.

"Now, did that not have to do with violations of American law?" Griesa asked.

"No, it did not," Mandigo answered. Dodging the question, he said it had to do with constitutional powers of the president "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution."

Trying again, the judge asked, "Well, what would you be looking for? Would you be just looking for, among other things, any specific acts as distinct from just ideas?"

Mandigo rambled on about the "historical context" and "fascism, communism and other types of nationalistic tendencies in the United States," finally saying that the FBI was supposed to "conduct strictly intelligence investigations of subversive activities."

"Subversive activities being defined as what?" Griesa asked.

Mandigo started up again, explaining that there was subversion "from without the United States or subversion from within . . . to subvert the government's constitutional form of government."

"Well, again," Griesa responded, "I am trying to see if there was an attempt to uncover specific types of activities. The reason I am asking that is to determine if there is a blank, if there is nothing there. . . ."

"I assume that the FBI was spending its time and money trying to find out if there were that kind of activity engaged in."

"In other words, if somebody had been around engaging in sabotage, that would be of interest to the FBI, wouldn't it?"

## Subversive investigation

"That's correct," Mandigo replied. "It would be a criminal investigation" — as opposed to a subversive one.

"I don't know what you are trying to get at," Griesa said. "Are you trying to convey to me that the FBI investigation wasn't related to activity?"

"We are dealing with a very complex problem here," Mandigo replied, proceeding to babble about "coequal branches of government."

"That has nothing whatsoever to do with my question," Griesa said.

"I know, but it is a very complex area that we are dealing with," Mandigo said.

"I asked you and you would not an-

swer," Griesa retorted. "If you won't answer, you won't answer."

"Was the FBI interested in finding out if certain types of activity were engaged in? If so, what? I've asked you that about five times and you won't answer."

"Yes, they were interested in criminal activity," Mandigo said, "however —"

"I didn't use the word 'criminal,'" said Griesa. "I said certain types of activity."

"Yes, subversive activities."

"What were those subversive activities that they were interested in trying to ferret out?"

"They were interested in activity which would tend to subvert our constitutional form of government."

"Specifically what? Give me some for instances," Griesa asked.

"The term — there is so much encompassed in this, it goes all the way from espionage —"

"I won't permit the witness to testify," Griesa exclaimed. "If he won't answer any

**“The FBI investigation is not based on illegal activity at all. The only thing the government has on the socialists is their ideas . . .”**

questions, he can go away."

At this point Cathy Silak, one of the government lawyers, intervened to explain that Mandigo wasn't really qualified to testify on this. Griesa pointed out that the affidavit purports to deal with exactly these questions.

But finally he accepted Silak's plea that more qualified witnesses will be called by the government to deal with his questions.

This exchange was getting at the heart of the issues in the case. It tied together a lot that had been happening earlier.

The fact is that the investigation is not

based on activity at all. The only thing the government has on the socialists is their ideas.

Through many years of the most intense investigation, the government has not been able to come up with a single illegal act. That's why they've been forced to concoct this secret affidavit.

Another important thing was established during Mandigo's stint on the stand.

In his questioning, Jordan was able to establish that Mandigo was not only the author of the public affidavit — he also put together the secret one as well.

In his questioning of Barnes, Williams had revealed some of the details on the secret affidavit frame-up.

Jordan now asked Mandigo if he found in the files "reference to something called the International Operational Center of the Fourth International."

Mandigo replied, "I have been directed by the Deputy Attorney General not to answer that question."

"We have an awkward situation," Judge Griesa said, "because he submitted two affidavits. One you have, and one you don't have. . . . I don't know really exactly what to do about it yet."

In his public affidavit, Mandigo noted that the FBI had classified information on James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen, and Farrell Dobbs, as well as on Jack Barnes.

"Is that information contained in the [secret] affidavit?" Jordan asked.

"I can't answer that question," Mandigo replied.

Since he was under instructions not to testify on the secret affidavit, it can be deduced that there is in fact information in it on those leaders. This indicates a possible broader frame-up of the SWP leadership in the secret affidavit.

Not being able to see the secret affidavit, the socialists made an important breakthrough in establishing that it was prepared with the same methods and degree of accuracy as the public one.

Jordan asked Mandigo, "Were you just as thorough and careful in drafting the [secret affidavit] as you were in drafting [the public one]?"

"Yes, I was," Mandigo replied.

# Gov't withdraws document as 'evidence'

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEW YORK — The government has withdrawn its secret affidavit as evidence in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

The secret affidavit is alleged to contain evidence of illegal acts committed by the socialists. The government claims it must be kept secret because to reveal its contents would endanger "national security" by exposing "sources."

Word of the government action came in a May 25 ruling by Judge Thomas Griesa on the disposition of the secret affidavit.

This marks a setback for the government, which had counted heavily on the use of the secret affidavit. It has been a central aspect of the trial since it opened here April 2.

Griesa says he will make no ruling on the charges in the secret affidavit, which will not be considered as evidence in this trial nor in any appeals court.

## 'National security'

The government reserves the option of later moving to set aside all or part of the judge's final decision in the case on grounds that they were unable to defend themselves because "national security" barred them from putting forward their "strongest evidence," the secret affidavit.

The government decision means that they have been forced to shift to weaker ground. They are now reduced to reserving a last line of defense that will not prove popular in public opinion.

This latest government action flows out of the way the trial has developed these past nine weeks. As the socialists presented their case, which they wrapped up on May 29, the credibility of the secret affidavit — the content of which is known only to gov-

ernment lawyers and the judge — was steadily undermined.

The secret affidavit was first introduced in the case in January, right before the trial was originally set to open.

In the trial, the plaintiffs were able to get at the secret affidavit indirectly by demolishing the public Mandigo affidavit. Witness George Breitman, a veteran SWP leader, took it apart line by line. It was riddled with lies and errors.

The socialists have established their honesty and integrity in court by forthrightly answering any questions asked. They've made it clear they have nothing to hide.

They have spoken frankly and in great detail about their revolutionary Marxist outlook, party organization and history, political solidarity with the Fourth International, and other issues.

The combined impact has eroded the credibility of the secret affidavit. Judge Griesa indicated this June 2 when he stated:

"I think . . . there has been so much evidence in the case on so many issues. There is a wealth of material on the record, on the public record, in my view to dispose of the issues in the case . . . and there's no psychological problem in my limiting myself to the evidence in the record." That is, whatever is in the secret affidavit will not influence his decision.

In fact, during the weeks of the socialists' direct case, the real issues have come to the fore, and the government's line of defense has been forced out.

If the government does eventually ask that a ruling be thrown out because they can't use the secret affidavit for "national security" reasons, that will pose in a dramatic way issues that have already emerged at the heart of the case.

The government is claiming extraordinary powers — beyond any pretext of

As *Militant* readers will recall, when the public affidavit first appeared George Breitman ripped it from a to z. It was incredibly shoddy, replete with errors.

As Mandigo left the stand, there could be hardly any doubt: The whole secret affidavit is a half-baked tale dreamed up by some informer angling for a few extra bucks that week.

## Sliding scale for finks

As the next witness, FBI burglar George Baxtrum testified, the FBI pays its informants on a sliding scale depending on how difficult their information is to obtain.

The charges in the affidavit are clearly of the most valuable sort, since it would be impossible for anybody else to obtain them except for the fink who made them up.

With few exceptions, the media has paid very little attention to this trial.

But the story that is unfolding here is amazing. Here you have a small socialist party taking on the secret police of the most powerful ruling class the world has ever seen. The government has at their disposal virtually unlimited resources.

But cops are cops. And when it comes down to it, they come up with the same two-bit frame-ups they've been putting on unionists and socialists for more than a hundred years.

If they are allowed to get away with what they are trying to put over here, then no worker, no Black person, nobody who takes a stand against government policy is completely safe.

Such morally corrupt behavior is not the ordinary face the ruling class likes to present. But it breeds freely in the poisoned atmosphere of the secret political police apparatus the socialists are challenging.

The socialists are asking the judge to rule that the whole framework of thought-control legislation and presidential edicts on which this stuff is based is unconstitutional as applied to the SWP and YSA.

And if it's unconstitutional as applied to open revolutionary Marxists — who proudly admit, as the government claims, that they are "internationalist to the core" — then it can hardly be used against anybody else.

democracy or fair play — to "investigate" you.

This came out in its sharpest, most authoritative form to date in the testimony of top Justice Department official Robert Keuch. He asserted that the president — and by extension anybody he designates — has virtually dictatorial powers to do anything he wants in the name of "national security." This power, Keuch asserted, stems directly from the Constitution.

Now the government says that if things don't turn out the way they like in a ruling, they can rely on similar totalitarian claims to get rid of the socialist legal challenge altogether.

The government has reserved the right to claim on appeal that it was unable to put up an effective defense without presenting the secret affidavit. And why couldn't they do so? Because they themselves decided to withhold this so-called evidence on grounds of "national security."

The injustice and absurdity stagger the imagination.

## Government immune

The government would be, in effect, asking to be immune to challenge by citizens through the courts. They would be arguing that they can do anything they want and there's nothing you can do to stop them if they plead "national security." There's no due process, no way to get an injunction to force them to stop, no way to get damages.

Of course, if the government were to be allowed to get away with this, the rights of more than socialists would be in danger.

Millions of trade unionists, Black activists, and others would be open to attack along these same lines.

This brings home once again the importance of this case to the democratic rights of millions.



# How S. Africa backs Mozambique rightists

BY SAM MANUEL

Paulo Oliveira, former spokesperson for the right-wing bands fighting to overthrow the government of Mozambique, recently surrendered to Mozambican authorities. This has brought to light further details of support for the armed outfit — called the Mozambique National Resistance, or Renamo — by the apartheid regime in South Africa.

At a March 23 press conference in the Mozambican capital city of Maputo, Oliveira revealed that within hours after the former Mozambican president Samora Machel was killed in a plane crash over South African territory in October 1986, Oliveira was contacted by South African military officials. He was given a list of those killed with Machel in the crash and told that Renamo might be called upon to take credit for downing the plane. Oliveira said he was later told "not to worry about the matter."

Oliveira, a Portuguese citizen, joined Renamo in 1981 in Lisbon where he met leaders of the right-wing terrorists. In early 1983 he moved to South Africa to take charge of Renamo's radio station, Voice of Free Africa, which broadcasts from South Africa. In 1984 he returned to Lisbon where he served as spokesperson for the group until he resigned in October 1987. Oliveira arrived in Maputo on March 14.

He reported that in addition to radio and other communications facilities, Renamo receives logistical support from the apartheid regime's 7th Infantry Regiment and

military training from the 5th Reconnaissance Battalion.

In a separate announcement, Luis Tomas, a former military intelligence officer for Renamo, said that South African equipment delivered to the outfit in 1987 included anti-aircraft weapons. Substantial amounts of South African military supplies for the bands are transported through the neighboring country of Malawi, which also allows the group to maintain military bases there.

According to Oliveira, on June 24, 1987, South African Gen. Charles van Niekirk traveled to Lisbon to meet with Renamo leaders. While there he also supervised the installation of sophisticated communications equipment in Oliveira's home in order to enable him to maintain direct contact with the South African military base at Phalaborwa where Renamo also has operations.

Similar devices were installed by South Africans in the Renamo office in Bonn, West Germany. He also reported that the South African military provides transport in and out of Mozambique for the bands' leaders and combat forces.

Oliveira reported on support for Renamo received from Portuguese military leaders, West German officials, Israel, and right-wing organizations financed by U.S. businessmen.

He confirmed that in 1986 a top delegation from Renamo met with then White House communications director Patrick Buchanan.



Bridge destroyed by Renamo terrorists. Former spokesperson for rightist bands says South African army provides Renamo with military training and logistical support.

Oliveira said that he began to be disillusioned with the outfit when it became increasingly apparent that the group had no chance of taking power and that Renamo leaders and their South African masters were interested only in increasing the conflict and confusion inside Mozambique. "It was precisely because of this strategy and the gratuitously violent nature of the war

that I began to have doubts," he said.

Mozambican officials noted that Oliveira had surrendered in Maputo because his personal safety could not be guaranteed in any West European country. He reported that factional differences in the Renamo had led to the murder of several of its top leaders, including its former general-secretary Orlando Cristina.

## Rebel leader describes growing isolation of Salvadoran gov't

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — Guillermo Ungo, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, recently spoke here during a tour of the United States. He described some of the new openings that exist for political activity in El Salvador, despite the increased killings by military-backed death squads.

On March 25 he gave a news conference in Manhattan, and the next day he addressed a reception held for him at offices at the United Nations.

Ungo described the growing isolation of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, which made a poor showing in the recent elections for municipal offices and the National Assembly. The right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) won the lion's share of seats up for election. ARENA's most prominent leader is Roberto D'Aubuisson, a well-known leader of the death squads responsible for the murders of tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants.

The working people of El Salvador are disillusioned by President José Napoleón Duarte's refusal to take steps to end the civil war, which began more than eight years ago. When he was elected in 1984 in rigged elections with the backing of Washington, Duarte had "promised to put an end to war through talks and negotiations," said Ungo. Yet a few weeks before the elections, "he rejected our proposals for talks." Ungo was referring to the most recent of many offers made by the FDR and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) to hold negotiations with the government.

In addition, Duarte, under pressure from the U.S. government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has adopted austerity measures that have undermined his base of support among leaders of some of the unions and peasant organizations that previously backed him.

Popular discontent has also been provoked by the blatant corruption of officials in Duarte's administration, who have used the \$3 billion that Washington has given the Salvadoran regime in the past several years to line their pockets.

ARENA's victory does not mean that the majority of the population in El Salvador agrees with its extreme right-wing program, said Ungo. Rather, ARENA effectively



Guillermo Ungo

Militant

played on the discontent with Duarte's regime in order to raise its percentage of the vote among those who did go to the polls.

Ungo also pointed out that Duarte suffered a big defeat in Geneva, Switzerland, earlier this year during the meeting of the Human Rights Commission of the UN. A resolution was passed condemning human rights violations in El Salvador.

Ungo said that the recent cease-fire agreement between the Nicaraguan government and the contras is "a blow to the Reagan administration." It will make it more difficult, he predicted, for Washington to continue giving such large amounts of aid to the Salvadoran regime. Ungo emphasized that while the Sandinista government has fulfilled the terms of the Guatemala accords, the Duarte regime has refused to do so.

He described the capital city of San Salvador as full of "social unrest, unemployment, low wages, and mass demonstrations." Much of the protest activity is led by trade unions and associations whose leaders have supported Duarte's government.

Ungo said that it is now possible for the FDR "to have more of a presence inside El Salvador" than has been true for the past several years.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Union Carbide ordered to pay Bhopal victims

An Indian appeals judge has ordered the Union Carbide Corp. to pay \$195 million in initial compensation for victims of the 1984 gas leak disaster in Bhopal, India. More than 2,000 people died and at least 200,000 were injured when the highly toxic methyl isocyanate fumes leaked from a pesticide plant run by Union Carbide's Indian subsidiary.

The Indian government filed a \$3.3 billion lawsuit seeking compensation on behalf of the victims and their survivors. Carbide has suggested an out-of-court settlement for \$500 million.

Last December a lower court ordered Carbide to pay \$270 million in interim relief but withheld judgment on the company's liability in lieu of an out-of-court settlement. Though the latest order by Judge S.K. Seth of the High Court of the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh lowered the amount of the payment, it ruled that the liability of the company had been adequately established without a trial.

From Carbide's headquarters in Danbury, Connecticut, the company cynically responded the ruling "will not serve the real needs of the Bhopal victims." Robert Berzok, a Carbide spokesperson, indicated that the company will appeal the order.

If the company's appeal should fail, U.S. Judge John Keenan, who in 1986 ordered the lawsuit to be tried in India, left the company the option to challenge the outcome in U.S. courts on the claim that certain rules of due process were not followed by the Indian courts.

### U.S. show of force aimed at Panama

Several branches of the U.S. military began three weeks of maneuvers in the Caribbean on April 1. Operation "Ocean Venture 88" will involve more than 40,000 soldiers, sailors, and air force personnel. More than 100 Dutch Royal Marines from the Netherlands Antilles, islands located off the northern coast of South America, will also participate.

According to the Pentagon, the maneuvers will include an evacuation exercise in which U.S. military families from Puerto Rico will be transported to the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba. It is similar to one that would occur during a U.S. military interven-

tion against Panama. The Pentagon claims the operation is routinely held every two years and has nothing to do with the U.S. drive against the Panamanian government.

The exercise will involve 14,000 sailors aboard 28 navy ships, including the nuclear aircraft carrier *Forrestal*, and 1,000 army paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Some 5,600 Marines from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, will conduct ground maneuvers including amphibious landings. The ground maneuvers and parachute assaults will take place in Florida and Puerto Rico.

Another 16,500 air force personnel will perform exercises that will include B-52 mock bombing raids. The Pentagon says the exercise is designed to demonstrate the capability of the United States to "rapidly project its military power."

### Brazil timber owners threaten Indian lands

A timber operator shot and killed 14 Tikuna Indians in Brazil and wounded 27 others March 28. A group of about 90 Tikuna men, women, and children had gone to Capacete, in the western end of the country, to wait for a lawyer from the National Indian Agency to deal with their complaint against the operator for stealing a Tikuna cow. The Tikunas also charge that the operator had seized tribal land.

The operator and 18 other armed men opened fire on the unarmed Tikunas without warning. Among the dead were also several bilingual teachers and volunteers who monitor the conditions of the Tikuna.

The dispute and killing is a common part of the oppression of Brazil's remaining 200,000 Indians, most of whom live in the timber-rich Amazon rain forest.

In the northern Amazon territory of Roraima, the land of the 9,000 Yanomami Indians has been invaded by an estimated 10,000–15,000 gold prospectors. Instead of removing the prospectors, the National Indian Agency has removed doctors and nurses working for voluntary organizations, leaving the Indians without health services. Attempts to cut the gold prospectors' supply lines by banning airdrops of food have been overturned in Brazilian courts.



# Indians victimized by racist gang in Jersey City, N.J.

BY RAJ KUMAR

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — On Oct. 27, 1987, outside a café in Hoboken, New Jersey, Navroz Mody was assaulted by a gang of teenagers. A brick was hurled at him, hitting him on the head and smashing his skull. The youths then proceeded to beat him severely.

Mody went into a coma and died four days later. Four Hispanic youths were arrested for the assault, despite eyewitness testimony that the assailants were white.

Mody was beaten for one reason only — because he had the wrong skin color. Mody was of Indian origin.

This assault was the most serious of several recent attacks against the immigrant Indian community in northern New Jersey. A young medical school graduate, Kaushal Sahai, was clubbed by youths wielding baseball bats. Since the attack, his head leans to one side, and he suffers severe body pains and memory loss.

A similar attack occurred against two students at the nearby Stevens Institute of Technology. They were accused of provoking the fight and are themselves being charged by the police!

Pratima Bedhekar, a middle-aged woman, was assaulted while waiting for a bus. Schoolchildren have been threatened and abused with racial slurs.

A gang calling itself "dot busters" is believed responsible for Mody's slaying as well as for at least two of the other acts of terror directed against the Indian community. They derive their name from the dot, or *bindi*, that Indian women wear in the middle of their foreheads. One of the first actions of this gang was a campaign to "get the Patels out of town." Patel is a common surname among Indians.

Dr. Lalita Masson, chair of the Jersey City-based National Association of Indian Americans, has been a leader in fighting these attacks.

She feels they follow the pattern of other recent racist assaults in this area — such as the Howard Beach lynching, the rape of Tawana Brawley, and the cop murder of Juan Rodríguez.

Masson says the role of the police has been either to ignore or exacerbate the plight of the Indian victims. George Crim-

mins, chief of police in Hoboken, maintains that the Mody killing was not racially motivated although the same youths were involved in this murder as in the other attacks. The judge in the case claimed that Mody provoked the gang into "self-defense."

Cops have also broken up Indian prayer meetings in Jersey City, under the guise of responding to complaints about noise.

Indians are stereotyped as a "model minority" — passive and wealthy. Many of the Indians who live in Jersey City, however, are workers.

"This is a racist myth designed to isolate Indians from other minorities," Jaykumar Menon, of Brown University's Asian-American Studies Association, pointed out. Menon has been an active participant in the Jersey City protests against the dot busters. The promotion of these stereotypes about Indians is part of the "divide and conquer strategy of the establishment," he said.

## W. Va.: toxic waste threatens lives

BY TOBA SINGER

KENOVA, W.Va. — A while back, Frances Sesco and Sue Holland began experiencing chronic headaches, difficulty in breathing, skin irritation, and chronic kidney dysfunction.

And they noticed their young children complained of headaches and fatigue.

The two women began to canvass their neighbors to learn if they were experiencing similar symptoms. The results were alarming.

Neighbors said they keep their children indoors rather than let them play outdoors where dense particulates cover cars and porches.

Other neighbors noted that trees and plants have stopped growing in town.

Air quality tests at a local elementary school revealed that chemical particulates are present at 400 times the acceptable federal level.

A local physician, Kenneth Spano, joined Holland and Sesco in their efforts because he was treating a worrisome num-



Militant/Sam Manuel  
Indians participating in antiracist protest in New York. Like Blacks, they have been the victims of murderous attacks by racist gangs.

ber of patients with respiratory ailments and skin irritations.

An Ashland Oil refinery sits just across the Big Sandy River from here. It emits chemicals into the tristate area of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio.

To cope with the problem, Sesco and Holland initiated Tri-State Impact.

In recent months Kenova residents have held regular meetings of Tri-State Impact with 300 to 400 people attending.

Tri-State Impact is demanding that Ashland Oil produce an immediate emergency evacuation program; that it open itself up to citizens' inspection; establish an environmental trust fund; and agree to pay for air, water, and soil testing.

It wants Ashland to reveal all its waste disposal sites and establish continuous air monitoring.

It is demanding that Ashland meet face-to-face with Tri-State Impact to begin to act on these demands.

Five elected officials came to one recent Tri-State Impact meeting and used the occasion to recommend an approach of "trust and cooperation" toward Ashland.

The keynote speaker at the meeting, Fred Millar, a nationally prominent environmentalist, rapped the "trust the company" approach as "buttering."

Millar, who has studied industrial spills and the contamination resulting from them, explained how the chemical companies, with no interference from the government, recklessly situate scores of plants producing lethal chemicals one next to the other. And that with no serious plan to evacuate the population in the event of a spill or leak.

Millar urged the participants to draw the labor movement into their fight.

Toba Singer is a former chemical operator at Ashland Oil in Kenova.

BY JIM ALTENBERG

GALLIPOLIS, Ohio — A meeting was held here recently to protest plans to build a hazardous waste incinerator nearby.

The projected site for the incinerator is in Mason County, West Virginia, just across the Ohio River from here.

The March 6 meeting was attended by 125 people, including farmers and chemical workers. The protest was organized by the Mason Association for a Clean Environment (MACE), which was established last fall to fight the incinerator plan.

The Ohio Valley is an important agricultural area. Mason County is second in West Virginia milk production and also produces corn and tobacco. There are big chemical plants along the river. Unemployment is high.

With chemical plants threatening to shut down, it's promised that the incinerator will mean new jobs. But residents are re-

fusing to be blackmailed into something they know is not safe.

Existing incinerators have exploded. Others have burped clouds of toxic material into the air. Deadly dioxin can be released if the burning temperature is too low. Too high a temperature can release heavy metals such as mercury.

Adequate monitoring equipment does not yet exist for the 17 hazardous waste incinerator complexes already operating in the United States.

The federal Environmental Protection Agency inspects incinerators only when they come on line. The EPA simply accepts any permit request okayed by West Virginia environmental agencies.

EPA also allows test burns to be done at a laboratory or at another plant. Performance is measured under "ideal" conditions. But once an incinerator is running, equipment quickly deteriorates and burning efficiency drops.

The Pyro-Chem company wants to build a 20-incinerator complex in Mason County, capable of handling 640,000 tons of deadly waste a year.

If it actually burned at 99.9 percent efficiency — as claimed — more than a million pounds of emissions would belch from its stacks every year.

The company has never operated a hazardous waste incinerator. Its president, James Neel, has been denied waste disposal permits in Kentucky and North Carolina.

Meanwhile, the Aptus Co. wants permission to burn a quarter of a million tons of waste a year across the highway from a school.

The company has mounted a slick public relations campaign. It claims that it will not burn deadly PCBs. But the organization MACE fears otherwise. Aptus is half owned by Westinghouse, and PCBs are present in electrical equipment and power plant waste.

Aptus has invited local businessmen and politicians to visit its Kansas plant.

One MACE activist, an engineer, pointed out, "Some will go with dollar signs in their eyes." Those who do some real research will oppose the plant.

"The companies have everything to gain," he added. "We have everything to lose. We have to fight together."

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# Socialist conference attracts young fighters

BY SAM MANUEL

PITTSBURGH — "It's just wonderful to know that I don't stand alone. To know that there are people around the world who think just like me," said Emiko Furuya. This was the first time Furuya had attended a conference of the Young Socialist Alliance. She had come to the April 2-3 Socialist Youth and Activists Conference here at the University of Pittsburgh with her friends Mati Moros and John Taylor. They are active in Students for Action for Peace at the College of Wooster in Ohio. (See last week's *Militant* for news story on the conference.)

Moros explained that their group is involved in the fight to get their school to divest its holdings in companies that do business with South Africa. The organization opposes U.S. intervention in Central America. They saw attending the conference as an opportunity to learn more about the anti-apartheid and antiwar movements.

"We didn't think that there was a group with which we agreed on everything," remarked Angela Bicknell and Penny Pendarvis, two high school students from Huntington, West Virginia, who had just joined the YSA. Bicknell and Pendarvis were introduced to the YSA through the Pathfinder bookstore in their area. People came to their school selling Pathfinder books and pamphlets on Malcolm X, the Cuban revolution, and women's liberation, the two said.

YSA chapters across the country organized teams to build the conference among students and young workers in their cities and surrounding areas. The teams distributed the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, and *Young Socialist* as well as Pathfinder literature.

## 'Diversity here is representative'

Jean Bowman and Jim Machado from Detroit joined the YSA at the conference. They were most impressed with the international character and outlook of the YSA. "The diversity here is very representative of the world," said Bowman.

Machado first met the socialist youth group when he attended a meeting to hear about the case of the Hartford 15, Puerto Ricans who have been framed-up and face trial for their political activities in support of independence for Puerto Rico.

Taylor noted that all of the proceedings of the conference were translated into French and Spanish. "That's a real international approach. It shows a commitment to insuring that everyone can participate in the conference," he said.

The conference itself was a real international gathering, with 23 guests from other countries taking part. They included representatives and members of revolutionary youth organizations from Britain, Canada, the Dominican Republic, Namibia, Nicaragua, and Iceland.

Dwyane Turner had recently returned from participating in the Ben Linder Peace Brigade in Nicaragua that helped in work projects. Linder, a U.S. volunteer engineer, was murdered by contras in 1987 while working on the construction of a power station in a rural area of northern Nicaragua. Turner met members of the YSA on the brigade named in Linder's honor and joined the socialist youth group after returning to the United States.

Turner was most impressed with the participation in the conference of representatives of United Paperworkers International Union who are involved in a nationwide fight to defend their living standards and working conditions against attacks by International Paper Co. "They were real people. They're just like my dad, but they're learning about politics through their fight," Turner observed.

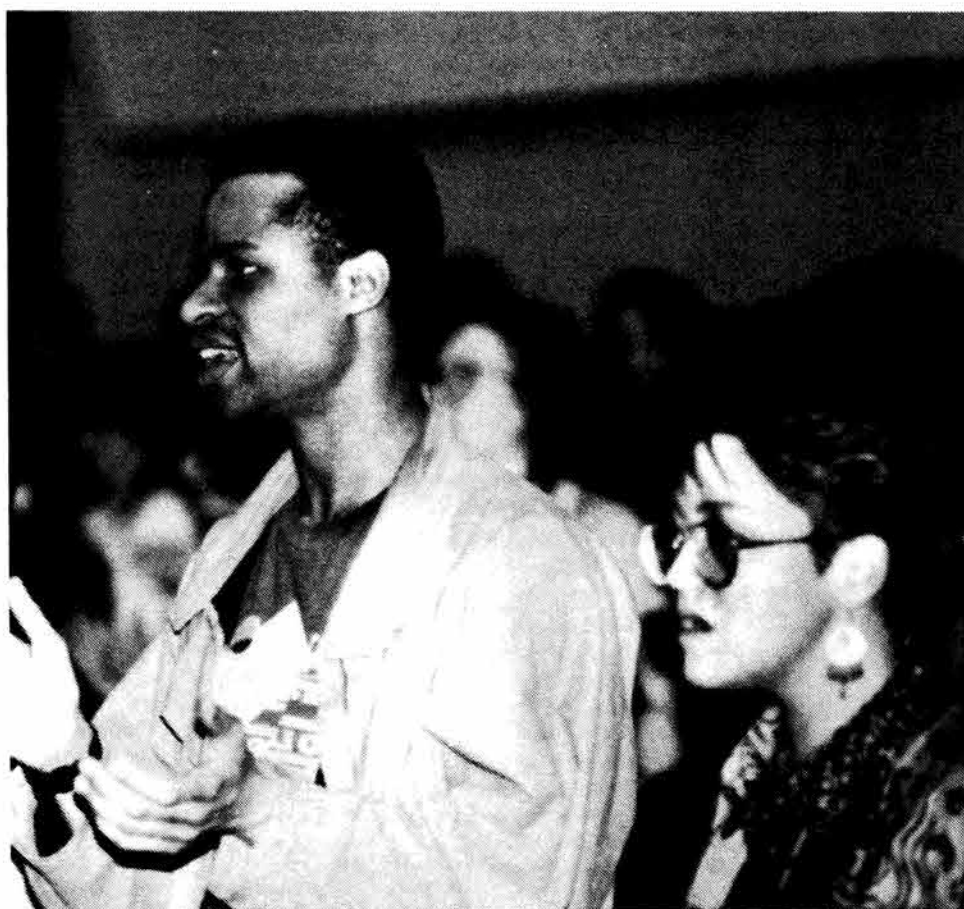
Several of those I spoke with appreciated the YSA's serious approach to discussing political ideas. Lorne Hunsburger, a vocational school student from Phoenix explained that he didn't agree with everything in the YSA's program when he joined the organization. "But YSA members were flexible about talking, helping to explain things and convince me," he added. "Talking with all the people at this conference has been a big help."

## International greetings

The conference received messages from around the world. The National Union of Nicaraguan Students (UNEN) thanked the YSA for its efforts to expand solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. UNEN said that the conference showed, "even in the United States our struggle has the support of those who do not wish a repeat of Vietnam in Central America." The Nicaraguan students called upon the conference participants to "increase solidarity with the peoples in struggle, especially at this time the people of Palestine, and also the struggle against apartheid."

UNEN reaffirmed the support of the Nicaraguan people for the cease-fire accords recently signed by the revolutionary government at Sapoa, Nicaragua, and demanded that the U.S.-run contras comply. It also demanded that the U.S. administration "respect the accords, which are based on the inalienable principles of sovereignty, self-determination, noninterference in the affairs of other states, and nonintervention."

A message from the Puerto Rican Socialist Youth expressed their hope that the conference would "generate the mobilization of youth in the United States against the imperialist aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, where the United States is trying to block the Esquipulas II and Sapoa peace accords; as well as the Panama Canal treaties." (Esquipulas, Guatemala, was the town where



Militant/Osborne Hart  
John Taylor and Mati Moros, activists from the College of Wooster in Ohio, saw the conference as an opportunity to learn more about the anti-apartheid and antiwar movements.

the 1987 Central American peace accords were signed.)

"At the time of your conference, the [U.S.] military maneuvers 'Ocean Venture 88' are taking place. They illustrate the colonial character of our country, and its strategic role in U.S. interventionist policy," the Puerto Ricans' message explained.

Several branches of the U.S. military began three weeks of maneuvers in the Caribbean on April 1. According to the Pentagon, the exercise includes a mock evacuation of U.S. personnel from Puerto Rico similar to one that might occur in Panama, and a live ammunition shelling of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

The conference also received greetings from 17 immigrant workers at the Swift meat-packing company in Des Moines,

Iowa. They are charged with using false identity and social security cards in order to obtain work.

In their message they noted that the government has charged them knowing full well that some of them had applied to be covered under the amnesty program for undocumented workers. The government had promised that all those who applied under the law would not be victimized. The meatpackers appealed to the conference for support so that "justice will be done and all charges against us will be dropped."

Attendance at the conference reflected the growing interest among young people in socialist ideas. Just under a third of those at the conference were under 25 years old; and 74 of those present were not yet members of the YSA. Sixteen people joined the YSA at the conference.

## Farm workers fight discrimination

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

OLYMPIA, Wash. — Farm workers are waging a determined campaign to end legal discrimination in the fields of Washington State. Under state law, farm workers can be denied unemployment benefits and can be paid subminimum wages, often less than \$2 an hour.

Since January hundreds of farm workers have mobilized in the Yakima Valley and here in the state capital to demand that the legislature change these discriminatory laws.

On January 12 some 80 farm workers from eastern Washington crossed the mountains to rally here and lobby state legislators. "We have not come to beg, but to demand our rights," Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State (UFWWS), told the rally. They were joined by paperworkers, machinists, and other union activists, including Washington State Labor Council President Larry Kenney, and by students from Evergreen State College.

In response to the pressure, the Washington State House of Representatives passed legislation to change the discriminatory laws. In February, as the new laws went to the state senate, farm workers stepped up their activity.

On February 17 more than 600 farm workers rallied in Granger in the Yakima Valley to demand the senate pass the bills. In the next week, 4,000 farm workers signed petitions to demand an end to the discriminatory laws.

And February 24 some 40 farm workers came here again to press their demands. For three days they camped out in the capitol rotunda. They rallied at the Farm

Bureau, a growers' organization, marched on the state house, fasted, and packed a committee hearing on the bills. They were joined by students, unionists, and several legislators, and their protests were widely covered by news media around the state.

The farm worker activity was met by solidarity from the labor movement. United Food and Commercial Workers District 37 came out in support of the farm workers. The *Aero Mechanic*, newspaper of International Association of Machinists District 751, the largest union in the state, printed a full-page article on the farm workers' struggle.

And the King County Labor Council (Seattle area), which had previously refused to support the farm workers, gave a \$300 contribution. "Back in the '50s and '60s," said Washington State Labor Council President Kenney, "the labor movement sacrificed farm workers for other workers. That's not going to happen any more."

Despite these protests, the senate allowed the farm worker bills to die in committee. Senate Majority Leader Jeanette Hayner said that many farm workers, "don't do \$3.35 [an hour] worth of work. . . . Some of them may be eating more strawberries than they're picking." Hayner, and several other senators, are themselves wealthy growers.

As the harvest season approaches, Villanueva told the *Militant*, "We plan to make it hot for the industry, so they will regret not passing these bills."

The union has stepped up its boycott against Chateau Ste. Michelle, the state's largest vineyard, with weekly picket lines at the grower's Seattle-area headquarters. And the union is planning a state convention for April 11 to allow farm workers to map out the next steps in this fight."

## Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign

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

\* \* \*

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# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**We thought that's where he stopped** — He doesn't read many papers thoroughly, and "his habit is to read the comics first," says Larry Speakes, former White House PR



Harry Ring

man, on why it was hard to ready the Great Communicator for press conferences.

**Read it and retch** — "We have

discovered that television crews have paid money to Arabs so that they would stage performances for the cameras. . . . The Arabs are good at acting and fantasizing. . . . It may not be nice to say so, but the Arabs are born liars." — From a New York speech by Israeli official Abraham Sharir, as reported by Israel's *Yediot Aharonot*.

**Early training** — The two sons of Britain's Prince Charles — aged three and five — were taken to the "London Dungeon," featuring models of Charles I, who was beheaded; Henry VIII, who had two of his spouses beheaded; and Henry's Catholic daughter, Mary Tudor, who burned Protestants at the stake. Museum spokesmen

said the boys seemed to enjoy it.

**Who, Ed Koch?** — "There's always going to be people who take advantage of the system. Eight percent of the Apostles were corrupt, and look at who screened them." — U.S. Attorney Andrew Maloney on Big Apple corruption.

**Big-time ripoff** — Congressional probers said veterans are swindling the government out of millions by neglecting to tell the Veterans Administration about money earned. Some of them a fast \$20 a week.

**Is this a rerun?** — NEW YORK (AP) — "Scientists have ignited a nuclear fusion reaction in

tiny pellets of hydrogen by using radiation from an exploding nuclear weapon, raising hopes for an unlimited supply of energy."

**Sip slowly** — Three out of four municipal waste treatment plants aren't able to stop industrial chemicals from polluting water. The many companies that pump their waste directly into sewer systems are supposed to remove chemicals first, but usually don't. The Environmental Protection Agency shrugs philosophically, saying, "We still have a lot to do."

**Tax reminder** — If you were job-hunting last year, you can deduct such expenses as transportation, phone calls, preparing and

mailing résumés and, dig this, the cost of having a lawyer review your new employment contract.

**Artistic freedom, USA** — We were struck by the Catch-22 provision in the new tax law, which still permits artists to deduct work-related expenses — but now only for works they've sold. The proviso could be labeled, "Profit or perish."

**Just like anyone else** — We were touched by the solicitude of the Arizona Senate, which voted to pay ex-governor Mechem \$202,433 in legal costs for the impeachment trial that removed him from office. It was, as one of the senators observed, "a magnanimous gesture."

## —CALENDAR—

### 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

**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 Miskito Indians on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.** The United States versus the Sandinista Autonomy Project. Speaker: Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, professor of Native American Studies, Cal State Hayward, and director of the Indigenous World Association. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

**Bay Area Labor Reception for Nicaraguan Trade Unionists.** Hear Juan González Rojas, Sandinista Workers Federation; Alba Palacios Benavides, Association of Rural Workers; Marvin Cortez Estrada, National Union of Public Employees. Thurs., April 28. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. HERE Local 28, 548 20th St. Donation: \$10, \$5 low income. Sponsor: Bay Area Committee on Central America. For more information call (415) 272-9951.

#### San Francisco

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

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Upsurge in Honduras and Civil War in El Salvador.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

**The World Economic Crisis and Its Effect on**

**the Environment.** Speakers: representative from the Clamshell Alliance; others. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

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

### MISSOURI

#### St. Louis

**Rally to Celebrate Victory Over Government Spying.** Speakers: Ted Braun, activist in sanctuary movement, Carbondale; Ted Schroeder, St. Louis sanctuary activist; Harold Contere, Concerned Haitians and Friends; Pat Kenny, Committee for Free Ireland; Mary Zinns, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers of America Local 2295; representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Sat., April 16. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Immanuel Lutheran Church, 3540 Marcus. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (314) 771-5471 or 962-8065.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Hear Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Vice-president.** Sun., April 17. Reception, 4 p.m.; program, 5 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: 1988 New Jersey Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**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, one of city's largest centers for political books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Sat., April 16, 8 p.m. Tickets: \$12 (\$10 in advance). For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Benefit for Nicaragua Summer Construction Brigades.** DJ, food, and drink. Sat., May 7, 9 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 63 E 2nd St. Sponsor: New York-Nicaragua Construction

Brigade. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**Ireland: Peace In — British Out!** Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 17, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**After the Stock Market Crash: What Capitalism Has in Store for You as U.S. Workers.** Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sat., April 16, 4 p.m. Dinner to follow. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Oregon Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227; Professor Mwombe,

Texas Southern University; others. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!** Speakers: representative of Vets for Peace; Greg Rosenberg, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

#### San Antonio

**Protest U.S. War in Central America.** Rally at Kelly Air Force Base. Hear Brian Willson, veteran and antiwar activist. Sat., April 30, 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. For more information call (512) 223-9457.

### 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 Party 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.

## Free speech victory at Miami rally

BY NANCY COLE

MIAMI — More than 250 people rallied here without incident March 26 for peace in Central America and against U.S. aid to the contras, scoring a victory for free speech in this city.

The action — sponsored by 22 peace, religious, and political groups — was planned to mark the anniversary of the 1986 rally against U.S. intervention that was attacked by a rock- and egg-throwing crowd of 2,000. Not only had the city granted the right-wing counterprotesters a permit to congregate right next to the antiwar rally, but various city officials joined the mob.

Because of the backlash against the attack two years ago, the 1986 assault proved to be a turning point in the right-wing campaign of terror and intimidation in Miami, forcing a moderation of tone and tactics from the mayor's office on down.

This year the city denied the ad hoc peace coalition a permit to rally at the site

of two years ago — the Torch of Friendship in downtown Miami — forcing the action instead to the more remote Bicentennial Park. Nevertheless, the real signal of changing times was the brief appearance before the rally began by Miami Mayor Xavier Suárez.

Two years ago, Suárez had been part of the right-wing mob; this year he came to reassure the antiwar protesters that their rights were being protected by his administration.

"We've come a long way since two years, four days ago at the Torch," Andrés Gómez told the rally. Gómez was representing the Latin America and Caribbean Solidarity Association and he edits *Areíto*, a magazine that promotes dialogue in the Cuban community here. "Since then the right wing in the Cuban and Nicaraguan communities have been forced to retreat," Gómez added. "Because of days like this, hopefully more people will be able to, will dare to, exercise their rights."

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

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

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

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** YSA, P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

**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.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. **New Brunswick:** YSA, c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001. **Mid-Hudson:** YSA, Box 1042, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. **Stony Brook:** YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

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

**OHIO: Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

**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:

16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS: Austin:** YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**UTAH: Price:** SWP, YSA, 255 E. Main St., No. 1. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA: Portsmouth:** YSA, P.O. Box 6538, Churchland Station. Zip: 23707.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

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

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



# Honduras: anger over contra war explodes

Continued from front page

students were killed by shotgun blasts fired from the embassy grounds.

Honduran riot police eventually dispersed the crowd with a barrage of bullets and tear gas, and with beatings.

Embassy officials and the State Department denied that U.S. marines had been involved in the shooting. They accused the Honduran government of being slow in responding to the attack.

Students continued to protest the next day, closing 100 schools and both universities in Tegucigalpa. Police attacked



U.S. planes to supply contras load in Honduras.

1,000 students as they marched from the national stadium to the National Congress building. Backed by military helicopters, the cops began arresting young people in the downtown area of the capital.

Honduran President José Azcona Hoyo declared a state of emergency in Tegucigalpa and in San Pedro Sula, the country's second-largest city. The police and army were given sweeping powers to carry out random searches and arrests and to hold people without trial.

A U.S. official in Tegucigalpa claimed the protests were "totally unrelated" to the contra war and Washington's growing military presence in the country.

U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese, on a five-country swing through Latin

America, asserted that the protests were an example of how narcotics trafficking can lead to "social upheaval."

In response to that statement, an unnamed Latin American official told the *New York Times*, "When he [Meese] says that, he's not just on another planet, he's in another galaxy. The reason this is taking place is not because of a drug trafficker but as a popular response to six years of American impositions."

## Contra war

Washington's impositions on Honduras escalated dramatically with the initiation of the U.S.-run contra war in 1981. Directed by the CIA, the contras gradually took over 280 square miles of Honduran territory along the country's border with Nicaragua. To set up their base camps and command center, the contras had to violently displace thousands of coffee-growing families and other inhabitants of the region.

"More and more people realize that the contras are selling drugs, are responsible for robberies, for the rape of women and young girls, for disappearances," Leonor

Meza, an organizer for the United Workers Federation of Honduras, told the *Militant* in 1986.

To buttress the war, to be prepared for an invasion of Nicaragua, and to keep the pressure on the Nicaraguan revolution, Washington has constructed a vast network of military bases, airstrips, and arms stockpiles on Honduran soil. And the Pentagon has carried out repeated military exercises inside the country.

## Among poorest in Latin America

While the U.S. government has given millions to the Honduran military, the country's workers and farmers live in abject poverty. In the entire Americas, only the toilers in Haiti and Bolivia are poorer.

Infant mortality rates are the highest in Latin America, 70 percent of the people suffer from malnutrition, and less than half have access to safe drinking water. An estimated 89 percent of the rural population is underemployed, with the majority trying to survive on an annual per capita income of \$70.

The contras' failures on the battlefields

have led to sharp polarization in Honduras. The prospect of a defeated band of mercenaries having a long-term presence in the country is increasingly unpopular.

In March 1987, coffee growers organized a hunger march demanding that the U.S. government pay reparations for the damages caused by the contras. And that same month, 30,000 marched in Tegucigalpa demanding the expulsion of the contras and U.S. troops.

Last month the White House rushed 3,200 U.S. troops to Honduras. The deployment took place as the Sandinista army was routing contra forces in northern Nicaragua. Claims by the Reagan administration that the Honduran government had requested the troops in response to a Nicaraguan invasion of the country were viewed as flimflam by many Hondurans.

Anger that has been building for years surfaced after Matta's kidnapping. The latest protests quickly dispelled any notion that Honduran working people and students are going to stand by quietly and let Washington run roughshod over their country.

# U.S. ship dumps toxic waste in Haiti

BY LINDA JOYCE

MIAMI — A spirited march of 150 people took place here April 2 to protest the dumping of toxic waste in Haiti. The demonstrators, mainly from the Haitian community, marched through downtown Miami to the Federal Building and past the Haitian consulate.

Members of Committee Veye-Yo ("Watch Them"), which organized the action, handed out fliers in English and Spanish that explained that more than 3,000 tons of hazardous toxic incinerator ash from Philadelphia had been dumped in Gonaïves, Haiti. The waste poses a severe health threat to humans and animals in the area.

The ship *Khian Sea* unloaded the ash in Haiti in January after it was rejected by numerous other countries, including the Bahamas, Bermuda, Panama, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Guinea-Bissau. The ship had been on a 16-month

odyssey loaded with almost 14,000 tons of toxic waste.

When it was discovered that the ash being unloaded in Gonaïves was not fertilizer — as the permit falsely stated — the ship was ordered to leave. It left behind between 3,000 and 4,000 tons of the deadly waste right next to the Bay of Gonaïves.

Jim Vallette, who heads the toxic waste campaign of the environmental organization Greenpeace, came to Miami to participate in the April 2 march. "It's the first demonstration in the United States against the dumping of toxic waste into Third World countries," he said.

He told the *Militant* that a Greenpeace team was sent to Haiti February 19 to investigate the mountain of incinerator ash. The team discovered that the waste contained as much as 210,000 pounds of toxic heavy metals, including lead, arsenic, mer-

cury, and deadly dioxin. They found that the poisonous ash was already running off into the bay and that strong trade winds were carrying particles of it directly into Gonaïves.

Daniel Voltaire, a longtime Veye-Yo member, was in Haiti when high school and college students in Gonaïves tried to carry out a demonstration against the waste dumping March 25.

"Thousands of people were ready to march when the army came out and forcibly prevented the demonstration," he explained. "An army colonel told the Gonaïves Youth Committee Against Toxic Waste that they were too young to take responsibility for such an action. So they held a picket line and news conference instead, to expose the military's complicity in this dangerous dumping of toxic wastes."

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
April 21, 1978

Threatening a "confrontation" with the courts, President James Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell have asked the U.S. Supreme Court to step into the lawsuit against government spying filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Carter, Bell, the FBI director, and others filed papers on April 5 asking the Supreme Court to block federal Judge Thomas Griesa's order that the FBI turn over files on 18 informers to lawyers for the socialists.

Bell and Carter asked for the Supreme Court intervention because Bell, who has formal custody of the files, intends to defy Griesa's order.

Everywhere he went, Ben Bella appealed to the people to organize themselves by setting up Workers' Councils and Workers' Management Committees. These are now being formed throughout the country at an accelerated pace.

We quote below extracts from Ben Bella's speeches, indicating the topics he covered during his tour:

"We will never agree to letting our country serve as an arena for the testing of [atomic] bombs. The French government has been warned. It is up to it to decide.

"This struggle consists of discouraging once and for all the bourgeoisie of this country. If we have plucked Borgeaud [a French capitalist landowner] and the others, this is not because of racism. We have suffered too much from this ourselves to resort to that.

"Believe me, this minority, which constitutes around 5 percent of the Algerian people, is nonetheless powerful for all that. Unfortunately, they hold the power of money. But the 95 percent who constitute the other part of the people are absolutely with us in taking up the cudgels against this fauna. To carry this out, you the humble, join the national organizations in mass and in particular the UGTA [the unions] to make this the November 1 of Algerian socialism." [Nov. 1, 1954, was the day the struggle began for national freedom from French imperialism.]

"It has been repeatedly said that women played their role in the struggle for freedom. The whole world has repeatedly said that women participated fully and in a way that did honor to Algeria in the struggle for freedom.

"But in the struggle to construct the country? Women are searching for their place.

"Women must take their destiny into their own hands. Women must not wait for directives to follow from the men but must integrate themselves spontaneously in the public life."

# New victory in Marroquín case

Continued from front page

migration reform act establishing the amnesty program. This new residence status is temporary. It lasts for 18 months.

It is a second-class resident status. Those, like Marroquín, who win temporary residence, are not eligible for food stamps, welfare, or other government aid programs. Their right to travel outside the United States is limited to three trips. They can lose their status if they are convicted of three misdemeanor charges. And they are required to develop English-language proficiency.

Marroquín is eligible to apply for permanent residence on November 5, 1988, the first day such applications will be ac-

cepted. The INS then reviews whether Marroquín should become a permanent resident or be denied residence. The government has yet to adopt regulations for reviewing such applications.

"This is an important victory," Marroquín said. "La migra has had to certify that a political activist, a member of the SWP they have been trying to deport for a decade, is eligible for amnesty. Granting me residence — even temporary residence — will help open the door for thousands of others.

"The next step — fighting for permanent residence," Marroquín continued, "will chart new territory for political and immigrants' rights."

# U.S. stumbles in anti-Panama drive

Continued from front page

prominent financial figure" as declaring, "These sanctions will make it even more impossible for us to exist. Private industry is dying out."

Speaking for Reagan at his California vacation retreat, White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker agreed the new sanctions would hurt. He piously added, "We grieve for the people of Panama."

The new moves will surely exact a heavy toll on Panamanian working people, already hard hit by the U.S. drive.

Some 150,000 dock workers, teachers, and other public employees have not been paid for nearly a month. And, along with retirees, they have not been able to cash checks since the banks closed March 4.

Some food has been provided by church programs, and there have been reports of hungry people breaking their way into grocery stores.

Washington's drive to economically stran-

gle a tiny nation totally dependent on U.S. dollars has been under way since March 2. Its failure so far to compel Noriega to throw in the towel testifies to the enormous setbacks being dealt to U.S. policy throughout Central America.

The key development has been the historic defeat suffered by Washington with the collapse of its contra war against Nicaragua. Nicaragua's defeat of the contras, forcing them to sign a cease-fire, was a triumph for the sovereignty of all Central American nations.

This does not mean that Washington is about to give up its campaign against Panama or respect that country's sovereignty. The recent dispatch of additional troops there and the provocative military maneuvers in the area are testimony to that.

All supporters of the right to self-determination should demand an end to the U.S. sanctions and all violations of Panama's sovereignty.



PARIS — The nationalization of big properties of both European and Algerian landholders and the announcement of decrees definitively establishing Workers' Management Committees, Workers' Councils, and Workers' Assemblies have been received with enormous enthusiasm throughout Algeria.

In a nationwide tour following announcement of the new measures, Ben Bella was greeted with celebrations reminiscent of those when independence was won last July. Entire populations of towns and villages turned out to hail the head of government who, not so many months ago, when he came to power in an unclear factional struggle, was met with chilly reserve.



# Halt deportation of Palestinians!

The current deportation of Palestinians from their homeland is one more monstrous crime by the Israeli regime.

Eight Palestinians were dumped across the Lebanese border April 8. Twelve more were slated for deportation, six of them from the West Bank village of Beita where a young Jewish woman was shot to death — not by Palestinians but by a rabid right-wing Jewish settler.

In an earlier encounter that day, he had shot a Palestinian villager to death.

Israeli troops inflicted "collective punishment" on the villagers by blowing up 14 houses.

Army bulldozers tore up seven acres of olive trees. A grove of almond trees was also destroyed.

After the village encounter, several of the Israeli teenagers involved claimed that their companion had been

Not "residents"? What a perversion of the truth! The Palestinians are a people whose entire country has been taken over by others. Half the Palestinian people were driven out altogether and the State of Israel has been built on the backs of the rest.

The current Palestinian toll — at least 143 admitted dead, countless wounded, and thousands jailed — underlines the hard fact that the oppression will not end until the Israeli state is dismantled and replaced by a democratic, secular Palestine where Muslims, Christians, and Jews can live in equality.

The uprising in the Gaza Strip and West Bank is a historic step along that road and deserves worldwide support. The outrageous Israeli repression must be halted.

- End the military rule of the West Bank and Gaza.



shot from a rooftop by a masked Arab with a Soviet rifle.

But Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the Israeli cabinet that the youth was shot at close range, behind and below her head.

The killer, Romam Abdul, is a notorious right-winger. The Israeli army had to ban him from the city of Nablus for his gunslinging attacks on Palestinians.

Discussing the deportation on Israeli radio, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres asserted, "We are not deporting residents, just inciters and agitators and extremists."

- Halt the deportations. Allow the return of all those exiled.

- End the savage "collective punishment." More than 1,500 homes have been destroyed and 10,000 left homeless.

- End the repression. Free the thousands of political prisoners.

- Establish political freedom — legalize the Palestine Liberation Organization and all other political movements.

Freedom for the Palestinian people!

# Growers use court to attack UFW

In a blow that spells danger for the entire labor movement, an Arizona court ordered the United Farm Workers to pay \$5.4 million in damages to Bruce Church Inc., one of the nation's top lettuce growers. A jury accepted the company claim that the farm union had conducted an illegal boycott of its product.

UFW President Cesar Chavez slammed the April 6 decision as "biased, unfair, and unconstitutional." He said the union will appeal.

Bruce Church is based in Salinas, California. Its major operations are there and in California's Imperial Valley, and the union represents Bruce Church workers in those two areas. But the company apparently felt it could do better in an Arizona court, where it charged the union had violated a state law barring secondary boycotts.

In 1979 California lettuce growers, including Bruce Church, refused to renew their contracts with the UFW. After a bitter seven-month strike, other growers signed new contracts, but Bruce Church hung tough. The union has been without a contract since then.

In 1984 union pressure led the McDonald's and the Taco Bell chains to stop using Bruce Church lettuce. Then Lucky Stores, a major California supermarket chain, also agreed to stop handling the nonunion product. Bruce Church responded with the court suit.

According to Arizona legalities, the union can be re-

quired to post a bond in the full amount of the damages while it appeals the decision. Based on low-paid workers, the UFW has scant financial resources and will demand a waiver of this requirement.

If the case is lost on appeal, the huge damage award could very well bankrupt the union, which has fought for decades to organize farm workers in their ongoing battle for a decent livelihood and social justice. Large numbers of these workers are immigrants, mainly from Mexico, and many are undocumented, leaving them particularly vulnerable to added exploitation and oppression.

But the threat of the Arizona decision goes beyond the UFW. It's a warning to every union that tries to fight for its membership.

The reactionary court decision comes at a time when immigrant workers are playing an increasingly important role in the labor movement.

In the garment and other industries, superexploited immigrant workers are a key component of the unions. The suit against the United Farm Workers is designed to deal a blow to farm worker organizing efforts and the ability of this layer of workers to reach out to other working people for support.

Organized labor has a special responsibility to join the UFW in its fight to overturn this union-busting court decision.

# How profits and profit rates are different

BY DOUG JENNESS

The 500 biggest U.S. companies increased their profits from \$64 billion to \$91 billion in 1987 — a 41 percent jump over the previous year. According to the April 25 issue of *Fortune*, which gives the magazine's annual ranking by sales of the 500 industrial giants, it was the best year on record for sales and profits.

These numbers are too staggering to even imagine, especially if you figure your monthly budget with only three figures. But even if working people individually

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

have trouble comprehending the immenseness of this amount, collectively we are the ones who provided the unpaid labor time from which these profits are derived, as I explained in last week's column.

This unpaid labor time, or surplus value, is also the source of rents and interests. (Last week I mistakenly included rent for the land the manufacturer's factory sits on as part of the costs of production, but the rent the landowner gets comes out of surplus value. I won't try to explain how that works here; that topic deserves a separate column some time.)

The big profits that *Fortune's* 500 racked up don't necessarily reflect how well these companies are doing. In order to diagnose their health more precisely, it is necessary to look at their profit rates. It is these figures that will help determine whether or not the company's owners will expand their operations and invest in new technology and machinery.

Weyerhaeuser Co., the big lumber and paper company, for example, reported a \$277 million net profit in 1986 — a 38 percent jump over the year before. But this figure represented only a 5.8 percent profit rate.

A company report complained that this rate was too small because if Weyerhaeuser had sold off all its holdings and invested the proceeds in Treasury notes or bonds that year, it could have collected 7 percent interest.

What are profit rates? This is the relationship between the amount of profits and the capital outlay a manufacturer puts up to pay for costs of materials, tools, maintenance, and workers' wages. For example, if a manufacturer's costs for machinery and raw materials is \$90 million and for wages \$10 million, and he realizes \$10 million profits from sales of his products, the rate of profit will be  $\$10m \div \$100m (\$90m + \$10m) = 10$  percent.

In order to get as much profit as possible, industrial firms struggle on two fronts: against workers in the labor process; and against other capitalists in the battle for sales.

One way a capitalist can raise the rate of profit without investing in any more machinery is to squeeze more out of workers by lengthening the working day or slashing wages.

For example, if the cost of machinery and materials remains \$90 million and labor costs \$10 million but the workday is lengthened 25 percent from 8 to 10 hours, the amount of surplus will be 25 percent higher, or \$12.5 million, and the rate of profit will be 12.5 percent, that is 2.5 percent higher.

The same effect can be achieved by reorganizing the work process, imposing productivity schemes, and speeding up the work so that a worker on an eight-hour shift now produces in eight hours the equivalent of what it would have taken 10 hours to produce before.

Not surprisingly, wage cuts will increase the employer's profits. If our hypothetical employer cuts wages 20 percent so that his labor costs are now \$8 million, the surplus increases by \$2 million to \$12 million. In this case the rate of profit will be  $\$12m \div \$98m = 12.2$  percent.

But there are limits to which the capitalist can cut wages and push workers to work harder. In the long run, it is the development of new technology and methods of productivity that becomes most important in raising the productivity of labor. But this also has the effect of reducing the rate of profit.

If the capitalist can produce more units at a smaller cost per unit, he will be able to compete more effectively with his competitors and perhaps capture a bigger share of the market.

For example, if the manufacturer I've been citing modernized his plant and expanded production so that his outlay for machinery and materials is now \$360 million, and if by doing this he was able to reduce his work force by half, cutting his labor costs to \$5 million, his production costs would be \$365 million.

If this new investment enables him to sell more and triple his profits to \$30 million, the new rate of profit would be 8.2 percent, that is 1.8 percent less than it had been.

Next week, I'll describe how the natural tendency under capitalism is for the general rate of profit to fall, even when the total volume of profits is increasing, as competition drives capitalists to improve labor productivity with new technology and production methods. And why this declining rate of profit eventually becomes an explosive problem for the capitalist exploiters.



# Nuclear plant closing spurs hometown debate

BY SANDRA LEE

In February the U.S. Department of Energy announced it would not reopen the largest plant in the United States that manufactures plutonium for nuclear weapons. This announcement has sparked some sharp reactions in my hometown of Richland, Washington, which is right next door to the plant.

The 25-year-old N Reactor at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation is similar in design to the plant at Chernobyl in

## AS I SEE IT

the Soviet Union that exploded in April 1986.

Two workers were killed outright at the time of the accident, and 299 people suffered radiation burns and injuries. By September 1986, 31 people had died, and hundreds have been treated for acute radiation sickness.

Even before the disaster at Chernobyl — and especially since — the N Reactor had been under scrutiny for failures and defects. Metal fatigue in containment vessels, a system that dumps radioactive water outside the plant onto the ground in some cases of emergency, and a graphite core that was detected to be swelling such that it would soon expand and push out the ceiling of the reactor, are only some of the sources of potential nuclear catastrophe that existed in the plant. Some \$70 million was spent on repairs.

The N Reactor was capable of producing up to three-quarters of a ton of weapons-grade plutonium each year. But the government already has vast amounts of plutonium. It is used as fuel in some nuclear reactors and in the production of nuclear weapons.

Plutonium does not occur in nature except in minute traces. It is one of the deadliest of all radioactive poisons, and remains toxic for thousands of years.

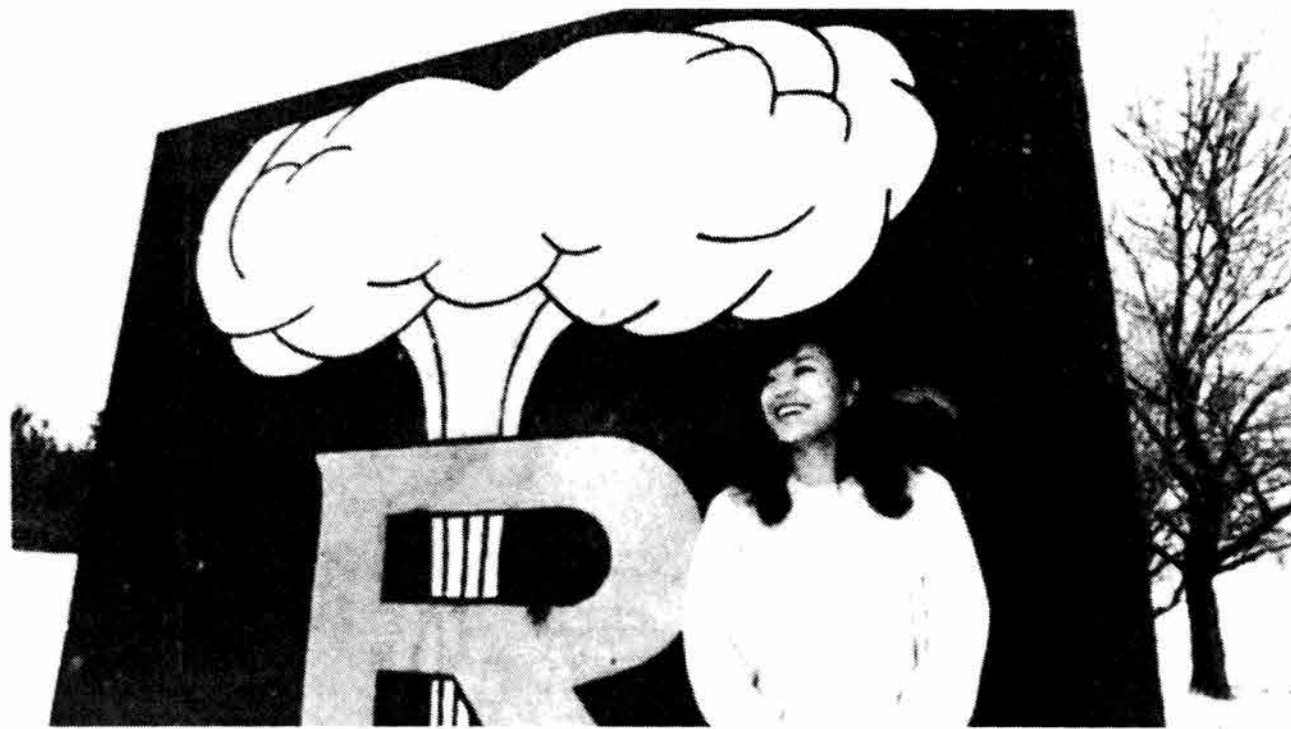
Some 440,000 gallons of radioactive and corrosive waste from plutonium production have already leaked into the soil around Hanford. It is seeping toward the water table and the Columbia River.

Hanford was chosen in 1943 to be the site of plutonium plants because it was a remote area with abundant water from the Columbia for cooling reactors.

U.S. scientists and engineers, along with 51,000 construction workers, were organized there by the government to produce plutonium for the bomb that President Harry Truman ordered dropped over Nagasaki, Japan, on Aug. 9, 1945. (The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima three days earlier was made with uranium from a plant in Oak Ridge Tennessee. At the time of impact, the two bombs killed 323,000 people outright.)

Since then, Hanford has produced material for thousands of nuclear bombs and missile warheads.

Richland is a company town. Because of the centrality



Student poses in front of emblem of Columbia High in Richland, Washington.

of the nuclear weapons industry, as many as 6,000 workers will lose their jobs in the next couple of years by the shutting down of the plant. That will have a big effect on a town of 30,000. My father, brother, and other members of my family are among them.

Many working people in Richland, concerned about their jobs, oppose the shutdown, refusing to recognize how dangerous the plant is. My father says, "It's safe enough." And, besides, how is he going to get another job at 55?

The debate over Hanford has polarized my old school, Columbia High. Most students' parents, like mine, work at Hanford.

The school's teams are the Bombers. In the entrance hallway a hydrogen bomb is outlined on the floor tile, a gift from my graduating class, the Class of '68.

The school proudly changed its nickname from the Beavers to the Bombers in the fall of 1945 after Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But growing awareness of the dangers of the nuclear threat has led to massive international opposition to nuclear power and weapons. And Richland hasn't been immune from this.

Last fall the football coach, Lonnie Pierson, ordered the mushroom cloud symbol removed from the team jerseys. Earlier this year there was a school referendum on

whether or not to keep the mushroom cloud as a school symbol.

Baseball coach Scott Woodward said he realized there was a problem when a group of students from Japan toured the high school and saw students wearing the cloud on their letter jackets. He said that trying to explain the emblem to the Japanese youth, "left me feeling like I was standing outside without a fig leaf on."

Woodward, a former classmate of mine, dislikes the emblem so much that he said that no matter how the students voted, he would not allow it on his team's uniforms. "If it does appear," he said, "there will be somebody else coaching."

Unfortunately, the students voted to keep the symbol.

I'm glad the N Reactor at Hanford is being shut down. Every nuclear power plant in the world should be closed down.

Every minute they operate, they are a potential nuclear catastrophe. They are constantly producing lethal radioactive material, including wastes, and poisoning the environment and endangering lives. Those who work in these plants are at highest risk.

What about all the workers who will be on the unemployment line when the N Reactor is shut down? My father and all the rest should be given new jobs by the government.

## LETTERS

### A class response

The election campaign for Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, has been a wonderful experience.

The economic proposals we're making on jobs really fit the bill. When you explain that these measures are aimed at bringing working people together, that we need unity, coworkers and people on the street almost always respond with vigorous nods.

We've attracted a layer of workers through the campaign, including a couple of my coworkers at Revlon.

Martin Koppel  
Phoenix, Arizona

### Radio Havana

On March 31, when we were getting ready to go to the Socialist Youth and Activists Conference in Pittsburgh, a student in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, and I were listening to a Radio Havana broadcast from Cuba. We heard a story we thought *Militant* readers would be interested in.

The second feature during the segment on the news from Cuba was on *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia. The program reported that the English-language book had been launched at a successful meeting in Havana on March 29.

Each country where the book is sold was listed. Plans to publish *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* in several other languages, among them Greek, were also announced.

Andy Coates  
Chicago, Illinois

### Shorter workweek

The 1988 Socialist Workers Party election campaigns are taking up the important demand to shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay.

While in West Germany recently, I was able to talk with several workers about their unions' approach to this demand.

In most West German auto plants the workweek is now 38.5 hours, but this might mean working 40 hours with an extra day off every six weeks. By April 1, 1989, the workweek will be 37 hours.

One problem has been whether the companies can be forced to pay the "extra" time off. At the Mercedes-Benz plant in Stuttgart the company increased pay by 3.3 percent but will not pay for the day off. The workers feel this is unfair since they should have received the wage increase in their last contract, regardless of the shorter workweek.

The company also has not hired more workers. It made up for the shortened workweek by increasing productivity and telling workers to take their days off during periods of low absenteeism.

In response, many metalworkers' union members hope to more directly tie the demand for shorter hours to demands such as "hire the unemployed," "no real cut in pay," and "oppose the speedup."

These demands and others are part of a broad debate in the West German labor movement. Some unions counterpose a shorter workweek to early retirement.

Most workers already take early retirement because of unhealthy working conditions in the plants.

Another debate centers on limiting pay increases for higher-paid workers as a means to lower unemployment. This would be tied to higher wage increases for the lowest-paid workers. Since even a foundry worker on overtime might fall into this "labor aristocracy" wage category, many workers see this approach as unrealistic. They don't feel they should have to provide the funds out of their pockets to solve the problems of unemployment.

Janet Post  
Portland, Oregon

### Best coverage

Just to say that I enjoy your publication, find the best coverage of world events, and will soon be subscribing to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Keep up the good work!

Denise Kelly  
Liverpool, England

### Tawana Brawley

The case of Tawana Brawley proves clearly a fact that honest, decent men and women have known for more than 100 years — the cops are the KKK.

This case is a lesson about the racist pigs who are running our communities. They are so determined to abuse minorities, they stoop to the most low-life criminal acts possible.

Racism is one of the greatest pillars that upholds the capitalist system, and no laws against discrimination will ever change that

as long as we are under capitalism. While capitalism lives, racism lives.

Honest, decent working-class white people must unite with minorities and women in the struggle to overturn capitalism and thus end racism.

Arlene Blair  
Joe Blair  
Albany, New York

### Abortion

I recently had the opportunity to visit Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania is proposing one of the strictest anti-abortion rights laws. These will of course mainly effect poor, working-class, and minority women. The impending bill would prohibit all abortions — except in cases of rape or incest, providing these were immediately reported to the cops; and in cases where the woman would die as a result of childbirth, with at least three doctors certifying this fact.

On the heels of this pending atrocity, State Representative Freind made the public statement that there is "one chance in millions and millions" of pregnancy due to rape. He bases this on his theory that as a result of the trauma of rape, the female secretes a mysterious substance that kills sperm on contact. Of course, no evidence was or could be presented.

This can't be dismissed as the ignorance of some poor fool. It is one more vicious assault on the rights of women by the ruling class. It is based on the big lie: if something is repeated often enough, it has a good chance of being accepted as

truth.

This scandalous lie must be refuted at once and the pending legislation defeated by working people.

Catherine Monahan  
Baltimore, Maryland

### TecNICA

TecNICA, an organization that has sent hundreds of skilled volunteers to Nicaragua, has been invited to start a program of assistance to southern Africa by the African National Congress.

Current plans call for small delegations of volunteers to start work in southern Africa this summer. TecNICA will be working closely with anti-apartheid organizations in the United States to carry out public education and volunteer recruitment.

The organization will continue to organize brigades of technicians and professionals to Nicaragua. It is currently seeking machinist instructors, electricians, engineers, phone installers, translators, and computer programmers for volunteer assignments in Nicaragua.

If you are interested in volunteer work in southern Africa or Nicaragua, contact TecNICA at 3254 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Telephone (415) 655-3838.

Charlie Rosenberg  
Baltimore, Maryland

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.



## Paris march condemns murder of African National Congress leader

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS. — A burial and protest march for the slain African National Congress of South Africa representative in Paris drew tens of thousands of people here April 9. It was one of the largest anti-apartheid actions ever held in France. Dulcie September, the ANC representative for France, Switzerland, and Luxembourg, was assassinated as she arrived at the organization's Paris office on the morning of March 29. Since her murder evidence has continued to accumulate that points to the responsibility of the racist regime in South Africa.

French papers have quoted South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan as saying, "It is our right to hunt for and destroy the gangsters of the ANC wherever they are."

The week after the Paris assassination, another leader of the ANC was a victim of a car bomb explosion in Maputo, Mozambique.

A message was read to the crowd from Trevor Huddleston, archbishop of London, and a leader of the Anti-apartheid Movement there. French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais called for breaking all relations with South Africa. He said that both Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and President François Mitterand had "the blood of September on their hands." Representatives of the ANC and South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia spoke, as well as a member of September's family.

ANC representative Gertrude Shope spoke about September's life growing up in the Cape Town area as the apartheid restrictions were being tightened. Shope said that September had joined a group that was debating the lessons of the Cuban revolution. This group was affiliated to the Unity Movement of South Africa.

In 1963 many members of this group, including September, were arrested along with one of its central leaders, Dr. Nevel Alexander. September spent five years in prison followed by five years as a banned



Militant/Lou Howort

Aim of South African gunmen is to prevent ANC from speaking out and leading protests against apartheid

person. In 1974 she went into exile where she joined the ANC.

Demonstrations broke out all over France within hours of the announcement of the murder. The protest in Paris on the day of the assassination took two and a half hours to file slowly past the ANC headquarters. Dozens of local demonstrations and memorial services were held in other cities and towns.

Large numbers of young people participated in these actions, particularly young immigrants. Flags and armbands in the ANC colors — gold, black, and green — were seen everywhere.

September was a firm partisan of the Cuban revolution. She once told me that the greatest thrill of her life was being able to go to Cuba to meet Fidel Castro. "Can you imagine," she said, "after all these years to actually be able to go there and see the revolution and to meet Fidel in person?"

This attack has infuriated the seamen. Glen Gray, a deck hand on the Calais run, explained that the strike is solid because NUS members are not prepared to work under these conditions.

P&O Chairman Jeffrey Sterling said, it was "commercial lunacy" for the NUS to ignore foreign competition by refusing to change "crippling and outdated work practices."

Management says these changes are required so it can compete with the Eurotunnel rail link being built under the English Channel. The capitalists bankrolling the Eurotunnel claim the new rail line will take over 60 percent of the passenger and freight traffic between Britain and France when the project is completed in 1993. They are promising "disruption free" service open 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

P&O and the Conservative Party government have also succeeded in having the courts used against the NUS strike. A new law prohibiting sympathy strikes has been used to bully seafarers in other ports back to work after they went out on strike in support of the Dover workers.

The courts threatened to sequester the NUS's assets if it authorized a national strike balloting of its 23,000 members.

Contributions to aid the strikers and messages of support can be sent to NUS, Maritime House, Snargate St., Dover, England CT17 9BZ.

## Framed-up Iowa political activist wins new support

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — An urgent appeal for funds has been issued by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to meet mounting legal expenses in the case of this young political activist. Curtis is a meat-packer at the Swift Independent Co. here, who was framed up and beaten by Des Moines cops last month.

The defense committee has set an immediate goal of raising \$15,000 and is calling on the growing number of supporters of Curtis' case to raise as much money as possible in the next couple of weeks.

On April 9 Curtis spoke at the Militant Labor Forum about his case. He described how he became a socialist 11 years ago. Since moving to Des Moines in 1986, he has been active in his union, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431, and in the fight for immigrant and women's rights, and against police racism and U.S. intervention in Central America.

Target in FBI campaign against CISPES

Recently, Curtis said, he obtained spy files the FBI had on him as part of its illegal surveillance and harassment of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). The files list Curtis as one of several from CISPES "acting in the leadership roles in the Birmingham area." Curtis lived in Birmingham, Alabama, from 1981 to 1985.

On March 4, shortly after leaving a meeting protesting the arrest of 17 immigrant Swift workers, Curtis was framed up on an attempted rape charge and beaten by the cops in the jailhouse.

At the forum, Hazel Zimmermann, a unionist and antiwar activist from Carlisle, Iowa; Rafael Dubon of the Central America Solidarity Committee in Iowa City; and Suzanne Chouteau from New Wave, a progressive student coalition in Iowa City; all made the point that defending Curtis was in the interests of all who fight for social change.

Kate Kaku, a member of UFCW Local 1149, spoke for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. She said that 15,000 brochures explaining the case had been distributed in one week and that 10,000 more are being printed.

More than \$300 was collected at the forum for the defense campaign.

At the socialist youth conference held in Pittsburgh April 2-3, 200 people signed petitions and \$500 in contributions was collected. Among the signers were Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa who was recently denied tenure at the State University of New York in Stony Brook for his political views; and Dennis Brutus, an exiled South African poet.

On April 4 Curtis and supporters discussed the case and distributed brochures at a rally to demand an increase in the minimum wage.

That evening Curtis made a presentation to the newly formed Des Moines chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Members of the Communications Workers of America, United Rubber Workers, printers' union, and others signed the petition.

Hundreds of brochures have been distributed at the Swift plants in Marshalltown and at the one in Des Moines where Curtis works.

The committee has received petitions with signatures of meat-packers from Arizona, Michigan, and Missouri.

Messages have been received from unionists in South Wales, Britain; from a metal worker in Iceland; and from a political meeting in Montreal, Canada.

Curtis told the *Militant* that friends and activists from around the country have been calling and asking what they could do to help. He said a neighbor came to his house with her granddaughter; they were discussing a yard sale to raise money for his defense.

The committee urges supporters to order brochures to get out the word about the frame-up of Curtis, to raise funds for the defense, and to send messages to the Des Moines police chief demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped and that his beating by the cops be investigated and those responsible be prosecuted.

Send the messages to: Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

Copies of the messages, along with contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. For more information, contact the committee at (515) 246-1630.

## 2,300 British ferry workers strike against company takeback demands

BY TONI GORTON

LONDON — Ferryworkers voted 2,000 to 1 to reject their employer's latest contract offer at a mass meeting in Dover, England, on April 3.

P&O Ferries is trying to force members of the National Union of Seamen (NUS) to accept the elimination of jobs, longer hours without a pay raise, and reduced safety standards on the job.

The week before it made the latest take-back demands, P&O reported pretax profits for 1987 of £247.7 (\$460 million).

The 2,300 seamen have been on strike for two and a half months in the port town of Dover on the southeastern coast. The NUS members operate 11 ferries and freight ships that cross the English Channel to Calais, France, and the Netherlands.

P&O is demanding that crews agree to work 24 hours on, followed by 24 hours off, for a two-week period. After that the workers would have a week off.

During the 24 hour stints on duty, NUS members would supposedly have two hours of break time and six hours of sleep, though this is not guaranteed.

If a worker's relief doesn't show up after 24 hours, then the worker has to remain on duty for two additional 24 hour shifts.

The company is also refusing to pay extra for weekends and bank holidays.

P&O also claims that all its workers must be on 24-hour call and live nearby.