

## Kanaks in New Caledonia protest French troops

BY JOAN PHILLIPS

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — New Caledonia has been turned into one big military garrison by the country's French colonial rulers.

This massive military occupation was carried out in preparation for an April 24 poll to elect a new Territorial Assembly for the South Pacific colony. The poll coincided with the first round of voting in the French presidential elections.

The Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), which leads the struggle for independence from French rule, had called for an "active boycott" of both elections. Kanaks are the native people of New Caledonia.

Over the days leading up to the poll, police and troops were stationed throughout the capital, Nouméa, and in towns and villages from one end of the country to the other.

On April 22, fighting broke out between French paramilitary forces and Kanak activists in the village of Fayaouye, on the island of Ouvéa. Four cops were killed and another seven people — including two Kanaks — seriously injured.

Twenty-seven cops were taken hostage. In return for their release, the Kanak activists demanded the withdrawal of the military from Ouvéa. Eleven of the police were released on April 25.

Ouvéa is one of the Loyalty Islands, lying to the east of the mainland. Normally only four police are stationed on the island. In the week before the April 24 poll, however, this number was considerably beefed up.

Another 300 cops and soldiers — included  
Continued on Page 13



Kanak independence fighters wave national flag during 1984 protest against French rule in New Caledonia. Current protests target stacked elections, repression, and occupation of Pacific colony by thousands of French cops and troops.

Militant

## U.S. gov't steps up threats on Iran

BY FRED FELDMAN

Top Pentagon officials told congressional leaders April 22 that U.S. warships may now take action against Iranian forces attack "neutral" shipping in the Persian Gulf. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci indicated April 24 that there were new rules of engagement for U.S. forces but declined to say what they were.

This decision lays the groundwork for escalating U.S. military intervention on the side of the Iraqi government in its war against Iran.

The latest move follows the April 18 U.S. attack that destroyed two Iranian oil platforms and disabled six Iranian ships in the gulf.

Washington regards virtually all shipping in the Persian Gulf as neutral except ships bound to and from Iran. The "neutral" category includes ships traveling to or from Kuwait and other countries whose governments strongly support Iraq in the war.

Previously Washington's protection extended to 11 Kuwaiti tankers placed under the U.S. flag, and to U.S. warships in the region. So far, the resulting incidents have provided pretexts for five U.S. military actions against Iranian forces and oil platforms.

In his weekly radio address April 23, President Ronald Reagan warned the Iranian government that attacks on shipping and refusal to accept U.S. terms for ending the war with Iraq "will be very costly to Iran and its people."

"Our role in this war is neutral, and we do not seek to confront Iran," Reagan claimed.

The purpose of the new rules is to guarantee that Washington will have many more pretexts for "retaliating" against Iran.

The war at sea has been a major arena of the Iraq-Iran conflict. For seven years Iraqi forces have attacked shipping headed to and from Iran. In 1984, Iran began retaliating by striking at ships bound for countries allied to Iraq.

The Iraqi regime has Washington's go-ahead to attack any and all ships bound to and from Iran. Under the new rules of engagement, Washington threatens to attack Iran if it retaliates by firing on ships heading for Iraq's allies. (Iraq has had no func-

Continued on Page 13

## U.S. attack on Panama dealt setback

BY HARRY RING

Admitting a serious setback to its drive to oust Panama's Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, the Reagan administration disclosed April 25 that it would retreat on the sweeping economic prohibition it had imposed on U.S. firms doing business in Panama. It said its ban on payments to the Panamanian government was hurting these companies more than it was Noriega.

Two days earlier, Panama's Catholic hierarchy, which opposes the Noriega government, had called for an immediate halt to the U.S. economic sanctions.

In a letter drafted to be read at church services, Panama's conference of bishops slammed the sanctions as hurting "all the people, above all the poorest and hungriest."

"As a church and as Panamanians," the bishops declared, "we reject these measures that violate the nation's sovereignty."

Meanwhile Panamanian and Mexican officials said that Mexico, which provides Panama with 12,000 barrels of oil a day, would help in the present crisis by easing the terms of payment for the oil.

It was also indicated that Mexico might mint coins for Panama.

Panama's economy has long been so subservient to Wall Street bankers that it uses U.S. dollars for its paper currency. Panamanian coins are circulated in denominations up to \$10.

The circulation of U.S. dollars in Panama was sharply curbed April 8 when Reagan issued an edict barring all payments to Panama by U.S. citizens and companies. Earlier some \$57 million in Panamanian assets were ordered frozen.

Now a list of exemptions will be issued permitting the payment of taxes, rent, utility bills, and other expenses necessary for

the continued functioning of U.S. businesses there.

Panamanian businesses have been crippled by the U.S. sanctions, with a reported 40 percent driven into bankruptcy. While U.S. companies, including such giants as Texaco, have not suffered in the same way, they have been hit.

"Everybody's losing money — and you can't do that indefinitely," the head of the American Chamber of Commerce and Industry complained.

Washington has pressed its drive to break Noriega under the cloak of a fake war on drug dealing. His real crime, however, is that he has failed to toe the U.S. line in the way that is expected of small countries in Washington's orbit.

The economic sanctions came on the heels of other unsuccessful moves against Panama, including a U.S.-inspired "general strike," and an aborted military coup. Meanwhile, the U.S. military force of 10,000 there was beefed up with an added 1,900 troops.

But all of these measures combined have failed so far to topple Noriega.

From the outset, the governments of Cuba and Nicaragua have assailed the brutal U.S. assault on Panamanian sovereignty. But increasingly, other Latin American governments have begun to speak up. The steps taken by Mexico to help Panama have been the most concrete expression of this.

Carlos Pérez, a prominent Venezuelan politician, said:

"For our countries that are weak and have no large armies or atomic bombs, it has to cause fear when the United States converts itself into the policeman of the continent and decides which countries are

or are not democratic and which deserve economic sanctions or boycotts."

And, warning against U.S. military action in Panama, one Latin American diplomat told a reporter it would create "internal commotion in most of our countries."

"On the very next day," he said, "we would have the students and the workers on the streets, demanding solidarity with Panama."

The totality of these problems has gener-

Continued on Page 2

## Victims of gov't repression hail anti-FBI suit victory

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

NEW YORK — Well-known victims of government repression gathered at a rally here to hail a recent court victory won by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other federal political police agencies.

The April 23 meeting, attended by 130, was one of dozens organized around the country to celebrate the success of the SWP and YSA's 15-year lawsuit against government spying, harassment, and disruption.

On March 17 the U.S. Justice Department announced its decision to drop its appeal of federal Judge Thomas Griesa's ruling in the case that such activities are unconstitutional and illegal. The judge also awarded \$264,000 monetary damages to the socialists and permanently barred the government from using the millions of documents illegally compiled on the two organizations and their members.

"This historic ruling is a victory for all of us," said rally cochair Angela Sanbrano, national executive director of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). "The same type of illegal activity conducted against the Socialist Workers Party is being conducted against organizations like CISPES and others that oppose government policies," she said.

Recently released FBI documents reveal that the U.S. government carried out an intensive spying operation against CISPES aimed at "breaking" the organization.

The SWP case, Sanbrano said, makes it more possible to fight secret-police operations like the one conducted against CISPES, especially if the rights that have been won in the party's suit are made widely known. "That's why I think meetings like this are so very important and why

Continued on Page 13

# Preliminary hearing held in Iowa frame-up

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — A preliminary hearing on the frame-up charge against Mark Curtis of assaulting police officers was held in Iowa's Polk County district courthouse here on April 21. Curtis is a political activist in Des Moines.

The motion by Curtis' attorney, public defender Robert Powers, for a jury trial was granted and a trial date set for July 18. Curtis is charged with two counts of assaulting police, which is a misdemeanor charge.

Curtis is a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). He recently obtained FBI files kept on him as part of the federal cops' spying, disruption, and harassment campaign against CISPES.

On March 4, a few hours after leaving a meeting protesting the arrest of 17 immigrant workers at the Swift packinghouse where he works, Curtis was arrested by Des Moines cops on framed-up sexual assault and burglary charges. At the police station that night, cops baited Curtis, asking if he was "one of those Mexican-lovers, just like you love those coloreds."

The cops then choked him, jumped on his ribs, and cracked him in the left eye with a nightstick. After being stitched up at the hospital, Curtis was charged with assaulting the cops to cover up their beating of him.

The trial date on the sexual assault and burglary charges against Curtis has been set for May 25.

Support for Curtis, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431 and the Socialist Workers Party, continues to grow nationally and locally. Curtis told the *Militant* that he spoke to United Auto Workers union Local 270 on April 20 and everyone present signed a petition for Curtis.

He also addressed the executive board of

United Auto Workers Local 997 in Newton, Iowa, and was asked to speak at the union meeting on April 26.

Ken Norland, a retired member of Local 9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers in Austin, Minnesota, wrote to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder demanding that the charges be dropped. Norland also recalled the failed attempt to use scandalous frame-up charges against Frank Ellis, one of the leading organizers of the packinghouse workers in the Midwest in the 1930s.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is asking that messages be sent to the Des Moines police, demanding that the charges be dropped, the beating by the cops be investigated, and those responsible prosecuted. The messages should be addressed to Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Copies of the message along with urgently needed contributions should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1630.

## Striking unions picket Ore. paper mill

BY LISA HICKLER

HALSEY, Ore. — More than 500 pulp and paper workers at the James River Corp. mill here walked off the job April 15. Contract negotiations with United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) locals 1146, 1171, and 1234 broke down when the union refused to accept a company plan to gut the job-classification and seniority provisions won by the union.

Some 20 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who work in the mill's powerhouse have also joined the strike.

The James River Corp., based in Richmond, Virginia, is one of the world's largest

manufacturers of paper tissue and towels, with some 40 pulp, paper, and paperboard mills throughout the country.

"Wages and benefits are not the issue in this strike," explained Don Durden of UPIU Local 1171. Durden is a member of the locals' joint negotiations committee. The main issue is the company's plan to install what they call the "High Performance Work System." Under this system, workers in a given department would be trained to perform all the jobs in that department. This would include not only production jobs, but maintenance and mechanical jobs as well.

Durden said that the company has already implemented similar plans in older, less profitable mills. The aim of the system, he said, was increased productivity and increased profits. For the workers, it will mean speed-up, the elimination of jobs, and loss of job and seniority rights. Durden predicted that perhaps as many as

150 production jobs could be cut through this system.

James River's push to implement this plan at the Halsey mill is their first effort in one of their more profitable mills, added Durden.

On April 18 a picket line at the plant drew 400 workers and their family members. The strikers maintain a smaller picket line at the plant gate around the clock.

Al Lippincott, a UPIU Local 1146 member, told the media that the striking unions are asking for police protection on the picket line due to incidents "that are cause for concern — high-speed vehicles, people driving by with clubs at a high rate of speed, and gunshots being fired."

The union is setting up a women's auxiliary. Its first project is soliciting donations for a food bank. For more information on the food bank, call UPIU Local 1146 at (503) 369-2335.

## ANC youth tours South

BY SAM MANUEL

Malombo Ntshilontshilo, a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa's Youth Section, toured Atlanta, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama, April 22-24. The tour is part of an international campaign to save the lives of more than 40 anti-apartheid activists in South Africa scheduled to be executed by the racist regime.

"It is important for you to continue to organize because your organizations are important instruments which help to put pressure on the system in South Africa," Ntshilontshilo told a meeting of 75 taxi drivers in Atlanta. The drivers, many of whom are immigrant workers, are organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2525.

On February 25 the union had sent a telegram to South Africa's ambassador to the United States, protesting the banning the previous day of 17 major anti-apartheid organizations and the country's largest labor organization, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

Following Ntshilontshilo's talk a lively discussion lasted two hours. Several workers signed and took petitions demanding a halt to the scheduled executions.

Ntshilontshilo also spoke to a gathering of students and youth at the Martin Luther King Community Center. While publicizing the ANC youth leader's tour, anti-

apartheid activists in Atlanta collected hundreds of signatures to stop the executions. Twenty signatures were collected from workers at Meade paper company by Gary Washington, chief shop steward for Graphic Communications Union Local 527.

Ntshilontshilo spoke to 40 students at Auburn University in Auburn, Alabama. He was joined by 20 trade unionists and antiwar activists for a breakfast reception in Tuscaloosa. Among those attending were seven members of the United Mine Workers of America and their families, antiwar activists from the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, People for Peace, and Albert Sanky, president of the Montgomery chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

An afternoon reception in Birmingham was attended by 30 people, including members of the United Steelworkers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and the miners' union, as well as student activists from the University of Alabama at Birmingham, the Birmingham Committee for Peace and Justice, and the Nuclear Freeze.

Ntshilontshilo will be in San Francisco April 30-May 2; Los Angeles May 3-4; and will return to New York May 5-6.

The tour is sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

## U.S. gov't dealt setback in Panama

Continued from front page

ated sharp dispute among Washington policymakers, principally, according to leaked reports, between the State Department and the Pentagon.

The *New York Times* had reported April 13 that in "private conversations," military officials were denouncing State Department proposals for dispatching more combat troops to Panama.

According to these officials, Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state and Washington's bully boy for Latin America, favored sending a 3,000-member brigade to Panama to take Eric Delvalle from his hiding place to a U.S. base, where a "government" would be established. (Washington insists that Delvalle is still president. He was removed from office after attempting to oust Noriega at the end of February.)

The Abrams plan also contemplated kidnapping Noriega.

On the Delvalle government scheme, one officer said, "Can you imagine what that would have done to our base rights and negotiations elsewhere — the Philippines, Greece, Turkey, Spain — if we had set up a dissident government in a U.S. base?"

Another officer tagged it a "cockamamie scheme."

The jolting setback Washington is now experiencing in Panama is totally linked to its misfortunes in Central America. Most decisive has been the defeat of its contra operation in Nicaragua.

But Washington is still pressing its drive against Panama. U.S. intelligence agencies are planning to establish a clandestine radio station that will beam pro-U.S. propaganda into Panama. A key aim will be to promote divisions within Panama's armed forces.

U.S. troops garrisoned there are being primed for battle, apparently to the stage of paranoia.

This was evident in the outbreak of gunfire by marines patrolling a U.S. base April 11. They killed one member of their patrol, a Puerto Rican GI.

Meanwhile, it was reported in early April that a civilian defense force is being organized and trained in Panama to respond to a possible military invasion.

A reported 2,000 people in Panama City signed up for training as members of "Dignity Battalions." A women's brigade of the battalion was reportedly organized.

**The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!**  
"Our appreciation goes out to the *Militant* reporters. Their accurate coverage of our struggle in Jay, Maine, against corporate greed is helping educate all workers, organized and unorganized.

"Together, we will gain dignity and justice for all workers."  
—Felix Jacques

Executive vice-president, striking United Paperworkers International Union Local 14.

### Enclosed is

- \$4.00 for 12 weeks, new readers
- \$9.00 for 12 weeks, renewals
- \$17.00 for six months
- \$30.00 for one year     \$55.00 for two years
- For \$3.50 additional, send *New International* issue No. 6 with my six-month or longer *Militant* subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

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

SPECIAL OFFER



## The Militant

Closing news date: April 27, 1988

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.

Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: £22 for one year, or £12 for six months. Send check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Britain: Ford worker fights victimization

## New committee backs union activist Paul Davidson, fired for political views

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The Ford Motor Co. fired Paul Davidson from its engine plant at Dagenham in East London on April 8. Davidson had worked at Ford for only four days.

In an April 12 letter confirming the firing, the Dagenham employee relations officer told Davidson that his "employment with this company is terminated due to unsatisfactory checks on your work record."

There's nothing wrong with Davidson's work record. At the brief time he worked at Ford, Davidson was in an induction course where he fared as well as anyone else. In previous jobs, Davidson has worked as a lathe operator, a carpenter, a bus driver, and an auto assembly-line worker. He's never had any problems with his "work record."

### Real reason for firing

Ford officials are attempting to mask their objections to Davidson's political and trade union record and to cover up the company's practice of screening both current and prospective employees' job histories and personal lives.

Ford goes to great lengths in its screening process. Just to get a start as a production-line worker, an applicant must fill out a detailed history and go through two interviews of more than eight hours' duration. The applicant is questioned about his or her personal life, hobbies, work record, and other matters.

The company uses a special agency to screen prospective employees. But Davidson's case reveals that Ford, in addition, collaborates with British state security forces and organizations such as the Economic League, which was established and financed by big business, for the purpose of blacklisting political activists and union militants.

This vast state machinery is not subject to public scrutiny. The "security service," or MI5, has a staff of 2,000 and an annual budget of more than \$300 million. A recent article in the London *Guardian* revealed that MI5 keeps files on a million people and has the facilities for 20 million files. MI5 also cooperates closely with another intelligence agency known as the Special Branch.

### Vast spy apparatus

Former MI5 official Cathy Massiter recently disclosed on television that MI5 authorized telephone taps and mail interceptions on many union activists and members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

In addition to these state agencies, employers' organizations such as the Econom-

ic League, Aims of Industry, and Common Cause spy on and keep files on political and union activists.

This is not the first time Davidson has fallen victim to such machinery. In 1973 he worked on the production line at the Saab-Sania auto plant in Trollhattan, Sweden.

In April of that year workers at the plant went on a two-week strike. Upon returning to work at the end of the strike, Davidson was called into the supervisor's office where he was shown photographs of himself supplied by the local cops that purported to demonstrate he was living with the "sister of a known communist." Swedish authorities used this charge to deny Davidson an extension of his work permit.

A decade and a number of jobs later, Davidson was victimized with 16 others at British Leyland's Cowley auto plant. A huge media witch-hunt against the 17, all supporters of the weekly paper *Socialist Action*, accompanied the firing. The press published material about their personal lives that were so detailed they could have only been provided by cop agencies.

As an active member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and a union activist for many years, Davidson would be especially unpalatable to Ford, which has made huge profits from its plant in South Africa.

### History of political victimizations

Ford also has a history of victimizing British union activists. Two years ago two

women assembly-line workers were dismissed for their political convictions. The plant went on strike in support of the women. Like Davidson, these two women are supporters and distributors of the *Militant* newspaper.

A committee for Davidson's reinstatement has been formed. The committee is seeking sponsorship from prominent labor movement personalities and has issued a petition and leaflets explaining the victimization.

Labour Party members of Parliament Tony Benn and Maria Fyfe have written letters in support of Davidson's case.

A number of delegates to the policy-making body of Davidson's union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, signed a statement protesting Ford's use of political screening and calling for Davidson's reinstatement. District officials of the AEU are pursuing Davidson's case with the company.

Activists in the National Union of Railwaymen and the National Communications Union are also circulating petitions in support of Davidson.

The committee is encouraging people to send protest messages to the Managing Director, Ford Motor Co., Dagenham, Essex RM9 6SA, England. Copies of the messages and donations should be sent to the Committee for Paul Davidson's Reinstatement, 8 Alma St., London NW5, England.



G. M. Cookson

Paul Davidson, victim of vast spy apparatus used by British government, capitalists against union militants and other political activists.

## Mickells in N.J. finds interest in YSA

BY PAT LEAMON

NEWARK, N.J. — Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells got a warm reception here at Rutgers University April 19, where she spoke as part of a northern New Jersey campaign tour.

Ten students heard Mickells describe the socialist view of world politics and the deepening worldwide economic crisis. There was a lively back-and-forth discussion. Joan Paltrineri, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 6th C.D., also joined in.

A student from India explained that he and four of his friends had stayed up until 4:00 a.m. the previous night talking about socialism and whether such a system could work in the United States. He was glad to have Mickells back up his view that socialism is needed and can work here, he said, since his friends disagreed. He and several other students who stayed to talk with

Mickells are interested in joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

There were other discussions like this all day at the YSA literature table on campus. Some students were interested in finding out more about the SWP campaign, others said they would support the Warren-Mickells ticket, and still others were skeptical and questioned why the SWP was fielding a presidential ticket when Jesse Jackson was running.

Sales of the *Militant* and other socialist literature were brisk. One student from Clifton, New Jersey, stopped by and explained that he is writing a song called "The Stone Throwers" to show his support for the Palestinian youth who are rebelling in Gaza and the West Bank. He bought the pamphlet *Israel's War Against the Palestinian People* to learn more about the history of the struggle. A South African student bought a copy of the issue of *New Internationalist* containing articles on the history and character of the South African revolution.

Mickells also campaigned at the gates of Marcal Paper Co. in Elmwood Park, New Jersey, which is organized by the United

Paperworkers International Union. Mickells shook hands with a number of workers and was able to have several short discussions as they went in to work. Seven copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, were sold.

Mickells spoke at an April 7 forum in Newark where more than \$1,100 was raised for the campaign.

Following her stay in New Jersey, Mickells traveled to Boston to begin a New England campaign swing that will include a stop in Jay, Maine, to participate in the April 30 demonstration in solidarity with striking paperworkers. May 1-4 she will be in Philadelphia and May 11-14 in Washington, D.C.

On May 14 Mickells will be participating in the "American Family Celebration" demonstration in Washington sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women. The action is designed to show support for a range of legislation backed by CLUW and various unions concerning child care, health care, and other issues.

Mickells will then travel to Greensboro, North Carolina, May 15-17; and Birmingham, Alabama, May 22-25.

## Youth meet Warren on Northwest tour

BY ANGEL LARISCY

SEATTLE — James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, spoke with dozens of young people interested in finding out more about communist politics during his recent campaign tour here.

Following an April 10 trip to Washington's Yakima Valley to meet with farm workers, Warren spent an evening with three young political activists at a dinner hosted by the Young Socialist Alliance. Discussion ranged from the socialists' view of the coming economic crisis to the history of workers' struggles going back to the Russian revolution.

At Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, more than 20 students gathered on short notice to hear a talk by the candidate. "I'm not on campus to just make an appearance or get votes," Warren explained. "I'm here to have a real discussion about politics." Three students indicated an interest in joining the YSA.

While in the Pacific Northwest, Warren also spent a day in Vancouver, Canada. Members of the the Young Socialists, a revolutionary youth organization in Canada, sponsored a dinner and talk with Warren.

The coming social crisis signaled by the October 1987 stock market crash, Warren explained to the Canadian youth, will be international in scope. And the fight to unify the working class in order to defend ourselves against the crisis, he continued, will be an international fight, around demands such as shortening the workweek to provide jobs.

A high point of Warren's trip here, which received extensive news coverage, was his campaign talk at the Militant Labor Forum.

On April 16 Warren traveled south to Portland, Oregon. The presidential candidate had informal discussions with several machinists who work at the Freightliner truck plant, and made a plant-gate visit to Chase Bag Co. to talk with workers there.

A campaign talk at the Militant Labor Forum in Portland April 16 "drew lots of new people," according to local campaign supporters. Included were two students from Portland Community College, and two students from Columbia Christian College — a campus not previously reached by the socialist campaign.

**Subscribe to the Militant**

## Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign

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

\* \* \*

### Campaign volunteers needed!

- Send me copies of the candidates' biographies.  
I want (English) \_\_\_ 50/\$1.50 \_\_\_ 100/\$3 \_\_\_ 500/\$15 \_\_\_ Other.  
I want (Spanish) \_\_\_ 50/\$1.50 \_\_\_ 100/\$3 \_\_\_ 500/\$15 \_\_\_ Other.
- Send information about national tours, local socialist campaigns, and ballot petitioning drives in my area.
- I endorse the Warren-Mickells ticket.
- Enclosed is my \$ \_\_\_ contribution to the campaign.
- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Union/school/organization \_\_\_\_\_

Paid for by the 1988 Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee

# The drug trade: a highly profitable capitalist business

## Hellish scourge for working people

BY DOUG JENNESS

Drug trafficking is often presented as very mysterious — full of intrigue and conspiracy — and good material for TV shows like "Miami Vice". While there is plenty of secrecy and plotting in the drug trade, its basic character is quite simple. It's a capitalist business that operates generally the same as any other capitalist business producing commodities for the market.

The production and marketing of drugs, like other commodities are governed by the laws of supply and demand, competition between capitalists, and the drive to get the most profitable return on capital investment. The capitalists' profits in the drug trade come from their exploitation of hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers.

Addictive drugs are derived from plants. Heroin, for example, comes from opium poppies and cocaine from coca leaves. These plants are grown by farmers in Colombia, Bolivia, Mexico, Afghanistan, and other countries as cash crops.

Like other crops, land has to be cultivated and fertilized and the plants watered, weeded, and harvested. Much of this is done by farmers working their own plots of land or renting land. They face costs for seeds, fertilizers, tools, interest on loans, and in many cases rent, just as farmers who produce beans or corn do. They suffer from the same problems of debt bondage to bankers and money lenders as other working farmers.

Many drug-producing farms are also operated by capitalist farmers who hire wage laborers.

In either case, the producers are exploited, only receiving in income from sales or wages a portion of the value they have created. Their unpaid labor time is a source of huge profits for the big capitalists involved in the drug business.

Like many other agricultural commodities, opium and coca leaves have to be refined before they can be sold on the retail market. This involves the exploitation of thousands of more workers.

Then the refined heroin and cocaine is transported to the countries where it is to be wholesaled and finally retailed.

Opium growers in Afghanistan, for example, net \$60 to \$130 per kilogram (2.2 pounds) of opium. After being transformed into heroin at refineries in the region, the original kilogram sells for \$4,000 to \$6,000 to traders who transport it to the United States or other countries. In the United States, the wholesale price for the same kilogram ranges from \$90,000 to \$200,000. Diluted for street sale, the price reaches from \$1.5 to \$2.5 million.

Even after taking into account the costs of refining and transportation, the "middlemen" between the exploited producers and the consumers reap a profit bonanza.

### Drug trade is 'illegal'

The production and sale of drugs differs from most other capitalist businesses in that it is illegal in the United States and other countries. As with prostitution, gambling, murder contracts, and similar products or services, the capitalist class has illegalized the drug trade because it would

be bad for their public image to permit it to function legally.

The advances of humanity resulting from the struggles of working people have made drug trafficking and similar businesses so unacceptable to broader layers of the population that the capitalist rulers have illegalized it. They have incorporated opposition to the drug trade into the ideological structure for maintaining their rule.

The illegality of the drug trade means that cops are continually used against it. The daily newspapers are filled with reports of drug busts and the confiscation of millions of dollars worth of drugs. But this scarcely puts a dent in the drug trade, let alone eliminate it. It is not intended to and could not — even if it were meant to.

To keep a check on the narcotics traffickers, the cops rely on informers and contacts who they blackmail or pay off. This is part of the cops' routine in their "regulation" of this illegal business. Such a massive business could not function without the knowledge — and aid — of cops every step of the way, from the U.S. border to the neighborhoods where the drugs are sold to the individual users. The cops, in fact, become linked to this entire illegal operation, which is why "corruption" is pervasive and inevitable.

While official capitalist ideology stigmatizes profits from the drug trade as tainted, at the highest levels this illegal business is actually intertwined with the ruling class as a whole. The profits of the drug traders, for example, go into the same banks as the earnings of other capitalists. There is no separate banking system for illegal profits — the "First Federal Drug Bank and Trust Company," for example. Their profits are quickly absorbed in the financial system of wire transfers and overnight and interbank loans.

No one knows what the annual profits of the U.S. drug trade are, but U.S. Treasury officials estimate it to be between \$40 billion and \$100 billion. Half of this, they calculate, is invested in "legitimate" business in the United States, and the rest is invested abroad.

### 'The man downtown'

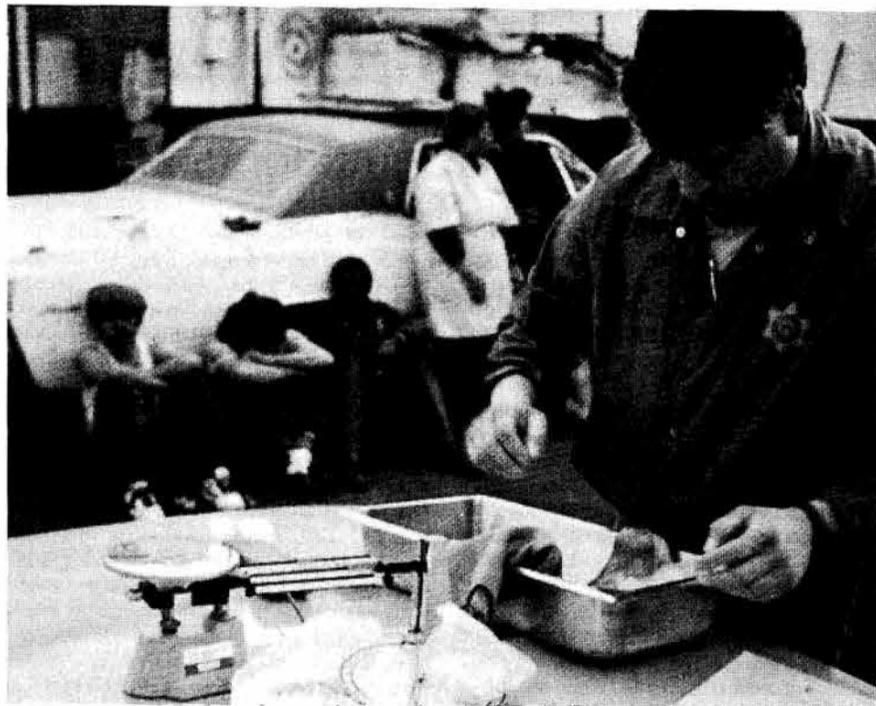
Malcolm X, who had firsthand experience with the degradation of drug addiction before becoming the foremost U.S. revolutionary of our time, pointed to the meshing of illegal business with the legal economic and political structures in capitalist society.

"When a person is a drug addict," he said in a 1964 speech in Harlem, "he's not the criminal; he's a victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country."

"Negroes can't bring drugs into this country," he continued. "You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who are responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles — those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown."

The criminality of the illegal drug trade is part of the overall criminality of the capitalist class, not separate and apart from it. Capitalism was born a criminal system, illegally and forcibly expropriating the peasantry and small artisans and then sanctifying this by law. It plundered colonies and enriched itself from the trade in African slaves.

As this system gained influence and eventual domination, the capitalists became responsible for the greatest crimes in history and have proved that they will violate any law when necessary to maintain their rule. This is shown by the devastating wars for imperialist profits in this century that have left tens of millions dead on the



Cop tests for drugs on Los Angeles street. Victims of drug abuse are the ones most often targeted by police, not capitalist profiteers.

battlefield; the fiendish use of nuclear weapons against the Japanese people; and their use of the "food weapon," that is massive profit famines, against the impoverished peoples of the semicolonial countries.

### Cracking down on victims, suppliers

Working people want to get rid of the monstrous problem of addictive drugs, especially those who are most victimized by it. The sentiment is widespread, which is reflected in the attention given to the issue by candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties in this year's presidential primaries.

Some politicians of the capitalist parties propose more powers be given to the police to search and arrest "suspects." Wherever such measures have been adopted, they have meant further infringements of constitutional rights and a crackdown on those who are most victimized by narcotics, not on the "man downtown."

Others propose many different schemes for curtailing the flow of drugs entering this country, thereby reducing the supply. This includes beefing up the U.S. Coast Guard, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the customs' cops, whose payoffs increase when there's tighter restrictions.

Measures of this kind have made few inroads into the supply of drugs and, insofar as they have, the end result has been to jack up the price of drugs to the users. The effect is the same as restrictive tariffs and quotas that limit the import of "legal" commodities and lead to higher prices for imported goods.

Moreover, no matter how many drug dealers are eliminated there are another 50 or 100 ready to take their place as long as the immensely profitable drug market remains. And no matter how many fields of coca plants and poppies are destroyed, there will always be more acres available for planting these crops.

### Aiding the victims

In general, those who are calling for tougher measures against drug suppliers have little to say about what can be done to aid the victims. Nor do they care that drug addiction and the degradation, disease, and violence connected with it is a scourge for working people.

The exploiting class portrays the victims of drugs — the homeless and those who have been out of work a long time — as an "underclass" of people who are primarily the victims of their own folly or lack of initiative. It attempts to pit other workers against the most pauperized sectors of the working class, which are disproportionately Black and Latino, in order to weaken the potential unity of the working class.

But the truth is different. The hopelessness of ever being able to find a job, the daily indignities of the employers and landlords, the racist abuse and brutality of the cops, the cynical indifference of teachers and social workers — all of this and more — contribute to robbing hundreds of thousands of young people of their self-esteem. Attempting to escape from the misery created by capitalist society, they became prey for dope pushers.

The use of addictive drugs robs an entire section of the working class of part of its

humanity, its ability to act independently and think clearly, and of its self-confidence. Basic human solidarity breaks down as victims of drugs are driven to assaults, robberies, and other acts of violence against other workers and members of their families.

Drug victims are more likely to suffer from chronic health problems, and the breakdown in health care in this country, especially for the worst-off sections of the working class, leaves them very vulnerable.

On top of this, intravenous drug users living in poverty are disproportionately afflicted by AIDS and the toll continues to mount. In some cities like New York and Newark, New Jersey, AIDS has been the leading cause of death among intravenous drug users since 1985.

Drug rehabilitation programs in this country are poorly funded and totally inadequate to the needs. Many drug users have to wait weeks or even months to get admitted to the programs that do exist.

The number of intravenous drug users in the United States is estimated to be anywhere from 500,000 to 1.2 million. Publicly financed rehabilitation programs are available to only 100,000 of these. Federal funds for drug treatment have been cut every year since 1981.

The refusal to adopt even the minimum measures necessary to offer treatment and assistance to drug users accepts the idea that drug addiction is a permanent condition of masses of people in this country, that nothing can be done about it. Those, of course, rich enough to afford it can get treatment, but for the great majority of drug victims this is not true.

The government has a responsibility, as an immediate step, to set up easily accessible and free rehabilitation clinics that offer treatment on demand. Those who also have AIDS should receive free, government-funded medical care.

Possession of drugs and drug paraphernalia should be decriminalized so that users can come forward for medical help without fear of prosecution.

The harmful effects of addictive drugs on significant sectors of the working class will not be overcome as long as capitalist rule continues to exist. This system spawns the hopelessness and misery that leads hundreds of thousands of youth to escape through drugs.

What they need is a working-class movement that is fighting for jobs for all and for the social resources necessary to give all youth the best possible education. They need to become part of a living political movement with a broader social purpose that gives them confidence and a sense of worth. They need to become part of the revolutionary communist movement and develop an understanding that they are part of an international class of workers, which, if it is united and has clear perspectives, can overturn capitalist rule.

The emergence of a fighting working-class movement will convince tens of thousands of youth to reject or abandon drugs in order to devote their full creative powers and clarity of thinking to the struggle for a better world.

### By Malcolm X

By Any Means Necessary	\$7.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History	\$4.95
Malcolm X Talks to Young People	\$0.75
Two Speeches by Malcolm X	\$1.00
Malcolm X Speaks	\$6.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage and handling.

# Greetings hail Marroquín amnesty victory

## Immigrants' rights fighters, unionists salute win in 11-year battle with INS

On April 14 Héctor Marroquín — an immigrant worker from Mexico and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party — received his temporary residence card from the Immigration and Naturalization Service Legalization Office under the government's amnesty program.

This marked a victory in Marroquín's 11-year fight for legal status in this country, and is a major step toward winning permanent residency status, for which he is eligible to apply in November 1988.

In 1974 Marroquín fled to the United States from Mexico, where he faced frame-up charges for his union and political activities. With other political activists being jailed, murdered, or "disappeared," Marroquín feared for his life if he did not leave the country.

After coming to the United States, Marroquín remained a fighter for workers' rights. He became an active unionist and joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Because of this political activity, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has been trying for more than a decade to deport him.

In March the Socialist Workers Party won the final round in its 15-year legal battle against FBI spying and harassment. This helped push Marroquín's fight for legality over the top.

Marroquín's case has won support from thousands of people in the United States, Canada, and other countries.

On April 20 a news conference was held in New York to announce Marroquín's victory. Appearing at the conference with Marroquín were his wife, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín; his attorney, Claudia Slovinsky; John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund; Ruben Quiroz of the Center for Immigrant Rights; and Rafael Anglada López, an attorney for the Hartford 15 Puerto Rican independence fighters who are facing government frame-up charges for their political views and activities.

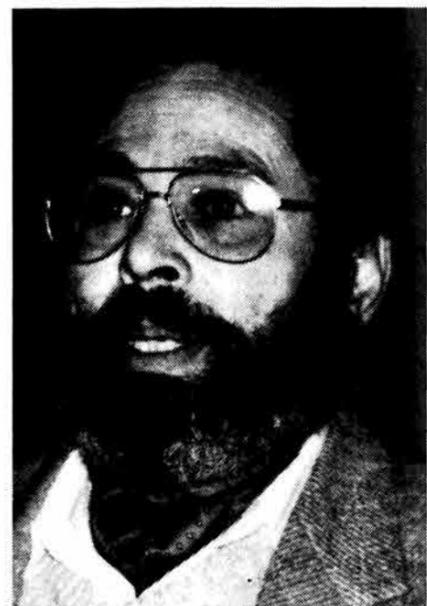
We are reprinting a portion of the flood of messages which were received for the news conference congratulating Marroquín.

### Ben Dupuy

Director, *Haiti Progrès*; coordinator, *Committee Against Repression in Haiti*.

The Haitian community in the U.S. rejoices at the news that Héctor Marroquín, a political refugee, is winning his case and has obtained temporary residence status.

His victory is a victory of all immigrants, especially those whose political beliefs the U.S. administration does not recognize.



Ben Dupuy

### Guillermo Chavez

Director, *Department of Political and Human Rights of the Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church*.

The Board of Church and Society of the

United Methodist Church has provided its support and endorsement in Héctor Marroquín's struggle to prevent his deportation. The board has monitored and extended additional aid to the case while he has been going through the importation procedures as provided by the Immigration Reform Act of 1986.

Therefore, we view Héctor's obtaining of his temporary green card as a very important first step in the pursuit of permanent residence. This victory should be an incentive to all those who are seeking the legalization of their status in this country, especially those who are seeking political asylum.



Militant/Ruth Nebbia  
Arizona farm workers' demonstration

### Joaquín Lira

Director, *Arizona Farmworkers Union*.

We extend a warm embrace to Héctor Marroquín on winning amnesty. Tens of thousands of farm workers are also seeking amnesty so as to be able to work and live in this country without fearing immigration raids and deportation. Farm workers face special exploitation because the growers feel that workers without papers will be less likely to stand up and fight for their rights.

Therefore, when we receive news that an outstanding public activist like Héctor has gotten legal status, it gives us greater confidence to organize and fight.

The Arizona Farmworkers and Héctor Marroquín stand together in our common struggle for unconditional amnesty and full legal rights for everyone in this country, regardless of where they were born.

Workers need and deserve a world without borders, where we all labor for the good and welfare of all.

### Mickey Leland

U.S. House of Representatives, 18th District, Texas.

It is a monumental and long overdue victory which we celebrate today. The Department of Justice's decision not to appeal the *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* case is a triumph for all Americans who believe that the freedom to express political, but unpopular, views should not be abridged.

The resolution of this case has a direct and immediate impact on the immigration case of Héctor Marroquín. Long prevented from obtaining citizenship because of the pending litigation, this obstacle has now been eliminated. Additionally, Mr. Marroquín has been denied citizenship because of certain provisions in the McCarran-Walter Act, which restrict immigration for applicants with certain political affiliations. These provisions have now been suspended. Consequently, the major hurdles for his immigration have been removed.

But the fight has not yet reached its fru-

ition. We must work to ensure that Mr. Marroquín and others like him are not denied citizenship simply because of their political views. To do so would be anathema to our fundamental beliefs.

### Angela Sanbrano

Executive director, *Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)*.

Congratulations! Your victory is for all workers regardless of legal status.

### Mark Curtis

CISPES activist and unionist facing frame-up charges in Des Moines, Iowa.

On March 1 the INS and federal marshals raided my workplace, the Swift meat-packing plant. One Salvadoran and 16 Mexican workers were taken to jail and charged with using false work documents. Many of these workers had applied for amnesty, the same program under which Héctor won his victory. On March 4, I was arrested on frame-up charges and beaten in jail by Des Moines police after returning home from a meeting in defense of these workers.

I am inspired by Héctor's victory and will follow his example of fighting and winning broad support for my own rights and freedom. I will continue to struggle for justice for my coworkers who are seeking the right to live and work in this country, free from government attack.

### Digna Sánchez

Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

This victory brings closer the culmination of a long struggle.

The granting of amnesty is the result of an intensive struggle which will end when Héctor Marroquín is granted permanent residency and is thus allowed to exercise fully the human and democratic rights that he, other immigrants, and all of us are entitled to.

### Peter Schey

Executive director, *National Center for Immigrants' Rights, Inc.*

The granting of resident status to Héctor Marroquín is a major legal victory which took many years to accomplish.

While saving face by granting Mr. Marroquín legalization through the amnesty program, this decision hopefully marks a turning point in INS enforcement policy resulting in greater First Amendment associational rights for immigrants.

### Elías Castro and Yvonne Meléndez

Hartford 15 defendants.

The victory won by *compañero* Héctor Marroquín fills us with happiness, and all those fighting for civil and human rights all over the world feel this victory as ours.

The U.S. government's persecution of Latin American immigrants is a violation of the most elementary democratic rights. Only the perseverance of people like *compañero* Marroquín will put a stop to this abuse.

### Ernesto Joffre

Coordinator, *New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union*.

Héctor Marroquín's victory in winning amnesty is an advance for the entire labor movement.

For years I have followed and supported Marroquín's fight for his rights to live and work in the United States free from government harassment.

Unions have much at stake in achieving the strongest unity and solidarity within all its members, regardless of birthplace, color, or sex. We must not allow the INS to divide us and force our immigrant brothers and sisters into a second-class status, opening the door to their increased exploitation, and in doing so weakening the entire labor movement.

### Ray Rogers

Director, *Corporate Campaign, Inc.*

The struggle of workers in this country is inseparable from the struggle of immigrants, especially those who have come here seeking political refuge.

Héctor Marroquín has achieved an important victory for us all. His struggle is of the highest priority and deserves our attention and support.



Militant/Hollbrook Mahn

Edith Tiger

### Edith Tiger

Director, *National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee*.

I greet the gigantic victory in this case because, as an American, I feel we have an asset in individuals like him.

We need people like Héctor Marroquín in this country.

I look forward to the final and complete victory in his case when he wins his permanent green card.

### Leslie Cagan

*National Mobilization for Survival*.

For too many years this country has had immigration policies which are outmoded and often repressive. Just as we work to change the basic fabric of U.S. foreign policy, we also must deepen our efforts to alter and improve U.S. immigration policy. This victory is a step in that direction.

### Esmeralda Brown

Coordinator, *Women's Workshop of the Americas*.

Mr. Marroquín's long struggle and success gives us hope for the Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Haitians who have fled their countries from human rights abuses, political repression, and assassination threats, and who continue to be denied any political asylum or residency status.

### Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations

*Los Angeles committee defending the Los Angeles Eight, seven Palestinians and one Kenyan facing deportation for supporting Palestinian liberation struggle*.

Héctor Marroquín's victory is a victory for all immigrants in this country, in particular for those who are victims of government discrimination because of their political beliefs.

# A lively day at London literature table



Selling the *Militant* in London

G.M. Cookson

BY NORTON SANDLER

LONDON — "Do you have anything on the North," a young woman said as she approached the literature table. Confused, none of us replied right away. "Ireland, the north of Ireland," the woman said.

We steered her to the section of the table where books and pamphlets on the Irish freedom struggle were located.

After she had picked out two books we showed her a copy of the *Militant*. That particular issue had an article by Clive Turnbull on the British government's cover-up of the murder of Irish republican Aidan McAespie. Before long the young woman took out £3 for a 12-week subscription.

The table in Hackney was one of three set up in working-class neighborhoods of London one Saturday recently. They were staffed by distributors of the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*.

The tables are becoming a regular feature of the circulation drive of the three publications in Britain, where supporters of the socialist periodicals have taken a goal of winning 220 new readers. The circulation campaign is part of an international effort to win 9,000 readers to the *Militant*, *PM*, and *New Internationalist* by June 15.

This is the first time supporters had tried out a table at this particular location in Hackney. It was a cold, windy day, and many passed by quickly, paying little attention to our book display or the pitch to buy a paper. But as the day wore on and it began to warm up a bit, more people stopped.

One of the salespeople, a railworker, ran into a coworker who bought a copy of the *Militant*. A Kurdish man who explained that he had difficulty speaking or reading English bought a copy of the *Militant* any-

way.

A worker from Chile stopped by the table for a minute. He purchased a copy of the Pathfinder book *Habla Nelson Mandela*, a Spanish-language translation of speeches of the South African revolutionary leader. But we missed out on a potential subscription because we didn't have a copy of *PM* along.

Before the day was over we had sold eight copies of the *Militant*, two subscriptions, and about \$23 worth of Pathfinder literature. Similar results were reported from the other tables. Nineteen copies of the *Militant* were sold in Brixton, and another nine in Kilburn.

Since the experience was new, participants had varying opinions about how to do it better next time. Many thought more emphasis should be put into selling subscriptions. Some thought there were too many people on the teams and the tables could best be staffed by three or four.

Every team had run into Spanish-speaking workers, underscoring the need for promoting *Perspectiva Mundial* and making sure that the tables had Pathfinder's Spanish-language titles on them.

Distributors here are also trying to regularize their sales at important factory gates. The same week seven copies of the *Militant* were sold to workers picking up their paychecks at the Willesdon Junction rail depot. Two papers were sold at the giant Ford Dagenham auto plant.

In addition several industrial workers who distribute the *Militant* and *PM* sold dozen copies to their coworkers.

There were other sales during the week. Participants in a Nicaragua solidarity conference purchased 50 *Militants*, 2 *Militant* subscriptions, and 5 copies of *PM*. And delegates to a meeting of the teachers' union bought 6 copies of *New Internationalist*.

## May 3 N.Y. hearing set in Dube's fight to regain job

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — Support continues to grow in the fight against the political victimization of Fred Dube. A member of the African National Congress of South Africa, Dube was denied tenure and dismissed from his teaching position at the State University of New York at Stony Brook last summer.

Dube filed suit against the university to win his job back. On May 3 supporters of his case are encouraged to attend a court hearing on Long Island at which the university will ask for Dube's case to be dismissed.

A letter signed by prominent individuals urging support for Dube's fight has been sent out by the Committee to Support Prof. E. Fred Dube. The letter states, "Tenure was denied by SUNY administrators because of massive political pressure stemming from a charge of anti-Semitism. His case is an important civil liberties and civil

rights case. Every one of us is vulnerable to having our words or course material taken out of context and distorted."

The anti-Semitism charge was a frame-up of Dube by a visiting Israeli professor. In one of Dube's classes, he assigned as a possible essay topic the examination of Zionism and its relation to racism. The Israeli, who had never sat in on any of Dube's classes, launched a vendetta against him that led to his firing.

Signers of the statement include Adjoa Artis Aieytoro, national co-chair, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Haywood Burns, president, National Lawyers Guild; Rev. Ben Chavis, executive director, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; and Walter Fauntroy, Washington, D.C.'s nonvoting delegate in Congress.

For more information on the case, contact Dube Committee, 126 W. 119th St., New York, N.Y. 10026. Telephone (212) 245-6366.

## Paper strikers say no to IP offer

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — International Paper Co.'s contract offer to 3,400 striking and locked-out workers at four mills around the country was rejected "by an overwhelming margin," the United Paperworkers International Union reported April 22 in a statement released from its Nashville, Tennessee, national headquarters. The voting had occurred several days earlier.

UPIU International President Wayne Glenn termed the company proposal "a slap in the face to our members." The union will be expanding its corporate campaign protest activities immediately, he added. These spotlight IP's union-busting and build solidarity with the union.

The union has not announced the exact results of the voting. UPIU spokesperson Robert Frase stated that 2,871 out of an eligible 3,400 union members voted on the proposals.

International Paper Co. proposed that the striking workers in Jay, Maine; De

Pere, Wisconsin; and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, be placed on local recall lists, with "preferential hiring rights." The union members would then be eligible to replace the scabs currently working in the mills through a process of attrition.

Other provisions of the proposal included the offer of "outplacement rights," that is, priority hiring for strikers at IP mills other than the one at which they worked before going on strike — as such jobs appear.

The company also offered \$1,500 to any replacement worker who quit, and lump-sum buyouts to high seniority workers who agree to give up their pensions and quit IP.

Jay striker Henry DiSotto, who has worked in the mill for 39 years, would have received a \$62,298 buyout, according to the offer. At 58, he had been planning to retire in four years. If he accepted the company's deal, he'd have no job, no retirement benefits, and a lump-sum payment wiped out by taxes. The idea, he said, was ridiculous.

## Spring Sales Goals

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New Internationalist single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Boston	350	91	26	240	77	50	3	60	11
New York	1,200	254	21	600	149	300	62	300	43
Twin Cities, Minn.	285	56	20	230	42	35	9	20	5
Los Angeles	600	117	20	340	78	100	10	160	29
Newark, NJ	460	81	18	275	55	85	14	100	12
Miami	225	39	17	145	28	40	5	40	6
Seattle	275	45	16	200	23	25	3	50	19
Pittsburgh	250	40	16	185	32	45	4	20	4
Austin, Minn.	90	14	16	65	13	15	0	10	1
Milwaukee	150	23	15	100	21	25	0	25	2
Greensboro, NC	170	26	15	140	25	20	0	10	1
Detroit	250	35	14	185	31	40	0	25	4
Houston	215	27	13	140	22	30	0	45	5
Atlanta	205	25	12	150	21	40	0	15	4
St. Louis	250	28	11	190	28	50	0	10	0
Charleston, WV	120	12	10	100	12	15	0	5	0
Portland, Ore.	140	14	10	100	13	25	0	15	1
Omaha, Neb.	125	12	10	80	12	25	0	20	0
Phoenix	240	22	9	135	15	30	0	75	7
Philadelphia	210	19	9	140	18	30	0	40	1
Chicago	350	31	9	215	26	60	0	75	5
Morgantown, WV	135	11	8	115	11	15	0	5	0
Kansas City	130	10	8	90	10	20	0	20	0
Baltimore	185	14	8	150	12	30	0	5	2
Cleveland	145	10	7	110	10	20	0	15	0
Salt Lake City	150	10	7	115	9	20	0	15	1
Birmingham, Ala.	175	11	6	140	5	25	6	10	0
Washington, DC	250	12	5	170	10	50	1	30	1
Des Moines, Iowa	195	9	5	140	9	30	0	25	0
San Francisco	350	11	3	200	10	75	0	75	1
Oakland, Calif.	255	8	3	150	6	50	1	65	1
Price, Utah	55	1	2	40	0	10	0	5	1
Cincinnati	10	5	50	10	5	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	19	-	-	19	-	-	-	-
U.S. totals	8,205	1,142		5,385	857	1,430	118	1,390	167
London	-	29	-	-	25	-	-	-	4
Manchester	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
Nottingham	-	4	-	-	2	-	2	-	-
South Wales	-	14	-	-	13	-	-	-	1
South Yorks	-	7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Other Britain	-	16	-	-	2	-	14	-	-
Britain total	220	74	34	150	52	50	16	20	6
Canada	340	40	12	200	35	100	0	40	5
New Zealand	180	131	73	140	111	30	13	10	7
Puerto Rico	-	10	-	-	2	-	-	-	8
Other Internat'l	-	28	-	-	14	-	13	-	1
Totals	8,945	1,425	16	5,875	1,071	1,610	160	1,460	194
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		2,511	28						



Beirut, capital of Lebanon, was massively bombed during Israeli invasion.

# Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation

The PLO and the 1982 war in Lebanon

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Fifth of a series)

The Camp David accords signed by the Egyptian and Israeli governments in 1978, and the subsequent treaty between them, marked a big victory for the Israeli rulers. In exchange for the return of the Sinai Peninsula, which Israeli forces captured in 1967, the Egyptian government agreed to recognize the Israeli government and its conquests. Up until then, no Arab government had recognized the Israeli government set up in 1948. And no others have done so since.

While portrayed as opening a new era of peace in the Middle East, the accords actually helped free the hands of the Israeli rulers — and their backers in Washington — to launch a major new aggression in Lebanon.

On June 6, 1982, tens of thousands of Israeli troops swept into Lebanon, backed by massive bombing raids and artillery barrages against refugee camps, villages, and cities. The invading force eventually numbered 60,000.

The Israeli government termed the invasion "Operation Peace for Galilee." The Galilee region, in northern Israel, borders on Lebanon.

The Lebanese cities of Tyre and Sidon were devastated by the bombing, and 1,000 people were killed in Sidon alone. Beirut's predominantly Muslim western and southern districts were heavily bombed. June 10 air raids over Beirut were estimated to have killed 1,000 people. Fourteen Palestinian refugee camps were destroyed in the first days of the invasion.

The first months of the Israeli invasion cost the lives of 27,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, and rendered at least 400,000 homeless.

## Siege of Beirut

By June 14, the invaders had encircled predominantly Muslim West Beirut, where Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist organizations had strong support. Predominantly Christian eastern Beirut was controlled by ultrarightist militias such as the Phalangists that collaborated with the invasion. The Phalangist militia had received \$100 million in arms from Israel over the previous six years.

The rapid progress the invaders made in the first days was facilitated by the setbacks that Palestinian and nationalist forces in Lebanon had suffered previously. In 1975-76 they backed a popular uprising that was thrown back. It had aimed at toppling the imperialist-dominated government and uprooting a political setup that guaranteed the domination of merchants and landlords of the Maronite Christian sect.

In 1978, Israeli forces had carried out a devastating attack on southern Lebanon.

These setbacks had made many Lebanese more susceptible to propaganda claiming that effective resistance to the Israelis was impossible, and that disarming the Palestinian fighters and expelling them from the country would bring peace.

As they closed in on West Beirut in the 1982 invasion, Israeli forces were pursuing four main political goals. They aimed to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), including by capturing or kill-

ing its top leaders; to crush the Lebanese nationalist movement and disarm militias based in the Muslim communities; to force the Syrian government to withdraw its troops, which had entered Lebanon in 1976; and to impose an ultrarightist government that would facilitate Israeli military, political, and economic domination in Lebanon.

## Role of PLO

Yassir Arafat and other central leaders of the PLO took the initiative in organizing the defense of West Beirut.

The defense was weakened when the Syrian government ordered its forces to avoid clashes with the invaders except in Beirut itself. This meant that Syrian soldiers in the eastern Bekaa Valley and elsewhere in the country stayed out of the conflict. Syrian troops in Beirut fought under the command of the bloc of Palestinians and Lebanese nationalists.

The PLO-led defense of West Beirut held the Israeli troops at bay for more than two months.

As the siege dragged on, rising Israeli casualties spurred opposition to the war in Israel. On July 3, in Tel Aviv, more than 70,000 people protested the invasion. By the beginning of August, more than 400 Israeli soldiers had died in the war.

On August 4, Israeli tank and troop units attempted to push into Beirut. After 24 hours, Israeli troops had failed to break through the Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist lines. Nineteen Israeli soldiers were killed. According to Yassir Arafat, the resistance repulsed 11 Israeli attempts to attack the city by land and six from the sea.

There was no doubt that the Israeli forces had the military muscle to take West Beirut in an all-out assault, destroying the city and taking thousands of civilian lives in the process.

## U.S. role

The military and political costs were mounting, however. As a means of politically destroying the PLO, the siege threatened to backfire. Working people around the world were horrified by the Israeli forces' brutality and inspired by the Palestinian and Lebanese resistance.

Throughout the invasion, Washington voiced strong backing for the goals of the Israeli invasion. "The PLO must withdraw" from Lebanon, insisted Vice-president George Bush. "It must withdraw promptly."

"This war was essentially a U.S. war," said Arafat at a conference of Arab governments in September. "It was directed not only against the PLO and its allies, but also against the entire Arab nation." Israel, he said, had been "supported militarily, economically, and diplomatically by the United States."

In the face of the stubborn resistance in Beirut, the Reagan administration sought to head off an all-out battle while aiding the Israeli government in pressing toward their common objectives.

Recognizing that West Beirut could not withstand a full-scale Israeli assault, the PLO leaders — with the support of all the leading Palestinian organizations — sought to negotiate the most favorable terms for

the evacuation of PLO fighters from Lebanon.

Finally, U.S. and Israeli representatives agreed that PLO fighters would be permitted to leave Lebanon as an organized group. They would be protected by a force of U.S., French, and Italian marines as a guarantee against Israeli attack. On August 30, Arafat marched to the port, accompanied by the Lebanese prime minister, where a ship took him out of the country. Massive numbers of Lebanese and Palestinians turned out to show solidarity. Soon, 9,000 PLO fighters had been evacuated.

The fighters had won the right to carry small arms as they left — a symbol of the Israeli failure to complete the destruction of the PLO as a fighting force. The PLO turned over its heavy arms to Lebanese nationalist resistance fighters.

The PLO fighters also extracted a U.S. promise to guarantee the safety of Palestinian civilians in Beirut.

As soon as the evacuation of the PLO fighters had been completed, the multinational force pulled out.

## Sabra and Shatila

On August 23, the Israeli occupiers and Lebanese ultrarightists imposed Bashir Gemayel, commander of the Phalangist militia, as president of Lebanon. Twenty-two days later Gemayel was assassinated when a bomb exploded in his East Beirut headquarters.

The Israeli government then marched its forces into West Beirut.

On September 15, Israeli tanks surrounded the Palestinian refugee camps at Sabra and Shatila. At 3:00 p.m. the commander of the Israeli forces met with leaders of the ultrarightist militias to set plans "for cleaning the terrorists out of the camps."

Later, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was informed that "our friends are going into the camps."

"Congratulations," he wired back. "Our friends' operation is approved."

Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk, one of the first to visit the camps in the wake of the "operation," described what happened:

"From the beginning the massacre assumed huge proportions, according to those who escaped. Throughout those first hours, the Phalangist fighters killed hundreds of people. . . . Breaking down the doors of the houses, they liquidated entire families in the middle of their supper. . . . In numerous apartments, one would find children of 3 or 4 years, also in pajamas, wrapped up in blood-soaked blankets.

"But often, the killers were not just content to kill. In very many cases, the assailants cut off the limbs of their victims before killing them. They smashed the heads of infants and babies against the walls. Women, and even young girls, were raped before being assassinated with hatchets."

Kapeliouk also described how Israeli troops used guns and tanks to force fleeing Palestinians to return to the camps.

Kapeliouk estimated the number killed at 3,000 out of a population of 20,000 in the camps. Israeli commanders conceded that at least 700 had died.

The massacre spurred an international outcry, including a September 25 protest of

400,000 in Israel demanding the ouster of the government. Sharon was forced to give up the defense ministry and take another post.

## Imperialist intervention

In the wake of the massacre, 3,000 troops from the United States, Italy, and France arrived in Beirut as a "peace-keeping" force. Their real role, President Ronald Reagan explained, was to help "the Lebanese government to resume full sovereignty over its capital" — an implicit threat to Palestinians and antigovernment forces. With imperialist troops on the scene, the Israeli government agreed to pull its troops back from Beirut.

The Israeli and other imperialist troops were backing the government headed by Amin Gemayel, a Phalangist leader and brother of the assassinated Bashir Gemayel. He opened a drive to round up "illegal" Palestinian immigrants and disarm Lebanese nationalist forces based in Muslim areas.

In May 1983, Washington succeeded in brokering a pact between Gemayel and the Israeli government that sought to guarantee Washington and the Israeli rulers a dominant role in Lebanon's future. The pact ended the state of war between the two countries and guaranteed the "sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity" of both.

It set up a "security zone" for Israel in southern Lebanon extending up to 28 miles from the border, to be jointly patrolled by Lebanese and Israeli forces. The Lebanese forces in the area were to be commanded by Saad Haddad, a rightist Lebanese ex-officer closely tied to the Israeli regime.

The pact also called for the withdrawal of "all external forces" — a reference to Syrian troops still in the country. Israeli officials stated that the withdrawal of occupation troops would be contingent on a Syrian pullout.

The pact, crowed the *New York Times* editors on May 10, "would come close to creating a Greater Israel. A pro-U.S. coalition of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon would then acquiesce in the destruction of the PLO and Israel's absorption of the West Bank and Golan Heights."

The next article will describe the further blows to the PLO as the result of a split engineered by the Syrian government, and the upsurge in Lebanon that partially rolled back the political gains that Israel and Washington had made in the war.

## PATHFINDER catalog available

*Pathfinder carries a broad range of books on revolutionary and socialist history and theory. It publishes a wide selection of titles on the Black, women's, labor, Latin American, and international struggles. The 1987-88 catalog is available upon request from your local Pathfinder bookstore or write: Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.*

# Moscow to withdraw troops from Afghanistan

## Accord signed by four countries opens door to ending 8-year war

BY SAM MANUEL

On April 14 the governments of Afghanistan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Pakistan, and the United States signed an accord that opens the way for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Tens of thousands of Soviet troops were sent into that country in December 1979 to prop up the regime led by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The PDPA government was under attack from counterrevolutionary armed bands backed by local landlords, the Pakistani regime, and Washington.

The accord contains four parts signed by different combinations of the governments involved. The first part, signed by Pakistan and Afghanistan, contains numerous and detailed provisions barring interference in each other's affairs.

The second part is signed by Moscow and Washington as the "guarantors" of the accord. The third is another agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan for the repatriation of Afghan refugees of the war.

The last part, signed by all four governments, ties the first three parts to a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Moscow will begin withdrawing its estimated 115,000 troops from Afghanistan on May 15. Half are slated to leave within three months. The remainder are to leave within nine months.

The agreement does not provide for a cease-fire between the two sides, and leaders of the seven-party Afghan counter-revolutionary alliance, which has bases in Pakistan, are not a party to the accord. They have vowed to continue to fight to overthrow the government in Kabul.

"The war will neither end nor the refugees return under this agreement," said Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, central leader of the coalition of guerrilla groups.

Immediately after signing the accord, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz contended, "There is nothing in the agreement that restricts the U.S. in anyway. We have made clear to the Soviet leaders before signing that it is our right to provide military aid to the resistance. We are ready to exercise that right. But we are prepared to meet restraint with restraint."

Signing the accord, Shultz said, does not imply "in any respect" recognition of the PDPA regime as "the lawful government of Afghanistan."

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Zain Noorani sent a letter to United Nations General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who had presided over the signing of the accord, reaffirming Pakistan's nonrecognition of the Kabul government. He said his government's position on continuing aid to the Afghan guerrillas is the same as Washington's.

In Islamabad, Pakistan's President Muhammad Zia ul-Haq charged that the Afghan government had stockpiled enough matériel for three years of fighting and vowed that the guerrillas would go on with the war "to the bitter end."

Over the last eight years Washington has spent \$2 billion, much of it funneled through Pakistan, to finance, train, and arm the Afghan guerrilla bands. The reactionary regime in Saudi Arabia has gener-

ally matched the U.S. funds.

In 1987 alone, U.S. aid to the Afghan guerrillas amounted to \$660 million, far surpassing the total given to the contras in Nicaragua over the entire seven-year course of the war. Moreover, this CIA-run effort in Afghanistan has enjoyed overwhelming and consistent bipartisan support in Congress.

In 1986, the Reagan administration approved sending the advanced Stinger surface-to-air missiles to the armed bands. The missiles proved to be effective against low-flying Soviet aircraft, substantially reducing Soviet air power.

### Devastating war

The eight-year war has devastated Afghanistan.

An estimated 1 million Afghans have been killed in a country of 15 million. Three million Afghans have fled to Pakistan, 2 million are in Iran, and another 2 million have been displaced within the country.

The massive use of air power, especially bombing, by the Soviet military in Afghanistan has worsened the devastation. According to Assam Gul of the Agricultural Survey of Afghanistan project, there were 22,000 villages before the start of the war. By 1985, some 12,000 were reportedly destroyed, and another 5,000 suffered significant damage.

Agriculture in Afghanistan has been devastated. Age-old irrigation systems have been destroyed, exacerbating the difficulties of getting water in the chronically drought-stricken country.

This costly toll has to be measured in light of the already impoverished conditions in the country, ranked among the poorest in the world, before 1979. The average annual income in Afghanistan then was \$160. More than 90 percent of the people were illiterate. Health conditions were appalling, and half the children died before the age of five. Life expectancy in the country averaged 38 years.

Most people in the countryside were landless or owned very small plots of land. To rent land, buy seeds and fertilizer, and pay for the use of water and horses or tractors, the peasants sold shares of their next crop to the landlords. Around 15 percent of the population are nomads.

More than 95 percent of Afghans are Muslims, and the Islamic hierarchy — which includes many landlords — plays a significant role in upholding the abominable social conditions.

### Revolt overturns monarchy

Under the weight of these adverse conditions, a revolt of students and workers in Kabul overthrew the monarchy of Muhammad Zahir Shah in 1973 and installed Muhammad Daud, the king's cousin. Several leaders of the PDPA were appointed to government posts.

But Daud balked at carrying through promised democratic reforms and turned to more repressive measures, including purging PDPA leaders from the government and finally arresting them.

On April 27, 1978, the PDPA, backed by its supporters in the army, overthrew the Daud regime.



A unit of Soviet soldiers prepares to leave Afghanistan

This revolt raised the aspirations of millions in the country. The PDPA regime announced a series of social reforms, including land reform, a literacy campaign and construction of schools, reduction of the bride price, and a ban on child marriage. It recognized the cultural and education rights of Turkomens, Uzbeks, Baluchis, Nuristanis, and other nationalities. Freedom of religious worship was also proclaimed.

The PDPA purged most of the old army generals and government officials and replaced them with PDPA functionaries. It released more than 12,000 political prisoners and burned police files.

The PDPA's principal base of support was among professionals, army officers, and students in Kabul, the country's capital. Politically the PDPA was a hodgepodge of nationalist, Stalinist, and liberal notions of "modernization." It had no base among the peasants, who make up the overwhelming majority in the country, or the small urban working class.

Many of the measures proposed by the PDPA could have served to mobilize broad support to advance the democratic revolution in Afghanistan. But the proposals were carried out in such a bureaucratic and administrative fashion that many potential supporters turned hostile to the government.

Tens of thousands of land titles were handed out to peasants and their debts to usurers canceled, but no effort was made to organize and mobilize the peasants in defense of their interests.

The literacy campaign was made compulsory, and physical force rather than persuasion was sometimes used to assemble the populace.

The bureaucratic and arbitrary methods of the PDPA engendered little confidence and left the peasants politically and physically disarmed in the face of the landlords' reaction, which was swift in coming. The counterrevolution organized under the banner of a "holy war" against "atheistic communism."

Here too the PDPA and its Soviet advisers met the counterrevolution simply by increasing military and repressive measures. Often whole villages were bombed. Such actions further isolated the regime and played into the hands of the landlord-organized guerrilla forces.

To add to this, the violent factional struggles within the PDPA split the government at its highest levels, resulting in the replacement and execution of successive leaders.

The Soviet advisers tried to shore up the regime in Kabul and to back the factions it thought could most effectively stabilize the government. But the PDPA regime became more and more isolated and faced a growing armed reaction backed by U.S. imperialism and the Pakistani regime.

### Soviet troops intervene

In a desperate move, following the failure of its policy of bolstering the increasingly unpopular and arbitrary PDPA government, Moscow airlifted thousands of troops into Kabul on Dec. 27, 1979.

The Socialist Workers Party National Committee adopted a resolution in No-

vember 1980 that noted, "The dispatch of massive numbers of Soviet troops to Afghanistan was a consequence and continuation of the general policy the Kremlin had been carrying out since the PDPA government came to power. The failure of everything the Kremlin and the PDPA had done to establish a stable regime capable of governing the country left no other alternative, from the standpoint of their policy, to massively using Soviet troops as another attempt to accomplish this goal. The action signified the weak and worsening position the Kremlin found itself in after nearly two years of influencing, intervening in, and shoring up the PDPA government."

The resolution continued, "The Soviet bureaucracy's occupation, like all of its preceding actions to prop up this government, did not give an impulse to independent initiatives by the city workers or by the peasants. It did not inspire them to drive the land reform forward, to struggle for a constituent assembly, to implement workers' control in industry, or to mobilize against the counterrevolutionary guerrillas..."

"To the contrary, the Kremlin's policy in Afghanistan has set back the revolutionary process opened in April 1978, and has had a dampening effect on the class struggle."

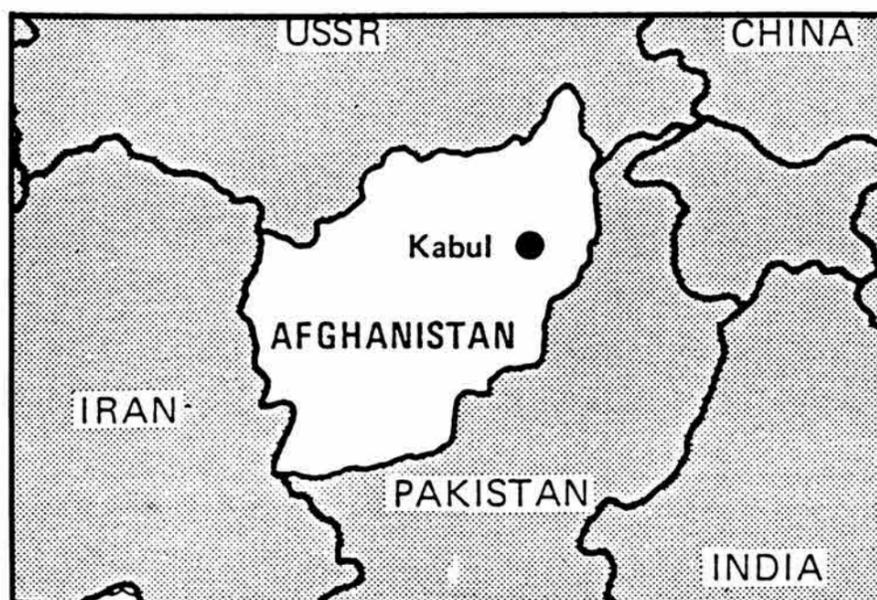
The current agreement to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan marks a further defeat of the Kremlin's effort to achieve the goal of a stable regime in this country on its southern border. The bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union has also had to weigh the stakes in Afghanistan against its own needs at home and internationally.

The effects inside the Soviet Union of the Afghan war are widespread. Soviet casualties have been estimated to be in the thousands. And a great many Soviet families have been touched by the war. In a report to the February 1986 Soviet Communist Party Congress, Gorbachev called the war in Afghanistan a "bleeding wound."

The Gorbachev regime's efforts to extricate Soviet troops from Afghanistan are tied to its overall attempt to enhance the authority of the Soviet government in the eyes of the Soviet people. This is to help get acceptance for Gorbachev's package of economic proposals aimed at boosting the USSR's economic growth.

The Afghan war is also an obstacle to efforts by Moscow to secure diplomatic deals with Washington on a range of issues including nuclear arms, trade, and wars in other parts of the world. Washington has continued to use the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan as a weapon to increase diplomatic and military pressure on the Soviet Union. In addition the war has hurt Moscow's standing in the eyes of other countries throughout South Asia.

With the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the class struggle in Afghanistan will continue under new conditions. The central responsibility of working people around the world in this context is to continue opposing Washington's support for the rightist guerrillas, who are fighting against the interests of Afghanistan's workers and peasants.



# At trial against FBI spying, gov't claimed dictatorial powers in 'security' probes

## Introduction

BY MARGARET JAYKO

As the trial of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI unfolded during the spring and summer of 1981 in federal Judge Thomas Griesa's courtroom in Manhattan, it became increasingly clear that the case involved issues far deeper than particular FBI abuses.

Underlying the threat to the rights of privacy and freedom of association is the arbitrary rule of an expanding federal executive power.

This power carries out policies at home and abroad that it is less and less able to openly proclaim or mobilize majority support for. It relies to a greater and greater degree on covert methods to accomplish hidden or half-hidden objectives.

We are reprinting three articles from the *Militant's* coverage of the trial that highlight this.

The first is from the June 5 issue, which reports on the testimony of one of the government's chief witnesses, Associate Deputy Attorney General Robert Keuch.

His task was to make the case that the FBI's operations against the party, which spanned the decades since the SWP's founding convention in 1938, were constitutional because they had been authorized by the president.

The second article is from the June 19 *Militant*, which reports on the testimony of former attorney general Herbert Brownell. He explains how branding someone a "subversive" — for which there is no legal definition — is enough to get you targeted for illegal surveillance.

The third is excerpts of testimony by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes. It appeared in the July 24 issue.

Barnes answered the government's claims that the U.S. Constitution grants the president broad powers to violate the rights of those he deems a threat to the government. Prior to Barnes taking the stand, Stephen Cohen, professor at Princeton University, had testified. He supported earlier testimony by socialists that the Russian revolution was a mass-based democratic movement.

Examining Barnes was Margaret Winter, chief counsel for the SWP and YSA at the trial.

Filed in 1973, the suit demanded an end to decades of government spying and disruption of the socialists. In August 1986, Griesa ruled in favor of the socialists. In August 1987, he issued an injunction preventing the government from using the 10 million pages of spy files it illegally accumulated on the SWP and YSA.

In March of this year, in a historic victory against the FBI, the Justice Department decided to withdraw its appeal of Judge Griesa's ruling.

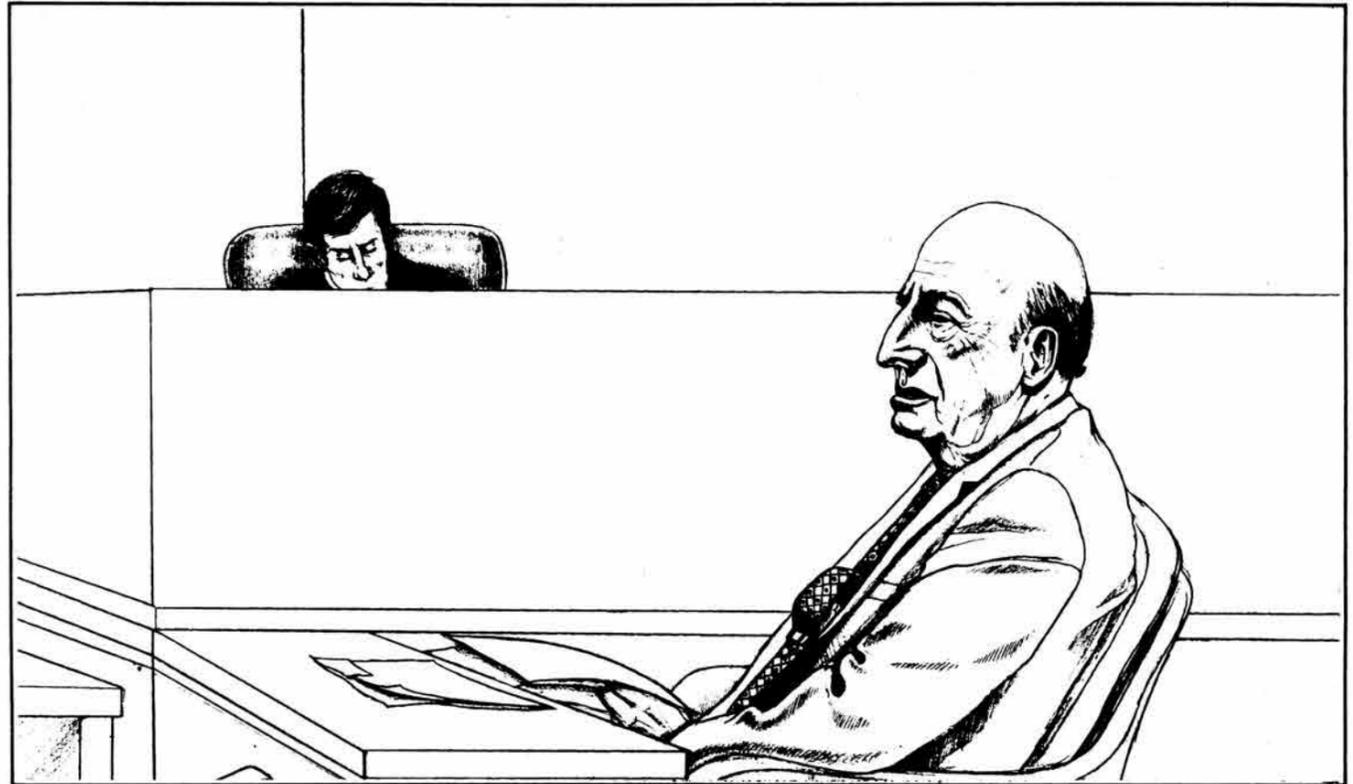
## Testimony of high Justice Department official

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEW YORK — Robert Keuch has spent the last 21 years of his life at the highest levels of the secret political police apparatus in the United States.

On May 21 he took the stand here at the federal court building at Foley Square. He had been called by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in their suit against government spying and harassment.

Keuch (pronounced "Keek") is currently associate deputy attorney general. That makes him the number three ranking man in the Justice Department, a spot he shares



Militant/Diane Jacobs

President Eisenhower's attorney general, Herbert Brownell, testifying at 1981 trial of Socialist Workers Party suit.

with another official with the same title.

Keuch came as the man most qualified to testify in this case on behalf of attorney generals past and present.

Attorney generals come and go. Presidents come and go. But the Robert Keuchs remain.

Keuch looked to be a man in his late forties. When he left the navy to join the Justice Department in 1960, Dwight Eisenhower was still president. He went to work in the "internal security field" alongside men who had spent decades in this dirty business.

When the day comes they decide to officially reopen the investigation of the SWP and YSA, it's Robert Keuch who will sign the papers.

Keuch differed in his demeanor on the stand from some of the lower-level FBI witnesses such as Charles Mandigo and Gary Stoops. They often seemed to be evading questions.

Keuch, on the other hand, went out of the way to appear totally forthcoming in answering both the questions of Herbert Jordan, an attorney for the socialists, and Judge Thomas Griesa, who also asked many questions.

Keuch's testimony totally affirmed what had previously come out in Mandigo's testimony.

The difference is that Keuch is a much more authoritative figure in the Justice Department-FBI setup. And his answers were more rounded.

Formally, the government has yet to begin presenting its side in the trial. As the defendants, they go second. The socialists, the plaintiffs, are still presenting their case.

### Case forced out

Nonetheless, the government's case is being forced out.

The key point in Keuch's testimony — as in Mandigo's before him — is that the president has an inherent power derived directly from the Constitution to carry out non-ending "investigations" against the SWP and YSA.

Additionally, there are a range of "thought control" laws that have provided in the past and continue today to provide a basis for the investigation. Beyond that, there are a series of presidential executive orders — including No. 10450, which sets up the "loyalty program" for federal employees.

But the laws and the executive orders are all secondary in relation to the "inherent" presidential powers.

Keuch traced the origins of the FBI investigation to a 1936 secret meeting between President Franklin Roosevelt and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, where the president gave the official go-ahead.

No record of this meeting has ever been found, aside from a memo written by J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover said that Roosevelt agreed to write a memo and put it in a safe. But, as Keuch said, no trace of it has ever turned up.

Interestingly, over the years the "paper trail," as lawyers call it, of the grounds for investigating socialists seems to disappear at key points, Keuch's testimony showed.

In 1939 Roosevelt issued what is apparently a public version of the secret order to Hoover. In this he directs "Military Intelligence" and "Naval Intelligence" to work with the FBI in these investigations inside the United States.

No record actually authorizing the beginnings of the investigation of the SWP itself is available, Keuch said.

Through the years, regardless of the

“Keuch said president has ‘inherent’ power from Constitution to carry out investigations of socialists . . .”

ebb and flows of various legislation or executive orders, the Roosevelt directive provided the basic framework. "I felt this was the prime document," Keuch said.

### Thought control laws

All of the thought control legislation cited by Keuch was passed either on the eve of World War II as part of the war preparations, or in the post-war anticommunist witch-hunt period. The only actual prosecution ever brought against the SWP was the 1941 Smith Act conviction.

Among the other legislation is the Voorhis Act. Previously at the trial FBI burglars cited it as justification for regularly breaking into SWP headquarters in the 1950s and '60s. This law restricts political associations on an international level.

Keuch admitted that no prosecution had ever been brought against anybody under the law. In fact, he noted, it is one of the lesser grounds for the investigation.

Keuch also testified that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which sets guidelines for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, provides grounds for investigating the SWP.

Keuch cited a law that has previously received little attention in this case. That is the Internal Security Act of 1950.

It set up the "Subversive Activities Control Board," Keuch said. "Communist" groups were required to register with it.

### Start with CP

Keuch said that they decided to "start off with the Communist Party."

Prosecutions against the SWP and some others "were all put on hold pending determination of the Communist Party situation; that is, the legality of the statute."

After court rulings in the late 1960s, "the statute became pretty much a dead letter and nothing was done about the SWP?" the judge asked.

"Yes, sir," the witness replied, "that's correct."

Title II of the 1950 act, also known as the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, set up an Emergency Detention Program. It called for picking up certain people "in an emergency situation, a war, or some other crisis of that type and level," Keuch said.

Significantly, he went on to add that this law "really put in statutory terms programs that had been conducted by the attorney general and the Department of Justice for a period of years. . . ."

"There was a desire," he said, "I think, to move away from the type of general apprehension and detention that we had of one nationality at the outbreak of World War II [the herding of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps] and have a more discrete way to approach that."

That part of the law was first put forward by Senate liberals Hubert Humphrey and Paul Douglas. Ironically, FBI files later revealed that even at the time the bill was being drafted, Douglas himself was on the FBI's pick-up list, which Keuch referred to. The grounds were that Douglas had been a member of the Socialist Party, had been involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and had been associated with Communist Party members in the 1940s, according to FBI informers.

Keuch turned over to the socialists some memos relating to implementing this aspect of the law. They indicated that sealed packets containing warrants and instruc-

Continued on next page

# At trial gov't claimed unconstitutional power

Continued from previous page

tions had been placed around the country.

Jordan asked him if the list of those to be detained was the same as the FBI's "Security Index and the Administrative Index," both lists of "subversives."

"It was a finer cut than that, Mr. Jordan," Keuch replied.

Interestingly, although Keuch insisted the packets had been destroyed after the law was repealed, no memo showing that was produced.

Keuch also explained the workings of highly-touted FBI guidelines adopted in 1976. It was claimed when they were adopted that they protected the rights of the American people in the wake of the exposures of FBI practices.

As Keuch told it, the guidelines don't really do what many people were led to believe. It was clear from his description that local FBI offices can easily start an investigation and keep it going on a so-called preliminary basis.

## Not illegal acts

But the most important aspect of Keuch's testimony was his forthright confirmation of the fact that the investigation of the SWP and YSA is not based on any illegal acts.

At one point Judge Griesa asked: "I am not sure I have a whole list, but you are saying that even if you include the Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate violent overthrow of the government or something like that —"

"Yes, sir," Keuch interrupted.

"Even if you include the Smith Act as well as the other acts, you are saying that the basic, the real reason, the important reason for the investigation was, over all these years, was not any of those acts?"

"I think that is correct," Keuch responded.

Again the judge asked: "So that is why you say it really was not a criminal investigation but a national security investigation, there being a difference, right?"

"Yes sir," Keuch answered.

"Let us suppose that we put aside the loyalty program problem and let us suppose we put aside any specific idea of investigating people for criminal prosecution," Griesa said.

"Now I understand what you are saying is you are still left with this national security investigation that was started, carried out under the presidential directives?"

"Yes sir," Keuch replied.

Griesa then asked, "What is the FBI doing investigating people where it is not intending or thinking about criminal prosecution?"

In response Keuch gave his interpretation of a court decision referred to as the "Keith case."

## Keith case

In this decision, Keuch claimed, "the court discusses some of the inherent power and responsibilities of the president.

"I would just like to read two sentences on that page, if I may.

"We begin the inquiry by noting that the President of the United States has a fun-

damental duty under Article 2, Section 1 of the Constitution to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. Implicit in that duty is the power to protect our government against those who would subvert or overthrow it by unlawful means."

Keuch went on to argue that Article 2 of the Constitution requires the president to protect, "our form of government, and of course Article 4 of the Constitution guarantees a republican form of government."

Keuch then said that this was the basic authority for the "investigation" and that all the legislation he referred to "just expands on that."

Keuch also claimed that the Keith decision "discusses the difference between" a criminal investigation and "an intelligence investigation, which is to provide the president and the executive with the power to take steps to protect ourselves and protect our form of government. . . ."

"Intelligence investigations," he said, "tend to be very open-ended, continue for periods of time, and may never eventuate in a criminal prosecution."

Keuch went on to explain that during this "40 year period" in which the SWP has been investigated, the "inherent power of the president wanes to some degree. I think the outside limits of it may change."

Along the same lines, in explaining the 1976 FBI guidelines, Keuch said, the "entire chapter known as Watergate had a great impact on the process."

As to who is to be investigated and what kinds of activities are subject to investigation, Keuch said:

"Among the factors that would be considered would be whether there is an indication that the organization, its officers or members or individuals were acting in collaboration with or in sympathy with a foreign government or a foreign political party or power . . . or [with] interests inimical to the interests of the United States.

"Whether or not the organization, its officers or members were engaged in activity or planning for activity or planning for future activity to seek to change our form of government by unconstitutional or other unlawful means."

Also to be considered, Keuch said, is "the entire international situation, the situation in this country, all those matters and factors would be looked at.

"If we were at war or preparing for war that would be a factor. If we were facing civil disorders or civil disturbances in the United States, that would be a factor. All those factors would be considered in the context of the situation in the world at the time."

## 'Subversive activities'

Keuch said that these activities mentioned here would fit his definition of "subversive activities."

When asked what he meant by actions "inimical to the interest of the United States," as opposed to violations of law, he replied:

"There can be many actions taken to attempt to influence the policies of the United States . . . that do not necessarily involve or constitute a violation of law."

As examples he gave, "agitation to do away with security programs totally" and "an intent to weaken the defenses of the United States."

Keuch was asked about the decision to officially end the FBI investigation of the SWP in 1976. Did the FBI think that there had been a change in the organization?

"No," he answered. "I don't believe it was." What had changed were the "new standards," which were "much more strict, much tighter."

"Those were very precise and very difficult standards to meet."

Keuch also made it clear that the FBI opposed ending the investigation at the time.

Keuch also said that there had been no fundamental change in the SWP following the 1941 Smith Act convictions. Only a change in the "tenor and tone."

"They read the law books," he added.

Griesa asked the witness where the

Cointelpro-type activities fit into the policies he had outlined. These were the individually sanctioned disruption plots.

"All I can say is that the Department of Justice was not aware of those activities," Keuch said. When they were reported, they were immediately stopped, he said, adding that he knew of no basis for arguing for their legality.

By the time the witness left the stand the issues in the case had become more squarely posed than at any point in the case.

Does the president have extraordinary powers — on the level of a dictator — in order to defend the republican form of government?

The argument flies in the face of all reason. A republican form of government is distinguished by the fact that it is a representative democracy, one based on law — in which no autocratic powers rest in the hands of an individual or groups of individuals.

The socialists, as a matter of record, stand four-square for a republic. They call for a workers' republic, which will embody a more far-reaching democracy than one based on the private ownership of the great wealth of society.

Can the government conduct a non-ending investigation, which does not even pretend to end in a criminal investigation? The Brietel report, issued earlier in this case, documented the role of government informers, an indispensable part of such "investigations," in disrupting the political life of the SWP and YSA.

The fact that the FBI has no evidence of any law-breaking by the socialists — and at the same time they are plain-spoken revolutionary Marxists — poses the issues squarely.

## Gov't calls witness Brownell to stand

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK CITY — In a shift from previous claims, the government now admits that FBI Cointelpro disruption programs were authorized by the White House.

The government has in the past insisted that Cointelpro was an aberration conducted by J. Edgar Hoover, behind the backs of higher officials.

A former attorney general now admits such disruption activities were fully discussed with President Dwight Eisenhower

and his National Security Council in March 1956. The first Cointelpro operation, directed against the Communist Party, formally opened in August of that same year.

The revelation came out at the trial of the government here in the lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

On June 2, the government called Herbert Brownell as a defense witness. He had served as attorney general under Eisenhower from 1953 to 1957.

Brownell was attorney general when the government legally murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as "atomic spies." When world pressure bore down on Eisenhower to commute the death sentence of the two, Brownell insisted he not interfere with the execution.

Government lawyers had a clear purpose in bringing Brownell to the stand.

He testified that the FBI acted with the authority of the president in going after "subversives" by any means necessary. He said this was the policy when he was attorney general, that it had been the policy before he took office, and, to the best of his knowledge, remained government policy today.

## Top secret document

The government acted to buttress Brownell's testimony by introducing a previously "top secret" document.

It was the text of a March 8, 1956, report by J. Edgar Hoover to President Eisenhower and ranking government officials.

It was entitled: "The Present Menace of Communist Espionage and Subversion — National Security Council Briefing."

In this report, Hoover spelled out the operation that officials later denied knowledge of.

In a section of the report headed, "Countermeasures Against the Communist Party," Hoover told the White House gathering: ". . . we have sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize and disrupt the party."

Cointelpro first became public knowledge in 1971 when individuals entered an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, and disclosed to the press some of the secret files they found there.

These documents, and others subsequently forced out of the government, revealed that Cointelpro disruption programs had targeted the Black movement, antiwar organizations, Socialist Workers Party, and many others.

Perhaps most notorious are the files on the Black struggle. In 1967 Hoover wrote a



Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes (left) announces final victory of movement did not appeal judge's decisions in suit. With him are Leonard Boudin, party's attorney of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

In New International magazine:

## Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

By Larry Seigle

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

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

# s in 'security' probes

memo stating that the purpose of the Coin-  
'pro operation against the Black move-  
ment was "to expose, disrupt, misdirect,  
discredit, or otherwise neutralize the ac-  
tivities of black nationalist, hate-type or-  
ganizations and groupings, their leader-  
ship, spokesmen, membership, and sup-  
porters."

And in 1968, Hoover urged FBI agents  
to "prevent the coalition of militant black  
nationalist groups" and "prevent the rise of  
a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify,  
the militant black nationalist movement."

Herbert Brownell's testimony, along  
with the 1956 Hoover report, now confirms  
this disruption was carried out with full  
presidential authority.

## Hoover's style

On the witness stand, Brownell assured  
he had a clear recollection of the Hoover  
report.

"I could never forget Mr. J. Edgar  
Hoover's style," he enthused. "It was  
unique."

Government attorney Edward Williams  
read an extract from the Hoover report  
describing how the FBI illegally broke into a  
Communist Party office, cracked a safe,  
and photographed documents it contained.

He asked Brownell if this had been news  
to him when he heard the report. The wit-  
ness responded, "No. I knew that it was  
used."

Brownell added, "We learned at that  
time that these methods that had been used  
by the FBI had been carried out for at least  
back to the Franklin D. Roosevelt  
days..."

Pointing out that Hoover had stated that  
the FBI had 921 informers in the "security  
field," attorney Williams noted for the  
judge's benefit that "Communist Party"  
had been scratched out in the report and  
"subversive groups" written in by Hoover.

Brownell agreed the Cointelpro opera-  
tion was not limited to the Communist  
Party.

He explained the government view of  
the basis for such activity. The FBI's func-  
tion, he said, was divided into two basic  
fields — law enforcement and "intelli-  
gence." Domestic "intelligence," he said,  
involved dealing with spies, saboteurs, and  
"subversives."

## Begun under FDR

It all began, he continued, when the  
Nazis landed a submarine on Long Island  
in 1939. Its crew, he said, had been  
"spreading out over the eastern part of the  
United States."

Brownell seemed quite taken with this  
incident, referring to it at least three times  
as justification for the FBI's dirty tricks op-  
erations against "subversives."

It was at that time, he testified, that  
Roosevelt instructed the FBI to get on the  
case.

He asserted that the order by Roosevelt  
and subsequent presidents to the FBI  
stemmed from the presidential authority as  
"commander in chief" of the armed forces  
and director of foreign policy.

He stated that in this sphere, the FBI was  
directly responsible to the president and  
didn't even have to answer to the attorney  
general.

Amplifying on the authority delegated to  
the FBI ever since Roosevelt, Brownell  
testified, "There never was any definition  
of the methods that were to be used in car-  
rying out the directive. The methods were  
left to the discretion of the FBI."

He further explained that in criminal  
cases — that is, those slated for prosecu-  
tion — certain constitutional safeguards  
have to be observed, since evidence illeg-  
ally obtained can be rejected by a court.

## No due process

However, he added, "In the intelligence  
case it is a question of carrying out the  
order of the president..."

This does not mean, the former attorney  
general assured, that there are no limits at  
all.

For instance, during his term of office he  
issued a memo that breaking into some-  
one's home and planting a secret micro-  
phone was OK in "intelligence" cases.  
However, he added, "obviously the instal-  
lation of a microphone in a bedroom or  
some comparably intimate location should  
be avoided wherever possible." But if "na-  
tional security" demands it...

Asked by Williams if it was his view that  
the Fourth Amendment prohibiting illegal  
search and seizure applied in "intelligence"  
cases, Brownell responded: "I think the  
matter is still open as far as the Supreme  
Court is concerned... So far there has  
been no court decision which has prohibited  
such activities in the field of intelligence."

"On the one hand," Brownell said, "you  
have the express powers of the presi-  
dent... On the other hand you have the  
Fourth Amendment."

Under cross examination by SWP attor-  
ney Margaret Winter, Brownell testified  
that, after review, his administration had  
continued the classification of the SWP as  
a "subversive" organization.

## 'Loyalty' program

Brownell's predecessor, Tom Clark, had  
arbitrarily established in 1948 a list of more



A 1950s *Militant* cartoon by Laura Gray predicted what was later revealed in SWP suit on the use of finks. According to Brownell's testimony at trial, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover at White House meeting with Eisenhower said, "We have sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt" the Communist Party. SWP became target of this "Cointelpro" operation, which was based on using FBI informers.

than 300 "subversive" organizations to im-  
plement a "loyalty" witch-hunting program  
ordered by President Harry Truman. In  
1974, the list was officially abolished by  
President Richard Nixon. But evidence in  
the SWP suit confirms that the "nonexist-  
ent" list is still a basis for hounding dissi-  
dents.

Brownell couldn't remember exactly  
why he had reclassified the SWP as "sub-  
versive." Except perhaps, he said, for "at-  
tending the Fourth International secret  
meetings..."

While he sees attendance at such meet-  
ings as "subversive," Brownell conceded  
such attendance was not illegal. Since an  
attorney general can put the stamp of "sub-  
version" on acts that are not illegal, the  
question then is, what does "subversive"  
mean?

Winters asked Brownell for a definition.

Brownell admitted the word is "not  
defined by statute."

But, he added, "there is in general a con-  
sensus of opinion" on what a "subversive"  
is.

He then volunteered his "personal opin-  
ion," namely: "... anybody that aided and  
abetted a foreign government or interna-  
tional organization that was dedicated to  
the overthrow of the government by force  
and violence..."

There you have it. There is no legal defi-  
nition of subversion. Yet groups and indi-  
viduals can be so branded by a government  
agency or official on the basis of "personal  
opinion" or "consensus." Such a group can  
then be targeted for illegal surveillance, in-  
filtration, and victimization, with no re-  
gard for constitutional rights.

And all this is in the name of combatting  
"totalitarianism."

# SWP leader Barnes explained why socialists defend Bill of Rights, rule of law

Margaret Winter. Mr. Barnes, I hand  
you the copies of the Constitution of the  
United States and the Declaration of Inde-  
pendence.

Does the Socialist Workers Party believe  
that their ideas are consistent with the  
philosophy underlying the United States  
Constitution?

Jack Barnes. Yes, in the sense that a re-  
publican form of government — in the  
sense of a rule of law, which has elected of-  
ficials that govern — is the only possible  
basis for socialist democracy, for the ex-  
tension of democracy, as counterposed to  
any authoritarian and totalitarian mode of  
functioning.

That philosophy is similar to the  
philosophy of those who held that in the  
writing of the Constitution.

I am especially saying yes in the sense of  
taking the Constitution as amended with  
the Bill of Rights, with the 13th, 14th and  
15th amendments, the amendments on the

franchise, on the poll tax and so forth, all  
of which substantially in our opinion  
democratize the Constitution. Some took  
mighty struggles. Three took a civil war of  
the most horrible kind to accomplish.

Without an extension of those conquests  
all talk about socialism is a mockery; and  
one would be a fool to trade in whatever  
democratic rights one has for promises to  
get rid of them for some other end.

But the answer has to also be no in this  
sense. The Constitution was written with  
the philosophy which did not see a con-  
tradiction between the republican forms  
and checks and balances of the Constitu-  
tion and chattel slavery for millions of  
human beings; for property requirements  
for the electorate; for the lack of franchise  
for more than half the population, the  
female half, until the 20th century; for no  
rights for the original native residents of  
the continent; the original absence of the  
Bill of Rights itself; the absence of even di-

rect elections of senators; and a number of  
things like that.

## Workers and farmers republic

But to that degree the philosophy is in  
contradiction completely with the philoso-  
phy of Marxism, which would define a  
workers' and farmers' republic, our con-  
cept of democracy, as being combined in a  
constitution which would be in contradic-  
tion to chattel slavery, property require-  
ments, restriction of franchise for any  
reason of sex or age or anything like that. It  
would also include the fact that the pre-  
rogatives of the largest property owners,  
the largest productive property owners, the  
owners of the big mines, mills, and fac-  
tories would be subordinate to the develop-  
ment and extension of the democratic  
rights of the great majority of the citizenry.

In some ways maybe the Civil War is the  
best example of this — the blood that was  
necessary to eliminate chattel slavery and

Continued on next page



party last March when Justice Depart-  
ment in case, and (at far right) John Stu-

# SWP's Barnes condemns concentration of executive power

Continued from previous page  
get the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. But the fact that it took until 1964 to get the poll tax to be unconstitutional and 1965 to, by law, guarantee the franchise without any restrictions because of anything to do with color to the adult citizens of the American South—

*Judge Griesa. Look, I respect those views, you know. I mean we are really not here debating about slavery or anything like that and let's bring this to a close.*

*Barnes. All right.*

The yes and no can be indicated maybe in one other thing. That's the evolution toward greater and greater concentration of executive power, which has been a tremendous change since the drafting of the Constitution and the original first 10 amendments. We feel there is a growing contradiction from even the constitutional viewpoint — talking politically, not as a lawyer — between executive decision, or-

“Greater and greater concentration of executive power contradicts the guarantees of the Bill of Rights . . .”

ders, even up to a declaration of war and the total protections guaranteed by the amendments to the Constitution.

*Winter. Mr. Barnes, I hand you a copy of a book called Democracy and Revolution by George Novack put out by Pathfinder Press.*

*Does this book set forth the Socialist Workers Party's views on the relationship of democracy, the Constitution, and socialism?*

*Barnes. Yes. In view of the questions of the court on this topic the last week, I tried to find a single book that was written and printed well before the litigation which captured the views of the Socialist Workers Party on the question of the republican form of government, democracy, the Constitution, and how the fight in defense of democracy connects with the fight for socialism.*

This is the single book that collects the views of the SWP on these questions, buttressed by our views on the rise of democ-

racy going back to the first known examples I think in the rise of the republican form of government.

*Winter. We could offer [this book as evidence], your Honor.*

*Judge Griesa. Received.*

## Russian revolution

*Winter. Mr. Barnes, does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Russian revolution to be a model to be followed in the United States?*

*Barnes. No, not in a concrete sense of an overthrow of czarism, and the mass of peasantry, and all the things that were discussed in the last several hours. That would be false.*

There are two aspects that would be true. One is the need to have a party, a leadership which is a conscious Marxist leadership like the Bolsheviks.

The other was the goal of the Bolsheviks — to try to establish a socialist soviet democracy. That is, a democracy in which the working people would legislate and run the country.

Those remain our goals today. The concrete evolution of the Russian revolution and its degeneration and the concrete conditions faced in the civil war, of course, no one could choose that as a norm.

*Winter. One final question, Mr. Barnes. Is there any government in the world today that the Socialist Workers Party views as moving in the direction of creating the kind of democratic society that the Socialist Workers Party believes in?*

*Barnes. Well, the greatest progress since the Soviet government tried to start down that road in 1917, we believe, has been made in Central America and the Caribbean — Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.*

I would like to simply give two examples if I could.

## Nicaragua

One is Nicaragua itself. It is a very poor country that overthrew a very brutal totalitarian dictatorship that lasted for decades.

There are three aspects after two years of the Nicaraguan regime which are worth looking at, which show progress along these lines in my opinion.

One is what they call the use of mixed economy. The attempt not to be forced like the Russian government was to nationalize



Nicaragua's revolutionary victory, July 1979. Barnes cited Nicaragua's workers' and farmers' government as an example of progress in building a democratic society.

everything — but to try to evolve with a majority of the population, taking over more and more of the economy, by maintaining the small and middle farmers in the countryside, by aiding the small and medium businesses as part of the development of a workers' and farmers' regime.

Second is their insistence on pluralism. Where they made a point of the principle not to close down radio stations, not to close down newspapers, including the one big newspaper which is a total opponent of the regime. They don't think the people of Nicaragua can develop, can take over and run the country unless they can have a confrontation of the different ideas and unless everyone can know what they are.

These are newspapers and radios and political parties who have not taken up arms against the government.

Third is the question of the death penalty. To my knowledge Nicaragua is the only country to come out of a revolution as bloody and as long and have as one of its governmental acts the abolition of the death penalty. Today [they are] trying the leaders of the secret police and torturers of the Somoza regime and insisting they will not relinquish the abolition of the death penalty.

Fidel Castro in a speech told them what a gain that was in his opinion above Cuba.

I simply show these examples to show the progress and the fight for the kind of goals even the most backward country can have, if it is not invaded, not forced into civil war.

## Cuba

Of course, the second example is Cuba with all the problems and with the isolation, with the terrible economic and military pressure it faced. I think the Cubans have gone the farthest in attempting to maintain themselves, to survive as Mr. Cohen said about the Russian government over 20 years, and to do it in a way so as to

expand rather than restrict the involvement of the majority of the population and society in the economy and in the politics of the country.

It is the one experiment that I know of — although Grenada and Nicaragua should be watched for this — the one experiment I know of since the soviets of Russia: The People's Power organs in Cuba are an attempt to institutionalize democratic channels of the people electing the officials and attempting to run the country.

Progress has not been as great as they would like in the decade since they attempted to do this. In my opinion, under the pressures they have done it, it is the greatest attempt since the Soviet Union in 1917 and 1918 to do this.

## Help finance Militant's coverage of suit victory

For several weeks the *Militant* has provided expanded issues to bring you highlights from the 15 years of the socialists' suit against FBI spying. Please help us defray the cost of this effort. Send checks to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Militant's coverage of trial available

Send \$35 to above address to get the 1981 bound volumes of the *Militant*. They carry extensive reports on the trial and other critical events in the fight with the FBI that year.

## Spread the word about victory against FBI!

The historic victory in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against FBI spying and disruption is a weapon in the hands of all those fighting for peace, social justice, and democratic rights.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has won broad political and

financial support for this fight since the suit was filed in 1973.

The PRDF is organizing rallies across the country to celebrate this victory and let everyone know about the new ground for political rights that has been conquered. (See page 16 for list of events.)

**Join us in this effort!**

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Title/Union/Organization \_\_\_\_\_  
(for identification purposes only)

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

# N.Y. rally celebrates victory over FBI

Continued from front page

I'm so pleased to be here tonight."

Sanbrano introduced Mark Curtis, a young Des Moines, Iowa, meat-packer facing frame-up charges because of his political activism. Last March, after leaving a meeting called to defend coworkers arrested by immigration cops during a raid on the Swift packinghouse plant where they work, Curtis was arrested by police, taken to jail, and brutally beaten.

Fabricated charges of attempted rape and robbery have been brought against Curtis, a member of the SWP and former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. He faces up to 25 years in prison.

Curtis first came to the attention of the cops as part of the FBI's operation against CISPES. As a leader of CISPES in Birmingham, Alabama, several years ago, Curtis was singled out by the FBI for his opposition to U.S. policies in Central America, according to the documents CISPES obtained.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has already received widespread support from groups and individuals in the Des Moines area and around the country. Sanbrano appealed for support to the defense effort, calling it "one of the most important cases we now face."

"I want to tell you, Mark, we will do everything in our power to see that you win," she pledged.

Yvonne Meléndez, one of the Hartford 15, also spoke. The 15 are Puerto Rican independence activists facing trumped-up charges of conspiring to rob a Wells Fargo depot in Hartford, Connecticut.

The FBI conducted a massive surveillance and disruption campaign against these activists in Puerto Rico and the United States, utilizing illegal break-ins and electronic surveillance. Judge Griesa's ruling in the SWP case that such activities are illegal, Meléndez explained, offers the Hartford 15 a boost in their efforts to politically and legally take on the government's frame-up.

"The victory in the SWP case," she pointed out, "will serve to aid all of us who have been active in the Puerto Rican independence movement and have been objects of repression throughout the years. We owe this help to the perseverance and resistance which the SWP and YSA have maintained these past 15 years."

The other co-chair of the victory rally was John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the organization that marshaled support and publicity for the SWP lawsuit. Studer described the final stage of the legal fight in the case, which is the battle to win attorneys' fees.

Another unfinished job, he explained, is the effort to get out the truth about the victory scored over the FBI. The government has refused to comment on the case, Studer said, and the big-business media has given the victory relatively little coverage. "But what we have won is only as strong as it is known and becomes the property of those who can use it to defend their own political rights."

Studer pointed to a dramatic example of the impact of the victory in the SWP case upon other fights for democratic rights:

On April 14, the Immigration and Naturalization Service granted Héctor Marroquín temporary residence status under the amnesty program. Marroquín, a Mexican-born leader of the Socialist Workers Party, has been fighting deportation for 11 years. His case has received broad support and has been a keystone of the fight for immigrant rights.

Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín, his wife, was introduced to warm applause and spoke on behalf of her husband, who was participating in a similar rally in Seattle.

She explained that the immigration police had sought to have Marroquín deported simply because of his political views, but that this attack suffered a real blow with the federal court's ruling in the SWP case, which applies to citizens and noncitizens alike. "It was no accident that Héctor got his temporary residency only weeks after the victory in the SWP case — and after three years of stonewalling by the INS," she told the audience.

Schenk said that this new advance in Marroquín's fight gave them confidence that — with a new concerted effort by his supporters around the country — his right

to live in the United States could finally be won.

Margaret Jayko, editor of the *Militant*, reviewed some of the lessons of the victory.

She described the way in which big political developments, such as the civil rights movement and the U.S.-run war on Nicaragua, shaped the fight against the FBI during the years since the suit was filed in 1973.

Jayko emphasized that the victory in the SWP case opens up important political space for the fight to defend and extend democratic rights, especially for expanding the ability of workers and farmers to exercise their right to organize in their own interests.

"It doesn't guarantee anything," she said, "not to us or anybody else. Look at the attack on Mark Curtis, which happened just a couple of weeks before the government dropped its appeal.

"But while it is no guarantee, it is a weapon, an important weapon we've never had before. It registers the gains that have been made in the fight against the political police by us and others," she said. And it, in turn, expands those rights.

"But rights only work when you use them, because they're relations between people and social classes, not things or pieces of paper. Rights are expanded when Yvonne, Héctor, and Mark fight against attacks on them," she concluded.

Ray Collins, an Irish political activist and singer, performed a song about the



Militant photos by Arthur Hughes

Angela Sanbrano, national coordinator of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and framed-up political activist Mark Curtis were among speakers at meeting.

struggle against Britain for freedom in the north of Ireland and the use of political police to repress that movement. Speaking to the audience, he called for a renewed effort to win the right of the U.S. people to hear Irish republican leader Gerry Adams, who continues to be denied entry to the United States.

Many greetings were sent to the meeting, including from the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic; Al Swanson of

New Jersey SANE-Freeze; Committee for Legal Justice in Northern Ireland; Nicaragua Solidarity Network of Greater New York; and the Dominican Workers Party.

Other prominent individuals were introduced to the rally, including Elías Castro, another Hartford 15 defendant; Rafael Anglada López, one of the attorneys for the Hartford 15; and Carlos Montenegro, a prominent Nicaraguan artist.

## French rule hit in New Caledonia

Continued from front page

ing crack paratroopers flown in from France — were rushed to Ouvéa following the April 22 clash. They were instructed to "return fire with fire." A blackout was imposed on news from the island.

Elsewhere in New Caledonia, Kanak villagers set up roadblocks in an attempt to disrupt the April 24 poll.

On Maré, another of the Loyalty Islands, the voting office in the main village of Tadine was destroyed and barricades set up on April 23.

On the mainland, a number of clashes between French forces and Kanak villagers were reported.

At Ponerihouen, fighting broke out on April 23 when French cops used tear gas to attack villagers who had set up barricades.

That same day, a meeting of 150 FLNKS supporters in Hienghene was broken up by police firing tear gas.

On April 25 in Canala, an 18-year-old Kanak woman was killed in shooting after cops attacked FLNKS supporters who had sealed off the town with roadblocks.

Most Kanaks did not vote in the April 24 election, honoring the FLNKS boycott call. The FLNKS reported that at 30 of the 139 polling stations, actions by its supporters prevented voting altogether. Despite this, the French government claimed the elections had been a "success."

Additional police were sent to New Caledonia prior to the April 24 poll, significantly boosting the already massive military presence.

On March 16, French Overseas Territories Minister Bernard Pons, who was in Nouméa on a two-day visit, announced that eight squadrons — 720 men — and 300 more CRS (Republican Security Companies — paramilitary riot police) would be dispatched to the colony before April 24.

"The reinforcements bring the total of gendarmes, CRS, and other police on the 400-kilometer-long island to 3,200, the highest number ever deployed in the territory," the April 14 issue of *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported.

"With the troops, foreign legionnaires, and marines already based there, the combined strength will be more than 9,500 men."

With a total Kanak population of about 63,000, this means that there is an armed French soldier or cop for every seven Kanaks — men, women, and children.

Other journalists report the total number of French forces in the colony now to be 14,000. As well, it has been estimated that there are about 100,000 guns in the hands of pro-French settlers.

The French military buildup was a direct response to the FLNKS calls for a boycott. The French government was determined to prevent a repeat of the successful November 1984 boycott of Territorial Assembly elections.

The protests organized around that boycott mobilized thousands of Kanaks throughout the colony and drew world attention to the independence struggle in New Caledonia.

Since then, the French colonial rulers have been on a concerted drive to push back the Kanak-led struggle for independence.

Increasingly, military and police force has been used to thwart efforts by FLNKS supporters to hold public protest activities.

This was the method used by the French last year, for example, to prevent the FLNKS from mobilizing against a September 13 referendum on independence.

Kanaks living on New Caledonia's outlying islands were stopped from traveling to the mainland to take part in protests. Kanak residential areas such as Pierre Lenquete, a mainly Kanak housing estate in Nouméa, were cordoned off by troops.

A peaceful sitdown protest in the center of Nouméa prior to the referendum was brutally broken up by cops wielding clubs. Among those who were most seriously injured by the beatings were Kanaks from Ouvéa.

The vast majority of Kanaks did not vote in last year's referendum. Despite this, the French government hailed the majority vote for continued French rule as a major victory.

## U.S. steps up threats to attack Iran

Continued from front page

tioning ports since the early stages of the war.)

The stepped-up moves against Iran continue to gain support from both parties in Congress.

Rep. Les Aspin, Democratic chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, backed the new rules of engagement. Stephen Solarz (D.-N.Y.), a prominent member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, stated, "Our response is part of a larger cooperative effort involving our European allies and countries in the gulf."

The Defense Department announced that it is considering adding Coast Guard vessels to the U.S. war armada in the gulf. The Coast Guard cutters could be used to protect "neutral" oil platforms in the gulf — that is, those of Iraq's allies. That would

give the U.S. and Iraqi governments a freer hand to attack Iran's oil facilities.

Although congressional leaders and the major media have strongly supported U.S. attacks on Iran thus far, some express fear that the open alignment with Iraq could backfire.

"The United States is increasingly embarrassed by Iraq, its ostensible partner," warned an editorial in the April 20 *Washington Post*, which has supported attacking Iran.

"In the Gulf war, it was Iraq that first sent troops across a border, seizing a moment when Iran appeared to be distracted by its revolution. Iraq has set the pace in carrying the war to cities, to civilians, and to innocent shipping. Iraq continues the barbaric practice of chemical war. . . ."

# Nicaragua chorus, music school need aid

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — "There isn't one oboe in Nicaragua," Annia Castillo said. "There's only one oboist in the whole country, and his instrument is no good anymore, so we have none."

Castillo is a member of the National Chorus of Nicaragua. She and two other members of the chorus, Patricia Mulligan and Lia Rosa Siles, have been in New York since January to help raise material aid for the National School of Music in Nicaragua, as well as for their chorus. Siles and Castillo were also invited by the Four Parts of the Movement Chorus in New York to participate in a music seminar here.

I was able to speak with them before their performance at a reception held April 22 for prominent Nicaraguan artist Carlos Montenegro at the Pathfinder Building here. The building is home to Pathfinder Press, sponsor of the Pathfinder Mural Project. Montenegro had just finished painting portraits on the mural of the peasant generals who helped lead Gen. Augusto César Sandino's army against the U.S. marine occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s and '30s.

## Cultural needs

"We wanted to stress to the organizations in the United States that work in solidarity with Nicaragua, including the volunteer brigades, that we also have cultural needs," explained Annia.

The national chorus was founded two months after the triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution in July 1979. "We work under the Ministry of Culture," Castillo said. "And we collaborate with the ASTC [San-



Nicaraguan national chorus members (from left) Annia Castillo, Lia Rosa Siles, Patricia Mulligan.

dinista Association of Cultural Workers]. We sing popular music, Nicaraguan and Latin American folkloric music, and classical music as well." The chorus, which has 30 members, also performs with the Chamber Orchestra of Nicaragua.

"We are about half women and half men," said Mulligan. "Our ages range from high school to late forties." The chorus members, who work regular jobs or go to school, rehearse every evening, Monday through Friday. The chorus itself is based in Managua, Nicaragua's capital.

"Where do you perform?" I asked. "Everywhere," responded Mulligan.

"We're invited to sing at mass rallies, at the CPC's [neighborhood Centers for Popular Culture], in churches and at schools and hospitals. We also perform in the military zones."

## 'Basic music lessons'

The chorus also sings in factories, sometimes with the conductor and members of the chamber orchestra. "It's not just a performance," described Mulligan. "It's a basic music lesson for the workers. Many workers have never seen or heard orchestra instruments before. We perform, and then the conductor will describe a flute or vio-

lin, for example, and demonstrate how it sounds."

Castillo and Mulligan described the kinds of aid the chorus needs. "We need a portable keyboard, to take with us when we travel around the country and perform," Castillo said.

"We also need a van, to help us get around," Mulligan added.

"We don't have uniforms either. We need several kinds of uniforms — T-shirts for more informal performances, like out in the military zones; semi-formal uniforms; and ceremonial uniforms for concert performances," said Castillo. "And we need music portfolios, and portable tape recorders."

Castillo showed me the long list of instruments and other music equipment needed by the music school and the chamber orchestra. Oboes, violins, clarinets, trumpets, flutes, guitars, drums, and other instruments are in short supply or nonexistent, as are musical equipment like reeds, oil, keys, and pitchpipes.

The shortage of these basic items is due to the U.S.-organized contra war against Nicaragua, which has drained the country's meager resources. In addition, Washington's economic boycott of Nicaragua has added to the difficulty of obtaining all kinds of goods that used to be purchased in the United States.

Castillo explained that the music school itself needs to be expanded so that students can practice and listen to music in separate rooms. Textbooks, tape recorders, and music tapes are scarce.

The three chorus members have already received a cello, a harpsichord, and supplies for the orchestra and school. Donations of instruments and musical supplies or financial contributions for the chorus, music school, and orchestra in Nicaragua can be made through "Operación Canto," c/o Ventana, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

Ventana is an organization of U.S. artists in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

# Mozambique president visits Nicaragua

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "The blood shed by the heroes and martyrs of Nicaragua is the greatest tribute to the peoples of the world fighting for their independence," declared Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano here April 4. Chissano had just placed a wreath on the tomb of Carlos Fonseca, founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Chissano was in Nicaragua April 4-8 as part of an official tour of Latin America that also included visits to Argentina, Cuba, and Brazil. In Nicaragua he met with President Daniel Ortega, other FSLN and government officials, and leaders of

the Sandinista Youth. During Chissano's visit, representatives of the Nicaraguan and Mozambican governments signed a treaty of cultural, technical, and scientific cooperation.

A former Portuguese colony, Mozambique gained independence in 1975 under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo). It borders South Africa, whose apartheid regime supports and finances mercenary bands that carry out attacks against Mozambique.

On April 6 Chissano and Ortega met with peasants near Managua. They discussed subjects ranging from Mozambique's internal situation to the current

state of negotiations between the Nicaraguan government and the U.S.-supported contras.

The people of Mozambique want to learn from Nicaragua's experience, Chissano told the peasants. Both countries face a counterrevolutionary aggression, he said, describing how the South Africa-supported contras attack peasant villages, kill civilians, burn houses, and destroy vehicles in Mozambique.

The following day, Chissano attended a ceremony in a Managua park for the unveiling of a bust of the late president Samora Machel, Chissano's predecessor and leader of Mozambique's fight for independence. Machel was killed in 1986 when his airplane crashed just inside South Africa as he was returning to Mozambique

## TWA flight attendants win back 500 jobs in Supreme Court victory

BY MARCIA HALVERSON

CLEVELAND — Members of the International Federation of Flight Attendants who struck Trans World Airlines in early 1986 recently won another round in the ongoing battle to regain their jobs.

On March 21, the Supreme Court refused to overturn a lower court decision ordering the reinstatement of nearly 500 IFFA members who weren't allowed to return to their jobs when the strike ended in May 1986. The unionists are entitled to back pay and benefits, estimated at \$20 million.

The 10-week strike began when TWA demanded the flight attendants accept cuts in wages and benefits of 44 percent. TWA Chairman Carl Icahn became notorious for his statement that flight attendants didn't need the wages they were getting because they weren't really breadwinners.

TWA responded to the strike by hiring 2,200 scabs. The union decided to end the strike by having members return to work, in order to stop the hiring of more scabs and preserve their union.

The group of 500 affected by the Supreme Court's decision are part of 4,000 flight attendants who have yet to be recalled by TWA. They are singled out as a separate group because TWA kept 500 trainees on as permanent employees even after the union members returned to work.

Earlier in March, the Supreme Court also let stand a lower court ruling that restored recognition of the union's contract with the airline carrier. TWA had unilaterally imposed changes in the contract following the strike.

The next round in the IFFA's series of court battles will take place when the Supreme Court hears the union's case against TWA for replacing some 1,000 strikers with attendants who crossed the union's picket line and have less seniority than this group of strikers.

Marcia Halverson is an IFFA member who participated in the 1986 strike against TWA.

Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial'

## Socialists' 1988 campaign

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. *PM* is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The April issue of *PM* features the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket for the 1988 U.S. elections. In launching the campaign, the candidates, James Warren for president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president, explained that all workers throughout the world have the same interests.

They call for a shorter work-week with no reduction in pay; affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, and women; an end to farm foreclosures; and the cancellation of the Third World debt.



Subscriptions: \$9 for one year; \$5 for six months. Introductory offer, \$3 for five months.

Begin my sub with current issue.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to PM, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



Margaret A. Novicki  
Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano.

from a meeting in Zambia.

That evening, President Ortega awarded Chissano the Order of Augusto Cesar Sandino, the Nicaraguan government's highest medal.

The ceremony was held at a local high school and attended by several thousand cheering Nicaraguans. Ortega stated that the award was a tribute to Chissano and to the Mozambican people, as well as to Machel and the many heroes and martyrs who gave their lives in the struggle against colonialism and in defense of Mozambique's independence.

# C. Frank Glass: pioneer communist fighter

BY HARRY RING

C. Frank Glass, a pioneer communist whose political career spanned three continents, died in Los Angeles on March 21 after a protracted illness. Death came just four days before his 87th birthday. He was known to many in this country by his pseudonym, Frank Graves.

Glass was born in Birmingham, England. When he was 10 his family emigrated to South Africa. He became involved in revolutionary politics as a teenager and, at age 20, was said to be the youngest member of the South African Communist Party when it was founded in 1921. At its second convention he was designated one of the party's four executive officers.

Glass was an early opponent of the Communist International's break from Marxism carried out under the leadership of Joseph Stalin following V.I. Lenin's death in 1924. Glass was among those who continued to carry out the fight for a communist perspective and helped found the Fourth International in 1938.

A crack professional journalist, he worked for a period in South Africa as a correspondent for a London paper. Around 1930 he was assigned to Shanghai where he combined his work as a journalist with political activity. He collaborated with Chinese communists in the establishment of the Communist League, the Chinese section of the Fourth International.

Glass fled Shanghai a few days before Japanese troops occupied the city in December 1941 when World War II erupted in the East.

He made his way to the United States where he joined the Socialist Workers Party. Glass served on the party's national committee and, for a period, was a member of the *Militant* editorial staff.

After the war, he settled in Los Angeles, where he lived for the remainder of his years.

## Political history

For an account of Glass' activity during his early years in South Africa, we are, in good measure, indebted to Baruch Hiron, a British scholar who has done extensive research on South African political history and who has gathered together documentation of Glass' role in that period.

At age 18, Glass joined the Industrial Socialist League, which soon became involved in a unification process with other organizations, leading to the founding of the Communist Party of South Africa.

The league was decisively influenced by

the October 1917 Russian revolution. It put out a publication called the *Bolshevik*, and, according to Hiron, the league was the first group in South Africa to take the name Communist Party of South Africa.

The forces that finally came together to establish a united communist party were in the process of finding their way to revolutionary Marxist politics.

The Industrial Socialist League, like many others, was repelled by the pro-capitalist electoral politics that marked the parties of the Second International, including the South African Labour Party.

But, in rejecting this, they made the sectarian mistake of dumping, as a matter of principle, all participation in electoral politics.

In 1920 the Communist International adopted a 21-point set of political conditions for admission into the international.

After negotiations, several of the South African groups agreed to accept the 21 points and announced the formation of the United Communist Party of South Africa.

The groups also agreed on participating in elections. For Glass and several others this was a stumbling block. In April 1921 they broke away to form the Communist Propaganda Group.

But the following month they displayed their revolutionary mettle. A Black church group came under murderous assault by government troops. When four members of the United Communist Party were jailed for protesting this racist crime, Glass and his associates participated in joint meetings with the party. In June they dissolved their group.

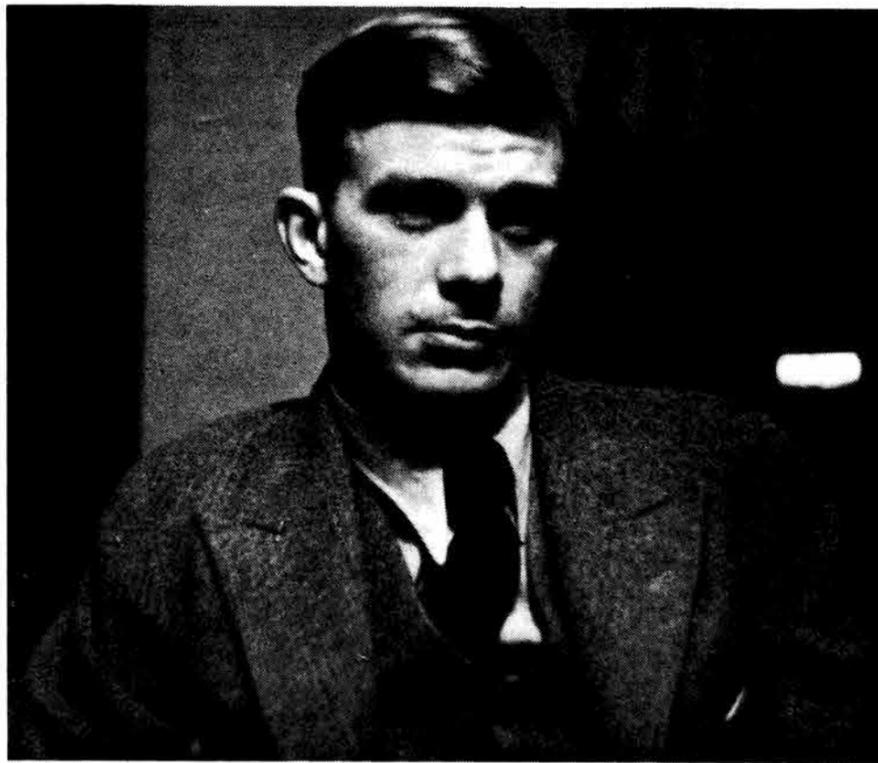
When the various organizations gathered in Capetown at the end of July 1921 to form the Communist Party of South Africa, Glass was one of the four Capetown delegates to the conference.

## Antiracist stand

From the outset, the party was an opponent of racism. But it suffered weaknesses born of the origins of its membership and leadership in the racially divided and politically immature labor movement. In a majority Black South Africa, all the delegates to the founding congress were white as were the members of the executive committee.

For a period, the party's focus in the labor movement was on the unions whose members were white, and it found itself adapting to the job-trust mentality of unionists who saw advances by workers who were Black as a threat to their status.

During this period the party was sharply



C. Frank Glass in Shanghai in 1939

divided on proposals to affiliate to the South African Labour Party, whose membership was almost exclusively white.

At one point in 1925, according to Hiron, Glass left the CP to become active in the unions made up of white workers. He also joined the Labour Party.

But a month later, when a resolution was introduced at a Labour Party conference in support of an Emergency Powers Bill, Glass presented a counterresolution. This was defeated, and he broke from the Labour Party.

At the same time Glass left his position of leadership in the unions made up of white members to work in unions composed of Black workers. These had a number of whites among their leaders, including CP members.

Glass worked in the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. It included a reported 150,000 Black members in workplaces, African townships, and in the countryside. Many of its objectives were avowedly political.

At this time, although the record is not available, Glass apparently returned to the CP.

## Mass rally

On March 28, 1927, he addressed a Johannesburg meeting of 2,000 people, mainly Blacks, protesting slated government legislation that would cripple Black organizations.

His speech was denounced in Parliament and quoted in the *Rand Daily Mail*:

"If you will do what the Russian workers have done and what the Chinese workers are doing now, you — all the workers of this country, Black and white — will be able to secure freedom.

"We don't know at the moment how far the government is going in its attempt to restrict the freedom of the native workers; but this we do know, that all the capitalist governments in their dealings with the workers act precisely alike. Therefore we have got to be prepared, not merely with demonstrations, but also — if it proves to be necessary — with far more drastic action."

The party's turn toward Black South Africans bore fruit. In 1927 there were some 200 Blacks in the party. But at its January 1929 conference, two-thirds of the delegates, representing a membership of some 3,000, were Black.

With the development of the privilege-seeking bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, the Communist International also became Stalinized. As in the Soviet Union, those who continued their activities along the Bolshevik-Leninist course were bureaucratically purged from the various sections.

## Glass took early stand

Glass was among those who refused to go along with the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International.

James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Communist Party in the United States, was expelled from the party in 1928 for continuing to fight for Bolshevik-Leninism. He helped initiate the publication of the *Militant* and was its first editor.

In an interview shortly before his death

in 1974, Cannon discussed how the paper played an important role from the outset in building the international movement.

As an example he pointed to Frank Glass, explaining that Glass had received the first issue of the *Militant* in South Africa and that this led to his collaboration with Marxist revolutionaries in other countries who had not capitulated to Stalinism.

In 1930, Glass' work as a journalist took him to China. It was a time of momentous events there.

In 1927 a powerful revolutionary upsurge of the Chinese workers and peasants had gone down in bloody defeat. This was the fruit of a false, class-collaborationist policy imposed on the Chinese Communist Party by the Soviet bureaucracy.

When Glass arrived in Shanghai in 1930, the bloody repression by the government of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek was continuing in various areas of the country. Glass traveled extensively, absorbing and reporting what he saw.

In 1931 Japanese forces took over the Chinese province of Manchuria. This was followed in 1937 by a full-scale invasion of China, which ended only with the defeat of Japanese imperialism in World War II.

Glass worked actively to help establish the Communist League, the section of the Fourth International. Its ranks included founders and veteran activists of the Chinese CP who had continued to fight for a Leninist course in the face of the party's Stalinist degeneration.

A small band of communist revolutionaries, hounded by Chiang's forces, Japanese troops, and the Stalinists, the league was compelled to function underground. Glass' situation as a journalist proved a big help in this respect.

This writer first met Glass when he made a brief visit to the United States in 1937. He spoke in a number of cities, giving a report on the situation in China and the work of the Communist League.

A tall, sturdy man with an engaging smile and wry wit, he was a particularly effective speaker, commanding the total attention of the audience with his grasp of Chinese politics.

## Depression fund-raising

His goal in that depression year was to raise \$300, an amount that would finance the work of the league for an entire year.

From the United States, Glass made a trip to Mexico where he visited with Leon Trotsky, a prominent leader of the Russian revolution and the Communist International who had been forced into exile by the Stalinist regime.

Glass returned to China. But in 1941, as the Japanese invaders approached Shanghai, he was forced to leave. A long, circuitous journey on a freighter brought him to New York.

During the last period of the war, he served as a member of the *Militant* editorial staff.

George Novack, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was acting editor of the paper during this time.

Recalling Glass and his work, Novack said, "He was among the most skillful, productive, and reliable writers we had. An

Continued on Page 17



A 1931 Shanghai demonstration against Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Then a correspondent in China, Glass reported on the invasion. In a dispatch to the March 19, 1932, *Militant*, he predicted that the Japanese drive would evoke a response from its imperialist rival in Washington. He added, "The final word, however will rest with the revolutionary masses of the Far East." The later victories of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions bore that out.

CALIFORNIA

Concord

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

Los Angeles

**World Economic Crisis, Defeat of the Contras, and Meaning of the Primaries.** Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

**Mother's Day Reception and Multi-cultural Celebration.** Guest of Honor: Mirna Anaya, Salvadoran lawyer, widow of slain human rights leader Herbert Anaya. Speakers: Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock; Manilo Arueta; Eugene "Gus" Newport. Fri., May 6, 6 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. Donation: \$20. Sponsors: NEST Foundation, Winning Democracy.

IOWA

Des Moines

**May Day: Celebrate Historic Struggle of Working Class for the Eight-Hour Day.** Speaker: Jon Bixby, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 1513. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

**The Glassblowers' Strike: What's at Stake?**

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.

Speakers: representatives of Glass Bottle Blowers Association Local Union 200 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 30. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

Austin

**Matewan.** A video film about the coal-mining strikes of 1920. Sat., May 7, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

**Seventy Year Struggle: Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation.** Speakers: representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Students, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 30, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

**Missouri and Southern Illinois Socialist Educational Weekend.** 1. "Transition from Capitalism to Socialism: Cuba Today." Two classes, Sat., May 7, 3 p.m. and Sun., May 8, 10 a.m. 2. "Socialist Workers Party and the 1988 Elections." Forum, Sat., May 7, 7 p.m. Classes and forum by Margaret Jayko, coeditor of the *Militant*. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call St. Louis (314) 361-0250; Kansas City (816) 753-0224; southern Illinois (618) 277-9646.

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 United Nations Julio Icaza; attorney Michael Kennedy; Abbie Hoffman; Esmeralda Brown. Fri., April 29, 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. Local 1199, 310 W 43rd St. (between 8th and 9th avenues). Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

**Reproductive Freedom Week - Stop Terrorist Attacks on Clinics - Defend Abortion Rights.** Week of April 30 - May 7. March from St. Patrick's Cathedral. Fri., April 29, 6 p.m.; mass rally in front of Right-to-Life Office at 19 W 34th St. Sponsor: Refuse and Resist. For more information call (212) 227-6268.

**The Fight for Immigrant Rights.** Speakers: Augustin Lao, Hermandad Hispana; Vivian Sagner, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Maggie Perrier, Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee; Ruben Quiroz, Center for Immigrants' Rights. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Benefit Dance for Salvadoran Medical Aid.** Johnny Colon and his orchestra. Fri., May 6, 9 p.m. Donation: \$8, \$10 at the door. Sponsors: Nicaragua Medical/Material Aid Campaign, National Central American Health Rights Network. For more information call (212) 496-6945.

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

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

**U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!** Speaker: representative, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., May

**Celebrate victory in Socialist Workers Party suit against FBI spying**

Charleston, W.Va.

Speakers: Ric MacDowell, West Virginia Quest for Peace; Scott Conrad, Young Socialist Alliance, student at George Washington High School; Bruce Perrone, president West Virginia Civil Liberties Union; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Mary Martin, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., April 30, 7 p.m. YMCA Community Room, 1114 Quarrier St. Donation: \$4. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Chicago

Speakers: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party; Mark Curtis, political activist framed up and beaten by Des Moines, Iowa, police; William Taylor, president Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507; Mike Olszanski, United Steelworkers of America Local 1010. Sat., May 14, 5 to 7 p.m. Reception to follow. UAW Local 477 hall, 5808 W Chicago Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (312) 363-7136.

Dearborn, Michigan

Speakers: Susan Mnumzana, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa; Yvonne Meléndez, Hartford 15 defendant in frame-up of Puerto Rican independence fighters; Noel Saleh, Palestine Aid Society; Mark Curtis, political activist framed up and beaten by Des Moines, Iowa, police; Kibwe Diarra, chairperson Detroit Socialist Workers Party; Dick Sobie, National Lawyers Guild; Howard Simon, executive director American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan. Fri., May 6, 7 p.m. UAW Local 600 hall, 10550 Dix (at Wyoming). For more information call (313) 366-2334.

Houston

Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born leader of Socialist Workers Party, recently scored victory in continuing fight to become a permanent resident of United States; Rev. J. Don Boney, Bradley Coalition; representa-

tive Dallas Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); James Khyme, Young Socialist Alliance; Gertrude Barnstone. Sun., May 1, 5 to 8 p.m. Kumba House, 3414 La Branch (at Holman). Donation: \$3. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Morgantown, W.Va.

Speakers: 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, Socialist 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 call (304) 296-0055.

Pittsburgh

Speakers: Jules Lobel, National Lawyers Guild; Todd May, Central America Mobilization Committee; 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.

Washington, D.C.

Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born leader of the Socialist Workers Party, recently scored victory in continuing fight to become a permanent resident of United States; Bernard Demczuk, national political organizer American Federation of Government Employees; representatives Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 on strike in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Sat., May 7, 7 p.m. International Association of Machinists Union Building, 1300 Connecticut Ave. NW. Donation: \$3. For more information call (301) 585-2596.

All events sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

1, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

**Uncovering the FBI: Central America and Civil Liberties.** Speakers: Hugh Byrne, national political director Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Alicia Fernandez, director Movement Support Network of the Center for Constitutional Rights; others. Sat., May 7, 7 p.m. University Center Room 364 A/B, Cleveland State University (corner E 22 and Euclid). Sponsors: Cleveland Central America Solidarity Committee, others. For more information call (216) 321-9983.

TEXAS

San Antonio

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**U.S. Hands Off Panama!** Speaker: Halket Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 56, lived in Panama. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

**Special Weekend Series on Cuba.** 1. "Women in Cuba." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, editor of Pathfinder book *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Sat., April 30, 3:30 p.m. Dinner to follow. 2. "Cuba Today." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone. Sat., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 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.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**INDIANA: Muncie:** YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619 1/2 N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

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

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

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

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

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

**MINNESOTA: Austin:** SWP, YSA, 407 1/2 N. Main Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Ain't it the truth** — Rolling Rock beer has a series of commercials set in a folksy Pittsburgh tavern, with the acting by non-



Harry Ring

professionals, all of whom are white. A company exec said only a few Blacks had auditioned and they weren't quite good enough. The theme of the series is, "Same as it ever was."

**See, it works** — Capitol ar-

chitect George White was injured when his car hit one of the barricades he had recommended installing to protect the building from terrorists.

**With fair play for all** — Washington didn't bar Cuba's Guillermo García from playing in a New York chess tournament, but when he won a \$10,000 prize, they ruled he couldn't take it out of the country. He can claim it, they assured, if he moves to another country — excepting Libya, Vietnam, North Korea, or Kampuchea.

**Sorta comes natural** — Former Kentucky governor A.B. Chandler is perplexed by demands that he

quit as a University of Kentucky trustee. Discussing the school's South African divestment decision, he had commented, "You know Zimbabwe is all nigger now." He explains, "It slips out every now and then. I'm not trying to be offensive."

**Just be patient** — A study found that in Massachusetts, people wait as long as 15 years for subsidized low-cost housing. In Cambridge, lists are recomputed every 18 months because 80 percent of the applicants can't be located, having either moved or become homeless. An aide to Governor Dukakis responded that things are even worse in other states.

**Calling Dr. Strangelove** —

Gen. Curtis LeMay, who headed the Strategic Air Command, recalls that in the 1950s, SAC flew all its reconnaissance planes over a Soviet city without drawing fire. "We could have launched bombing attacks," he said wistfully. "We could have delivered the stockpile, if we wanted to, with practically no loss."

**Turns his blood blue?** — A British collector of nobility titles paid a record \$160,000 at an auction for the right to the title, lord of Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace. He can now put "Lord of the Manor" on his stationery and passport. If he ever makes it to New York, that and a token will get him a ride on the subway.

**A subway competition?** — For its annual shootfest and dinner, the Federation of New York State Rifle and Pistol Clubs tapped Bernhard Goetz as its guest of honor.

**Sounds Marxist** — "People make a plan work, plans alone seldom make people work." — From a Chinese fortune cookie.

**Wrong exposure** — The Kodak company won a temporary injunction barring D.B. Rakow, a stand-up comic, from using his nickname, Kodak. He doesn't refer to cameras in his routine, but, the company complains, he uses "vulgar language" and much of his humor "is related to sex and bathroom functions." Oh dear.

## C. Frank Glass: a pioneer fighter for communism

Continued from Page 15

outstanding Marxist, he exhibited sound and penetrating political judgement."

One of his most memorable contributions, Novack added, came when World War II ended with the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

### Drafted manifesto

Glass wrote the draft of the declaration of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, which was featured on the

front page of the *Militant* under the banner headline: "There is no peace."

On leaving New York, Glass functioned in the Los Angeles branch of the SWP.

He earned his living editing a Filipino community paper, *Laging Una*, which circulated throughout California and had many readers among Filipino farm workers.

The paper reported on opposition to the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. It regularly featured articles on countries that

were resisting colonial domination or had won independence from it. There were some excellent articles on the early years of the Cuban revolution.

In the 1950s, Glass associated himself with a political minority in the SWP. It was led by Arne Swabeck, a founding leader of the party. Watching the rise of the Chinese revolution, which triumphed in 1949, they concluded that the Stalinist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party was moving in a revolutionary direction. Swabeck carried this to the conclusion that the Chinese CP had been revolutionary throughout. At this point Glass broke with him.

Glass never did come to agree with the party's position that a bureaucratic caste governed China, not a revolutionary regime of workers and peasants. But in 1974, he joined with the pioneer Chinese communist Peng Shu-tse in coauthoring the pamphlet *Revolutionaries in Mao's Prison's* an appeal on behalf of jailed Chinese revolutionaries.

### 'Democratic pretensions'

Writing under his pen name, Li Fu-jen, Glass declared:

"The arbitrary oppressive treatment of the Trotskyists, in clear violation of constitutional guarantees, raises the gravest doubts concerning the democratic pretensions of the Peking regime of Mao Tse-tung.

"What kind of 'People's Republic' is it where the people are denied the right to hold and express political views contrary to those of the ruling authorities."

Glass served on the national committee of the SWP from 1944 until 1963.

Over the years he contributed many articles to the revolutionary press, particularly to the early *New International* magazine,

and its successors, *Fourth International* and *International Socialist Review*. His articles appear under the pen names Li Fu-jen, Ralph Graham, and John Liang.

Throughout the years he felt he could not engage in public activity because he was not a U.S. citizen and had been harassed by Immigration and Naturalization Service cops.

In the course of the SWP's successful suit against the federal government for trampling on the party's democratic rights, numerous dossiers were obtained from various government agencies.

One 1964 memo from the Los Angeles FBI office to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover advised that "The C. Frank Glass case is considered to have the best potential of any INS case nationwide for successful prosecution in view of Glass' long period of membership in the SWP National Committee."

### Last years

But Glass was able to live out his remaining years in this country, the final ones in retirement from active political life. He maintained his views and his avid interest in political developments.

May Stark, a veteran member of the SWP and longtime friend of Glass', visited him regularly during the final period when he was hospitalized.

She said that she saw him just before he lapsed into his final coma. He was very weak and could barely talk. But she had the opportunity to tell him the news that the government had decided not appeal the judge's ruling in the suit the SWP had won.

"Frank's eyes opened," she said, "and he said, 'Thank you.' Then he summoned some more strength and said, 'Thank you very much.'"

## Turkish workers fight deportation by Canadian immigration cops

Continued from back page

left the Turkish Coffee House in Montreal for a 145-mile march on Ottawa. On April 11, some 30 miles from Ottawa, they were joined by 70 Turkish workers and their supporters who were bused in from Toronto.

Throughout the seven-day trek, they were welcomed, fed, and housed in community centers and school and church basements. The mayor of Hull, a city of some 70,000 on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, and 200 other people welcomed the marchers at an open-air reception in Park Fontaine.

As the marchers neared the Parliament buildings on the morning of April 12, they were met by hundreds of applauding workers and their families, mainly Turkish, who had just arrived in buses from Montreal. Dozens more came from Toronto and Ottawa.

Placards scattered throughout the demonstration demanded "No to the deportations," "No to Bill C-55," and "Amnesty for all refugees!"

Two huge banners at the head of the march, one in French and the other in English, read: "Today the Turks: tomorrow others."

"We want to stay in Canada," chanted the men, women, and children as they waited for three hours in front of the Parliament for immigration minister Barbara McDougall's reply.

McDougall met briefly with their representatives. She reiterated both to them and later in the House of Commons her determination to enforce the deportations. She said that arrests could begin the next day. "These people are hopeful immigrants and not refugees," she said cynically. "If we allow the system to be abused, those who live in genuine fear of their lives and who need our protection will be at risk."

She rejected a proposal made by New Democratic Party immigration critic Dan Heap to suspend the deportations for 60 days while negotiations between all parties take place over Bill C-55, the government's new antirefugee legislation. Bill C-55 and its complement, Bill C-84, have both been stalled in the Senate.

Liberal Sen. Jacques Herbert, as well as members of Parliament David Burger (Liberal) and Suzanne Blais Grenier (Conservative) condemned the deportations.

Monica Jones reported to the demonstrators, through a Turkish translator,

that 250 of her coworkers had signed a message of support and contributed money to this fight. Jones is a member of the United Steelworkers union local at Barhaus, a furniture factory in Toronto.

Michel Dugré, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, explained that 25 of his coworkers in a garment plant of 200 in Montreal are Turkish refugees. "Your fight against deportations is our fight, a fight of the entire working class in Canada," he said to applause.

Dugré reported that Shirley Carr, president of the 2.2 million member Canadian Labor Congress, had declared her opposition to the deportations and had called for a general amnesty for all refugee claimants.

### The struggle continues

The stakes in this struggle are high. A statement was issued at Mirabel airport April 14 by the coordinating committee for the refugees. Some 130 people had gathered to protest the forced departures of their six brothers. The statement explained:

"The economic refugee status claimed by many of the newcomers is based on the social economic realities of Turkey. These refugee claimants come from the less-educated rural sectors of Turkey. In a country where there are severe human rights violations, a country that exercises a semi-military antidemocratic system, the economic refugee status is nothing but political."

"The Canadian people have to know, as the minister already does, the tragic consequences that those people face when they return to Turkey," the statement added.

"We will continue to struggle to the very end. Our cherished hope is to live our lives based on human dignity," the declaration concluded.

The Montreal Labor Council of the Quebec Federation of Labor voted April 12 to send a telegram to Ottawa demanding amnesty for refugees currently living in Canada.

A week earlier, several Turkish workers spoke to the general meeting of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions. Delegates reiterated their opposition to the government's antirefugee legislation. They approved a resolution demanding a halt to the deportations and for an amnesty for all 45,000 refugees claimants.

## — 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

**THE MILITANT**  
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
May 5, 1978

During his visit to Nigeria, President James Carter declared April 2 that Washington "now will move as quickly as possible to call together the parties who are in dispute in Zimbabwe."

As usual, Carter tried to assume the mantle of an unbiased intermediary concerned only with achieving "peace" in southern Africa. But his announcement, along with the subsequent flurry of American and British diplomatic activity, reflects an acute fear among the imperialists that the struggle of the Zimbabwean masses against the racist Rhodesian regime could yet spiral out of control, endangering the substantial Western interests in that part of the world.

The Carter administration was impelled to launch a new diplomatic initiative by the establishment on March 21 of a coalition regime between Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and three prominent Zimbabwean figures: Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Jeremiah Chirau. The agreement that forms the basis for the new regime aims to preserve significant white privileges for many years to come, even under a "majority rule" government that will supposedly take power at the end of the year.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the interests of the Working People  
May 6, 1963 Price 10c

MAY 1 — The William L. Moore memorial "freedom walk" began today as a group of 12 members of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality started walking from Chattanooga, Tennessee, headed for Jackson, Mississippi. The route — along U.S. Highway 11 — goes through a corner of Georgia and then into Alabama where state officials have threatened to arrest the marchers.

Alabama's "safety director," Al Lingo, who has earned a reputation for harassing civil rights fighters, said yesterday of the marchers: "They will be arrested, placed in jail and charged with breach of the peace."

The man accused of murdering Moore has been released on \$5,000 bail. He is Floyd Simpson, a grocery store owner, who is charged with shooting Moore with a .22-caliber rifle while Moore walked along Highway 11 outside Attalla, Alabama, with two signs draped over him. The signs read: "Equal rights for all," and "Eat at Joes, both black and white."

# The debate on special prosecutors

The Supreme Court's decision to rapidly rule on the constitutionality of the law on appointment of special prosecutors reflects disagreements in ruling circles over how far and how fast to go in concentrating power in the executive branch of the government.

The employing class' need for a strong president who acts — without hindrance of a debate in Congress or a judge's ruling — has generally resulted in a 50-year trend of ceding more powers to the chief executive.

On April 26 the Supreme Court heard arguments in the case of *Morrison v. Olson*. Alexia Morrison is a special prosecutor who has been investigating former assistant attorney general Theodore Olson. He is charged with lying to Congress during a 1983 hearing on the Environmental Protection Agency's toxic-waste program.

The law in question is the 1978 Ethics in Government Act, which provides for a special three-judge federal court to appoint an independent prosecutor to investigate suspected crimes by high-level officials of the executive branch whenever requested to do so by the U.S. attorney general. Under the 1978 law, the special court also supervises the independent counsels and has the last word on their removal. Previously the Justice Department was in charge of special prosecutors and could dismiss them.

The law was adopted in the wake of the Watergate crisis, which publicly exposed the degree to which the White House had become an organizing center for carrying out secret and illegal attacks on opponents of U.S. imperialism abroad and foes of the president at home, including his rivals in the capitalist Democratic Party.

In October 1973 Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox demanded that President Richard Nixon turn over White House tapes that were a decisive source of evidence in the Watergate investigation. Nixon refused, and Cox went to court to force Nixon to hand over the tapes. On October 20 — in what became known as the "Saturday Night Massacre" — Nixon fired Cox.

This caused a firestorm of outrage, one result of which was the passage of the 1978 law.

In January of this year, a federal appeals court struck down the law as unconstitutional, saying it "deeply invades the President's executive prerogatives and responsibilities."

It comes as no surprise that the Reagan administration, which has been the subject of at least eight investigations by court-appointed special prosecutors, strenuously opposes the law.

In the case of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, who's investigating the Iran-contra arms deal, Attorney General Edwin Meese had originally laid down a specific and limited mandate for the scope of Walsh's investiga-

tion. But the three-judge panel that Meese encharged to appoint a special prosecutor rejected Meese's guidelines and gave Walsh much broader powers.

The fight over the special prosecutor is just one of several instances of growing intragovernment conflicts resulting from the increasing tendency toward a strong executive.

Another example is the dispute over the War Powers Act. Passed in 1973 as a result of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, it was supposed to prevent the president from dragging the country deep into a war never declared by Congress. It states that the president shall not involve U.S. troops in a "hostile" situation for more than 90 days without congressional consent. Reagan openly violated the law when he sent U.S. troops to Lebanon in 1983 and when he ordered the fleet to the Persian Gulf last year. Congressional leaders have refused to invoke the act.

Another conflict over expanding executive powers is the president's call for line-item veto power over the budget. This means that he could veto any number of specific items in the budget adopted by Congress, without having to veto the entire thing and risk having his veto overturned. This would give him great power to shape the budget and control federal expenditures.

The expansion of executive power was also one of the issues involved in the fight over Reagan's nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. Bork was a firm advocate of the view that the Constitution had lots of room for expanding presidential power at the expense of individual liberties.

The usurping of power by the executive branch has not been carried out, by and large, against the will of Congress, but rather with congressional complicity.

There are tactical disagreements — sometimes quite sharp — over exactly how to proceed, in which arenas, and at what speed. But basically there's a great deal of bipartisan agreement. That's because there's bipartisan accord on the fundamentals of foreign and domestic policy today.

The structure of the capitalist democratic government, as outlined in the Constitution, is increasingly out of harmony with the ruling class' needs. And the stock market crash last October signaled that a social crisis is looming. This will make the need to covertly and openly use the repressive powers of the state, unencumbered by public congressional debates or unfavorable court rulings, more, not less, important.

That's why, despite disagreements, the U.S. ruling class has allowed the president's powers to continue to expand.

# Israel and war criminals

The Israeli government may well be the only one in the world that claims the special right to prosecute and condemn to death persons guilty of crimes committed in another country, and even before Israel was established. The U.S. government consistently supports Tel Aviv's prerogative to do this.

The most recent case is that of John Demjanjuk, who was sentenced to be hanged by an Israeli court for his role in executing Jews at a Nazi death camp in Poland during World War II. The Ukrainian-born Demjanjuk, who came to the United States after World War II, was extradited by the U.S. government in 1986 to stand trial in Israel. Israel was established in 1948, more than five years after the murders Demjanjuk is charged with were committed.

The crimes Demjanjuk is accused of — and the evidence is pretty conclusive that he's guilty — are heinous, and he should be tried and punished for them. But the Israeli government, which is itself guilty of committing some of the most monstrous crimes of the past 40 years, does not have any legal, let alone moral, authority to prosecute his or any other war crimes case. The U.S. government should not have extradited him and should stop all further extraditions to Israel.

The death sentence against Demjanjuk was handed down nine days after the Israeli murder machine carried out the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir, a central leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. This outrageous act epitomizes the entire character of Israeli rule.

Israel was set up through the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homeland. And this colonial-settler regime has continued to wage war against the Arab peoples of the region. Its devastating invasion of Lebanon and siege of Beirut in 1982, followed by its role in the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, is just one of the more glaring examples of its conduct.

Today, the Israeli government is provoking worldwide revulsion against its repression of the Palestinian revolt on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The Israeli regime's aim in conducting the Demjanjuk trial was to try to present an image of a government that stands for human rights, that insists on justice for those guilty of committing horrible crimes against humanity.

But this is a diversion from its own mass slaughter today. It stinks of the same hypocrisy that Washington and other imperialist governments have shown the past 40 years in organizing a series of prominent war-crimes trials.

The Israeli government also has the added objective of portraying itself as the protector of the interests of world Jewry. But the capitalist ruling class of Israel doesn't and can't speak for the overwhelming majority of Jews in Israel, let alone in the world. The Israeli rulers have created a death trap for working people, Jewish and Arab alike, on Palestinian soil, which disqualifies them as upholders of justice for the Jews murdered during the holocaust.

Trials of war criminals like Demjanjuk serve to obscure the roots of fascism and World War II. They divert attention from the top-rung criminals by going after the small fry.

Fascism and its hideous crimes are not the result of some depraved individuals. It is a form of rule that the capitalist rulers resort to when it becomes absolutely necessary to crush the unions and other workers' organizations in order to maintain their rule.

The slaughter of World War II, like World War I, was rooted in the fight between competing imperialist powers over control of the world.

Recognizing that the capitalist rulers are the main war criminals is necessary if working people are going to conduct an effective fight to rid the world of them and their crimes.

# Labor's fight to raise the minimum wage

BY DOUG JENNESS

The purchasing power of the federal minimum wage is at its lowest level since 1955. Seven years without an increase — the longest period with no raise since the minimum wage law was adopted by Congress in 1938 — has given inflation an opportunity to take its toll.

Moreover, the gap between the average national wage and the minimum hourly wage has widened. In 1981 the

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

minimum wage was 46.2 percent of the average wage; at the end of 1987, it stood at 37.3 percent.

Workers who earn the miserly minimum wage of \$3.35, especially if they have families to care for, live in poverty — and many can't survive at all. Hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers, who are afraid of being deported if they protest, are paid less than the minimum wage. And some categories of workers, such as farm workers and waiters and waitresses, are not covered by the federal minimum wage law at all.

Pressure is building up to increase the minimum wage. Legislative bodies in eight states and Washington, D.C., have recently raised it, and proposed federal legislation to increase it is now slogging its way through Congress.

The Senate Labor Committee proposes lifting it in three annual steps to \$4.65 in 1991. And then indexing it thereafter to 50 percent of the average national wage in the private sector. The House Labor Committee would increase it to \$5.05 in the next four years, but killed the indexing proposal.

The big majority of workers receiving the minimum wage or lower are from especially oppressed sectors of the class. According to Labor Department figures, 65 percent are women, 57 percent are between 16 and 24 years old, and 14 percent are Black.

These proportions, however are most certainly even larger. Since employers who pay below minimum wage don't file Social Security or tax returns on their employees, hundreds of thousands of low-wage workers don't appear on any records.

For working people, the fight to raise the minimum wage of workers discriminated against on the basis of race, sex, and age is part of the fight for affirmative action. The aim is to raise the value of labor power of especially oppressed sectors of the class.

Wages are the price the capitalist employers pay to buy the use of workers' laboring power. Like that of every other commodity, the value of labor power is determined by the quantity of labor society needs on average to produce it. This consists of two elements.

First, there are the necessities — food, clothing, shelter — that are absolutely indispensable for workers to maintain their physical existence and to bring up children to replace themselves on the labor market.

The second is the accepted standard of life based on what past struggles have won and the current level of union organization in any given country. These historically determined social conditions that workers grow up in give rise to certain habits, wants, and expectations that require satisfaction. In the United States today, this includes cars, televisions, home appliances, books, magazines, vacations, and many other such things.

But as the result of social discrimination, some sections of the working class are prevented from exacting the same value for their labor power as the rest of the class. They are deprived of an equal value for their labor power for reasons of age, sex, race, country of origin, citizenship status, or whatever.

There's not something inherent in the labor performed by sewing-machine operators in U.S. garment plants today, for example, that explains why they get paid minimum wage or less and an auto worker may get four or five times as much. Actually the skills of a sewing-machine operator are greater than those necessary for most auto assembly-line workers.

The reason the garment workers are paid less is that they are mostly women and undocumented immigrants whose labor power, as the result of oppression and prejudice, has a value less than that of the class as a whole.

These big differences in the value of labor power not only mean bigger profits for the employers but are used by them to weaken the potential solidarity and organization of working people and to drive down the overall wage level.

The fight to raise the minimum wage, and to extend it to workers presently excluded — like the fight for quotas to guarantee that Blacks and women be hired and promoted and that women be allowed access to "men's jobs" — is essential to achieving unity in the struggle against the employers and in the fight to raise the value of all workers' labor power.

**Tawana Brawley**

I totally disagree with your editorial view that Tawana Brawley's attorneys, C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox, have taken the wrong approach. (April 15 *Militant*).

Common logic would indicate that an unqualified and prejudicial Attorney General Robert Abrams would bombard 16-year-old Brawley with questions about the story so as to slant the facts, to form and shape the opinions of the grand jury. Why should C. Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox compromise for unfair play? Why won't Gov. Mario Cuomo appoint a Black and/or qualified attorney general to prosecute the offenders?

The people are demobilizing because Cointelpro tactics are being used to undermine and discredit Black leadership. *Newsweek* ran an article not uncoincidentally on Rev. Alfred Sharpton, criticizing his cooperation with FBI agents and without quoting a source. The *Daily News* wrote another disruptive story. The *New York Times* another. This focuses not on the real problem or on suspects, but on Reverend Sharpton. It is designed to disrupt, discredit, and demobilize the effective protest movement like Cointelpro disrupted and liquidated the Black Panther Party in the 1960s.

A prisoner  
Dannemora, New York

**Lubicon Cree Indians**

This letter comes to you by way of an appeal to your readership to support the aboriginal people of Canada, the Lubicon Cree in particular.

Until 1980 this band of Cree Indians was self-supporting. Welfare and social problems were virtually unknown. Since then, massive oil development has hit the land where the Lubicon live, hunt, and trap. Revenues generated from this development are estimated to exceed \$1 million a day for the resource companies and the provincial government of Alberta.

Unfortunately, the Lubicon have not profited from any resource development that has sprung up around them. Instead they are experiencing alcoholism, suicide, chronic unemployment, and dependency on social assistance. Today, social and health problems have reached a frightening level. Nearly one-third of the Lubicon Cree have tuberculosis.

Without their own land base, the future of this band is in question.

Letters of support should be sent to Lubicon Support Committee, c/o P.O. Box 3962, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada S4P 3R9.

Mike Quinn  
Kevin Daniels  
Regina, Saskatchewan

**Ireland**

During a recent trip to Belfast, I spoke with activists in the newly formed Campaign for Lifers. This committee was launched to publicize the plight of more than 200 prisoners who had been active in the struggle to free the six counties in the north of Ireland from British colonial rule. Many, but not all, have been convicted of murder.

The majority of the prisoners have already been in jail for 11 years or more. Others, who were arrested before they were 18 years old, have been put in jail with indeterminate terms. These are called Secretary of State's Pleasure sentences.

Most of their trials took place without juries in what are called Diplock courts. The judges usually were supporters of British domination of Ireland.

The initiative for the formation of the committee came from the prisoners, who have decided to start participating in the prison's

Life Review Board. This decision does not stem from a belief that this will achieve their release, but rather because their refusal to participate was being used against them by prison authorities.

Demands raised by the Campaign for Lifers include an end to indeterminate sentences and the right of prisoners to legal representation during hearings. This is important because the authorities frequently use the hearings to tack on 10 years additional jail time.

For more information write Campaign for Lifers, Conway Education Centre, Conway Mill, Conway St., Belfast, Ireland 12.  
Clive Turnbull  
Rotherham, England

**Armenia I**

Thank you for the excellent background article by Sam Manuel in the April 15 *Militant* about the Armenian protests in the USSR. The comprehensive political and historical treatment of these events provided very useful clarification.

But I think the final subhead, "Reestablishment of Russian empire," was an unfortunate wording that could suggest a notion of "Russian imperialism" alien to the outlook of revolutionary Marxism.

Happily, the article itself doesn't use the term "empire" anywhere.

I hope you have a follow-up article soon that would go further in explaining how the Armenians want to actually go about "reintegrating" Nagorno-Karabakh into the Armenian republic, what material interests are involved between the Armenian and Azerbaijani populations, and why Moscow is resisting so stubbornly on this issue despite the talk about "openness" and "restructuring."

Why does the Soviet leadership fear the rearrangement of borders to suit the national needs of the Armenians in Azerbaijan? What material privileges are tied up in the status quo that they defend?

Peter Buch  
Albany, California

**Armenia II**

The article "Behind Armenians' Massive Protests" in the April 15 issue of the *Militant* was very interesting, but it seemed to me to suffer from a number of weaknesses.

The most important one is that the article gives the impression that the Armenians today are no better off than they were under the tsars. It seems to present the idea that there was a counterrevolution by the end of the 1920s or so. There is no mention anywhere of the fact that the Soviet Union — which presumably includes the various Soviet Socialist Republics — is a workers' state.

The article states that there are no Armenian-language schools, books, and television in Nagorno-Karabakh. Are there any in Armenia? And if there are, isn't this an accomplishment of the working people of Armenia — in spite of and against the bureaucracy?

Jeff Hamill  
Oakland, California

**Noriega**

Noriega is oppressing the people of Panama. Instead of defending him, why not expose his ties to George Bush? He was on the CIA payroll when good ol' George was director of the company.

D.F.  
Chicago, Illinois

**Panama**

The article "Behind U.S. drive against Panama" in the March 4 *Militant* states that the entire modern history of Panama has been



Mike Keefe

shaped by its geography. In fact, the very existence of Panama as an independent state is due to U.S. intervention.

Since the victory over Spanish colonialism in the area, Panama was part of a greater Colombia, which came out of the independence struggle started by Simón Bolívar in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1810. This state was formed in 1819, replacing the former Spanish colony New Granada.

In 1821, Venezuela and Panama were liberated and incorporated into Colombia; Ecuador followed in 1822. Venezuela and Ecuador formed independent states in 1829 and 1830. Panama remained part of Colombia until 1903.

When the negotiations with Colombia on ceding the canal area broke down, the United States found men and means to tear Panama away from Colombia. In 1903 Panama was made into an independent free state that sold sovereignty over the canal zone to the United States.

Lüko Willms  
Frankfurt, West Germany

*Editor's reply* — As reader Willms points out, a few months after proclaiming its independence from Spain in 1821, Panama joined greater Colombia.

But the subsequent establishment of Panama as an independent country was not simply a result of U.S. intervention in the region. There was also an indigenous Panamanian autonomy movement.

After 1821 Panama's relations with Colombia alternated between periods of relative autonomy and greater centralized control. In 1885 Colombia finally revoked Panama's status as a federated state and tightened its reins over the area.

Meanwhile, an autonomist movement had grown in Panama, led by merchants and land speculators who wanted more local control so that they could reap the benefits of a future canal and free trade area, which the U.S., French, and British governments were all jockeying for. There were 53 revolts in the isthmus between 1846 and 1903 alone.

During the second half of the 1900s, Washington — which had been maneuvering to gain control over a future canal across the Central American isthmus since the 1840s — helped Colombia maintain its control over Panama. During the 1860s, U.S. troops intervened five times to put down separatist rebellions in Panama.

In 1899 a civil war broke out in Colombia, in which one side joined forces with Panama's autonomist movement. Broad sectors of the Panamanian population became involved in the separatist movement, which took on a nationalist character.

This was the context in which Washington intervened to back Panamanian independence, which was declared on Nov. 3, 1903. Three days later, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt recognized the new government.

Two weeks later the Panama Canal treaty was signed. It granted the United States control "in perpetuity" of the future canal and canal zone, along with other concessions, marking the beginning of the long period in which Washington treated Panama as a protectorate.

**Drugs**

Would like to see some in-depth information on how the government is using people's legitimate concerns around drugs as a guise to intervene militarily (Colombia, Bolivia, Panama, Honduras, etc.). Are they planning to use this more in the future? What is the CIA, government, corporate connection to the drug trade?

T.F.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

**Chrysler plant closing**

The planned closing of the Chrysler plant in Kenosha, Wisconsin, has generated much discussion all over the heavily industrialized southeastern part of the state. It is one of the largest factories in Wisconsin.

The shutdown will have a major impact, especially in the Racine-Kenosha area, and has forced thousands of workers to think about what can be done to stop things like this from happening.

Recently, 2,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 72 packed their union hall in a meeting to protest the closing, scheduled for September. More than 5,000 workers will be affected by it.

Workers were particularly outraged because Chrysler had promised to keep the plant running for at least five years when it bought the factory from American Motors in the summer of 1987. "You have my word on it," Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca had said. With this promise, many workers gave up new jobs to come back to the plant when they were recalled.

Going into the meeting, workers were angry but unsure about what to do. One worker advocated a boycott of Chrysler products. Reflecting the sentiments of many, another said, "Iacocca was supposed to give us five years. I don't know how he can mess up the community like this. A strike won't happen. I'll see what the governor has to say." A national strike against Chrysler was the proposal of another.

One of the main topics of discussion was a lawsuit against Chrysler to force it to cancel the

shutdown. Several politicians spoke, including Gov. Tommy Thompson. A lawsuit is the main approach of the union leadership. It is also seeking negotiations with the company and has not excluded strike action.

Tony Prince  
Steve Iverson  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

**Excellent reporting**

Your reporting on Nicaragua and the Philippines is excellent. I've been to the former three times since 1986 and the latter five times since 1982.

J.J.K.  
Honolulu, Hawaii

**Moses Mayekiso**

"The contras in Nicaragua are not freedom fighters. They're murderers and thugs. The real freedom fighters are those like Moses Mayekiso. Why doesn't the U.S. government support them?"

This is what U.S. Rep. Charles Hayes told more than 200 unionists and anti-apartheid activists who rallied in Chicago recently to protest the South African regime's planned execution of Mayekiso. He is a leader of the National Union of Metalworkers and is charged with treason. The newly formed Illinois Labor Network Against Apartheid organized the action.

Phillip Immesote, United Food and Commercial Workers Region 11 director, chaired. He explained that the network is circulating petitions demanding the release of trade unionists in South Africa, a boycott of Shell Oil Co., and urging Congress to impose comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Omari Musa  
Chicago, Illinois

**Catch 22**

I'm writing you this short note because I want to tell you I love your paper. Also, is there any way I can get on the book list for prisoners?

Sorry, I can't send any money. In the Texas prisons, instead of paying us they give us good time, that is, days subtracted from our sentence so we can go home early.

But it's a catch-22. They can take that good time away from you anytime they want to, so I'd rather have the money. For once it's spent, it's gone.

A prisoner  
Tennessee Colony, Texas

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.

## Atlanta rally hits S. Africa war on Angola, occupation of Namibia

BY SAM MANUEL

ATLANTA — "Freedom yes, apartheid no, death to apartheid blow by blow!" shouted a crowd of about 400 people as they greeted Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). The April 23 rally, held at Spelman College, was one of several events at which Nujoma spoke during the fifth national conference of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists, April 21-24.

Formed on April 19, 1960, SWAPO has been leading the struggle against the South African military occupation of Namibia. In response to the brutality of the South African military, SWAPO initiated armed struggle against the occupation forces in 1966.

"We will leave no stone unturned. We will fight until we wipe out the remnants of colonialism in Namibia and South Africa. We will not rest until we ensure that the total liberation of the continent of Africa is achieved," said Nujoma. The crowd rose with prolonged applause.

Nujoma condemned South Africa's continued militarization of Namibia. There are now 100,000 South African troops, police, and other armed forces in the country, or one armed South African for every 10 Namibians.

The SWAPO leader condemned the "blanket news blackout" imposed in Namibia by the apartheid regime. "There is strict censorship reinforced by draconian laws designed to restrict and control the access of media people to the ugly reality of the prevailing situation in the country," he said. Nujoma appealed to conference participants and the U.S. people to help expose apartheid's crimes in Namibia.

"The Reagan administration has been using the suffering of the Namibian people in order to achieve its imperialist interests in southern Africa," said Nujoma, "holding Namibia's independence ransom by linking it to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the neighboring People's Republic of Angola."

Nujoma thanked the international anti-apartheid movement for "keeping the issue of South African occupation of Namibia in the forefront of public opinion, particularly in the United States." He also expressed the solidarity of SWAPO with the peoples of Nicaragua and Palestine, "who are struggling against the forces of domination and exploitation."

Neo Mnumzana, representative of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa to the United Nations, condemned the brutal murder of Dulcie September, the ANC representative in Paris. September was gunned down on March 29 as she arrived at her office in Paris. "While her picture was on the front page of every newspaper in Europe, there was hardly a whisper in the major mass media in the United States," Mnumzana said.

The ANC leader reiterated the organization's commitment to overthrowing the apartheid regime by any means necessary. "For 50 years, inspired by the example of Gandhi, we committed ourselves to peaceful forms of struggle," explained Mnumzana. "But since 1961 we decided to embark upon armed struggle, and we have made a lot of progress."

Atlanta City Councilman Jabari Simama welcomed Nujoma on behalf of Mayor Andrew Young and presented him with a certificate of honorary citizenship. Nujoma was also joined on the platform by Johnnetta Cole, president of Spelman College, and C.T. Vivian, a longtime Black rights activist.

A press conference held earlier in the week featured Nujoma and Mnumzana. Also attending the press conference were Manuel Pacavira, UN ambassador from

Angola; Antonio Matonse from the Mozambique embassy; John Tsimba, minister-counselor of Zimbabwe's mission to the UN; Michael Ononaiye, UN ambassador from Nigeria and representative of the UN council for Namibia; Georgia State Rep. Tyrone Brooks; and Councilman Simama.

Pacavira emphasized that in spite of the continued South African aggression against Angola, and the increased U.S. aid to the Angolan counterrevolutionary group National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the Angolan government has pursued discussions with representatives of the U.S. administration in order to find a solution to the war in Angola.

Pacavira reported that the Angolan government had proposed a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and had given it to the U.S. government representative to present to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

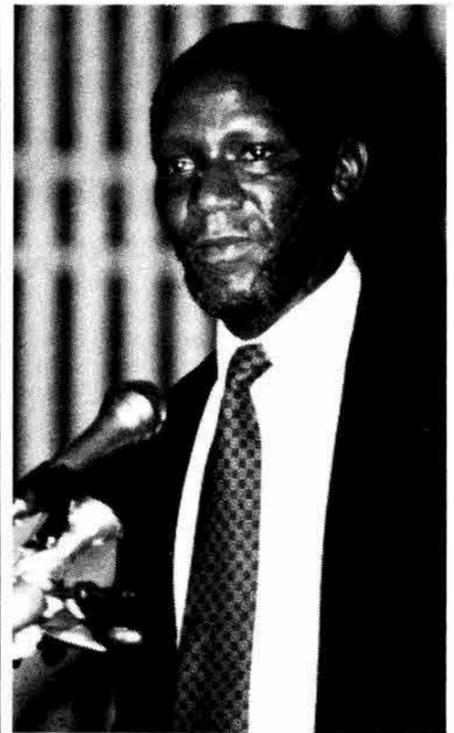
The Angolan ambassador stressed that the timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops could only be implemented on the basis of the complete withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, an end to South African and U.S. aid to UNITA, and the implementation of UN Resolution 435. This calls for an end to South African occupation of Namibia.

"Once those conditions are met Cuban troops will withdraw from our territory," Pacavira explained.

Tsimba reported that 1 million people have been killed in the last eight years as a result of South Africa's war of aggression against neighboring African countries. Those countries have also suffered \$4 billion in damages to their infrastructures.

Armed units of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), who are organized, trained, and funded by the South African government, have increased attacks on government installations and civilians in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe now maintains 10,000 troops in Mozambique and along the Beira railway corridor to combat Renamo attacks.

In addition to discussions on southern



Militant photos by Sam Manuel

Sam Nujoma, left, president of South West Africa People's Organisation and Neo Mnumzana, African National Congress representative to the United Nations, speaking at rally against apartheid at conference of National Alliance of Third World Journalists.

Africa, workshops and panels were held on organizing solidarity with the peoples of Palestine, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Philippines.

Workshop participants included Camilia Oudeh, of the Union of Palestinian Women; Miguel Rivero and José Bove, of the Union of Cuban Journalists; Ed Dinoko, editor of *Philippine News*; representatives of the Union of Nicaraguan Journalists; and Maria Teresa Tula, a leader of CoMadres in El Salvador. CoMadres is an organization of Salvadoran women who organize protests to demand that the Salvadoran government give information about and return individuals who have been disappeared.

The National Alliance of Third World Journalists is an organization of writers, academicians, journalists and others in the media field. It was founded in 1981. In addition to fighting against racial oppression in this country, the alliance supports the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for independence and self-determination.

The alliance has organized reporting trips to Grenada, Nicaragua, and Burkina Faso.

For more information write to: National Alliance of Third World Journalists, P.O. Box 43208, Washington D.C. 20010; or call (202) 462-8197.

## Canada: Turkish workers fight deportations

BY PAUL KOURI

MONTREAL — "This is the worst thing a government could do. This is beyond humanity . . . but I'd like to thank the people of Canada for their support," declared Hasan Huseyin Bozkurt on April 13.

Canadian immigration cops had just arrested him and four other Turkish refugees with outstanding expulsion orders. The refugees were marching to Mirabel International Airport here on foot with their lawyer, Diane Bélanger. The five were deported April 14.

The decision to march to Mirabel, where they planned to give themselves up to immigration authorities, was a last-ditch effort to appeal to the people of Canada to intensify pressure on government authorities to halt the deportations.

It came on the heels of an intense and unprecedented month-long struggle waged by hundreds of Turkish refugees that culminated in a demonstration of more than 1,000 people on Parliament Hill in Ottawa April 12.

The Turkish refugees are part of a group of 2,000, mostly peasants and workers, who came to Canada in late 1986. They fled extreme poverty and political repression in Turkey. Misled by unscrupulous travel agencies there, they sold their belongings and borrowed money to pay for the trip to Canada, where they expected to

find favorable immigration prospects, jobs, and security.

Instead they became the first major target of the Canadian government's campaign against newly arriving immigrants and refugees. According to immigration official Gerry Maffre, more than 1,500 refugee claimants have exhausted all recourse. They could be served with expulsion notices any day. Of the 144 Turkish refugees in this category, 40 received expulsion notices in March.

Over the past year alone, more than 2,000 people have been deported from Canada. What is significant and unprecedented in the case of the Turkish refugees is their decision to stand up and fight the deportations. This struggle is having a powerful impact on working people in Canada.

### Struggle wins broad support

On March 19, some 2,000 Turkish workers and their supporters took to the streets of Montreal. The following day 27 Turkish families served with expulsion notices took refuge in a church basement.

They were joined by other Turkish refugees. Hundreds of Montrealers from all walks of life came by to express their support and sign a petition opposing the deportations.

Statements condemning the expulsions

were issued by the three major Quebec union federations, the Quebec New Democratic Party, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, Quebec Human Right Commission, Montreal municipal government, S.O.S. Racisme, and the Quebec human rights organization Ligue des droits et libertés. Victor Regalado, a Salvadoran refugee whom the government is trying to deport, also denounced the deportations.

Major media coverage generally sympathetic to the plight of the Turkish refugees reflected the broad popular opposition to the expulsions that began to emerge as the facts became known. This mushrooming opposition prevented authorities from arresting those refugees who defied the expulsion orders.

On March 23, ministers in charge of immigration of both the federal and Quebec provincial governments stated they had agreed on a procedure that would suspend the deportations.

However, several days later, after the Turkish refugees and their supporters had left the church and demobilized, thinking they had halted the deportations, the government reversed itself.

### Challenge to Parliament

On April 4 a group of 130 Turkish workers decided to continue the struggle. They

Continued on Page 17