

For massive U.S. aid to Nicaragua

The following statement was released on April 21 by James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

We urge students, workers, and farmers, regardless of who you are backing in the presidential election, to join us in demanding that the U.S. government provide massive aid to Nicaragua.

With the signing of the Sapoá cease-fire accords on March 23, Washington's seven-year contra war against Nicaragua is over.

This registers a tremendous victory for Nicaragua's workers and farmers, who have stood firm against the U.S.-organized war. It is also a conquest for millions in the United States and around the world who have opposed the dirty war.

Washington is now preparing to shift from a mercenary war to a cold war aimed at economically and politically isolating Nicaragua. The aim will be to try to increase the economic misery of the already hard-pressed Nicaraguan people.

The 1979 Sandinista revolution was a popular response by Nicaragua's workers and farmers to decades of tyranny under the boot of the U.S.-backed Somoza family.

While the Somozas were in power, the ruling U.S. billionaire families plundered Nicaragua's resources. The country was badly underdeveloped and its toilers impoverished. Among the hardest hit by underdevelopment were the Black and Indian populations on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Since 1981 when the contra war began, 25,000 Nicaraguans have been killed out of a population of 3.5 million people. The majority were women, children, and small farmers.

Many of the more than 25,000 wounded in the war have been permanently maimed. Tens of thousands of homes and farms have been destroyed. Schools and hospitals have been bombed.

Instead of being able to build housing, schools, child-care centers, and clinics, the Nicaraguan government has had to divert

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U.S. fleet out of gulf! Stop attacks on Iran!

The U.S. government has carried out another criminal act of aggression against Iran. The latest attack is part of Washington's increasing resort to violence in order to defend its world empire.

On April 18, U.S. guided missile cruisers and other warships in the Persian Gulf shelled two Iranian oil platforms, which

EDITORIAL

had produced 150,000 barrels of oil a day. After overcoming Iranian resistance, U.S. forces destroyed the platforms.

As the U.S. armada prepared to assault a third oil platform, Iranian naval forces began to put up stiff resistance. Although the Iranians succeeded in heading off the destruction of the oil platform, six Iranian ships were reportedly disabled in the clashes that continued throughout the day.

This act of war against Iran coincided with a major offensive by Iraqi forces in

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Crew of Iranian boat attempts to douse flames on oil platform wrecked by U.S. attack April 18. Bipartisan backing in Congress for assault encourages administration to consider further escalation.

Ortega speaks to 50,000 on peace plan

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "The contras have to disarm," Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said here April 18. "There cannot be a [temporary] halt of operations so they can fatten themselves up and then continue waging war against us."

Ortega addressed more than 50,000 people at a mass rally here to report on the talks held with leaders of the U.S.-backed mercenaries April 15-18.

The government presented a detailed proposal for the contras to withdraw to enclaves inside Nicaragua, and to lay down their arms by the end of June. As the mercenaries turned in their weapons, they would be permitted to return to civilian life in Nicaragua, with the full rights and guarantees of any citizen. The government also pressed the contras to release the peasants, students, and others they have kidnapped over the years.

"The results were not what we Nicara-

guans hoped for and were demanding," Ortega said. No definitive agreement was reached this time, because of divisions within the contra leadership and pressure from the U.S. government, he explained. However, the mercenary leaders did agree to release some of their captives, and to return here April 28 to continue the talks.

The Nicaraguan government will pursue the negotiations, Ortega added, but if the contras refuse to lay down their arms, "we will continue fighting until we completely annihilate the counterrevolutionary forces."

The proposal to allow the contras to return to civilian life regardless of the crimes they had committed "was not an easy decision," he told the crowd. "But it is better to achieve peace and end the war by paying the price of seeing the contras inside the country, than to continue the war, which would demand greater sacrifices from the Nicaraguan people."

Ortega stressed that the government was

negotiating from a position of strength because Nicaragua had effectively defeated the contra forces during the seven-year war.

"We are in these negotiations because we have managed to deepen the strategic defeat of the contras," he said. "We have reached this point because we are strong, because we are convinced that, one way or another, the total victory is now ours."

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan army reported that its troops have begun talks with contra groups inside Nicaragua.

"We have contact with nearly the majority of the contra units inside the country," Maj. Gen. Joaquín Cuadra told reporters April 17. "We are talking with them, explaining the cease-fire agreement, the progress of the negotiations, and the possibilities for their reintegration into civilian life."

Some of the contra forces lack food and medicine, Cuadra said, and the army is delivering them supplies. On one such occasion, army helicopters airlifted food to a contra band of 120 troops.

A reporter for Radio Sandino attended one meeting between army officers and contra field commanders near the town of Pantasma in northern Nicaragua. He reported that they reached agreement on maintaining the cease-fire and establishing regular communication between the army and the contras, as well as facilitating contact between the contras and their families.

The Sandinista daily *Barricada* reported on talks 15 miles northeast of the town of San Rafael del Norte, also in northern Nicaragua. Captain Xavier Altamirano met there with contra leaders who commanded 250 mercenaries.

"The contras agreed to punish some of their members who had harassed the civilian population," and the army was discussing a proposal to provide food and medicine to the contra group, *Barricada* wrote. "Captain Altamirano stressed that relatives of the contras were pressuring the contras to continue the talks."

Similar meetings are being held in other parts of Nicaragua, General Cuadra reported. "The cease-fire accord has been very well received by contra troops in the field," he said. "They are tired of fighting, and this is a factor the contra leaders have to take into account."

Activists hail Marroquín amnesty victory

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK, April 20 — "I am pleased to announce," Héctor Marroquín told reporters at a news conference here this morning, "that I have received my temporary residence card from the Immigration and Naturalization Service Legalization Office. After 14 years in this country — 11 of them fighting INS efforts to deport me because of my political views and membership in the Socialist Workers Party — I have won legal residence status."

"This victory puts my application for permanent residence on the front burner and gives me the momentum in the fight for full legal rights," said Marroquín. He received his temporary residence status April 14 under the government's amnesty program. Marroquín becomes eligible to apply for permanent residence status in November.

Fearing for his life, Marroquín fled from Mexico to the United States in 1974. He faced frame-up charges in Mexico for his union and political activities.

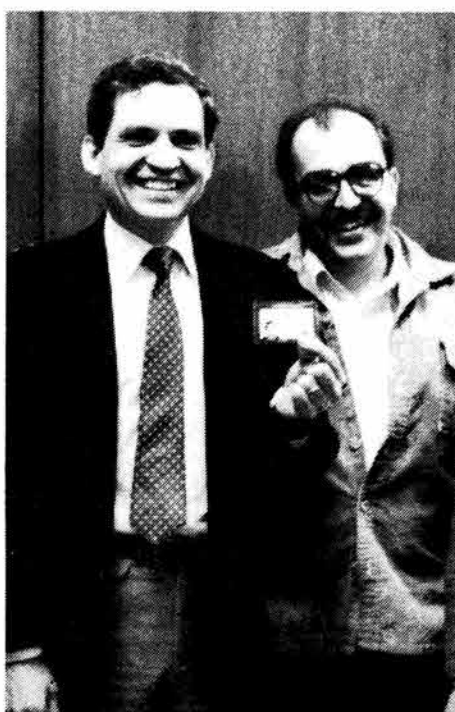
Winning temporary residence status, Marroquín explained, "is a victory for the hundreds of thousands of people applying

for residence status under the amnesty program. It is a victory for the millions who have not applied or cannot apply for fear of victimization by *la migra*. It especially advances the rights of those who came to the United States because they feared persecution — from Haiti to El Salvador — for political or union activity against Washington's oppressive foreign policy. . . . If a member of the SWP who has faced a determined drive by the INS to deport him for more than a decade can win residence, it advances the rights of all those who have come to this country."

Joining Marroquín at the news conference were his wife, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín; his attorney, Claudia Slovinsky; John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund; and Ruben Quiroz of the Center for Immigrant Rights. Rafael Anglada López also spoke at the news conference. He is one of the attorneys for the Hartford 15 Puerto Rican independence fighters who are facing government frame-up charges for their political views and activities.

"I want to add my voice," said Anglada

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Tony Savino
Héctor Marroquín with Rafael Anglada López (right).

Framed-up Ky. miners win support at UMWAs celebration

BY JIM LITTLE

CALIFORNIA, Pa. — Framed-up miner Paul Smith and his wife Naomi and their supporters were able to talk to dozens of coal miners, steelworkers, paperworkers, and other unionists at the annual Mitchell Day Parade here April 9. This marked an important step forward in the campaign to defend five Kentucky miners from a government and coal company frame-up.

The charges against miners Paul Smith, James Darryl Smith, Arnold Heightland, Donnie Thornsby, and David Thornsby grew out of the 1984-85 United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike at A.T. Massey Co. mines in West Virginia and Kentucky.

After scab coal hauler Hayes West was killed during the strike, the federal government and the Kentucky state cops spent months cooking up charges against the miners.

Four of the miners were convicted last year on federal charges of disrupting interstate commerce and were sentenced to 35 to 45 years in jail even though their lawyers exposed West's shooting as a company-orchestrated ambush. The convictions are being appealed.

Paul Smith was tried separately and acquitted. He was immediately rearrested and now faces a June 13 murder trial in Pikeville, Kentucky.

Smith's attorney, Choya Oliver, says he will try to get the case thrown out. "The state charge of 'wanton murder,'" Oliver explained, "is worded almost exactly the same as the federal charge of shooting a person driving a truck engaged in interstate commerce. Paul Smith was already found not guilty of this charge by a jury."

The Mitchell Day Parade commemorates miners winning the eight-hour workday in 1898.

Some miners helped distribute leaflets with appeals for support issued by Donnie Thornsby and Paul Smith.

Paul Smith talked to a number of miners, including local and district officials, about the frame-up of the five. Many offered enthusiastic support, and Smith received a number of invitations to attend local meetings.

Striking members of United Paper Workers International Union Local 1787 in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, also talked to Paul and Naomi Smith about the case.

That evening they attended a reception hosted by UMWAs Locals 6986 and 2456. Miners there have been on strike for three years at nearby Canterbury Coal Co. mines.

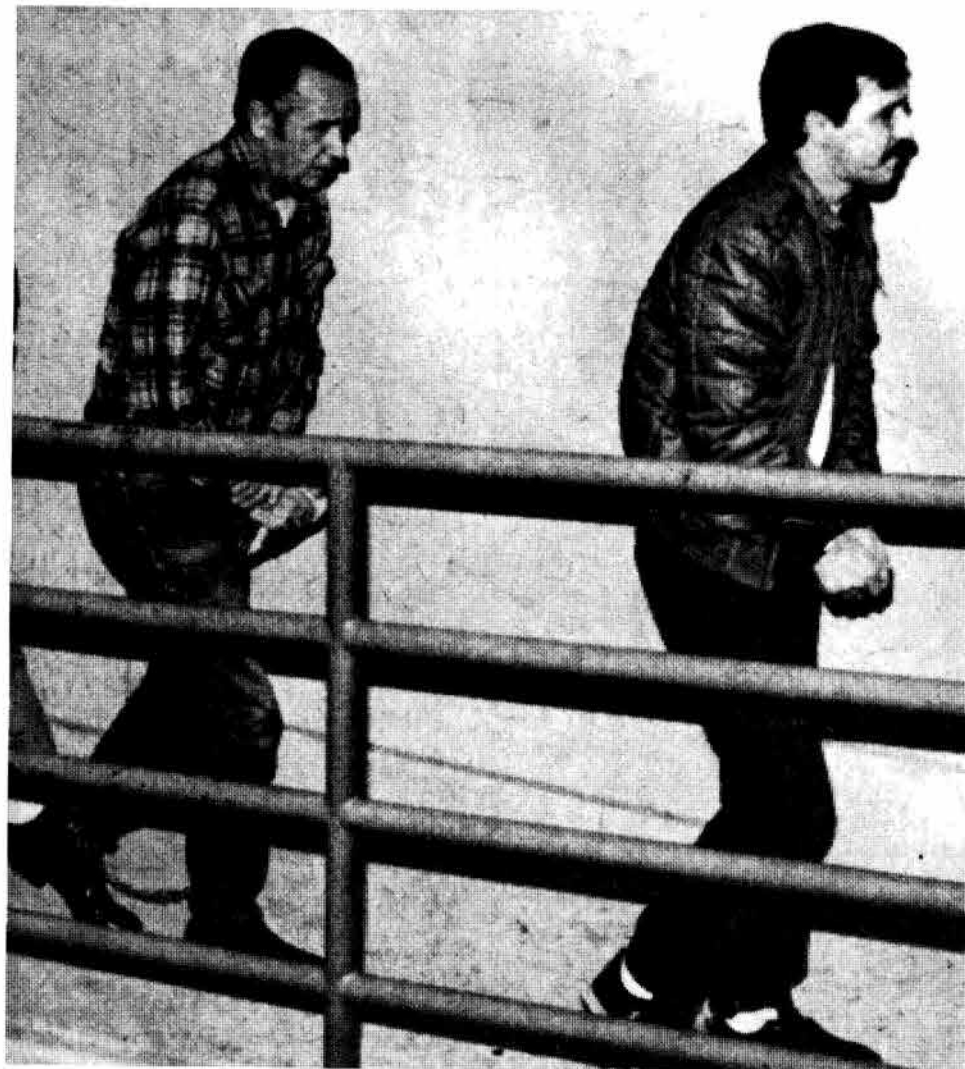
Also attending the reception were a number of mine union members from Rochester and Pittsburgh (R&P) mines in District 2. These miners recently concluded a successful strike.

Leaders of the R&P locals pledged to publicize the Kentucky miners' case in their newsletter. They also introduced Smith to UMWAs President Richard Trumka, who was the keynote speaker.

The following day, Smith addressed a meeting of UMWAs Local 1197 in Eighty-four, Pennsylvania. The miners there paid for his expenses at the Mitchell Day events and pledged to help raise funds for legal expenses.

UMWA members at the Martinka mine in Fairmont, West Virginia, also took up a collection for the five Kentucky miners.

Contributions to aid the miners' defense can be sent to Citizens for Justice, P.O. Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.



Arnold Heightland and James Darryl Smith in prison. Along with Donnie Thornsby and David Thornsby, they were sentenced to long prison terms on frame-up charges because of their participation in strike against Massey Coal Co.

Paperworkers hear miners' appeal

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — In addition to hearing reports on the upcoming April 30 labor solidarity rally and news of the negotiations with International Paper Co., the March 30 union/family meeting of striking paperworkers here heard a plea for support for five victimized Kentucky coal miners.

The miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America, have been framed up on charges stemming from the 1984-85 A.T. Massey Coal Co. strike. Four have been given long prison sentences. The fifth, Paul Smith, faces a second trial in June.

Appeals for support from UMWAs Local 2496 President Donnie Thornsby and UMWAs member Paul Smith were read to the Jay meeting by Felix Jacques, executive vice-president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14. Through the efforts of Citizens for Justice, the miners' defense committee, Jacques said, the case "has actually come out in public."

To help win their battle, Jacques explained, the miners are getting out and telling people about their fight, in the same way paperworkers have reached out to others.

"When the company is losing, it encourages other people to do violence and blames the union," Jacques said, referring to the frame-up charges stemming from the death of a scab coal hauler. He urged paperworkers to pay attention to this lesson and to send letters to the miners and donations to the defense committee.

For U.S. aid to Nicaragua

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\$3.5 billion into defending the country.

The potential now exists to mobilize broad forces — including unionists, students, farmers, antiwar activists, and fighters for Black rights — behind the demand that Washington provide immediate aid to Nicaragua. Working people around the world can also be won to supporting this effort.

A nonpartisan campaign in support of this demand should urge all the presidential candidates in the 1988 elections to back it and put their weight behind it.

We should demand that Congress and the White House immediately give Nicaragua millions for:

- Food, medical supplies, and educational materials.
- Construction materials, including tools, machinery, and heavy equipment.
- Farm implements and fertilizer.

The campaign should also demand that all of Nicaragua's debts to U.S. and other imperialist banks be canceled.

A campaign like this, which can directly benefit the Nicaraguan people, stands in sharp contrast to Washington's standard

schemes for the Caribbean and Latin America.

One such scheme, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, was launched in 1983 in response to the 1979 revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada. This initiative was supposed to help provide funds for economic development that would create jobs and alleviate the suffering of the area's toilers as well as open U.S. markets to Caribbean exports.

But five years later, unemployment is up in the region. A huge portion of the budget of each country is being ripped off to pay the debt to the imperialist banks. The U.S. rulers have slashed the quotas for Caribbean products sold in the United States. Latin America's workers and peasants are being pushed to accept ever greater austerity measures.

A broad campaign aimed at winning massive U.S. government aid for Nicaragua will complement the fight by working people in Latin America and elsewhere to have these debts canceled.

We urge supporters of aid for Nicaragua to participate in the April 30 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco and the June 11 peace demonstrations in San Francisco and New York and help make this demand a significant part of those actions.

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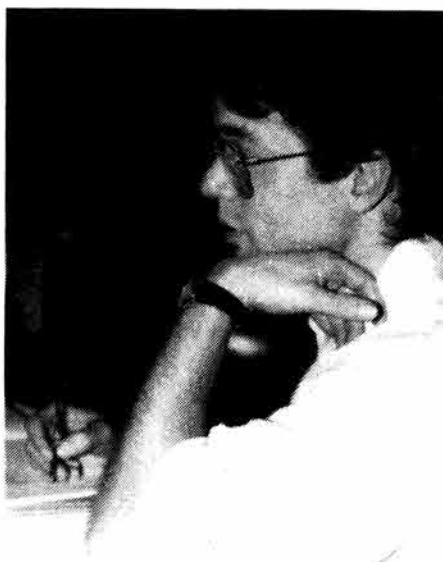
Name

Address

City State Zip

Telephone Union/School/Organization

Send to THE MILITANT, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014



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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Roberto Kopec (Nicaragua), Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Harry Ring.

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Iowa frame-up victim faces new charge

Unionists, antiwar fighters back Mark Curtis defense; trial set for May 25

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Support among antiwar fighters, unionists, and students is growing in the national campaign to defend Mark Curtis, a political activist who was framed up last month by the Des Moines cops.

Curtis is a meat-packer at the Swift packinghouse here, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He was arrested and savagely beaten by the cops in an effort to stop his political activities and intimidate others.

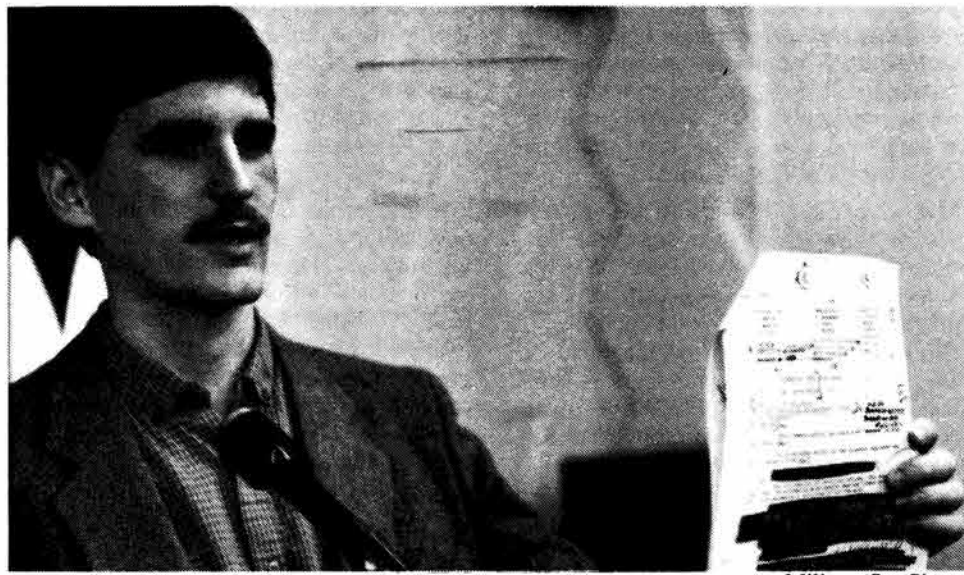
The police attacked Curtis a few hours after he left a meeting he attended along with coworkers to protest a federal government raid in which 17 immigrant workers were arrested at the Swift plant.

The pressure is mounting against the cops and prosecutors carrying out this frame-up, but they have not given up. On April 13, Curtis was arraigned at the Polk County Courthouse.

At the arraignment, Curtis; his attorney, public defender Robert Powers; and a delegation of 10 others concerned about the case received the formal charges and a list of witnesses. The original charge of "sexual abuse in the second degree" was changed to "sexual abuse in the third degree," and a charge of "burglary in the first degree" was added.

The prosecution claims the "burglary" was committed by Curtis' mere presence at the house where he was arrested. The new charge does not allege that he stole anything.

At the arraignment Assistant County At-



Mark Curtis holds one of FBI files targeting him as activist in Committee in Solidarity with People of El Salvador (CISPES).

torney Catherine Thune tried to get the judge to increase the already exorbitant bail of \$30,000. The judge refused to raise it.

Trial set for May 25

The date for the felony trial was set for May 25. Curtis, who is out on bail, faces a 25-year prison sentence if convicted.

He also faces misdemeanor charges of assaulting the police. These were leveled against Curtis to cover up the cops' brutal beating of him. A preliminary hearing on these charges is set for April 21, when the judge will hear arguments on the motion

for a jury trial filed by Curtis' attorney.

There is significant new support for Curtis' defense. The Progressive Student Network, which held its national membership meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, April 16-17, voted unanimously to demand that the charges against him be dropped.

Bob Hearst, Midwest coordinator of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), also denounced the attack against Curtis in greetings to a St. Louis rally for democratic rights April 16. At a meeting at Drake University in Des

Moines, 15 people, including reporters from the campus newspaper, heard Curtis explain his case. History professor Frederick Adams spoke and called on students and faculty to support Curtis and demand that all charges against him be dropped. Hazel Zimmerman, a Des Moines area peace activist, also spoke on Curtis' behalf at the meeting.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee received copies of letters sent by union officials to Des Moines police Chief William Moulder. Those who sent letters include Larry Regan, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana; and Thomas D. Strain and Joe Milkanin, president and vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 2125 in Rochester, Minnesota.

Bob Nelles, business representative of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, which Curtis is a member of, wrote, "The union would like to express to you that we do not condone police brutality in any form."

Over the next month, Curtis will be speaking about his case in New York, Detroit, Toronto, Montreal, and Birmingham, Alabama, as well as in Iowa. Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife, will speak about the case in Austin, Minnesota; and Kansas City, Missouri.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has issued an emergency appeal for funds to meet mounting expenses. The committee asks supporters to send messages to the Des Moines police chief demanding that the charges be dropped, the beating by the cops be investigated, and those responsible prosecuted. Petitions with the demands can also be ordered, along with brochures describing the facts in the case.

Send messages to Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Copies of the messages, along with contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. For more information, contact the committee at (515) 246-1630.

Fight against blacklisting in Britain

BY PETE EVANS

LONDON — A bill presented to the British Parliament on April 12 marked a new step in the fight against political blacklisting of working people by the employers and government.

The Blacklists (Access to Information) bill was introduced by Labour Party Member of Parliament Maria Fyfe. Its aim, she explained, would be to give everyone the right to information "held by any organization for the purposes of blacklisting."

One organization in particular, the Economic League, is a target of the bill. Formed in 1919, the league's declared aim is to work against "all subversive forces" and for the "preservation of personal freedom and free enterprise." Key to its "antisubversive" activities is the compiling of lists of "suspect" employees; that is, trade unionists and political activists.

Heavily funded by big business and with strong links to the ruling Conservative Party, the league employs 167 people in nine offices throughout Britain. Any of the league's 2,000 affiliated employers are able to ring a special telephone number to check up on potential employees. In 1986 alone, more than 200,000 names were checked in this way.

The personnel manager of Royal Dutch/Shell, one of the largest financial contributors to the Economic League, explained in 1978, "We are interested in identifying overt opponents of the system to which we are committed. The last thing we want to do is have political subversives on our payroll or on sites in which we have an interest."

Fight against secret lists

A step forward in fighting against secret lists was made last year when the Data Protection Act was passed. The bill gives limited access to individuals wishing to see files held on them. But this was restricted to "computer-held files," enabling organizations such as the Economic League to avoid public scrutiny by claiming that their files are held on an index card system.

Fyfe's bill aims to close this loophole. Under its terms, any employer seeking information from such files would first have to gain the permission of the job applicant and also give them a copy of any information received. Further, any organization holding such information would have to send a copy of their files to any person re-

questing it and pay financial compensation for inaccuracies that cause financial loss, physical injury, or distress.

This bill goes against the grain of the general tendency in Britain today toward greater government secrecy and political screening. That's why it's an important addition to the fight to defend civil liberties.

Recent court cases have resulted from the government prosecuting individuals in order to preserve the British ruling class' claimed right to keep its activities secret from working people.

In 1985 a senior civil servant, Clive Ponting, was charged under the Official Secrets Act for "leaking" a document on the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser *Belgrano* during Britain's war over the Malvinas Islands three years earlier.

This document shows that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had lied when she claimed in Parliament that the *Belgrano* was heading toward the British fleet when it was sunk, resulting in the deaths of several hundred sailors. Arguing that it was his duty to give this information to the British public, Ponting was acquitted by the jury.

The government has consequently tried to tighten up its secrecy laws. Most recently, it has attempted to prevent a former member of the Secret Services, Peter Wright, from publishing his memoirs.

Organizations such as the Economic League form part of this system of spying on working people and keeping secret from them how the government functions. Although technically operating outside the state, the Economic League has extensive contacts with the secret police of both the Special Branch and MI5.

The Special Branch was formerly named the Irish Special Branch and was the wing of the police force that spied on Irish republican nationalists. It has since expanded its activities to deal with all those it considers "subversive." MI5 is the internal secret service, similar to the FBI in the United States.

A recent television documentary produced by the current affairs program "World in Action" exposed some of the links between the Economic League and the secret police agencies. Revelations such as these have caused many working people to demand that something be done about the blacklists.

At the beginning of this year, the Trades Union Congress issued a statement condemning the blacklisting of workers as a "blatant erosion of civil liberties." The TUC urged Home Secretary Douglas Hurd to take action against the Economic League.

S.Africa youth leader on U.S. tour

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — Malombo Ntshilontshilo, a leader of the African National Congress Youth Section from Lusaka, Zambia, has started a month-long speaking tour of 14 cities in the United States.

The tour is being organized by the Young Socialist Alliance. Ben Fiering, tour coordinator, explained, "The tour will involve young people in the United States in the international campaign to stop the executions of more than 40 anti-apartheid activists in South Africa who have been sentenced to death by the racist regime."

"It will be an opportunity for many students and workers to hear a first-hand account from the front lines of the struggle against apartheid, and to discuss how we can fight to break all U.S. ties to the South African regime."

During the first week of the tour, which is scheduled to last until early May, Ntshilontshilo spoke to an anti-apartheid rally and meeting at Penn State in Pennsylvania; marched with 800 high school students in New York from the United Nations to the South African consulate; and was guest of honor at a reception at the New York Pathfinder Bookstore.

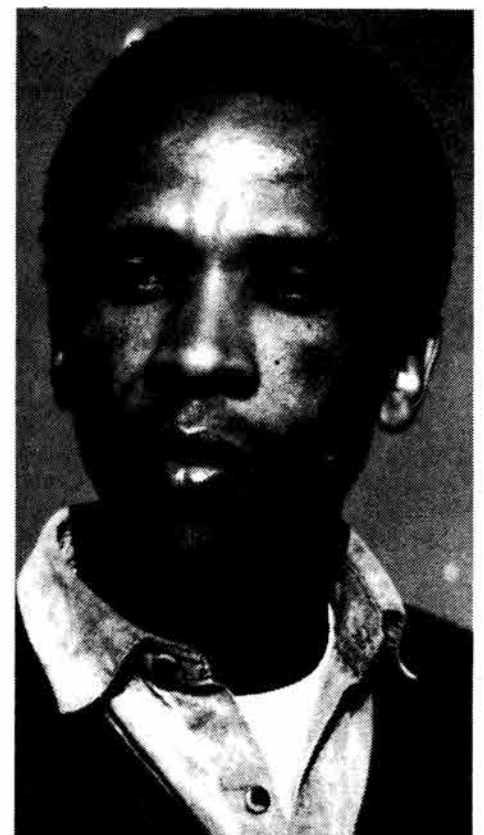
At the reception Ntshilontshilo explained, "Our people know the conditions and point of our revolution — and that point is irreversible. There are fundamental changes taking place in our revolution today. Historically we have been artificially divided by the regime. Today, Blacks, whites, and youth are tarnishing this old reality by uniting in the democratic organizations."

Ntshilontshilo said the formation of the nonracial United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions, and South African Youth Congress point the way forward for a united, nonracial, and democratic South Africa.

Asked about the response to the tour,

Fiering pointed out that "many student organizations at colleges and high schools want to hear about the struggle today in southern Africa and what they can do to end apartheid. We have also gotten a number of press interviews in every city so far," he added.

Ntshilontshilo will be in Atlanta, Georgia, April 22; Birmingham, Alabama, April 23-24; New York City April 25-27; St. Paul, Minnesota, April 28-29; San Francisco April 30-May 2; Los Angeles May 3-4; and will return to New York May 5-6.



Malombo Ntshilontshilo of ANC

Conference defends Panama's sovereignty

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Washington's campaign of economic strangulation, military threats, and political destabilization against Panama has sparked growing solidarity in Central America and the Caribbean with the Panamanian people's fight to defend the sovereignty of their country.

A "Conference of Solidarity with Panama" was held at Panama City's convention center March 28-29. Representatives of political parties and movements from more than 25 countries in the Caribbean and Central America attended, including Barbados, Grenada, Dominica, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guyana, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Cuba. Participants also came from Colombia, Venezuela, and Argentina.

Kendrick Radix, a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, attended and discussed his view of the gathering in a telephone interview. "This was the first such meeting in solidarity with Panama," he explained, "and it focused on the pressure and destabilization Panama is undergoing at this time as a result of its refusal to be a subservient handmaiden to U.S. imperialism and domination."

"All the delegations present expressed their firm solidarity with the people and government of Panama," Radix continued. "The sponsors of the meeting were the Revolutionary Democratic Party of Panama [the governing party in Panama, founded by Gen. Omar Torrijos], and the Revolutionary Panamenist Party."

Jesús Montané Oropesa, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, was the first of the visiting participants to speak.

A dangerous precedent is being set by Washington's economic moves against Panama for all countries in Latin America, "whose institutions and leaders could be the target of U.S. propaganda machinations," the Cuban leader said.

He warned that to allow Washington to succeed in its efforts to overturn the government of Panama would mean "a defeat of incalculable consequences" for Latin America and all Third World countries.

Radix also addressed the meeting. He was a leader of the revolutionary government of Grenada from 1979 until its overthrow in 1983. The overthrow was followed by a U.S. invasion and the installation of a puppet regime.

Radix described how former Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop, who was from a very small country, "stood up and told the United States of America, in the name of our nation, in the name of our region, and in the name of the fighters of the world: 'We are not in anybody's backyard.'"

The immediate target of Washington's anti-Panama drive — Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, head of Panama's army — also addressed the conference.

"Panama has been subjected to a brutal aggression," Noriega told participants. "All the principles of human law have been violated. Those who want democracy have trampled on it in Panama. Those who cry

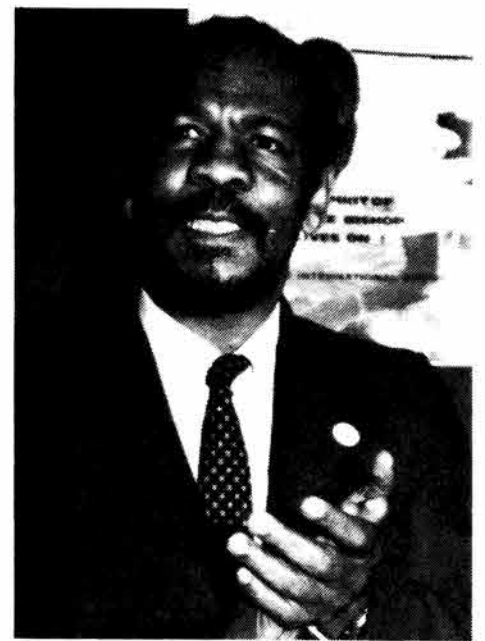
out for human rights have soiled them in Panama."

"The problem began in December three years ago," he continued, "when [then U.S. national security advisor John] Poin-dexter, one of the men involved in the Iran-gate scandal, came to Panama to demand and to order Panama to join a plan to invade Nicaragua."

"He said Panama and Mexico — as members of the Contadora Group — were obstacles to U.S. policies and plans in Central America. He said it was necessary for the Panama Defense Forces to lower its tone. . . . When we, along with a young lieutenant who was the official translator, got up indignantly and said no, the threats came, and so did the consequences you already know about."

The conference passed a resolution condemning U.S. aggression against Panama and urging the formation of "national solidarity committees with the Panamanian people and government" in the participating countries. These committees, the resolution stated, should organize "demonstrations, meetings, marches, and acts of protest in front of U.S. embassies," along with other solidarity activities.

The resolution also demanded fulfillment of the Central American peace accords, especially by the governments of Honduras and Guatemala. It demanded that "the Reagan administration recognize the cease-fire agreement the Nicaraguan people are reaching with dignity, in search of a peaceful and negotiated solution to the Central American crisis."



Militant/Lou Howort

Kendrick Radix from Grenada's Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement participated in conference in Panama City attended by representatives from 25 Latin American and Caribbean countries.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which fights for the independence of the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, discussed the situation in Panama at its congress in late March. The delegates adopted a resolution denouncing U.S. interference in Panama.

The declaration also condemned "the utilization by the United States of members of the National Guard of Puerto Rico to participate in military maneuvers in a sister country" and called for defense of the 1977 U.S.-Panama canal treaties "to assure Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone."

El Socialista, the newspaper of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic, a revolutionary workers' party, carried an article on Panama in a recent issue. It called on "all patriots and revolutionaries of Latin America" to defend Panama. It also called on them to "oppose imperialist maneuvers carried out by the Yankee government to discredit Panama" and the attempt to "establish a puppet government that would facilitate its objectives of . . . keeping the canal beyond 1999."

In early April, the Foreign Ministry of Barbados issued a strong statement on behalf of Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford opposing "unilateral imposition of coercive economic measures" against Panama by the United States.

Thousands of Barbadian and other Black West Indian laborers worked on the construction of the Panama Canal in the early 1900s, and many Barbadians still have relatives in Panama.

Puerto Rican Socialist Party meets

BY CINDY JAQUITH

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Beneath banners declaring "Viva Nicaragua"; "Viva Cuba"; and "Toward renewal of the independence struggle," 500 people gathered at a March 18 rally here sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

Puerto Rico, an island of some 3 million people in the Caribbean, is one of the few remaining U.S. colonies. Its people are controlled by U.S. laws and government bodies and their resources and labor are exploited by U.S.-owned industries.

Male Puerto Ricans are forced to sign up for the U.S. military draft and tens of thousands have been killed in Washington's wars. Since the 19th century, Puerto Ricans have fought for their right to independence, first from Spain and then from the United States.

The PSP was founded in 1971. Its predecessor was the Pro-Independence Movement, an organization formed in 1959 that drew its inspiration from the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The PSP has observer status in the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, where it regularly presents the case for Puerto Rican independence, as it also does at the United Nations. It publishes the weekly paper *Claridad*, the main pro-independence newspaper on the island.

The rally here marked the opening of the PSP's fourth congress. There were more than 200 delegates to the congress, from PSP branches in Puerto Rico, as well as New York and Chicago. The congress opened and closed with rallies open to the general public.

Greetings were read at the rallies from the Puerto Rican Independence Party, Revolutionary Workers Party-Macheteros of Puerto Rico, Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, African National Congress (ANC), South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia, Socialist Workers Party of the United States, and Movement for National Liberation.

Special guests introduced from the audience at the opening rally included Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irving Flores, Puerto Rican independence fighters who spent decades in U.S. jails; attorney Noel Colón Martínez; and several defendants in the Hartford 15 case. The latter are on trial in Hartford, Connecticut, on frame-up charges because of their support for Puerto Rican independence.

The rally coincided with the sending of 3,200 U.S. troops to Honduras, threatening a direct military attack on Nicaragua.

The crowd broke into loud applause when the chair declared Puerto Ricans would resist being sent to fight their brothers and sisters in Nicaragua. Loud chants of "No pasaran!" ("They will not pass!") rang throughout the hall.

Resolutions passed by the delegates saluted the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions, as well as the liberation struggles being led in El Salvador by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, in Guatemala by the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, in South Africa by the ANC, and in Namibia by SWAPO.

Another resolution condemned U.S. efforts to overthrow the Panamanian government and maintain permanent control over the canal. Panamanian sovereignty over the canal, said the resolution, "has become not just the demand of Panama but of all Latin America. The sovereignty and independence of Panama is continually violated by the United States, which sets a precedent for the other Latin American countries."

The resolution went on to denounce the sending of troops from the Puerto Rican National Guard on military maneuvers in Panama, which it called "a clear provocation."

The congress reaffirmed the PSP's strong stand for Puerto Rican independence and its unconditional support for independence fighters victimized by the U.S. government.

A resolution called for immediate freedom for the Hartford 15 and all independence fighters jailed in the United States; for national and international solidarity with the Hartford 15 and other prisoners; and for a halt to the harassment of prisoner Alejandrina Torres, currently incarcerated in Lexington, Kentucky. It urged the government of Mexico to allow independence fighter Guillermo Morales, imprisoned in that country, to take political asylum in one of the countries that has offered it.

The congress discussed at length the current fragmentation of pro-independence and socialist forces in Puerto Rico and issued a public call for a regroupment of these forces to strengthen the fight for independence. To this end, delegates adopted a resolution to open up the editorial board of *Claridad* to "other patriotic sectors" while maintaining "an editorial line that is pro-independence and defends the interests of working people."

A message to the PSP from the Socialist Workers Party, read at the final public rally, declared that "the battle for Puerto

Rico's self-determination and national liberation is not only the fight of the Puerto Rican people but the fight of the U.S. working class and working people throughout the world.

"The campaign to free the Hartford 15, whose only crime is that they are patriots fighting for the freedom of their homeland, has helped educate U.S. workers about the colonial subjugation of your country," said the message. "The Hartford 15 case has also opened many eyes to the FBI's illegal persecution and victimization of independence fighters because of their political views."

At the closing rally, the newly elected central committee and political committee of the PSP were introduced to the audience. The party's national officers were re-elected. They are Carlos Gallisá, general secretary; Néstor Nazario, president; and Doris Pizarro, assistant general secretary.

Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign

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

* * *

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Good prospects for winning youth, say Warren and Mickells

BY DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — "The prospects for winning new people to the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party are very good during our election campaign," James Warren told me. Warren, the SWP's 1988 candidate for president, was here after more than a week of campaigning in the Pacific Northwest. His path crossed that of vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells, who had been touring West Virginia and northern New Jersey, and I was able to talk to both of them for a couple of hours in the *Militant's* offices.

Both candidates said that in virtually every city they had visited somebody joined the YSA while they were there.

"When I was at Evergreen College near Olympia, Washington, with a team of supporters from Seattle, three students asked to join the YSA," Warren said. "And two students at Portland Community College were considering joining when I left."

Mickells noted that she had done some campaigning in Ohio and western Pennsylvania in March on the eve of a national youth conference organized by the YSA in Pittsburgh. "Of three students who came to the April 2-3 conference from Penn State University one has joined the YSA," she said. "Another joined the YSA from West Virginia University in Morgantown. When I went there after the conference, he helped set up and chair a meeting for me on the campus."

High school students join

Two high school students from Charleston, West Virginia, also signed up to be YSA members at the Pittsburgh conference. "They have now been joined by a new member from West Virginia State College, who joined while I was in Charleston," Mickells said. "I wasn't able to have a meeting on that campus, but we spent part of a day campaigning at a literature table. That's

how we met this prospective member. He was particularly interested in reading some books and pamphlets by Malcolm X."

Mickells added that in Newark, New Jersey, a young Grenadian woman joined the YSA.

I asked Warren and Mickells if there was any issue in particular that seemed to be attracting young people to the YSA. "No," Warren replied. "It's the general explanation of why the capitalist system is in crisis, why it is driven to go to war, and what working people can do to protect ourselves that appeals to people. This is what attracts students to us, too. There's not some special student slant on things that would do it."

"When we get into discussions during our meetings or informally, all kinds of questions come up."

Lots of discussions

Warren emphasized that it's important during these tours to have plenty of time to discuss with people. There are no pat answers or slogans that will convince people to join the communist movement. They want a full explanation of what the perspectives are.

Mickells said she was struck by how broadly people agree that a recession that threatens to lead to a much deeper economic crisis is coming. "Even the reporters agree," she said. "But, of course, there's different views of what to do about it."

Warren interjected that he'd found the same to be true. He recalled a radio talk show in Seattle where three people called in agreeing with him on the impending economic crisis. "But one argued that the employers will never agree to a shorter workweek," Warren said. "I explained that it's not a matter of them accepting it. It's a matter of us fighting to force the government to impose it as law throughout the country. And then we'll have to fight to get



Tony Savino
Socialist candidate Mickells in discussion with African National Congress youth leader Malombo Ntshilontshilo at New York reception, April 16. Mickells is touring the United States. Ntshilontshilo is on one-month visit to country, sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance.

it implemented everywhere. That's how shortening the workweek has always been won."

Mickells said she'd gotten the argument from one student that a 30-hour workweek with 40 hours pay will cause inflation. "I explained that it's not wage increases that causes inflation. Other things like military spending and a decline in the value of the dollar are the culprits."

Warren said that one of those who called in did not like the proposal being raised by the socialist campaigners that the foreign debt of the Third World countries ought to be canceled. "He argued that 'those countries owe us money and should pay it.'"

Warren said, "I pointed out that they don't owe 'us' workers anything, any more than debt-burdened farmers in this country do. They owe the debt to the big bankers, and they can't pay it because of oppressive relations, including unequal trade relations. Robbery is the best way to describe

it," he said.

I asked if the candidates had any observations that would be useful to campaign supporters organizing tours for them in other cities.

Warren stressed, "We're not in each area for long so it's best to try to do a few key things well rather than pack the schedule too tight and not get as much time to talk to people. I think the four key things that should be done are a news conference; campaigning at least at one plant gate or mine portal during shift change; an informal gathering for supporters and prospective members, which may be held on a campus; and a public meeting aimed at drawing people from the entire city and region."

Press coverage

Both Mickells and Warren said that in most cities they'd received press coverage and that it had helped draw people to public events.

"The plant-gate campaigning has been the weakest thing," Mickells said. "The most effective approach would be to leaflet in advance at a plant gate where campaign supporters sell the *Militant* regularly, letting workers know when we'll be there."

On the press, Mickells said, in some towns that are relatively small, it's often more effective to personally visit each newspaper and broadcasting office. "That's what we did in Morgantown and it worked real well," she said.

Warren said that the public meetings he'd spoken at, even those billed as rallies, have been best where there's been ample time for questions and discussion. "That's how we can convince people and win them to our movement."

Mickells talks to miners, students

MAGGIE McCRAW
AND JEANNE FITZMAURICE

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — "They try to tell us that Russia is our enemy and all that hogwash. But it's our government that's really our enemy — they want total domination of the world. I won't fight against my people. I'll go to jail first."

That's how one young Black man in a ROTC uniform explained his views to Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, during her April visit to West Virginia State College here.

For more than two hours, Mickells and Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for governor of West Virginia, were surrounded by dozens of students who wanted to talk politics. Many stayed for lengthy discussions about the socialists' proposals to combat the economic crisis facing working people. One student joined the Young Socialist Alliance, and others signed up for more information about upcoming campaign activities.

Mickells, a laid-off coal miner, also visited United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members on strike at Peabody Coal Co.'s Kopperston mine, 70 miles south of Charleston. A local UMWA official explained to Mickells that the 400 miners were on strike over Peabody's use of a sub-contracting company that had refused to sign a contract with the union.

A few days later, a team of campaign supporters returned to the area to talk further with miners and their families. A number of people took campaign material. One miner subscribed to the *Militant*. The team learned that the strike had been won when the subcontractor was forced to sign a contract.

Mickells, Pulley, and Jim Gotesky, SWP candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D., also campaigned at the huge Union Carbide/Rhone-Poulenc chemical plant in nearby Institute,

West Virginia. Many workers stopped on their way into work to take campaign literature or buy a copy of the *Militant*.

Gotesky reported that during the course of the day many of his coworkers wanted to discuss the socialist proposals, and how they relate to the takebacks being imposed on the workers at Rhone-Poulenc.

Mickells also spoke at the Militant Labor Forum, where more than \$200 was collected for the campaign, and attended a dinner with new members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mickells' stay in the Charleston area received extensive and favorable coverage in the *Beckley Register-Herald* and the *Charleston Gazette*, as well as local television and radio stations.

The socialist candidate then spent April 9 campaigning at the Mitchell Day Celebration in California, Pennsylvania. This annual activity commemorates the mine workers' winning of the eight-hour day in 1898. UMWA Districts 4 and 5 and United Steelworkers of America District 15 sponsored the event.

Many miners listened seriously to Mickells' proposal to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay in order to provide jobs for the millions of workers who are and will become unemployed. Some 60 percent of the miners in District 4, where Mickells used to work, are out of work.

Mickells then spent several days in the Morgantown, West Virginia, area. She campaigned at the morning shift change at Morgan shirt factory, where she worked as a sewing machine operator after being laid off from the mines. A number of workers stopped to tell Mickells about current conditions in the factory, where wages are being lowered for many workers through cuts in piece rates.

Mickells also spoke at meetings organized by the Young Socialist Alliance at

Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, and West Virginia University in Morgantown.

From West Virginia, Mickells went to Newark where she began campaigning on April 14. On April 24 she will begin campaigning in New England, including in Jay, Maine, where paperworkers have been on strike for many months.

May 1-4 she will be in Philadelphia; May 6-8 in Baltimore; May 11-14 in Washington, D.C.; May 15-17 in Greensboro, North Carolina; and May 22-25 in Birmingham, Alabama.

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Los Angeles, Birmingham sales help set pace

BY NORTON SANDLER

Distributors of the *Militant* in several U.S. cities are off to a strong start in the spring circulation drive.

Good results in the effort to win 9,000 new readers for the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* have also been reported by our international distributors.

In a telephone interview Elizabeth Stone and José Alvarado explained that Los Angeles-area distributors sold 79 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM* and eight individual copies of *New International* during the April 9-16 target week.

Thirty-two subscriptions and two *New Internationals* were sold to participants at a "Coalition 1988" rally. Stone said organizers of this event sought to mobilize electoral support for Democratic Party candidates. But, she said, "young people and others came to the rally with banners and signs opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America and in defense of gay rights." Many were interested in the ideas being raised by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidates James Warren and Kathleen Mickells.

That night several dozen people attended a forum on "What capitalism has to offer youth," sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Alvarado said six subscriptions were sold during the first days of the drive to workers at the McDonnell Douglas aerospace and Beefco meat-packing plants. And three subscriptions have been sold by Los Angeles distributors recently during sales at area factory gates.

Los Angeles distributors are getting good results when they contact people about renewing subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM* sold last fall.

Stone said they are making a big push on circulating the current issue of *New International*, which contains articles on "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop"; "Cuba: A Historic Moment, Two speeches by Fidel Castro"; and "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution." They are offering the current and five previous issues of the magazine for the special price of \$20.

Twenty-one subscriptions have been sold by supporters of the Warren-Mickells campaign in Birmingham, Alabama. The first Saturday of the drive they dispatched a team to Graysville, a nearby coal-mining town, where 18 single copies of the *Militant* were sold.

The next week the team returned to Graysville to talk to people who had expressed interest in the paper, and sold three subscriptions.

Encouraged by the results, Birmingham supporters have decided to raise their goal for the drive from 170 to 185.

In Newark, Warren-Mickells backers started off by selling 38 subscriptions and seven copies of *New International* while petitioning to get the SWP candidates on the New Jersey state ballot.

International effort

Janet Warman reports from New Zealand that supporters of the revolutionary bi-weekly *Socialist Action* have sold nearly 1,100 copies of that paper during an eight-week drive scheduled to end April 14. They have also sold 117 subscriptions to the *Militant*, eight to *PM*, and 13 copies of *New International*.

New Zealand distributors have raised their goal for these three publications from 130 to 180. And Warman says they have extended their circulation effort until June 15 so they can concentrate on increasing the New Zealand readership of the three periodicals.

Warman says they are selling successfully at literature tables, at factory gates, on campuses, and in working-class communities. Many subscriptions have also been sold in the Pilot Bookshops in Wellington and Auckland.

Monica Jones reported that distributors in Canada sold 14 *Militant* subscriptions at an April 9 action in Toronto in defense of Palestinian rights.

Jones said people who bought the paper were particularly interested in the series of articles by Fred Feldman on "Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation." The following Saturday, Jones said, five subscriptions were sold at a Toronto rally in defense of abortion rights.

The totals on the scoreboard are based on the figures we have received by mail in our business office by Wednesday of each week. You can double-check the last day counted by taking a look at our closing news date on page 2.

Distributors will be receiving a special form that will facilitate reporting their *New International* results.

It is important to get circulation information to us promptly. That way new readers don't miss an issue and we can also accurately assess how we're doing in the drive.



Militant/Salm Kolis

Petitions with nearly 5,000 signatures were filed April 14 to place the names of Socialist Workers Party candidates on ballot in New Jersey. Campaign supporters from Newark sold subscriptions during their petitioning drive.

Spring Sales Goals

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Greensboro, N.C.	170	26	15	140	25	20	0	10	1
Miami	225	34	15	145	28	40	0	40	6
Detroit	250	34	14	185	30	40	0	25	4
Los Angeles	600	81	14	340	57	100	8	160	16
New York	1,200	172	14	600	100	300	47	300	25
Pittsburgh	250	32	13	185	27	45	2	20	3
Boston	350	42	12	240	32	50	3	60	7
Twin Cities, Minn.	275	27	10	230	25	25	0	20	2
Milwaukee	150	14	9	100	13	25	0	25	1
Newark, N.J.	460	38	8	275	27	85	0	100	11
Baltimore	185	14	8	150	12	30	0	5	2
Charleston, W.Va.	120	9	8	100	9	15	0	5	0
Phoenix	240	18	8	135	12	30	0	75	6
Kansas City	130	9	7	90	9	20	0	20	0
Atlanta	205	14	7	150	12	40	0	15	2
St. Louis	250	16	6	190	16	50	0	10	0
Seattle	275	17	6	200	7	25	0	50	10
Chicago	350	18	5	215	14	60	0	75	4
Houston	215	11	5	140	10	30	0	45	1
Portland, Ore.	140	7	5	100	6	25	0	15	1
Cleveland	145	6	4	110	6	20	0	15	0
Washington, D.C.	250	10	4	170	9	50	1	30	0
Omaha, Neb.	125	4	3	80	4	25	0	20	0
San Francisco	350	10	3	200	9	75	0	75	1
Oakland, Calif.	265	7	3	150	6	50	0	65	1
Des Moines, Iowa	195	5	3	140	5	30	0	25	0
Salt Lake City	150	3	2	115	3	20	0	15	0
Price, Utah	55	1	2	40	0	10	0	5	1
Austin, Minn.	90	1	1	65	1	15	0	10	0
Philadelphia	210	2	1	140	1	30	0	40	1
Birmingham, Ala.	185	1	1	150	1	25	0	10	0
Morgantown, W.Va.	135	0	0	115	0	15	0	5	0
Cincinnati	10	4	40	10	4	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	19	-	-	19	-	-	-	-
U.S. totals	8,195	706	-	5,385	539	1,420	61	1,390	106
London	-	18	-	-	18	-	-	-	-
Manchester	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
Nottingham	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
South Wales	-	14	-	-	13	-	-	-	1
South Yorks	-	7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Other Britain	-	11	-	-	2	-	9	-	-
Britain total	220	56	25	130	44	50	10	20	2
Canada	340	31	9	200	26	100	0	40	5
New Zealand	180	131	73	140	111	30	13	10	7
Puerto Rico	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
Other Internat'l	-	27	-	-	14	-	12	-	1
Totals	8,945	957	11	5,865	735	1,600	96	1,460	126
Drive Goals	9,000	-	-	6,000	-	1,500	-	1,500	-
Should be	-	1,584	18	-	-	-	-	-	-

Beating of 3 Haitian students spurs protests at N.Y. college

BY MARTY BOYERS

BROOKLYN — The beating of three Haitian students and the detention of another has touched off a series of anti-racist protests at New York's Brooklyn College.

The racist attack took place March 11, when members of the college baseball team surrounded Romel Salam and accused the Haitian student of stealing a watch and some money out of gym lockers. A security guard approached the group as they were threatening Salam, and took the Haitian student off for questioning. Despite the fact that a thorough search turned up none of the items on Salam or in his bag, the interrogation continued for two hours.

After Salam was released by the guard, the baseball players confronted some of his friends and demanded to search Salam's bags, calling him "nigger" and "dirty Negro." An argument broke out, and several players brandishing baseball bats attacked Evans Louis, Hantz Louis, and Jean Robert. Robert suffered a broken nose and had to be taken to the hospital.

The baseball team's coach and the security guard who had questioned Salam both witnessed the beatings but did nothing to intervene. To date, no criminal or disciplinary charges have been brought against the racist thugs.

The Haitian Student Association (HASA) at Brooklyn College explained that this attack is the latest in a pattern of intensifying racist harassment and threats against Haitian and other Black and immigrant students at the college.

HASA has organized a campus forum and two demonstrations to protest the attack. They are demanding that the assailants be expelled, and the coach and guard fired. The protests have involved hundreds of students from Brooklyn College and other colleges and universities in the New York area.

The Haitian student group is continuing to reach out for support in its efforts to bring the racist thugs to justice. It has obtained a lawyer and plans to take the college to court. For more information, contact HASA, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11210.

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Antiwar Vietnam vet awarded Nicaragua's Order of Sandino

BY THERESA DELGADILLO

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government awarded U.S. peace activist Brian Willson the Order of Augusto César Sandino here on March 29.

"We give this award to a hero of peace, because that's what Brian Willson is," said Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. "And when we pin this medal on his chest, we are presenting it to all the North American people, to Benjamin Linder, and to the North American brothers and sisters who have been working in the war zones in our country for years in the cause of peace."

Willson is a Vietnam veteran who lost his legs when he was struck by a U.S. Navy weapons train at the Concord Naval Weapons Station in California last year. He and other demonstrators were protesting arms shipments to Central America.

In presenting the Sandino award, Ortega said, "Brian Willson has defended and is defending the principles of peace, justice, and democracy. He has opposed the illegal, dirty war that the United States has been waging against Nicaragua. And today he is here with part of his legs having been torn apart by the U.S. policy of aggression."

"It might seem contradictory to give a U.S. citizen an order named after the resolute anti-imperialist, Augusto César Sandino," continued Ortega. "But we must recall that in the face of the unjust actions that different U.S. administrations throughout history have promoted against the Nicaraguan people, there have been Brian Willsons in the United States that opposed and condemned those war policies. And Brian Willsons have multiplied in all the years that the Nicaraguan people have been resisting the illegal and unjust policy of the U.S. government."

The Sandino medal is one of Nicaragua's highest honors and is generally given to heads of state. Previous recipients include: Alan García of Peru, Erick Honecker of East Germany, Olof Palme of Sweden, and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso.

In accepting the award, Willson thanked the Nicaraguan people "as a representative of millions of U.S. citizens who desire relations with Nicaragua based on law and justice and not on arrogant and brutal dominance."

Willson said that while he lost his legs in the battle to stop military intervention by his government against El Salvador and Nicaragua, he hasn't lost his willingness to continue denouncing the criminal war. He said he would continue efforts to aid reconstruction in Nicaragua in an attempt to live up to the honor granted him by the Nicaraguan people.

Meetings in Nicaragua

Willson arrived here on March 20, when Washington had just sent 3,200 troops to Honduras to back up the contras, and the threat of a border confrontation with U.S. or Honduran troops was very real.

In response to these war moves, many anti-war actions took place around the world, and in particular, in the United States. These demonstrations were widely publicized and warmly received here.

Ortega met Willson and his delegation at the Managua airport and accompanied them to an all-night vigil protesting the U.S. war threats. There, Willson told 40,000 cheering Nicaraguans that, "We will continue fighting so that Reagan stops sending arms and forces to kill and mutilate children in Nicaragua."

While in Nicaragua, Willson also visited the grave of Benjamin Linder, a U.S. citizen who was killed by contras last year as he worked on a rural electrification project.

On March 22 the Committee of U.S. Citizens Living in Nicaragua held a meeting for Willson and the other peace activists who accompanied him. One hundred foreign-born activists living and working in Nicaragua attended. The event included presentations by Willson and his wife, Holly Rauen; greetings from Nicaraguans, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan organizations; and music.

One of those who spoke was Patricia Elvir, director of the Nicaraguan Commit-

tee in Solidarity with the Peoples. She expressed Nicaragua's "sincere respect for what Brian is doing in favor of peace. Brian awakened the consciousness of many people in the United States and inspired greater solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. This greatly increased our confidence in the U.S. people. We know that it is a people capable of change, and this gives us great confidence in the future."

Elvir also spoke of the important juncture that Nicaragua faced. "What is happening with the cease-fire talks is very important for us because we did not make the revolution to have war," she said. "We made the revolution to build housing, improve health care, education, to develop Nicaragua. And we want peace so we can continue to do that, to make our revolution."

U.S. veterans help Nicaragua rebuild

Willson announced that he and Rauen have founded the Institute for the Practice of Non-Violence. Along with the Veterans Peace Action Teams (VPAT), the institute plans to organize a Citizens Peace Force made up of veterans and other U.S. citizens.

In the United States, they will carry out nonviolent civil disobedience at military installations to oppose the government's aggression in Central America. In Nicaragua, they will work on construction projects in the countryside to help rebuild schools,



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

Brian Willson speaking at March 29 award ceremony in Managua

clinics, and other buildings destroyed by contra attacks.

Veterans Peace Action Teams, working with the Nicaraguan National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, are currently building a health center and latrines in the resettlement village of El Cedro in the Cuá-Bocay area in northern Nicaragua. They plan to expand this type of aid to six other cooperatives in the region and to begin working on construction projects in the town of Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic Coast. Teams are open to both veterans and nonveterans.

VPAT, along with the U.S. organizations Quest for Peace and Let Nicaragua

Live, is also organizing a 50-truck convoy of food and material aid for children in Nicaragua. The convoy is scheduled to depart from different cities in the United States in late May and arrive in Nicaragua in June. Events will be held along the route to encourage solidarity with Nicaragua.

VPAT is organizing delegations to El Salvador as well.

For more information on VPAT activities contact Veterans Peace Action Teams, P.O. Box 586, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95061. Telephone (408) 426-7822.

For more information on the convoy to Nicaragua contact: VPAT or Bob Livesey at (617) 282-9683.

Paper strikers hear speaker on Nicaragua

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — "I won't be here with you April 30," John Linder told the March 30 union/family meeting here, "because I and my family will be in Nicaragua, to mark the first anniversary of the murder of my brother Ben by the contras April 28 last year."

"But as I speak across the country I will urge people to join the solidarity demonstration and be in Jay. I hope when you gather," Linder said, "it will be a victory rally, because your strike deserves to win."

As Linder concluded his 15-minute presentation, striking paperworkers and their supporters rose in a long ovation. Members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14's executive board shook his hand.

Ben Linder, a young engineer who was working on a project to bring electricity to an isolated area in northern Nicaragua, was the first U.S. citizen murdered by the U.S.-created contra army.

War has been waged by Washington against the Nicaraguan government because, John Linder said, Nicaragua has "a government run by working people, not the White House."

Solidarity with Nicaragua, Linder continued, "is not charity, but in the interests of working people in the United States, because anywhere working people win, that is good for us and we should support it."

There were gasps of shock from the crowd as Linder described the assassination of his brother at point-blank range by the contras.

"They killed my brother," Linder explained, "but they could not kill his dream" of bringing light, electricity, and running water to Nicaraguan farmers.

"If I had any lingering doubts about where I stood," one Local 14 member told Linder, "they're gone now."

The warmth and support that greeted Linder reflects the fact that Central America, and Nicaragua in particular, have become questions of active concern to a growing number of Jay strikers.

Many strikers will explain that their long battle against International Paper Co. has opened their eyes to the struggles of working people in other parts of the country and the world.

Since the strike began nine months ago, antiwar activists and speakers on Central America have had a presence at many of the weekly union/family gatherings, distribut-

ing literature, giving greetings, and occasionally speaking. These have included Vietnam vets who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America, an artist from Nicaragua, and volunteers who traveled to Nicaragua to help harvest coffee.

In letters and at meetings, Jay strikers have begun to press elected officials in Maine to oppose aid to the contras.

"Why don't you propose \$100 million in humanitarian aid for the Jay freedom fighters?" Local 14 executive board member Randy Berry pointedly asked pro-contra Rep. Olympia Snow at a recent meeting between Snow and the paperworkers to discuss the strike. A report to a strike meeting of Berry's remarks brought cheers.

An ovation saluted Maribel Fuentes, U.S. representative of the National Union

of Salvadoran Workers, when she brought greetings "to the combative paperworkers" of Jay at their March 16 meeting.

And the previous week, striker Sharon Gonyea read greetings to the strike meeting from Nicaraguan embassy official Rosa Tünnermann. Gonyea shared the platform with Tünnermann at an International Women's Day event in Cambridge, Massachusetts, earlier in the month.

On March 19, Local 14 striker Cindy Bennett spoke at a Boston emergency anti-war action that drew 7,000. A week later, Jay striker Linda Merchant told 1,500 gathered at another Boston protest against contra aid that "the more we have struggled, the more we have learned that others are not so different from us. The world has gotten closer and smaller."

Maine shipyard workers reject pact

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Some 2,500 unionized shipyard workers from Bath Iron Works (BIW) voted April 2 by a 3 to 2 margin to reject a new three-year contract offer. The debate and vote on the contract proposal took place at a mass meeting held at the civic center in Portland, Maine.

Local 6 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America represents 5,700 workers at BIW's three locations in Maine. The Bath Iron Works is the largest employer in the state, and Local 6 is the largest union local.

Local 6's membership had agreed to BIW management's request to open negotiations early, in advance of the August 1988 contract expiration date.

BIW's proposal included replacing the current 12-level pay scale with 16 levels. Local 6 Vice-president Mickey Meader, who helped lead opposition to the offer, said the new wage scheme would mean a drop in pay for lower-paid workers. In addition, the majority of wage increases in the proposed progression would be based on "merit" raises made at management's discretion.

Other provisions of BIW's offer included a 2.5 percent a year wage increase, much of which would be lost by a hike in what union members would have to pay for health insurance. The issues of random

drug-testing and overtime pay would be resolved after ratification. This, Meader explained, would give the company an upper hand in negotiating these items.

The company also does not want to pay overtime rates after eight hours of work, Meader explained. Instead they are trying to move toward paying overtime only after 40 hours have been worked in a week.

After a bitter 14-week strike in 1985, Local 6 members returned to work after accepting a two-tier contract for the first time. Today 38 percent of BIW's workers are in the second tier, hired in at \$3 an hour less than workers hired before the strike. While the new contract proposal offered by BIW would have phased out the two-tier setup over the life of the contract, the effect of the new 16-level wage setup would maintain similar divisions among union members.

A 6-to-2 majority of the Local 6 negotiating committee recommended voting for the package. "The company hasn't got any money," Local 6 President Ray Ladd stated, after a union-hired accounting firm made its report. "They [BIW] opened the books and proved it."

The Bath shipyard workers have been inspired by the example of paperworkers on strike against International Paper Co., 60 miles north in Jay. Vice-president Meader told the *Militant* after the workers' rejection of BIW's offer.

Peasants make gains on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast

'Autonomy is the people deciding'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

KUKRA HILL, Nicaragua — "At first, some of us couldn't believe it. Before the revolution, we had never seen the government take a big project and put it in the hands of poor people. But today, the African palm belongs to the peasants."

Justino López was talking about the African palm agro-industrial project to produce palm oil, one of the new developments begun by the Sandinista government on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. López is a leader of some 100 peasant families who are members of two collective farms that are part of the project.

They live in a settlement built on a small plateau that rises above the tropical forest 10 miles west of the town of Kukra Hill. Beyond the houses, row upon row of low, bushy palm trees stretch as far as one can see.

These peasants own more than 3,000 acres of land. They work the land together, planting food for themselves and tending the palm trees. The government has provided them with building materials for their homes, as well as the seedlings, tools, and technical training needed to plant and raise the palm trees.

The African palm project began here in 1984 as part of the government's efforts to make Nicaragua self-sufficient in food production. It will provide cooking oil, an essential product that is now in very short supply.

This project is also an indication of the priority the revolutionary government has placed on promoting economic and social development on the Atlantic Coast. Before the 1979 Sandinista revolution, this region received very little government investment in social services or other efforts to raise the standard of living.

New life for peasants

"There were family farmers living in this area before the revolution, but their economic situation was always critical," explained Francisco Álvarez, president of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) in Kukra Hill. "They lived on small plots of land carved out of the forest, and planted rice, corn, beans, and yuca [cassava]. When they had a good crop, they could sell the surplus food, but often they grew barely enough to feed themselves."

Some of the farmers here are English-speaking Blacks, called Creoles. Others are Spanish-speaking mestizos who migrated from Nicaragua's Pacific Coast in search of land to work. Miskito and Rama Indians also live nearby, fishing and farming communally as they have done for centuries.

Under the Somoza dictatorship, which ruled Nicaragua for nearly 50 years, the Kukra Hill area was dominated by U.S.-owned banana plantations and a small sugar mill owned by the tyrant, Anastasio Somoza.

"Somoza came in, chose the land he wanted, kicked out the peasants, and set up plantations," López recalled. Many of the peasants lacked enough land to support their families and had to seek jobs on the plantations, though most only found work during the harvest season.

The banana corporations shut down operations in the 1960s when their owners decided they were no longer profitable. The sugar mill was confiscated and nationalized

by the revolutionary government after the overthrow of the Somoza regime in 1979.

"The revolution brought a radical change and new opportunities for the peasants," said José González, president of one of the African palm collective farms.

The Sandinista government distributed land to the peasants so they could raise larger crops and have a surplus to sell regularly. It also provided them with credit and technical assistance, and encouraged them to organize collective farms.

Today, besides the African palm project, there are three collective farms here that raise sugarcane for sale to the state-owned mill. Other families work their land as individual farmers, raising cane, palms, or food crops. Some have organized cooperatives to coordinate their credit, purchase of supplies, and marketing.

The peasants have also benefited from the establishment of new schools and health clinics in the countryside, and a new hospital in Kukra Hill. With help from UNAG, they have organized a chain of peasant stores to bring more manufactured goods to the countryside.

Peasants demand land ownership

Vicente Sevilla, UNAG president for the South Atlantic region, explained that at first the government planned to create a big state farm and hire farm workers to raise the African palms.

UNAG disagreed with this perspective. "There were only peasants living in this area," Sevilla explained, "and they all were used to farming their own land."

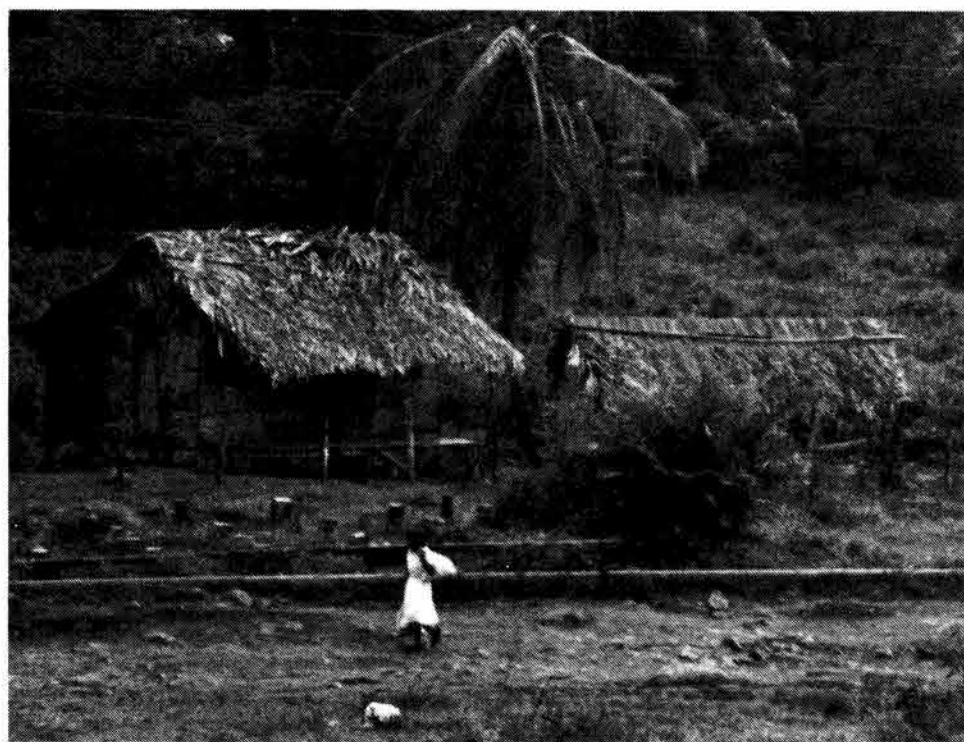
"Even those who worked as day laborers during the sugar harvest didn't want to give up their land and work year-round as farm workers," he continued. "So to establish a state farm, the government would have had to make the peasants leave their land and bring in workers from some other region. It would have been a disaster, the peasants would have opposed it, and the counter-revolutionaries would have had an issue to use to win over the peasants."

After lengthy debates, Sevilla said, the government agreed to abandon the state-farm plan.

UNAG then campaigned among the peasants to convince them to join the African palm project. Some agreed to organize collective farms, while others still wanted to work the land individually. Many of the latter did organize cooperatives to coordinate their efforts, however.

The peasants then had to work for three years, planting and tending the palms until the trees were mature enough to bear fruit. They received a small subsidy from the state to live on since they had no harvest to sell.

Some members quit the collective farms during this time, González said. Peasants here were used to raising crops that were harvested and sold in a matter of months,



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Peasant settlement near Kukra Hill, a town in the southern Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua. Peasants here have won land, economic development projects, and a growing role in decision-making.

and they were discouraged by the long wait for the palm trees to grow.

Other peasants came to join the farms however. Many were war refugees, forced to flee their lands further inland because of attacks by the contra mercenaries.

By 1987 the first trees were ready to harvest, but the peasants' problems were not over. "We have no one to sell the palm nuts to," said González. "The factory to produce the oil hasn't even been built yet. The war forced the government to cut back investments and there is no money for our plant."

"The sugarcane farms are doing very well," he continued. "They have a crop every year and sell it to the sugar mill, so they have money to make improvements on their farms. But we don't have any funds of our own because we have no one to buy the palm nuts."

González pointed to a peasant playing a guitar on the porch of a nearby house. "The guitar was donated by people from Holland," he explained. "We would like to get a real music group going, but we can't afford to buy any instruments ourselves."

Other badly needed investments, including a drinking water system, electricity, and improvements in their housing, will have to wait until the processing plant is built, he said. Regional government officials said they are soliciting international aid to finance the plant and hope to have it completed by the end of 1989.

"Some people are discouraged," López said. "Unlike the peasants in the cane farms, we haven't seen the benefits we expected to have by now."

"However, we're not going to turn back," he added quickly. "We know how miserably we lived before, and we know we have the chance to live better now. We own these lands, and these trees are ours. As soon as we can start selling the fruit, everything will get better."

Discussions on autonomy

Like other communities throughout the Atlantic Coast, these farms held assemblies to discuss and make proposals for the autonomy project now being developed throughout the region.

Local autonomy is a demand that was raised by the Indian and Black peoples of the Atlantic Coast in response to the discrimination and exploitation they have suffered for centuries. In 1984 the Sandinista government declared its support for autonomy and began a lengthy process of grass-roots consultations to draft legislation establishing autonomous governments on the Coast.

Under the autonomy law, adopted in 1987, the Coast peoples will elect local governments with wide powers over educational, cultural, social, and economic programs in the region. Other provisions in the law aim to preserve the languages, traditions, and cultures of the Coast peoples; to involve the people in making decisions that affect their communities; and to integrate them as equals in Nicaraguan society.

Almost all the African palm collective farm members are mestizos. Creoles and Miskito Indians from neighboring communities often hire on as salaried farm workers when extra labor is needed.

"Perhaps once the processing plant is built and they see things going better [with the farm], they'll decide to join us as members too," said one mestizo peasant.

Until the autonomy discussions got under way, López said, the different Coast peoples were very divided and often viewed each other with hostility. These divisions had been fostered by U.S. companies and Nicaraguan capitalists as part of a divide-and-rule strategy. "Now we're more united, we try to treat each other as equals," he commented.

López said he is looking forward to the elections planned for later this year, when the Coast peoples will choose their regional governments. "The new autonomy governments will be more connected to the peoples of the region and will be able to respond more quickly to our needs," he said.

"I think autonomy is the most important thing that has happened since the overthrow of Somoza," added González. "For us, autonomy isn't something imposed from above; it's the people deciding. If the government comes here with some project, the people will discuss it and it will be done the way we want it."

Garment contract talks open in N.Y.

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

NEW YORK — Contract negotiations opened here last month between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and outerwear garment employers.

Close to 125,000 union members are covered by these agreements, including the 23,000 members of ILGWU Local 23-25 in New York. The contracts, which were negotiated in 1985, expire May 31.

In a series of meetings at the union hall, Edgar Romney, manager of Local 23-25, described the union's main demands. These include a wage increase in each of the three years of the contract and greater employer contributions to the Health and Welfare Fund. Additional bereavement time off, compensation by employers when workers are on jury duty, compensation to

shop representatives for attending union meetings, and paid sick leave are also principal demands of the union.

Romney cautioned union members about the difficulties of the upcoming negotiations. He pointed out that the number of shops covered by the Local 23-25 contract has fallen to 650 from the figure of 900. The 23-25 membership has dropped from 26,000 to 23,000.

During this period there has been an increase in the number of unorganized shops in New York. The union estimates that there are now between 70,000 and 90,000 unorganized garment workers in the city.

The garment bosses are coming to the table with the same cries of poverty they used in 1985 to press for a three-year wage freeze, an end to the 35-hour workweek, and other sweeping demands. At that time

the bosses claimed foreign imports were crippling their business.

While Local 23-25 did settle for a one-year wage freeze in 1985, the union was able to push back other concession demands. One factor that contributed to this was the local's decision to relaunch its Committee to Defend the Union Contract.

During the 1982 negotiations the committee helped mobilize union members when garment bosses in Chinatown balked at signing the contract agreed to by the rest of the industry. After two rallies of more than 20,000 people and a short strike by garment shops in Chinatown, the bosses backed down.

Vivian Sahner is a member of ILGWU Local 23-25.

Barricada Internacional

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How suit against gov't spying uncovered secret 'subversive deportation program'

Introduction

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

A key part of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government's political police agencies was a battle with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

The SWP and YSA filed suit against the FBI, CIA, and other cop agencies and government officials in 1973, charging them with carrying out illegal, covert disruption operations against the socialist organizations over several decades. The INS was added as a defendant in the suit in 1980 for its role in the government spying program.

An unprecedented victory for everyone's democratic rights was registered when federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in 1986 that the government was guilty of violating the socialists' constitutional rights to privacy and freedom of association. The court awarded the SWP and YSA \$264,000 in damages.

One year later, the judge issued an injunction preventing the government from using information contained in some 10 million pages of illegally obtained spy files. And then last March the victory was finalized when the government decided not to appeal Griesa's rulings.

The SWP succeeded in prying a small part of the massive stockpile of secret documents out of the government's hands prior to the trial of the suit, which took place in 1981. This included a foot-high stack of secret memos from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Reprinted below is an article describing what's in these files. Written by Nelson Blackstock, it appeared in the March 6, 1981, *Militant*, just prior to the opening of the trial.

In a surprise move during the trial, the INS announced that it was reviewing the status of the SWP to determine if the party should be put back on a list of "proscribed" organizations. This meant party members and supporters would be subject to deportation and denied immigration visas. On pages 10 and 11 is an article by Michael Baumann from the May 8, 1981, *Militant* that details the party's fight against the deportation threat.

We're also reprinting an article by Harry Ring from the May 15, 1981, *Militant* that rips apart the arguments of the INS official who testified for the government in the trial.

The INS was one of several government agencies that submitted affidavits in 1987 objecting to the injunction that would prohibit them from continuing to use the 10 million pages of illegal spy files.

But the judge rejected the cop agencies' arguments. He also prohibited the government from using membership lists or information on individuals that connects them with either of the two socialist organizations, thus protecting foreign-born supporters of the SWP and YSA from victimization.

tion on the grounds of their political association.

Neither the August 1986 ruling nor the 1987 injunction made any distinction between citizens and noncitizens. The inclusion of immigrants — as well as communists — among those whose constitutional rights are protected is an important aspect of the victory in the case.

The fight for immigrants' rights became part of the socialists' case because the SWP and YSA count workers born in other countries in their ranks.

One month after the successful conclusion of the suit, Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born leader of the party, won the biggest victory to date in his 11-year battle to remain in the United States and win permanent residence status. He received a temporary residence card on April 14 under the government's amnesty program for undocumented immigrants.

* * *

The most important weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes.

INS Investigator's Handbook

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

Through their suit against the government, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have succeeded in lifting the lid on a vast secret police network — virtually unknown to all but those responsible for it.

Even its victims have often had little idea about what was really happening to them and why.

What is involved is a quarantine. A quarantine not of a disease, but of political ideas. Ideas that the rulers of this country wish they could seal off at the border — thus blocking the contamination of American workers. The ideas they fear most are those of Marxism.

Of course, they can't really keep these ideas out of the country. Some workers here are already infected. But they can and do use deportations and the threat of deportations to silence critics and to harass and disrupt legal political organizations.

The target is much broader than the socialist wing of the labor movement. Ultimately, it involves all workers.

The agency chiefly responsible for enforcing this quarantine is the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The story is told in material the court ordered turned over to the socialists. The SWP and YSA suit is set to go to trial March 16.

The material includes a foot-high stack of secret INS memos spanning almost 30 years. It includes sworn testimony taken from a top INS official, testimony from a high-ranking officer in the visa section of the State Department, and internal FBI files related to INS actions.

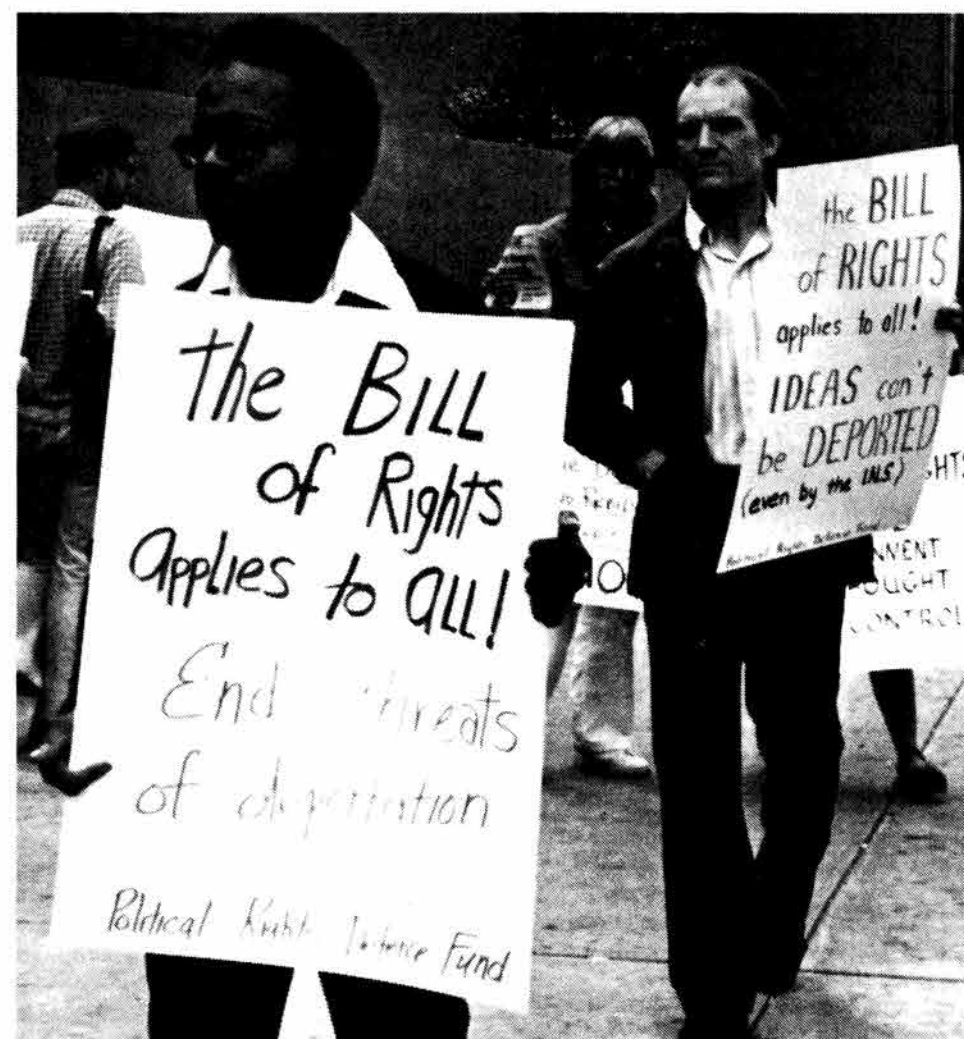
The INS and the State Department were added as defendants in the suit late last fall. Already included as defendants are the FBI and CIA. The suit asks for an end to spying and harassment, and \$40 million in damages.

"A few people might have suspected some of the things in these files were being done," said Larry Seigle, SWP Political Committee member, "but they never had any way of knowing for sure. It always appeared, for example, that socialists were singled out for special treatment. Now we have hard evidence, in the INS's own words.

"By bringing all of this to light, the socialists have performed a valuable service for many people here and around the world," he said.

"By unmasking the political basis for many deportation proceedings — that seemed on the surface to be for mere technical violations — these revelations provide strong legal basis for fighting back politically," Seigle stated.

Data now in the hands of the socialists document the following:



Militant/Sue Hagen

Picket against government spying during 1981 trial of socialists' suit. Action protested Immigration and Naturalization Service's threats to deport socialists and their "affiliates."

- An INS "Subversive Deportation Program." Carried out behind the scenes, it officially began in the 1950s and continues in one form or another today.

- A stable of INS informers parallel to FBI informers.

- INS collusion with the FBI, the CIA, and state and local police.

- INS collusion with secret police of foreign governments, including South Africa.

- A special INS relationship with police agencies in Canada and Mexico. Together they conspire in identifying and targeting for harassment suspected "subversives" in each country.

- A years-long, secret — and ultimately unsuccessful — attempt by the INS to prove the SWP "advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. government."

- A secret campaign to deport SWP members.

- An FBI-INS plot — eventually aborted — to get SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs indicted for perjury.

- The existence of INS "subversive libraries," made up of literature expressing forbidden ideas.

- An INS "subversive index," listing the names of native-born Americans as well as of noncitizens.

- New facts on how the U.S. government keeps out international visitors whose thinking doesn't correspond to its dictates.

Before going into details of these new revelations, let's look at the historical roots of this assault on our rights.

Deportation as a weapon against the labor movement is not new. In this century, in fact, it has been one of the major weapons of the employers and their government.

After World War I the government faced a militant labor movement. It included a fair share of politically conscious radicals, many of them immigrants.

It's interesting that the FBI and its director, J. Edgar Hoover, first made their mark in this very period.

As the authorized FBI history, *The FBI Story*, explains, the government tried in vain to find the radicals guilty of violating some law. Finally, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer came up with the answer — deport them.

On Jan. 2, 1920, in a series of swift, midnight raids, 4,000 in 33 cities were rounded up. Many were ultimately deported. The grounds were that they had "advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. government," thus forfeiting their right to stay here.

The stage for the "Palmer raids" had been set by a red scare whipped up in response to a strike wave the previous year. On Nov. 1, 1919, coal miners across the country walked off the job. Earlier that fall steelworkers had struck in their first big attempt to organize on an industrial union basis.

The employers, assisted by Attorney General Palmer, went on a red-baiting rampage. T.T. Brewster, chief spokesman for the coal operators, announced that the coal strike was being waged under direct orders from V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, leaders of the 1917 Russian revolution. The "reds" were generally pictured as "foreigners."

This general assault had the hoped-for dampening effect on labor militancy. It helped to bring about a decade of relative labor quiescence.

While nothing as dramatic as the Palmer raids occurred in later years, selective deportations were readily used when needed.

To understand the new material in the possession of the socialists, we need to come up to the year 1952 — the depths of the anticommunist witch-hunt.

After World War II, the government went on a drive to curb the power of the labor movement. This included an effort to get radicals out of the unions, and out of political life in general.

On the international level the cold war with the Soviet Union was raging. After the war, the United States moved into the uncontested position of top dog in the capitalist world. It replaced the weakened, old European colonial powers in much of the underdeveloped world. The goal was to shore up capitalism on a world scale and to "contain Communism."

If communism was to be contained abroad, at home it needed to be stamped out.

The official INS secret manual is among the items secured by the socialists. Currently in use, it says that "the most impor-

Continued on next page

In Current New International:

Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

By Larry Seigle

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

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How INS 'subversive deportation program' was

Continued from previous page

tant weapons used by this Service in combating the Communist conspiracy are the exclusion and deportation processes." It is a how-to-deport-them manual.

Hunting reds

The statutory basis for this is the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. It placed new, undemocratic restrictions on freedom of movement.

Specifically banned from citizenship were foreign-born members of the Communist Party. This was made retroactive, so those who had already been granted citizenship could be deported for having lied on their applications.

Under the law, hundreds of suspected CP members and sympathizers were hounded and deported.

The Socialist Workers Party was not named in the law. However, organizations "advocating the violent overthrow of the government" were subject to the same penalties as the CP. Since the SWP has never advocated this, there's obviously no grounds for government spying.

Nevertheless, the INS launched a years-long quest to prove the SWP advocated the violent overthrow of the government. If the INS could establish this strongly enough to withstand a court challenge, they could move against SWP members with the same dispatch with which they were able to move against members of the Communist Party.

One thing should be kept in mind here, however. The INS did not sit idly by waiting for the results of any investigation. It continued to do what it had been doing for years: Use any pretext it could to go after socialists. The investigation itself — its chief purpose, in fact — was to be used as another weapon of harassment and disruption. It opened the door to the recruitment of informers, a broad range of spying, and related crimes.

Page after page of the INS files describe the effort to prove the SWP calls for the violent overthrow of the government. To understand what the INS was up to, you must first know how the mind of a policeman works. The INS is, after all, a cop agency.

Cops will always look for a plot. Ideas are outside their field. They cannot really figure out what Marxists are up to. What the cops understand is weapons and conspiracies, things they themselves are normally involved with on a day-to-day basis. Failing to find a plot or a bomb, through

the years they have shown themselves to be willing to manufacture them. Marx and Engels explained all this years ago.

The INS was out to get the *proof* on the SWP. How did they do that? One of the first things, the files show, was to consult informers.

Through the 1950s and early '60s, these files show the INS actively recruited informers — in addition to calling on FBI finks when needed. One prominent ex-member they tried to recruit was Grace Carlson. They failed.

One of the first INS informers was a member who had drifted away from the SWP in 1950. His testimony, some 134 pages in the files, makes a pitiful document.

It's 1953.

You see a man sitting in a room with a stenographer and a cop. He is fighting vainly to maintain what little dignity he has left. He insists over and over again that he is not there because pressure had been applied on him. But, if you read carefully, you notice that he has lost job after job, and that his wife was born in another country. (The INS seeks to use any potential citizenship problem as a lever to recruit an informer.) His story rambles on and on. At times he drifts into the realm of philosophy, touching at one point on the views of Aristotle.

But the cop could care less about all this. He's looking for the evidence. At one point he asks if a suspected SWP member "advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence?"

The informer refers the INS to socialist periodicals where "his viewpoint is voluminously documented." The informer doesn't find it possible to lie here. He tells the truth, that what the SWP believes is "voluminously documented" for all to read.

In its hapless search, the INS opens a new field of inquiry. They start to collect socialist books and periodicals, hoping these will lead them to the illusive proof. One series of memos deals with a frantic hunt for *The Third International After Lenin* by Leon Trotsky. They begin to haunt used bookstores trying to track this one down. Apparently, they suspect this will lay out the secret SWP plan on the violent overthrow of the government.

INS attention at one point focuses on the 1941 Smith Act convictions. Eighteen socialist and trade union leaders were sent to prison for their ideas.

In their trial, they openly explained what socialists stand for. They answered all

questions. The testimony of SWP leader James P. Cannon was printed and widely distributed under the title *Socialism on Trial*.

In answer to certain criticisms of how they had handled themselves in court, Cannon wrote a pamphlet called "Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial." The entire work is reproduced in the files.

Here at last, they hope, will be the key to the mystery of why they can't prove the SWP really calls for the violent overthrow of the government.

After studying the material on the Minneapolis trial, they write their interpretations: In court, they say, the tricky SWP tries to "enunciate its policy in the most innocuous form; in other words, the general aim is to make the Party policy appear as 'legal' as it is possible to make it."

The INS also monitored SWP election campaigns. Scattered through the files are pieces of election literature. Their attention was apparently captured by an Oct. 30, 1962, article in the *New York Times*, headed, "Trotskyite Party Leaders Claim Vote Support From Cuban Crisis."

One of the more shocking items is an actual photocopy of an SWP nominating petition — revealing the INS was scouring the lists of people who signed for the right of the socialists to be on the ballot in search of names of noncitizens to be targeted for harassment or deportation.

Despite all their informers and all their analysis of socialist literature, the INS couldn't pin anything on the SWP. In a document dated Oct. 23, 1964, after at least 12 years of looking, they were forced to write: None "of the informants . . . could unequivocally state that the S.W.P. party line was the overthrow of the United States government by force or violence."

The files show the INS dogged the trail of foreign-born socialists.

One was a suspected SWP member who,

the INS learned, had contact with the socialists while a news correspondent in China in the 1930s. The INS lined up fink, a former seaman, who was willing to finger him.

In the case of another individual, an Aug. 7, 1953, memo says the INS is considering "the possible issuance of a Warrant of Arrest . . . on the basis of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party when a determination is made as to the nature of that organization."

Also under INS scrutiny was Joseph Vanzler, who wrote under the pen name of John G. Wright. He was a translator of Leon Trotsky and a leading contributor to SWP periodicals.

In 1958 the INS initiated deportation proceedings against a man solely on the basis of his membership in the SWP. Although he was born in Canada, George Scythes had lived in this country for well over 20 years when the INS tried to deport him.

Blow to INS

After a five-year court fight, the INS lost. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago ruled, "We find no substantial evidence that the SWP advocates or teaches . . . the violent overthrow of the Government."

This ruling was a terrible blow to the INS. It would seem on the face of it that this would settle the thing. The INS would stop worrying about the SWP. But that not what happened.

The files show a flurry of memos on the advisability of appealing. But in the end, they decided against it, figuring a Supreme Court ruling on the SWP would be an even bigger blow to the INS.

(It is noteworthy that the INS has, in fact, never succeeded in deporting a single member of the SWP or YSA.)

Socialists' challenge to im

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

On April 28 Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service would have to testify in court about threats to initiate deportation proceedings against members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The issues raised by the INS move are "of interest" to the current trial, Judge Griesa ruled, and the socialists are "entitled to explore" them. He also questioned government attorneys' explanation for the timing of the move.

Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are looking forward to questioning INS official Glenn Bertness. They will be going after confirmation of what they have contended all along — that the INS illegally singles them out for special harassment because of their political views.

Lost document turns up

At issue is a step taken by the INS April 24, the 14th day of the trial against government spying.

At the close of the day the INS served notice that it was reviewing whether witch-hunt immigration laws could be used to deport members and supporters of the SWP and YSA.

The timing of the move left no doubt that it was part of the Reagan administration's counterattack on the socialists' legal offensive.

Although the INS document was dated April 1, it was kept secret for nearly three weeks — until the SWP put on the stand its first witness who is not a native-born citizen.

Attorneys for the government disputed the judge's suggestion that this had anything to do with their courtroom strategy. They claimed that the document had simply gotten "lost for some days," that they "did not see any particular urgency" in in-

roducing it, and that the day in question just seemed the "appropriate time to file" it.

The fact is that the INS document was introduced on the heels of testimony in which Gaudencio Thiago de Mello — the noted Brazilian jazz musician and a long-time supporter of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) — publicly stated his membership in the SWP.

The document, signed by INS Acting Associate Commissioner for Enforcement Glenn Bertness, said that the INS wanted to change its original response to the socialists' charges.

When they added the INS to their lawsuit late last fall, the SWP charged that its noncitizen members had for decades been singled out for special treatment.

They got two different answers.

First, a foot-high stack of secret INS memos documenting a "Subversive Deportation Program" officially initiated against the SWP in the 1950s and continuing in one form or another today. Second, a flat denial that the SWP was classified as a "proscribed" organization under the Immigration and Naturalization Act.

The two obviously didn't match up, and since the documents are being introduced as evidence in court the INS is simply taking back the denial. Here's what they changed their testimony to, in a sworn statement by Bertness:

"In light of the materials reviewed in response to the litigation currently pending [that is, the current trial], the INS concluded that there is good reason to believe that the Socialist Workers Party of the United States is an organization that advocates the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism. As a result of this determination, the Investigations Division of the INS has begun a review of the nature of the Socialist Workers Party to determine whether its members

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

Name _____
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(for identification purposes only)

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

incovered

Distressed at this outcome, the FBI was eager for the INS to take a fresh shot at the SWP. In an April 7, 1964, memo, the FBI said, "Obviously any case seeking to deport an individual because of association with the SWP immediately becomes in effect a trial of the SWP itself."

"A successful prosecution of the SWP," the memo continues, "would be of extremely great value not only to the INS but to the entire Federal Government."

"This could be the start of something big," exuded the FBI chief in New York City.

Nonetheless, the INS and the FBI couldn't get it together to mount another prosecution on these grounds.

But that didn't stop them from pondering another ploy. The FBI and INS got together and cooked up a scheme to get SWP leader Farrell Dobbs indicted for perjury. The grounds? Follow this closely, because the logic gets a little weird: Dobbs had lied in a trial in which it was decided that the SWP didn't advocate the violent overthrow of the government (that is, the Scythes trial) when he testified that the SWP didn't advocate the violent overthrow of the government. Not surprisingly, nothing ever came of this either.

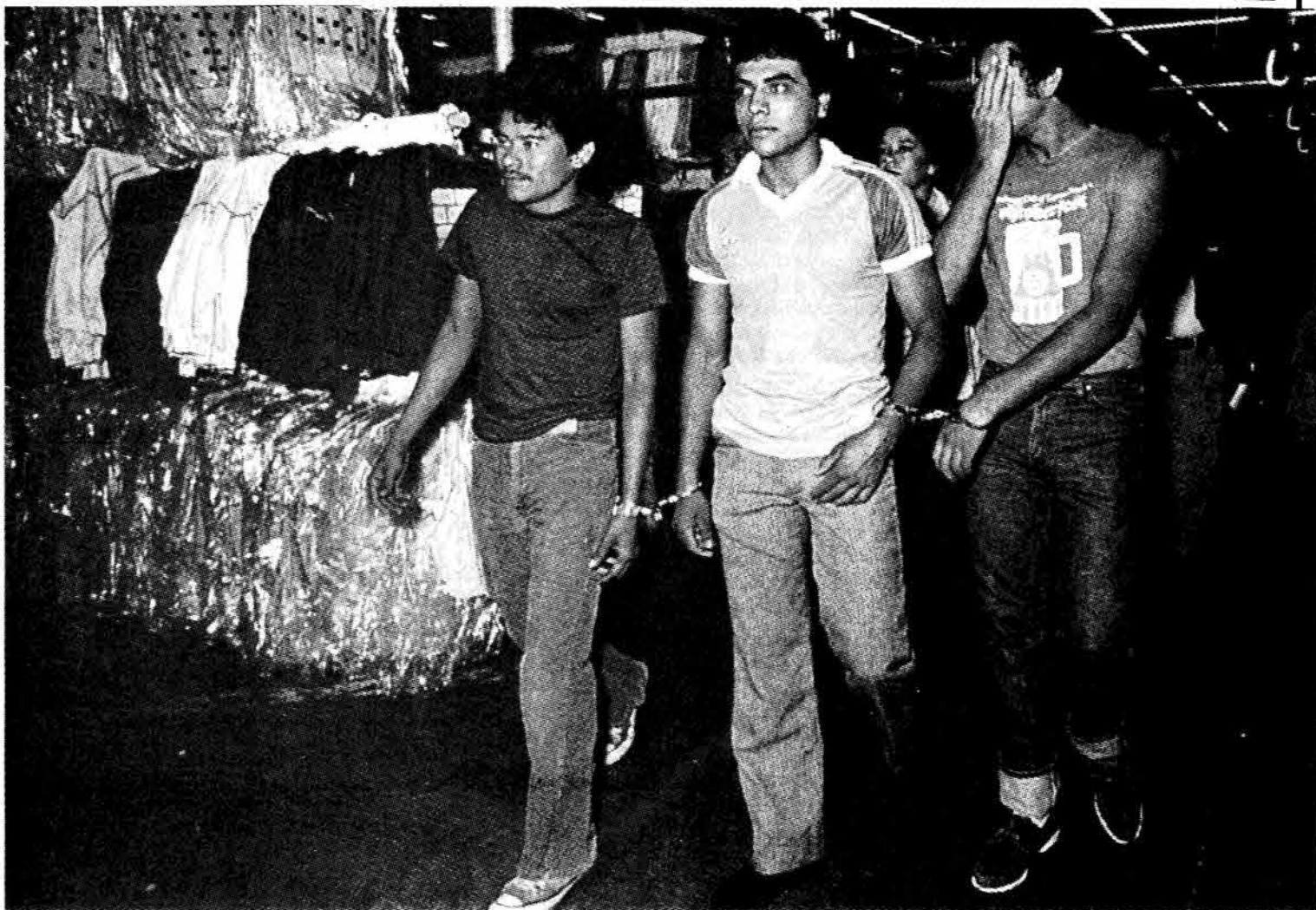
Deport them anyway

After the courts slapped the INS down in the Scythes case, a few things changed. But not much.

The INS reclassified the SWP as a Category III organization. The INS, it turns out, keeps its own enemies list of "questionable" organizations. The list is taken largely from the old House Un-American Activities Committee.

Staffed by professional right-wing zealots, red-baiters, and stool pigeons, HUAC threw the subversive label around with reckless abandon.

The INS has five categories on its list.



Undocumented workers arrested in INS raid on garment shop in California. Immigration agency's brutal trampling on democratic rights has made it the object of hatred of millions of working people.

The Communist Party is number one, it being proscribed by name in the 1952 law.

An organization in Category III, such as the SWP, is one "which has been held, or which appears, on the basis of all available information, NOT to be within the proscription of the Immigration and Nationality act." The question, then, is why is it still on the list at all?

Moreover, even though the SWP was

put in Category III, it was also put in a "pending inactive status," indicating that it was liable to be called up for reexamination on the violent overthrow charge.

Whatever the nuances between the various categories, one thing is certain. If the INS puts an organization on this list, it and its members can expect trouble.

As a matter of fact, it may well not make any difference what category your organization is in since the official INS policy is now (and has been from at least the mid-1960s) to find some other pretext to deport you rather than on open political grounds. They look for a technical violation, even for Communist Party members. And given the intricacy of the law, it's not hard to find some place you made an error.

Thus, a foreign-born worker — who perhaps never had anything to do with a suspect group but whose name had been submitted by some spy, maybe one paid on a commission basis for names turned in — could suddenly find himself hit by a deportation proceeding. The real motivation behind it — since it would be on technical grounds — would be a mystery.

Why does the INS do it this way? The reason is that what they are doing can't stand the light of day. Workers have fought long and hard for the democratic rights they enjoy. They will not give them up easily.

The ruling class understands this and tries to avoid taking the question head on if possible. That's where the lies and underhanded subterfuges come in.

This leads to a contradiction between what they do and what they say.

You can see this in the case of Héctor Marroquín. A member of the SWP and YSA, he was ordered deported in 1979.

Supposedly, Marroquín's political views were not at issue. He was being denied asylum in the United States, the INS said, because his life wouldn't really be in danger if he were deported to Mexico. This was despite massive evidence presented to the INS documenting the threat the socialist faced.

(Marroquín had escaped to the United States after being falsely charged with "terrorism." Several of his friends who did not escape were murdered or "disappeared.")

At his deportation hearing it was clear Marroquín's political views were on trial. "The U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kinds of people," proclaimed INS prosecutor Daniel Kahn. The immigration judge said Marroquín should go to "Castro's Cuba." Then, in a legal brief to the appeals board, the INS lawyers claimed the right to keep out an "avowed Marxist."

Later, however, when the case reached

the appeals board, the INS changed its tune. "The government concedes that its trial attorney was incorrect when he stated that Marxists can't get political asylum," the government then said. This is more in line with their stated public policy.

Now with the release of INS files on Marroquín's case, new evidence has come to light proving that the move to deport him is now and always was political.

Included among the documents is an odd page. Carelessly typed, it has nine numbered items, all obviously indicating one thing — that Marroquín is a member of the SWP and YSA.

But that is not an issue in the case. Nobody has ever denied his membership.

Also among the files is a page from *Information Digest*. A shady publication indeed, at last report it was put out by one John Rees, on the staff of right-wing Congressman Larry McDonald. It has all the earmarks of a conduit for FBI spying.

"If the case against Héctor is not political," asked Larry Seigle, "then what is *Information Digest* doing in these files?"

Dated Nov. 25, 1977, the page deals with a recent conference protesting the deportation of undocumented workers. The page says nothing about Marroquín, although it does note that the SWP was among conference sponsors.

"This strengthens Marroquín's case," said Seigle. "But not only his. Taken together, the stuff in these files will help all the others who face deportation for political reasons."

You can now prove that the INS is trying to deport you not — as it says — because you don't meet the requirements. Many others fail to meet the same requirements yet don't get deported. It is really trying to deport you because of your views.

This flies in the face of constitutional guarantees to equal application of the laws.

The INS also used technicalities to move against Marian Bustin. A socialist coal miner and native of Scotland, Bustin has been threatened with deportation since 1977.

INS and Canada

Another section of the INS files shows how the agency takes action against visitors with socialist views from other countries.

In sworn testimony taken from top INS official Glenn Bertness, he confirmed the existence of special Mexican and Canadian border programs. He said the INS would keep out somebody "if we have informa-

Continued on next page

migration witch-hunt laws

or affiliates are excludable or deportable."

This sounds undemocratic enough. But it's even more outrageous when you take a closer look at what is being said.

In plain English

Some kind of "review" has been held (without notifying the socialists, of course).

The INS has already reached a "conclusion" on the basis of this review.

The conclusion is that there "is good reason to believe" that the socialists advocate some ideas.

These ideas are claimed to be the "doctrines of world communism."

To top it off, the law under which all this is being done has its own special definition of "world communism." It explains that the term means "totalitarian dictatorships."

So after 40 years of trying to turn up crimes the socialists never committed, the government is now basing its harassment of them on ideas they have never held.

In a statement released to the press April 26, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes pointed out that this move tells you more about the INS than it does the SWP.

"The SWP does not advocate totalitarian dictatorship, as charged by the INS," Barnes said.

"Rather we have always stated, and the record of the trial proceedings has already confirmed this, that we advocate the replacement of the present government with a workers' government, run in the interests of working people, the vast majority, and not in the interests of big business, as it is now.

"Any ruling by the INS along the lines proposed by the commissioner is purely administrative and arbitrary. There are no channels within the INS to challenge such a ruling.

"This is totalitarianism — When people can be tried and convicted of thought-crimes and even without due process. This fact makes our challenge to this and other

police-state methods in our suit even more important."

Another chilling aspect of the INS declaration is the way it avoids specifying in any way what is meant by "affiliates" of the SWP.

Does this include anyone who comes to an SWP meeting, contributes money to the party, subscribes to the newspaper in which its views are expressed, or votes for it in an election?

Does it include supporters of protest movements and organizations the SWP participates in, such as the movement against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the National Black Independent Political Party; or the National Organization for Women?

Does it include the members of hundreds of union locals across the country SWP members belong to and actively build?

You can only conclude that the term is left vague deliberately — to suggest that it might include almost anyone fighting for the same things as the socialists.

The crudeness of the INS attack is an indication of the weakened position they and the other federal police agencies are in today. But it is no reason not to take the threat of deportations seriously.

There are already in this country millions of people who have suffered at the hands of the INS.

People who have had a family member, friend, or coworker deported for having no documents.

People who live every day in fear of a knock at the door that will result in their being shipped thousands of miles away.

People who are forced to accept substandard wages, working conditions, and housing because they are afraid of employer retaliation.

One of the aims of the socialists in carrying out this trial is precisely to put a stop to these government crimes. That is why they deserve all the help they can get.

How 'subversive deportation program' was uncovered

Continued from previous page
tion that indicates that they are members of a proscribed organization."

Where would this information come from? In the case of Mexico, "usually [from] the local authorities immediately on the other side of the border ... local police, or the local Mexican immigration."

A significant number of the INS files deal with Canada. One astonishing document gives an indication of the degree to which Canadian cops pass on "adverse" information on Canadian citizens.

It is a letter on which the letterhead has been blocked out. But it is signed by a D.E. McLaren, "Insp., for Director of Security & Intelligence."

The letter is addressed to the Immigration Attaché, United States Embassy, Ottawa, Ontario. It is a response to an inquiry about some of the Canadian socialists spotted at SWP events in Seattle.

The letter says, "Extensive investigations have been carried out relating to the Trotskyist movement in Vancouver, B.C. However, we have nothing as yet to offer concerning the above named persons that would assist your Department. You will recall in our letters of October 28, 1957 and January 3, 1958 ... we furnished adverse and biographical data [on Canadian socialists]. ...

"We realize the course of action your Department would favour when these individuals next make application for admission to the United States. It is regretted we cannot afford you the necessary information to attain this end.

"Should anything of value be received at this point, you shall be so advised."

This is among a series of documents on a prolonged effort to block Canadian socialists from attending public SWP forums in Seattle.

At one point, according to the files, the INS "illegally" broke into the socialist offices and photographed a literature display.

The INS itself spied on forums, taking down license numbers. When Tom Kerry, an SWP leader, came to town to speak, the INS put all border crossings in Washington on alert to block the entry of the socialists from Canada.

Disappointed that the two socialists in whose home Canadians have been visiting are native-born citizens, the INS wants to do something to them anyway. So they put them on their "subversive index."

The files do not say whether the INS was ever successful in barring the two Canadian socialists who were the main objects of their frantic moves. (It says that they, like other Canadian socialists, were put on a lookout list.) However, a *Militant* call to the headquarters of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada got the answer: "They weren't able to get into the United States for years."

"This is outrageous," said Larry Seigle. "You have the INS keeping Canadians from coming into this country solely because of their ideas. Not because of anything they've done. Just because of what they think."

YSA convention

The files reveal the INS conducted an operation around the YSA convention in 1971.

INS spies discovered that "four Canadian and three Mexican delegates [attended] the convention" in Houston. A memo says that they are expecting data on "additional foreign delegates" from the FBI.

The memo orders a "subversive-disruption type of investigation" of each delegate. An inquiry is to be made to the State Department to see if there was "willful misrepresentation" in visa applications.

As for the Canadian delegates, the INS will send all it knows about them to "the Liaison Officer at Ottawa ... and request that he contact the Authorized Source [that is, Canadian cops] for additional information."

The key issue raised by all these files is the same one that is emerging as central to the entire socialist case against the government:

Does the government have the right to deport you — or keep you out of the country, or spy on you, or harass you, or get you fired — because you are a socialist?

In their recently submitted plan for their line of defense at the upcoming trial, the government comes out and squarely bases itself on its "right" to take such action against socialists or anyone else with a viewpoint they don't like — whether they have done anything against the law or not.

The trial plan flatly states that "advocacy of views such as those held by the SWP [is] grounds for exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization."

The government doesn't say what those views are. Do they include opposition to nuclear power? Support for equal rights for Blacks? For women? Support for trade unions? The belief that capitalism isn't the best possible system?

"In the course of this trial we will be explaining exactly what our views are," Larry Seigle said. "We expect that thousands of workers will want to hear more about those views. They will side with our right to voice them, and their right to hear them — free of government harassment and threats of deportation."

Socialists' questioning of INS official at trial

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — A ranking official of the Immigration and Naturalization Service testified April 30 in the Socialist Workers Party suit. The party subpoenaed him to determine why the INS is now moving to place the SWP on its list of "proscribed" organizations.

INS official Glenn Bertness did concede on the stand that the agency had given up on trying to characterize the SWP as an organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the government.

Instead, he testified, the INS is weighing the "proscribed" category on the basis that the SWP advocates the "doctrines of world communism." U.S. law officially — and falsely — equates world communism with "totalitarian dictatorship."

The INS had put the SWP on its "proscribed" list back in 1956. But it was forced to remove it from that category in 1966.

In his testimony, Bertness, the acting associate commissioner for enforcement, tried to explain why the INS is now trying to put the party back in that category.

His testimony confirmed that the move was in response to the SWP putting the government on trial.

Under examination by SWP attorney Shelley Davis, Bertness admitted, "It was only in connection with this case" that the INS decided to review the status of the SWP.

However, after a court recess, Bertness asked to clarify his original answer. He then asserted that the review was decided on because the State Department categorizes the SWP as a "proscribed" organization and the INS felt the government should be "consistent" on the question.

Who called the discrepancy to his attention?

"Mr. Salerno," responded Bertness. An assistant U.S. attorney, Peter Salerno is one of the government's defense lawyers in the SWP suit.

How did the INS determine that the SWP should now be considered for reclassification? Has some new evidence about the organization come to light?

No, Bertness explained. He had been referred to a legal decision in the deportation case of George Scythes, a foreign-born former member of the SWP. The outcome of that case was the basis for reconsideration.

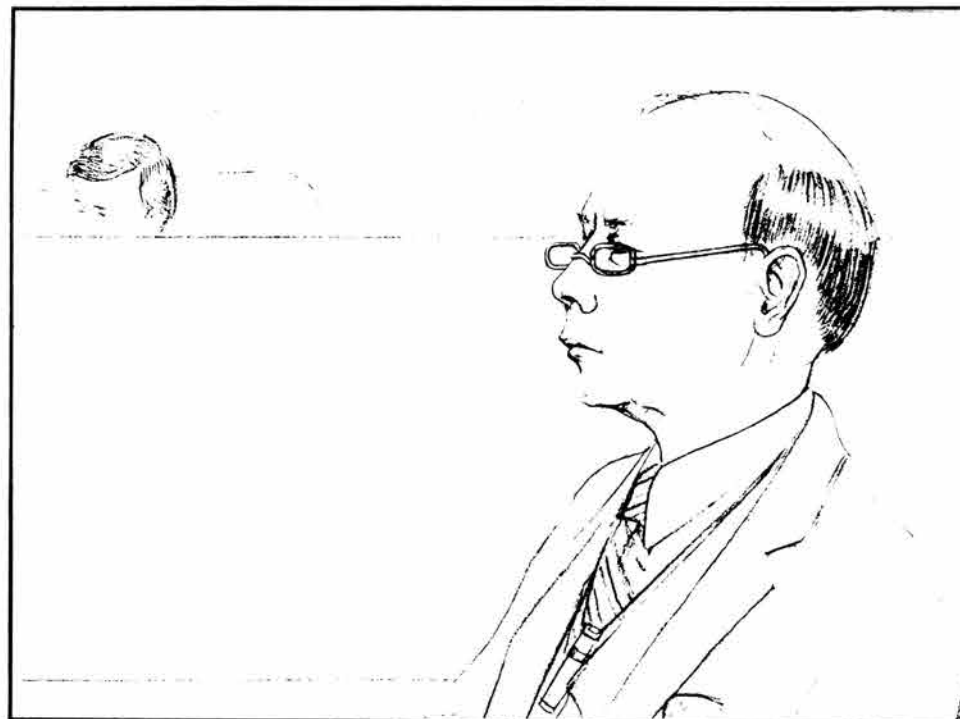
When was the Scythes decision handed down?

In 1962.

What was the nature of the ruling?

That membership in the SWP was not grounds for deportation!

It was, as a matter of fact, the outcome of the Scythes case that led the INS to remove the SWP from its "proscribed" category.



Militant/Diane Jacobs

During trial, INS threatened to put SWP on a "proscribed" list of organizations. Testimony of immigration official Glenn Bertness showed this move was in response to socialists putting government on trial.

Now, on the basis of the very same case, nearly 20 years later, the INS proposes to again proscribe the SWP.

When the INS first went after Scythes, an INS judge did order him deported on the basis of his former membership in the SWP.

The INS judge ruled that the SWP advocated the violent overthrow of the government and, also, that it advocated the "doctrines of world communism."

An INS appeals board upheld the judge on the count that the SWP advocated violent overthrow, so it didn't bother considering the second count of advocating "world communism."

Scythes took the case to federal court. In 1962 a federal appeals court found that the INS had failed to prove that the SWP advocated violent overthrow of the government and it ruled that Scythes could be deported. Since the INS appeals board had not ruled on the second count — advocating "world communism" — the federal court had no reason to address itself to that issue.

Now, says the INS, since neither its own appeals board, nor the federal court, have ruled on where the SWP stands on advocating "world communism," this may be the legal basis for proscribing the organization.

Kangaroo court

How will the INS go about determining if Bertness is correct in his assumption that the SWP advocates totalitarianism?

By the most totalitarian means imaginable.

Bertness has instructed the INS regional office in Vermont — which covers New York, where the SWP is based — to review the case and make an initial recommendation to him.

How will the Burlington INS determine if the SWP should be proscribed?

It will ask the FBI.

It will get a second opinion from the CIA, and possibly one from the Secret Service.

In addition, Bertness testified, the INS will solicit the advice of its informers. (He said the INS has a list of five INS informers who were or had been in or around the SWP, but the agency hasn't contacted them in years.)

Both attorney Davis and presiding Judge Thomas Griesa queried Bertness on the procedure that would be followed in making the final decision.

No right to appeal

The Burlington INS will make an initial determination, Bertness responded. He estimated this could take from six months to a year.

Then he would consider this initial finding, in consultation with other ranking INS officials.

He would then make a recommendation to the commissioner, who would make the actual decision.

Would the SWP have the right to be heard before being classified as proscribed, Davis asked.

"No."

Would the SWP have the right to appeal such a decision after it was made?

"No."

However, Bertness assured, once it's decided and the INS then moves to deport someone on the basis of SWP membership or support, the party could provide the person legal counsel.

Would there even be a public notice that the party had been so classified?

A little book

No, Bertness explained. Only in the sense that the SWP would be so listed in the handbook used by INS agents. This handbook, he advised, is "available" to the public.

Another indication of how baseless the INS case is, is that it deems it necessary to hang the "proscribed" label on the SWP on the basis of the frame-up charge of advocating "totalitarian dictatorship."

The looseness of the charge was pointed up when Bertness was asked to define world communism and responded that such a determination would be made by "each Immigration judge."

But "generally speaking," he added, "it is advocating the teachings or philosophy, government or international of Marx, Trotsky, and Lenin to create a communist dictatorship, a totalitarian dictatorship."

Pressed by Davis to define "totalitarian dictatorship," Bertness opined that it was "a government which only has one party in which the difference between party and the existing government are indistinguishable."

While Washington props up such authentic totalitarian regimes as the ones in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Chile, Bertness declared on the stand that, in his opinion, Cuba was a "totalitarian dictatorship."

That could mean that thousands of foreign-born people in this country who are partisans of the great liberating achievements of the Cuban revolution could become fair game for the INS.

Meanwhile, as the present probe of the SWP gets under way, it remains listed in the INS handbook in "Category III." Unlike proscribed Category I, Category III members or supporters are not legally subject to deportation.

But, Bertness explained, those in Category III seeking U.S. citizenship can be investigated to determine their "personal attachments to the principles of the Constitution and ... disposition to the good order and happiness of the United States."

Havana meeting hails publication of works of Che Guevara

BY MICHAEL TABER

The recently published book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* was launched in Havana, Cuba, on March 28 at a meeting at the Nico López Superior School of the Communist Party of Cuba. The launching was jointly sponsored by the José Martí Publishing House of Havana and Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia of Sydney, Australia.

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution was published last October by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia with the editorial collaboration of the José Martí Publishing House. The 413-page book contains a selection of major political writings and speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the Cuban revolution. The book was published to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Guevara in Bolivia in 1967.

In addressing the audience of 250 people, Félix Sautié, director of the José Martí Publishing House, said that the Guevara book "is an English-language collection of writings and speeches of our Heroic Guerrilla that aims at showing the reader in other countries the true stature and image of Che, through his own writings."

Sautié went on to say that the book "aims to demonstrate the genuine, inextinguishable links of Che to the Cuban revolution in which he was one of the main actors. With the writings of Che, we show the very essence of his intellectual work linked to his commitment to revolutionary struggle and the Cuban revolution."

Sautié explained that the book was the first in a number of joint editorial projects by José Martí Publishing House and Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

The other speaker at the Havana presentation was David Deutschmann of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, who is also editor of the Guevara collection. Readers of Guevara's works, Deutschmann said, "will discover in him one of the great Marxists of this century."

Deutschmann spoke of the launchings of the book that had already taken place in Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Canada,

the United States, and the Philippines, as well as those to come in Iceland and Sweden.

"And yet," said Deutschmann, "tonight's presentation here in Cuba of this book cannot help but have a special significance." He pointed to the importance of the joint editorial work of the two publishing houses. "The book is, I believe, so much stronger because of this collaboration," he added.

Sautié also underlined the value of this joint effort.

"Working together, Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia along with our José Martí Publishing House managed to put together a book that would be useful in the most far-flung countries," Sautié said. The book was produced "as a tool and a weapon of revolutionary action that would be useful to revolutionary cadres from different sectors of society — for men and women of action, that is, for all people who honestly want a real change in the world. We especially hope our book will become an inspiration for young people."

Deutschmann said that the book, coming from the words of Che Guevara himself, "inspires confidence in the future of humanity."

"And it is with this spirit — this vision of history — that we have published this book," concluded Deutschmann.

On behalf of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, Deutschmann presented copies of the new book for use by students at the Cuban Communist Party school. He also presented a selection of Pathfinder books for the school library.

An announcement was made by the José Martí Publishing House at the launching that the preparation of Greek, French, and Portuguese editions is now under way.

The March 28 book launching was extensively covered in the Cuban media. Among other publications, articles appeared in *Granma*, *Juventud Rebelde*, *Trabajadores*, *Tribuna de la Habana*, and *Bohemia*, along with television and radio coverage.

W.Va. protest scores toxic dumps

BY JIM ALTENBERG

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — A fight is being waged against the dumping of massive amounts of garbage and hazardous waste in West Virginia.

At a recent demonstration of 150 at the state capitol here, a banner declared: "Don't waste West Virginia!"

Sponsored by West Virginia Citizens for a Clean Environment, the protesters also opposed moves to locate a nuclear waste dump and hazardous waste incinerators in the state.

Waste disposal has become a lucrative business here, a "new garbage gold rush," as Sally Shepherd, a farmer and state legislator, described it.

The spread of landfills is encouraged by minimal fees and minimal regulations, which are not even enforced.

State landfill permits are vague, sometimes not even specifying how much trash a landfill can take. Permits have been issued to operators already convicted for illegal landfill operations in other states.

Moreover, there are thousands of illegal dumps in creek beds and hollows across

West Virginia. Poisonous chemicals have seeped into groundwater and streams in many areas.

Thousands of tons of garbage are brought into the state every year by companies looking to get rid of their trash at minimal cost.

"The garbage barons don't care about future generations," declared Sharon Garnes, chairperson of West Virginia Citizens for a Clean Environment.

Many groups are demanding that the state operate landfills itself to assure that proper procedures are followed.

In Mason County, an important agricultural area, residents have been fighting against the building of large-scale hazardous waste incinerators by Pyro-Chem Inc. and the Aptus Co.

Farmers whose lands would be poisoned by PCBs emitted from the incinerators have begun to join the fight, as have residents of nearby Ohio communities.

Meanwhile, the federal government has stepped up its drive to locate a nuclear waste processing plant and dump in McDowell County, a coal mining region and the most economically depressed area of West Virginia.

The proposed facility is touted as a safe way to temporarily store highly radioactive waste from nuclear power plants until a permanent site is built.

But, as Andrew Maier of Save Our Mountains and an outspoken opponent of the project explained, it's very likely that the "temporary" dump will become a permanent one, since Washington is having a hard time finding other states willing to accept a nuclear dump. And there is no such thing as a safe way to store nuclear wastes.



Ernesto Che Guevara. Meetings have taken place around the world announcing the publication of an English-language book of the Cuban Communist leader's writings and speeches. Volume was published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Ethiopia and Somalia resume relations

The northeast African countries of Ethiopia and Somalia have agreed to resume diplomatic relations. Somalia invaded Ethiopia in 1977 three years after the overthrow of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie. The Somali regime justified the invasion by claiming that it sought to free Somalis living in the Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia, which is adjacent to Somalia. The people of the Ogaden had been oppressed by the Selassie regime.

However, the real aim of the invasion, which had been encouraged by the U.S. administration of President James Carter, was to deal a blow to the popular revolt in Ethiopia that had brought down Selassie. Washington promised to provide Somalia with substantial amounts of arms for the invasion.

The following year Somali forces were defeated and driven from the Ogaden by Ethiopian troops with the aid of Cuban internationalist fighters.

Under the terms of the new agreement, the two countries' military forces would be pulled back at least nine miles from their common border. The Ethiopian government would also give back to Somalia the border settlements of Goldogob and Ballanballe, which it captured during a skirmish in 1982. The agreement also provides for the exchange of prisoners of war.

Marshall Is. targeted for nuclear waste dump

In legislation passed last December, the U.S. Congress inserted an amendment instructing the administration of President Ronald Reagan to consider the Marshall Islands as a site for the disposal of high-level radioactive wastes from nuclear power plants in the United States.

The former U.S. "trust territory" located in the South Pacific consists of 29 atolls and 5 islands. Bikini, one of the atolls now being considered for storage of nuclear waste, was left contaminated by 23 nuclear explosions conducted by the U.S. military between 1946 and 1958. The U.S. government has initiated a clean-up program on the island that is expected to cost \$200 million.

State Department spokesperson Howard Hills claimed that Washington did not encourage the Marshallese to suggest their island as a site for the lethal waste. "The Marshall Islands government acted on its own initiative," he said. The Marshall Islands government would receive up to \$100 million annually from Washington for the waste site.

Last year the Department of Energy singled out Yucca Mountain in southern

Nevada, adjacent to a nuclear weapons testing site, as the most promising nuclear waste disposal location in the United States. But Rep. Barbara Vucanovich (R.-Nev.) said most people in the state oppose locating the waste site there. Vucanovich backs dumping the toxic material on various islands in the Marshalls.

"The people of Bikini don't really like that idea," said Tomaki Juda, the mayor of the Bikini islanders. Marshall Islands Sen. Tony deBrum has also challenged the proposal, saying that if all the states in the United States opposed having the waste, it is not an idea the Marshall Islands should be considering.

The search for nuclear waste dumping sites is becoming urgent because more than 15,000 tons of deadly spent uranium fuel, highly radioactive but unusable, have accumulated in the United States. Current sites are expected to become exhausted in a decade.

South Africa denies passport to Mbeki

The South African government has denied a passport to Govan Mbeki, a leader of the African National Congress. Mbeki was released in 1987 after spending 23 years in prison. Following his release Mbeki was served with a government order restricting him to his home town of Port Elizabeth and barring him from speaking to the media or at any rallies.

The ANC leader and member of the South African Communist Party received a letter from the Department of Home Affairs saying his application for a passport had been "unsuccessful." No reasons were given.

Mbeki has received invitations from universities and organizations in the United States, Germany, and Holland to attend conferences and to give lectures. He has also received invitations from the governments of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland.

The South African government also denied passports this year to Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; and to Fatima Meer, a sociology professor and anti-apartheid activist in Durban. Both were invited to the United States to speak at a symposium sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution.

In addition, the apartheid regime denied a visa to Joseph Lowery, president of the U.S. Black rights organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Lowery was to address a lecture service in honor of SCLC's founder Martin Luther King, Jr.

The SCLC president was informed by the South African embassy in Washington that his application for a visa was also "unsuccessful."

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Life in Fiji after 1987 military coup

Australia rally hears deposed leader

BY DEB SHNOOKAL

SYDNEY, Australia—Timoci Bavadra, deposed prime minister of the Pacific island country of Fiji, was greeted with a standing ovation when he arrived to speak at a Fiji solidarity rally here last month. Most of the 370 people at the event were Fijians of Indian ancestry, many of whom had fled Fiji after the May 14, 1987, military coup there. Indo-Fijians had been the target of anti-Indian violence as a result of the coup.

Bavadra is a leader of the Fiji Labour Party, which formed a coalition government with the largely Indian-based National Federation Party following the elections of April 1987. From its founding in July 1985, the Labour Party sought to cut through the racial divisions in Fijian politics, appealing to both indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian working people. Most Indians are descendants of indentured sugar plantation workers.

Bavadra described the Labour Party's perspective as "both multiracial and national."

The coalition government he headed supported a ban on nuclear-capable U.S. warships and the movement for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific. It proposed Fiji join the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

Only weeks after the 1987 election, the coalition government was overthrown in a coup lead by then Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka. The coup was backed by the aristocracy of village chiefs that had ruled Fiji since independence from Britain in 1970. They controlled the government through the Alliance Party of former prime minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

Fijian Joli Kalau commented at the meeting here, "Fiji has now turned full circle: those in power represent the defeated Alliance government of Ratu Mara, and the other half of the cabinet are army officers. The military is still very much in control in Fiji," he stressed, despite the facade of democratic government. "All laws must get the okay of Brigadier Sitiveni Rabuka."

"The Fijian people are worse off today," Kalau said. "There is widespread poverty and increasing numbers of people are resorting to searching the rubbish dump for

food. We need a government that will have the confidence of investors and can guarantee there will be no further coups. The current regime cannot do this," he said.

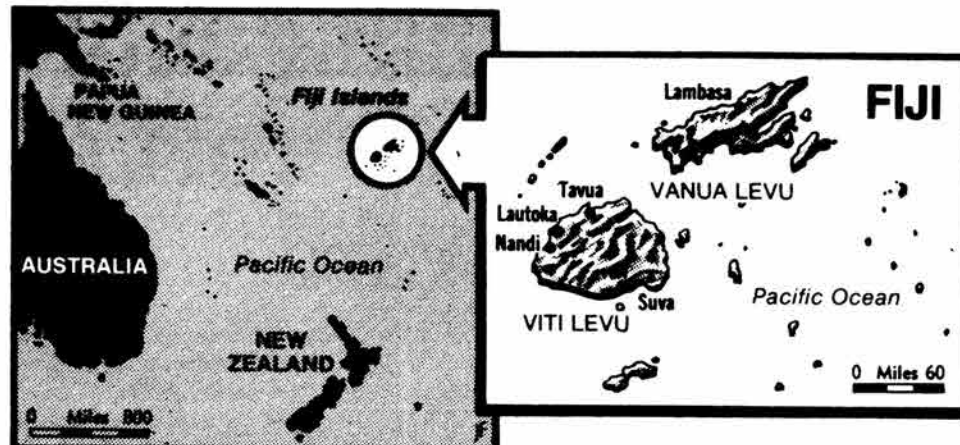
Before the rise of the Labour Party, Kalau explained, "99 percent of Fijians supported the Alliance Party. The traditional leadership [of the chiefs] was synonymous with the political leadership."

But this "began to change among educated Fijians and working-class Fijians—especially in the trade union movement," Kalau commented. "The trade unions did not have a racial qualification," he continued. "Chinese, Indians, Fijians could all be members. People began to see the future of Fiji as multiracial."

Starting to forge Fijian consciousness

Since the coup, there has been a "tremendous swing in Fijian thinking," said Kalau. "The election last year was won because of Fijian support. What is more important is that this Fijian support has grown since the coup."

Kalau pointed to the recent call by the Fijian Council of Churches for a lifting of the Sunday ban on commercial activity, public transportation, and sports as an indication of the weakening hold of the chiefs



over the Fijian population as a whole. The Sunday ban was an attempt by the government to impose recognition of the Christian sabbath. It was enforced by the military and the thugs of Rabuka's extreme right-wing Fijian Taukei movement.

Don Dunstan, prominent Australian Labor Party figure and national president of the Movement for Democracy in Fiji, which organized the rally, pointed out that all political activity is severely restricted in Fiji today. There is press censorship and bans on all antigovernment and trade union political activity.

Many former government leaders have been continually harassed and often arrested and detained. Dunstan called on Australia's Labor Party government to "take the same attitude to the illegal military junta in Fiji as to the racist regime in South Africa and impose sanctions against it."

Dunstan summarized what other speakers stressed when he said that, "The fight in

Fiji is not between the Indo-Fijians and the indigenous Fijians, but between the poor and the privileged."

'The grim truth'

Bavadra explained he had come to Australia at the invitation of the Australian Labor Party to present the "grim truth of the situation back home." He pointed to the expected 20 percent negative economic growth in Fiji this year, increasing inflation, spiralling food costs, and unemployment rising from 10 to 20 percent. Workers' wages have been frozen since the coup, he said, "while government officials have given themselves a 26 percent pay rise."

Nevertheless, Bavadra commented, "The coup has brought the Fijians and Indians together more than ever."

Other speakers at the rally included Kuini Bavadra, wife of the deposed prime minister; and Steve Baivou, New South Wales state president of the Movement for Democracy in Fiji.

French gov't officials, cops try to cover up ANC leader's murder

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — Protests took place across France following the murder of Dulcie September, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) in Paris. The ANC leader was gunned down on the morning of March 29 as she arrived to open the ANC office in Paris. September was the ANC's representative to France, Luxembourg, and Sweden.

In an attempt to counter the protests, French authorities have launched a slander campaign against September.

The cops have asserted that the ANC representative may have been murdered

when it was discovered that "September was a double agent working for the South African police." No source for this charge was offered.

Three days before a massive April 9 funeral march in Paris for the ANC leader, French police arrested six people and held them for questioning. The police claimed that the six are "communist sympathizers" and may be implicated in the murder. All six were released the next day.

This attempt to pin September's murder on anti-apartheid forces corresponds to the stance of the South African government. South African foreign affairs minister Roelof Botha said of September's murder, "Serious quarrels exist inside the ranks of the organizations that use violence to achieve their political objectives."

In Paris, the French minister in charge of security, Robert Pandraud, told the press, "Settling accounts between rival terrorist factions should not take place on our territory. We will not be the sanctuary for terrorists."

This is an effort to cover up French government complicity in September's murder. The French daily *Le Monde* reported that intelligence agencies of Western Europe were all aware of the arrival in France several days before September's murder of a South African "action squad." This same squad had been in Belgium when the ANC representative there was slightly injured in a machine-gun attack at his office. At least one high government functionary in France's Ministry of the Interior has had direct relations with the South African police.

Last October, *Le Monde* published extracts from two notes sent to South Africa by Jean Taousson. He is the French government official in charge of relations with former French colonists in Algeria who immigrated to France after Algeria won its independence.

One of the notes contained a plan of the ANC's headquarters in Paris. It also gave detailed instructions on the location of the office. "The office has a doubled armored door. The name is not on the mailbox. You have to go to the end of the courtyard, take staircase C to the fourth floor," the note instructed.

French police refused to provide protection for September despite her reporting that she had received several threats on her life. Instead, September was warned by the French Ministry of the Interior that because

she was a political refugee she could not demonstrate against apartheid in the streets of France.

Following September's assassination, French President François Mitterrand received an official delegation from the ANC which again requested police protection for ANC representatives in Paris.

A public debate has begun over whether Paris should break diplomatic relations with Pretoria. The French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais called for ending all links with South Africa. Mitterrand announced that he did not feel that breaking diplomatic relations was in order, but that some form of economic sanctions was called for.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, however, maintains that there was nothing to



ANC representative Dulcie September

confirm that South African agents were responsible for the killing. But French papers have quoted South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan as saying, "It is our right to hunt for and destroy the gangsters of the ANC wherever they are."

September's murder is one of several attacks on ANC leaders in the last year which point to the regime in Pretoria as responsible. These include a car bombing which left an ANC leader in Maputo, Mozambique, in critical condition; a machine-gun attack and bombing attempt at the ANC office in Brussels, Belgium; and a plot to kidnap central leaders of the ANC in London, including ANC President Oliver Tambo.

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How the Communist International was born

Comintern book series editor discusses volume on 1919 founding congress

Late last year, Pathfinder began circulation of *Founding the Communist International*, the third volume in its series, *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. These Pathfinder books are making available for the first time in English the main documents of the early Communist International (also known as the Comintern).

The series focuses on the years when the policies of the international Communist movement were shaped by the team of Bolshevik leaders headed by V.I. Lenin.

The three volumes of the series published so far begin in 1907, covering the preparatory years that led to the launching of the Communist International in 1919. Other volumes, now in preparation, take up the International's first five years of activity through the end of 1923.

The *Militant* discussed *Founding the Communist International* with John Riddell, general editor of the series.

Militant. What will the reader find in *Founding the Communist International*?

John Riddell. This book tells the story of how the Communist International was launched — and on what political basis — through the transcript of what was said and decided at its founding congress. That transcript takes up most of the book.

The book also contains assessments of the founding of the International by leading Bolsheviks who took part. And in preparing the book, we were also careful to include enough introductory comments, notes, biographical entries, and maps to make this record accessible for today's readers.

Militant. Is this the first edition of the congress proceedings?

Riddell. Actually, editions have appeared in five other languages. Ours is the first edition in English, however. And by working with all the previous versions we were able to make ours the most complete edition in any language.

Book was international effort

Like the congress it records, the book was a truly international effort. About 75 collaborators in more than a dozen countries helped track down documents, translate them, and research the notes.

Militant. What was happening in world politics when this congress was held?

Riddell. The congress took place in March 1919, four months after the end of World War I. The war was a horrible slaughter inflicted on working people by the imperialist powers, who were seeking to redivide the world in their rivalry to secure cheap labor, raw materials, and markets for their capital and commodities.

The war's economic and human toll sparked massive resistance by workers and peasants in many countries. In early 1919 half of Europe was gripped by revolution. The Russian Soviet republic, then 16 months old, was undergoing the assault of "contra"-style armies sponsored by the main

capitalist powers — England, France, the United States, and others — as well as outright invasion by imperialist armies.

Social Democratic demagoguery

The international workers' movement was in deep crisis. Leaders of the mass Social Democratic parties in Europe — who had collaborated with the capitalists, landlords, and officer corps in pursuing the war — were now working to help these exploiters defend their rule against the mass upsurge.

The Social Democratic misleaders tried to confuse and divide working people by draping the restabilization of capitalist rule with demagoguery about "democracy" to be gained through bourgeois parliamentary institutions. When words weren't enough, these Social Democratic leaders joined with the exploiters to fire on workers' mobilizations and unleash rightist gangs against the revolutionary movement.

This combination of righteous rhetoric and bloody assault is similar to what has been used against revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua in more recent times. Neither the words nor the methods have really changed all that much.

Militant. But the revolutionary forces were gaining strength very rapidly at that time.

Riddell. Yes, and they looked to the Bolsheviks for leadership, seeking to build organizations that could lead a successful fight to establish revolutionary governments of the exploited like that in Russia.

These forces represented the real interests of the workers and small farmers. But they had limited political experience and had only begun to win a hearing among the masses of working people, who prior to the war had most often been organized in a single Socialist party.

The struggle between the Social Democratic misleaders and the emerging revolutionary forces split the international workers' movement in one country after another into rival parties.

Militant. How did the March 1919 Communist congress aim to affect this situation?

Riddell. Lenin said at the time that the new International had really already been born when a number of these new revolutionary organizations were formed with the goal of building Communist parties.

Unity of revolutionary forces was aim

So the Bolsheviks' aim in calling the congress was limited but still ambitious. Through the congress they sought to create an organizational framework to unite these revolutionary forces.

In order to establish a clear and principled political foundation for the movement, the congress was to formulate a basic Communist program in broad outline. Whether or not you belonged in the new International was determined, in the first instance, by where you stood on the central question of "Soviet power," that is, the



Members of Presiding Committee at First Congress of Comintern (from left): Gustav Klinger (autonomous Volga German Soviet Republic); Hugo Eberlein (Germany); V.I. Lenin (Soviet Russia); Fritz Platten (Switzerland).

struggle for revolutionary governments of the toilers.

Militant. Did the congress achieve these goals?

Riddell. Well, before I get to that, I must tell you about some of the problems they faced.

It's no easy matter to unite revolutionaries from different countries and experiences in a common world organization. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels began the fight to accomplish this back in 1848. Amid numerous efforts over the subsequent decades, two Internationals were founded. They scored important gains for the working class before going down to defeat for various reasons.

Lenin traced these experiences and their lessons in an April 1919 article on "The Third International and Its Place in History," which we selected as a prologue to the founding congress volume.

Founding new International in doubt

The Bolshevik Party of Russia had been calling since 1914 for the creation of a new, third International, freed from the influence of the procapitalist forces that had betrayed the workers' movement at the opening of the world war.

As I've said, by early 1919 vanguard forces in many countries had responded to their call. But as late as the first days of the founding congress itself, launching the new organization still didn't seem to be in the cards.

Militant. What barred the way?

Riddell. To start with, the pro-Bolshevik currents outside the Soviet republic were very small. While revolutionary in their aspirations and courage, they had vague and often contradictory notions of the Bolsheviks' program and tactics. Readers will see this reflected in the delegates' reports to the founding congress. While painting a vivid canvas of the revolutionary upheavals of that time, these reports were all over the map politically.

Lessons of Bolshevik experience

The founding congress proceedings confirm a political conclusion that I've stated in the introductions to the previous two volumes in the series.

As an organization, the Communist International was the product of the coming together with the Bolsheviks of many political currents from varied political origins and experiences. But the heart of the Comintern's program and strategy, which is central to the revolutionary continuity of Marxists today, was not a convergence of these various political strands. That programmatic continuity was assured by the Russian leadership team, headed by Lenin, which based itself on the political course charted by the Bolsheviks from their origins in the early 1900s right through the conquest of power in 1917.

Learning about the Bolsheviks' experiences was made particularly hard for revolutionaries outside Russia by the blockade

imposed around the Soviet frontiers by the main imperialist powers. Communications were difficult and it was next to impossible for revolutionaries to enter or leave Soviet territory.

If you've seen the movie *Reds*, you got a taste of this from the portrayal of Louise Bryant battling her way on foot through the icy wilds of Finland on the way to Soviet Russia.

Militant. How did this blockade affect the founding congress?

Riddell. Only nine delegates made it through the blockade. And when the congress convened, there was a big problem. The only delegate present at the opening session who had a mandate from a party outside Soviet Russia — the delegate of the German Communist Party — had instructions from his party to oppose launching the International at that point.

The German party, the most authoritative revolutionary group outside Russia, was adamant that it was still far too soon to launch the new organization, and the gathering should limit itself to adopting programmatic resolutions.

The Bolshevik leaders strongly disagreed. But they felt they had no option but to recommend to the delegates that the launching be postponed to a later gathering.

Militant. But you say that the new organization was founded, all the same. How was that?

Riddell. Some other delegates from abroad soon showed up. Readers will enjoy the account by Russian Bolshevik leader Gregory Zinoviev of how two of them had arrived from Austria. They "practically rode the whole way on the buffers of trains, pretending to be prisoners of war," he

Continued on Page 17

The Communist International in Lenin's Time

This multivolume series will make available for the first time in English the complete proceedings of the first four congresses of the Communist International, held in Soviet Russia between

1919 and 1922.

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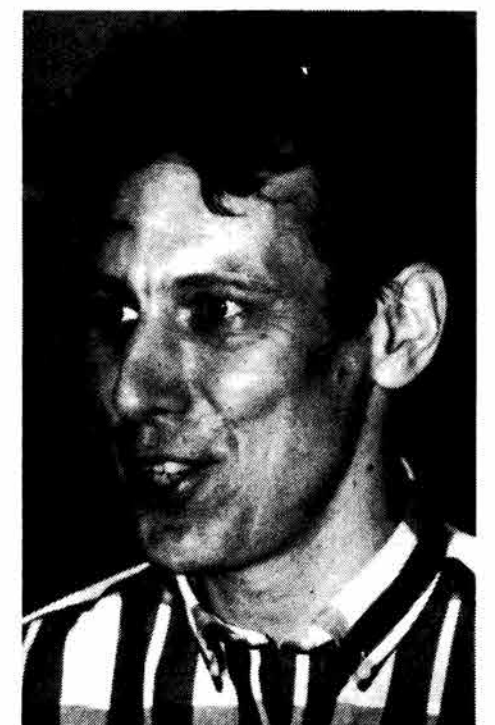
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Editor John Riddell

Militant/Janet Post

ARIZONA

Phoenix

How We Can Win Jobs for All: The History of May Day. Speaker: Bernie Senter, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 99R. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 1, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Palestine/Israel: What Road to Justice in the Middle East? — A Discussion. Speakers: Steven Fuchs, chairperson San Francisco Socialist Workers Party; Alan Solomonow, Middle East secretary, American Friends Service Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sun., April 24, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

One Year Anniversary Memorial Rally for Ben Linder. Thurs., April 28, noon to 1 p.m. Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Ave. (Van Ness). Sponsor: Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. For more information call (415) 626-9053.

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

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

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Support the Peace Accords in Nicaragua. Speakers: Gladys Buchanan, native of Nicaragua and member of Clergy and Laity Concerned; Jeff Rogers, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 10. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

Socialist Workers Party 1988 Campaign Rally. Speaker: Kevin Dwire, SWP candidate for Congress, 4th C.D. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign 1988. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Discussion of the United Paperworkers' Strike. Speakers: representative United Paperworkers International Union, Local 6288, De Pere, Wisconsin; Mitchel Rosenberg, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 1014. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m.; dinner, 6:30. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor

Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Socialist Workers '88 Campaign Rally. Speakers: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate; Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for Congress in the 4th CD; Mark Curtis, political activist fighting frame-up and police brutality. Sun., April 24, 3 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Iowa Campaign. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party U.S. vice-presidential candidate; Jon Hillson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Elizabeth Soares, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 29. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Massachusetts Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Nicaraguan Cease-fire: What It Means For the Nicaraguan Revolution, What It Means for the U.S. Antiwar Movement. Speakers: Chris Nisan, director of St. Paul Marketplace Forum, with slides from Nicaragua brigade trip; Donna Goodlaxson, member of Pledge of Resistance and Women Against Military Madness; Becky Minnich, Progressive Student Organization at University of Minnesota; Ramona Olson, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Britain Out of Ireland! Speaker: Will Reissner, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Steelworkers of America; others. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Why Third World Foreign Debt Should be Canceled. Speaker: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 23, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Wayne

Hear Philip Agee, author of bestseller *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*. Tues., April 26, 7 p.m. William Paterson College, Room 200B, Science Hall. Sponsor: Student Mobilization Committee, People for Peace, WPC School of Humanities, School of Social Sciences. For more information call (201) 595-2292.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Casa Nicaragua Eighth Anniversary Commemoration — First Anniversary of Ben Linder's Death. Nicaraguan Consul General Leonora Argüello de Hüper; Nicaraguan Deputy Ambassador to the UN Julio Icaza; attorney Michael Kennedy; Abbie Hoffman; Esmeralda Brown. Fri., April 29, 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. Local 1199, 310 W 42nd St. (between 8th and 9th aves). Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

Reproductive Freedom Week — Stop Ter-

rorist Attacks on Clinics — Defend Abortion Rights! March from St. Patrick's Cathedral Fri., April 29, 6 p.m.; rally in front of Right-to-Life office at 19 W 34th St. Sponsor: Refuse and Resist. For more information call (212) 227-6268.

Benefit for Nicaragua Summer Construction Brigades. DJ, food, and drink. Sat., May 7, 9 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 63 E 2nd St. Sponsor: New York-Nicaragua Construction Brigade. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

British Out of Ireland! Current struggle in north of Ireland. Speakers: Jack McKinney, Philadelphia journalist; Roy Ingly, longtime Irish activist. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

The Current Stage of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Special Weekend Series on Cuba. 1. "Women in Cuba." Sat., April 30, 3:30 p.m. Dinner to follow. 2. "Cuba Today." Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, editor of Pathfinder book *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. 3. "Dance in Cuba." Speaker: Frank Boehm, Chicago-based choreographer, producer of film on Cuba's ballerina Alicia Alonso. Sun., May 1, 1 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$5 for weekend, or \$2 per forum. Sponsors: Milwaukee and Chicago Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call Milwaukee (414) 445-2076. Chicago (312) 363-7322.

Canada

Rally for Democratic Rights — Celebrate U.S. socialists' Victory Against FBI

Montreal

Speakers: Claudette Carbonneau, general secretary, Montreal Central Council of Confederation of National Trade Unions; Mark Curtis, U.S. activist fighting police frame-up; Raymond Johnston, vice-president Quebec Teachers Federation; Giuseppe Sciortino, vice-president Quebec New Democratic Party; James Warren, Socialist Workers Party's candidate for U.S. president; Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 1601 DeLorimier. Donation: \$4, \$2 for students and unemployed. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (514) 527-0918.

Toronto

Speakers: Banu Kerestecioglu, Turkish-Canadian Democratic Society; Jay Mason, American Indian Movement; Andre Kolompar, president Toronto local, Canadian Union of Postal Workers; Albert Johnson, Committee Against Police Brutality; Mark Curtis; Margaret Manwaring, Revolutionary Workers League; James Warren. Fri., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 761 Queens St. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

Celebrate victory in suit against FBI spying

Austin, Minnesota

Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149; **Billy Curmano**, artist, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; **Kate Kaku**, Mark Curtis Defense Committee; **Walt King**, committeeman, United Auto Workers Local 2125; **Skinny Weis**, trustee executive board member, United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. Sat., April 23. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Austin Community College, Room B125. Donation: \$3. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Cleveland

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

Morgantown, W. Virginia

Mahmoud Hammoud, Palestinian student, Ohio University, representing Prof. Howard Fredrick, recently fired by OU for his political activities; **Diane Welch**, member, International Union of Electronic Workers; **Ellie Beth Brady**, So-

cialist Workers Party candidate for West Virginia secretary of state; Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. West Virginia University, Mountainlair, Collegiate Room. For more information (304) 296-0055.

Pittsburgh

Jules Lobel, National Lawyers Guild, Thomas Merton Center, worked on socialists' suit in its initial stages; **Todd May**, Central America Mobilization Committee (CAMC); **Barry Sheppard**, Socialist Workers Party; representative Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 30, 2 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 4905 Penn Ave. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Portland, Oregon

Héctor Marroquin, Mexican-born leader of Socialist Workers Party who recently won victory in his fight to gain legal residence in the United States; others. Sun., April 24, 3 p.m. Northwest Service Center, Community Room, 1819 NW Everett. Donation: \$3. For more information call (503) 289-9567.

Seattle

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

All events sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rights fighters hail Marroquín's victory

Continued from front page

López, "on behalf of the Puerto Rican people, in congratulating Héctor Marroquín — personally and politically — for everything his victory stands for. I also want to add my congratulations for the recent victory in the case of the *Socialist Workers Party v. the Attorney General*."



U.S. Rep. Mickey Leland of Texas, one of many supporters of Marroquín's fight.

Anglada López was referring to the decision by the Justice Department to drop its appeal of a ruling in favor of the socialists in their fight against FBI spying and disruption.

"We know," he continued, "the consequence of U.S. government repression of political parties, individuals, and activists. I myself was a draft resister during the Vietnam war, and I was framed and convicted by the colonial government of Puerto Rico."

Anglada López praised Marroquín's victory in light of the racism faced by immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The fight for immigrants' rights, he said, "is a fight not only for individual liberty, but also for social justice and for social progress."

Exclusion for ideas

Slovinsky, who has been Marroquín's attorney for six years, said, "This is really Héctor's victory, and the Socialist Workers Party's victory. The credit goes to a very strong political organization that has not ceased to persist for one minute. And in the end, it paid."

"The largest part of the struggle," Slovinsky explained, "has been around the ideological grounds of exclusion, that is, a section of the immigration act that has served as a disgrace by excluding foreigners, distinguished and unknown, merely for their beliefs."

Slovinsky was referring to the provision of the McCarran-Walter Act allowing for exclusion from this country on the basis of political beliefs. This provision was suspended for one year at the end of 1987.

"In Héctor's case," she said, "he straightforwardly challenged this provision, and has won. . . . Héctor's case is indeed significant, but we won't rest until there's an actual green [permanent residence] card in his hand."

Quiroz, from the Center for Immigrant Rights, also commented on the significance of Marroquín's victory for New York's large immigrant population. "Conservative estimates are that we have 400,000 undocumented immigrants in New York City," he said. "According to the INS, only 40,000 people have applied for the amnesty program — only 10 percent of the undocumented population. Of these, no one knows how many will actually qualify."

"The struggle of Marroquín is at the heart of the fight that we need to carry out," continued Quiroz, "to really defend the rights of immigrants here: the right to work, the right to have health services, the right to have a house, the right to have their children go to school and get a decent education."

John Studer of the Political Rights Defense Fund has been helping coordinate the

work of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. The committee will continue the fight to win permanent residence status for Marroquín, who is also applying on the basis of being married to a U.S. citizen.

The flood of messages received for the news conference was testimony to the fact that countless supporters of Marroquín's fight welcomed this victory as their own.

Messages were received from Guillermo Chavez, director, Department of Political and Human Rights of the Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church; Ben Dupuy, director of *Haiti Progres*; Joaquín Lira, director, Arizona Farmworkers Union; Rep. Mickey Leland of Texas; and Hartford 15 defendants Elías Castro and Yvonne Meléndez.

Congratulations also arrived from Ernesto Joffre, coordinator of the New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador; Paul O'Dwyer, former New York City Council president; author Margaret Randall, who recently won a victory against INS deportation efforts; Digna Sanchez, on behalf of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress fired for his political views by the State University of New York at Stony Brook; and the Los Angeles Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations.

Additional messages arrived from Angela Sanbrano, executive director, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Mark Curtis, a CISPES activist facing frame-up charges in Iowa; Esmeralda Brown, coordinator, Workshop of the Americas; Ray Rogers, director, Corporate Campaign, Inc.; Michael Ratner for the Center for Constitutional Rights; Leslie Cagan, National Mobilization for Survival; and William Callahan, Quixote Center in Washington D.C.

Further greetings came from Kay Camp, former national president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Eric Lieberman, attorney for the SWP; Peter Schey, executive director, National Center for Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles; and Edith Tiger, director, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The news conference was held at the Interchurch Center in upper Manhattan and was attended by a columnist from *El Diario* and reporters from *Haiti Progres*, the *Korea Times*, and two New York-area Spanish-language television stations.

Birth of the Communist International

Continued from Page 15

wrote in 1924. "And they were entirely on our side, on the side of those who thought it necessary to proclaim the Communist International at that very Congress."

Recalling one of the Austrian delegates, an observer at the congress later said, "His beard unkempt, his soldiers' greatcoat in tatters . . . he went right up to the presiding committee. 'I am the delegate of the Austrian Communists.' He immediately pulled out a knife with which he proceeded to cut open his coat and extract his credentials."

New International founded

The reports by these and other delegates about the revolutionary upheaval in Europe and the deep crisis in the workers' movement tended to bear out the Bolsheviks' arguments for launching the new organization at once.

Delegates were above all influenced by the congress discussions, which included major political contributions by leading Bolsheviks such as Lenin, Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, and Zinoviev.

So, on the third day the question was reopened and the congress overwhelmingly approved a proposal to launch the International. The delegate from Germany pledged his support to building the new organization.

Militant. Was this the congress' most important achievement?

Riddell. Well, it was certainly an essen-

Protests hit murder of Palestinian leader

Continued from back page

tion Movement) at a 1962 conference in Kuwait.

Wazir organized the first Fatah commando raids into Israel, beginning in 1964. After Fatah and other independent Palestinian organizations won the leadership of the PLO in 1969, he became one of its top political leaders.

Wazir played a prominent role in organizing PLO military forces and operations. He participated in the heroic Palestinian-led resistance to the Israeli military's siege of West Beirut during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. After holding out for more than two months, Arafat and Wazir were evacuated from Lebanon along with other PLO fighters.

PLO spokesperson Ahmad Abderahman called the assassination of Wazir and the three aides a "serious blow." But, he said, no individual embodies "all the revolution and all the people."

tial one. It gave workers moving toward communism a way to forge political links with the Bolsheviks and go through common experiences and discussions with them.

Lenin held the view that the formation of the Communist International was the most important conquest of the victorious October 1917 Russian revolution. It was an even more precious conquest than the Soviet republic itself, since it laid the basis to build an international organization of Communist parties to lead the workers and farmers in the struggle for power in many countries.

The Bolsheviks placed Soviet Russia at the service of that goal of building a worldwide movement for national liberation and socialism, rather than viewing the International as primarily a support organization for Soviet Russia.

From the limited number of delegates at the Moscow congress and the small size of the groups they represented, it was not transparently obvious that the Bolsheviks were correct in their determination to get the new movement off the ground right then. All the same, they were quickly proven correct. During the following year, tens of thousands of workers and many sizable parties outside the Soviet republic did indeed join the Comintern.

And the Second Congress in 1920 was quite a different gathering. But that's music of the next year or two, when Pathfinder completes the proceedings of that congress.

Resolutions set Communist program

Still, more was achieved at the founding congress than just the launching. Three programmatic documents defined the communist position on central issues before the world workers' movement. These resolutions, particularly the theses on Soviet power and bourgeois rule drafted by Lenin, remain extremely valuable for the political education of revolutionary-minded working people today.

Militant. As we can see from previous volumes of *The Communist International* in Lenin's Time, the international workers' movement before 1919 was largely confined to the advanced, imperialist countries. Was it at the 1919 congress that the movement broadened to encompass revolutionaries from the colonial countries?

Riddell. At the founding congress this process was under way but still had far to go.

The congress did not elaborate a strategic communist orientation to the

question, as the Comintern was to do over the next few years.

Nonetheless, the founding congress was the turning point for the world revolutionary movement on this question. It took an unequivocal position for colonial independence and liberation. More than one-fifth of the delegates represented Asian peoples — an unprecedented event at an international socialist conference. These delegates' reports give you a vivid picture of the rising struggle for national liberation in Asia.

Most of the Asian delegates came from the oppressed nationalities within the old tsarist empire where the struggle for Soviet power was rapidly gaining strength. The record of the second Comintern congress, which we will publish next, will show how quickly the revolutionary movement began to spread across Asia.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
April 28, 1978

A chorus of cheers echoed in the pages of the big-business press as striking farmers left Washington in mid-April without a cent of financial aid from Congress.

The *New York Times* claimed their demand for full price supports would "exacerbate inflation and endanger world food stocks."

The *Washington Post* attacked farmer demonstrations as "a campaign against the cities, against the consumers, against Washington and, ultimately, against [President James] Carter."

It's the farmers' own fault if they're in debt, the capitalist politicians chimed in. Their demands will only lead to higher food prices.

The same phony arguments were heard only weeks before when the miners wrested some gains in wages and other benefits from the greedy coal operators. The steel and utility giants rushed to raise prices, blaming the miners for "inflationary demands."

This orchestrated campaign of lies is aimed at dividing farmers and working people, at disguising the real culprits who are soaking workers and farmers alike.

Food prices are soaring today at the staggering annual rate of 14.4 percent. But working farmers are not to blame.

Since August 1973, the prices they receive have dropped 20 percent. Forced to borrow to the hilt to produce their crops, farmers' debts have nearly doubled, from

\$56.9 billion in 1972 to \$102 billion in 1977.

That's why farmers are demanding that the government pay them the full difference between the low prices they receive and their high production costs.



For several weeks now the popular young Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko has been under attack by Soviet officialdom because of his "unpardonable" act of publishing his uncensored autobiography in the French weekly, *L'Express*. He apparently delivered the manuscript while in Paris on a mid-February poetry-reading tour. Now he is threatened with restrictions on further travel abroad and on publication at home.

Yevtushenko's *Precocious Autobiography* presents the facts of his personal life as commentaries on the Soviet past, present, and future. He relates, for example, his last memory of his maternal grandfather, a key organizer of revolutionary peasants in the Urals and East Siberia, who had later become a Red Army general.

He came sadly into little Yevgeny's bedroom one night and sat watching his grandson a long time, softly singing to him songs of the revolution. The same night he was arrested in Stalin's purge of Tukhachevsky and other Red Army leaders. But the boy did not learn of his grandfather's fate for a long time; his parents hid it from him.

No U.S. sanctions against Mexico

The U.S. Senate's 63-to-27 vote to impose sanctions on Mexico, on the pretext that the Mexican government has not done enough to combat the cross-border trade in illegal drugs, is an outrageous attack on Mexico's national rights.

The sanctions voted April 14 would require U.S. officials to oppose loans to Mexico by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and other international agencies of the bankers on Wall Street and in London, Tokyo, Paris, and other financial centers. The Mexican government has borrowed massively from these institutions to finance interest payments on its \$100 billion debt to big banks in the United States and other imperialist countries.

The measure also includes a ban on U.S. aid to Mexico. Aside from \$14.5 million for operations against the drug trade, Mexico receives virtually no U.S. foreign aid at this time. The Mexican government condemned the Senate move.

The White House criticized the action, fearing the outrage that it would spur in Mexico. President Reagan warned that the vote would cause "significant damage to a broad range of U.S. interests in Mexico."

Among other things, the White House fears that the measure, and the response it may bring from Mexico,

could cause problems for banks that count on Mexican interest payments to bolster their profits. The proposal is now before the House of Representatives.

The Senate vote is not an effort to halt the trade in illegal drugs.

It is aimed at tightening the U.S. rulers' economic stranglehold on Mexico and increasing pressure on that government to bow to Washington's dictates. In particular, the U.S. rulers oppose the Mexican government's diplomatic and economic ties with Cuba, its long-standing opposition to Washington's acts of war against Nicaragua, and its public denunciation of the U.S. rulers' campaign to topple the government of Panama.

Today the U.S. rulers portray attacks on the sovereignty of Honduras, Panama, and Mexico as part of a "war against drugs," just as the U.S. bombing of Libya in 1986 was portrayed as part of a "war against terrorism." The real war, however, has been against peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who won't take orders from Washington and Wall Street.

The Senate's sanctions against Mexico are an attack on the independence of a sovereign nation. They should be defeated. And the \$100 billion debt, which condemns millions of Mexican working people to poverty and makes Mexico subject to such crass blackmail, should be canceled now.

Stop U.S. attacks on Iran!

Continued from front page

the war launched by Iraq against Iran in 1980. The Iraqis reportedly pushed Iranian forces out of the Fao Peninsula, which Iranian troops had captured two years ago. U.S. officials implied that the timing of the U.S. and Iraqi offensives was a coincidence.

Adm. William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, boasted that heavy casualties had been inflicted on the Iranians. The Iranian government reported shooting down one U.S. helicopter and sinking a U.S. supply ship. The Pentagon conceded that a U.S. helicopter gunship and two crew members were missing.

This was the fifth U.S. military attack on Iranian forces in recent months. The last came in October when U.S. warships shelled two Iranian oil platforms.

The Reagan administration got nearly unanimous bipartisan backing from Congress for the latest attack. Reagan met with top congressional leaders of both parties concerning the assault shortly before it began.

"There will be no fight as long as they keep consulting," promised Rep. Tony Coelho of California, the Democratic whip of the House of Representatives.

Rep. Lee Hamilton, the Indiana Democrat who heads the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, said, "My sense is that there is very strong support in the Congress for the measured steps the president took. I do not see a renewed debate over the Persian Gulf policy."

One of the few legislators to voice doubts was Rep. Thomas Downey, a New York Democrat. "A shooting war now is under way and it won't take much effort to see it escalate," he said.

Strong backing from Congress encouraged the administration to consider further escalation. Some officials, the April 19 *Washington Post* reported, are advocating "strikes to wipe out the Iranian navy or destroy its big naval base at Bandar Abbas. Strikes against bigger targets have been mapped as part of the U.S. military's contingency planning in the gulf."

In the wake of the April 18 attack, officials said they were considering expanding the U.S. fleet in the region. The administration also indicated it was weighing greatly expanding the scope of incidents defined as justifying "retaliation" against Iran.

The pretext for the U.S. aggression was an April 14 explosion that damaged the U.S. frigate *Samuel B. Roberts*, one of dozens of warships that Washington has sent to the Persian Gulf region. The U.S. government claimed that the explosion, which wounded 10 sailors, was caused by a mine planted by Iranian forces. The Iranian government says the mine was planted by the Iraqi military.

Whatever the facts may be, one of the main reasons Washington's war armada is in the gulf is to provoke such incidents, which can then be presented as necessitating retaliation against Iran.

The U.S. government began its current spate of war moves in the gulf last May, after an Iraqi missile or missiles struck the U.S.S. *Stark*, killing 37 sailors. Instead of moving to pull U.S. forces out of harm's way, Washington escalated its intervention on the side of the Iraqi rulers, who had been dealt setbacks in their war against Iran.

Washington placed 11 tankers belonging to Kuwait under the U.S. flag, and moved massive naval forces, including thousands of military personnel, into the gulf region to protect the tankers against Iranian attack. The Kuwaiti regime is closely allied to Iraq in the war. Washington's European allies also sent naval forces to back the operation against Iran.

(For seven years, the Iraqi military has been attacking shipping bound to and from Iran. Since 1984, Iran has retaliated by attacking shipping to and from Kuwait and other allies of the Iraqi regime.)

The death toll and the level of violence have mounted steadily since the Pentagon began beefing up the U.S. fleet.

The increasing military attacks on Iran are not isolated incidents. Around the world, Washington is resorting to ever more acts of war to counter popular revolts and attempts by oppressed nations to assert their independence.

Central America is another case in point. Far from leaving that region in peace in the wake of the defeat of the U.S.-organized contra war against Nicaragua, Washington has continued to provide advisors and cash for the Salvadoran government's war against the people of that country.

In March more than 3,000 U.S. troops were sent to Honduras to menace Nicaragua. In April, U.S. forces engineered the kidnapping of a Honduran citizen who was brought to the United States to face trial on drug charges.

More U.S. troops have been sent to Panama, where U.S. forces have opened fire on alleged "Panamanian intruders" at U.S. bases — resulting in the death of one U.S. soldier thus far. Washington has threatened military action to oust the Panamanian government.

Some antiwar activists in this country have spoken out in opposition to U.S. aggression against Iran. An advertisement in the April 23, 1988, *Nation* magazine signed by more than 120 people declared:

"Under a pretext of 'protecting shipping' the U.S. has amassed its largest naval armada since World War II. It bombards Iranian ships and oil rigs. . . .

"How can we accept U.S. claims to a 'peacekeeping' role when the U.S. encouraged Iraq's 1980 invasion of Iran, then for seven years armed both sides in a war which has slaughtered one million people? How can we believe that U.S. policy is neutral when it now intervenes on Iraq's side and seeks any excuse to label Iran the aggressor while wrapping its own aggressions in the cloak of 'defense'?"

Signers included veteran antiwar activist Dave Dellinger; Elisabeth and David Linder, whose son Benjamin Linder was murdered by contra terrorists in Nicaragua in 1987; novelist Kurt Vonnegut; American Indian Movement leader Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt); attorney Leonard Weinglass; performer Dick Gregory; and Palestinian scholar and activist Edward Said.

More protests are needed. The lack of broad public opposition is emboldening the U.S. rulers to carry out more and bigger acts of war.

U.S. ships, planes, and troops should be pulled out of the Persian Gulf region now.

The tendency for profit rates to fall

BY DOUG JENNESS

Readers of the *Militant* who have been following our coverage of the October stock market crash and its aftermath know that we think it reveals that explosive pressures have been building up in the capitalist system for nearly two decades.

We've noted that the crisis facing the capitalist system — not just in this country, but worldwide — has deeper roots and broader implications than the more rhythmic

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downturns and upturns of the business cycle. That's why the stock market crash gives notice that the next recession carries with it the threat of escalating into a deep and devastating worldwide depression.

Since the 1974-75 international recession, we've seen that downturns have tended to become more protracted and severe and upturns more volatile. The partial crises of capitalism — such as financial crashes and the collapse of banks and other firms — have become more threatening, instead of being absorbed and their negative effects bypassed as they were in the 1950s and '60s.

There is increasing stagnation in the system resulting from the effects of a long-term decline in profit rates. The profit rate in the United States, for example, fell by about 53 percent between 1947 and 1985.

Why is there a tendency for profit rates to decline?

The drive for profits continually spurs competing capitalists to find ways to improve their chances for success in the market. They are in a constant battle for sales. This drives them to increase the productivity of labor. They introduce new technology and install new machinery to further mechanize production in order to reduce unit costs to get the most out of the market.

Large-scale plants and equipment that make it possible to produce more with less labor power means that labor costs can be reduced.

But once a new, lower-cost method of production becomes possible, then the first few companies to implement the new method are in a position to lower their selling prices, undersell their competitors, and expand their own shares of the market. This can lead to a round of falling prices, a situation that most favors the companies with the lowest unit costs.

Price reductions damage the anticipated profit rates of the companies with higher-cost production methods more than those with lower costs. A firm with unit costs of \$10 is much more vulnerable than a company with costs of \$8, since a drop of price from \$15 per unit to \$10 could wipe out the former while still leaving the latter a hefty profit.

The cheaper method of production changes the investment situation in such a way as to make its expected rate of return the highest now available. Since capitalist investment is motivated by the highest expected rate of return, competition among capitalists presses the adoption of the least costly production methods. Those that are unable to go over to the new methods will likely go out of business.

While the introduction of new technology and production methods may benefit individual capitalists by lowering their unit costs of production, they nonetheless also tend to lower the average rate of profit for the economy as a whole.

I explained in last week's column how the volume of profits could still increase even though profit rates declined. But one of the broader results of the overall profit rates dropping is that the volume of profits grows more slowly than the accumulation of machinery and equipment.

Over time this can undermine the incentive to expand productive capacity and thus slow down the rate of growth of investments for expanding plant and productive capacity. That's what we've begun seeing in the last several years.

Many capitalists are not investing heavily in new technology and machinery to try to improve their competitive position. The rate of return wouldn't be worth it. They'd end up providing more units at a lower cost, but with a much smaller profit margin, and in many cases for a glutted market.

Many capitalists, instead, have bought out other companies or speculated in the stock market, commodity exchange, or currency trade. Some have loaned money to countries in the semi-colonial world in order to collect interest.

At some point the total profits can begin to stagnate or even decline. And when that begins to happen the capitalists can find themselves in the position of having to cut back investments in plant and productive capacity and workers will be laid off by the millions. Inventories will pile up, and profits will fall. Firms will increase their borrowing to tide them over the hard times. As businesses start to fail, they default on their debts. The rise in business bankruptcies begins to trigger bank failures. And then we're into a full-scale recession. That's the threat that the October stock market crash has warned us about.

Reply to 'Militant' reader on Tawana Brawley case

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In her letter on the Tawana Brawley case, reader Gene S. Byrge (see letters column below) makes a useful contribution to the discussion about the defense of this young Black woman.

She points out that the rape of Brawley is a violent crime — a crime that, because of sexual oppression, women of all ages and races are potential victims of.

Many who have reported or commented on this case

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have overlooked this important aspect of it.

Byrge, who also recognizes the racist nature of the attack on Brawley, supports the prosecution to the fullest extent of the law of those who are guilty.

But Byrge questions the *Militant's* coverage of the case. "Why is it being treated solely as a race crime and the primary crime of rape ignored?" she asks.

I don't think the *Militant* has treated the crime against Brawley "solely as a race crime." And if we have unwittingly created that impression, it would be an error.

But the facts that are known thus far indicate that the attack on Brawley — including the rape — was designed to intimidate and terrorize Blacks.

On Nov. 28, 1987, Tawana Brawley — a Black 16-year-old — was found partly naked and wrapped inside a plastic garbage bag near her home in Dutchess County in upstate New York. Patches of her hair had been hacked away from her head. She had been smeared with dog feces. The word "nigger" had been written on her stomach and the letters "KKK" across her chest.

Unable to speak clearly for a few days, Brawley scribbled notes and made disjointed statements to give her account of being abducted, beaten, raped, and sodomized by six white men. One of the men, she said, had what appeared to be a badge and told Brawley he was a cop.

The attack on Brawley was not a random act of violence against some woman, any woman, regardless of race. What was done to Brawley was a threat to every Black person — a message that they could meet the same fate.

Those fighting for justice for Brawley are not "using the race angle" because it's a better way to win support for this fight. Rather, it's the heart of the matter.

And the crime of rape is not being ignored by those who want to see justice done. We are pointing out that the beating and raping of this young woman is a horrifying

crime and that the government should bring those responsible to justice.

The fact that rape was the form of the racist abuse Brawley was subjected to is nothing new in the United States. Since the existence of chattel slavery in the South, racist abuse of Blacks who are female has often been combined with sexist abuse, including rape. It wasn't until after the Civil War that the rape of Black women was even made a crime.

Byrge wonders "if the *Militant*, as well as the rest of this country's press, would be nearly as outraged if the girl had been white" and sexist, rather than racist, terms were smeared on her body.

Well, I can only speak for the *Militant*. As uncompromising opponents of all violence and other sexist abuse against women, our level of outrage would certainly be the same. For a newspaper that takes as its editorial starting point the needs and interests of working people, we see every instance of racist or sexist violence as an attack that must be opposed in order for the working class to be able to wage a united struggle against all oppression and exploitation. An injury to one really is an injury to all.

But I think Byrge underestimates the degree to which there's been a progressive shift in attitudes among broad layers of the population with regard to rape, wife-beating, and other forms of antiwoman violence. The struggles of women for equality have turned a spotlight on violence against women.

While reactionary attitudes and confusion are still widespread, to be sure, the idea that rape is a violent crime against a woman and should be opposed is much more accepted today than it's ever been in the history of class-divided society. That's a big gain, not only for women, but for all working people.

What makes the Brawley case a focus of antiracist protests is not simply that Brawley is Black and her assailants white. Rather, it's the blatantly anti-Black character of the attack.

I don't agree with Byrge that in the Brawley case, "the rape issue" is being "buried in a landslide of racist emotion." Rather, supporters of justice for Brawley are fighting to prevent the attack on her from being buried in a landslide of media and government propaganda that plays on racist and sexist attitudes to suggest that perhaps nothing ever happened to her, or to point the finger of blame at Brawley and her family. This is a way of letting Gov. Mario Cuomo and Attorney General Robert Abrams off



Tawana Brawley

the hook from having to conduct any serious investigation and prosecution.

Why is it that the Brawley case is the one in the news when "hundreds of women are raped every month?" Partly because the racist character of it makes it a political attack that is broader than Brawley as an individual. And Brawley's family chose to fight for justice instead of letting the events get swept under the rug like so many other attacks on Blacks.

But most instances of antiwoman violence don't have a political character. They instead flow out of sexist social relations in a sexist society.

The most effective way to fight for justice for Brawley is to emphasize the common interests that all the oppressed and exploited have in fighting for a serious investigation and the prosecution to the fullest extent of the law of those responsible.

Margaret Jayko is coeditor of the *Militant*.

LETTERS

Palestine march

On Saturday, April 9, about 150 people gathered in New Brunswick, New Jersey, to participate in a march and rally for Palestinian rights. We marched through the business district to Rutgers University.

Sponsored by a broad coalition of political organizations — including the Rutgers University Palestine Solidarity Committee, New Jersey Anti-apartheid Mobilization Coalition, Monmouth County Coalition for the Homeless, and Rutgers University Young Socialist Alliance — the demonstration attracted students, unionists, and political activists.

Demonstrators demanded an end to the killing and beating of Palestinians, an end to the 20-year occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and an end to U.S. funding of the occupation. Organizers stressed the need to build further, bigger demonstrations.

J. Manila
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Grenada

This past March marked the ninth anniversary of the Grenada revolution. Its legacy was brought to life for me through the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. I would like to suggest reprinting the interview conducted in July 1980 by Steve Clark and Andrew Pulley ("The Class Struggle in Grenada, the Caribbean, and the USA") in an upcoming issue of the *Militant*.

Since Grenada could only have been a mere aberration of "history" in the TV, radio, and newspaper-magazine business, it becomes more necessary for the progressive spirit, ideas, and practice of the Grenadian people to be more widely known and understood.

Forward ever, backward never!
Christopher Dennis
Somerville, Massachusetts

Art in Nicaragua

"Art in the new Nicaragua" was the theme of a presentation by well-known Nicaraguan artist Carlos Montenegro at a recent meeting in Los Angeles. The gathering was cosponsored by the Pathfinder Mural Project and the Los Angeles Photography Center.

Montenegro showed slides of his work, explaining he hoped his art would help promote unity and understanding between the peoples of Nicaragua's Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

Other speakers were Bruce Valde, work-brigade organizer for the Nicaragua Task Force; and Yrena Cervantes, a Chicana artist who painted on the Chicano delegation mural in Nicaragua. Poet Gloria Alvarez read some of her work.

Montenegro also spoke to students at the California Institute for the Arts and California State University, Northridge. He was introduced to a crowd of 2,500 at an Amnesty International concert fundraiser and was given a warm ovation.

Pat Nixon
Los Angeles, California

Iraqi Kurdistan

Once again innocent Kurdish civilians in Iraqi Kurdistan fell victim to a mass chemical gas assault from the Iraqi government. On March 16 the town of Halabja and surrounding areas came under a highly toxic chemical bombardment from the Iraqi air force. In a matter of minutes, more than 5,000 people died.

Kurdish civilians have no means

whatsoever to defend themselves against such weapons. They have been repeatedly attacked by the Iraqis. In fact, almost all the border towns between Iraq and Iran in Kurdistan have witnessed chemical warfare at least once.

Please write to President Ronald Reagan, Congress, the Iraqi embassy in Washington, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, or anyone else you might think could help in stopping this barbaric crime of chemical war against Kurds by the Iraqi government.

The Kurdish community
Dallas, Texas

Palestine series

I think the series in the *Militant* on the history of the Palestinian struggle is terrific. It's also a useful tool in selling subscriptions and single copies of the paper.

At a recent demonstration in support of Nicaragua and the peace plan, I sold the majority of papers on the basis of the coverage of the Palestinian struggle.

L.F.
Miami, Florida

Tawana Brawley

I have a problem with your coverage of the attack on Tawana Brawley ("Next steps in fight to force governor to prosecute Brawley's attackers," March 18 *Militant*).

Why is it being treated solely as a race crime and the primary crime of rape ignored? I wonder if the *Militant*, as well as the rest of this country's press, would be nearly as outraged if the girl had been white, and they had smeared "whore" on her body, instead of racist terms?

Yes, this crime should be publicized. Yes, this should be vigor-

ously prosecuted. And if it serves justice to use the race angle, by all means, let's do it.

But let's also not lose sight of the fact that hundreds of women are raped every month. How many will be humiliated, accused of complicity, or of "asking for it" because they and their attackers were of the same race?

We all know what the press would be doing had Brawley been white and her attackers men of color. Once again, the rape issue would be buried in a landslide of racist emotion.

The *Militant* bills itself as a paper that tells the truth — please make it the whole truth.

Rape is a violent crime against a woman. Whether the woman is young or old, white or of color, whether she was walking alone or in a group. Whether the attacker is someone she knows, a relative, or a stranger, of any age or color. Rape is the initial crime; the racism of this particular attack is secondary.

Gene S. Byrge
Cleveland, Utah

Wonderful paper

Do you have any free subscriptions for prisoners? I'm serving a five-year sentence for destroying a military computer at Vandenberg Air Force Base. (It was designed to guide missiles for a U.S. first strike.)

Now that I'm locked up, I find it difficult to get news of activism in this country and in the Third World. A friend sent me clippings from the *Militant*. It looks like a wonderful paper.

I'm sure that many of the prisoners here would be very excited about reading it — a good 40 percent of us are Spanish-speaking women from Central and South

America. Naturally, if we had one subscription we could just pass it around till everyone got to see it.

A prisoner
Spokane, Washington

Viraj Mendis

I am writing on behalf of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign to express our solidarity with the Los Angeles Eight supporters of Palestinian rights whose deportation case was featured in the March 4 *Militant*.

Viraj Mendis is under threat of deportation to Sri Lanka for the same kind of reason as the eight. He is a member of and active in the Revolutionary Communist Group of Britain. For 15 months he has been in sanctuary in a church in Manchester, England, fighting for the right to stay and against the threat of persecution should he be returned.

Because of Mendis' political activity the Home Office has ignored both the situation in Sri Lanka and the fact that he has lived in Britain for nearly 15 years. They are determined to make an example of a Black communist.

We would appreciate messages of support and any further information about the Los Angeles Eight and about sanctuary movement in the United States. Send to VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15 5AL, England.

Chris Procter
Manchester, England

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.

Protests in Gaza, West Bank condemn murder of PLO leader

BY FRED FELDMAN

As soon as news broke of the Israeli government's April 16 assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, a central leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip poured into the streets to voice their outrage and determination to continue the struggle.

"Black mourning banners were stretched across streets in the Gaza Strip and West Bank," reported the April 17 *New York Times*.

In the Gaza Strip, the report continued, outlawed Palestinian flags hung from power lines and light poles. "By nightfall," the *Times* continued, "five refugee areas, comprising almost 200,000 people, were put under curfew. But the army was reportedly having trouble enforcing the curfew, and burning tire barricades were lighting up the sky."

On April 18 Palestinians began a three-day general strike that left business districts deserted.

Government troops and cops responded by escalating their slaughter of Palestinian protesters. At least 14 Palestinians were killed.

The *Times* quoted a United Nations official who works in the area as saying, "From one end of the Gaza Strip to the other, it was total turmoil."

At least two more Palestinians were killed as the general strike opened April 18. More than 150 Palestinians have been murdered by Israeli forces since the uprising began in December.

On April 20 Wazir, who was also known by the pseudonym Abu Jihad (father of struggle), was buried in Damascus, Syria. According to the *New York Times*, up to half a million people turned out for his funeral. "It was impossible to count the number of people who ran through the warren of streets, swarmed from the large and mostly barren cemetery and filled rooftops of the surrounding concrete-block apartment buildings."

"Abu Jihad worked for unity all his life," Farouk Kaddoumi, a top PLO official, told the crowd, "and now we must accomplish his goal."

'On West Bank, Gaza, new leaders are being forged'

The following message was sent to the Palestine Liberation Organization's mission to the United Nations from James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president.

We wish to express our solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization and Palestinian people in the face of the Israeli government's brutal murder of Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad). We join you in mourning the loss of a central leader of your organization and a veteran fighter for the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Inspired by the example of Wazir and other fighters who have given their lives to the struggle, thousands of youth are heroically defying the terrorism of the Israeli regime in strikes and protests in the West Bank and Gaza, and throughout Palestine. In the course of these battles, thousands of new leaders — young Abu Jihads — are being forged.

The Israeli rulers hoped that this cowardly terrorist act would deal a demoralizing blow to the Palestinian people. The response of these young fighters shows that the Israeli government is doomed to disappointment and defeat. The Palestinian people will win.

According to Palestinian and Tunisian officials, Wazir was murdered by an Israeli commando unit that slipped into Tunis, the capital of Tunisia, where the PLO leader was living in exile. Using silencers, the unit murdered Wazir's driver, who was sleeping, and two bodyguards. They then pumped 60 bullets into Wazir in the presence of his wife and child.

According to Tunisian President Zine Abidin Ben Ali, an investigation carried out by Tunisian officials established "Israel's involvement in this cowardly act of terrorism that it planned and executed." The Tunisian government called on the UN Security Council to condemn the Israeli government's role.

The Tunisian president reported that an Israeli electronics warplane cruised off the Tunisian coast during the commando raid in order to disrupt telephone communications in the area where the assassination took place.

Israeli officials have refused to confirm or deny that the government organized the murder of Wazir. But Minister of Trade Ariel Sharon stated, "Without doubt, justice was done. For many years I have said we must take care of and hurt and eliminate the heads of these murderous terrorist organizations."

The U.S. State Department criticized the killing as an "act of political assassination" but declined to condemn it as terrorist or to hold the Israeli regime responsible. State Department spokesperson Charles Redman and CIA Director William Webster denied that the U.S. government had played any part in the assassination.

The Israeli rulers had hoped to deal a demoralizing blow to the Palestinian uprising by killing Wazir, a veteran of well over three decades in the battle for Palestinian national rights.

He was chairperson of the Higher Committee for Occupied Territories Affairs, set up by the PLO after an April 1987 meeting in Algeria of the Palestine National Council, the organization's leading body. The committee is now responsible for coordination between the PLO leadership in exile and the network of organizations that have been leading the Palestinian struggle on the streets in Israel.

Wazir, who was 52 years old, was born in Ramleh, Palestine.

He and his family fled to the Gaza Strip in the wake of the Zionist armies' expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from the territory that became the state of Israel in 1948. While Gaza was under Egyptian administration, Wazir became active in the struggle for Palestinian rights as a high school student. (The Gaza Strip was conquered by Israel in 1967.)

In 1959 Wazir became editor of *Filastinuna* (Our Palestine), a magazine that became the center of a move to unite Palestinian nationalist groups in many countries. This culminated in the establishment of Fatah (an acronym for Palestinian Liberation).

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Iceland protest hits killing of Wazir

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — Demonstrators condemned the Israeli government's assassination of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Khalil al-Wazir here April 18. About 80 people participated in the protest organized by the Palestine-Iceland Organization.

The protesters delivered a statement condemning the terrorist attack to Iceland's foreign minister. They then marched to the U.S. embassy, where they demanded that the U.S. government cease aiding the Israeli regime.



A vast crowd of Palestinians accompanied Wazir's coffin to the burial in Damascus, Syria.

Support grows for April 30 march to back Maine strikers

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Unionists from around Maine, the rest of New England, and beyond are coming here April 30 to participate in a march to show their support for the 1,250 paperworkers on strike at International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill here.

The march comes at an important juncture in the 10-month strike. Recent negotiations between the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) and International Paper (IP) failed to show any motion by the company toward backing off from its position that the strikers in Jay and three other affected mills have been permanently replaced by the scabs currently working in the mills.

The strikers have held several large meetings recently to hear reports on the negotiations with IP and to discuss what to do in light of the company's stand.

"We have a very serious decision to make," Bill Meserve, president of UPIU Local 14, told more than 1,100 striking workers and their supporters here April 13. "We can roll over and play dead, or fight."

Shouts of "Fight," "Shut it down," and "Scabs out!" filled the air, as outraged paperworkers stood and roared their opposition to the latest contract offer submitted by IP.

The proposal came after three days of bargaining, which resumed after national talks between IP and the union collapsed April 5. The talks had broken down when UPIU representatives rejected the company's proposals to return only 70 strikers to their jobs in Jay; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and De Pere, Wisconsin. More than 2,200 paperworkers have been on strike in these locations since June of last year over major concessions in wages and work rules demanded by IP.

The latest offer proposed to employ strikers somewhere "within the company," along with 1,250 workers who have been locked out at IP's Mobile, Alabama, mill since March 1987. This was a rehash of the company's long-standing offer to "retrain" and "relocate" paperworkers at the four

sites. Local return-to-work proposals were "not significantly different" than the previous 70 job slots offered by IP, Meserve told the *Militant*.

On April 17, members of Local 14, along with Firemen and Oilers Local 246 members who are also on strike at the Jay mill, gathered to hear a second report from Meserve at a members-only union meeting. Each striker had a copy of the proposed contract.

When Meserve explained the contract would give seniority in the mill to the 1,000 strikebreakers, shouting broke out. Paperworkers threw their contracts on the floor.

Union negotiators, said Meserve, had agreed to submit the proposal to a vote in the four affected areas to give IP a "clear signal." The strikers took a secret ballot vote at the April 17 meeting.

On April 15, an open meeting was held in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, attended by 1,200 strikers and their supporters. After looking the company's proposal over for 15 minutes, members of UPIU Local 1787 began tossing the contracts on the floor.

Voting by union members at Lock Haven, De Pere, and Mobile took place April 19. The results of the balloting at all four locations will be announced at the union's International headquarters in Nashville.

BY JON FLANDERS

TICONDEROGA, N.Y. — One hundred paperworkers and their supporters rallied here April 7 to greet a caravan of paperworkers from IP mills in Maine, Pennsylvania, Alabama, and Wisconsin.

The paperworkers' contract with IP at the Ticonderoga mill expires in June. Gillette Barlett, president of UPIU Local 5 at the Ticonderoga mill, told the rally, "If you don't fight for your job, you won't have a job worth fighting for."

Cheers and applause greeted the announcement that a plant-gate collection for strikers at the Ticonderoga mill earlier in the day netted \$2,700.