

Gov't 'war on drugs' attacks Bill of Rights

BY CATHERINE FRASER

Under the pretext of conducting a "national crusade" against drugs, the Reagan administration and Congress have launched a gigantic attack on the Bill of Rights. They are manipulating the genuine concern about drug abuse and trafficking that exists in the United States today to try to roll back democratic rights.

On September 11 the House of Representatives passed the Omnibus Drug Enforcement, Education, and Control Act of 1986. It was a bipartisan vote; only 16 members of the House voted against this sweeping piece of legislation.

If adopted by the Senate and signed by the president, the act will increase penalties for a wide range of drug-related offenses and provide more funds for various police agencies and for prison construction. The most serious attacks on the Constitution are contained in amendments attached to the original bill. These include:

- Provision for the death penalty in drug-related murder cases.
- Use of the military to provide "continuous aerial radar coverage of the southern border of the United States" and pursue ships and planes into the United States, with the right to seize vessels and arrest the crews if drugs are found. This opens the door to stepped-up persecution of immigrants seeking to enter the country.
- A modification of the exclusionary rule against illegal search and seizure. This would make evidence illegally obtained through wiretapping, bugging, and stolen documents admissible in court in a drug-related trial.

Compulsory drug tests

This legislation was backed up four days later by an executive order signed by President Reagan. The order signaled his approval for the House's extension of the death penalty and its attack on the exclusionary rule. It also set up a program of compulsory drug tests for a wide range of federal employees.

Among those required to submit to tests are workers in "sensitive" positions, those with access to classified information, presidential appointees, all law enforcement officers, and other positions "requiring a high degree of trust and confidence." It has been estimated that up to 1 million workers may be affected by this ruling.

This proposal gives the green light to mandatory drug testing of job applicants and current employees, which is carried out by a growing number of private employers. Already, more than 30 percent of the 500 largest companies administer drug tests, up from 3 percent in 1983.

This massive assault on the right of privacy has also penetrated into the schools. In August it was reported that one school board in New York state was considering the introduction of strip searching of students, along with inspections of personal possessions, student lockers, desks, and other storage places.

A handbook, "What Works: Schools Without Drugs," was released by the U.S. Education Department on September 14. Among its suggestions for "security measures" against drug use in schools are the use of trained dogs, urine tests, and unannounced searches of students and lockers.

Bill of Rights

The bosses' use of drug tests in the workplace, which has now been given Reagan's stamp of approval, is a full-scale assault on the Bill of Rights.

- It violates the Fourth Amendment's defense of "the right of the people to be se-



Roundup of drug "suspects" in Los Angeles. Reagan and Congress propose lifting constitutional protection from illegal search and seizure.

cure in their persons . . . against unreasonable searches and seizures."

- Workers refusing to take these tests are threatened with dismissal, violating the Fifth Amendment's provision that people cannot be required to provide evidence that can be used against them in a court of law.

- It completely ignores the constitutional right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Samples taken for drug testing can also provide employers with a wide range of information about a worker's physical or mental health — whether they're pregnant, being treated for a heart disease or a

depressive illness, and much more. Such information will be used to discriminate in employment.

Other provisions contained in the new legislation have similarly far-reaching effects.

If it is possible to allow the admission of illegally obtained evidence in drug cases, why not in other criminal cases? And there is no doubt that the FBI will be keen to argue that the suspension of the exclusionary rule to fight "the cancer of drugs" should be extended to its war against the "cancer" of communism, labor struggles,

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Austin meatpackers call October 11 day of solidarity against Hormel

BY FRED FELDMAN

The fight by meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. "is continuing and will continue until everyone has their job back and we have a fair contract," declared Jim Guyette, suspended president of Local P-9.

Guyette reported that the Austin United Support Group is organizing a day of solidarity with the meatpackers in Austin on October 11. Unionists and others from around the country will be urged to come to Austin to demand that Hormel reinstate 800 unionists who are still being denied their jobs because of their participation in the battle against the company's takeback demands.

The support group is also moving ahead with efforts to rally support and assistance for these workers and to defeat the company's efforts to starve them into submission. National unions, union locals, and other labor bodies across the country are being urged to make contributions by adopting a P-9 family and by donations to the Food Shelf and the Emergency and Hardship funds. The boycott of Hormel products is continuing as well.

Moreover, the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU) is continuing its fight to win a representation election. Hundreds of members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 backed NAMPU after the top union officials removed Local P-9's elected officers and ordered an end to the struggle against Hormel.

In the representation election, Hormel employees will choose between NAMPU, the UFCW, and no union. The latter choice will be on the ballot only because it is required by law.

These affirmations of the continuing fight against Hormel followed the announcement September 12 that meatpackers in Austin had ratified a proposed contract by 1,060 to 440. The vote, announced by UFCW International officials, was conducted by mail.

Guyette pointed to irregularities in the voting. "The outcome of this vote was predetermined. I know people who didn't get ballots. I know people who mailed in their ballots and had them returned in the mail."

Austin workers saw only a summary of

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Join actions against U.S. war in Nicaragua!

For the first time in a year and a half, nationally coordinated actions protesting U.S. intervention in Nicaragua are being organized in cities across the country. Scheduled for October 25 in some areas, and for November 1 in others, these demonstrations provide a much-needed opportunity to get out the truth about Washington's mercenary war against Nicaragua and why it should be roundly opposed.

A broad range of antiwar and solidarity groups, anti-apartheid organizations,

EDITORIAL

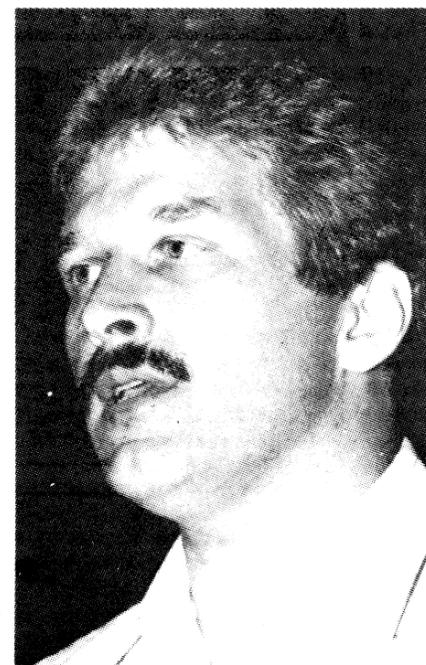
groups against nuclear weapons, and left political parties issued the call for the Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice. In addition to demanding no U.S. intervention in Central America, the protests are opposing apartheid, nuclear weapons, and military spending.

This united call is both timely and significant, considering that the protests are occurring on the eve of the November 4 elections. Frequently, opponents of U.S. wars have fallen into the trap of counterposing protest action in the streets to campaigning for candidates, mistakenly believing that street actions have no place at the peak of an election period and should be avoided.

But there is an urgency felt by many to make their voices heard in opposition to what Washington is doing in Nicaragua, especially after congressional approval of \$100 million in open aid to the mercenary terrorists. This has made it possible for groups with divergent political views, including on who to support in the elections, to unite in action. They have agreed upon specific dates and are now trying to get as many people as possible to participate in the demonstration.

One indication of this is the growth of local coalitions around the country in sup-

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Jim Guyette

Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Austin meatpackers call day of solidarity

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the proposed contract prepared by UFCW officials.

Hormel workers at plants in Dallas; Houston; Atlanta; Charlotte, North Carolina; Beloit, Wisconsin; Fremont, Nebraska; and Algona, Iowa, also voted on new contracts with Hormel on the basis of oral or written summaries provided by union officials. Contracts were ratified at these plants as well.

Not public

The Austin meatpackers, like other workers in the Hormel chain covered by the new contracts, were denied the right to see the final contract before voting. Judge Edward Devitt rejected an appeal by P-9 members that the vote be delayed until the actual contract was made available to union members.

The contract, even as prettified in the summary, is a big setback for union meatpackers. It offers no assurance that a single one of the 800 Austin meatpackers denied work by Hormel will get his or her job back.

It upholds the provisions of the takeback contract imposed by the company when it reopened the plant in January and hired nonunion workers to replace those who remained on strike. The "implemented contract" — as this pact is referred to in the summary — applies to seniority, grievance procedures, working conditions, disciplinary actions, injury and illness, work standards, attendance control, vacations, health coverage, and life insurance provisions of the new contract.

The 1990 expiration date of the Austin contract comes a year after the expiration date of the other three-year contracts negotiated in the same package.

The summary says that wages will rise to \$10.70 — one cent higher than the 1984 rate — by the third year of the contract. This will mean a significant cut in real wages given recent inflation rates. But even this will depend on the 1989 contract negotiated at Fremont, the provisions of

which will be extended to the Austin plant.

The Austin contract is not unique. The company imposed similar takebacks on workers at the other plants for which contracts were negotiated in the current talks.

The price of the new contract in Fremont, for instance, included agreement to bar all "strikes, sitdowns, refusals to or interference with work, sympathy strikes or refusals to work, or picketing by the union or the employees."

The previous contract at Fremont did not include this provision. Hormel fired 27 Fremont workers in January for honoring a roving picket line established by striking P-9 workers. Their cases are currently awaiting arbitration.

Fremont management also pressured UFCW officials into signing a statement accepting the company's right to establish "reasonable rules" as it sees fit. This places Hormel in a stronger position to ignore past practice in setting work rules and imposing restrictions on union members.

Ottumwa fight

In Ottumwa, Hormel is keeping the pressure on union members despite an arbitrator's August 27 ruling ordering reinstatement of some 500 workers fired for honoring a January 27 roving picket line of Austin strikers.

So far, Hormel has refused to put all of these fired workers back on the job.

Only 258 of the fired workers have been recalled. These workers, however, replaced 258 employees working in the plant who have now been laid off because of lower seniority. This was aimed at evading the arbitrator's ruling by declaring those newly out of work and the remaining 250 fired workers to be part of a layoff.

The company is refusing to restart the cut-and-kill department, using threats to shut it down as a club against the workers. According to one reinstated worker, plant manager Ralph Nelson told them that reopening of the cut-and-kill could depend "on how we get along."

Moreover, the company has attempted

to sow further divisions in the union by giving priority in job assignments to those workers who crossed the picket line.

UFCW Local 431 is pressing the arbitrator to enforce the ruling by ordering Hormel to recall all employees and follow strict seniority in job assignments.

Hormel is still refusing to reinstate Dan Varner, formerly shop steward at the Ottumwa plant. The company charges, without proof, that he instigated the mass refusal to cross the P-9 picket line. The company has forced his case to be arbitrated separately. The cases of about 15 plant office workers organized by the UFCW, who were fired for honoring the picket line, are also awaiting arbitration.

The current contract in the Ottumwa plant is scheduled to expire in April. Larry McClurg, a reinstated worker, told the *Militant*, "There is a lot of concern here about the new contracts that have been signed. Many people fear it puts us in a weaker position to fight more takebacks in April."

After the contract vote results were reported, a team of Austin meatpackers immediately headed for the Minnesota state AFL-CIO convention in Duluth to ask for support.

FDL meatpackers out on strike

In an action that highlighted the continuing struggle against the packinghouse bosses' takeback drive, 1,750 meatpackers at FDL plants in Dubuque, Iowa, and Rochelle, Illinois, went on strike September 11.

The Dubuque workers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 150-A. The Rochelle strikers belong to UFCW Local 1218.

The strike began after workers voted down a company offer adding only \$.50 over two years to their base pay of \$8 an hour. Local 150-A President Mel Maas said the workers' goal is wage parity with the Hormel and Oscar Mayer workers.

Hormel has a marketing agreement with FDL, under which FDL pork products are

Supporters of the Austin United Support Group distributed a leaflet to the convention, which began September 14. It explained that the meatpackers "are determined not to be made victims of an unjust and antiunion agreement. They are fighting to have this contract set aside as illegal. They will then renegotiate a fair agreement that will put everyone back to work."

"The struggle is not over until our brothers and sisters have their jobs back," the leaflet declared. "The boycott of Hormel products continues."

"The Austin United Support Group has vowed that the Hormel workers and their families, who have inspired workers around the world, won't be left out in the cold. We are continuing our Emergency and Hardship, Adopt-a-Family, and Food Shelf programs for union families.

"We need your active solidarity more than ever to support the Hormel workers and continue to expand the boycott until everyone is back to work under a fair contract" (emphasis in original).

Contributions to aid the Hormel workers and their families should be directed to: Hormel Rank & File Hardship Fund, P.O. Box 903, Austin, Minn. 55912.

distributed by FDL Marketing, a Hormel subsidiary. Hormel also has an option to buy FDL.

FDL has obtained a court injunction limiting pickets at both plants to four per gate.

Takeback contracts brought the base wages of FDL workers down from \$10.69 four years ago, when the plant was owned by Dubuque Packing, to the current \$8 an hour.

Jim Guyette voiced the solidarity of Austin meatpackers with the FDL workers. "The FDL strike is also a fight against Hormel," he told the *Militant*. "They treat the FDL workers as second-class citizens. We think the FDL workers are completely justified in fighting for a contract in line with the best in the industry."

'Drug war' attacks Bill of Rights

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antiwar activities, and so on.

The overall thrust of the new legislation — from the proposal on the use of the military to the provision of more funds to the cop agencies — is to strengthen the government's repressive apparatus. The main target of that apparatus is not those who make handsome profits in drug trafficking, but workers and their unions, Blacks, women's rights activists, working farmers fighting foreclosures, and other fighters for social justice.

Groups and individuals concerned with the defense of civil liberties have been outspoken in their opposition to drug-testing programs in their workplaces. Following the announcement of Reagan's executive order, Allan Adler, legislative counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced it as "a blatant violation of the

right of American workers to be free of search and seizure without probable cause."

Robert Tobias, president of the National Treasury Employees Union, which represents 120,000 federal employees, described Reagan's executive order as "the product of a propaganda effort to win political medals for the generals in the White House at the sacrifice of the constitutional rights of the people in the trenches of the federal work force." The union is challenging the order in court on the grounds that it violates workers' Fourth Amendment rights.

It is important that such challenges are supported and protests against the new "antidrug" legislation as a whole are stepped up in order to defend the Bill of Rights and the democratic rights of all working people.

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November 15

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. It provides firsthand coverage of important struggles in other countries, such as Haiti, the Philippines, and Nicaragua. Regular on-the-scene reports come from its Nicaragua Bureau.

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The Militant

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: MALIK MIAH
Nicaragua Bureau Director: CINDY JAQUITH
Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Ernest Harsch, Arthur Hughes, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Ruth Nebbia (Nicaragua), Harry Ring, Norton Sandler.

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Farm Crisis Summit in St. Louis hears Nicaraguan leader

BY ELLEN WHITT

ST. LOUIS — The International Farm Crisis Summit sponsored by the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) and the League of Rural Voters met here September 10-11. Nearly 100 people attended, including representatives from the Netherlands, Nicaragua, the British Labour Party, New Zealand, East Germany, Canada, France, Brazil, the United States, and the European Parliament.

Opening the meeting, NAFA President Merle Hansen noted that President Reagan's view of justice is "Just us," referring to the rich.

Hansen explained that while enough food is produced to give everyone in the world a 3,000 calorie diet, 500 million are malnourished or starving. Currently, some 2,000 U.S. farmers a week are going broke.

Daniel Núñez, president of Nicaragua's National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), was a special guest at the summit. He described the role of farmers in the 1979 overthrow of the Anastasio Somoza dictatorship.

Núñez explained that the farmers displaced by Somoza's land policy helped create a national movement that led to the success of the revolution.

In discussing the advances made by farmers following the revolution, Núñez said, "We can guarantee that not one Nica-

raguan farmer will commit suicide for losing his land — because in Nicaragua the land is for those who work it." Nicaraguan farmers, however, are facing attacks from the U.S.-sponsored mercenaries. Núñez reported that 1,320 members of UNAG alone have been assassinated by the *contras*.

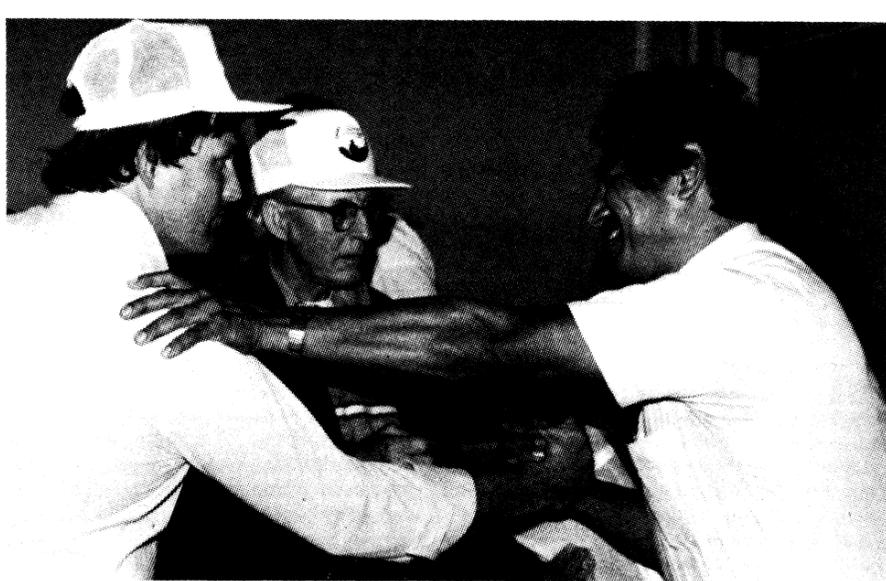
Mark Ritchie of the League of Rural Voters explained how Third World countries have helped U.S. farmers consider that it is impossible for them to pay off their debts. U.S. farmers now owe about double the amount of Brazil's international debt, one of the highest in the world.

Ritchie explained that U.S. government policy, which directly affects the world's food production and sets farm prices, is the problem — not farmers "mismanagement" or "inefficiency."

The delegates adopted a final resolution that included a demand for "fair prices for all producers around the world" and a call for multilateral negotiations to determine "fair trading agreements between producers and consumers."

The delegates sent a message to the international trade negotiations currently going on in Punta del Este, Uruguay, demanding higher prices for farmers, particularly for farmers in the developing countries.

One proposal still under consideration is a future international summit to be held in Nicaragua at the invitation of UNAG.



Militant/Tom Jaax
Daniel Núñez (right), president of Nicaragua's National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, greets leaders of farmers' struggle at summit.

'Militant' readers urged to back publications fund

BY CHRIS RAYSON

On August 25 U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa handed down a major decision upholding democratic rights against government spying in the Socialist Workers Party's landmark lawsuit. The judge ruled that the FBI targeted lawful political activity and violated the right to advocate ideas in its decades-long spying.

Among the FBI's main targets were facts and ideas presented by the *Militant* newspaper and other publications such as the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist theoretical journal *New International*, and books and pamphlets distributed by Pathfinder Press.

On September 20 a Fall Publications Fund was launched to help pay the costs of producing these periodicals, books, and pamphlets and to distribute them more widely. We urge all our readers to contribute.

The fund, which runs for eight weeks and ends November 15, will enable the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to continue getting out the truth and bringing our readers the kind of coverage of working peoples' struggles they can't get anywhere else.

There is no comparable source for regular coverage of the historic importance of the constitutional victory won in the SWP lawsuit — why this is a weapon to defend and extend political rights for everyone.

There is also no other source that provides consistent, accurate coverage of the continuing struggle of North American meatpackers for a decent contract with Geo. A. Hormel & Co. Our reporters have made frequent trips to Austin, Minnesota, the center of this battle.

Moreover, Pathfinder Press rushed into

print, in both English and Spanish, Fred Halstead's pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota."

It was the truth about struggles such as this that the FBI was determined to suppress in its disruption programs.

Another target of FBI hostility was the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*'s solidarity with the struggles of working people internationally. We send our reporters all over the world to get firsthand reports.

The *Militant* and *PM* have maintained a news bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, for the last seven years to report on the progress of the revolution there and the struggle of Nicaraguans to defend their national sovereignty against the U.S.-backed mercenary war.

Over the past several weeks, the *Militant* has featured firsthand reports by our correspondent, Sam Manuel, from the eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, held in Zimbabwe.

In the last several issues of the *Militant*, Russell Johnson has reported on recent developments in the Philippines.

And in the last issue we included articles from San Juan, Puerto Rico, by Selva Nebbia, a staff writer for the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*; a firsthand report by Joe Young from Edmonton, Alberta, where Canadian meatpackers are currently on strike; and a report from Colombo, Sri Lanka, by Malik Miah on the oppression of the Tamil people in that country.

In addition, many important articles, speeches, and interviews with prominent international revolutionary leaders — such as Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Tomás Borge, and Daniel Ortega — are printed in the *Militant* or published and distributed by Pathfinder Press.

Twenty national sales teams are hitting the road this fall throughout the United States and in Puerto Rico. They will visit college campuses, plant gates, and farming areas, selling Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets and subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*. The eight teams already on the road report a thirst for the facts our publications provide.

Militant readers are already responding to our appeals for financial support. Before the official launch date of September 20, we have raised nearly \$4,000. One reader in Los Angeles donated \$2,000, and nearly \$600 was raised at a memorial meeting for Clyde Cumming, a longtime socialist activist in San Francisco.

Any amount contributed is appreciated. The money for the \$100,000 goal will come from thousands of donations by the working people who read our publications.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* are planning events to raise money for the Publications Fund. To find out more, check the directory on page 12 for the telephone number and address of the nearest Pathfinder bookstore.

Contributions and pledges can be sent to: Fall Publications Fund, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Checks should be made payable to Publications Fund.

Canadian unionists step up aid to Alberta meatpackers

BY JOE YOUNG

EDMONTON, Alberta — Seventy representatives of the packinghouse division of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in Canada met here on September 9 to plan increased support to the strike against Gainers'. Some 1,000 members of Local 280P of the UFCW have been on strike against the Gainers' pork-processing plant since June 1.

The representatives voted to increase weekly payments from \$2 to \$10 per member for a national defense fund that aids the strikers.

According to Kip Connolly, the UFCW's Alberta representative, "This will generate about \$130,000 a week instead of \$30,000 to \$40,000." The National Defense Fund adds \$100 a week to the strikers' \$40-a-week strike pay, bringing it up to \$140 a week.

Twenty strikers are on the road across Canada, winning support for the strike and a Canada-wide boycott of Gainers' products. Two strikers are being sent to spread the boycott to Oakland, California, where Gainers' owner Peter Pocklington has a plant and where Gainers' products are being sold.

These activities have generated widespread support. In Newfoundland, where a major public employees strike is on, 32 people have already agreed to contribute \$20 weekly until the strike is won. Also, two food chains, Coop and Dominion, have agreed to stop taking Gainers' products. Recently in Toronto, after 300 unionists picketed a Mr. Grocer store, the manager also agreed to withdraw the products. The Canadian paperworkers' union voted at its Canada-wide convention in New Brunswick to contribute \$60,000 to the strike.

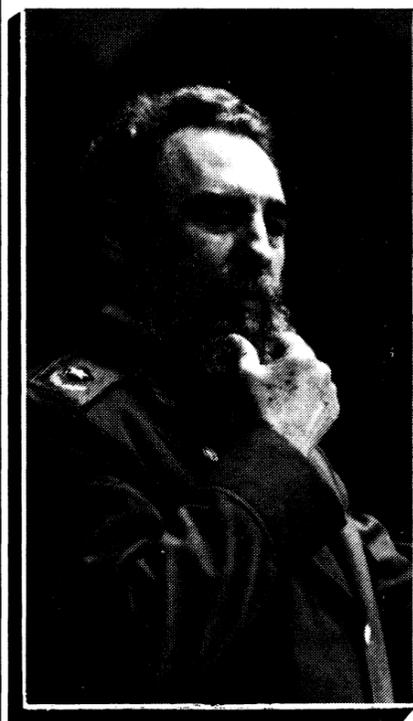
As part of continuing attacks on the strike, on September 10 the union was fined \$12,500 for violating an injunction that severely limits strike activities. The violations included attempts to stop scabs entering the plant and picketing businesses handling Gainers' products.

On September 12 another 11 strikers were arrested for leafleting outside a store carrying Gainers' products. UFCW spokesperson Ed Seymour explained, "These people had no signs. All they had were leaflets and coveralls with 'Boycott Gainers' signs on the back. If it means going to jail, then that's the way it is."

The UFCW is planning to organize picketing at all games of the Edmonton Oilers hockey club, which belongs to Pocklington. The union has produced a video and a record about the strike. Posters, flyers, and buttons are also available.

To order these materials, write to UFCW, 61 International Blvd., Suite 300, Rexdale, Ontario M9W 6K4, or phone (416) 675-1104. Financial contributions may be made to UFCW National Defense Fund at the same address.

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Subscribe
to the Militant

Talks with workers in W. Virginia, Pennsylvania

BY REBA WILLIAMS

I was part of the four-member subscription team that just completed a trip through western Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

At the Weirton plant we found by far the best response to the *Militant*. We sold 16 copies of the paper and engaged some of the workers in discussions about con-

ditions in their workplace. Weirton Steel has been "employee-owned" for about two years. We found a variety of opinions on what this "ownership" has meant.

One worker thought it was a good thing, because he was able to get dividends from the plant's profits. But, he added, "I'm also hoping to work one year without being laid off." He has about four months to go.

After hearing that the *Militant* is aiding the meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, in getting out the truth about their fight against Geo. A. Hormel & Co., another worker said, "Yeah, we need that here. We need some rank and file control."

One older worker who bought the paper as he was walking into work exclaimed, "The *Militant*! You don't have to tell me about that, I grew up on the waterfront with the Seafarers union. They were militants."

promised to send it in.

A Black woman walking out of the plant after her shift bought the paper based on the back-page article describing the rent strikes in South Africa and that government's violent evictions of the tenants who are participating in the strike.

At the Bethlehem Steel plant in Steelton, the biggest attraction was the article on the USX lock-out. Most of the steelworkers we sold to were trying to figure out how this affected them.

We were also able to do some door-to-door subscription sales in areas surrounding the coal mines and steel mills. Our discussion with residents reflected the big blows that had been dealt to the

unions in those areas. Workers had faced massive job losses, without a history of any fightback from their unions.

In Steubenville, Ohio, which is right across the river from Weirton, the team learned how the economic depression in the steel industry affects peoples' lives. For those who are working, their paychecks go to support extended families — a brother or sister who has been laid off, and their families.

A few did reflect hope and wanted to get either a single issue of the *Militant* or buy a subscription. They weren't just attracted to the labor coverage, but were also inspired by the articles about people fighting back in other countries.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Among our many sales were 37 copies of the *Militant* at four plant gates. This included a garment shop in Martinsburg, West Virginia; a General Electric plant in Erie, Pennsylvania; and two steel plants, one in Steelton, Pennsylvania, and the other in Weirton, West Virginia.

One worker thought it was a good thing, because he was able to get dividends from the plant's profits. But, he added, "I'm also

hoping to work one year without being laid off." He has about four months to go.

Subscription drive taps interest in socialist suit

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The campaign to win 10,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* has entered its third week, with a grand total of 3,284 subscriptions sold.

Already in several cities — Newark, Charleston, Portland, Philadelphia, San Jose, and St. Louis — supporters of the two socialist publications have done so well they have found it necessary to raise their initial goals.

One new city has also been added to this week's scoreboard: Columbus, Ohio. Hopefully, other additions will come in the next weeks. To order a bundle of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and take on a subscription campaign goal, see the coupon at the end of this article.

The *Militant* and *PM* supporters in Columbus took on a goal of 20 subscriptions. One of them termed this a "modest" goal, given heavy work schedules. But, he wrote, "I personally am confident of our ability to go over this goal, despite the time constraints."

News of the victory for democratic rights scored by the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against the FBI and other police agencies has inspired the subscription campaigners in Columbus to make some sales posters featuring the *Militant's* coverage of the case.

Salespeople in New York City also reported lively interest in the case, including among people who had read about it in the main New York dailies.

At New York University, two salespeople sold 12 subscriptions in less than an hour. Said one, "Some students stopped by the table because they liked the name, the *Militant*." Topics of particular interest included the *Militant's* coverage of the struggles in Nicaragua and South Africa, as well as the socialist lawsuit.

In San Diego, California, subscription

campaigners had already attained their initial goal for *Perspectiva Mundial* by September 9. "At first, we thought we would sell one *PM* sub for every four *Militant* subs sold," San Diego sales coordinator Ken Honda reports. But the actual ratio turned out to be one-for-one.

Fluency in Spanish was not necessary to achieve those results. Honda recounted the experience of one salesperson: "Having confidence that *PM* sells by itself, he shows *PM*, while repeating some phrases and words he knows in Spanish.

Salespeople in San Jose have also done well selling *PM* subscriptions. Sales coordinator Greg Nelson reports that in at least four bilingual households subscriptions were sold to both papers. "We can't assume that if someone buys a sub to one, they won't be interested in the other," observes Nelson, "since someone in the family may not know Spanish or English."

In Detroit, activists employed in different factories have been competing with each other to see who can do the best in selling subscriptions. "They have taken goals amounting to 110 subscriptions," reports Andrew Pulley, "nearly half of Detroit's goal. The newest supporters at General Dynamic's tank plant are out in front, having sold 11 toward their goal of 40, adopted in competition with supporters at Chrysler's Sterling Heights assembly plant, who took a goal of 40 first."

One Detroit steelworker, who only has about 60 coworkers on his shift, has already managed to sell subscriptions to six of them.

"We think we are in a good position to continue getting this kind of response on the job," Pulley states, "because a layer of union workers are looking for ideas on how to fight back against union-busting and war. The *Militant* and *PM* are the only source of news on how workers are resist-



Militant/Bill Kalman

Selling the 'Militant' to locked-out steelworker in Lorain, Ohio.

ing the bosses in this country and Nicaragua and South Africa."

Philadelphia, which has organized a wide variety of sales, has also stressed selling subscriptions in the plants. Fifteen members of auto, oil and chemical, and rail unions bought subscriptions on the job. Others were sold at plant-gate sales.

All of Philadelphia's on-the-job and plant-gate subscriptions were accompanied by sales of the recently published Pathfinder Press pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," by Fred Halstead.

In its first week on the road, a sales team that is covering the Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky coal-mining regions along

the Ohio River sold 58 subscriptions to the *Militant* and two to *PM*.

The team had a particularly gratifying experience at the Longwall coal mine in southern Ohio. According to team member Mary Martin, "Two coal bosses who ran ahead of the sales team warning miners not to stop for the *Militant* succeeded instead in convincing nearly every car to stop and talk to us." As a result, 21 miners bought the *Militant*, and one got a subscription.

At Ohio University, six students asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance following a talk at the campus by a YSA member of the team.

The Northwest sales team, which is covering parts of Idaho and Washington, has also been on the road for a week, selling 49 *Militant* and 11 *PM* subscriptions.

Most of the *PM* subscriptions were bought by Mexican and Chicano farm workers in Pasco, Washington. One of them commented, "The *campesinos* here really need something like this so they can read the truth about Nicaragua and make up their own minds. The TV news lies all the time."

Also in the Northwest, salespeople from Portland, Oregon, including Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate Amy Husk, sold several subscriptions to dairy farmers. They used the *Militant's* coverage of the current dairy farmers' strike to open discussions on the paper.

Salespeople at a farmers' conference held in St. Louis, Missouri, also did well, selling 25 subscriptions to the *Militant* and one to *PM*.

* * *

I would like to order a bundle of _____ Militants and _____ PMs.

I would like to take a subscription goal of _____ Militants and _____ PMs.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Mail to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, 10014. Or phone: (212) 929-3486.

Fall Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold	Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Mundial</i>			<i>Militant</i>	<i>Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Mundial</i>	
Atlanta	140	10	48	2	33	New Paltz, N.Y.	5	—	2	—	40
Baltimore	120	5	20	1	17	New York City	500	250	182	105	38
Birmingham	150	3	36	0	24	Newark	375	125	114	46	32
Boston	225	50	45	9	20	Oakland	200	30	44	6	22
Capital District, N.Y.	125	10	39	3	31	Philadelphia	175	50	85	4	40
Charleston, W. Va.	100	—	24	—	24	Phoenix	100	60	9	11	13
Chicago	300	50	60	14	21	Pittsburgh	100	5	25	2	26
Cincinnati	90	10	20	3	23	Portland, Ore.	105	15	38	1	33
Cleveland	125	15	29	1	21	Price, Utah	50	5	11	0	20
Columbus, Ohio	20	—	3	—	15	Salt Lake City	105	15	18	2	17
Dallas	225	75	32	15	16	San Diego	80	20	18	20	38
Denver	135	10	10	2	8	San Francisco	170	80	28	13	16
Detroit	230	20	81	6	35	San Jose	200	100	55	25	27
Greensboro, N.C.	140	10	32	3	23	Seattle	140	10	25	1	17
Houston	200	40	88	17	44	St. Louis	235	5	63	0	26
Kansas City	150	10	45	4	31	Tidewater, Va.	60	5	4	0	6
Los Angeles	300	200	76	51	25	Toledo, Ohio	100	5	19	2	20
Louisville	115	10	26	1	22	Twin Cities, Minn.	250	20	47	2	18
Miami	100	15	38	1	34	Washington, D.C.	160	40	40	8	24
Milwaukee	100	5	37	17	51	National teams	—	—	416	148	—
Morgantown, W. Va.	100	—	24	—	24	Other	—	—	657	6	—
New Orleans	90	10	18	1	19						
Totals											
							8,500	1,500	2,731	553	33
							to be on schedule		850	150	10

Sandinistas are winning confidence of farmers in remote rural areas

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — Route 7 runs for 100 miles between Juigalpa and Rama in central Nicaragua. It is the only paved highway in this part of the country. During late July it was so pitted with potholes and blocked by mudslides that the trip, in a four-wheel-drive pickup, took four hours.

Off the highway, there are only one-lane dirt roads and trails that lead into the Chontales Mountains and the thick forests of Central Zelaya Province. Tens of thousands of peasant families live on isolated farms and small settlements throughout this area, known as Region V.

Since late 1984 U.S.-backed mercenaries (*contras*) have tried to establish a base here for attacks against Nicaragua's workers' and peasants' government. The towns of Santo Domingo, La Gateada, Santa Ana, and Muelle de los Bueyes; peasant cooperatives; and travelers along Route 7 were all victims of these attacks during 1985. Dozens of peasants were assassinated, and many more kidnapped or coerced into joining the mercenary bands.

Today, however, "the contras have been severely weakened," says Danilo Salgado, regional president of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG). "The farmers and ranchers have more confidence and a greater participation in the revolution."

In this region, the government's land reform program is accelerating, Salgado said. The number of peasant production cooperatives increased from 72 to 194 during the first half of 1986.

UNAG has organized more than 200 rural committees, which are comprised of local leaders who take responsibility for community problems in a given agricul-

tural zone. Thousands of peasants also participate in UNAG assemblies and meetings.

On July 29 and 30 Salgado took a *Militant* reporting team to Santo Domingo, Santo Tomás, Muelle de los Bueyes, and Rama to interview leaders of UNAG and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Impact of mercenary war

"Historically, there was no tradition of political work by the Sandinista Front in this area," Ronald Estreba, FSLN political secretary in Muelle de los Bueyes, told us. Nevertheless, when the Sandinista revolution overthrew the Anastasio Somoza dictatorship in 1979, "there was great enthusiasm here. Many people joined the neighborhood committees, the women's association, and the Sandinista Youth," he said.

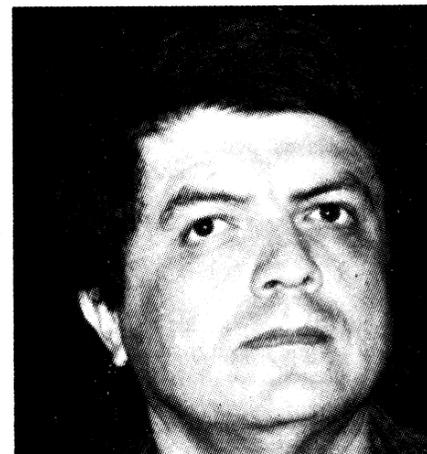
However, as U.S.-backed mercenaries escalated their attacks in northern Nicaragua in the early 1980s, Estreba said, the government put most of its resources and leadership into meeting that challenge. Little was left to bring schools, clinics, and other material improvements here to this region. The mass organizations fell apart in many areas.

The contras took advantage of these weaknesses and moved in here on a large scale in late 1984. They contacted supporters of the old dictator, and then tried to separate the peasantry as a whole from the revolution.

"The mercenaries waged a terror campaign against anyone identified with the revolution: teachers, health workers, militia members," Estreba said. "They assassinated 26 peasants in this zone alone during

dren under five years old suffer from malnutrition. Illiteracy is 40.4 percent nationwide and 84.2 percent in the countryside.

The FUTH denounced the arrest, kidnapping, and murder of workers, peasants, and opposition leaders under the Azcona regime and previous governments. It cited the recent rise of paramilitary death squads, including the *Escuadrón de la Muerte* (Death Squad) and *La Mano Negra* (The Black Hand), which have close ties to the police and military of the Azcona regime.



Militant/Bill Gretter
Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez denounced charge that Sandinistas plan violence against U.S. diplomatic personnel.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Members of farm cooperative in Region V. Increasing political attention to region and stepping up land reform have deepened farmers' participation in defense and in revolution as a whole.

the first half of 1985. Many more had to flee their lands for safety."

Contras' ideological campaign

"The contra propaganda took advantage of the shortages and supply problems," said Candido Espinosa, UNAG president in the Rama zone. "Of course, they made the problems worse by killing those in charge of supplying the peasants. They also threatened the peasants so they wouldn't go to town themselves. Then, they said everything would improve once the Sandinistas were defeated."

The mercenaries attempted to appeal to anti-communist prejudices and claimed that the Sandinistas "would take away the peasants' religion," Espinosa added. "They boasted of their strength and promised a quick victory over the Sandinistas."

"When we began the army draft in 1984, the contras told the peasants that the Sandinistas would take away all the men, who would be killed and never return," Espinosa said. Many farmers, especially those with medium-size holdings, hid their sons or sent them away — often to the mercenaries — to avoid the draft.

As the attacks escalated, the Nicaraguan government took steps to correct the weaknesses in this region. The army increased its forces and inflicted greater casualties on the mercenaries.

"However, the real victory comes as the peasants themselves are won to the revolution and take up defense themselves," Estreba explained. Here, UNAG plays a central role.

Land reform and peasant organizations

"We now have a presence throughout this zone," explained Bayardo Calero Jaime, UNAG president in Santo Domingo. "We help the peasants organize to resolve problems in transportation, credit, supplies, and marketing. We explain about the revolution and answer the lies and slanders spread by the contras."

"The land reform is crucial in confront-

ing the war," Estreba said. "This means we can give land, credit, and technical assistance to those forced to flee contra attacks." In the Rama zone alone, there are now 28 groups of peasants, mostly refugees, in the process of obtaining land and organizing cooperatives.

Muelle de los Bueyes is the municipal center of a rural area with more than 20,000 inhabitants, Estreba said. "There are new rural committees throughout this area, made up of respected leaders chosen by the peasants. On July 20 we held elections for a municipal committee. A year ago, no one would have dared be a candidate."

"The peasants elected 50 people to this committee," Estreba continued. "It includes Sandinistas, church activists, even open supporters of the contras. As long as they have the respect of the local people, and they work with the government to solve real problems, it is a political victory for us."

Views shift on war, draft

Estreba added that there were more than 120 desertions from the mercenary ranks in his area this year. These former contras are now reintegrated into their communities under Nicaragua's amnesty program. Some participate in the peasant militias and self-defense units, he said.

Estreba and Salgado said that there are now fewer draft evaders in the region. With a greater confidence in the revolution and bitter experience with terror attacks by the contras, more farmers are willing for their sons to join the army.

"There is also more social pressure," Estreba added. "Many peasants now feel that it is shameful to have a son in the contras. And when young men in the army come home and talk about their experiences, with the political consciousness they have gained, they increase the understanding and support for the revolution here."

Nicaragua condemns U.S. 'terrorist' smear

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez, at a press conference here September 9, denounced new U.S. accusations that the Sandinistas are terrorists.

Ramírez reported that on September 8 Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States, Carlos Tunnermann, had been called to a meeting in Washington, D.C., with William Walker, assistant secretary of state for Central American affairs.

In the meeting, "Walker claimed that according to unidentified U.S. intelligence sources, Nicaragua was preparing supposed attacks on personnel in U.S. diplomatic missions in Central America and other countries in Latin America," said Ramírez. "Walker said the U.S. government would blame the Nicaraguan government for any such attacks that occurred."

Calling Walker's charges "false and irresponsible," Ramírez explained that "as a

position of principle, Nicaragua rejects and condemns all types of terrorist actions."

He said this new U.S. threat was part of Washington deepening its mercenary war against Nicaragua and its "increasing rejection of civilized coexistence between states."

It is Washington, not Managua, that is pursuing "an official, bloody policy of state terrorism, which has led to the indiscriminate murder of thousands of Nicaraguan citizens and civilian volunteers of diverse nationalities," Ramírez said.

Slanderous charges of Sandinista "terrorism" are aimed at "creating the conditions to justify new and larger acts of aggression" against Nicaragua and at "avoiding the urgent call for peace expressed by the U.S. people themselves, the historic ruling of the World Court, and the strong statement of the eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries."

South African students challenge apartheid education

Play key role in popular upsurge

BY ERNEST HARSCH

(First of two parts)

The problem with South Africa's schools, according to officials of the apartheid regime, is that "outsiders" are bringing political issues into the classrooms.

"The program of these people is nothing but revolutionary education, highly politicized education, education with a militant, politically inclined content," complained Gerrit Viljoen, head of the Department of Education and Training (DET), which administers some 7,000 African schools.

Responded one Black student activist, "The government wants the politics out of education, but they made it political in the first place by making it different and not equal."

Whether the authorities like it or not, political struggle and discussion have become deeply rooted in the schools. Alongside other sectors of the oppressed Black population, millions of students, from the earliest grades through the university level, have become drawn into political activity. They have played a key role in the massive, popular upheaval that has been challenging the apartheid system for the past two years.

The centrality of this student struggle has been highlighted once again by the current clash between the DET and the students. Since mid-July, when the department imposed new repressive regulations on the schools, some 300,000 students have either been locked out or are boycotting classes to protest the regime's policies.

'Gutter education'

Students have been driven into action by the same oppression that confronts South Africa's entire Black population: the severe controls on where Blacks can live, the poverty and unemployment, the denial of most basic democratic rights. But students have their own particular grievances as well.

The educational system in South Africa is highly segregated and discriminatory. Black activists commonly refer to it as "gutter education."

Freedom Charter on education

The following is an excerpt from the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by nearly 3,000 delegates attending a Congress of the People near Johannesburg in June 1955.

The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!

The government shall discover, develop, and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas, and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honor human brotherhood, liberty, and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal, and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The color bar in cultural life, in sport, and in education shall be abolished.

Schooling for Blacks is near the bottom of the apartheid regime's priorities. In a country where Blacks are given little opportunity but to work for white employers, the authorities see no need for them to be educated beyond the minimum level necessary to perform their allotted jobs. Apartheid education is an education for servitude.

The first state schools for Africans were not set up until 1955, and Pretoria did not concede the principle of compulsory primary education for Africans until 1978. Although primary and secondary schooling is free for white students, Black parents must often pay for books and tuition.

Not all African youths even begin school, and of those who do, the drop-out rate is extremely high. Of the 5.5 million African students, only 350,000 are in high school. Although the bulk of white students finish the high-school examinations enabling them to go on to the university level, only 6 percent of African students are able to do so.

Classrooms in Black schools are severely overcrowded, with an average of more than 45 students per teacher. Only one-fifth of all African teachers have themselves finished high school. Black schools often lack sufficient books, desks, blackboards, or other supplies.

On average, Pretoria spends seven times more on the education of each white child than on a Black child's schooling.

Illiteracy

As a result, a University of Cape Town study of adult illiteracy found that 33 percent of all Africans over the age of 15 can neither read nor write. For the two other sectors of the Black population — those classified by the regime as Coloureds (of mixed ancestry) and Indians — the adult illiteracy rate is 15 percent and 8 percent, respectively. Among whites it is just 0.72 percent.

Besides the limits on the amount of schooling most Blacks can obtain, what they do get is racist and demeaning. Textbooks present whites as the "civilizers" and cover up the true histories of the indigenous African peoples.

Education in the Bantustans, the rural African reserves where a majority of all African schools are located, likewise aims to prevent the development of a common national identity. It seeks to foster divisions among Africans along language lines.

White students, meanwhile, are inculcated with racist views toward Blacks and are taught to accept the "necessity" of apartheid.

Reflecting Pretoria's divide-and-rule policies, South Africa's school system is very fragmented. Currently, there are 15 different education ministries: one in each of the 10 Bantustans, one (the DET) for the African schools in the rest of the country, one each for Coloureds and Indians, one for whites, and a "general" ministry to coordinate the policies of all the others.

Demands of the student movement

Although the apartheid "educators" originally hoped that their school system would teach Blacks to be subservient, that goal has clearly failed.

Ever since 1976, Black students have been in massive, open rebellion against apartheid education.

In June of that year, students in Soweto walked out of their classrooms and staged mass demonstrations to protest a new ruling that made the Afrikaans language (spoken by part of the white population) a mandatory language of instruction. Their protests were met with police gunfire, setting off a massive countrywide upheaval that was crushed only after more than 600 Blacks had been massacred by the police.

The regime made some concessions, such as allocating more funds for Black



Children at a school in Crossroads, near Cape Town.

education. But the fundamental nature of its school system did not change.

So students continued to raise their grievances and to engage in open protests. Among other demands, the students have called for:

- The establishment of a single national education department.

- An end to racial segregation and discrimination in the schools.

- Equal pay for Black and white teachers.

- The right to form democratically elected Students Representative Councils (SRCs).

- Student, teacher, and parent involvement in the drawing up of lesson programs.

Some demands have been broader, aiming at the apartheid system as a whole: for the withdrawal of troops and police from the Black townships, for the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and other anti-apartheid groups, and for the abolition of the Bantustan system.

In August 1984 the regime set up new, subservient Coloured and Indian chambers of parliament, a move that was widely seen by Blacks as an attempt to divide Coloureds and Indians from the African majority. Among other protests against the elections to those chambers, more than 600,000 Coloured students, and many Indian and African students as well, went on strike.

Their actions soon combined with rent boycotts and other protest activities in the Black townships, initiating the most massive and sustained popular upheaval South Africa has yet seen.

Ongoing student protests have been a central feature of this upheaval. According to the government's own figures, more than 900 African schools under the DET's jurisdiction were affected by class boycotts during 1985 alone, involving 674,000 students. Most of the Bantustans have also experienced student demonstrations and walkouts.

In addition, every single African, Coloured, and Indian university has been shaken. And students at a number of the predominantly white universities have likewise marched and rallied against apartheid policies and police repression.

The political orientation of most of the student groups that are active today is different from those that led the 1976 student rebellions. At that time, the positions and strategy of the outlawed ANC were not well known or understood among most student activists. They tended to look instead toward the political current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

But by the late 1970s and early 1980s, new student groups arose that based themselves on the Freedom Charter, the program for a democratic South Africa that is championed by the ANC. These included the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), which was active among primary and high school students, and the

Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), which organized on the Black university campuses.

These groups became part of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the broad anti-apartheid coalition founded in 1983. The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the main white university student group, also affiliated to the UDF.

In addition, hundreds of local student and youth congresses were established. According to UDF youth officer Daniel Montsitsi, who had been a leader of the 1976 Soweto student rebellions and had subsequently been imprisoned for several years on Robben Island, these congresses "drew on the experience of groups like the ANC Youth League. We regarded ourselves as a logical progression of that type of tradition, and the UDF was the overall coordinating organization."

COSAS banned

Until Pretoria outlawed it in August 1985, COSAS was the most important of the student groups. It had dozens of organized branches and several hundred thousand members.

As a key affiliate of the UDF, it served as the main link between the students and other sectors of the broad anti-apartheid movement. According to COSAS, "The education struggle goes hand in hand with other struggles in society."

COSAS, Azaso, NUSAS, and other organizations launched a campaign in 1984 to draw up an Education Charter, encompassing the population's main demands around education. This was inspired, in part, by the section of the Freedom Charter dealing with education (see box).

No national students' group of comparable weight has emerged since COSAS's banning. But a number of local and regional bodies have formed to try to partially fill the vacuum.

One of these is the UDF-affiliated Transvaal Students' Congress, which was launched in January by representatives from throughout the Transvaal Province, including from some of the Bantustans. In the region around Cape Town, numerous local Students Action Committees are affiliated to the Western Cape Students Congress, which in turn belongs to the UDF.

In many schools, students have also formed their own elected governing bodies, called Students Representative Councils.

The demand for official recognition of these SRCs was a central one in many of the student actions. After considerable resistance, the apartheid regime finally agreed in late 1984 to sanction their formation, but with limited powers and with no right to affiliate to any "outside" groups.

Nevertheless, students took advantage of this opening to strengthen their SRCs, for the most part ignoring the restrictions that Pretoria sought to impose on them.

Rehnquist: sworn enemy of civil liberties

New Supreme Court chief justice has long backed political spying

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The Senate confirmation hearings on William Rehnquist's nomination as the next chief justice of the Supreme Court have thrown a spotlight on his reactionary positions and views.

For more than 30 years, Rehnquist has opposed the gains of the civil rights movement, including the desegregation of schools. As a Supreme Court law clerk and assistant attorney general, he wrote memoranda defending segregated schooling. And since he became a justice of the Supreme Court in 1972, he has consistently voted against desegregating school systems.

Rehnquist has also strongly opposed the legalization of women's right to abortion and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. He has championed the death penalty.

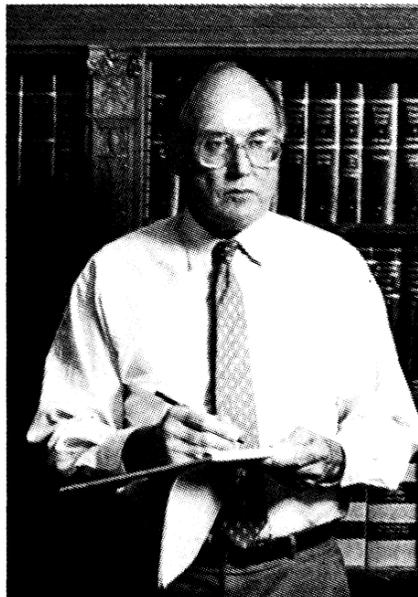
At a July 28 news conference in Washington, D.C., representatives of a broad range of groups, including the NAACP and the National Organization for Women, called on the Senate to reject Rehnquist's nomination, labeling him a reactionary enemy of democratic rights.

Nevertheless, the Senate confirmed his nomination on September 17.

Backs government spying

During the course of the confirmation hearings, the greatest attention was focused on Rehnquist's opposition to school desegregation and Black voting rights. His stance on civil liberties issues are equally reactionary, and are also of concern to political, labor, Black, and democratic rights activists.

In recent weeks, several new revelations have come to light about Rehnquist's role in upholding — and even developing — some of the illegal surveillance and disruption policies followed by the Nixon administration in the early 1970s. Most of these relate to a case known as *Tatum v. Laird*.



During Vietnam War, Rehnquist was directly involved in government spy operations against antiwar movement.

In 1970, Arlo Tatum, executive director of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, and 12 other individuals and antiwar groups filed suit against the U.S. Army. They sought an injunction to bar further surveillance of them by army intelligence agents and a court order requiring the army to destroy the dossiers it had compiled.

Rehnquist was assistant attorney general at the time, and served as the Nixon administration's chief public defender of such domestic spying operations. He claimed in congressional testimony that the Constitution permitted wiretapping, without a warrant, of persons considered "domestic subversives." He argued that Congress should not pass any laws restricting the ability of the executive branch to conduct domestic surveillance. And he dismissed protesters

against the U.S. war in Vietnam as the "new barbarians."

Testifying before a congressional subcommittee in May 1971, Rehnquist claimed that even "unauthorized" and "reprehensible" government surveillance did not violate "any particular individual's constitutional rights." He explicitly stated his view that *Tatum v. Laird* should be thrown out of the courts.

In 1972 the case went before the Supreme Court. By then Rehnquist had already become an associate justice. Although he had publicly "prejudged" the case — and according to customary legal practice should not have participated in the court's deliberations on it — Rehnquist refused to disqualify himself.

As a result, the Supreme Court voted, in a 5-to-4 decision, to throw the case out of the courts. If Rehnquist had not voted, leaving a split decision, a lower court's ruling that the case should be tried on its merits would have been upheld.

Shopping cart full of files

But Rehnquist's questionable involvement in this case went far beyond his "prejudgment" of it. Evidence indicates that he played a direct role in formulating the very policies that were being challenged by the Tatum suit. For instance, a recently uncovered 1969 memorandum signed by Rehnquist discussed aspects of the army intelligence surveillance program.

According to Christopher Pyle, a lawyer who was involved in the congressional inquiries into the program at the time, Rehnquist "was part of the leadership group that decided in the spring of 1969 to keep the

Army's 1,500 plainclothes agents monitoring civilian politics." In 1971 Pyle visited Rehnquist's office to examine computer printouts from the army's files on civil rights and antiwar activists. "They filled a large shopping cart," Pyle revealed.

That same year, in May, police in Washington, D.C., rounded up 14,517 antiwar demonstrators and held them in detention centers. The courts later termed those arrests illegal and awarded the victims \$3 million in damages.

According to a report in the July 25 *Long Island Newsday*, Rehnquist was "one of a handful of policymakers who, in a series of emergency meetings, devised the legal strategy to deal with the antiwar activists." Minutes of those meetings became public years later, and Rehnquist was quoted as advocating a "strong response" that amounted to "qualified martial law."

As a Supreme Court justice, Rehnquist has sought to defend similar efforts to spy upon, harass, and disrupt the lives and activities of citizens who are critical of U.S. government policies.

These are the same kinds of policies that have been challenged by the landmark suit brought against the FBI by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In his recent ruling on the case, Judge Thomas Griesa found many of these practices to be illegal and unconstitutional.

It is probable that the government will appeal Griesa's decision. If the case reaches the level of the Supreme Court, the presiding judge will likely be William Rehnquist.

And as Rehnquist's entire record shows, he will side 100 percent with the government and its police agencies.

Lawyers prepare for hearing in SWP lawsuit against FBI

Lawyers representing the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are preparing for a court hearing called for in Judge Thomas Griesa's August 25 ruling in the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI.

The judge declared that "the court has general power to grant an injunction with respect to documents that the Government obtained through clearly illegal activities, and the maintenance of which serves no legitimate purpose for the agency which possesses them."

The judge referred to two previous court rulings that "hold that an aggrieved party may obtain expungement of Government documents illegally obtained or maintained."

Griesa said that in his judgment the SWP and YSA "are entitled to this relief. The exact scope of the relief must be determined. But in principle it should cover records obtained illegally or developed from illegally obtained information."

He then stated, "A further proceeding will be necessary to identify precisely what documents and records fall into this category."

This forthcoming hearing before Judge Griesa will allow the attorneys for the SWP and YSA to pursue the question of which of the millions of pages of files were obtained illegally and what should be done about them now. These hearings can open the door to winning further victories for political rights.

Griesa's decision in the SWP and YSA lawsuit also declared illegal the use of undercover informers, burglaries to steal or copy private papers or to plant microphones, and disruption operations.

Any future actions by the FBI or other government agencies against the SWP and YSA will provide the basis to go back before the federal court to seek relief from such a violation of the ruling. Unions,

farmers' organizations, and other political organizations facing government harassment can seek the same relief on the basis of the federal court decision in the SWP-YSA lawsuit. The decision thus has the practical effect of an injunction against such government cop operations.

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — Joining in a discussion on how to use the recent victory of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in their lawsuit against the FBI were several leaders of struggles going on today. They addressed a September 6 meeting of 75 people here.

Don White, a leader of CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) who was recently expelled from El Salvador, hailed the SWP and YSA for a "marvelous struggle that has been so im-

portant to all of us."

White had gone to El Salvador at the request of human rights activists in that country to accompany some 600 families returning to land from which they had been expelled by the military.

White told of current U.S. government attempts to "silence as traitorous those who oppose U.S. intervention" in El Salvador.

Bill Smith is a well-known antidraft attorney and plaintiff in a National Lawyers Guild suit similar to that of the socialists. He was among the first supporters of the SWP suit, explained Olga Rodríguez, an SWP leader and the evening's chairperson.

"I hope this decision sets a precedent," Smith said. "But the victory doesn't mean the system works," he added.

"The only way to gain ultimate victory is for organizations such as the SWP to continue to fight for a society where it won't be possible to keep FBI files," Smith said.

Anthony Russo, a defendant in the famous Pentagon Papers case, said that he had always had a special affinity for the SWP suit, since Leonard Boudin's law firm had filed it in 1973, shortly after winning a victory in his case.

Michael Zinzun, now fighting for justice against Pasadena police who recently left him blind in one eye after a savage beating, spoke of his long relations with the SWP. "I give you credit for being consistent," he said. "I want to congratulate the SWP and YSA. We don't always agree, but we will be victorious in our struggle."

Greg Jackson, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, told of some of the lessons learned through the suit.

In a message read to the rally long-time fighter against political repression Frank Wilkinson said, "We hope that the SWP victory will help the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation and all others injured by the FBI in their own legal battles. We salute you for your leading role in this important matter."

The rally also heard a message from postal worker Ken Evenhuis. A witness during this trial of the suit, Evenhuis had told of fighting against being fired because of his membership in the SWP.

PR Political Rights DF Defense Fund

Help us win more victories for democratic rights

Now that a federal judge has ruled that the FBI's spying against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance was illegal, the case is going back to court to determine what will happen to the millions of secret files the government spies accumulated.

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Los Angeles meeting hails suit's 'marvelous struggle'

Working people's stake in defending

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The right to privacy. U.S. working people are fighting to expand this democratic right in order to be free of government interference and meddling in their individual lives and in the political organizations they belong to.

The battle to defend and extend the right to privacy is very much alive today in the struggle to protect legal abortion. Opponents of this right are seeking to restore the power of the state to intrude on a woman's personal decision to terminate a pregnancy.

The issue is in the forefront of the fight against attempts by employers and the government to impose massive testing of workers for drug use, an outrageous violation of the right to medical privacy.

It has also emerged as one of the central conquests for civil liberties in the August 25 federal court decision in the lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against FBI spying. For the first time, a federal judge ruled that the very presence of government informers in the SWP and YSA violated the right to privacy of association and the privacy of the individual members of the two socialist groups.

Defense of the right to privacy as a constitutional liberty — that is, the right to be free from government regulation or meddling in activities, engaged in by adults, that in no way interfere with the rights of others — is a relatively new terrain of battle for the working class. The victories that have been won are not the product of benevolent courts but of flesh-and-blood struggles to extend democratic rights as part of strengthening the fight against social injustice.

NAACP case

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, in standing up to police terror, lynchings, FBI harassment, and the Ku Klux Klan, carved out important victories for the right to freely participate in political organizations without government snooping. One landmark case was that of *NAACP v. State of Alabama*.

In the mid-1950s, the Alabama NAACP was playing a prominent role in struggles to overturn segregation on public buses and in the schools. Authorities tried to intimidate the civil rights group by invoking a state law that required corporations with headquarters outside Alabama to file registration papers in order to "do business" within state borders. (The national office of the NAACP, a nonprofit membership corporation, was in New York.)

The NAACP refused to comply with sections of the law requiring disclosure of the names of its rank-and-file members. To do so would have invited retaliation by local cops, hostile employers, and racist groups.

'A vital relationship'

The case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which finally decided in 1958 to uphold the NAACP's right not to release its membership list to state authorities. The court ruled that there is a

"vital relationship between freedom to associate and privacy in one's associations... particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs."

The court found that the NAACP had proven "that on past occasions revelation of the identity of its rank-and-file members has exposed these members to economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion, and other manifestations of public hostility."

1973 abortion decision

Individuals' right to privacy has also been advanced in recent years, most strikingly in the victories won for women's right to control their own bodies without government interference.

In 1965, for example, the Supreme Court found that a Connecticut law denying married couples the right to use contraceptives was an unconstitutional invasion of personal privacy. Over the next few years, the court extended this protection to include use of birth control devices by unmarried couples.

Then, in 1973, the Supreme Court struck down state laws prohibiting abortion at any stage of pregnancy. At the heart of the decision, known as *Roe v. Wade*, was the privacy issue.

The ruling came after women's rights supporters had successfully broken through the shroud of guilt and secrecy accompanying abortion and forced into public light the fact that thousands of women were dying each year from illegal abortions because of reactionary legislation.

The specific case the court ruled on was typical of the dilemma millions of working women faced because of laws controlling their bodies. Jane Roe (a pseudonym) was a single woman in Dallas, Texas, who became pregnant and decided she did not want to bear a child.

Abortion was illegal under Texas law, and Roe didn't have the money to travel to one of the few states where it was legal. She charged that the Texas law was invading her right to personal, marital, family, and sexual privacy, as protected by the Constitution.

In a 7-to-2 decision, the majority of Supreme Court justices found that "a right of personal privacy, or a guarantee of certain areas or zones of privacy, does exist under the Constitution," even though that document "does not explicitly mention any right of privacy."

The decision cited the First Amendment to the Constitution (guaranteeing freedom of religion, speech, of the press, and right of petition); the Fourth Amendment (freedom from unreasonable search and seizure); the Fifth Amendment (which includes the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law); and the Fourteenth Amendment (also barring unlawful deprivation of life, liberty, and property).

"This right of privacy," the decision stated, "is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to termi-

nate her pregnancy. The detriment that the State would impose upon the pregnant woman by denying this choice altogether is apparent."

One of the judges disagreeing with the majority opinion was William Rehnquist, who today is being considered for the post of chief justice of the Supreme Court. Rehnquist focused his dissenting opinion on the right of privacy as well, denying that such a right was at issue in the *Roe v. Wade* case.

Barging into bedrooms

The importance of what was conquered in the abortion decision — not only for women, but all citizens — was underlined this year in a June 30 Supreme Court ruling that dealt a setback to the right to privacy.

The case involved a Georgia man named Michael Hardwick. In 1982, a cop had gone to Hardwick's home allegedly to col-



A 1970 demonstration demanding legalization of abortion. Supreme Court ruling three years later struck down antiabortion laws as violation of right to privacy.

What FBI tried to hide about its use of

The following is from the August 25 ruling by U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa in the lawsuit against the FBI by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. These excerpts are taken from the section on informants. The subtitles are the *Militant's*.

The evidence shows that the FBI used confidential informants in its investigation of the SWP as early as 1941.

The term "informants" refers to persons, other than FBI agents, who provide information to the FBI, often on a regular basis and for money.

Although the FBI used informants in connection with the SWP since at least 1941, the evidence in this case about informants relates mainly to the years since 1960. During the period 1960-1976 there were a total of about 300 member informants and about 1,000 non-member informants used by the FBI in the SWP investigation.

In the present litigation, the handling of pretrial discovery regarding the FBI informants was the subject of substantial controversy. In the summer of 1976 the FBI produced its files (in expurgated form) on seven of the informants, whose identities were already known to plaintiffs [SWP and YSA]. Shortly thereafter plaintiffs moved for the production of additional files. The FBI had answered interrogatories designating each of the 1,300 informants by number and giving certain limited information about them without identifying them.

On the basis of these interrogatory answers plaintiffs requested production of 19 files. At some point one of the 19 files was voluntarily produced, but the FBI resisted production of the remaining 18. On May 31, 1977 the court ordered that the 18 files be produced to certain specified attorneys

representing plaintiffs (led at that time by Leonard B. Boudin, Esq.) with the direction to these attorneys that they should not reveal the identities of the informants or any information in the files to anyone else without specific authorization from the court.

The Government sought review of the May 31, 1977 ruling by appeal and mandamus [order from higher court] petition. The court of appeals dismissed the appeal and denied mandamus, holding that the district court order was a proper exercise of discretion.

Thereafter the district court attempted to obtain a settlement of this controversy. The FBI agreed to produce 4 of the 18 files in question. However, this was not satisfactory to plaintiffs. Thus the order of May 31, 1977 remained outstanding as to 14 files and needed to be complied with.

Attorney General in contempt

At this point, the Attorney General, as the official ultimately in charge of the FBI, assumed responsibility for the matter and on June 13, 1978 filed an affidavit announcing that he would not comply with the court order. Plaintiffs moved to hold the Attorney General in contempt.

On June 30, 1978 the district court handed down a decision, holding that the Attorney General would be in civil contempt of court if he did not comply with the district court order by a specified time. The Attorney General did not comply, and was thus held in contempt.

The Attorney General appealed and sought a writ of mandamus. The court of appeals granted the writ of mandamus, vacated the contempt citation, and directed the district court to work out an alternative sanction with regard to the refusal of the Attorney General to produce the files. The

court of appeals recommended that the district court or a special master review the files *in camera* [in private] and come up with a "set of representative findings" which would not compromise the identity of the informants, but would be the basis for developing the relevant facts regarding informants.

On April 30, 1979 the district court appointed as special master Honorable Charles B. Breitel, former Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals.

Under FBI supervision

Each informant was supervised by an FBI agent (the case agent) in a particular local field office. Each member informant reported to the case agent regarding (1) what occurred at every meeting and every other activity he attended, and (2) the name, address, physical description, place of employment, and a great deal of other personal information about the SWP and YSA members, and their families. The personal information covered matters such as marital or cohabitational status, marital strife, health, travel plans, and personal habits.

Informants were paid according to what the FBI considered to be the quality of their work. Of the 14 informants whose files the Special Master examined, and the 4 whose files were voluntarily produced, all but 2 were compensated. During the years 1960-1976 the 16 who were compensated received a total of \$264,239 for services and \$94,408 reimbursement for expenses, for a grand total of \$358,647. In many cases payments for services ranged up to \$200 or \$300 per month.

For the FBI investigation of the SWP, the gross amount paid to all informants during the years 1960-1976 was \$1,680,592.



Militant/L Paltrineri

John Dillon of Hormel Strikers Support Committee addresses September 12 Newark rally celebrating victory in socialist lawsuit against FBI. Also speaking were Connie Gilbert Neiss, National Organization for Women; John Studer, Political Rights Defense Fund; Héctor Marroquín and Chris Brandlon, Socialist Workers Party.

right to privacy

lect for a misdemeanor ticket. The policeman barged right into Hardwick's bedroom, found him having sex with a male companion, and arrested him for breaking the state sodomy law. Although the charges were later dropped, Hardwick sued for this grotesque violation of his right to personal privacy.

In a 5-to-4 decision, the majority of the Supreme Court ruled there was no invasion of constitutional liberties involved. They argued that the issue was whether the court should recognize "a fundamental right to engage in homosexual sodomy" and they upheld the reactionary Georgia sodomy law.

'At heart of Constitution'

But in a dissenting opinion, Justice Harry Blackmun pointed out that the case was not fundamentally about sodomy at all, homosexual or heterosexual. Rather, he wrote, it boiled down to one of the most basic democratic rights of all: "the right to be let alone."

Blackmun noted that the majority decision flatly contradicted the underlying principles of privacy codified in the *Roe v. Wade* decision, as well as constitutional rights as a whole.

"What the Court really has refused to recognize is the fundamental interest all individuals have in controlling the nature of their intimate associations with others," Blackmun said. "The right of an individual to conduct intimate relationships in the intimacy of his or her own home seems to me to be at the heart of the Constitution's protection of privacy."

Socialist Workers Party case

The debate over the Supreme Court ruling in the Hardwick case highlights the importance of the August 25 federal court decision in the SWP lawsuit against the FBI. Here, new legal ground was broken in expanding the right to privacy.

The lawsuit was originally filed in 1973, at a time when millions of working people were becoming aware of the dangers posed by government infringement of privacy. They were outraged to learn, for example,

that the FBI had systematically bugged the hotel rooms of civil rights leader Martin Luther King and even sent him a tape with an anonymous note suggesting he commit suicide.

Spies working directly under White House supervision were exposed for burglarizing the office of a psychiatrist to see medical records of Daniel Ellsberg. Ellsberg was facing criminal charges for having released to the press the Pentagon Papers, secret government documents that revealed how Washington lied to the U.S. people throughout the Vietnam War. The court eventually dismissed the charges because of gross government misconduct.

In the course of the socialist lawsuit, volumes of further FBI crimes came to light. The FBI conducted more than 200 burglaries of SWP offices or the private homes of members. The judge found that the government carried out 20,000 days of illegal wiretaps against the socialists and 12,000 days of illegal bugging.

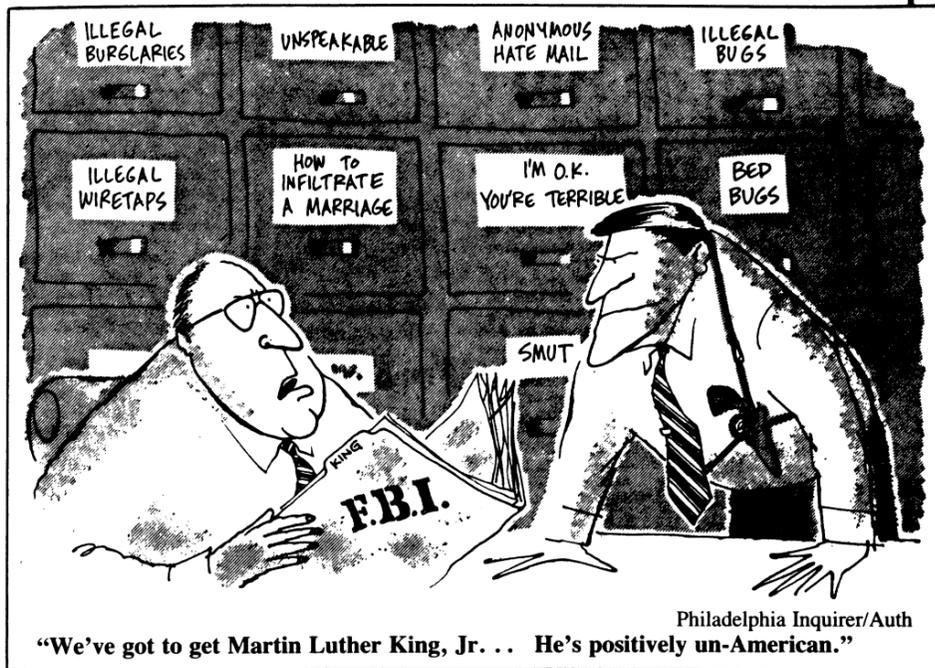
Picking through trash

The FBI admitted that from 1960 to 1976, it targeted the socialists with 1,300 informers, 300 of whom were inside the SWP. One informer picked through the trash at an SWP office. Another spied on the confidential medical records of SWP members and their relatives at a hospital.

Informers who masqueraded as members of the party participated in private meetings of the socialists and voted, despite the fact that they were completely opposed to the group's goals. They tried to stir up disagreements between party members and snooped into personal and family problems.

Printed below are excerpts from Judge Thomas Griesa's decision, where he summarizes some of the criminal activities of the FBI's informers at greater length.

The judge ruled that this use of informers was entirely unlawful, a violation of the right to privacy of association and of the individual right to privacy. He awarded the socialists \$125,000 in damages for the activities of the informers alone.



This 1975 cartoon reflects outrage that swept country over FBI spying on personal life of civil rights leader King.

Defending his decision to give the socialists damages, the judge dismissed the government's argument that the FBI had merely been "a passive recipient" of informer reports. "The FBI was anything but a passive party," he declared.

"The FBI's use of informants clearly constituted invasion of privacy. While the informants obtained some information of a public nature, the program was really designed to ferret out private matters.

"The work of the member informants had the effect of admitting the FBI covertly into the midst of the most private discussions," Judge Griesa stated. "The member informants were instructed to gain the confidence of key persons in the SWP organization so that the informants could be privy to plans and also to any problems that might be developing.

"The informants, both member and non-member, obtained information not only about organizational subjects but also about purely personal matters. The latter was sought by the FBI for its relevance to the organization and possible FBI operations to disrupt the organization through actions against the members. Thus the

FBI's intrusion upon the privacy of the members was in reality an intrusion on the organization."

No federal court has ever ruled before that the presence of government informers in a political organization violates the right to privacy. The judge also found that the FBI burglaries and wiretaps infringed on privacy. He cited the *NAACP v. State of Alabama* case, among others, in reaching his decision.

The fact that this ruling comes in the case of two organizations that publicly advocate communist views makes it all the more far-reaching as a tool for everyone else opposing government policy.

As more and more workers find themselves locked in struggles to protect their unions and rights on the job, the right to be free of government intrusion will become increasingly important. The same is true for working farmers, women's liberation activists, Black and Puerto Rican groups, and organizations opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

The decision in the SWP case should be studied widely and used for the powerful weapon it is.

informers — excerpts from federal court decision

Presumably the principal purpose of an FBI informant in a domestic security investigation would be to gather information about planned or actual espionage, violence, terrorism or other illegal activities designed to subvert the governmental structure of the United States.

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

What the informant activity yielded by way of information was thousands of reports recording peaceful, lawful activity by the SWP and YSA.

Not just observers

With regard to the nature of the informants' activities, it was the FBI's strategy that the member informants should not be "quietly sitting back as observers," but should enter into discussions and engage in normal organizational activity. The member informants in the SWP and YSA were also encouraged to cultivate relationships with these organizations' leaders in order to assist the informants in attaining leadership positions. In the view of the FBI the value of informants increased with their advancement to higher levels in the organizations being investigated.

A number of the member informants did in fact achieve positions of responsibility in local SWP and YSA branches: secretary, treasurer, director of fund raising, "organizer," and member of the executive committee or executive board. One infor-

mant served on a national committee of the SWP. Three informants ran for political office as SWP candidates. About 55 FBI informants held offices or committee positions in the SWP and YSA between 1960 and 1976. Approximately 51 informants served on executive committees or executive boards.

The evidence shows that, when the occasion permitted, the FBI encouraged the member informants to frustrate the growth of the organizations. The Special Master's report shows that one informant, who served as an SWP branch organizer for many years, periodically reported to the FBI that the branch was making no effort to recruit new members. An FBI memorandum reported that this informant, as well as a second informant, used their influence to suppress recruiting activities by the branch as well as branch activities in general. According to the Special Master's report, at least two other SWP informants, following FBI instructions, periodically urged that contributions and dues be lowered from what they were, or be set at lower figures than suggested by other members.

The member informants were expected to provide the FBI with copies of SWP and YSA documents, including private documents, obtained by surreptitious means if necessary. Certain non-member informants provided documents, such as a janitor who searched trash of an SWP branch. Between 1960 and 1976 the informants — mainly member informants — supplied the FBI with about 12,600 SWP and YSA documents, about 7,000 of which were intended to be available only within the organizations. These private documents included membership lists, financial records, financial budgets and projections, minutes of meetings, mailing lists, and correspon-

dence. The member informants generally obtained the documents from SWP and YSA offices, although at least one member informant obtained confidential documents from the residence of another member.

Steady flow of information

Many of the member informants served over lengthy periods of time. This provided the FBI with a steady and voluminous flow of detailed information. According to the Special Master's report, one unidentified informant worked in a local SWP office over a ten-year period opening all mail and regularly furnishing the FBI with minutes of meetings, card files, mailing lists, financial documents, and all incoming and outgoing correspondence, as well as certain flyers and leaflets not publicly available.

One informant who has been identified is Edward Heisler. Heisler was a member of the SWP branch in Chicago from 1960 to 1980, and was an FBI informant from 1966 to 1971. He had keys made to the SWP's local office. He would obtain access to documents during the day, remove them, rush them to an FBI agent for copying, and then return them to the office. Sometimes there were documents which could not be removed during the day, in which case Heisler would enter the office at night and remove the desired documents for photocopying.

Another identified informant is Ralph DeSimone, who was secretary of a YSA branch in Berkeley, California. The branch received the confidential minutes of the National Executive Committee of the YSA. These were kept in a locked drawer in the local office. DeSimone had a key to this drawer, and provided the FBI with information from these minutes.

The Special Master's report states that one non-member informant was an em-

ployee at a hospital where SWP members and their relatives were patients. This informant supplied the FBI with dozens of hospital records. The FBI files clearly indicate recognition on the part of the FBI that the informant was violating his duty to the hospital and that the procurement of these records by the FBI was a flagrant invasion of the privacy of the patients. The FBI file cautioned that particular care should be taken to conceal the identity of the informant. One memorandum stated that care should be exercised in circulating the information even within the FBI, "since hospital records are confidential."

DECISION:
Government Spying and Disruption is
Unconstitutional and Illegal

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Banks, Lorenzo stage Eastern union-busting

BY STU SINGER

MIAMI — Eastern Airlines workers are under attack. Our jobs, pay, benefits, working conditions, and right to belong to unions are being threatened. Five hundred members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) were just laid off along with 500 nonunion clerks. The company is behind a drive to split the skilled mechanics away from the IAM. Disciplinary action against workers at Eastern is at a new high, and there is nonstop antiunion propaganda.

This attack is taking place in the context of major shakeups at U.S. airlines. Thousands of airline employees are being pushed out of work and airline safety continues to deteriorate as a result of corporate and government policy.

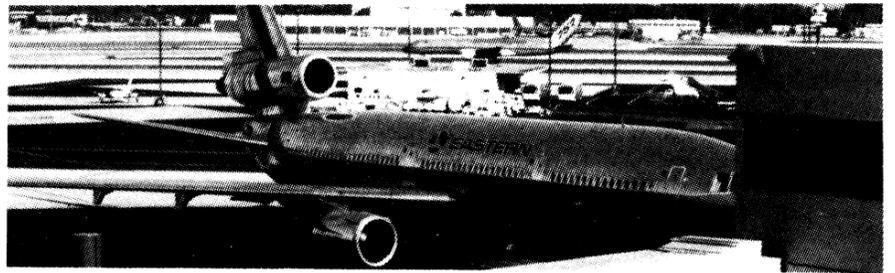
Eastern airlines has gone through several ownership and management changes recently. The latest twists in the Eastern business story give the company to Texas Air president Frank Lorenzo, who broke the unions at Continental Airlines three years

ago.

But Lorenzo's purchase of Eastern, which is still being considered by the U.S. Transportation Department, will not change who is behind the \$4 billion-a-year operation. Big banks and insurance companies such as Chase Manhattan, Citibank, Prudential, and Equitable, which have always run Eastern, are now bankrolling Lorenzo.

The IAM is the largest union in the airline industry. It represents ground workers — mechanics, cleaners, baggage and freight handlers, and stock clerks at Eastern.

The union's contract with Eastern runs through 1987. But Lorenzo wants to change that. The company has the IAM in court now. It claims District 100 President Charlie Bryan reopened the contract when he offered a 15 percent pay cut earlier this year if former Eastern President Frank Borman would resign. Bryan's offer was rejected, although Borman resigned a few months later anyway.



Militant/Stu Singer

At the same time, the union refused the 20 percent pay cut the company demanded.

While the IAM ended up with no pay cut, pay for pilots was cut 20 percent, and flight attendants suffered even larger pay cuts and drastic changes in work rules.

Divide and conquer

Management is trying to convince pilots, flight attendants, and other workers that their pay cuts and the company's problems are all the IAM's fault. The divide-

and-conquer strategy has succeeded with officials of other unions. Larry Schulte, head of the pilot's union, the International Air Line Pilots Association, and Robert Callahan, president of Local 553 of the Transport Workers Union, which represents the flight attendants, both praised the company for the new layoffs, saying they were overdue.

The IAM is the target of a company-backed craft union, the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA), which is trying to convince mechanics to leave the IAM. Eastern is backing this raiding operation. Company President Joseph Leonard issued a letter July 24 about the "unrealistic expectations of ramp servicemen and aircraft cleaners."

"Quite frankly," Leonard said, "it makes little sense to me that our mechanics are now grouped in the IAM with this craft of employees so that mechanics can't be judged on the basis of their own contributions to Eastern."

This verbal attack was followed by the heavy layoffs. Most of the 500 IAM members laid off are cleaners. At the same time the company is hiring 200 new mechanics.

A cleaner on the midnight shift said, "He thinks we're riffraff. And there's an element of prejudice. The large majority of Blacks and women in the union are cleaners and ramp workers. And we're the ones Leonard thinks are overpaid."

The other group of workers laid off are the nonunion ticket agents and clerks.

Labor-management cooperation

In 1983 Eastern officials went along with union proposals for labor-management cooperation to boost profits. Company head Borman originally denounced these proposals as "letting the monkeys run the zoo."

The IAM leaders asked for a seat on the board of directors, an employee involvement program, and worker stock ownership. Some thought this was a step to permanent peace between workers and management. But there was never a change in who ran Eastern.

The strongest proponent of cooperation with the company has been IAM District 100 President Charlie Bryan, who sits on the board of directors.

The cooperation plan never worked. Bryan reported that the board holds secret meetings from which the union representatives are excluded. When they are present, the board either votes unanimously against the union officials or the union representatives vote for antilabor positions held by the rest of the board. For example, Callahan and Bryan both voted for huge pay raises for Borman, and they just approved a \$50,000-a-year raise for Leonard. Most workers are outraged by this.

But when the company announced the latest round of layoffs, Bryan charged that he was not consulted.

The Eastern unions have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars hiring Wall Street merger specialists, lawyers, stockbrokers, and accountants to advise us. Their advice has not helped us fight the company. Defending the union does not require financial advice, but union action.

It is the IAM members at Eastern who will fight the company's union-busting. We can win if we fight them on our turf, not on Wall Street. Solidarity with the other workers at Eastern will be crucial.

Lorenzo, the bankers, consultants, lawyers, and management cannot run the airline. They can't fly the planes or keep them running. And with all their contempt for the aircraft servicers, ramp workers, and flight attendants, how many planes can Leonard and Lorenzo clean, load, and fly every day?

Stu Singer is an aircraft servicer at Eastern in Miami and a member of IAM Local 702.

Kansas meatpackers' strike hits speedup

BY JEFF POWERS

ARKANSAS CITY, Kan. — Four hundred people from United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 340 at Ark City Packing here hit the bricks more than two months ago when they were forced out on strike by the owner, John Morrell.

Morrell demanded massive givebacks in wages, benefits, and working conditions. Hourly wages in the plant were \$8, well below the more than \$10 average paid at the other John Morrell plants.

The company, which made more than \$27 million in profits last year, demanded a \$1.50-an-hour wage cut. On top of that, they demanded an additional \$1.50-an-hour cut in benefits.

But it was the proposed changes in work rules that most angered the workers. Working conditions in the plant are inhuman, yet John Morrell demanded speedup. For example, under the old contract the working day was limited to 10 hours. Morrell now demands the right to work employees unlimited hours.

Ark City has one of the highest accident rates in an industry that is one of the most dangerous to work in.

At Ark City, over the past three years there has not been a 60-day period when a critical, lost-time accident did not occur. In addition, scores of workers suffer from carpal tunnel syndrome and other debilitating

injuries.

Many of the workers are just out of high school. "They just whip them in and out of the plant like it was going out of style," an officer from Local 340 told me. "I believe to get the 400 people they had before we went out on strike, they went through 2,000 people altogether."

One of the most degrading things about working at Ark City is that you can't get off the line to go to the bathroom. "They tell you that you can only go on breaks," the Ark City workers told the *Militant*. "Many workers have defecated or urinated in their pants."

"You walk off the line and you get fired," a worker explained to me. "The union can get your job back, but it takes at least a couple of weeks."

"The bottom line is that no one can expect to make it 30 years in the plant and retire," another worker said. "The work is just too demanding."

In 1982, claiming they were broke, the plant now called Ark City Packing closed its doors. At that time, its name was John Morrell, and it paid its workers more than \$11 an hour.

In those days, more than 1,000 people worked in the plant, which included meat processing as well as the cut-and-kill hog operation.

An agreement was struck with the

UFCW when the plant closed that it not be reopened within five years unless workers were called back by seniority and the previous bargaining agreement put back into effect. When the plant reopened in 1983, however, the name was changed to Ark City Packing. John Morrell still owned it, and management was the same, but the union was gone, and wages were slashed to \$5 an hour. In addition, there were jobs for only 400 workers.

Although most of the workers hired by Ark City were new, some of the old work force was also rehired. These older workers, in collaboration with the UFCW International, reorganized the plant and bargained for a new agreement.

The new agreement was a definite improvement over the nonunion shop, but it was not comparable to the far superior wages and working conditions found at other John Morrell plants.

Moreover, the expiration date of the Ark City Packing contract no longer coincides with the contracts of the other plants in the Morrell chain.

When the current strike began on July 1, one of the first steps the Ark City workers took was to send roving pickets to the John Morrell plants in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and St. Louis, Missouri. These pickets were successful in quickly shutting down both operations.

"The main John Morrell plant is in Sioux Falls," one worker told me. "I went up there myself. Out of the 2,500 or so people who work there, I'd say only six crossed the picket line."

But the company was well prepared for the strike and quickly obtained a temporary court injunction against the pickets. The injunction said that the non-striking John Morrell workers faced loss of jobs if they did not return to work.

In another more recent decision the company got the court to rule that the final determination on the right of workers to honor the roving pickets must be made in arbitration — a decision that could take months. In the meantime, the court said, the previous "temporary" injunction stands.

The strike remains solid. "Eighty workers from our bargaining unit have crossed the picket line and returned to work," an officer from UFCW 340 told the *Militant*.

"Considering how young and new to the union most of our members are, I think we're doing great."

"Another 200 scabs have been hired, but because work conditions are so horrendous, nowhere near that many remain in the plant," he continued.

Local police have harassed the union's pickets, and another injunction limits them to two to the gate. "The police have told us that if anything happens on the picket line, it will be our fault," the official said.

In spite of all their problems, the workers assured me their spirit remains strong. Messages of support and other forms of solidarity are urgently needed. They should be sent to: UFCW Local 340, 1423 S. Summit, Arkansas City, Kansas (316) 442-5545.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? Struggle in Argentina

Since the military dictatorship ended in Argentina in 1983, working people there have faced a continuing offensive against their rights and living standards by the bosses both in Argentina and abroad.

Emilio Rubiati, a leader of the Argentine revolutionary group, Praxis, describes these attacks and the fight against them in an interview in the September issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

He explains that wages are now almost half what they were 10 years ago. Unemployment and underemployment are over 20 percent.

Rubiati points out that "when the dictatorship took power in 1976, the foreign debt was \$9.5 billion. When it stepped down, the debt was up to \$45 billion. And now it has reached \$55 billion."

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



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Philippines: coming test of strength between exploited and oligarchy

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — More than six months after dictator Ferdinand Marcos was brought down by massive popular mobilizations the Filipino landlords and capitalists are no closer to establishing a stable regime or turning back the deep social and political turmoil that characterized the last years of the tyrant's rule.

To the contrary, a deepening class polarization — fueled by a profound economic crisis and a growing push from reactionaries inside and outside Corazon Aquino's administration — is sharpening divisions inside the government and bringing closer a new test of strength between the workers and peasants and the ruling oligarchy.

Shaping up for this confrontation are, on the one hand, the principal survivors from the Marcos regime — above all, the officer caste of the 250,000-strong armed forces headed by Minister of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile and Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos.

On the other hand, the retreat of Aquino's liberal supporters in cabinet in the face of right-wing belligerence has increasingly compelled the labor movement, headed by the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation, to initiate popular mobilizations in defense of democratic rights.

Throughout the 1980s the KMU, led by supporters of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), has expanded through a series of hard-fought strike battles that won it the leadership of the militant workers.

The peasant war against landlordism led by the CPP's New People's Army (NPA) also grew rapidly as the discontent of landless peasants boiled into rage. By 1985, even U.S. officials estimated that the CPP "influenced" 20-25 percent of Philippine villages.

Important turning point

An important turning point proved to be the July 6-7 takeover of the Manila Hotel by thousands of pro-Marcos loyalists backed by 500 heavily armed soldiers.

While refusing to join the rebellion, Enrile, who had also been minister of defense under Marcos, unilaterally offered its participants an amnesty if they surrendered peacefully to him. Despite public outrage and the opposition of some government ministers, not a single leader of the rebellion has been prosecuted.

The conflicts within the government over how to handle the provocations by Marcos loyalists is just one aspect of the tactical differences that exist within the ruling coalition. At the heart of the debate is how to best defend the interests of the landlord and capitalist ruling class in face of a combative working class and peasantry spurred by intolerable economic and social conditions inherited from the Marcos era.

Central to Aquino's popularity was her pledge to "dismantle the Marcos dictatorship" through restoring democratic liberties, ending the corruption of the Marcos years, and bringing peace to the countryside through seeking a cease-fire and "national reconciliation" with the guerrilla movement.

In this she was reflecting the standpoint of those landlords and capitalists who were themselves victims of Marcos' repression and had been excluded from his political patronage and "crony capitalism."

Goal of Aquino wing

They were convinced that military repression alone had failed to turn back the rising tide of the class struggle. Their goal today is to draw communists and other leaders of popular struggles into collaboration with the new regime, thereby politically disarming the workers and peasants and opening the way to dealing more decisive blows to a weakened movement.

Aquino reaffirmed this approach August

13 when she announced that "Philippine communists who renounce violence will be allowed to work in the government," according to the August 14 *Washington Post*.

From the beginning, this course has been resisted by the military wing of the government, headed by Enrile and Ramos, supported in some measure by several of the civilian cabinet ministers who, like Vice-president Salvador Laurel, had also been beneficiaries of the Marcos regime.

Their perspective is not to "dismantle the Marcos dictatorship" but to revamp it so as to preserve and strengthen their own privileges within the old machine and business empire while retaining what they believe to be the only effective vehicle for repressing the workers' and peasants' struggles.

"I would not have disturbed the political structures as pervasively as has been done," Enrile told the *Manila Observer* in relation to Aquino's abolition of the Marcos parliament and purge of many Marcos supporters from civil service, business, and local government positions. "Instead I would have co-opted these institutions and used them to strengthen the central Government."

Olive branch

This policy included holding out the olive branch to the pro-Marcos provincial warlords and other loyalist thugs, a policy Enrile and his allies have been implementing through their control over the army.

The opposition National Democratic Front (NDF), which is allied with the NPA, has complained that while Aquino promised to disarm the warlords and disband their private armies, the military is treating them like allies, not enemies. The NPA quoted Gen. Ramos as saying that the armed followers of Mindanao warlord and top Marcos crony, Ali Dimaporo, could not be confronted at the moment in order "to maintain [the] balance of power in the area."

But no olive branch has been held out to the peasant guerrillas. The August 2 issue of *Malaya* reported that "Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, claiming military 'superiority,' yesterday declared the 250,000-strong AFP (Armed Forces of the Philippines) can wipe out the armed communist rebellion in the country in one 'fast' sweep if President Corazon Aquino orders so."

The military high command has sought every opportunity to escalate the armed conflict in the countryside while seeking to pin the blame on the guerrilla movement.

During June, for example, more than 4,000 residents of the Sipalay uplands in southern Negros Occidental were forced to flee their homes when the army conducted a two-week search-and-destroy operation in response to an alleged ambush by NPA guerrillas. The peasants' homes were burned and looted. More than 1,000 people have died in such conflicts since February, according to the military.

Task Force Detainees of the Philippines reported that as of June 30 the armed forces held 396 political prisoners. Many have been charged with common crimes such as "illegal possession of a firearm" or "murder" to avoid Aquino's declared amnesty for political detainees.

Cease-fire talks

The military's immediate goal is to sabotage the cease-fire talks that got under way in August between representatives of the CPP-led forces and the government.

The rebel forces appointed as their negotiators CPP political bureau member Saturnino Ocampo, a Marcos political detainee for nine and a half years until he escaped in 1985, and NDF spokesman Antonio Zumel.

Aquino appointed a government panel of Jose Diokno, head of the Presidential Com-

Continued on Page 13



Militant/Deb Shnookal

Popular mobilizations of Filipino workers defend democratic rights against plotting oligarchs, particularly those whose power rests in the military and other survivors of Marcos regime.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Political prisoners released in Poland

The Polish government announced on September 11 that it would free all 225 prisoners being held for their political views and activities. Interior Minister Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak said that the amnesty covered all prisoners accused or tried for offenses against the state who were not subject to charges of espionage, terrorism, sabotage, or treason.

Among those being released are leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union. One of the first to walk out of prison was Zbigniew Bujak, a leader of Solidarity's underground organization until his capture on May 31. Bujak told journalists that unless the government allowed the opposition to function legally, the underground would continue its work.

This is the third such amnesty since martial law was proclaimed on Dec. 13, 1981.

India sues Union Carbide over Bhopal accident

A civil suit was filed in Bhopal against the Union Carbide Corp. on September 5 by the Indian government. The suit seeks compensation on behalf of victims of the December 1984 toxic gas leak at the company's pesticide plant in the central Indian city.

At least 2,000 people were killed and tens of thousands more injured in what was the worst industrial accident in history.

In filing the suit, the Indian government said the accident had been caused by poor management and bad plant design. It charged that Union Carbide had supplied flawed technology to its Indian subsidiary, that it had failed to maintain high safety standards at the Bhopal plant and to share information about the toxicity of the chemicals at the factory with the government.

In a report that was made public on July 30, 1985, a 12-person team sent to India by two international labor federations also found the company to be responsible for the accident. Poorly designed storage tanks that were installed over the objections of Indian engineers, major safety systems not maintained in working order, and personnel cuts intended to save money were all contributing factors, the report said.

The Indian government's attempt to get the U.S. courts to order Union Carbide to pay damages was rebuffed last May when a federal court ruled that lawsuits should be heard in India.

S. Korean government cracks down on students

In a four-month crackdown leading up to the opening of the 1986 Asian Games in Seoul on September 20, South Korean

police have arrested 169 students. The students have been demonstrating against Seoul hosting the games because they consider that this will be used by President Chun Doo Hwan to strengthen his dictatorial regime.

The North Korean government, which announced on September 1 that it was boycotting the games, has accused the Chun government of planning to use them to perpetuate the division between North and South Korea. North Korea has proposed that the 1988 Olympic Games, which are also scheduled to be held in Seoul, be jointly hosted by North and South Korea.

Pakistani opposition leader Bhutto freed

Benazir Bhutto, leader of the opposition Pakistan People's Party, was released from prison on September 8. Bhutto, along with about 2,000 other opponents of the government of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, was arrested on August 13, on the eve of a mass opposition rally.

At least 25 people died in clashes between demonstrators and police in the days following her arrest. Bhutto told journalists that the events of the past month showed that both Zia and Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo were "determined to cling to power at any cost."

IMF puts squeeze on the Mexican people

In his annual state of the nation address on September 1, Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid declared that the economic austerity of the past four years must become a permanent feature in Mexico.

Mexico owes more than \$100 billion to foreign banks and international agencies. In July an agreement was signed with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that is expected to open the way to the negotiation of further loans. In return, however, the IMF demanded that the Mexican government reduce subsidies on many goods and services and sell or close unprofitable government-owned businesses.

Subsidies have dropped for food staples, electricity, gas, train fares, and telephones. The Bank of Mexico reported recently that some price rises in basic food products amounted to 100 percent in six months.

General inflation has reached nearly 100 percent a year, according to official figures. Salary raises have fallen far behind and, overall, workers have lost about 40 percent of their purchasing power since 1980. Unemployment and underemployment have risen to 50 percent.

ALABAMA
Birmingham

The Crisis Facing Working Farmers Today. Speakers: George Paris, specialist, Federation of Southern Cooperatives; Nathaniel Richey, Georgia farmer; Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., Sept. 21, 6:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

Socialist Workers Campaign Headquarters Grand Opening and Rally. Speakers: Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Dave Ferguson, SWP candidate for governor; Martin Boyers, SWP candidate for Congress, 6th C.D. Sat., Sept. 27. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Socialist Campaign Rally and Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore. Speakers: David Zilly, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20. Reception, 6:30; rally, 7:30 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1986 Campaign Committee. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women. A panel discussion followed by film *Killing Us Softly*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Jose

Break All Ties With Apartheid! Speakers: representatives from University of California-Santa Cruz Anti-apartheid Coalition and Stanford Anti-apartheid Coalition. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Nicaragua: What Difference Can a Revolution Make? Speaker: Willie Ney, coordinator, Indiana-Rio San Juan Sister State Project. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Embargo South Africa, Not Nicaragua! Socialist Election Campaign Rally. Speakers: Nels J'Anthony, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation requested. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '86 Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

"We Won't Pay!" Mexico and the Debt Crisis. Video of Fidel Castro speaking on the debt crisis. In English and Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Crisis In the Kansas City Schools. Speakers: Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson; others. Sun., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

Victory rallies:

How to Use Ruling in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI to Fight for Political Rights

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Speakers: John George, Alameda County supervisor and anti-apartheid leader; Jessica Mitford, author and long-time activist; Oba T'shaka, national vice-chairperson, National Black United Front; Deborah Liatos, Young Socialist Alliance leader and garment worker; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St., Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Speakers: Ann Braden; Jeanette Tracy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D.; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Speakers: Stuart Comstock-Gay, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland; representative, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Speakers to be announced. Sat., Sept. 27. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Speakers: representatives of sanctuary movement, civil rights movement, National Lawyers Guild, others. Sun., Sept. 21, 7 p.m. Reception to follow. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Nicaragua Report Back. Speakers: Michele Costa, teacher at NICA school in Estelí, Nicaragua; Kathy Nease, Young Socialist Alliance just returned from cultural tour of Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Victory Is Certain. A concert celebrating five years of solidarity with the South African revolution. Performers: Sechaba, musical group of the African National Congress; Azzaam Hameed, jazz musician. Speaker: Damu Smith, founder of Free South Africa Movement. Sun., Sept. 21, 7 p.m. Page Hall, SUNY Downtown campus. Donation: \$4.50. Ausp: Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Student Coalition Against Apartheid.

Manhattan

La Operación. Film on forced sterilization in

NEW YORK

Albany

Speakers: Colia Clark, graduate student in Afro-American Studies Department at SUNYA, active in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; George Kontanis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New York; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 114E Quail St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Speakers: Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Lewis Pitts, director Christic Institute South, lead counsel in Greensboro civil rights suit; Irving Joyner, president North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers. Sun., Sept. 21, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Speakers: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Kay Bishop, Hospital and Health Care Workers 1199; Art Slater, Cincinnati Coalition Against Apartheid; Morris Starsky, plaintiff in SWP suit; Robert B. Newman, civil liberties lawyer; Marion Spencer, former member, Cincinnati City Council; Jerone Stephens, professor, Bowling Green State University; Shane Quehee, professor, University of Cincinnati Medical School. Sun., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Speakers: Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet; Harvey Adams, Jr., president, Pittsburgh NAACP; Jon Robinson, Democratic Socialists of America; Barry Sheppard, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call

Puerto Rico. Presentation and discussion to follow film. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Family Farmers in Crisis: A Report from the United Farmer and Rancher Congress. Speaker: Ben Layman, Virginia dairy farmer. Sun., Sept. 28, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

El Salvador: An Update. Slideshow presentations by Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1197, attended 1985 conference of the FENASTRAS trade union federation in El Salvador; Fletcher McNeill, visited El Salvador in 1985. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more informa-

(412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas; Ada Edwards, leader of Free South Africa Movement. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Speakers: representatives of National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance; John Sillito, member Democratic Socialists of America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St. 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Speakers: Daniel Smith, civil liberties attorney; Merle Krueger, member of North American Meat Packers Union; Karen Ray, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance; representative from Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes. Sat., Sept. 20; 7 p.m. Seattle American Postal Workers union hall, 250 Sixth Ave. S., Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

SWP vs. Attorney General and the Fight for Political Rights Today. A panel discussion. Speakers: Al Budka, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; Rev. Joseph L. Ellwanger, pastor of Cross Lutheran Church, a sanctuary for Central American refugees; Gillam Kerley, singled out by the government for his opposition to draft registration; Donna Horowitz, representative, Wisconsin Labor and Farm Party. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

tion call (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Housing Crisis in Washington, D.C.: the Socialist Answer. Speakers: Dave Paparello, campaign manager of the D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Demonstrate against U.S. Policy in Central America, Solidarity March and Sanctuary Pilgrimage. National march supporting sanctuary for Central American refugees. Sun., Sept. 28, 12 p.m. Luther Place Memorial Church, 1226 Vermont Ave. NW. Ausp: Sanctuary Celebration Committee. For more information call (202) 328-0591 or (202) 332-0292.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Hormel Strike, a Step Forward for Labor. Speaker: Doug Hord, Socialist Workers Party, member, Flint Glass Workers Union, Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

The open society — We're late in reporting it, but not as late as the government. On August 26, the *Albuquerque Journal* disclosed that in 1957 an army plane



Harry Ring

accidentally dropped one of the most powerful hydrogen bombs ever made. With a potential force equivalent to 10 million tons of TNT, the bomb hit near Albuquer-

que. There was, according to documents obtained by the paper, a "minor" release of radiation.

Farm aid program — Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng may not be doing much for farmers, except maybe giving them an extra kick, but he did organize a special press conference to announce expansion of the "Beagle Brigade" — dogs trained to sniff out unauthorized foodstuffs coming through Customs.

The productive society — The thing that's so great about imperialism is that it gives people everywhere the chance to do something useful. Like that recent pop-up ad in *Time*. Five million of the cutouts were hand-assembled

by 560 workers in Colombia and Mexico who devoted 420,000 hours of their labor to this worthy project. The pop-ups reportedly cost 49 cents each. What portion the workers got wasn't mentioned.

Capitalism doesn't discriminate — If it makes you feel any better, the cutbacks have also meant the firing of numerous middle and top level managers. A new job agency is helping a few of them, placing them with small outfits as "contractors." That means about half the previous pay and no benefits.

Social disease — After an extensive study of people suffering hypertension, a professor at

Emory University in Atlanta concluded that the less you earn, the more likely you are to have high blood pressure. He says, "It's almost possible to take someone's blood pressure and then figure out how much that person makes a year."

No cheap hangover — A \$40-million ad campaign will introduce U.S. consumers to Denaka Danish Vodka. The selling point? "The world's most expensive vodka."

Beat the rap — Federal marshals in San Antonio busted James Wash at a vets hospital for "willful removal of government property without authorization." Wash had

"what appeared to be whipped cream on his lips" from a piece of strawberry shortcake he allegedly lifted. But some knee-jerk liberal judge turned him loose.

Fashion tip — If you're into alligator, Bloomingdale's in New York has a neat belt with matching handbag. The belt, \$325, plus \$2,340 for the purse.

A somewhat equal opportunity theology — A New York Hasidic Jewish community is refusing to let their boys ride school buses driven by women. Doing so, they say, violates their religious belief in the segregation of the sexes. However, they add, it's OK for girls to ride buses driven by men.

Crisis in Philippines: class polarization deepens

Continued from Page 11

mission on Human Rights and a former defense lawyer for Ocampo, and Ramon Mitra, a big landowner who was also detained for a period during martial law. Aquino's chief negotiator, Diokno, is being treated for lung cancer in the United States and has not been able to participate directly in the negotiations, although he met informally with Ocampo in July.

Emerging from the first talks on August 5, Mitra expressed optimism about reaching agreement on a cease-fire, although he saw no "easy settlement of the basic issues" underlying the peasant insurgency.

A cease-fire, he said, "means that the military does not go out and patrol and search out NPAs. That means they're staying put where they are, defending their respective positions." The guerrillas would not be required to give up their weapons but they "ought not to be walking around and carrying arms," Mitra added.

While no military representative is directly involved in the negotiations, at the insistence of the insurgent forces, Aquino has appointed a national security team that includes Enrile and Ramos to supervise her negotiating team.

Call for coalition government

Meanwhile, CPP founder Jose Maria Sison has called on Aquino to establish a new coalition government that includes communists as part of any cease-fire agreement. "It is necessary for a new coalition to be eventually established for a cease-fire to be signed between the Aquino government and the National Democratic Front," the July 14 *Manila Times* reported him as saying.

"The National Democratic Front could have its people and territory, its armed forces and exercise governmental functions in so many areas of the country," Sison said, while recognizing the Aquino government as "the Philippine government."

CPP negotiator Saturnino Ocampo endorsed Sison's proposals in an interview published in the July 23 *Midweek*. He pointed out that the NDP program "has made accommodations to enlightened sections of the ruling class that are supportive of the national democratic movement" such as "enlightened landlords" and the "national bourgeoisie."

However, he added, "in the remote possibility that the Aquino government will coalesce with the Left, this might give rise to a move by the Right to attempt a coup d'etat, or to direct American intervention to protect U.S. interests."

In response to the Aquino proposal for a cease-fire, Ocampo said, "There is logic to the demand that the AFP withdraw to the barracks, because that is the action that shall remove the immediate cause of the armed clashes." Any question of the guerrillas surrendering their arms was "non-negotiable," he stressed.

The military, meanwhile, has continued its efforts to undermine the talks. Enrile has claimed that the CPP is using the cease-fire negotiations to stall for time, while it builds up its strength in the cities through a "systematic destabilization campaign in the industrial sector" and "stepped-up recruitment and organization among student fronts."

The Reagan administration has also charged that the Aquino government is not taking tough enough measures against the rebel forces, according to an August 31 dispatch in the *New York Times*. The *Times* cited a "senior official" as saying that the Philippine army was now trained and able to conduct counterinsurgency efforts, and that there is a "hard core" of the guerrillas "in which military force is the only way it can be combated."

Asked in a television interview July 22 about the rift in Aquino's cabinet, Executive Secretary Joker Arroyo said the problem was that the army was in no state to win a war with the guerrillas. Arroyo, a leading cabinet liberal, is known here as "the little President" because of his influence with Aquino.

He stressed that "the goals are the same" between advocates in the cabinet of a reconciliatory or harder approach toward the rebels — "to wipe out the insurgency."

"But whereas one group would want, or rather some segments of the military would want, a continuation of the failed Marcos strategy, there are also some ministers who would want that we prepare the troops, professionalize them, increase the morale by better pay and better hospital facilities, medicine," Arroyo said.

"Then, when they are trained, they are fit, perhaps they can go out and fight again. That is the basic difference."

No easy solution

There is indeed no "easy" solution to the basic issues underlying the continuing worker-peasant rebellion for any government — liberal or hard-line — that is based on the landlords and capitalists.

The divisions in the regime today reflect the fears of a significant section of the ruling oligarchy and their backers in the United States and other imperialist countries that Enrile's push toward a military solution is premature. Any grab for power by him to push through such a goal, they fear, could trigger a revolutionary upheaval that would threaten the rule of the Filipino ruling class as a whole.

But, as Arroyo admitted, whatever the differences within the landlord-capitalist regime over the immediate tactical approach to take, they all share the goal of dealing a body blow to the Philippine toilers. Given the level of mobilization and class organization of the workers and peasants, Arroyo concedes, both liberals and hard-liners must ultimately turn to the armed forces to carry out this job for them.

The military's belligerence — and the encouragement it has received from Washington — is also changing the thinking of more and more working-class fighters. They too are coming to realize that a new and more decisive confrontation between the classes is being prepared today in the Philippines.



Militant/Deb Shnookal

Left to right: CPP negotiator Saturnino Ocampo, Aquino cabinet member Joker Arroyo, and CPP founder Jose Maria Sison. Shown here in 1984 while Ocampo and Sison were still imprisoned by dictator Marcos.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

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

September 24, 1976

SEPT. 15 — In a move totally without historical precedent, the attorney general of the United States has ordered the FBI to end its "investigation" of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Peter Camejo, the presidential candidate of the SWP, greeted the decision as a "victory for the democratic rights of all Americans."

He said the ruling by Attorney General Edward Levi would now "accelerate the pace, scope, and impact" of the suit against the FBI and other federal police agencies, which is being heard in federal district court in Manhattan.

The presidential candidate told reporters at the news conference that the socialists are seeking:

- "a permanent injunction to outlaw all of the techniques of spying and disruption used against us by the FBI and other political police agencies." Such an injunction would mean that no attorney general could reverse this decision on the SWP without going to court to lift the injunction;
- "the immediate transfer to our hands of all files the government has on the SWP"; and
- "\$40 million in damages."

"The Levi decision is the biggest opening yet for all those determined to bring a halt to the government's program of political spying and harassment," Camejo said. "This decision paves the way for the American people to learn the truth about the FBI's 40-year war against the SWP. It removes the last barrier to the release of the files the FBI has maintained on its investigation."

Camejo and [SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae] Reid announced at the

news conference that they are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the FBI's informers from the SWP and YSA, and from Socialist Workers campaign committees.

"The Levi ruling clearly makes illegal the continuing use of any informers against the Socialist Workers Party," Camejo said.

THE MILITANT

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The press is trying to make out that the conflict between the Cuban government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy is religious persecution. This is simply not so. No one in Cuba — Catholic, Protestant, or Jew — has been, or is being, persecuted by the Castro regime for religious beliefs.

The regime is deporting prelates and priests because of their counterrevolutionary political activities. Those priests who have not joined or collaborated with the counterrevolutionary, often terrorist, networks of opponents of workers' Cuba are not molested. Indeed, some have the affection and trust of the revolutionary masses and their government.

The role of the Roman Catholic hierarchy as the bulwark of counterrevolution is an old story in Latin American countries. In the course of the 19th century wars for independence from Spain practically every revolutionary government in Latin America found itself fighting the church, which was lined up with the oppressors.

In present-day Cuba the situation is aggravated because the overwhelming majority of the priests are not Cubans but Spaniards, sent to that island by the Spanish hierarchy which is noted for its subservience to General Franco and its endorsement of fascism as a most desirable form of government.

Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss them if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 for subscription rates.

Nonaligned summit 'aimless'?

The eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries ended in Harare, Zimbabwe, on September 7 to a chorus of complaints and sneers from the big-business news media in this country.

The *New York Times* summed it up in a September 12 editorial. The Nonaligned movement's "aimless" conference in Zimbabwe, the editorial snorted, showed that it was "too divided," "too aligned," and "too spineless." "By trying to represent too much," the editors lectured, "the 99-nation club stands for nothing at all."

The *Times* editors grudgingly admitted that the main focus of the summit meeting — practical opposition to the apartheid regime of South Africa through the application of economic sanctions — represented "a useful course." But they quickly went on to downplay the significance of what was achieved at Harare.

The selection of Harare — just 350 miles from South Africa's northern border — as the site for the summit meeting underscored the emphasis given at the summit to the need for an international campaign against apartheid.

It focused the attention of the world on the apartheid regime. The speeches of the heads of state at the meeting, along with the package of economic sanctions they approved, helped educate millions, particularly in the oppressed semicolonial countries, about the evils of apartheid and the need to fight against them.

Even if this had been the only accomplishment of the summit, it would have been a significant achievement. But the *Time's* claim that the Nonaligned movement couldn't "agree on any other cause" is, quite simply, a lie.

The summit meeting overwhelmingly condemned Washington's intervention in Nicaragua and the rest of Central America. Moreover, it described the Reagan administration's attacks on Libya as "acts of state terrorism and a violation of international law."

Contrary to the editorial's claim that the war between Iran and Iraq "bleeds on without a peep" from other Nonaligned countries, the conference called on both countries to cease hostilities and negotiate a peaceful settlement to the war. The *Time's* real objection is that the Nonaligned countries did not join in Washington's vitriolic campaign against Iran.

This points to the heart of the *New York Times'* grievance against the Nonaligned movement, which is summed up in one sentence in the editorial: "By one count, the resolutions voted in Zimbabwe condemned the United States 54 times, the other fellow [the Soviet Union] never once by name." This "reflexive, self-injuring hostility to the United States," the newspaper charged, proves that the movement is "too aligned."

As evidence of this claim, the *Times* condemned Nicaragua's Sandinista regime as a "scarcely nonaligned Government" and complained that the Nonaligned meeting refused to rally to Washington's reactionary crusade against the Soviet Union over Afghanistan.

It is true that the Nonaligned movement includes countries with very different types of governments and social systems. But they all have one thing in common — they are oppressed and exploited by imperialism.

The movement's founding principles included anti-imperialism, anticolonialism, and antineocolonialism; opposition to military alliances and blocs; and the struggle for a new international economic order.

Nonalignment was defined as the pursuit of independent policies, free of military alliances, not as some sort of fake "neutrality" or "third camp" stance.

Insofar as the Nonaligned movement — whatever the differences among its member countries — has remained true to these principles, it has won the hatred and contempt of the U.S. ruling class and its loyal voices in the press.

Batista's butchers welcomed

When 67 prisoners recently released from Cuban jails arrived in this country September 15, they got a hero's welcome from counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, the television networks and big dailies, and the mayors of Miami and Union City, New Jersey, and other political figures.

They were presented as "political prisoners," who had suffered for decades for their "ideas."

But they were not political prisoners and they don't deserve an ounce of sympathy from U.S. workers or other democratic-minded people. These Cubans had not been jailed for their ideas, but for bloody crimes against the Cuban people. Many had been officers in the army or secret police of dictator Fulgencio Batista, whose regime was toppled by the Cuban revolution nearly 28 years ago.

They were torturers and killers for a regime that took some 20,000 lives.

One of the released "political prisoners" still boasts about his role in rounding up suspected rebels under the Batista tyranny.

Another, Plutarco Oliva, "had been chief of an anti-Communist police unit in Camaguey Province," according to the September 16 *New York Times*.

Others had been jailed for violent acts of terror or sab-

otage after the triumph of the revolution, when Washington threw massive resources into an effort to engineer a bloody counterrevolution on the island.

Try though they might, U.S. reporters have dug up no one in this unsavory crew who could plausibly be described as a "prisoner of conscience."

Many of the released criminals spun tales of mistreatment in Cuban prisons, knowing that such stories were guaranteed a warm reception in the big-business media.

But even Perry Steele, district director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service for Latin America and the Caribbean, had to admit they didn't look the part.

"We remarked among ourselves that no one seemed mistreated or emaciated. I was surprised by their enthusiasm, surprised that people who had been in prison so long had so much verve."

The U.S. government has portrayed the Cuban government as the main obstacle to the admission of these people into the United States.

But this is false. The Cuban government has already released an estimated 2,000 such criminals from prison. They are living at large in Cuba, while the Cuban government attempts to facilitate the admission to the United States of all who wish to live here.

Join antiwar actions!

Continued from front page

port of the action call. In most cities, such coalitions have not existed since the time of the April 1985 actions that brought out 125,000 against the war in Nicaragua and apartheid in South Africa.

The October 25 regional demonstration in Washington, D.C., for example, has sparked the formation of coalitions involving a wide range of organizations, not only in that city, but in Philadelphia; Baltimore; Pittsburgh; Morgantown and Charleston, West Virginia; Greensboro, North Carolina; and the Tidewater area of Virginia. These local coalitions are attempting to convince more people to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and are organizing buses to bring demonstrators to Washington on October 25.

D.C. coalition activists are circulating a leaflet featuring the slogan: "Say no to the U.S. war on Nicaragua." The leaflet also promotes participation in other protest actions in the coming weeks — including the September 28 national march in support of sanctuary for Central American refugees and the October 10 anti-apartheid actions. A good turnout for these actions will help inspire more people to bring their friends, coworkers, fellow students, and others to the October 25 action.

There are thousands of people across the country who have been to Nicaragua on work brigades or tours. They can make a big contribution to the October 25 and November 1 actions by sharing their experiences with others, helping explain the truth about what the San-

dinista revolution has accomplished to those confused by the U.S. government's lies. Together with the many other members of groups in solidarity with Nicaragua and the freedom struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, they can make a powerful case for why people should join in protesting the *contra* war and the entire U.S. intervention in Central America.

Big opportunities exist for winning support for the action from unionists. The October 25 and November 1 action dates offer a focus for stimulating discussion in the unions about U.S. intervention and why labor has a stake in stopping it. Some unionists have been to Nicaragua or are active in solidarity work. They have a special opportunity and responsibility to explain to tens of thousands of fellow workers what the *contra* war is all about and encourage their involvement in the protests.

Local unions should be urged to endorse the regional and local actions and turn out their members to participate. Unionists can also play an important role by joining in the work of the local coalitions.

Moreover, tens of thousands of students who have been involved in anti-apartheid and other protests should be encouraged to organize committees on their campuses and in their high schools to mobilize participation in the marches.

The broader the participation in the October 25 and November 1 actions and the coalitions building them, the firmer the groundwork laid for larger protest demonstrations in the future.

Socialists and the fight for effective unions

BY DOUG JENNESS

Many *Militant* readers are currently on strike along with tens of thousands of other workers. And many others will likely be walking the picket line before long.

From Rumford, Maine, to Watsonville, California, workers are conducting a wide range of struggles against the employers' demands that they give up gains won in previous battles.

In the course of these fights working people are seeking ways to make their unions more effective. And those who subscribe to the *Militant* are likely to be curious about what contribution socialist workers can make to thinking through answers to this problem.

It would be useful first, though, to review where

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

unions came from and what they are.

One of the basic conditions of wage workers is competition among themselves. Each worker individually sells his or her labor power to an employer and competes for jobs and promotions with other workers.

Workers first set up trade unions to try to check this competition. Their goal was to collectively force their employers to grant higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Their principle weapon was joining together to withhold their labor power from the employers — that is, strike action.

Since they were established, trade unions have waged many fights that have won significant improvements in the lives of working people.

At the beginning, however, unions tended to be organized on the basis of specific trades or crafts. When mass production industries developed, millions of new workers were unorganized. To lead a fight to organize these workers it was necessary to look beyond the union movement as it had developed up to that time and adopt a broader social perspective that looked to the working class as a whole.

In the 1920s and early 1930s in the United States, this outlook was essential, not only for organizing the unorganized, but to prevent further defeats and disintegration of the existing unions then under severe attack by the employers. The upsurge of industrial workers that led to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the mid-1930s was in many respects a broad social movement.

Today, the labor movement again faces a huge crisis. It's under siege from the boss class and is losing ground.

No solution can be found that is restricted to defending the interests of only a section of the class. There is no way out for workers simply on the plant level or even on the industrywide level. Nor is there an answer that begins just with one's own union or even the organized labor movement as it currently exists. Unions today encompass only a minority of the working class.

The employers' assault is generalized and has the full support of the government. It is so formidable that only by developing a broader outlook, one that recognizes the common exploitation of all producers — organized and unorganized, native-born and undocumented, male and female, Black and white, wage workers and working farmers, those living in the United States and those living in other countries — can workers advance.

The employers' attacks have had even more devastating effects on the most vulnerable workers — those who are unorganized or poorly organized. This underlines the need of the unions to champion their struggles. This is the road to overcoming the divisions that exist in the working class, which the employers try to use to keep the workers' movement weak.

Unionized workers need to turn their organizations into centers to help advance the struggle of all working people, everywhere. They must aid every social and political movement that helps advance the interests of the entire working class, at home and internationally.

Socialist workers are the most consistent and resolute fighters for recognizing this perspective as the basis for organizing a serious fight against the employing class.

A couple of weeks ago, we pointed out in this column that socialists "have no interests different than those of the working class as a whole." This means that socialists don't aspire to speak for any particular section of the working class but to use the understanding learned from the experiences of all parts of the class, from the past and present, to help clarify what needs to be done next.

Turning the unions into organizing centers to help advance the fight of all workers, however, naturally leads to the question: "Aren't other organizational forms needed to conduct the struggle of the working people as a whole against the exploiters?" The answer is yes. But that will be the topic for another column.

'I thought I'd walked into the wrong convention'

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

As I listened to the reports presented to the recent 23d Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in Las Vegas, I had the distinct feeling that I had walked into the wrong convention.

USWA President Lynn Williams' keynote speech re-

UNION TALK

viewed the contracts the union has negotiated in the past year. In glowing terms he described the takeback contracts in aluminum, can-making, and steel as "innovative agreements" representing "significant progress." In exchange the union had merely yielded some reasonable "labor-cost reductions."

Williams explained that he was proud of the contract that the union had signed with the Kennecott copper company because it was obtained without a strike and "the company didn't get what they wanted, they only got what they needed." All Kennecott "needed" was a 23 percent cut in wages and benefits and other takebacks.

I thought about the defeat of the copper miners' strike in Morenci, Arizona. The Phelps Dodge Corp. took "what it needed" from these workers until it felt strong enough to take what it wanted most of all — a union-free copper mine.

As the proceedings dragged on, what became clear to me is that there are two unions calling themselves the USWA.

The first is made up of rank-and-file members across the country, a membership that has taken devastating setbacks. In 1983 we gave up \$1.25 in hourly wages.

We were promised that concessions would save jobs. Instead we have seen our union go from 1.4 million members to just under 650,000 members. In basic steel, union membership has dropped from 700,000 to 140,000.

In 1986 we have been hit again with takeback contracts modeled on the \$3.40 cut in wages and benefits that Wheeling-Pittsburgh took in 1985. LTV, National Steel, Bethlehem, and many other bargaining units followed this pattern. Now USX has locked out Steelworkers because it calculates it can weaken the union even more.

The membership is still being told by its officials that it will be necessary to give up more.

The second union is made up of the International's officers, paid staff people, lawyers, consultants, and so forth. These people haven't faced cutbacks or unemployment on the scale of workers. They haven't lost their houses, cars, or medical coverage.

They feel pretty secure as they watch the interest accumulate on the over \$230 million of union assets invested in U.S. treasury, municipal, and corporate bonds. For them, the union business is doing all right.

It isn't hard for them to accept the employers' view of workers' rights and living standards as mere "labor costs."

At the beginning of the convention, a resolution was passed supporting the locked-out USX workers, and another commended LTV workers for striking against the company's attempt to cut off the health benefits of re-

tirees.

There was a lot of hoopla about this, with delegates parading in the aisles, waving signs, and shouting, "Hell no!"

Williams and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland denounced USX in militant language.

It wasn't too long ago that the same rhetoric was being used about Phelps-Dodge and the same promises of support were being made to the copper miners in Morenci.

Once the gestures of support to the USX workers were out of the way, the officials settled down to the real business at hand.

Speaker after speaker blamed imports for the crisis facing Steelworkers and called for electing Democratic politicians as the road to salvation. One Democrat featured in a video shown throughout the convention was Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich, who unleashed the National Guard on striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, early this year.

Union constitutional changes and other measures gave the officials more money to organize the USWA managers, security guards, and "professionals in the hi-tech industries." Credit cards, associate membership, and amalgamated locals were other gimmicks put forward to keep dues and other cash flowing in.

Far from organizing the membership in a fight against the employers in steel, copper, and aluminum, the officials are cutting their losses and seeking to make up some of the lost dues in other ways.

Nelson González is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3387 in Cicero, Illinois.

LETTERS

Something to shout about

I would like to express my gratitude and joy for your victory in Socialist Workers Party vs. FBI. The ruling that it is unconstitutional to use informers in political groups is really something to shout about!

The SWP brought the perfect case to educate the American public that FBI surveillance is politically motivated and that supposed "freedom of expression" in this country has been sabotaged by 30 years of covert action.

As a lawyer, I'd say that the decision in this case is one of the most significant ever in terms of expanding political rights. Your 13 years of persistence in this suit has made me as well as the tens of thousands of other activists in this country a lot freer.

Your paper does the best job of covering the labor movement of any I've seen. Doug Jenness' editorial "Why socialists don't conceal their aims" in the September 19 issue is very well put.

Also great to see R.B. Wilk's letter supporting liberalization of marijuana laws.
Ann Schneider
New York, New York

Store clerks on strike

Plaid Pantry convenience-store clerks in Oregon and southwest Washington walked out August 30 over Portland millionaire John Piacentini's refusal to seriously negotiate a first contract with the United Food and Commercial Workers.

The 700 Plaid Pantry workers are the first convenience chain store employees in the country to win collective bargaining rights, and the strike is the first ever of a convenience-store chain. The union was certified by the National Labor Relations Board in the spring.

Workers now earn a maximum of \$3.50 an hour and have no benefits of any kind. They are all classified part-time.

United Food and Commercial Workers Local 555 has proposed a two-year contract that includes medical benefits and a first-year increase that would up the wage from \$3.50 an hour to \$4.50, going to \$5.00 an hour in the second year.

Local 555 is an amalgamated local, with 18,500 members in Oregon and southwest Washington. It is the result of a merger

early this year of five UFCW locals in Portland and Eugene, Oregon, and Vancouver, Washington.

Pickets at a southeast Portland store were angry about John Piacentini's claim that most workers did not view the job as their primary source of income and therefore deserve less money.

When Piacentini visited some of his stores, he told the media, "We don't force them to work here. If they don't like the pay, they should get another job."

John Charbonnet
Portland, Oregon

Excess capital?

Please address this question in your Learning About Socialism column.

What does a socialist do with excess capital? Does he bank it, invest it, or make philanthropic donations? What?

Thank you very much. We couldn't find anything in Lenin's writings.
D.B.
Kirkwood, Missouri

Editor replies: Most socialists are never faced with the problem of what to do with excess capital. They are working people who have nothing to sell other than their own labor power.

But there are a few people who become socialists who have inherited or accumulated in some other way sizable amounts of money. They face the problem D.B. raises of figuring out how to use their money in a way that is compatible with their commitment to socialism.

One suggestion is to contribute it to the socialist movement. They might, for example, consider donating to the Socialist Publications Fund, which has a goal of \$100,000 by November 15. It's a donation that would help the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* continue getting out the truth about the struggles of working people all over the world.

Not freedom fighters

This letter is in response to a letter I read in the September 12 issue. It was entitled "Irish blood on his hands" and was written by Jana Reid Meehan of St. Louis.

Meehan denounced a senator's efforts to remove a clause that protects political criminals who would otherwise be affected by

our extradition treaty with Great Britain.

What Meehan seems to misunderstand are the motives of the terrorists whom the clause protects. They are not freedom fighters trying to liberate an oppressed country. The terrorists only cause pain and grief in their efforts to destabilize the hold of a government that has been relentlessly loyal to a province that has caused an entire nation so much suffering.

There are two forces in all of Ireland that oppress the people. One of them is the iron grip the pope has on the government of the south. That grip has kept the people of the south under the rule of the church by law.

The second oppressive force is the terrorist organizations in Ireland. These organizations stir up hatred to a point where it splits the Protestants from the Catholics, which keeps both peoples from living as one nation. Thus helping to impoverish the people they are supposedly trying to "free."

Andrew Mohan
Larchmont, New York

Financial assistance?

Could anyone assist me in the following matter: I am presently incarcerated in the State of Ohio, but scheduled to be released shortly. I'd like to know if there is any type of federal or state financial assistance for an ex-convict.

Please forward information to: Carlos D. Madison, No. 173-023, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.

Carlos Madison
Lucasville, Ohio

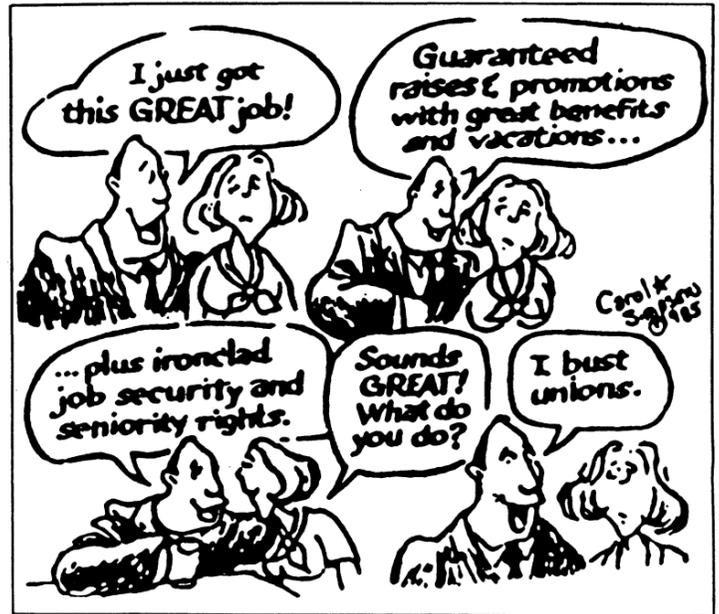
Which court?

Just received the September 12 issue and as usual I was very busy reading every word. I was very interested in the wonderful story on the Judge Thomas Griesa decision.

But in all the reading I did, nowhere could I find what I was looking for. In what court did this judge make his decision and just what was the title? To a guy in prison, it would be nice to know just what to ask for.

A prisoner
Baltimore, Maryland

Editor replies: The judge made his decision in U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York. The title is *Socialist Workers Party et. al. v. Attorney General*



of the United States et. al. Copies of the decision are available by mail from the Political Rights Defense Fund at P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003 (see ad on page 9).

Vigilante cop

San Antonio cop Stephen Smith was shot five times and killed by a fellow officer August 8.

Police found a cache of arms in Smith's apartment — 5 shotguns, 18 handguns, semiautomatic AR-15 rifles, and 100,000 rounds of ammunition.

Smith was the leader of a gang of vigilante cops who dispensed "justice" as they saw fit. They operated a paramilitary training camp outside San Antonio.

Smith had a long history of brutality. He was linked to at least six murders and his victims were always Black or Latino.

In 1984 Smith arrested a young Latino named Tejada. Smith slammed Tejada's head on the ground and repeatedly struck his victim in the groin with a cop radio.

Tejada filed charges against Smith, but later dropped them. Tejada explains that Smith and his goons harassed him and his family into dropping the charges.

It's not uncommon for people to drop charges against cops in San Antonio. Just last year the San Antonio Police Association had a policy of sending intimidating letters warning of lawsuits to anyone who filed complaints about cops to the police internal affairs department.

Floyd Cureton
Kerrville, Texas

George Jackson

How come, when philosophizing about George Jackson, writers have a bad tendency to say, "George Jackson, the leader of the Black Panther Party," etc. when George had nothing to do with Huey Newton's Black Panther Party?

Why does the media blow crack all out of proportion when, in reality, crack has been in New York for years and years?

When will you print articles on William Rehnquist, the racist nominee for chief justice for the Supreme Court?

A prisoner
Attica, New York

Correction

In the September 19 issue in an article on the August 30 proindependence demonstration in Puerto Rico, the number of proindependence activists arrested by the FBI is misstated. Eleven were arrested in Puerto Rico and two others in the United States and Mexico on August 30, 1985. In March, three more were arrested. The amount of bail for Jorge Farinacci was incorrect. It was \$1 million.

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.

ANC's Tambo speaks on S. Africa

Appeals for 'international drive to end apartheid'

BY SAM MANUEL

HARARE, Zimbabwe — Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, spoke before a packed press conference of international journalists here.

Referring to the eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, Tambo said, "It appears that two-thirds of humankind have converged on Harare, and we think it is a good thing."

"For all these years," he stated, "we have been seeking ways and means to involve the international community in opposition to the undeclared war in southern Africa. This war is waged by South Africa in the form of raids in Angola, in Lesotho, and in Mozambique. It is waged by destabilization of Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia."

"Here in Harare," Tambo went on, "we are writing the beginning of the end of the apartheid system, provided that it is not left solely to the Nonaligned movement or the Frontline States. It can be accomplished only if all those in the world who genuinely hate this system, who have been outraged by this crime against humanity, do not hold back but join in so that there is one mass international drive to end apartheid once and for all."

'Appeal to all decent humanity'

Tambo continued, "The international community is more organized and prepared to come in the struggle now than it had ever been at any time."

"We see this through the developing struggle against apartheid in the U.S. and in Britain," he said. "We see it in the limited movement toward sanctions by the European Economic Community. We make an appeal to all decent humanity to join the people here at this summit in action against the racist, brutal regime in Pretoria."

Asked about the August 26 murder of 30 Blacks by South African police in Soweto, Tambo responded, "Thirty unarmed men, women, and children were mowed down. The response of the racist regime is to set up a commission to investigate the circumstances."

"This is not necessary," Tambo affirmed. "The apartheid regime itself constitutes the circumstances for the killings. The murder of the 30 is simply part of the murdering of hundreds. The reason for their murder is that they were Black."

Tambo called upon the Nonaligned summit to work for the formation of an inde-

Pretoria hangs three South African activists

Singing freedom songs as they walked to the gallows, three supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa were hanged by the apartheid regime September 9.

The three were: Sibusiso Zondo, who was convicted on charges stemming from a 1985 bombing in Durban, and Sipho Xulu and Clarence Payi, who had been accused of killing a suspected police informer.

The executions were carried out despite appeals to save the activists' lives by Amnesty International, Desmond Tutu, and the United Democratic Front, a broad coalition of anti-apartheid organizations.

At a memorial service for the three held at the Johannesburg offices of the South African Council of Churches, council director Sol Jacobs revealed, "Zondo's last words to me were that a revolutionary lives his life, but knows that life is not an end in itself."

Jacobs said that the three "gave their lives for the freedom of this land."



G.M. Cookson

Oliver Tambo at June appearance in London

pendent body of the international community to investigate the murders.

Another reporter asked if it was true that the ANC would be meeting soon with U.S. officials.

Tambo answered, "We have not heard of any such plans. We, of course, are interested in talking to those who are interested in seriously discussing our situation. It is

part of our responsibility to convince people to support us. But we are not naive, and we do not wish to talk to rocks."

He added, "We also reject the idea of using the call for such discussions to promote the idea that there are two ANCs. They want to say that there is the communist and the noncommunist ANC, and they want to talk to the noncommunist side."

Grenada party appeals to Nonaligned summit

In an open letter to the recent summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in Zimbabwe, revolutionaries from Grenada called for the Grenadian government's expulsion from the movement. The letter was issued August 25 by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM).

Maurice Bishop led the workers' and farmers' government that was in power in Grenada from 1979 to 1983. He was murdered during a counterrevolutionary coup on Oct. 19, 1983, six days before U.S. troops invaded that Caribbean island. Under the government headed by Bishop, Grenada had become a full member of the Nonaligned movement and was elected to its Coordinating Bureau.

But the regime that was later installed by the U.S. occupation forces "has conducted a foreign policy so vulgarly aligned to USA and British interests as to make a mockery of Grenada's membership in the Nonaligned movement," declared the MBPM letter.

Noting that the Nonaligned movement was founded on principles that included anti-imperialism, opposition to apartheid, and opposition to the presence of imperialist military bases, the MBPM outlined aspects of the current Grenadian gov-

ernment's foreign policy that violate those principles.

The Grenadian government was one of the few to vote against several United Nations resolutions calling for the end of apartheid in South Africa, the MBPM pointed out. It was the only government, except for Washington, that abstained on a UN resolution condemning the militarization of space. It has refused to accept UN Resolution 435 providing for the independence of Namibia.

The Grenadian government is the only

'Contra terrorists out of D.C.!'

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Some 150 people protested the opening of an office here of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), the main organization of Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries (*contras*).

The September 4 protest was organized on less than 48 hours notice by the Washington Area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua.

The by-invitation-only reception featured contra leaders Arturo Cruz and Alfonso Robelo. It was far smaller than the number of protesters outside.

The angry crowd chanted, "Contra ter-

Tambo replied to a question about "necklacing," the practice by some in the Black townships of placing a tire around a suspected collaborator's neck, soaking it in gasoline, and setting them on fire.

"The cause of necklacing," said Tambo, "is the apartheid system. It arises out of the extreme brutality of the regime. It is a recent occurrence in our struggle. The people have been driven to its use by the brutal murders carried out around them by apartheid. As long as there is apartheid, there will be necklacing."

He continued, "We are not for necklacing. But we will not attack or condemn people who are driven to this extreme method by the horrible brutality of the apartheid regime."

Pressure Pretoria's allies

The need to build support for sanctions against Pretoria is a central issue of discussion here. One reporter asked, in light of the British government's refusal to apply sanctions, whether the ANC supports sanctions against Britain.

"It has always been our opinion that it is not enough to pressure South Africa," Tambo stated. "Those who are allied with Pretoria should also be subject to pressure."

However, Tambo went on, "we need the pressure not against the British people, but against the British government. We hailed the boycott of the Commonwealth games as such a protest. This was aimed at the British government and not the British people."

Asked whether the ANC has the support and structure inside South Africa to justify its claims of leadership of the people of South Africa, Tambo replied, "Pretoria sees the ANC as enemy number one. ANC members in Swaziland and Lesotho have been assassinated by South African security forces. We have been victims of all these things."

Further, he explained, "The ANC has the structures in the country that are now responding to its call to make the country ungovernable. If it were not ungovernable, there would be no need for the state of emergency."

member of the Organization of American States to publicly support U.S. economic sanctions against Nicaragua. It allows U.S. military advisers to be in Grenada and has participated in U.S.-led military maneuvers in the Caribbean.

"For our part," the statement continued, "the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, named in honor of our country's greatest national hero and dedicated to upholding his legacy and political traditions, will continue to extend its unequivocal support to the Nonaligned movement."

rorists out of D.C."; "Murder, rape, torture, lies — we know what contra money buys"; and "U.S.A., CIA, out of Nicaragua."

The action filled an entire block in front of the mercenaries' new office.

Following the spirited two-hour picket, David Hostetter of the Washington Area Coalition gave a short talk urging participants to join in organizing a Mid-Atlantic states demonstration in D.C. on October 25. That protest is part of the National Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice being held in many cities on that day and November 1.