

End of contra war blow to U.S. gov't

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The contra war is over.

After years of bloodshed and destruction, Washington's attempt to use a mercenary army to overthrow the Sandinista government has ended in defeat. The Nicaraguan people have beaten the contras.

The imperialists' hired army never took and held a single city or town. They did not succeed in mobilizing a following in the urban areas sufficient to open an internal front.

They couldn't maintain a base of operations in any populated area of the countryside, where they could exercise control and move at will. In other words, the U.S. government failed to accomplish its objective of transforming its mercenary war into a civil war inside Nicaragua.

The collapse of the contra war policy of the U.S. rulers was registered March 3, when Congress failed to approve renewed military funding for the contras. Within a week of this vote contra units inside Nicaragua were fleeing government troops, who were engaged in the largest military offensive of the war.

By March 23 a provisional cease-fire had been signed at Sapoá, Nicaragua.

The contra troops are now gathering in agreed-on zones spread throughout the country, as the talks continue between the Nicaraguan government and the contra representatives on a permanent cease-fire. Except for isolated incidents, the fighting has stopped.

The contra units have not yet been disarmed, and it is possible that some units will try to resume the fighting. But they won't get far.

Their army has been dealt a devastating political blow by the cutoff of military supplies by Congress, and they have been badly mauled by the Sandinista People's Army. They are disintegrating as a fighting force.

When U.S. government financing of the mercenary army finally collapsed in the face of the contras' strategic failure, they had been cut adrift. And they knew it.

"Once again the United States has abandoned an ally," said contra official Adolfo Calero at a March 10 news conference in Miami.

Shattering blow to U.S. rulers

The defeat of the contra war policy is a shattering one for the rulers of the United States.

The right wing, feeling betrayed, has spoken out bitterly. "One can hardly blame the contras for giving up," wrote Charles Krauthammer in a column appearing in the March 25 *Washington Post*.

"They had had enough, trying to fight an enemy armed with billions of dollars of Soviet weaponry while daily checking Congress' mood to see whether they would be permitted any bullets with which to fire back."

Echoing past recriminations in U.S. ruling circles over who was to blame for "losing China" — "lost" to the Chinese, in the 1949 revolution — President Reagan vowed that "if the freedom fighters are extinguished and Communist rule is consolidated in Nicaragua, the American people will be the ones to decide who is responsible."

But the Reagan policy of seeking to defeat the Nicaraguan workers' and farmers' government through a war waged by the

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Price increases spark strike wave in Poland

BY SAM MANUEL

Thousands of workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, went on strike May 2. They are demanding wage increases, restoration of the banned Solidarity union, and the rehiring of all workers who were dismissed under martial law.

About 25 Solidarity leaders have been arrested since the end of last month. Members of the union's national executive commission have gone into hiding.

The Solidarity union was banned and martial law declared in Poland following widespread strikes, factory occupations, and protests by workers in 1982.

An estimated 3,000 of the 12,000 workers at the Lenin shipyard have occupied the grounds. The main gate of the yard was draped with banners that read, "Sit-in strike" and "Gdansk shipyard on strike."

The strike comes on the heels of other work stoppages throughout the country. Several hundred transport workers walked out April 25. For 12 hours the strike disrupted public transportation in the northern city of Bydgoszcz. The workers occupied the cavernous bus and trolley depot in the city and blocked the entrances with parked buses. In the neighboring city of Inowrocław, 122 transport workers struck in support of the Bydgoszcz workers.

The transport workers had been pressing for wage increases for some time. The strike action came after the city transport director, Tadeusz Dzieciol, was quoted in the newspaper as having said the workers

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Plainclothes cops attack workers in Warsaw May Day march. Similar protests occurred across Poland against price increases and in support of banned Solidarity union.

Major victory for political asylum

BY HARRY RING

In a resounding victory for the right to political asylum, a federal judge has barred the government from deporting refugees from El Salvador, and ordered the government to end its use of coercive practices to force Salvadorans and others to leave.

The judge issued a six-page listing of the rights of Salvadorans and other Central Americans jailed here, centering on their right to claim political asylum.

The April 29 decision by Judge David Kenyon came after a year-long nonjury trial in Los Angeles in a suit filed on behalf of 11 Salvadorans being held for deportation to their homeland. In El Salvador, they face victimization, including the threat of death at the hands of the repressive regime there and its right-wing death squads.

Judge Kenyon ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to stop using coercion, including "threats, intimidation, deceit, and misrepresentation to pressure detained Central Americans to return to their countries."

He concluded that Salvadoran refugees were vulnerable to pressure, explaining that "this is particularly true because these detainees are aware that the United States supports the Salvadoran government, which tolerates and participates in acts of terror."

There are some 500,000 Salvadoran refugees in this country. These include peasants who incurred the wrath of landlords and government officials, union activists, and political opponents of the government there.

They have systematically been denied political asylum in the United States with the crooked argument that they are "economic," not political refugees.

In the trial, Judge Kenyon ruled that testimony about political conditions in El Salvador was relevant to rebut the government's "economic refugee" argument. In

his decision, he rejected the government stand.

The government did not immediately indicate if it would appeal the decision.

The ruling is a second jolt for Washington. Last year, the Supreme Court ruled that those seeking asylum need only establish that persecution at home was "a reasonable possibility," rather than proving the near-impossible "clear probability" the INS and State Department demanded.

The current decision by Judge Kenyon is also an important victory for the many Haitians seeking political asylum here, and countless refugees from other repressive regimes as well.

The asylum victory will also encourage

and strengthen other undocumented immigrants in the fight for their rights as well.

At the trial, Salvadorans testified to the abuses they had been subjected to by INS cops trying to force their departure from the country.

Some were subjected to physical force to get them to sign "voluntary" departure forms, which means forfeiting the right to a legal hearing. Some had been held in isolation. Threats to separate them from their families were made, and there were denials of visits by relatives and lawyers.

The judge pointed to the lists of free legal service agencies provided by the INS to those detained. Some included inaccurate phone numbers and addresses. Some of the

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6,000 march for Maine strike

BY SUSAN LaMONT

JAY, Maine — On April 30, for as far as the eye could see, the road that winds along the banks of the Androscoggin River past International Paper Co.'s giant mill here was filled with 6,000 marchers. They came to show their solidarity with the paperworkers on strike against IP.

The 1,250 strikers — members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246 — and their families formed a big component of the march. Hundreds of other community supporters from Jay and the surrounding towns also took part.

The Jay workers have been on strike since last June, along with workers at IP mills in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, and De Pere, Wisconsin. They are joined in their fight by locked-out workers at IP's Mobile, Alabama, mill.

The 3,400 workers at the four sites are resisting IP's demands for deep conces-

sions in wages, work rules, benefits, and holidays. In addition, the use of scabs by IP to run all four mills has become a central issue in the fight. These are now permanent employees, the company insists.

The April 30 demonstration drew several thousand strike supporters from throughout Maine, the rest of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Alabama, and other states. Several unionists also came from Montreal, Canada.

Two striking coal miners from Sheridan, Wyoming — John Sturtz, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 2055 and local member Rich Wolney — turned up. UMW locals 2055 and 1972 have been locked in a hard-fought strike at two coal mines near Sheridan since last October. "I feel right at home here," Sturtz told the Jay strikers.

Most participants were unionists. One of

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6,000 march to back Maine paper strikers

Continued from front page

the biggest and most spirited contingents was a group of 50 IP strikers from Lock Haven.

Steelworkers, machinists, electrical workers, members of the construction trades, fire-fighters, truck drivers, auto workers, boiler-makers, government employees, hotel and restaurant workers, shipyard workers, teachers, paperworkers from other mills, and at least one musician were among the unionists who marched in Jay.

Other strikers

Several other groups of striking workers came to the action. Eight members of the United Transportation Union, on strike over safety issues against Guilford Transportation Industries in New England, were here. Since their walkout last November, the rail workers have been actively backing the paperworkers.

A group of zinc miners from the small upstate New York town of Gouverneur came and distributed a fact sheet about their strike. Members of United Steelworkers of America Local 3701, these miners have been on strike since July 1985.

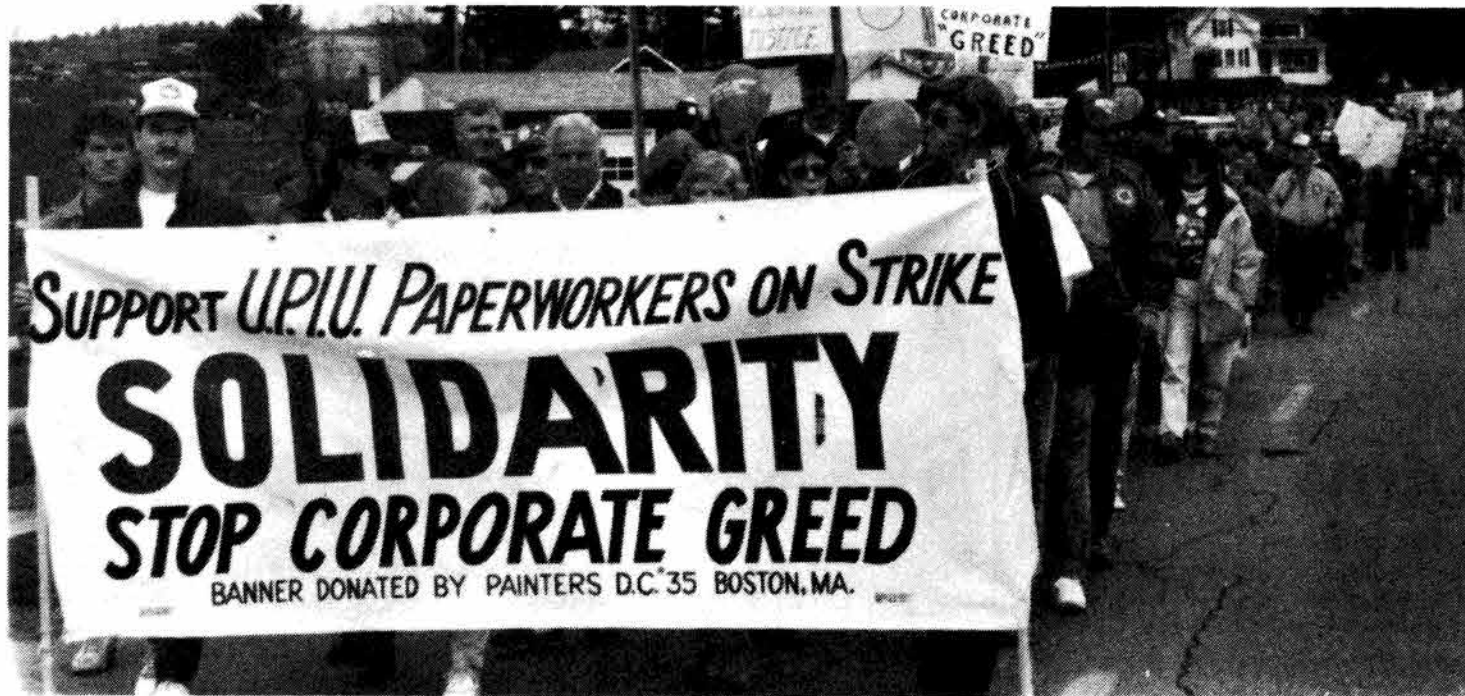
A group of International Longshoremen's Association Local 333 members also turned out. The 2,500 members of Local 333 work on tug boats, barges, and small tankers in New York harbor and other East Coast ports, and on the Great Lakes. They have been locked in a bitter strike since February 15; the boat owners they work for are demanding up to a 60 percent cut in wages and slashing of benefits.

The owners, with the cooperation of the Coast Guard and courts, are doing everything they can to break the Longshoremen's strike. "We're here to show the paperworkers they're not alone, that we're standing with them," said Local 333 member Howard McAvoy. "Their fight has been an inspiration to everyone."

A group of United Auto Workers members on strike against Colt Firearms in Hartford, Connecticut, also marched.

High school students

The demonstration was led by a spirited contingent of high school students bearing



Militant/Margrethe Siem

April 30 demonstration in solidarity with paperworkers on strike against International Paper Co. in Jay, Maine.

a large banner that read "Scabs out, union in!" Hundreds of other young people also participated in the day's activities.

The high school students have become more active in support of the 11-month-old Jay strike since a series of deadly chemical leaks from the IP mill occurred earlier this spring.

Some of the students are engaged in a battle with school administration officials over the right to wear strike T-shirts and other union apparel to school.

Lee DiSotto, whose husband and son are strikers, explained that high school students who wear IP T-shirts never have a problem. Tired of being asked to turn their strike T-shirts inside out, some of the high school students decided to paint the word "strike" on the inside of their shirts as well.

High school student Robert Sampson spoke at the rally following the march. He described plans to get in touch with high school students in Lock Haven, Mobile, and De Pere, as well as to speak at other high schools in the area.

Three farmers from the New York State

Farm Alliance came to the march. "We have the same problems as the labor people," said Jo Bates, Farm Alliance chairwoman. "There are so many farms in New York going under that you can't even book an auction until Thanksgiving."

Hundreds of antiwar and other political activists also participated, many from the Boston area.

Several dozen members of the Chinese Progressive Workers' Association, many of whom are garment workers, marched. One CPWA member explained that they had learned about the Jay strike when paperworkers came to Boston to speak to unions earlier this year.

A number of Central America solidarity activists also took part, as well as members of Veterans for Peace. The veterans' group spoke to the rally about the convoy of material aid the group is organizing for Nicaragua. The convoy will be launched from Jay later this month.

Members of several environmental groups, concerned about IP's stepped-up pollution of the area, participated as well.

Injunction lifted

The demonstrators assembled outside the Local 14 union hall, and marched across the Androscoggin River bridge to the mill.

The striking unions were able to get a brief lifting of the court injunction that limits the number of union pickets at the mill gates. This allowed the demonstrators to march to the plant.

Facing a line-up of Maine state police and local cops, the marchers stopped in front of the main gate to chant and sing a deafening round of "Solidarity Forever."

The march then returned to the Jay community center. Strike supporters had set up tables piled high with donated baked goods

and other food, strike T-shirts and caps, and literature. Other groups also set up literature tables.

After grabbing a bite to eat, hundreds packed into the community center for a rally. Local 14 President Bill Meserve spoke, along with representatives of the AFL-CIO, and others.

"We can't rely on the National Labor Relations Board," Meserve told the rally. "If workers stand together — Black, white, Hispanic — we can't be beat."

"We can't rely on old-fashioned bargaining," he continued. "Now, the 'give and take' only goes one way — the companies' way."

The unions' Corporate Campaign of outreach and solidarity activities was put on hold during recent negotiations with the company, Meserve explained. "The Corporate Campaign will not be put on hold again," he said, "not until the ink is dry on a contract for workers at all four locations."

Ray Rogers, who heads the Corporate Campaign for the UPIU, outlined plans for the next few weeks to demonstrate at the offices of various banks and corporations that are tied to IP, such as Avon Products, Coca-Cola, and others. Union members will also be attending the IP shareholders' meeting in Denver May 10.

The demonstration came a little more than a week after the paperworkers at all four affected locations overwhelmingly rejected IP's latest contract demands. The company proposal would have returned only a handful of strikers to their jobs, and contained other unacceptable provisions. The April 30 action was an important show of strength by the striking paperworkers, and a clear demonstration of the widespread support their struggle enjoys.

'Militant' Prisoner Subscription Fund

BY JIM WHITE

Alvaro Hernandez, the Texas prisoner and political activist whose views on the *Militant* are featured below, closed his note to us with the appeal, "We urge you to subscribe to [the *Militant*], and also to contribute to the *Militant's* Prisoner Subscription Fund."

The *Militant's* prisoner fund was established to bridge the gap between the cost of printing and mailing a subscription and the amount that prisoners are able to pay. The paper goes out every week to nearly 300 readers behind bars in 25 states.

We ask subscribers in prison, like any others, to contribute to cover the costs. Most, however, are unable to. Through the prisoner fund, our readers on the "outside" help us keep getting the paper to those behind bars.

To donate to the fund, please send a check or money order to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please note on the check that it is for the Prisoner Subscription Fund.

Jim White is the *Militant's* business manager.

The *Militant* tells the truth — Subscribe today!

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us the necessary political clarity in the development of our prison movement."

Alvaro L. Hernandez

Chairperson, Central Committee of Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education (PURE).

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SPECIAL OFFER

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Mickells salutes Jay paperworkers

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — "It's good to meet you. I've been reading about you in the *Militant*," said one striker's spouse as she approached Kathleen Mickells, the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate. Mickells was shaking hands and talking with groups of striking paperworkers and their supporters here April 27.

That warm greeting was typical of the reception Mickells got at the strikers' weekly union/family meeting as she listened to the paperworkers describe their difficult battle with International Paper Co. Mickells extended the solidarity of "the brothers and sisters of my union, United Mine Workers of America Local 2300" to 700 strikers and supporters during the greetings portion of the meeting that night.

"I also bring you the support and solidarity of the 1988 Socialist Workers Party campaign," Mickells told the crowd. "Your fight is what our campaign is all about — a decision by workers to stand up and fight, to reach out for solidarity, and win allies."

Mickells spoke about her experiences at international miners' gatherings, which helped her "to see workers as an international class, whose victories belong to working people everywhere, including the United States."

"When Nicaraguans win, we win," she said. "When the workers of South Africa win, it's our victory."

Earlier in the day, the socialist candidate

was interviewed by reporters from the Lewiston *Daily Sun*, central Maine's major daily.

The front-page article on her campaign the next day highlighted what the SWP is fighting for in response to the economic and social crisis signaled by the October stock market crash. At the center of the socialist campaign are demands that unify the working class internationally: cancellation of the massive debt weighing down on the semicolonial world; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; and affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, and women.

The *Daily Sun* also reported the socialists' demand that the U.S. government send massive emergency aid to war-torn Nicaragua.

Mickells returned to Jay April 30 to participate in and talk to people at the Jay strike solidarity rally of 6,000.

For three hours, a steady stream of Maine paperworkers, other unionists, and youth came up to talk to the candidate.

Several workers wanted to know if Mickells agreed that imports cause unemployment. When she said that efforts by the employers and union tops to restrict imports only serve to divide U.S. workers from fellow workers in other countries and weaken the fight against the common enemy, one worker responded, "I know that. You're right."

Many stopped to browse at a big display of revolutionary literature set up by Bos-



Militant/Jon Hillson

During New England tour, Mickells discussed emergency jobs proposals with workers at huge GE plant in Lynn, Massachusetts.

ton's Pathfinder Bookstore. More than \$100 in titles — ranging from labor history to the latest issue of the Marxist magazine *New International* — were purchased, along with 20 introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The next day Mickells spent several hours talking about the fight against International Paper with seven strikers and one striker's spouse at an informal brunch at a

Jay paperworker's home.

The socialist candidate's New England tour included a stay in Boston, where she campaigned at plant gates and campuses, met with young campaign supporters, and spoke at a campaign rally. During Mickells' tour, five Boston activists between the ages of 15 and 23 asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance, the revolutionary youth group that supports the SWP campaign.

Prominent law firm to defend Iowa frame-up victim Curtis

BY BOB MILLER AND STU SINGER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Mark Curtis, a political activist facing frame-up charges here, announced May 2 that he has hired the prominent criminal defense firm of William Kutmus and Mark Pennington to handle his legal case.

Curtis also announced that his trial on first-degree burglary and third-degree sexual abuse charges has been rescheduled for July 6. A jury trial on the misdemeanor charge against Curtis of assaulting the police will take place July 18.

The frame-up against Curtis occurred March 4 when Des Moines cops arrested him on a phony sexual assault charge, beat him so severely he had to be sent to the hospital, and then charged him with assault to cover up their own brutality. The burglary charge, which carries a 25-year prison sentence, was added April 13.

Curtis was singled out for victimization by the Des Moines cops because of his political activity. An active member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431, Curtis was arrested hours after attending a meeting protesting the arrest of 17 Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers at the Swift packinghouse where he works.

Curtis is also an activist in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Curtis' defense committee is actively publicizing the case, and helping to raise the thousands of dollars that are urgently needed for attorneys' fees, literature, travel, and other expenses.

On April 26, Curtis talked to members of United Auto Workers Local 997 in Newton, Iowa, after their union meeting. Several members volunteered to distribute literature about the case at the entrance to the Maytag plant where they work.

He was also able to appeal for support from his coworkers at Swift at a recent meeting of UFCW Local 431. Bob Nelles, the local's business agent, read the letter he sent to the Des Moines police chief protesting cop brutality.

Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife, marched with Angela Sanbrano, executive director of CISPES, at an April 30 demonstration of 250 in Kansas City, Missouri. The protest demanded an end to U.S. aid to the contras. Kaku spoke at the rally and urged ac-

tivists to protest the Curtis frame-up.

Supporters of Curtis got a good response collecting signatures on a defense committee petition at a "Take Back the Night" activity here.

The committee has received copies of some of the signed petitions that have been sent to Police Chief William Moulder. Signers include 15 farmers in northern Illinois, more than 60 meat-packers from UFCW Local 100-A in Chicago, and 40 antiwar activists from western Missouri.

New endorsers of the defense committee include the Latin America Solidarity Committee at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, Central America Solidarity Committee of Milwaukee, and Latin America Solidarity Committee and National Lawyers Guild in Lawrence, Kansas.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is asking that messages be sent to the Des Moines police, demanding that the charges be dropped, the beating by the cops be investigated, and those responsible prosecuted. Petitions and a fact sheet on the case are available from the defense committee.

Messages should be addressed to Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Copies of the messages and petitions, along with urgently needed contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Contact the committee at (515) 246-1630.

ATLANTA — Responding to appeals by union members and convention delegates, more than 350 International Association of Machinists leaders signed petitions to defend Mark Curtis at the Machinists convention held here April 28. Curtis attended the convention.

Union officials from Clark Johnson, international director of the Human Rights Department, to district leaders, business representatives, presidents, and shop-floor stewards and committee people took time to meet Curtis, talk about the case, and sign petitions demanding the charges against him be dropped.

More than \$160 was collected to help the defense committee defray costs.

Scores of delegates from Canada were among the most responsive to Curtis' appeal.

Nebraska ballot drive opens; Iowans hear James Warren

BY MIESA PATTERSON

OMAHA, Neb. — James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, toured here April 21-23. Warren and Diane Shur, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, announced the opening of the election campaign in Nebraska at a well-attended April 22 press conference.

Warren emphasized that the SWP is presenting a perspective for action in the face of the coming worldwide social and economic crisis announced by the October 1987 stock market crash.

Shur reported the party's intention to petition for ballot status in Nebraska following the May 9 primaries. Some 2,500 signatures are required to place the names of Warren and SWP vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells on the Nebraska ballot. An additional 2,000 are needed to win ballot status for Shur. According to law, petitioning can begin May 9. The deadline for filing petitions is August 30.

Twenty-five people attended a dinner discussion with the socialist candidates to learn more about their perspectives for unifying working people at home and internationally to fight for protection from unemployment, inflation, and the debt burdening the semicolonial countries.

Following Warren's tour one young woman joined the Young Socialist Al-

liance and a young Puerto Rican activist joined the SWP.

BY PAT SMITH

DES MOINES, Iowa — James Warren toured Des Moines, Iowa, April 24-25.

An April 24 meeting to hear the socialist candidate was attended by 20 people. It was covered by the city's three television stations.

Warren explained the importance of understanding that the developing economic crisis will escalate to a level of devastation like the one following the last stock market crash in 1929. He pointed out that that depression was only brought to an end with World War II. But the prospect of the rulers attempting to resolve their crisis through an interimperialist war doesn't exist today. U.S. imperialism's role as the only strategic nuclear power in the capitalist world precludes this, Warren said.

Joining Warren on the platform was Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for the 4th C.D., and Mark Curtis, a political activist framed up and beaten by the Des Moines cops.

The following day Warren and his supporters went to the Swift packinghouse plant gate where Curtis works. On March 1, 17 immigrant workers had been arrested in a raid there by Immigration and Naturalization Service cops.

Activists meet Calif. SWP candidates

BY MALIK MIAH

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 100 activists who participated in the April 30 demonstration attended a Socialist Workers Party campaign open house near the rally site.

Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California, and Steven Fuchs, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 5th C.D. of California, spoke.

Malombo Ntshilontshilo of the African National Congress Youth Section of South Africa also gave greetings.

Britton is an oil refinery worker in El Segundo, near Los Angeles. He's a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-547 and a longtime labor and socialist activist.

Fuchs is a central leader of the Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Justice.

Fuchs urged activists to make the fight for massive U.S. government aid to Nicaragua a central campaign, particularly as they build the June 11 national peace protests in San Francisco and New York.

Tamar Rosenfeld of the Oakland Young

Socialist Alliance chaired the gathering. She led a spirited YSA contingent in the April 30 demonstration.

Eli Green from Los Angeles and Sheila Kennedy from San Francisco were also introduced. Green is an oil worker and SWP candidate for Congress from Los Angeles. Kennedy is the SWP candidate for Congress in nearby Contra Costa County where she works as a steelworker.

Nearly three dozen *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and copies of *New International* were sold throughout the day. Nearly 100 individual issues of the *Militant* and *PM* were sold, as well as \$400 in books and pamphlets.

Supporters of political activist Mark Curtis signed up 66 people protesting the frame-up of Curtis by Des Moines, Iowa, cops.

Those signing the petitions included Bill Hester, business agent for Local 2 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees; Al Lannon, president of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; and Bob Williamson, president of the American Postal Workers Union local in San Francisco.

Push needed to get sales drive on schedule

BY NORTON SANDLER

We are running behind schedule as the international drive to win 9,000 new readers nears the halfway mark.

To facilitate catching up, we have set May 21 to 27 as a target week.

Our goal is to sell 1,500 single copies of the marxist magazine *New International*, 1,500 subscriptions to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 6,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* by June 15. A successful drive will mean making the goal for all three publications.

As of May 4, a total of 274 *PM* and 1,545 *Militant* subscriptions, as well as 298 copies of *New International*, had been sold.

The target week can get us in position to go over the top before the drive ends. During target weeks, distributors make a special effort to sell the revolutionary press at local plant gates, in working-class communities, and at campuses and factories in their regions.

Local areas can set aside time now to review why running a drive to sell all three publications is important.

The *Militant* and *PM* are the main pieces of campaign literature being used by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells. Selling subscriptions fits in well with an election campaign focused on explaining communist ideas to workers and farmers who are thinking about politics.

New International also addresses the major issues facing working people around the world but is able to discuss them in more depth than space in the *Militant* allows.

Articles from both the *Militant* and *New International* are translated and run in *PM* so they will be available to workers and farmers whose first language is Spanish.

Receptivity to periodicals

In discussing the circulation effort, distributors can draw on many positive examples from the current campaign.

International Association of Machinists member Dan Fein from Seattle recently joined other backers of the Warren-Mickells campaign in selling 58 subscriptions and four copies of *New International* to participants at the Machinists' national convention in Atlanta.

"The bosses try to promote differences between workers in the United States and those in other countries," Fein told me in a telephone interview.

"We got a good response when we said the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* are written from the point of view of advancing the struggles of the world working class," Fein said.

San Francisco distributor Steven Fuchs reported that 35 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* and five copies of *New International* were sold at the San Francisco antiwar demonstration on April 30.

That same day 20 subscriptions and dozens of single copies were sold at a demonstration for striking paperworkers in Jay, Maine.

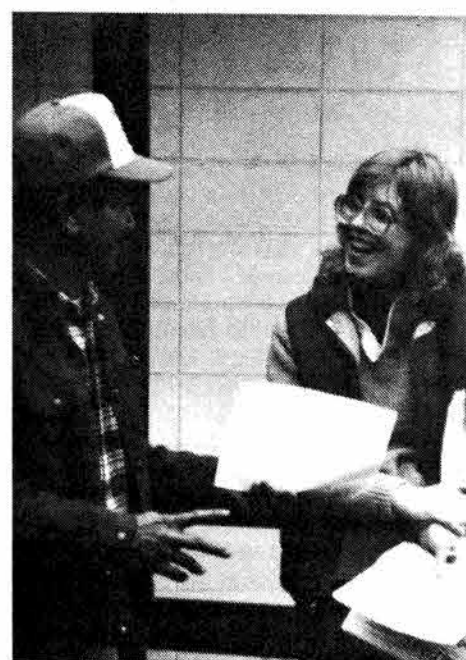
Several areas in the United States and other countries are reporting good sales to Palestinian workers. Many have expressed particular interest in the *Militant* series by Fred Feldman on "Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation."

Doug Hord in Morgantown, West Virginia, recently sold two copies of *New International* to former coworkers at a glass factory that was shut down last year. Hord said he discussed with them the importance of reading the two speeches by Fidel Castro in the magazine.

He sold a copy to another unionist after describing the article by Larry Seigle on "Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation." According to Hord, this woman was particularly interested in knowing how government spy agencies have been used against the labor movement.

Floyd Fowler says 14 *New International*s have been sold so far in Portland, Oregon — the majority from tables on campuses. "Once you take the time to describe the contents of the magazine," Fowler said, "You don't have any trouble selling them."

Janet Warman in Auckland, New Zealand, reports that distributors there have sold their full goal of 140 subscriptions to the *Militant*. They are discussing raising their target for the paper and concentrating on reaching their goal for the other two publications. Four *Militant* subscriptions have been sold so far in Iceland.



Militant/Illona Gersh
Lisa Hickler, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress from Portland, Oregon, discusses her campaign and *Militant* with unionist at Pulp and Paper Workers' rally in Reedsport.

W. Va. cops harass candidate

BY JIM ALTENBERG

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — On April 16, three Charleston cops forced Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia, and a supporter to take down a campaign literature table they had set up in Slack Plaza, a downtown park.

"I don't like what you have on your table," one cop said, "and I order you to take it down." The police threatened to arrest the socialists and confiscate the literature and table. When the table was taken down, the cops remained to watch and intimidate people who wanted to talk with Pulley.

Pulley and Jim Gotesky, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D., immediately held a news conference protesting the harassment. "It is no accident," they said, "that this occurs just days after the SWP publicly announced our slate of candidates and our lawsuit against West Virginia's undemocratic election laws. Now, the authorities are trying to trample on the Bill of Rights and rule ideas they 'don't like' off the streets."

A week later, socialist campaigners, including Pulley and Gotesky, returned to Slack Plaza. So did the police, complete with three squad cars and a patrol wagon to force the socialists off the street. The candidates refused to stop campaigning.

Despite the police intimidation and the large police wagon, the socialist table was crowded with people eager to discuss the candidates' proposals to fight for jobs and democratic rights.

After about two and a half hours, the cops forced the socialists to take their table down. They declared, with renewed threats of arrest, that only the police could determine if and where distribution of campaign literature could take place in Charleston.

"We reject the totalitarian idea that the chief of police may determine where a candidate for public office — Democrat, Republican, or socialist — can campaign," Gotesky said. "In the interest of an open campaign atmosphere, we demand that Charleston Mayor Charles Gardner and the chief of police call an immediate halt to the harassment of the Socialist Workers candidates and campaign activities."

The socialists announced that they plan to continue campaigning in Slack Plaza.

N.Y. gathering backs fired professor

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — "I'm here tonight to support Professor Dube because I appreciate his political leadership," said New York State Assemblyman Roger Green to more than 50 people gathered at a party on April 22 in Manhattan.

The event was held to raise funds for a lawsuit filed by Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa, against the State University of New York at Stony Brook. The university denied him tenure because of his political ideas, victimizing him on frame-up charges of anti-Semitism launched by a visiting Israeli professor.

"I view the attack on Dube," said Green, "as one of the many racist attacks in this state that Mayor Edward Koch and Gov. Mario Cuomo bear responsibility for." Cuomo had campaigned against giving Dube tenure at Stony Brook.

The party was sponsored by the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild. It drew leaders of

both organizations as well as of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Young Socialist Alliance, New Jewish Agenda, and others active in the Committee to Support Prof. E. Fred Dube.

Mark Curtis, a political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, also attended the party to express his support for Dube. Curtis is out on bond — the victim of a political frame-up by the Des Moines police. Everyone at the event that Curtis spoke to promised to do all they could to demand that the charges against him be dropped.

Referring to the May 3 hearing on a motion by the university to dismiss Dube's lawsuit, his attorney told the guests, "When the judge is considering this motion, we don't want him to be looking at only Professor Dube and me. We want him to be looking at all of you and all the people you know — a diversity of individuals and political groups. Let the judge know that if he dismisses the lawsuit filed by Dube, he is attacking all of us and we will respond."

Spring Sales Goals

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Twin Cities, Minn.	285	85	30	230	69	35	9	20	7
Miami	225	67	30	145	51	40	5	40	11
Los Angeles	600	171	29	340	119	100	11	160	41
Seattle	275	76	28	200	51	25	4	50	21
New York	1,200	329	27	600	194	300	81	300	54
Boston	350	94	27	240	80	50	3	60	11
Milwaukee	150	38	25	100	22	25	10	25	6
Birmingham, Ala.	175	44	25	140	30	25	14	10	0
Greensboro, N.C.	170	41	24	140	40	20	0	10	1
Portland, Ore.	140	34	24	100	17	25	14	15	3
Pittsburgh	250	57	23	185	49	45	4	20	4
Newark, N.J.	460	104	23	275	67	85	23	100	14
Detroit	250	55	22	185	47	40	4	25	4
Morgantown, W.V.	135	28	21	115	23	15	4	5	1
Houston	215	42	20	140	33	30	2	45	7
Austin, Minn.	90	17	19	65	16	15	0	10	1
San Francisco	350	63	18	200	36	75	7	75	20
Atlanta	205	36	18	150	28	40	4	15	4
Chicago	350	61	17	215	44	60	12	75	5
Kansas City	130	21	16	90	15	20	2	20	4
Phoenix	240	35	15	135	23	30	1	75	11
Washington, D.C.	250	35	14	170	31	50	1	30	3
Omaha, Neb.	125	17	14	80	14	25	3	20	0
Des Moines, Iowa	195	26	13	140	20	30	5	25	1
Philadelphia	210	28	13	140	24	30	0	40	4
St. Louis	250	33	13	190	30	50	2	10	1
Cleveland	145	17	12	110	16	20	1	15	0
Oakland, Calif.	265	31	12	150	22	50	6	65	3
Charleston, W.V.	120	14	12	100	14	15	0	5	0
Salt Lake City	150	15	10	115	11	20	3	15	1
Baltimore	185	15	8	150	13	30	0	5	2
Price, Utah	55	3	5	40	2	10	0	5	1
* Cincinnati	10	7	70	10	7	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	23	-	-	22	-	-	-	1
U.S. totals	8,205	1,762	21	5,385	1,280	1,430	235	1,390	247
London	62	28	45	45	26	8	0	9	2
South Wales	40	16	40	27	15	10	0	3	1
Nottingham	39	7	18	24	5	12	2	3	0
South Yorks	45	8	18	30	8	5	0	10	0
Manchester	34	5	15	24	4	5	0	5	1
Other Britain	-	16	-	-	2	-	14	-	0
Britain total	220	80	36	150	60	40	16	30	4
Canada	340	58	17	200	46	100	6	40	6
Iceland	15	4	27	15	4	-	-	-	-
New Zealand	180	165	92	140	140	30	18	10	7
* Puerto Rico	-	11	-	-	2	-	-	-	9
Other Internat'l	-	40	-	-	17	-	22	-	1
Totals	8,960	2,120	24	5,890	1,549	1,600	297	1,470	274
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		3,438	38						



1983: PLO fighters in Tripoli, Lebanon, resist assault by Syrian-backed forces.

Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation

Battles in Lebanon, 1983-88

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Sixth of a series)

The forced evacuation of 9,000 Palestinian liberation fighters from Lebanon in the wake of the Israeli invasion of 1982 marked one of the biggest setbacks the Palestinian liberation movement had ever suffered.

This was true despite the determined resistance of the Palestinians to the two-month Israeli siege of the Lebanese capital of Beirut and the exposure in front of the entire world of the Israeli regime's brutality.

The evacuation was followed by the Israeli occupation of Beirut; the slaughter of up to 3,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps by Israeli-backed ultrarightist militias; the arrival of an imperialist "peace-keeping" force to replace Israeli forces in Beirut; and a treaty between the Israeli and Lebanese governments that sought to consolidate what the Israeli military had gained in the war.

In mid-1983, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad engineered a split within Fatah, the largest organization in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Assad sought to forge a tamed PLO that could be used as a bargaining chip to pressure the Israeli and U.S. governments into cutting a deal with him. His main goals were Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, which Israel had seized from Syria in the 1967 war and annexed in 1981, and the formation of a Lebanese government friendly to his own.

Assad backed a faction headed by Saed Musa, former deputy commander of PLO military operations. Musa denounced the PLO's endorsement of a plan adopted by the Arab League summit conference in Fez, Morocco, in September 1982.

The plan, proposed by then-Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, called on the United Nations Security Council to guarantee "peace among all states of the region, including the independent Palestinian state" that it called for establishing.

The plan implied that a Palestinian state might coexist with the Israeli state, dividing historic Palestine between them.

Split in PLO

Musa falsely claimed that the PLO's endorsement of this diplomatic proposal meant that it was giving up the struggle for Palestinian rights and capitulating to U.S. and Israeli imperialism.

There was nothing unusual about debates within the PLO over diplomatic moves by its leaders. Musa's views, however, proved to be cover for an outright war against Palestinian refugee camps that supported the PLO leadership.

Musa's attack on the PLO opened in May 1983 with strikes against Palestinian centers in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon, where Syrian forces were stationed.

When the dissidents failed to make much headway, Assad sent the Syrian army into action. Syrian tanks and troops encircled PLO positions, opening an offensive by the dissidents that pushed PLO fighters out of the valley.

Twelve thousand Syrian troops and 350 Syrian tanks and artillery pieces backed a siege of PLO camps near Tripoli, Lebanon, where those defending the PLO's independence had established a base. Hundreds were killed. Israeli gunboats aided the siege by bombarding the city of Tripoli, where PLO units were making a stand after leaving the camps.

In December, 4,000 PLO fighters, led by PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat, were forced to evacuate Tripoli.

The evacuees headed for Tunis, the capital of Tunisia, where Arafat had established a headquarters. In 1985, Arafat was forced to shift many PLO operations to Iraq when Israeli warplanes bombed Tunis, killing scores of people.

Throughout the Syrian-backed assault, the PLO leadership retained strong support among the Palestinian people. "The support for Mr. Arafat on the West Bank is startling in its unanimity," the *Christian Science Monitor* reported on July 1, 1983.

"Elected mayors, student groups, professionals, and trade union leaders have all placed prominent ads in the Arabic press opposing Syrian pressure on the PLO and supporting Mr. Arafat as its leader."

Assad's success in splitting the PLO and forcing more of its fighters to leave Lebanon culminated a series of severe blows to the Palestinian people. The scale of the setbacks were equalled only by the foundation of Israel in 1948, the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland, and the Israeli conquests in the 1967 war.

Gemayel in trouble

At this time, however, the Lebanese government of President Amin Gemayel was running into growing opposition. His regime was based on the ultrarightist Phalangist militia, supported by the capitalists and landlords of the minority Maronite Christian sect.

The Lebanese political setup, established when the country was ruled by France, effectively barred the Muslim majority from real political power.

Despite intense U.S. pressure, the Syrian government refused to support the May 1983 Israeli-Lebanese pact, which attempted to consolidate the dominance of the Israeli ruling class and Gemayel's rule in the wake of the 1982 war.

The Syrian government also resisted pressure to withdraw the troops it had stationed in Lebanon since 1976. Despite their attacks on the Palestinians, the Syrian troops were an obstacle to stabilizing the ultrarightist regime that the Israeli invaders had put in office.

In the struggle against Gemayel, a growing role was played by groups based in the particularly oppressed Shiite Muslim communities, which now made up more than 40 percent of the population. Inspired by the Iranian revolution, they came to the fore as opponents of Gemayel, Israeli occupation, and the role of U.S., French, Italian, and British imperialist "peacekeeping" forces in propping up the rightist regime.

In September 1983, resistance in Lebanon and opposition inside Israel forced the Israeli government to pull its occupation forces out of the Shuf Mountains near Beirut. The Reagan administration appealed, to no avail, for the Israeli troops to delay the withdrawal. The area was then quickly taken over by militias based in the Druse Muslim communities.

To prevent the complete rout of government forces in the area, U.S. warships off the Lebanese coast shelled positions held by the Druse forces.

Imperialists pushed back

Washington and its allies built up a fleet of dozens of warships in the region. The U.S. government had stationed more than 14,000 troops in Lebanon and offshore — in addition to Israeli occupation forces.

As the U.S. and allied "peace-keeping" forces escalated their combat role in support of Gemayel's increasingly isolated and hated regime, they came under growing fire from various opposition groups.

On October 26, a truck bomb exploded at a U.S. marine barracks at the Beirut airport, killing 239 soldiers. Another bomb attack that day killed 40 French soldiers.

On November 4, a truck bomb exploded in the Israeli military headquarters in the city of Tyre in southern Lebanon. Dozens of occupation troops died. The incident came as Israeli forces faced stiffening resistance to their occupation throughout southern Lebanon.

In December, U.S. planes staged a bombing raid against Syrian positions in Lebanon. Syrian forces shot down two U.S. planes and captured a pilot.

In the United States, Israel, and other imperialist countries that had troops stationed in Lebanon, blows such as these sparked a growing debate over whether to pull the troops out. There was little popular support for increasing their combat role, which would be required in order to consolidate the hold of the Gemayel government on the country.

In February 1984, President Ronald Reagan pulled U.S. troops out of Lebanon and placed them on warships offshore — as a popular upsurge put opponents of Gemayel in control of West Beirut. Opposition forces in the Lebanese army revolted against being used to suppress Muslim militias.

In order to gain Syrian acceptance for his remaining in office, Gemayel revoked the May 1983 treaty he had signed with the Israeli government.

The Syrian government's stance and the deep divisions within the opposition coalition made it possible for Gemayel to hang on to his office. The U.S., French, and Italian "peace-keeping" forces in Beirut, however, were pulled out.

In January 1985, Israeli forces made a further withdrawal from the area around

Tyre. By mid-1985, they had withdrawn to a strip of Lebanese territory along the Israeli border. Israel has continued to operate there and to conduct raids into other parts of Lebanon. The most recent began on May 2 of this year when Israeli soldiers attacked and occupied villages in southern Lebanon accused of aiding the PLO.

As the position of the Israelis and of the United States and other imperialist powers in Lebanon grew weaker, the PLO began to operate more openly.

This time Syrian President Assad relied on the Amal militia to do the dirty work. Amal, headed by Nabih Berri, represented the interests of bourgeois forces among the Shiite Muslims. Berri had become a minister in Gemayel's cabinet.

While Amal had participated in the fight against Gemayel in West Beirut, its leaders voiced determination to prevent a new rise of the Palestinian struggle in Lebanon.

They responded to the beginnings of a revival of PLO strength with brutal force. In May 1985, Amal began what became known as the "war of the camps" against Palestinian refugees in the Beirut area.

Hundreds of Palestinians were killed — including 25 hospital patients who were executed in Sabra. The scale of destruction was comparable to that caused by Israeli forces during the shelling and bombing in 1982.

The assault spurred a united resistance by Palestinian groups, even including the pro-Syrian splitters led by Saed Musa. In the end, Amal was unable to decisively defeat the Palestinian fighters.

Since then Amal has resumed its war against the Palestinians several times — failing each time to crush the Palestinians and break the PLO. From October 1986 to April 1987 Amal units attacked and blockaded Palestinian camps, killing 800 and threatening thousands with starvation. Amal forces lifted their encirclement of the camps only in January, in the face of massive popular support in Lebanon for the Palestinian uprising in Israel.

Mission unaccomplished

The Israeli rulers and their U.S. backers sought to achieve four major goals through the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

They aimed to expel the PLO from Lebanon and, if possible, destroy it. They sought to crush the Lebanese nationalist movement and disarm militias based in the Muslim communities. They wanted to force the Syrian government to withdraw its troops. And they intended to impose an ultrarightist government that would facilitate Israeli military, political, and economic domination in Lebanon.

By the end of 1985, imperialist forces had been forced to largely pull out of Lebanon with these goals substantially unaccomplished.

The PLO had survived the most devastating setbacks it had ever suffered, in part because of the massive support it received from Palestinians in the Israeli-held West Bank of the Jordan River.

The next article will describe the struggle between the PLO and King Hussein of Jordan for political influence over the people of the West Bank, and the PLO's stepped-up activity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the wake of the war in Lebanon

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End of contra war deals blow to U.S. gov't

Continued from front page

contras has failed. And having failed, it has been abandoned by the U.S. rulers.

Rulers' divisions

The defeat of the contras has posed a tactical crisis for Washington. Until now, the contra war policy of the Reagan administration has been the only coherent policy for how to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolutionary government. While there is broad bipartisan agreement on overturning the Sandinista government, there is no substantial consensus in ruling circles on an alternative road to Reagan's contra war.

This crisis has not been resolved, and it will not be resolved in the short run. The U.S. government cannot come to an "accommodation" with the Nicaraguan revolution as long as it remains a revolution.

The imperialist rulers in Washington will not reconcile themselves to the existence of a bastion of workers' and farmers' political power on the American continent. But what they can do about it is another question.

Relationship of forces

A look back at the events of the decisive days between the March 3 vote in Congress and the signing of a temporary cease-fire accord March 23 sheds light on the relationship of forces in Nicaragua today between the workers and farmers on one hand and the capitalists on the other. It also illuminates what was behind Washington's decision to rush combat units to Honduras, and why the Sandinistas responded as they did to the extremely dangerous situation this provocative action created.

On March 6 the Sandinista People's Army began a major military offensive. The objective was a complex of contra base camps situated near where the Coco River joins the Amaka and Bocay rivers. The contra camps were on both sides of the Coco River, which forms the border between Nicaragua and Honduras.

The contras had long used this area for base camps. But its strategic weight increased significantly for them following the signing of the Guatemala accords in mid-1987. These agreements prohibited the basing of contra troops in Honduras.

The contras didn't leave Honduras, but they were forced to move their headquarters and supply operations into areas less accessible to reporters and international observers, to avoid embarrassing the Honduran regime too much.

One such center was established on the Honduran island of El Cisne, in the Atlantic Ocean. Another was set up in the area of San Andrés de Bocay, on the Coco River.

With the uncertainty of renewal of military aid by Congress, huge stocks of arms and ammunition as well as other supplies were stockpiled in the bases along the Coco River.

'Operation Danto'

The line of camps on both banks of the Coco River constituted the main supply, command, and rest center for contra troops infiltrating into Nicaragua. This was the target of the Sandinista military offensive, which was code-named "Operation Danto."

Prior to the launching of the offensive, infantry, artillery, and reconnaissance units were positioned around the area. Some 4,500 Sandinista soldiers were committed, including militia forces from the mining area around Bonanza.

Operations began March 6, with Sandinista troops being moved quickly by helicopter into the mountain area. The contras were caught by surprise, before they could organize an orderly retreat.

The contras' outer lines of defense fell quickly. As the Sandinista troops approached well-placed contra positions on hilltops commanding the field of fire, their advance slowed, but only temporarily.

Battle of La Coneja Hill

A key battle took place for La Coneja Hill. The story was later told by Ricardo Gutiérrez, a correspondent for *Barricada*, the daily paper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Gutiérrez accompanied the infantry units that took the hill.

At mid-day March 10, two companies of a light infantry brigade began advancing up the steep hill against heavy fire. After two



Militant/Roberto Kopek
Marta Obando, young communications worker from Managua, gets ready to leave on a workers' volunteer battalion in April. Support of Nicaraguan workers, peasants for revolution kept contra mercenaries from ever holding a single town.

hours, they had moved only 100 yards. They then called for support from their artillery, which had been moved up into positions abandoned by the contras.

After an "inferno" of artillery fire fell on the contra positions, the Sandinista troops renewed their advance, but the going was slow against heavy fire from the hilltop positions, and in the face of mines planted on the steep slope.

They were still 40 yards from the top when darkness fell. The commanding officer decided to order a halt. They would wait until dawn to renew the battle.

"The night dragged on," wrote Gutiérrez. "Sleep was fitful. At any moment the mercenaries could carry out a sudden attack, taking advantage of the difficulty of the situation. Exhausted, many of the soldiers were sleeping practically standing up, owing to the incline."

"A total silence was ordered, carried out with great discipline by the combatants who had been wounded."

At five in the morning, Lt. Oscar García ordered the final advance on the mercenaries. "What a surprise the soldiers got!" wrote Gutiérrez. "When they burst onto the summit of Coneja Hill they found out that the *somocistas* were gone."

Contra defenses collapse

Heavy fighting took place from March 10-13 throughout the area. But by Monday, March 14, the contra defenses had virtually collapsed, and the contras were running to their rear, into Honduras.

The Sandinista troops continued in pursuit, crossing the Coco River into Honduras.

The contras were now in danger of being completely overrun. As the March 21 *New York Times* later summed it up: "The contras tried to defend some of their positions in Nicaragua, but quickly abandoned them and retreated across the border into Honduras, causing confusion in the contra base camp a few miles northeast of San Andrés."

The contras' airstrip, on the Honduran side of the Coco River, soon fell to the Sandinista army, effectively cutting off the entire contra force. There was now nothing to stop the Sandinista troops from overrunning all the contra camps.

It was at this moment that Washington made the decision to speed U.S. combat troops to within a few miles of the advancing Nicaraguan forces.

Some commentators have characterized this move as a political ploy by the Reagan administration. They dismissed it as a last-ditch effort to whip up support for contra aid in Congress or a maneuver aimed at heading off a cease-fire agreement between the Sandinista government and the contras.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The thousands of antiwar demonstrators who rapidly organized large and militant emergency actions in the streets of cities across the United States and Canada saw the troop mobilization accurately: a deadly serious move with potentially disastrous consequences for Nicaragua, and all of Central America.

The airlift of 3,200 U.S. troops sent an unambiguous message to Managua, one that was undoubtedly reiterated through other channels. Washington would not allow the Sandinista army to take the contra base camps in Honduras.

If the Sandinistas didn't immediately pull back across the Coco River, they would be fighting U.S. troops. Once such a clash began, it could escalate quickly.

Who 'invaded' Honduras?

The Nicaraguan government never officially acknowledged that its troops had crossed the Coco River into Honduran territory, nor could it do so, for diplomatic reasons. But no Nicaraguan doubted that this was the case when they read *Barricada's* March 18 editorial denouncing the U.S. troops move.

"The official Yankee version justifies the sending of U.S. troops to Honduras as a response to the supposed 'invasion' of troops of the EPS [Sandinista People's Army] into Honduran territory, when they were pursuing the mercenary forces after expelling them from Nicaraguan territory."

"Supposing that this assertion were true — although no proof has been presented — logic and common sense would hold the contras responsible as the real violators of Honduran sovereignty."

"First, because the United States recognizes that the contras were the first to penetrate Honduran territory, precisely when they were fleeing from the Sandinista troops. And, second, because Washington and the Honduran government have seen themselves compelled to admit the fact that mercenary forces illegally occupy Honduran territory, where they have established their bases of operations."

"On the other hand, from the angle of international law, every sovereign nation has the legitimate right to defend itself militarily against a mercenary force that tries to establish itself on its territory, as well as to pursue such a force and wipe it out in its sanctuaries illegally established in a border area."

"How can a defensive action, in which there has not been a single contact with Honduran troops or citizens, be called an 'invasion?'"

Sandinista troops crossed the Coco River in hot pursuit of the fleeing counter-

revolutionary units on Monday, March 14. By late Tuesday, U.S. soldiers were on their way to Palmerola Air Base in central Honduras.

The National Directorate of the FSLN convened early Wednesday morning, March 16. According to the next day's *Barricada*, the meeting "reached the conclusion that the country was facing an extremely dangerous situation." The FSLN leaders decided to pull the Sandinista troops back inside Nicaragua and away from the border. And fast.

That afternoon, the troops turned back, before reaching the main contra camps. By the following day, March 17, virtually all the Sandinista soldiers had withdrawn from the Honduran side of the border.

The decision was a necessary one. It allowed the Nicaraguan revolution to take maximum advantage of the devastating blows it had already dealt to the contras, while avoiding being drawn into a direct military clash with the United States. The victory that was possible was consolidated.

By March 21, when the contra representatives arrived at Sapoá for cease-fire talks, most had already concluded that a continuation of the war was no longer possible.

There was no prospect of a short-term renewal of military financing from Washington. Their troops were demoralized. And many were increasingly affected by the sustained efforts of the Sandinistas to draw them into discussions and meetings aimed at persuading them to return to their farms and families.

Moreover, it was clear to all that what the Sandinista army had done once, it can certainly do again, if needed.

Concessions to contras

On March 23 an agreement to suspend the fighting was signed. Having been implacable in combat, the Sandinistas have been generous in the cease-fire talks.

They have established their dominance in the war, and now they are offering concessions to those they have beaten.

The war has taken a heavy, and growing, toll. The cost has been severe in human terms, with 50,000 casualties in a land whose population is only about 3 million.

The economic damage from the years of war has been immense. The government has had to allocate more than half its annual budget to military needs. The war has made major advances toward economic and social development impossible.

For these reasons, the Sandinistas have offered concessions to the contras aimed at concluding a permanent cease-fire agreement as quickly as possible.

During the cease-fire, the contra units have moved into specified zones, where they can keep their weapons. They are allowed to receive food and medicine — but not military supplies — during the cease-fire.

All Nicaraguans who left the country will be allowed to return, without penalty and with full rights as citizens under the constitution. All who "have reintegrated themselves into peaceful life" will be allowed to participate in future elections.

'New terms of engagement'

A decisive victory for the Nicaraguan workers and farmers has been won. The struggle to defend and advance the revolution has been successfully shifted away from the terrain of the contra war and onto more favorable ground.

Barricada greeted the news of the cease-fire accord with an afternoon "Extra." Its editorial concluded this way:

"It is the task of all the people to sustain their mobilization in order to guarantee the complete dismantling of the Yankee effort to destroy the Revolution by military means. Whether the accords are lived up to, whether Reagan lives up to his part and the contras to theirs, will depend on the unceasing people's mobilization."

"Simultaneously, it will be necessary to prepare to move to other forms of struggle to defend the people's conquests. The struggle in the social, political, and ideological terrain enters a new stage, in which the fighting spirit of the military terrain has to be translated into the wisdom, flexibility, and strength that the new terms of engagement will demand."

What these new terms of engagement mean for the working people of Nicaragua will be the subject of the next article.

Nicaraguan painter discusses his work during tour of U.S.

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — It was a spring day in New York — cold, with a raw dampness in the air. Bundled in a winter jacket, Carlos Montenegro looked like he felt a long way from his home in Nicaragua.

He had been working all morning on the Pathfinder Building mural and had just come down from the scaffold for a lunch break and an interview with the *Militant*.

One of Nicaragua's most eminent painters, this is the first time Montenegro has worked on a mural. "It was a confrontation between me and the wall," he said.

Covering an entire wall of the six-story Pathfinder Building in downtown Manhattan, the mural will feature portraits of international revolutionary figures whose writings and speeches have been published by Pathfinder. Artists from various countries are participating in the project.

The Nicaraguan artist Arnoldo Guillén did one of the first portraits, that of Augusto César Sandino. Sandino was the leader of the guerrilla movement in the 1920s and early '30s that, after a six-year war, forced U.S. marines to get out of Nicaragua.

Montenegro, whose pen and ink drawings aim at recapturing Nicaragua's culture and history, added to the mural by painting six generals of Sandino's guerrilla army.

While in the United States, he also spoke about art in the new Nicaragua and showed slides of his work at meetings in several cities.

Both Montenegro and Guillén came to work on the project in response to an invitation to the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association from Mike Alewitz, director of the mural project. They were asked to do the segment of the mural relating to Nicaragua.

Montenegro, now 46, began his art career when he was 22.

He studied at Nicaragua's School of Fine Arts for five years, and then taught there for eight more. He concedes that he's won a number of major awards for his work but changes the subject, saying, "I don't consider that important."

'Recover Nicaragua's image'

He's a member of the Sandinista Federation of Cultural Workers, which embraces the various cultural associations — art, music, dance, theater, literature.

His own work, he explained, "is dedicated to helping to recover Nicaragua's images."

"Nicaragua," he said, "is a country that has been denied its culture. We don't have a tradition of art. Our customs, our traditions, are not known to us through imagery."

Before the revolution, he explained, the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza stifled cultural development. "They had no interest in this," he said. "Whatever interest they did have in the artist was in a commercial sense — using the artist."

When he agreed to contribute to the Pathfinder mural, Montenegro decided he wanted to do Sandino's generals.

"They are the chain," he said, "that links up the anti-imperialist struggle of the past with the work of the present Sandinista National Liberation Front."

"They struggled for the sovereignty of the people," he continued. "This is totally linked with our revolution, which can only go forward on the basis of independence from imperialist domination."

The generals were authentic revolutionary fighters. Some of them, Montenegro said, couldn't read or write and they weren't trained at military schools. They were peasants who became military experts in the course of the struggle.

An early supporter of the struggle that led to the 1979 victory of the Sandinistas, Montenegro is particularly proud of the revolution's accomplishments in the field of culture.

"The revolution," he said, "has a concrete political program in terms of our cultural recovery. Art and culture are gaining in importance in recovering our national identity."

He said the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association has undertaken direct responsibility for ensuring that artists have the time, and the material, to do their work.

And it sponsors festivals, art competitions, and other activity promoting art and culture.

Support for cultural workers, Montenegro added, extends to the fields of music, theater, the national circus, and cultural activity directed toward children.

"We never had this before," he emphasized.

Working people have access to art

"The population can become involved," he continued. "There are poetry workshops where the housewife, the worker, the office worker, farmers, soldiers, old people, have the opportunity to express themselves. Poetry begins to belong to the people, the poor people."

And, he emphasized, priority is being given to ensuring that all ethnic groups in Nicaragua are assured of the same cultural benefits and opportunities.

Much of Montenegro's own work is based on his visits to the Atlantic Coast, particularly Puerto Cabezas in the north.

He said that on the historically isolated Atlantic Coast there has been a literacy campaign. Books are being translated into the language of the Miskito Indians and the languages of the other coastal peoples.

What has been achieved there, he added, is related to the program for political autonomy that the Sandinista government is carrying out on the coast.

Because of the contra war, Montenegro said, the cultural side of the autonomy program is only at the beginning stage. "An end to aggression," he said, "can mean the cultural program will develop."



Tony Savino

Nicaraguan artist Carlos Montenegro paints figure of revolutionary general who fought U.S. occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s and '30s. Figure is part of mural on Pathfinder Building in New York City.

Montenegro had warm praise for the Pathfinder Mural Project.

"I think it's very good," he said. "I like the total design and the idea. And the conception of having it done not by one person, but by many — it's very intelligent."

Discussing his impressions of his visit here, Montenegro indicated he senses the United States is entering a period of change.

"Here a revolution is being formed, but it's just beginning," he said.

"I think a few years ago it would not have been possible to speak to so many people and to get a feel for what young people are interested in, their interest in the Nicaraguan revolution."

"I think perhaps I came at a good time, to see the beginning of something that will be stronger later on."

March to honor Ben Linder held in El Cuá, Nicaragua

BY JUDY WHITE

EL CUÁ, Nicaragua — Residents of this town and the surrounding area attended a march and rally here April 29 on the first anniversary of the assassination of Benjamin Linder, Sergio Paulo Hernández, and Pablo Rosales. Linder was a U.S. engineer who had been working in Nicaragua on electrification projects. He was murdered in this war zone by the U.S.-run contras, along with Hernández and Rosales, two Nicaraguans working with him.

In addition to schoolchildren and their parents, who made up the bulk of those in attendance, also present at the rally were several dozen uniformed Nicaraguan troops, a number of volunteers from the United States who are working in Nicaragua, and Ben Linder's family.

Antonio Zamora, political secretary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front for the Cuá-Bocay region, set the tone for the rally. He emphasized that the three *compañeros* were killed while working on a development project of the zone — a hydroelectric plant under construction near San José de Bocay. Due to economic problems and ongoing fighting with the contras in the Cuá-Bocay region, many development projects have stalled, he said.

Now, Zamora continued, "we have taken some important steps to make it possible to move forward on our projects," referring to the moves directed at establishing a permanent cease-fire in Nicaragua.

Ben Linder's parents, Elisabeth and David; his sister, Miriam; and his brother, John, have been in Nicaragua to participate in events marking the anniversary of Linder's death. During their visit, they turned over a check for \$250,000 raised to continue the work he had started.

In the months following his assassination, family members, along with friends Linder had made in Nicaragua, toured more than 220 cities of the United States and Canada speaking out against the contra war and seeking contributions for the rural development project in Cuá-Bocay. The check represents donations from thousands of people, said Elisabeth Linder.

Miriam Linder addressed the rally here, stating that this year had been the hardest ever for the family because of their personal loss.

During the march many of the schoolchil-

dren carried hand-lettered signs. Among their messages was one that read, "If Linder were still alive, there would be light in Bocay."

Clifford Brown, director of the Cuá-Bocay project for the Nicaraguan Institute of Energy, explained to the rally the importance for the Nicaraguan people of the international solidarity and aid that has been given to the project. Brown assured those present that the hydroelectric plant in Bocay would be finished. The designs for the plant are almost completed, and steps have been taken to begin fabricating the turbine and other parts needed in El Cuá.

Entertainment at the rally was provided by the Santos López Chorus, made up of members of an army battalion stationed outside of El Cuá.

Slain volunteer's kin sue contra murderers

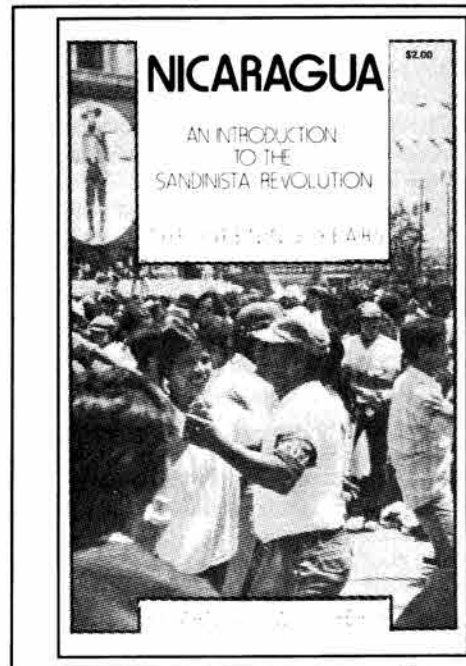
BY ELIZARDO BASCOY AND NANCY COLE

MIAMI — One year after the murder of Benjamin Linder in Nicaragua, his family filed a \$50 million lawsuit in federal court here against the leadership of the U.S.-run contras.

On April 28, 1987, Linder and six Nicaraguan coworkers were ambushed while they were working on the construction of a hydroelectric plant in northern Nicaragua. As Linder lay wounded, the contras executed him with a bullet through the head at close range. Two Nicaraguans were also killed.

The Linder family is represented in the lawsuit by the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights. The lawsuit charges contra leaders — including Adolfo Calero and Enrique Bermúdez — with the "wrongful death, battery, and cruel and inhuman treatment" of Benjamin Linder.

On April 21, the Linder family spoke to 100 people at a broadly sponsored meeting at the University of Miami. Benjamin's brother John recounted how it was in Miami that the family's 43-state speaking tour was kicked off last June — a campaign that raised \$50,000 above the initial goal of \$200,000 to finish Benjamin's work.



From Pathfinder

This popular introduction to the Nicaraguan revolution was originally published during the early years of the revolution, while the author, Arnold Weissberg, was a correspondent for the Nicaragua Bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Now reprinted, with a new preface.

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Che book launched at Iceland meeting

BY LÚDVÍK ÓLAFSSON

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — Some 70 people gathered at a meeting here April 20 to launch the English-language book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* and the pamphlet, *We Will Be Like Che*, the first full-length speech by Fidel Castro to be printed in Icelandic.

The speech by Castro was delivered Oct. 8, 1987, at a ceremony in Pinar del Río, Cuba, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the death of Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the Cuban revolution. *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* was published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia. Meetings to launch the book have been held in eight other countries — Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Canada, Cuba, Philippines, Sweden, and the United States.

The meeting was cosponsored by the Icelandic-Cuban Friendship Society and Pathfinder and was held at the hall of Sókn, the union that organizes women in unskilled jobs.

The highlight of the evening was the presentation of *We Will Be Like Che* to the Cuban ambassador to Iceland, Dennys Guzmán. It was given to him by Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir, Pathfinder's Iceland representative.

'Che is ours, in Iceland'

Gunnlaugsdóttir explained the importance of the book and pamphlet. "Che," she said, "was not only a person that fought somewhere far away, not a poster on the wall, not only a myth, but ours, those in Iceland who want to fight for a better society. We need to know how he thought and how he worked."

Guzmán, who resides in Stockholm and is also the Cuban ambassador to Sweden, was on his annual visit to Iceland.

"I want to acknowledge this contribution, which enables people in Iceland to become acquainted with the actions and thoughts of one of the giants of our time," said Guzmán referring to the publication of the English-language collection of Guevara's works.

"Argentine by birth, Che was also an admired and beloved son of our people, and — through his thought and action — became a Latin American patriot and a citizen of the world," said Guzmán.

Commenting on *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, he said, "These writings, which you will have the opportunity to read and study, show us the man of action and ideas. Collected here are the living experiences of the revolutionary struggle of our people, of which Che was an outstanding protagonist from the beginning."

"Collected here are his experiences as builder of a new society. And it's precisely this part of the book that highlights Che's extraordinary contributions to the building of socialism, in a so-called Third World country."

"In this book, one can appreciate his ideas of how to apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the organization of production. One can appreciate how he conceived the role of man — his consciousness and moral values — in carrying forward the gigantic task of creating on the ruins of the old society a new one, a society in which the determining factor would not be the excessive appetite for material riches, but one in which the individual feels more complete, with much greater internal richness, and with much greater responsibility."

"So if Che did not reject material incentives in the transitional stage of building socialism, it is no less true that he gave increasing importance — increasing weight — to the factors of consciousness and moral values among men called on to build a new society, at the same time as they transformed themselves."

Guzmán said that Che's ideas "constitute a theory — profound and considerably developed — concerning the forms and methods of how to build socialism and communism."

The Cuban official concluded, "Because of his life and because of his work, Che lives in our hearts; and together with you we can say to him, from this far off land: Ever onward to victory!"

Inseparable from Cuban revolution

Ingibjörg Haraldsdóttir, president of the Icelandic-Cuban Friendship Society, pointed out that "the thoughts of Che Guevara were an inseparable part of the Cuban revolution."

She said that it was "interesting to note that in the rectification campaign now going on in Cuba, involving the rectification of mistakes made in recent years in the economy, the ideas of Che Guevara have played a major role."

Haraldsdóttir read from an interview with Guevara that Iceland's former minister of energy, Magnús Kjartansson, conducted in Cuba in 1962.

She introduced from the audience the only other Icelander to meet Guevara, Einar Olgeirsson, now 87 years old, who met Che in Moscow. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Iceland in 1930 and a member of parliament from 1937 to 1967.

Kristinn Einarsson, a representative of the Icelandic Vocational Students Association, spoke about the International Union of Students Congress he attended in Havana in November 1987. He described in enthusiastic words his impressions of Cuba during his visit. He explained the difference between what he expected to see in Cuba and what he actually saw.

Pritz Dullay, representing the African National Congress of South Africa office in

Continued on Page 17



Militant/Eiðurur Gudjónsson



Militant/Dag Tirsén

Cuban ambassador to Iceland and Sweden, Dennys Guzmán, receives copy of pamphlet in Icelandic with Fidel Castro speech. He was joined at Sweden rally by, at far right, Harry Isaksson, a leader of Swedish miners, and C.H. Hermansson.

Cuban ambassador: 'Che is among us in Sweden'

BY DAG TIRSÉN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — "Che is among us here in Sweden. He is among the Sandinista soldiers in their defense of sovereignty of their country. He is by the side of the honorable peoples' army in Angola in their frontline war against the South African racist regime. He is more alive than ever."

This is how the Cuban ambassador to Sweden and Iceland, Dennys Guzmán, explained the internationalism of Che Guevara to the more than 100 participants here to celebrate the launching of the book, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

The April 23 meeting was cosponsored by the Swedish-Cuban Friendship Society and Pathfinder.

Ambassador Guzmán said, "This book, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, contributes to one of the least-known aspects of Che in European countries, namely his contribution to the building of a new society founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

"It shows Che as a builder of a new society, Che as an organizer, planner, and creator of a new way of thinking. The way of thinking of the new man, the man of the future who isn't limited by territorial borders, a man who feels as his own the humiliation of another man."

Other speakers included: Billy Modise, chief representative in Sweden of the African National Congress of South Africa; Uriel Pérez, first secretary, Nicaraguan embassy in Sweden; Sergio Montes, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; David Deutschmann, editor of the Guevara book; C.H. Hermansson, former chairperson of the Communist Party of Sweden; and Harry Isaksson, leader of the big mine workers strike in the north of Sweden in 1969-70.

Isaksson explained why *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* is necessary for revolutionaries in Sweden. "We have to be alert to take up the struggle," he said. "This book will be a weapon in this struggle. In the book we find both Che and Fidel, two men that have done everything we dream of. And because of that they are valuable to us as living examples that you can make a revolution, even in this country."

The meeting was co-chaired by Eva Björklund of the Swedish-Cuban Friendship Society and Catharina Tirsén, Pathfinder's representative in Sweden.

Tirsén announced the publication in Swedish of the speech that Fidel Castro gave to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Che's death, a pamphlet titled *What We Do Today Is the Best Homage We Can Pay to Che*.

Eugene Makhlof, Palestine Liberation Organization representative in Sweden, sent a message that read, "It saddens us

very much not to be with you to participate in the commemoration of the revolutionary hero Ernesto Che Guevara who represents for us one of the symbols of our liberation movement."

"The bullets that were shot at Che 20 years ago were the same bullets that our hero Abu Jihad was murdered with."

"The loss of the two heroes will not prevent us from following their steps along the path of liberation till their dreams and ours are fulfilled."

Other messages were received from Niilo Taapopi "Kambwa," chief representative to the Nordic countries from the South West Africa People's Organisation; Krister Holm, Swedish-Filipino Association; Lorenzo Vargas, Swedish-Dominican-Haitian Association; Kurdish-Swedish Workers League; Mary Andersson, author; and Ingmar Simonsson, a vicar in Malmö and a Social Democratic candidate for parliament.

Guests included Brian Lyons of Pathfinder London and Anton Nilsson.

Nilsson is 100 years old and the only survivor from the working-class struggles in the beginning of the century in Sweden. He also served as a pilot in the Soviet Union's Red Army in the early 1920s. As he left the meeting he remarked, "I've waited for 20 years to hear the voice of Cuba in Sweden. Don't let me wait another 10 for the next time."

The Pathfinder table sold more than \$300 worth of literature, including 13 copies of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution

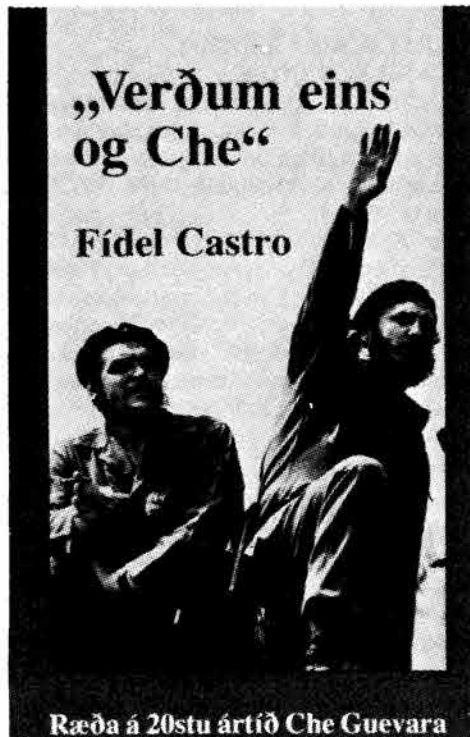
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„Verðum eins og Che“

Fidel Castro

Ræða á 20stu ártíð Che Guevara



"Det vi gör idag är den bästa hyllningen till Che"

Tal av Fidel Castro 8 oktober 1987

We Will Be Like Che, left, is the first full-length speech by Castro to appear in Icelandic. The same speech, given to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Che Guevara's death, has also been printed in Swedish, titled *What We Do Today Is the Best Homage We Can Pay to Che*. Seventy-three copies were sold at May Day celebrations in three cities in Sweden.

Farrell Dobbs' testimony at trial of lawsuit against U.S. government police operations

Introduction

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was the first witness in the 1981 trial of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and disruption of the socialists.

Reprinted on the next four pages is a slightly edited version of excerpts of the direct examination of Dobbs, which took place on April 2. Questioning him was Margaret Winter, lead counsel for the plaintiffs during the trial. Edward Williams, an assistant U.S. attorney, headed the government's defense at the trial. The testimony below was taken from the official court record. It was first printed in the April 17, 1981, *Militant*.

The litigation was filed in 1973 and lasted for 15 years. The government threw in the towel last March. Throughout the trial the government claimed that the "domestic contra operation," as the *Nation* magazine so aptly called it, against the SWP and YSA was justified because of the political ideas and activities of the socialists.

In his August 1986 ruling on the case, federal Judge Thomas Griesa pointed out that despite the FBI's massive surveillance of the socialists for decades, the defendants were not able to come up with one shred of evidence of any illegal activity by either socialist organization or their members to justify the massive violations of their rights.

The government's case boiled down to the alleged constitutional right of the president, in the name of "national security," to carry out illegal investigations of those he labeled "subversives" — whether they broke any laws or not.

The socialists' approach to the trial was to take this claim head on. Starting with Dobbs, they tried to get before the judge the most thorough exposition possible of their ideas and activities. Thus, when the court ruled that the government's entire campaign against the SWP and YSA was unconstitutional and illegal and ordered the government to pay them damages, the decision rested on a firm foundation.

And if the government has no right to disrupt, harass, and spy on communists — who the government has traditionally gotten away with treating as guilty until proven innocent — the protections of the judge's decisions are doubly strong for every other political activist.

This is the last special 20-page issue of the *Militant* in which we have reprinted previous coverage telling the story of this important victory.

Farrell Dobbs

Judge Thomas Griesa. First witness.
Margaret Winter. Mr. Farrell Dobbs.
[Witness is sworn in.]

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Also available from Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia or Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Dobbs?

Answer. I live in Berkeley, California.

Q. How old are you?

A. 73.

Q. Are you a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever run for public office?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you please state in chronological order the offices you have run for with the dates?

A. I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City in 1945. I was the party's candidate for governor of New York State in 1947.

I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States four times: in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960.

Q. Have you ever held any national posts in the Socialist Workers Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you please list them chronologically?

A. From 1940 to the fall of 1943 I was the party's National Labor Secretary. From very early 1949 to around mid-1953, I was National Chairman of the party. From 1953 until 1972, I was the National Secretary of the party.

Q. Would you please describe what your function as National Labor Secretary of the party was?

A. I had just come to the party center here in New York to spend my full time in party activities there after several years in the trade unions. I had some reasonable degree of trade union experience. It was a time when there were quite intensive labor struggles going on in industry. The party was doing everything it could to help the workers in those struggles, and it was my function in that post to help and to give coordinating guidelines to the party members in that effort.

Q. Can you describe what your function as National Chairman of the SWP was?

A. I was a public spokesperson for the party.

Q. What was your function as National Secretary of the party?

A. The National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, traditionally from its foundation, has been that of the chief executive officer. In that capacity I was responsible for the administration of party affairs in general.

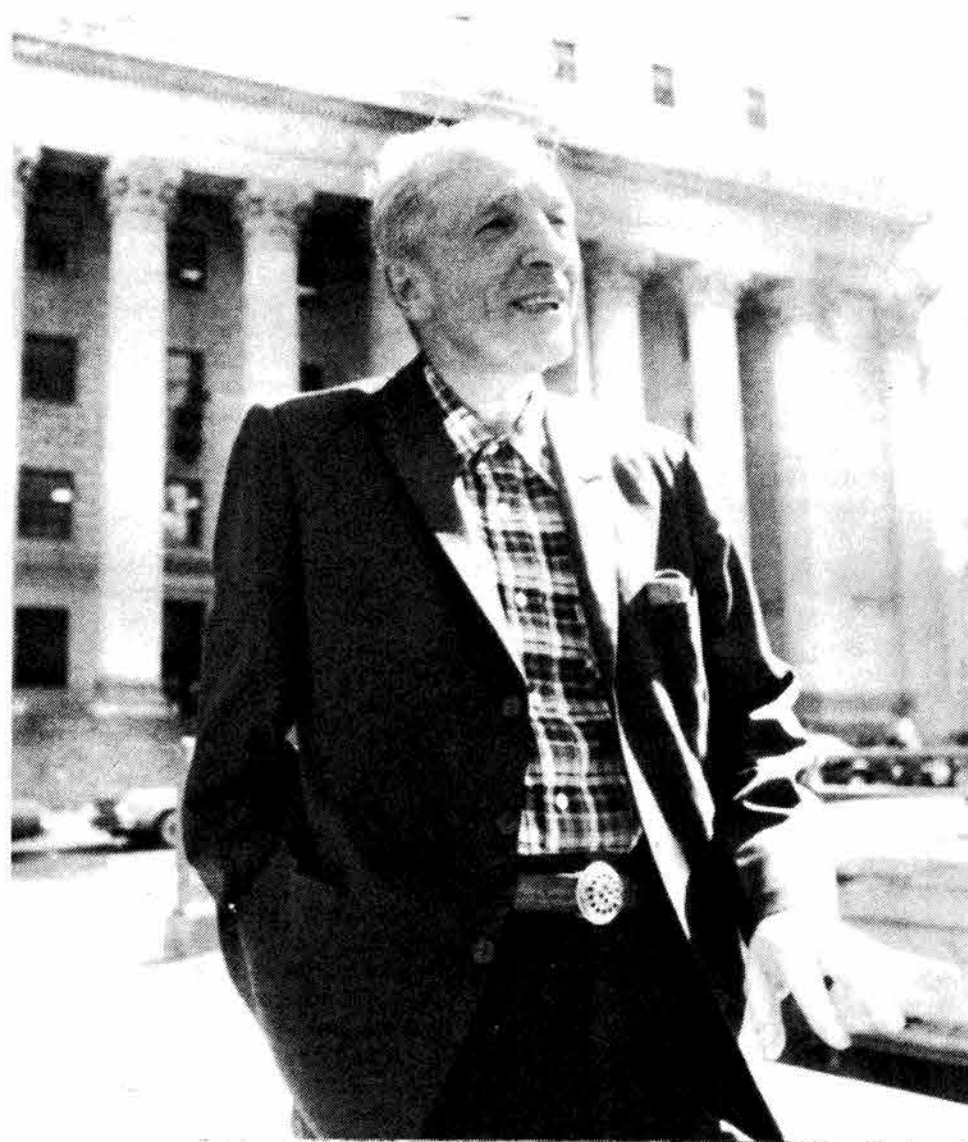
Q. Who was the National Secretary of the SWP before you?

A. James P. Cannon.

Q. During what dates was Cannon National Secretary of the SWP?

A. From the founding of the party at the beginning of 1938 to 1953.

Q. And that is when you became Na-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs outside courthouse in New York City during opening of 1981 trial.

tional Secretary?

A. Yes.

Q. What publications have you edited?

A. I was the editor of the *Militant* — from the fall of 1943 until about the end of 1948.

Q. Could you please tell us what the *Militant* is?

A. The *Militant* is a newspaper that was launched in 1928 by James P. Cannon and others who were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States at that time.

Judge Griesa. When did it start?

Dobbs. 1928, your Honor.

Winter. Is that newspaper still in existence? Is it still being published?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Are you currently involved in any organizational activity in the SWP?

A. No, I'm not. I have been retired from all organizational activity for several years.

Q. Do you have any current assignment at all in the Socialist Workers Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you please describe what that assignment is?

A. The assignment the party has asked me to assume, and I have, is to write material that will hopefully be of educational value to the party membership.

Q. What books, if any, have you had published?

A. So far, a series of four books on the history of the Teamsters movement in Minnesota and the Midwest during the 1930s and early 1940s. I'm now working on a series about the history of Marxism in the United States. The first volume of that has just been published. It covers the period from 1848 to 1917.

Founding of SWP

Q. Mr. Dobbs, when did you become a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

A. At its founding, at the beginning of 1938.

Q. Have you ever been a member of any

socialist organizations besides the SWP?

A. Yes.

Q. What organizations, socialist organizations, have you been a member of?

A. I joined the Communist League of America in March of 1934. I remained a member of that organization until right at the end of 1934; it fused with an organization known as the American Workers Party, and the fused forces formed what was called the Workers Party of the United States.

I was a member of the Workers Party of the United States until it was dissolved in 1936. The dissolution came about because the Workers Party decided to enter the Socialist Party of the United States and secured the agreement of the Socialist Party to do so.

I became a member of the Socialist Party in those circumstances and part of the left wing of that party. I remained in the Socialist Party until about the end of 1937, when the left wing was expelled and the Socialist Workers Party was founded.

Q. Could you very briefly describe what the Communist League of America was?

A. The Communist League of America was organized by James P. Cannon and others who were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. Its organizers were members of the Communist Party who had supported the views presented by Leon Trotsky in the controversy in the Soviet Union and the Third International between Joseph Stalin and Trotsky over basic questions of policy.

Those who were expelled agreed with Trotsky's views — that the Stalin regime in Russia and the political aides of Stalin in the Communist parties throughout the world were derailing the Communist movement from a Marxist course. When they announced their agreement with Trotsky, they were expelled from the party.

The aim of the Communist League in the initial stages of its development in those circumstances was to try to convince the Communist Party that it should correct its

Continued on next page

Dobbs' testimony at trial against U.S. gov't

Continued from previous page

self and return to a Marxist course.

Judge Griesa: Did you say they supported the views of Trotsky over Lenin?

Dobbs: Over Stalin.

Griesa: You didn't mention Lenin?

A: No.

Griesa: I was taking notes and didn't hear.

What was the difference between the teachings of Trotsky and the policies of Stalin?

A: Basically, the differences can be summed up briefly as follows, in my judgment:

Stalin had advanced the theory of socialism in one country; that is, that the Soviet Union would concentrate on trying to continue with the building of a socialist society in Russia and that the struggles to establish socialism in other countries would be subordinated to that.

Trotsky took the view that socialism could not be defended in the Soviet Union. The socialist property forms, or the progressive property forms, that were created after the Russian revolution that laid the foundations for building toward a socialist society could not be defended in one country alone.

Ultimately, either the change would have to be worldwide, or the capitalistic forces elsewhere in the world would be able to crush the Soviet Union and restore the capitalist property forms that had been abolished.

The founders of the Communist League of America agreed with that view as presented by Trotsky.

Winter: Why did you join the Communist League, Mr. Dobbs?

A: I was working in a coal yard in Minneapolis. Perhaps I should explain:

In 1934, and in the wintertime, Minneapolis is a quite frigid area. The principal means of heat for homes and commercial establishments at that time was coal. There was an industry called the fuel distributing industry that received coal in box cars and gondola cars, and it was delivered to the customers. I worked in that industry.

Those of us employed in the industry had organized ourselves into a union and we were fighting to establish recognition of the union by the employers — to compel the employers to negotiate with us and to sign with the union a contract that would improve our wages and conditions at work.

We were compelled to go on strike before we were able to get any significant response from the employers. I noticed in the course of that strike that there were certain individuals that were outstanding in their capacity to understand what the fight was all about, and how to help the workers in the fight.

Upon inquiry, I found out they were members of the Communist League of America. I was young, green politically, but I felt if within the Communist League of America they learned to do things like that, that is what I wanted to be, so I joined.

Q: Did the Communist League participate in any international political organi-

zation at the time you joined?

A: Yes, the Communist League was a participant in what was called, if memory serves me right, the International Left Opposition.

Q: Can you describe briefly what the International Left Opposition was?

A: The Left Opposition was a formation that performed the function of coordinating the efforts of Trotskyists in various countries.

I should perhaps say, I now use the term "Trotskyists" as an abbreviation for the definition of the political tendency in light of the description I gave earlier of the differences between Trotsky and Stalin. [The Left Opposition was formed] to facilitate the collective thinking of the Trotskyists in all countries in promoting the objectives that I described of trying to bring the Communist movement of the world back to a Marxist axis.

Q: Did the program and policies of the Socialist Workers Party when it was founded differ from those of the predecessors you described?

A: Not in the most fundamental objective, and that is to build a revolutionary party in this country on the basis of a Marxist program.

Q: When the SWP was founded in 1938, did it have a relationship to any international political organization?

A: At the time of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party at the beginning of 1938, it proceeded as a participant in what had started as the International Left Opposition back in 1928, and had evolved by this time into a committee — into a formation for the Fourth International.

During 1938, some months after the Socialist Workers Party was founded, the Fourth International was founded. The Socialist Workers Party became one of the founding sections of the organization.

Judge Griesa: The Fourth International is in contrast to the Third International?

A: Yes, that is correct.

Griesa: What is the Third International?

A: The Third International was launched in 1919, after the Russian Revolution.

Would it help you, sir, if I sort of gave you a little sketch?

Griesa: I just want to know, the Third International, did that become Stalinist?

A: It did.

Griesa: That is why there was a Fourth International, to follow the teachings of Trotsky. Is that right?

A: Yes.

Winter: Is the SWP based on any particular political doctrines?

Dobbs: Yes, yes. We are based on the fundamental doctrines of Marxism — referred to as scientific socialism.

Marxist theory

Q: Can you briefly describe what those doctrines are?

A: That is a large question but I'll try very hard to do it very briefly. Just the bare bones fundamentals is what I'll try very briefly to outline.

The Marxist outlook is based on recognition of the fact that throughout class society, from the days of slavery in olden times through the stage of feudal society to the contemporary capitalist system, that the motive force of history has been a struggle between the exploiting classes on one side and the exploited classes on the other — between the oppressors on one side and the oppressed on the other.

In capitalist society, this struggle in the scientific socialistic view has its roots in the capitalist system of property relations. Capitalists hold the social means of production as private property that they seek to use to advance their own private interests at the expense of the general social welfare.

Commodities produced under the capitalist system are produced through the employment of wage labor by the capitalists. The value of the commodities produced represents the socially necessary

labor that is congealed in the produced commodity.

A contest arises over the division between the capitalists on the one side and the workers on the other over this value. The capitalists — I am not speaking of individuals, but in general terms as a class — try to hold down the workers' share of the value produced to only that which is necessary for the subsistence of the working class and for its procreation. To the extent the capitalist succeeds he is able to appropriate more of the value for the amassing of capital through which he can expand his holdings and then amass more capital. It becomes an endless spiral.

The working class, on the other hand, is not content merely to subsist and to procreate. The working class aspires to advance toward an ever-improved state of life. This gives rise to an unending clash between the capitalist and the working class in contemporary society in this country. I'll just say in passing you have an example in the fact that the coal miners are on strike today.

The Marxist view is that the contradictions that lead to this condition are inherent in the capitalist form of property relations. The needs and the interests of the working class cannot therefore be solved under the capitalist system. It is necessary to abolish private property in the social means of production.

That doesn't mean somebody has two shirts, you take the second one. I am talking about the social means of production — its mines, mills, factories, railroads and so on — to have them owned and operated by the people as a collectivity. Perhaps I could sum it up by quoting as best I can from memory a passage at the conclusion of the *Communist Manifesto* in which it speaks of a social structure developing that is an association of producers in which the well-being of each is the condition for the well-being of all.

Q: What does the SWP mean when it uses the word "revolution"?

A: We use the term "revolution" in the sense that—

Edward G. Williams: Objection, your Honor. I would ask that the witness respond to the question of what he means, rather than the SWP.

Judge Griesa: That was the question.

Williams: The question, your Honor,

was what does the SWP mean?

Griesa: Well, the objection is overruled.

Dobbs: In speaking of revolution, the term is used in the context that it is used generally in political science, whether it is socialist political science or capitalist political science. A revolution in political terminology relates only to a fundamental transformation in basic processes.

For example, within the historic era of capitalism, a tremendous leap took place in the forms of production through what was called the Industrial Revolution that began in England back in the 18th century. Basically, machine production was introduced after the invention of the engine, and it permitted an increasingly accelerating transformation from production by hand and with manual tools and so on to the machine form of production. That opened up whole new vistas for both qualitative and quantitative advancement in industrial output. That is why it was called a revolution.

When we speak of a revolution in the political sense, that is what we mean. A qualitative transformation from one basic form of social structure, capitalism, to a different basic form of social structure that we call socialism.

Winter: Does the SWP have any view on whether that revolution you have just referred to can be brought about by terrorism?

Dobbs: Yes.

Q: And what is that view?

A: It is the view of the Socialist Workers Party that terrorism is the antithesis of what is required to bring about a fundamental social transformation.

Terrorism implies that self-appointed individuals can substitute themselves for the great mass of the people — and by acts of terror bring about a change while the mass stands around as onlookers, as though they were merely interested onlookers — watching something like a Super Bowl game. A concept of that nature is directly contradictory to what is needed — that is the cumulative process of the education and organization of the working class as a class, to act as a class in its own behalf. That is the only way that a social transformation can be brought about.

In addition to that, acts of terrorism serve as a pretext for the ruling class to impose restrictions on the democratic rights of the working people in building their own

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Dobbs edited Militant from fall of 1943 through 1948

Militant

spying

organizations and in carrying out their policies.

Q. Has the Socialist Workers Party's view on this matter ever differed from what you have just described?

A. No.

Q. Does the SWP have any view on whether the revolution that you talked about a few minutes ago must be accompanied by violence?

A. Yes.

Q. What is this view?

A. Our view is this: It would be best and we would welcome the carrying through of the fundamental changes in a peaceful and orderly manner in keeping with the operation of the democratic principle of majority rule.

We take into account, however, in speaking on this subject, that historically there has been a tendency on the part of privileged ruling classes — from slave society through feudal society to contemporary times — for the privileged class that has private ownership of the means of production to resist by force and violence the attempt of a majority of the population to bring about a social change in which their special privileges would be stripped from them.

And therefore, it follows, as we see it, that while first a majority must be convinced that there is a need to bring about a fundamental social change, there is always the possibility that the majority will then have to defend its decision against —

Judge Griesa. The majority must defend its decision, you say?

Dobbs: That the majority may have to defend and uphold its decision against an attempt by a privileged ruling-class minority to subvert the majority will through force and violence.

To give an example of what I mean, the first one that comes to mind is the case of Spain in the mid-1930s. The constitutionally elected government had been elected on a platform that contemplated quite a number of social reforms. A fascist movement representing the vested interests in Spain that were led by Franco launched a civil war against the constitutionally elected government, overthrew that government, and subverted the will of the majority.

It is in this vein that I speak.

Winter. To your knowledge, has the SWP ever privately adhered to views on the subject of terrorism other than what you have been testifying to?

Dobbs: No, no, not at all.

Q. Mr. Dobbs, are there any particular political writings that the SWP gives special weight to?

A. Yes.

Q. And what writings are those?

A. Central to that would be the writings of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky.

Q. Are the writings of Marx, Engels, Trotsky, or Lenin binding on the SWP?

A. Not at all.

Q. Are any other writings binding on the SWP?

A. Nothing is binding upon the SWP except the resolutions and decisions that are adopted by the Socialist Workers Party itself.

Organization of SWP

Q. Can you explain or describe the processes by which resolutions and other decisions are arrived at by the SWP?

A. I will try very briefly to give the essence of the central process.

The highest authority in the Socialist Workers Party is its national convention. National conventions are prepared and carried out with respect to policy-making matters as follows:

A pre-convention discussion period is set, which is usually at least three months, sometimes a little longer, depending on the circumstances. At the outset of the discussion period, resolutions are prepared setting forth the general line on policy questions that are to be decided by the convention. Some of these resolutions will be presented by the leadership of the party. There may be other resolutions by someone within the party other than the leadership.

During the discussion period, all members of the party are free to fully speak their minds on whatever question they choose. The discussion will tend to center on any debates that may arise over conflicting views on one or another policy question.

On the eve of the convention, the branches of the party hold meetings at which they elect delegates to the convention. If there have been majority and minority views developed over any question, care will be taken to see that the minority view has proportional representation in the convention delegation commensurate with its strength in the branch membership.

When the delegates arrive at the convention, reports are given on the resolutions presented to the body for consideration. Further oral discussion then takes place at the convention itself by the assembled delegates. At the end of the discussion a vote is taken. The decision that is made by a majority of the convention delegates is the decision that becomes binding upon the entire party.

I might add that this procedure is set forth in the party's constitution and in a resolution adopted by the party on its organizational character. . . .

Q. Mr. Dobbs, do the rules governing the Socialist Workers Party require the members to accept the ideas embodied in the convention's decisions?

A. No, they are not required to accept the ideas. The members are required to abide by the decisions. But the party does not demand that anyone change their mind about their own thinking.

As a matter of fact, I submit, you could never build a revolutionary party except with people who are capable of thinking for themselves. All that is involved is a re-

quirement that everybody, no matter what they think, abide by that decision.

FBI attacks on Teamsters

Q. Did there ever come a time after you became a member of the SWP that you had any contact with the FBI?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time period was that?

A. In the 1938-1939 period.

Q. Where were you living?

A. Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1938 and until the spring of 1939 when I moved to Omaha, Nebraska.

Q. What was your employment?

A. In 1938 and in the first part of 1939, I was the secretary-treasurer of General Drivers Local 544 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

In the spring of 1939, I was appointed by Daniel Tobin, the general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to his staff of general organizers. After being appointed to that post at his request, I moved to Omaha, Nebraska.

Q. What were your responsibilities in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at that time?

A. My main responsibility was that of central leader in the organization of over-the-road truck drivers in the upper Mississippi Valley in the Midwest.

Q. What were "over-the-road drivers"?

A. Over-the-road drivers are truck drivers who operate the trucks that transport cargo on the highways between cities, within state, and between cities and separate states.

Q. What was the scope of this organizing campaign that you were heading up?

A. It embraced an area of 11 states. In the 1938-39 period we brought around a quarter of a million new members into the Teamsters union through this campaign.

Q. Do you know whether your membership in the SWP was publicly known at this time?

A. Yes, it was known by everyone from General President Tobin on down, as was the role of the SWP members in helping to build the Teamsters union since 1934.

Q. There were other members besides yourself in the Teamsters?

A. Yes.

Q. Did there come a time when SWP Teamsters had any encounters with the

FBI?

A. Yes, there did.

Q. Will you briefly describe the nature of that encounter?

A. In the latter part of 1940 the FBI began to use informers to stir up an opposition in the union, against the elected leadership of the union.

Q. Did that leadership include members of the SWP?

A. It did.

Q. How did you know that the FBI used informers?

A. We became aware of this in testimony that was presented at a trial that took place in the fall of 1941.

Q. Do you have any idea of how these informers were used against you?

A. Yes. As it came out in the trial, the informers and one of two FBI agents met with opposition groups in the union and sought to stir up the development of a slander campaign against the elected leadership of the union.

Q. What do you mean by slander?

A. They tried to depict us as revolutionary conspirators who were working against the good and the welfare of the union membership.

Q. Is there anything else, any other contact of SWP leaders and members of the Teamsters with the FBI?

A. Yes. It stemmed from a development that took place in the early summer of 1941. I think it was June.

Q. What was the incident?

A. The FBI conducted raids on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in the city of Minneapolis and in the city of St. Paul.

Q. How did you find out about this?

A. I was in Minneapolis at the time and, of course, being a member of the party I learned about this very quickly. Everybody in town very quickly knew this because they brought newspaper reporters with them. The next issue of the paper after the raid had big scare headlines about the raid with an inflection that tended to throw onus on the SWP members who were leaders in the Teamsters union.

Q. Can you briefly describe what the FBI did during the raid?

A. They seized literature that was on display for public sale in our Minneapolis headquarters. They also took a red flag that

Continued on next page



Minneapolis, December 1943. Fifteen leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters union surrender to U.S. marshalls to begin serving prison terms. (Dobbs is sixth from left, front row.) They were found guilty on eve of U.S. entry into World War II of "advocating overthrow of U.S. government." These were first convictions under thought-control Smith Act. SWP leaders were jailed because of their outspoken opposition to U.S. government's war aims and their militant leadership of Minneapolis Teamsters union.

Continued from previous page

was standing against the wall and took a picture of Leon Trotsky that was hanging on the wall.

Q. What kind of literature was seized?

A. Everything from a few copies of the *Communist Manifesto* that was written in 1848 on display for sale, to the latest literature of the Socialist Workers Party.

Smith Act trial

Q. Did this raid result in any legal proceedings against you?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. What was that?

A. I was indicted by a federal grand jury the following month.

Q. Do you know if anyone was indicted with you?

A. Yes, a total of 29 were indicted. I could perhaps best describe it by saying it included the whole top leadership of the Teamsters union, Local 544, and the top leadership of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q. Do you recall generally what the indictment charged you with?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you briefly describe the nature of the charges?

A. We were charged under two separate statutes. As I understand it, one statute had been put on the books during the Civil War. It was aimed at the slave owners who were then in rebellion against the Union. Under that statute we were indicted on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence at the very first opportunity we had.

We were also charged with fomenting insubordination in the armed forces.

The second statute was the Smith Act. Under that, we were charged with advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Q. To your knowledge, had the SWP ever incited or encouraged or conspired to encourage insubordination in the armed forces?

A. No, we never did.

Q. In the time period we are talking about, had the SWP made any public policy statements relating to the impending war?

A. Yes. Both the SWP and the leadership of Local 544 had spoken out on the war question. Our position was this: that the war that was going on was a war between imperialist ruling classes, dominating capitalistic countries; and that the purpose of the war was a fight for the redivision of spheres of influence in the world for the purposes of finding markets for products, sources of raw materials, areas for capital investment; and that this war was

not in the interest of the working class of the United States; and that we politically opposed the war for those reasons.

Q. Did any of the 29 SWP and Teamster leaders who were indicted go to trial?

A. One of those indicted committed suicide after the indictments were handed down and before the trial began. The remaining 28 did go to trial.

Q. Were any of the 28 convicted on any of the charges?

A. Yes, 18 were convicted. Ten were found not guilty on all counts. Eighteen were convicted on one count.

Q. What count were they found guilty on?

A. The Smith Act count only.

All the 28 were found not guilty on the count of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence at our first opportunity and the count of fomenting insubordination in the armed forces. The 18 were convicted only on the charge of advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence under the Smith Act.

Q. Were you among the 18?

A. I was.

Q. Did any of the 18 go to jail?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to jail?

A. I was one of them.

Q. How long a term did you serve?

A. I served a 16-month term less time off for good behavior.

Q. To your knowledge, did the SWP change any of its views as a result of the Smith Act conviction?

A. No.

Q. Did the SWP change any of its activities as a result of the Smith Act convictions?

A. No.

Q. After the convictions, did you or the SWP modify in public any of the positions that you had previously been stating?

A. No, none of the basic positions.

Q. Are the views you advocate today the same views you were convicted of advocating in 1941?

A. Yes, they are.

Q. Have you ever been indicted again?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been arrested since 1941?

A. No.

* * *

Meeting with Trotsky

Q. Mr. Dobbs, did you ever meet with Leon Trotsky?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. When was that?

A. Twice in the year 1940.

Q. Where were you when you met with Trotsky?

A. I visited him in Mexico City where he was residing. It was a suburb of Mexico City called Coyoacan.

Q. What were the purposes of your visits with Trotsky?

A. The purposes were different.

The first visit took place in the very early winter of 1940. I was just leaving the Teamsters union. I had resigned from my post as general organizer for the international union at the end of 1939 and was going to go to New York to assume the post of National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The party thought it would be useful for me as a young trade union leader who had not yet had an opportunity to obtain an extensive political education to talk with Trotsky. I leaped at the opportunity.

In the visit in 1940 we had general conversations. They were of an educational character. Perhaps I can give on a thumbnail the essence of what the conversations were by pointing out that he talked with me about the manner in which Stalin had steered the Communist International away from the policies of Marx and Lenin and why it was necessary for the movements that agreed with him to fight to restore those policies in the working-class movement. And in that connection, he sought to give me a deeper understanding of the fundamental motion of social forces in history.

He was very perspicacious about what I needed. He taught me something that I generalized later in my own mind as a recognition that it is necessary when one is thinking politically in social terms, not to be provincial in contemporary times but to be a citizen of the world. . . .

He talked about the progressive main stages of the evolution of social organization in history — the slave stage, the feudal stage, the capitalistic stage, and so on — and how each of these had at their inception had progressive features. They served within certain limits to advance humanity's striving to improve its technology so that humanity can derive a better living out of the natural resources of the earth. But as progress was made, each successive system had come to serve as a barrier to further advance.

In the conversation I said to him that I can understand that except for one thing. I can't conceive how there could be anything progressive about the slavery system.

He called to my attention that prior to the advent of the slave system, which essentially marked a leap in the development of agricultural production, that it had been the habit of warring tribes to eat their captives. And he said, "It is, after all, infinitely more progressive to be a slave in the field than it is to be a roast on the dinner table."

I began to see then what he meant about the importance of understanding what conditions were like at each stage and to understand and perceive what humanity was striving for at each stage in this very long evolution across the pages of history.

Q. Did your second visit with Trotsky have a purpose any different?

A. The purpose of the second visit to Trotsky was to try to see to his defense. There had been a long campaign against Trotsky by Stalin that, by this time, had developed to the point where Stalin was trying to carry through the assassination of Trotsky.

In May of 1940, a body of Stalinist agents conducted an armed raid on Trotsky's residence in Coyoacan with the intent of murdering him. One of Trotsky's guards was kidnapped in the raid. His body was later found in a shallow grave in another part of the area.

They broke in the door to the bedroom where Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, were sleeping and blasted his bed with machine-gun fire. But Natalia had been quick-minded enough to grab Trotsky and roll him over on the floor on the other side of the bed, and they missed him. Just by a miracle he did not get hit.

Immediately after this happened, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Joseph Hansen, and myself went to Mexico City as representatives of our party to see what could be done to strengthen Trotsky's defenses. With the collaboration of engineers in the Mexican army, who were provided to us by Presi-

dent Cárdenas, we improved the fortification around the hacienda.

It didn't work because, as is commonly known, an agent was used to slip in and assassinate Trotsky later. But this was the central purpose of that visit.

Subversive organization

Q. Mr. Dobbs, have you ever counseled SWP members to deny being members of a subversive organization?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. And why have you done that?

A. Because we are not a subversive organization.

Q. Has the SWP ever taken a position on what course should be followed by SWP members if there were a threat of war between the United States and the Soviet Union?

A. Yes. As I recall, that question became a matter of some moment in the early part of the 1950s. The Socialist Workers Party stated its view that the aim of an attack by the United States or any other imperialist power, as had been the aim of the attack made on the Soviet Union by Hitler during the Second World War, would be to abolish the progressive property relations that had been established after capitalism was abolished in Russia through the October 1917 revolution and its immediate aftermath, and to restore capitalist property relations. That would be a retrogressive step that would not be in the interests of the working class of the United States or Russia or of any other country and, therefore, we would politically oppose any such attack on the Soviet Union.

Q. Mr. Dobbs, does the SWP have any views on who will start the revolution in the United States?

A. Oh, yes. Yes, we do.

Q. Could you explain what those views are?

A. Only when a majority of the population, headed by the working class, decides that it is necessary to make a revolutionary change in the social system of this country will a struggle start to bring about such a change.

Q. Is it your testimony, then, that this revolution will not be started by a minority?

A. No. A minority cannot carry through a revolution. We firmly believe, on the basis of the whole record of history, that the only way a fundamental social change can be brought about is by the action of a majority of the population. A minority cannot bring about a fundamental social change.

Q. Has the SWP ever, to your knowledge, taken the position that the SWP will start the revolution?

A. No, we have not. We advocate the goals that we think such a revolutionary change should strive toward. We do everything we can to educate people of the need to move in that direction. But neither the Socialist Workers Party nor any other party is going to start a revolution. Neither the Socialist Workers Party nor any other party is going to impose itself upon the working class as the leaders of the revolution.

Those things will be decided by the working class itself, and by nobody else.

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Rallies celebrate victory in rights case

Los Angeles

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — The Letter Carriers union hall was the site of a rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund here April 19 to celebrate the recent victory in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against FBI spying.

"We are elated by this decision," said Donald Barnett, president of Branch 24 of the Letter Carriers, in welcoming the more than 90 people who had turned out for the event. He introduced Ken Evenhuis, a member of the Letter Carriers' local who had testified at the trial of the suit in 1981.

Evenhuis announced this was the 20th anniversary of the FBI's attempt to get him fired from his post office job for his political views and membership in the Socialist Workers Party. In a fight backed by his union locally and nationally, Evenhuis won the right to keep his job in a court ruling that he termed a "harbinger of the decision in the case we're celebrating tonight."

Humberto Camacho, general vice-president of the United Electrical Workers, described the government witch-hunt that reduced his union to a fraction of its original size in the early 1950s. Referring to the recent victory, Camacho said, "What makes us happy is all the sacrifices of workers are beginning to pay off."

Julie Mungai, a Kenyan and one of eight Los Angeles residents being threatened with deportation because of their support for the rights of Palestinians, told how an FBI agent had rented an apartment next door to her and her husband for 10 months in an unsuccessful attempt to frame the defendants as Palestinian terrorists. The deportation proceedings against them are on appeal after being thrown out by a local court.

"The government has still produced no evidence," Mungai said. "It hides behind a cloak of 'national security.'"

Mungai called attention to the recent closing of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., and attempts to close the Palestine Liberation Organization Observer Mission to the United Nations.

"The SWP and YSA stuck with this and won a victory for our entire movement," said Don White, a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. CISPES is filing suit against a Dallas bank and the FBI, White said. FBI files obtained by CISPES revealed the bank had turned over the organization's records to the FBI. The files also exposed FBI surveillance of Mark Curtis, a CISPES activist now fighting a cop frame-up in Des Moines, Iowa. "We are proud of his role," White said, "and salute him for his long dedication to the people of El Salvador."

José Alvarado, a meatcutter like Mark Curtis, reported on the Curtis case.

Pat Stanyo, a member of the board of directors of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, welcomed the victory in the suit against the federal political police, and recounted her union's battle against red-baiting and blacklisting.

Cathy Dreyfuss, president-elect of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, gave examples of FBI harassment that have come to light as the result of a NLG suit currently before the courts.

The FBI "violated attorney-client privilege by stealing files relating to litigation" involving the FBI, Dreyfuss said.

SWP National Committee member Olga Rodríguez, who had also testified in the suit trial, called the government's withdrawal of its appeal of the ruling "a victory for all who are fighting for their rights — including paperworkers, meatcutters, immigrants, participants in work brigades to Nicaragua, and Black and Chicano victims of police round-ups now going on in Los Angeles."

Austin, Minn.

BY DEAN DENTON

AUSTIN, Minn. — "This is a victory for everyone because it protects everyone's right to their ideas," said Nan Bailey at an April 23 victory rally here sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Bailey is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Des Moines, Iowa.

Billy Curmano, an artist and member of

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), participated in a tour to Nicaragua of Vietnam veterans opposed to U.S. aid to the contras. Curmano related how FBI agents have harassed the VVAW.

Dale Chidester, member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 9, said, "The victory of the Political Rights Defense Fund is just one victory in a long battle. Everyone should remember when they leave here tonight that we have democratic rights because we won them."

Chidester is one of eight meat-packers who recently exercised their transfer rights to come to the Hormel plant in Austin after Hormel closed its Ottumwa, Iowa, facilities.

Chidester said he was one of many Ottumwa workers who honored the pickets set up by UFCW Local P-9 during its strike at Hormel's Austin plant in 1985-86.

Kate Kaku, representing the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, spoke about the frame-up of her husband, Mark Curtis.

She explained how the frame-up actually began several years ago in Birmingham, Alabama, where Curtis was a member of the United Auto Workers and was playing a leading role in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Both organizations were targets of FBI spying and disruption schemes.

Curtis' FBI file reveals how he personally was identified by the cop agency as a "leader" — someone to gather personal information on that could be used to concoct a frame-up when the opportunity arose. The purpose of the attack is to isolate and silence Curtis.

Kaku said a broad political defense is needed to defeat this frame-up.

Phil Norris, who chaired the meeting, described a similar frame-up that occurred in Austin in 1935.

Frank Ellis was a leader of the 1934 strike at the Hormel plant that resulted in the recognition of the union there. Ellis was later accused of abducting two young women and was subsequently convicted on statutory rape charges. He spent a year in prison before the frame-up was exposed and he was released.

More than \$200 was raised in a collection at the meeting for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Walt King, a founding member of United Auto Workers Local 2125 and a Vietnam veteran, displayed a copy of the current issue of *Solidarity*, the auto union publication. It documents FBI spying on union members. "I'm irritated now because I find the FBI spied on my church; they spied on my union; and they spied on me," said King.

King read extracts from the FBI file of Craig Honts, a UAW member at the same plant King works at who is a supporter of the *Militant*. The file revealed that the FBI took detailed notes on Honts' political activity.

Miami

BY NANCY COLE

MIAMI — A broad array of political activists gathered here April 8 to celebrate the recent victory against government spying and to place it in the context of ongoing struggles at home and around the world.

Socialist Workers Party leader Thabo Ntweng outlined the history of the successful 15-year fight against the FBI by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

American Friends Service Committee representative Chaplain Morrison explained that it took the Vietnam War for many to recognize that the government engages in immoral and illegal activity. Then Watergate "showed us that it was not only abroad but at home as well, and it wasn't just Nixon, but it went back to Johnson and earlier. The SWP's lawsuit helped us to document this," he said. "This was a successful effort to show people just how far the government had gone."

Morrison continued, "In the efforts the SWP makes to organize politically and to try to work for the ends as they see them, the SWP provides a protection for the rights of everyone in society."

Recently returned from a visit to his homeland in the West Bank, Sharabil Amos described the repression faced by Palestinian youth. "It's just enough to have a student



Militant/David McDonald
Héctor Marroquín spoke at rally in Omaha, Nebraska. Mexican-born socialist recently won temporary residence card under government's amnesty program.

ID card and you are a suspect," he explained.

"A new leadership has been born in the West Bank," he concluded. "Students, workers, and farmers are now leading the fight. Before we said, 'Give us some land.' But because of the new struggle, we again have our dream of a secular state for Jews, Muslims, and Christians."

Betty Tsang, a union steward in the American Postal Workers Union here, explained how she has used the SWP decision in arguing union grievances, such as those against drug busts. And Al Edden, vice-president of the Florida AFL-CIO and business agent of Transportation Workers Union Local 291, detailed the ongoing attack on his membership through a scheme to privatize the public mass transit system. Haitian activist Lavarice Gaudin also spoke.

Vonnell Tillman told of the racist terror visited on her family by Miami police. In December 1986, a cop shot her son Steven point-blank as he was stopped at a red light.

It was the same cop who had earlier threatened to shoot another of her sons. The shooting left Steven paralyzed from the neck down.

No charges have been brought against this attempted murderer. "I don't think there is justice," Tillman concluded.

Omaha, Neb.

BY DIANE SHUR

OMAHA, Nebraska — A public meeting here celebrated victories for democratic rights, and demanded justice for Mark Curtis, an Iowa activist framed up and beaten by Des Moines cops.

Opening the April 16 rally, Socialist Workers Party leader Joe Swanson told the 60 participants about the government's March 17 decision not to appeal a federal court ruling against FBI spying.

"Not only are the SWP and YSA victors," said Swanson. "Every union activist, every opponent of U.S. wars, every foe of racist violence is a victor with the success of this lawsuit."

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born leader of the SWP who recently won a temporary residence card under the government's amnesty program, also spoke.

Rita Melgares discussed the government's 15-year effort to frame up Chicano rights activist Kiko Martínez. A federal court recently dismissed the last of the charges against Martínez, but the government has moved to appeal the decision.

Milton Perez called for support to 15 Puerto Rican independence supporters who face trial in Hartford, Connecticut, on trumped-up charges.

Mark Curtis was one of the featured speakers. "I am not going to take this," Curtis said. "I am going to fight it with the help of people like yourselves."

Workers in Omaha have been circulating petitions on the job and at union meetings

demanding justice for Curtis. A large number of petitions were presented to him at the meeting.

"I stand by and with you, Mark Curtis," said Dorothy Walker, a Black woman who was fired after filing an anti-discrimination suit against her employer, Vickers Co. With the help of her union, the Allied Industrial Workers, she got her job back.

John Taylor of the Nebraska Civil Liberties Union also spoke.

A message of solidarity was read from David Rice, who was railroaded to prison 18 years ago for his role in the fight for Black rights. Other messages came from Witness for Peace member Marylyn Felion, recently arrested by the FBI on charges stemming from an antiwar protest; Merle Hansen of the North American Farm Alliance; and John Bohlman of the United Transportation Union.

St. Louis

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

ST. LOUIS — "This ruling will pave the way for immigrants like me to fight for social justice in our home countries while living here," said Harold Compere of Concerned Haitians and Friends.

Compere was speaking at an April 16 rally here to celebrate the victory in the SWP and YSA suit against the FBI.

Joining the rally was Maura Nagel from the Latin American Solidarity Committee, the local affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Nagel thanked the socialists for seeing the suit through to the finish.

She read a message from Bob Hearst, Midwest regional director of CISPES, who could not be present due to a car accident. "The issues raised in the SWP suit and the revelations around FBI spying on CISPES," Hearst wrote, "represent an aspect of the U.S. Central American policy. Here, and there, the goal is to intimidate, harass, and remove movements against U.S. domination."

Speaking in defense of Héctor Marroquín was Eldora Spiegelberg, a longtime activist in the fight for social justice in the St. Louis area. She hailed Marroquín's recent immigration amnesty victory and encouraged the audience to continue to support Marroquín's case until he won permanent residence.

Stu Singer from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, Iowa, said the Curtis case "represents the depth the government will sink to target those struggling against its policy."

John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, thanked everyone for supporting the SWP-YSA suit and encouraged them to back other fights for political rights.

Ted Braun, a Cuba solidarity activist, condemned Washington's travel ban against Cuba as both an act of aggression against the Cuban people and a violation of the rights of people in this country.

Fight against job discrimination in north of Ireland

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

BELFAST, Ireland — "Obair is an Irish word meaning work. It is the name we chose for the Campaign for Employment in West Belfast that is about to be launched," explained campaign spokesperson Fergus O'Hare.

Traditionally, unemployment has been massive in Catholic, nationalist areas of the British-ruled north of Ireland. West Belfast, a nationalist area of this city of 300,000, is one of the most notorious, with unemployment of up to 80 or 90 percent in parts.

"Generations of people in West Belfast have grown up expecting unemployment as a norm," O'Hare said. "That's something we're going to try to change. People in West Belfast shouldn't be unemployed. It's an injustice against them."

"One man one job," or one person one job, as it now would be put, was one of the demands of the civil rights movement in the north of Ireland 20 years ago," O'Hare said. "But today there are more Catholics or nationalists unemployed in the north than there were in 1968-69."

British government figures claim 18 percent unemployment in the north of Ireland overall. Unemployment among Catholic men is two and a half times higher than that for Protestant men. Of women registered unemployed, Catholics suffer one and a half times higher unemployment than Protestants.

The population of the British-occupied six counties of the north of Ireland is 1.5 million, of whom more than 40 percent were born of Catholic and nationalist families.

At both the Harland and Wolff shipyard, which employs 4,000 workers, and Shorts aerospace, with 7,000 employees, only 5 percent are Catholic.

Although situated in Catholic West Belfast, Ford Autolite only employs 40 percent Catholics out of 1,000 workers, with just 9 percent of skilled workers being Catholic.

A report by New York City Comptroller Harrison Goldin quoted a 1977 investigation that "identified the personnel officer responsible for processing job applications

at Ford as a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment, a part-time militia whose disbanding the Dublin government [of the south of Ireland] has demanded because of its history of alleged sectarian harassment of Catholics."

Little change in hiring policies

The Fair Employment Agency was established by the British government in 1976 under the Fair Employment Act. A recent FEA survey revealed 85 percent of employers indicated that the act had had little or no effect on their personnel policies.

The Department of Economic Development (DED), responsible for dealing with discrimination against Catholics by employers, is also directly responsible for the massive British government subsidies paid to firms such as Shorts. In the management of the government training schemes, which the DED runs, it was found in 1985 that out of 110 senior posts, only 16 were held by those of Catholic background.

The British government has promoted a Declaration of Practice for employers, allegedly to encourage equality of job opportunity. Only those firms registered as signatories of the declaration are eligible for government contracts or grants. However, a signature is all that the 8,000 employers who have registered to date need give. There is no legal obligation to end discrimination, nor any target or timetable in which equality of employment between Catholics and Protestants is to be achieved.

McBride Principles

The British government has been particularly concerned by the widespread support that has been given to the "McBride Principles for Northern Ireland," named after their author, the late Sean McBride. McBride was an Irish nationalist who drafted the United Nations declaration of human rights and founded Amnesty International. The McBride Principles were modeled after the Sullivan Principles, which stipulate that U.S. companies that do business in South Africa cannot discriminate against Blacks in that country.

In the United States, legislation mandating U.S. companies to adopt the affirma-

lently restrained, handcuffed, and dragged Ovetz into the adjacent women's bathroom.

The police were trapped inside the bathroom for about half an hour by almost 150 demonstrators yelling "let him go" and "CIA off campus now." Terrified at the idea of dragging Ovetz through the crowd to the awaiting police cars, the cops were forced to release him.

Later the cops told the media that Ovetz had attacked a "student" and was released because the "student" had fled without filing charges.

The university is filing charges against Ovetz for physical assault, which could result in disciplinary action.

This action came only one week after two students were arrested for peacefully distributing hundreds of informational pamphlets at the University of Texas Union Ballroom entrance where a CIA recruiter was scheduled to speak.

After seven students were told by university cops and administrators that they were violating a university rule prohibiting distribution of literature in the Union Ballroom, two of them were arrested and handcuffed. One was brutally dragged out as he went limp. The students' repeated requests to see the rules in writing had been denied.

The two students, Ovetz and Andy McCauley, were charged with disruptive activity. They face possible suspensions for exercising their right to freedom of expression. They are planning on filing suit for unjustified arrest, and Ovetz, whose back was hurt in the arrest, will file charges for the use of excessive force.



Militant/Marc Lichtman
Fergus O'Hare, leader of the Campaign for Employment in West Belfast, Ireland.

tive action guidelines drafted by McBride has been enacted in New York and Massachusetts, and has been under consideration in California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota.

Obair will be publishing a major report on unemployment in West Belfast, Fergus O'Hare said. The Campaign for Fair Employment in West Belfast will be seeking support for a charter that says, "Access to meaningful, properly paid employment, and equality of opportunity in employment, are basic human rights."

"Long-term mass unemployment, where a large section of the population suffers forced unemployment for periods of years, amounts to a sustained assault on the rights of those affected."

The campaign has already won support from 30 local community groups; Gerry Adams, president of the revolutionary nationalist party Sinn Féin; the Derry Trades Council; many leading Irish trade unions; more than 40 British Labour Party members of Parliament; and prominent literary and artistic figures.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

S. Korea: gov't loses majority in assembly

For the first time in the history of South Korea the ruling party lost majority control of the legislature. The governing Democratic Justice Party (DJP), headed by President Roh Tae Woo, won only 125 of the 299 seats in the April 26 vote for the National Assembly. Among the three opposition groups, the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD), led by Kim Dae Jung, won the largest share with 70 seats.

The DJP also lost ground in the popular vote where it was projected to win 33.6 percent of the vote based on incomplete returns. Roh won 36.6 percent of the vote in the presidential election held last December. Faced with a widespread revolt in 1987, the military regime of Chun Doo Hwan conceded to several democratic reforms including elections.

The results of the elections highlight the divisions and instability of the regime.

The April 28 *London Guardian* reported from Seoul, "The stock market index fell by 4 percent — reflecting business fears that the opposition's success will result in instability and higher wage demands." A handful of trade union officials were elected to the assembly for the first time. DJP Chairman Chae Mun Shick resigned, and other senior party figures are expected to follow.

Witnesses say Irish activists were murdered

In a British television broadcast, witnesses to the shooting of three people in Gibraltar accused of being members of the Irish Republican Army confirmed that all three were murdered as they attempted to surrender to British troops.

The three killed were Mairead Farrell, Daniel McCann, and Sean Savage.

In the broadcast, Carmen Proetta, a Gibraltar resident, said she watched from her apartment window as three armed security men confronted Farrell and McCann, who immediately raised their hands in surrender. Proetta reported that the soldiers opened fire without warning. "It looked like the man was protecting the girl, because he stood in front of her, but there was no chance. I mean they went to the floor immediately, they dropped," Proetta said.

A witness on the program who wished

to remain anonymous reported that Savage was shot in the back as he attempted to flee. As Savage lay on the ground wounded, a British soldier stood over him with his foot on Savage's chest. "I then saw the gunman point his gun deliberately at the man who was lying on the floor and fire two or three times into him at point-blank range," the witness stated.

The British government attempted to block the showing of the program by appealing to the Independent Broadcasting Authority to delay its airing until an inquest could be held.

The broadcasting of the program has again raised questions as to what role the government played in the organization of the murders.

At the funeral for Farrell, McCann, and Savage in West Belfast on March 16, three mourners were killed when a gunman attacked the crowd with bullets and grenades. How the attacker managed to bypass police checkpoints remains unanswered.

Thai cabinet resigns over U.S. copyright law

An unresolved dispute over legislation that would protect U.S. copyrights forced Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda to dissolve his cabinet and parliament on April 29 and call for new elections. A bill to establish copyright protection for U.S. literary and artistic works was approved by the Thai cabinet in July of last year but was later stalled in parliament.

According to Radio Thailand the elections are set for July 24. Prem will continue as prime minister until then.

The action came after 16 members of the main party in Prem's coalition government submitted their resignations. They did so after failing to stop party dissidents from voting against the government-backed legislation, which nonetheless passed 183 to 134.

Opponents of the legislation say that the bill would force Thailand to bow to American bullying. During a visit to Thailand last November a top U.S. trade official, Michael Smith, said Washington might terminate trade benefits to Thailand if parliament failed to pass an acceptable copyright law.

Smith emphasized that any copyright law would have to protect computer software as well as other property in order to be acceptable.

CIA protested at U. of Texas

AUSTIN, Texas — On March 30 some 150 protesters at the University of Texas at Austin marched to Jester Center where they disrupted two CIA recruiters interviewing students for positions in the CIA.

Beginning before noon on the West Mall, about 40 students marched to the Main Mall, where 200 people attended a "CIA Off Campus" teach-in. It included several speeches focusing on the proven CIA recruiter James McInnis, a visiting scholar at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, and the CIA in academia and across the world, as well as featuring a saxophonist and guerrilla theater.

The highly informative teach-in was interspersed with chants such as "Hey, hey, CIA, how many children have you killed today?" and demands that agent McInnis and the CIA get off campus now. When it ended, about 150 of the students marched through the crowded South Mall chanting and carrying banners and signs.

The marchers went up to the second-floor balcony of Jester where the CIA was recruiting in a locked, glass-encased room. For about 20 minutes the demonstrators chanted loudly and disrupted the interview occurring inside by banging on the glass.

The protest evidently scared the CIA, as one recruiter emerged from behind the door pushing demonstrators in an effort to flee. But before he could escape, one demonstrator, Robert Ovetz, attempted to make a citizen's arrest for the CIA's "violation of international law and human rights across the world."

With the help of the police, the recruiter soon escaped as three university cops vio-

Farm labor union ready for growing season

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

TOLEDO, Ohio — Here at the office of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), the staff of the Michigan- and Ohio-based farm workers' union is preparing for the 1988 growing season, which will bring an estimated 75,000 farm workers into the two states.

Some 6,000 of those workers are now members of FLOC, and 3,000 are covered by union contracts won in the last few years.

A historic agreement was recently signed between Texas farm workers and a grower in the notoriously antiunion Rio Grande Valley. The contract brings wages up to \$4 an hour; guarantees time and a half pay after 40 hours; provides field sanitation; and authorizes a union dues check-off. The pact was negotiated by FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez for the United Farm Workers of America.

Because of the victories that have been won, the most important work in preparation for this spring and summer's season is not being done here in Toledo but in Florida and Texas, where the majority of FLOC's members migrate from.

This year, for the second time in its 20-year history, FLOC has allocated major resources and leadership to "winter organizing" to involve FLOC's members in implementing the newly won contracts. Staff members in the Toledo main office told me that this year, "FLOC organizers are migrating with the workers." The organizers help prepare the members for the next season through educational house meetings on the provisions of the contracts.

They arrived in the two states with incentive checks for FLOC members from the previous season. Incentive pay is one of the gains under the new contracts.

The winter organizing and the contracts have helped FLOC reduce the high turnover in its membership. Prior to the union agreements, the turnover rate of workers on the tomato farms, for example, was 60 percent or more. Crew leaders hired by the growers in Ohio or Michigan would go to Texas and Florida to recruit workers. These crew leaders were often rabidly anti-union and unscrupulous, extorting hundreds of dollars from workers. FLOC members or supporters were not hired.

All of the FLOC contracts provide seniority rights to the workers. Each has a paragraph that reads, "Employment shall be provided first to employees who worked the preceding season and then to employees who worked the second or third preceding season."

The FLOC contracts also provide for immediate wage increases for the workers. Also included are incremental wage increases over the life of the contract based on seniority. But, FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez said, many workers don't know they have the right to return to specific farms. So one of the important aims of the education being carried out is to inform members of this right.

In Florida, where FLOC has an office in the Centro Campesino in Auburndale, the organizing staff recently set up a tour for the union's president.

Toledo staff members report that winter organizers have also participated in local farm worker struggles.

In February, workers in a nonunion Florida citrus grove went out on a spontaneous strike when they learned that workers in a nearby grove organized by the United Farm Workers of America made more money than they did. The nonunion workers asked the UFW for support. The union enrolled them as members and organized a rally.

Fernando Cuevas, FLOC vice-president, spoke to the rally of 100 and got such an enthusiastic response that he proposed a march on the plant where the fruit is processed. As the march progressed it was joined by more and more farm workers, swelling the crowd to more than 400.



Militant/Dee Scalera

Baldemar Velasquez, president of Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

Inland Steel demands more concessions

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

EAST CHICAGO, Ind. — Inland Steel is demanding major concessions from the 13,000 workers at its sprawling mill here. If the members of Steelworkers Local 1010 refuse, the company says, it will ax 2,000 jobs.

Last November management announced that it was going to form a subsidiary company out of its "shape products" operations in East Chicago. In doing so, Inland would eliminate 84 jobs immediately, and another thousand a little later when it shuts down both a bar mill and a structural mill.

The company also threatened to eliminate more jobs if changes in work rules and other wage and benefit takebacks aren't agreed to.

In addition, Inland has invested \$450 million in a new mini-mill being built in Carlisle, Indiana.

But the heart of the attack is the plan to wrench 730 jobs out of Local 1010. The company says these workers will be em-

ployed by the new subsidiary and therefore have to negotiate a separate contract.

In the 1986 round of contract negotiations with the United Steelworkers, Inland was the only large steel producer that did not successfully push through a set of major work rule changes.

In addition to separating the "shape products" divisions from the rest of the East Chicago operation, Inland wants to introduce a "skill-base" concept. Under this system workers would be forced to continually take tests to improve their skill levels so the company can incorporate new tasks into existing job categories.

Inland also wants to get the "team concept" initiated in the mill. That would mean assigning union members to be team leaders as part of a labor-management committee. This form of organization is designed to break down workers' identification with the union and promote the idea that workers and bosses have common interests.

"We're not interested in seeing Inland get a leg up," said Thomas Graham, president of USX, the largest U.S. steel produc-

er. Graham's remarks are an indication that the steel bosses are keeping close tabs on the Inland negotiations, hoping they can be used to provoke a new round of takebacks throughout the industry.

Local 1010 members see the current attack as an attempt to increase profits by reducing their standard of living and worsening their working conditions. Steelworkers here are refusing to reopen their contract, and meetings of the workers in the departments directly affected by the attack have voted down the proposed changes.

"The company is trying to put pressure on us and get us scared," said Juan Ortiz, who works in the structural mill the company is threatening to close. "They want us to think of ourselves as individuals first, not as members of a union. I don't have that many years' experience, and I don't know what will happen to me," said Ortiz, "but I believe that we shouldn't give up anything in the contract."

Mitchel Rosenberg is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana.

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The May issue of PM features a speech given by Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge at a recent international Seminar of Indigenous Peoples for Peace and Autonomy, held in Managua. The speech takes up the "discovery" of America and the fight for the rights of Indian peoples.

"To the general demands of the class struggle it is necessary to incorporate the specific struggles of the indigenous peoples," Borge said. "They are intertwined and they condition each other."



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Anti-apartheid picket in London defends ban on S. Africa coal

BY NORTON SANDLER

LONDON — Carrying signs demanding "Sanctions against South African coal," miners and activists from Women Against Pit Closures and the Anti-Apartheid Movement lined the entrance to the Royal Horseguards Thistle Hotel on April 22.

The action was called to protest the visit by a delegation of South African coal bosses, who were being housed at the hotel.

In the country at the invitation of Conservative Party (Tory) members, the South African mine owners were trying to muster support for overturning the nationalized British electrical industry's ban on the use of coal mined in South Africa.

The coal owners also want to arrange to purchase blocks of stock in the electrical industry if the British government gets away with its plan to return it to private ownership.

In a statement handed out to picket line participants, Peter Heathfield, general secretary of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), explained, "The deputations — from Anglo-American, Rand, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment and Gencor — will no doubt claim anti-apartheid sympathies in concert with those Tory MPs [members of Parliament] responsible for their visit."

But, Heathfield continued, "their generations of practice under the racist regime tell a different story."

"All these corporations have operated apartheid practices to the full throughout their history and continue to do so today," he wrote.

Responding to the call by South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers and the anti-apartheid movement in that country, Britain's NUM has been actively involved in a campaign for sanctions against coal and other products produced in South Africa.

British mine union members are also circulating petitions demanding the release of three South African miners and other anti-apartheid and union activists facing death sentences in South Africa.

Called on a day's notice, miners from Derbyshire, South Yorkshire, and Durham participated in the picket as did Labour Party members of Parliament Dennis Skinner, Alan Meale, and Kevin Barron.

After about 30 minutes, a squad of cops arrived and began nudging the crowd away from the hotel entrance.

But the demonstration continued. "We are here to protest the British government's collaboration with the apartheid regime," Betty Heathfield from Women Against Pit Closures told the crowd. She urged everyone to join the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Other speakers called for the release of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and freedom for those on South Africa's death row.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Rally for Democratic Rights: Celebrate Victory in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI Spying. Speakers: Mark Curtis, political activist and victim of police frame-up; Albert Sankey, president Montgomery chapter National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Albert Carson, president Moulders Union Local 255; Jane Shrimpf, member Birmingham Committee for Peace and Justice in Central America; Albert Turner, president of Perry County Civil League; Colonel Stone Johnson, Birmingham Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Dave Ferguson, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sun., May 8, 4 p.m. YMCA, 1400 4th Ave. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

The Struggle Against British Rule in Ireland. Speakers: Georgia and Brian Flemming, editors of *Irish-American Voice*; John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley

Celebrate Victory in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI Spying. Chair: Frobén Lozada. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, SWP leader fighting for permanent residency in U.S.; Judy Shattuck, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 3211; Carlos Avitia president, Moulders Union Local 154; representative Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). La Peña Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Ave. Sun., May 15. Reception 2 p.m., program 3-4 p.m. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

Send-off for Bay Area Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua. Speakers: John Stockwell, Elisabeth Linder, Brian Willson, Carolyn Stevens. Sat., May 21, 7 p.m. Berkeley Community Theater, 1930 Allston Way. Donation: \$7. Sponsor: Bay Area Veterans Convoy, Nicaragua Information Center, National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee. For more information call (415) 285-8610.

Davis

How Socialists Beat the FBI. Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born leader of the Socialist Workers Party fighting for permanent residence. Fri., May 13, noon. Garrison Room, Memorial Union, University of California at Davis. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

Los Angeles

Political Lessons of Malcolm X. Video and discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Fight for Immigrant Rights. Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Vietnam: Legacy of the U.S. War. Speakers: Robin Singer, Georgia coordinator Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua; Katherine Sojourner, former coordinator National Peace Action Coalition, member United Food and Commercial Workers District Union 442. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

tion to Spanish. Sat., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Celebrate Victory in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI Spying. Speakers: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party; Mark Curtis, political activist framed up and beaten by Des Moines, Iowa, police; William Taylor, president Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507; others. Sat., May 14, 5-7 p.m. Reception to follow. Newman Center, University of Illinois, 700 S Morgan St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (312) 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Why Third World Foreign Debt Should be Canceled. Speaker: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, 4th C.D., member United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 1149; others. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Wine and Cheese Reception to Celebrate Victories in Socialist Workers Party Suit and Marroquín Antideportation Fight. Cohosts: Héctor Marroquín; Enolia McMillan, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Maryland chapter National Lawyer's Guild; Stuart Comstock-Gay, executive director American Civil Liberties Union; Larry Shade, United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787; Kathy Schaafsma, Central America Solidarity Committee; George Lach, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees delegate, Baltimore Central Labor Council. Sun., May 8, 2-4 p.m. Baltimore City Branch, NAACP, 8 W 26th St. For more information call (301) 235-0014 or 466-8315.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Crisis in the Airline Industry and Report Back from International Association of Machinists Convention. Panel of flight attendants, mechanics, and ground crew from Northwest and Eastern airlines. Sat., May 14, 8 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

Austin

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. President. Sun., May 15. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Mankato

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. President. Tues., May 17, 12 noon. MSU Student Center, Room 103. Sponsor: Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Cancel the Debt: Mexico and the Third World Debt Crisis. Speakers: representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Defeat of the Contras: Reconstructing the New Nicaragua. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor *Militant* newspaper. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8845.

For Peace and Friendship: U.S. Tour of Nicaraguan Trade Unionists, April/May 1988. New York labor welcome for Juan Gonzáles Rojas, Sandinista Workers Confederation; Alba Palacios Benavides, Association of Rural Workers; Marvin Cortez Estrada, National Union of Public Employees. Thurs., May 19, 7-9 p.m. Local 1199, Martin Luther King, Jr., Labor Center, 310 W 43rd St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, D.C. 37 Committee on Central America and the Caribbean. For more information call (718) 252-0157.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Fight for the Eight-Hour Day. Speakers to be announced. Sun., May 8, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Socialist Program to Fight for: Jobs, Racial Justice, and Peace. Speakers: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Sat., May 14, 7 p.m. Buffet dinner to follow. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$5. Sponsor: 1988 Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The Fight for Clean Air in Salt Lake Valley. Speakers: Ellie Garcia, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local

Price hikes spark Polish strikes

Continued from front page

were lazy and their wage demands unjustified.

The strike was significant in light of the fact that it was organized by the Bydgoszcz local of the government-approved union set up as an alternative to Solidarity. The workers won a 63 percent wage increase. They agreed to drop their demand for the dismissal of Dzieciol.

Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy prime minister and chief architect of the government's economic policy, acknowledged that prices in Poland have risen as much as 40 to 200 percent in recent months.

The day after the transport strike, the workers at the Lenin steelworks near Cracow went out. Three days earlier 5,000 workers at Stalowa Wola, in southeast Poland, held a rally threatening to strike. After the government met their demand for higher pay, they returned to work.

Cops used riot clubs to disperse workers who attempted to march and rally on May Day in several cities, including Gdansk, Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, Torun, Lodz, and Stalowa Wola.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Fight Frame-up of Mark Curtis. Speakers: Mark Curtis, victim of frame-up and beating by Des Moines, Iowa, cops; Ron Beyan, Black Student Union, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; Judith Kinch, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, director Afro-American Studies Dept. UWM; Ray Moore, United Paperworkers Local 6288. Fri., May 13, 7:30 p.m. Lutheran Campus Ministry, 3074 N Maryland Ave. Sponsors: Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Central America Solidarity Coalition, UWM chapters of Jobs With Peace, Latin America Solidarity Committee, Black Student Union, General Union of Palestinian Students, Organization of Arab Students, Progressive Student Network, and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 263-4368.

2701; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Crisis Facing Immigrant Workers. A panel discussion with Tomas Villanueva, president of United Farm Workers of Washington State; representative Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights; Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Fight to End British Rule in Ireland. Slideshow and presentation by Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 14, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Fidel Castro Nothing Can Stop the Course of History

Available from Pathfinder Bookstores listed on this page or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. \$8.95. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

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

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

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

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MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407 1/2 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.

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

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

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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.

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

None of that terrorism — The director of Israel's Government Press Office said he would bar Palestinians who are Israeli "citizens" from distributing press releases to foreign journalists in their mailboxes at the press office.



Harry Ring

You're sure Ed? — We were struck by Meese's proposition that everyone who is arrested submit to

a urine drug test. We've heard those tests will also show if you've had your hand in the till.

Law 'n order dep't — Arthur Culberth was removed in handcuffs from a Winn-Dixie market in Miami's Black community of Liberty City. An off-duty cop claimed he spotted Culberth pop some grapes in his mouth. Charged with theft and resisting arrest, he spent the night in the slammer.

Must have been there a while — Meanwhile, in Jackson, Mississippi, Eli Bradley was busted leaving a grocery with his \$14 purchase of fruit. In the store he had eaten a couple of grapes. The pro-

secutor claims he ate two pounds and is pressing felony charges.

Sounds like Wall St. — "Financial considerations were paramount for the new mob 'yuppies,' who sought quick monetary rewards but were unwilling to take the time to develop the skills and undertake the responsibilities of their predecessors." — Ronald Goldstock, director, New York State Organized Crime Task Force.

Polling problem — *Playboy* sees a contradiction in a poll finding that 70 percent of the U.S. people are assertedly strongly anti-communist and, meanwhile, 45 percent believe that Marx's phrase,

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," is in the Constitution.

A preview? — In densely populated Hong Kong, burial space is so costly that it's rented rather than sold. When a family can no longer afford the rent, it digs up the remains, cleans the bones, and stores them in an urn.

Like Marconi, Steinmetz, Einstein? — "I really don't see how a free society is able to say that technical journals have to be hidden from people with foreign-sounding names." — University of Maryland librarian Herbert Foerstel on learning FBI agents

were asking clerks, "Do you have any foreigners using the library?"

The dog will fetch it — Hamacher Schlemmer, the gadget folk, offers a throwable alarm clock. Wake up in a fit of temper and you can shut it off by smashing it against the wall. \$62.95. And, perhaps as a companion piece, a robotic "dog" that will, among other things, pick up objects on command. \$1,350.

All in a night's work — Over a nine-month period, members of San Diego's vice squad made 50 visits to massage parlors, disrobing and soliciting sex. An official explained this was necessary "to establish a pattern of prostitution."

Che Guevara book launched at meeting in Iceland

Continued from Page 8

Denmark, brought greetings to the meeting.

He quoted the speech Che gave at the United Nations General Assembly in 1964, which is reprinted in *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*.

"Once again we speak out to put the world on guard against what is happening in South Africa," Che said. "The brutal policy of apartheid is applied before the eyes of the nations of the world. The peoples of Africa are compelled to endure the fact that on the African continent the superiority of one race over another remains official policy, and that in the name of this racial superiority murder is committed with impunity. Can the United Nations do nothing to stop this?"

David Deutschmann, editor of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, quoted from a speech by Fidel Castro given just days after Guevara's death.

"We have no doubt," said Castro, "that some of his writings will pass on to posterity as classic documents of revolutionary thought.... Che's writings, Che's political and revolutionary thought, will be of permanent value to the Cuban revolutionary process and to the Latin American revolutionary process."

Deutschmann added, "I think here to-

night we can say that Che's ideas have no frontiers."

"It's hoped that this volume captures Che both as a person of action and as a person of ideas," said Deutschmann. "And if there's any underlying reason for the publication of this book it is as Fidel expressed it: the universal value of Che's revolutionary thought."

"And what makes the publication of this book even more significant — as has become so clear in Cuba in recent months — is that Che Guevara's time has come again."

A number of greetings were received for the meeting.

A message from Luu Guy Tan, Vietnamese ambassador to Sweden, said, "The Vietnamese people highly appreciate the cause of Che Guevara and his contribution to the Cuban revolution and to the Latin American national liberation movement."

"We fully support the Icelandic-Cuban Association's efforts to launch the book containing speeches and writings of Che Guevara. We believe this work will make worthy contributions to the revolutionary movement of the Latin American people as well as that of the people all over the world."

Niilo Taapopi "Kambwa," chief representative of the South West Africa People's

Organisation (SWAPO) to the Nordic countries, wrote, "Even though physically he is no more with us these past 20 years, his revolutionary ideas are still a living reality."

"Che was a man of action, a Marxist educator of the working people of Cuba. He was an example, in word and deed, of proletarian internationalism."

Greetings were also read from Uriel Pérez, first secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy in Stockholm; Icelandic Peace Council; Central America Solidarity Committee; Iceland-Palestine Organization; Rögnvaldur Finnbogason, a Protestant minister from western Iceland; and Tryggvi Emilson, 90 years old and a member of Dagsbrún, one of the largest unions in Iceland and author of a series of books, *A Worker's Memoirs*.

Among those introduced from the audience were Svavar Gestsson, member of parliament and a former minister and chairperson of the Peoples Alliance; Sigurjón Pétursson, chairperson of the executive committee of the Peoples Alliance and former chair of the city council of Reykjavík; Zoraida León de Guzmán and Nestor Rivero, members of the Cuban delegation; Helgi Kristjánsson, chairperson, Icelandic Peace Council; Hólmfríður Garðarsdóttir, steering committee of Central America Solidarity Committee; and Helen Meyers, representing Pathfinder New York.

More than \$700 worth of Pathfinder literature was sold at the event, including some titles in Spanish. At the end of the meeting, chairperson Gunnlaugsdóttir announced the upcoming opening of a Pathfinder bookstore in Reykjavík.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
May 12, 1978

Using the case of Ronald Humphrey and David Truong, two men accused of spying for Vietnam, the administration of President James Carter is trying to establish the "inherent power" of the president to violate constitutional protections against illegal search and seizure.

Attorney General Griffin Bell has defended the use of warrantless wiretaps, television surveillance, and the search of sealed packages in the case of Truong and Humphrey with the claim that "I was trying to protect the nation."

Humphrey and Truong are accused of passing low-level diplomatic cables of the type frequently "leaked" by government officials. Nevertheless, the decision to carry out electronic surveillance without the formality of a court order was personally approved by Carter.

A senior State Department official admitted that the espionage charges — with a possible penalty of life imprisonment — had been brought "as a test of presidential power and nothing else."

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
May 13, 1963 Price 10c

Choosing May Day to make it sensational and symbolic, a grand jury in Bloomington, Indiana, directed by a witch-hunting prosecutor, indicted three college students for subversion.

The indicted students, all officers of the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at Indiana University, are James Bingham, 24, Ralph Levitt, 25, and Thomas Morgan, 22.

The indictments were a new stage in the campaign of Prosecutor Thomas Hoadley against the militant student organization. For months he had pressured university authorities without success to revoke their recognition of the YSA as a legitimate campus organization. Simultaneously he undertook to inflame local public opinion against the young socialists with false

statements about them and their activities.

The indictments were brought under Indiana's Communism Act, a 1951 "antisubversive" law. Conviction under it would put the students in the state prison for one to three years.

The indictment charges that the three students assembled on March 25 "for the purpose of advocating or teaching that the government of the United States, or of the State of Indiana, should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means, voluntarily participating therein by their presence, aid, or instigation, and as officers of a Trotskyite communist organization called the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party."

The reference to March 25 had to do with a meeting sponsored by the YSA on the IU campus at which Leroy McRae, YSA national organizational secretary spoke. His subject was the Negro struggle for equality. McRae, who is a Negro, spoke in support of his people's right to defend themselves from racist violence. Hoadley made McRae's statements the basis for his charges and the grand jury made them the basis for the indictments.

In a May 6 press release, Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the YSA, stated: "The Young Socialist Alliance does not and never did advocate the use of violence to 'overthrow the government.' As Marxists, we believe that socialism can only be introduced by the working people — the majority of the population. Our work is aimed at socialist education and action."

Sheppard charged that Hoadley's true attitude to violent acts could be seen in one of his first acts after taking office as prosecutor. This had been to drop charges against two men accused of acts of physical assault last October 24 when a demonstration took place in Bloomington against blockading Cuba. The YSA had supported and played a leading role in that protest demonstration which was attacked by a mob.

Indeed, Hoadley makes no secret of the political motivation of the prosecution. He says: "We are not out to bring disfavor to Indiana U. or to gain a lasting name for ourselves. We want only to stamp out Communism and what it stands for before it gets a foothold here."

"Outreach '88" aids paperworkers

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Since early April, 20 to 30 paperworkers from International Paper Co. mills in Jay, Maine; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama, have been traveling throughout the country to meet with other union members who also work for IP. This effort is called "Outreach '88."

Workers from the first three mills have been on strike against IP since last June. Workers from the Mobile mill were locked out in March 1987. The 3,400 unionists at these four mills have been reaching out to unions, farmers, and others for support in their fight against IP.

There are 20,000 members of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) who work at dozens of IP mills in locations all over the country. A smaller number of workers in these mills belong to other unions, including the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the International Association of Machinists.

The purpose of Outreach '88, explains project coordinator Ray Pineau, is to establish communication — "rank and file to rank and file" — throughout IP.

The union meetings, community rallies, and one-on-one discussions between representatives of the striking and locked-out workers and other unionists throughout IP, Pineau continued, aim to help "educate, organize, and get us to act as a united force."

The Outreach '88 caravans go to all kinds and sizes of mills, explained Pineau. They also have a goal of reaching out to the timber end of the wood products industry, including sawmills, which are organized by other unions.

The caravans bring the message of solidarity and the need to broaden the fight against company demands for concessions. "We want a discussion. We don't go in and

advocate striking," said one caravan member.

Outreach '88 also works with the 20,000-member Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, which represents most paper industry workers in the Northwest and West Coast.

By the time the project ends, Outreach '88 members will have traveled to 87 locals in the IP empire, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to Texarkana, Texas.

Political asylum victory

Continued from front page

listed agencies did not accept immigration cases. Others did, but weren't free. Some did not have Spanish speakers available.

The judge also found that Salvadorans had been singled out for special victimization, with some transferred to jails thousands of miles away from their lawyers.

Kenyon made a ground-breaking decision to ensure due process for those seeking asylum. He ruled that refugees who can't read be given an oral notice of their rights — including the right to asylum — with the notice given in English and Spanish. They also must be provided with up-to-date, accurate lists of free legal services.

He also ordered that they be given access to legal materials and writing materials, including pens and typewriters. He noted that INS agents have confiscated such items.

A number of groups worked on this suit. These included the National Center for Immigrants Rights, Central American Refugee Center, Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles, and American Civil Liberties Union.

The director of the National Center for Immigrants Rights, Charles Wheeler, characterized the outcome as "a phenomenal victory."

U.S. defies World Court on PLO

The International Court of Justice, the World Court, has ruled that Washington submit to arbitration the congressional action to shut down the Palestine Liberation Organization's observer mission to the United Nations.

Congress passed a law in December 1987 to close the PLO's UN office, charging that it is a "terrorist" organization.

Spurred by congressional Democrats, the move was enacted by a voice vote in the Senate and by a vote of 366 to 49 in the House.

The April 26 World Court decision was made after a hearing that was boycotted by Washington.

Federal court action has been brought to compel the PLO to abandon its UN post. The PLO is challenging this.

The World Court decision was based on an agreement the United States made in 1947 when it became the host country for the United Nations.

It agreed then not to interfere with the functioning of the United Nations and, also, that any dispute would be settled by binding arbitration.

This is the second time in two years that Washington has thumbed its nose at the World Court. In June 1986, it defied a court ruling that it pay reparations to Nicaragua for mining its harbors and other illegal acts against it.

The current bipartisan move against the PLO UN mission came on the heels of the shutdown of the Palestine Information Office in Washington.

It was closed by Attorney General Edwin Meese, who conjured up the legal fiction that the PIO was actually a "foreign mission" and therefore came under Justice Department jurisdiction.

The reasons for Washington's actions against the PLO and PIO are plain enough. They are cut from the same cloth as the efforts of the Israeli government to gag the Palestinians. Recently, Tel Aviv ordered the shutdown of the widely used Palestine Press Service and has sharply curbed international media coverage of the uprising.

Those who commit crimes such as the ones being perpetrated against the Palestinians invariably try to muzzle their victims. Washington doesn't want the people of the United States to learn the truth about the efforts of the Palestinians to win their rights.

The U.S. government's moves against the PLO also reflect its efforts to check the growing international influence of the PLO — an influence that has been nurtured by the dramatic freedom struggle of the Palestinian people.

All supporters of free speech should demand that Washington keep its hands off the PLO's UN mission, and allow the Palestine Information Office to reopen.

Fight looms over Black rights suit

An important fight with high stakes for working people has opened up with the U.S. Supreme Court's announcement that it will review a precedent-setting case that has been the basis of numerous civil rights decisions since 1976.

What prompted the review was a suit brought by Brenda Patterson, an accounting clerk.

She is demanding that a North Carolina credit union pay her damages because its supervisors treated her in a hostile and demeaning manner, making racist comments about Blacks. Patterson says the supervisors also prevented her from getting the same job assignments as whites.

Though none of the lawyers in this case requested it, the Supreme Court, by a five-to-four margin, ordered a review of the 1976 case that Patterson's lawyers are using as a precedent.

That case, known as *Runyon v. McCrary*, made it easier for victims of racial and sexual discrimination to collect punitive damages from private employers, schools, landlords and real estate agents, or others who violated their rights.

Civil rights and civil liberties organizations quickly criticized the stance of the court majority.

The big-business press made much of the fact that three Reagan administration court appointees voted for the review.

Legislation providing all people the same right to "make and enforce contracts" as "is enjoyed by whites," was passed in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War.

But that law lay dormant on the books for 100 years. New advances in democratic rights began to be carved out and codified into law as the modern civil rights movement began to tear down barriers in the late 1950s and '60s.

Those battles, which involved millions of working

people, wiped out the Jim Crow system of legal segregation and struck powerful blows against de facto segregation as well.

In 1964 Congress was forced to pass the Civil Rights Act, which provided victims of discrimination an avenue to press for reinstatement to their jobs and back pay. It did not provide for payment of punitive damages.

But as Blacks continued to press forward the fight against segregation in jobs, housing, and education, Congress and the courts were forced to expand civil rights to include an individual's ability to collect damages.

In 1968 the Supreme Court ruled that Blacks could not be prevented from buying property in white neighborhoods. Eight years later in *Runyon v. McCrary*, the court stated that Blacks had the same right to enroll in private schools as whites.

The idea that you can be sued for damages for violating an individual's civil rights never set well with the ruling U.S. billionaire families. Over the past decade they have made several attempts to chip away at these gains.

What the U.S. rulers and the government bumped up against, however, was the fact that millions of Black, Hispanic, Asian, and women workers benefit from these advances, which have come to be accepted by most working people. And a serious fight to take away these rights would undoubtedly provoke massive resistance.

The decision to review *Runyon v. McCrary* is one of several trial balloons floated by the ruling class to see what can be gotten away with.

A court loaded with Reagan nominees will not ultimately be the factor that decides the outcome of this fight. What will decide it is how much resistance the rulers run into. One thing is certain, the rulers have set themselves on a collision course with the millions of working people like Brenda Patterson who are determined to continue demanding their rights.

Free Filiberto Ojeda Ríos!

Filiberto Ojeda Ríos underwent open heart surgery in Hartford, Connecticut, on April 11. He was then shackled to a hospital bed under constant surveillance by cops, who took over every floor of Hartford Hospital in a virtual police occupation. He was taken back to jail April 29.

The operation was the result of a deterioration in Ojeda Ríos' medical condition resulting from the refusal of prison authorities to provide him with the care he needed.

Ojeda Ríos is a member of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15, the only one of the accused still incarcerated in the federal detention center in Hartford. He has been in jail for 32 months. No bail has been set and there is no date for a trial.

The case against the 15 is a frame-up from start to finish. More than 200 FBI agents, armed with automatic weapons, staged a raid in Puerto Rico on Aug. 30, 1985, arresting Ojeda Ríos and 10 others and forcibly removing them from the island to stand trial in the United States. The other defendants were arrested later in Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the United States.

They are accused of conspiracy in the 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot in Hartford and with being terrorists for their membership in an organization that supports independence for Puerto Rico.

Ojeda Ríos is being held under the "preventive detention" provision of the unconstitutional Bail Reform Act. By giving judges the power to lock up and deny bail to anyone they label "dangerous to the community," the law

is a sharp blow to the democratic guarantee that you are presumed innocent until proven guilty.

During the week of May 9, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York City will hear the sixth request for bail from Ojeda's attorneys. If earlier rulings that Ojeda Ríos is "dangerous" are allowed to stand, he can be held in jail for as long as five years awaiting the outcome of his trial.

The appeal for bail has won broad support from defenders of political rights around the world. Thousands of signatures have been collected on petitions.

Extensive pretrial hearings in the case have revealed widespread violations of the independence activists' constitutional rights by the FBI and other cops. Tapes submitted by the prosecution as evidence against the 15 show that Washington trampled on the defendants' right to privacy in ruthless spying operations carried out in Puerto Rico for more than a year.

The U.S. government aims to use its crude frame-up of the 15 to intimidate all supporters of independence for Puerto Rico from fighting to rid their country of U.S. colonial domination. And to set dangerous precedents in violating constitutional liberties.

All supporters of democratic rights are urged to attend the hearings at the Second Circuit Court. For more information contact the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression at (718) 972-7361 or (212) 927-9065.

Release Ojeda Ríos from jail now! Drop all charges against the Hartford 15!

The stock market and capitalist production

BY DOUG JENNESS

The specter of the October 1987 stock market crash continues to haunt all social classes.

Millions of working people have been jarred into recognizing or at least sensing that a nosedive of this magnitude can only be the prelude to a deep economic crisis.

Those in ruling circles, too, remain worried about what the crash signaled. Six months later, headlines on

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the financial pages of major big-business dailies were far from cheery about the economic prospects.

On April 3 the *New York Times* headlined an article, "Another 'Meltdown Monday'? The Question Is Not If, but When."

A subhead on another article the same day stated, "The market plunge hasn't wrecked the economy, but people are haunted by the memory."

About a week later, the *Wall Street Journal* titled one article, "Dreary Street. In Wake of the Crash, Stock Market Turns Cautious — and Dull." Another headline in the same issue asked, "Has 'Next Recession' Passed By?" The answer given in the head: "Not likely."

New York Newsday columnist Robert Reno headlined his column March 29, "Next Recession Could Be Sitting On a Powder Keg."

Reno's main point, and an apt one, is that the next inevitable downturn in the business cycle — whether it comes later this year, next year, or in 1990 — will occur in a much different economic context than that of other recessions in the past 50 years. "Never in the experience of most living Americans," he noted, "have we approached a recession having just experienced a first-magnitude stock market crash."

Reno also cited the historic amounts of debt "overhanging the economy" and a "banking system more vulnerable" to insolvency than at any time in the last 50 years.

Moreover, "Never have the Third World nations been so dependent on the Americans not having a recession so that the United States can keep providing the export earnings desperately needed to keep servicing their debt to the major New York banks."

We might add that the semicolonial countries are already experiencing depression-type conditions, including staggering unemployment levels and massive numbers of farmers being driven off their land. The effects of the next international economic downturn will make these conditions even more devastating.

The features Reno points to express the accumulation of economic difficulties that have been building up in the world capitalist economy for the past 20 years. And taken together, they raise the specter of the next recession turning into a worldwide depression that can put workers and farmers in the advanced capitalist countries and in the semicolonial countries more in the same boat than they've been in recent years.

"But aren't you putting too much freight on the stock market crash as a warning about what's coming?" some readers may be asking.

I don't think so. The stock market is not extraneous or irrelevant to the economy. It is an essential component of the capitalist economy today, and its wild gyrations reflect the instability and explosiveness of where the economy is at.

In 1895, Frederick Engels wrote a brief addendum to *Capital* Volume 3 (Vintage, New York, pp.1045-47) by Karl Marx in which Engels described the stock market's role in modern capitalist society. Engels, who assumed the job of editing Marx's unpublished manuscripts of *Capital* Volume 2 and 3 after the communist leader died in 1883, noted that the stock market's role had significantly increased in the 30 years since Marx had written these volumes.

Engels pointed out that the drive to expand to bigger-scale production and enterprises led more individual capitalists to sell stocks to shareholders in order to raise capital. He said one branch of industry "after the other experiences this fate" — steel, chemicals, textiles, and railroads. He noted the same trend could be seen in big trading and retailing firms, banks and credit institutions, and agriculture.

This entire process of exchanging capital became concentrated in the stock markets of every country. The stock exchange, Engels noted, no longer played a secondary role "where the capitalists plundered one another of their accumulated capitals, and it concerned workers only as a new piece of evidence of the demoralizing general effect of the capitalist economy."

Rather, it became an essential part of the production and circulation of commodities in capitalist society. It "has the tendency," Engels wrote, "to concentrate the whole of production, industrial as well as agricultural, together with the whole of commerce — means of communication as well as the exchange function — in the hands of stock-exchange speculators, so that the stock exchange becomes the most pre-eminent representative of capitalist production as such."

Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' revisited

BY PHIL CLARK

"Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* should be read by every American who does not want it to be the epitaph of a world not very far beyond us in time." So wrote the influential biologist Loren Eiseley, saluting the book's publication just over 25 years ago.

In a similar vein, the *New York Times* declared, "Miss Carson's cry of warning is timely. If our species cannot

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police itself against our overpopulation, nuclear weapons and pollution, it may become extinct."

If the cry of warning was timely in 1962 (indeed, even then it was belated), it is urgent today.

My words reviewing the book at the time, as garden and conservation editor of the *Mexico City News*, unfortunately showed a lack of perception of the slim volume's historic significance. It missed the most eloquent and comprehensive presentation that would be made in the case against the use of chlorinated hydrocarbons in insecticides and organic phosphates and, even more significantly, against the popular mind-set that allows the despoliation of nature.

"What Carson has to say, she says well and documents most thoroughly," I wrote (to the best of my recollection). "But there is a tendency to oversimplify in order to emphasize her points. This results in a declaration of war against farm and garden chemicals in general, rather than against their misuse."

Clearly history's verdict is that my review missed the boat. I shall hasten now to get aboard, but at the same time again try to make the point that lay behind my too critical criticism.

I was worried that Carson's book would lend strength to the far-out antichemical positions of less reasonable organic garden and farming devotees — some of whom argue that chemical fertilizers poison the soil. It is the misuse of chemical fertilizers that is dangerous.

My preference is emphatically for organic fertilizers and soil conditioners. They lend tilth as well as nourishment to the soil and are simple to apply. But in most modern situations organic materials are unavailable and uneconomical. In areas of lean or exhausted soils, repeated plantings and turning under of alfalfa or other nitrogen-producing legumes is an organic approach which, where practical, is best by far.

But, mind you, the nitrogen gathered by legumes is just as *chemical* as that produced in a laboratory. Very similar results, with greater speed, can be obtained using a *properly applied* chemical fertilizer. Excessive use of nitrogen, however, can burn the crop, kill earthworms, and leach into the underground water, whereas the organic nitrogen is released as needed.

Probably the greatest concrete gain resulting from the influence of *Silent Spring* was the banning of DDT. DDT is an all-too-general insect killer that, during World War II, started the deadly flow of hydrocarbons over the farms of the world.

Carson traced the lethal, long-lasting path of this potent poison through the entire ecosystem, showing that it completed its trajectory with the growth of the problem it was intended to solve — the infestation of insects in farm crops. Along the way it polluted water, soil, and housing

and had damaging medical effects on people.

Under capitalism, the fight to protect the environment has become a struggle against ever-growing odds. Even the precious gain, won after decades of fighting by a public aroused by *Silent Spring*'s clear and convincing indictment of DDT, is only partial. Other hydrocarbon and organic phosphate pesticides were left undisturbed on the shelves of farm and garden supply stores, although Carson included them by name in her indictment 26 years ago. They are malathion, lindane, aldrin, chlordane, heptachlor, dieldrin, endrin, and parathion. Only parathion has been removed from sale — this required a separate effort by the ecological movement.

Even DDT is prohibited from sale only in the United States. North American producers still may advertise and sell DDT in other countries. So the migratory songbird in your backyard may yet be forever silenced by DDT, during his winter in the Caribbean or Latin America.

Marxists can readily understand the warning Carson gives. Her ecological approach — while so wary of human-caused change as to seem opposed to change entirely, for which I faulted her book on first acquaintance — was a sensitive reaction to those changes that threaten the ecological balance. Twenty-six years later, I realize that this is what made her book so influential. She saw the gathering storm of harmful changes, and voiced this awareness of danger so clearly as to make it fearsome to her readers. Not Rachel Carson, but the senile capitalist economy is negative. She only gives statistics and description that illuminate the danger signals.

Phil Clark is the former editor of Horticulture magazine and a founder of Green Flag, a Chicago-based organization that links the struggle for environmental protection with the fight for social justice.

LETTERS

Nicaragua settlement

I would be interested to know how the *Militant* sees the current prospects for peace in Nicaragua. I wonder how much consideration has been given to the possible consequences of a settlement.

Part of the contra demand involves what they term the "depoliticization" of the army. Presumably this would include winding up the people's militia.

The army and militia play more than a defensive role. They also promote social solidarity and help direct energy toward the common goal of building a democratic socialist country. Demobilizing mass popular organizations could have serious and counterrevolutionary effects.

We know only too well what happens when the masses are demobilized, the most memorable occasion being in the Soviet Union and more recently in Grenada.

Perhaps I am being unrealistic. Peace is what Nicaragua needs most. But not at the price of independence and self-determination.
*Alexander Fitch
Kent, England*

Palestine

At a recent meeting here at Bard College, Riyadh Mansour, deputy observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization's observer mission to the United Nations, said the cause of peace and justice will not truly be fulfilled until a unified, democratic secular state is established in Palestine, based on cooperation and brotherhood between Palestinians and Israelis.

He explained to more than 80 students and faculty that despite brutal repression by the Israeli army, the Palestinian people continue to raise the demand for an end to Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In a 90-minute discussion after his talk, Mansour cleared up many misunderstandings about the PLO. He stressed the PLO's strong opposition to terrorism and its broad support among the Palestinian people.

*Kristin Meriam
Mark Wyatt
Annandale, New York*

The working day

The political questions posed in the Socialist Workers 1988 cam-

paign are serious, matters for all workers and farmers. The question of the employing class' ability and historic aim of increasing the working day should be studied by all fighters.

The basics on this can be found in the first volume of *Capital* by Karl Marx, in the sections "The Working Day" and "The Struggle for a Normal Working Day" in Chapter 10. There will not be a worker in the world who won't identify with and understand this section right off the start.

After this section, begin with the section in Chapter 15 called "The Appropriation of Supplementary Labor Power by Capital, the Employment of Women and Children."

These two chapters are very informative as to the capitalists' appropriation of all the surplus value created by labor under the wages system.

The revolutionary-minded worker will be very interested in reading Chapter 25, under the heading "General Law of Capitalist Accumulation." This aids one in developing consciousness of the corresponding interests of workers across each national border, and helps explain why we need a new international economic order today.

In conclusion, the reader will want to tackle the first chapter of the book, "The Commodity," and the sections dealing with the expropriation of the agricultural population from the land.
*James Winfield
New York, New York*

Drop everything

I look forward to reading my *Militant* every week and drop everything to read it. What a pleasant experience to read articles written by fellow working people, and unionists at that.

I consider myself a communist and bought a copy of the *Communist Manifesto* and a book on the Communist International. I can't get over how applicable the struggle for a proletarian revolution is — as important now as it was in the 19th century. With the same problems — capitalists and union leaders and organizations misusing the socialist name and falsely posing as representatives of the working people.

I would like to distribute and



sell the *Militant* and literature from Pathfinder in the Green Bay area.

*R. Sam Salmon
Green Bay, Wisconsin*

Contradictions

I recently bought your paper at a demonstration in London and I have rarely read anything so patently full of ideological contradictions.

A great proportion of print was devoted to how great it was that the FBI now cannot legally, or rather constitutionally, infiltrate any group to its detriment.

Another huge chunk of print was devoted to an extremely effective frame-up of a political activist.

Doesn't it strike someone in your party that these two positions are totally contradictory?

The state has the power of coercion. Are you seriously suggesting the new court decision will stop this? The question is — who polices the police?

The state, particularly in a liberal democracy, will only allow its opponents to function when these opponents are ineffectual.
*Maureen Delenian
Poplar, England*

Guevara book meeting

"Che lost sleep in order to read!" With these words, Alberto Méndez, Cuban charge d'affaires in Britain, encouraged an audience in Manchester to buy *Che Guevara*

and the Cuban Revolution, the collection of Che's writings recently published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

The occasion was a successful promotional meeting for the new book held here March 12. The gathering was a feature of the Seventh International Bookfair of Radical Black and Third World Books. Méndez's presentation explained how Che's economic and political thought had made a great contribution to the process known as "rectification" in Cuba today.

Much of the audience was drawn from Manchester's predominantly Black district of Moss Side where the bookfair was held.

Black activist Gus John, the organizer of the fair, chaired the meeting. He noted the impact of Che's ideas on slain Grenadian revolutionary Maurice Bishop when Bishop was a young student in London. "As a Grenadian," he said, "I know well the contribution Cuba made to the development of the Grenada revolution."

A member of the General Union of Palestinian Students spoke on the uprising in Palestine. "Although many, many miles separate Latin America and Palestine," he said, "Palestinians know of Che."
*Martin Marriot
Manchester, England*

Paperworkers

A protest by several hundred unionists from Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and Mississippi took place March 30 against the scab-

herding outfit BE&K Inc., headquartered in Birmingham.

Locked-out paperworkers from International Paper Co.'s Mobile, Alabama, mill; along with steelworkers, building trades workers, and others, participated. BE&K has provided scabs for IP, other paper companies, steel companies, and construction firms when union members have gone on strike or been locked out.

The protest started at Sloss Furnace, an abandoned foundry that's been made into a museum. It then proceeded to BE&K's offices, where picketers chanted "Scabs out. Union in!" and talked to reporters.

We returned to Sloss Furnace for a rally. The vice-president of UPIU Local 1450 in Prattville, Alabama, described how the outreach caravan of Mobile paperworkers had come to speak to their local, and how inspiring it had been to the Prattville workers.

The week before, on March 21, more than 1,000 paperworkers and their supporters held a march and rally in Mobile to mark the first anniversary of their lockout by IP.
*Cheri Tremble
Birmingham, Alabama*

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.

8,000 at S.F. antiwar protest

Marchers say no to U.S. intervention in Central America

BY MALIK MIAH

SAN FRANCISCO — Some 8,000 people marched and rallied here April 30 against U.S. intervention and for jobs and social justice. Demonstrators came from many Bay Area cities and elsewhere, including as far away as Los Angeles and Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, which organized the protest, is a broad-based coalition of local labor, religious, peace, and community groups. This was its fourth annual protest.

The demonstration was organized around four themes: 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.

For many protesters, this was their first march. For others it was their fifth or sixth protest against U.S. intervention in Central America in as many weeks.

After Washington sent 3,000 troops to Honduras in late March to threaten the revolutionary government in Nicaragua and to back the now-defeated contras, daily marches were held in San Francisco.

Many of the handmade signs and banners carried by student and union activists on April 30 hailed the Nicaraguan revolution and denounced U.S. government support to the contras. The march was cheered by many onlookers as it wound through the mostly Latino and predominantly working-class Mission District.

Other placards hit Washington's support to the regime in El Salvador.

"End the U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf," "Independence for Puerto Rico," and "No U.S. military bases in the Philippines" read still other signs.

One of the most spirited contingents was led by a group of young Koreans and Filipinos. The Young Koreans United demanded: "U.S. troops and nukes out of Korea!"

Handfuls of unionists marched, including members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6, Local 2 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union, and International Association of Machinists Lodge 1327.

A contingent of Black firefighters participated. Bob Demmons, president of the group, spoke at the rally. Black firefighters have been in a battle with the city govern-

ment against the racism they face on the job.

Placards supporting people with AIDS, the homeless, and farm workers' rights were also visible.

A sizable contingent of Palestinians and their supporters marched, waving flags of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

One of the most well-received speakers was Malombo Ntshilontshilo, a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa's Youth Section.

"Our revolution has reached a point of no return," Ntshilontshilo told the crowd. "The gains are irreversible. Botha can't stop the determination of our people to win."

Jerry Condon of the Veterans Peace Action Teams urged antiwar activists to demand that immediate reparations be paid by the United States to Nicaragua for the devastation caused by the contra war.

Holly Rauhen, a leader of protests outside the Concord Naval Weapons Station north of San Francisco, urged everyone to attend a May 1 demonstration protesting arms shipments to Central America.

Last year antiwar activist Brian Willson lost both his legs when he was run over by a navy weapons train during a September 1 action there. Well over 1,000 people rallied in Concord May 1.

The issue of El Salvador was especially prominent on April 30 because of a bomb attack on the office of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) in San Salvador that morning. The office was later raided by the army as UNTS members were preparing for a May Day demonstration in El Salvador's capital.

Mercedes Salgado, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front — Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, urged marchers to rally at the Salvadoran consulate on May 2.

Other speakers at the day's events included Cesar Chavez, United Farm Workers president; Daniel Ellsberg; congresspeople Nancy Pelosi and Charles Hayes; Melba Maldonado of Casa Puerto Rico and the Bay Area Committee for the Hartford 15; and Mobilization cochair Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, and Al Lannon, president of Local 6 of the ILWU.

After the march and rally a number of activists from various West Coast cities met to discuss plans for the upcoming June 11 Peace Day demonstrations to be held here and in New York.

June 11 action builds in New York

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

NEW YORK — Organizing has begun in this city to spread the word about the June 11 national demonstration at the United Nations against nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention. An action is planned for the same day in San Francisco.

The protests have been called by the National Coalition in Support of the Third United Nations Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-III National Coalition).

On April 27 the New York Mobilizing Committee held a meeting to discuss building the action in New York. Well over 100 people attended, representing diverse disarmament, student, labor, anti-apartheid, Central America solidarity, and religious groups. The action has begun to be publicized throughout the city's five boroughs.

The Nicaragua Solidarity Network of Greater New York, which includes several dozen organizations, along with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), are putting together a contingent highlighting opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America. They are

promoting June 11 as an opportunity to protest U.S. policy in the region and to defend peace in Nicaragua.

Naomi Craine, reporting for the student subcommittee, said that students all over the city were responding enthusiastically. "When we get out there, we find students are excited about marching on June 11," she said.

Across the Hudson River, in Jersey City, Mayor Anthony Cucci, sent out a letter on April 1 inviting individuals and organizations to get involved in the Hudson County Coalition in Support of the United Nations Third Special Session on Disarmament.

The national steering committee for the June 11 actions also met here on April 30. National Coordinator Leslie Cagan, from the Mobilization for Survival, explained the scenario for the day. Participants will gather at the United Nations and march to Central Park, where there will be a program of speakers and international entertainment.

To get involved contact SSD-III National Coalition, 11 John St., Room 803, New York, N.Y. 10038. (212) 608-8155.



Militant/Steven Fuchs

Lead contingent at April 30 march. Many demonstrators carried signs supporting Nicaraguan revolution. Other placards condemned Washington's backing of regime in El Salvador.

Britain: striking seafarers fight attempt to bust union

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Thousands of seafarers are on strike throughout Britain.

They have gone out in support of fellow seafarers who are fighting a union-busting operation by P&O European Ferries in the port city of Dover. The Dover seafarers went out on February 2.

The solidarity strike by other members of the National Union of Seamen (NUS) is a response to P&O's decision to decertify the union and fire the strikers. The British High Court has decided to fine the union nearly \$300,000 and seize its assets.

NUS General Secretary Sam McCluskie predicted that the court decision "will lead to a spread of industrial action to British ships throughout the world."

The seizure of the union's assets — called "sequestration" under British law — is the penalty imposed by the court for the NUS' breach of the Conservative Party government's industrial relations legislation.

After P&O began preparations to try to operate the struck ferry run — from Dover across the English Channel to the French port city of Calais — NUS members employed by another shipping firm, Sealink, joined the P&O strikers.

In imposing the sequestration order, the High Court judge said the union was in "flagrant, repeated, and grave" contempt of court for refusing to order its members at Sealink to stop their solidarity strike.

The sequestration order prevents the union from using its cash, property, and investments to carry on its normal activity.

If other unions donate office space or other aid to the NUS, the court can also hold them in contempt of court.

"The NUS is not bricks, mortar, typewriters, and desks," union leader McCluskie said. "It is the men and women who go to sea and stand together to defend their rights at work and fight for justice. If forced to choose between protecting the property of the union or standing by members, I will always choose the latter," he declared.

Similar attacks were levied against the

National Union of Mineworkers during its 1984-1985 strike.

P&O provoked the strike by unilaterally demanding that the union give up 400 jobs and by imposing a \$90-a-week reduction in pay. The company also imposed longer periods of duty aboard ship and reduction of seafarers' leave time.

This point is significant in terms of safety. Last year 193 people died when P&O's *Herald of Free Enterprise* sank off the coast of Belgium. Management tried to blame the crew for the accident, but a public inquiry ruled that the company's safety standards were inadequate.

After sending termination notices to NUS members who refused to return to work, P&O recently flew a scab crew that included some former strikers, as well as others without previous training, to Rotterdam in the Netherlands. From Rotterdam they sailed two ferries, which had been moored since the beginning of the strike, to Dover.

But the company failed to break the strike, seafarer Jason Groombridge told the *Militant*. In the first place, he said, the P&O claimed that 900 strikers had returned to work. "If that was true," Groombridge asked, "how come they could only move two ships?"

Eighty-five passengers were finally boarded on one of the ships in Dover for an April 30 sailing to Calais. Thirty-five of them were journalists. The vessel normally carries 1,300.

French seafarers in Calais are refusing to handle or service ships operated by scab crews. The vessel was forced to go to Belgium.

When they tried to sail the second ship out of Dover without giving the crew any rest, crew members walked off in protest, and some NUS members who had signed the company's takeback agreement re-joined the strike.

Donations and messages of support for the strikers can be sent to Aylesham Women's Support Group, 5 Newman Rd., Aylesham, Kent, England.