

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Biggest antiwar march since Vietnam

—PAGE 5



WASHINGTON, May 3: Giant march on Pentagon demands end to arms for El Salvador junta and protests Reagan's budget cuts. Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Outrage over murder of Bobby Sands. See pages 2, 3.

Socialist suit
**Gov't
witness
defends
deportation
threat**

—PAGE 6

Why Thatcher killed Bobby Sands

"I was only a working-class boy from a nationalist ghetto, but it is repression that creates the revolutionary spirit of freedom."

"I shall not settle until I achieve the liberation of my country, until Ireland becomes a sovereign independent socialist republic."

These were the words of Bobby Sands, a member of the Irish Republican Army. He is the latest in a long line of martyrs to the cause of Irish freedom. He died at twenty-seven in the sixty-sixth day of a hunger strike demanding basic human rights for Irish political prisoners.

The government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher deliberately killed Bobby Sands. That government's cruelty has sparked a growing storm of protest in Ireland and around the world.

Many other nationalist prisoners are now on hunger strikes demanding their rights. One, Francis Hughes, is reported near death.

Thatcher killed Bobby Sands rather than grant such elementary demands as the right of nationalist political prisoners to wear their own clothing, receive weekly visits and letters, and associate with each other.

Thatcher killed Bobby Sands rather than end the reign of torture, forced confessions, kangaroo courts, and inhuman prison conditions that is British "justice" in Ireland. (The systematic use of torture by British forces in Ireland was documented by the European Human Rights Commission in 1976.)

Above all, Thatcher killed Bobby Sands to arrogantly assert the British rulers' determination to hold Northern Ireland as a colony.

Thatcher tries to put a high moral tone on her cruelty by portraying the nationalist prisoners as "common criminals" and "terrorists." "Crime is crime," she declared.

But who made the laws Bobby Sands was accused of violating? Who decides who is a criminal in Northern Ireland? Who set up the courts that condemned Sands and the prison that held him?

Not the people of Ireland, but the British rulers.

Even the reactionary *New York Post* conceded the point in a May 6 editorial: "That Northern Ireland is now a colony is beyond argument. That is exactly how Britain treats and rules it, albeit prolonging the agony."

The British rulers—who present themselves as paragons of morality for the Irish—have violated every moral precept in the hundreds of years they have occupied Ireland. Their crimes have included the murders of hundreds of thousands and the theft of land from the survivors, who were left to starve.

Today British army murder squads are still assassinating opponents of British rule.

When it became impossible to maintain a colonial grip on all of Ireland, the British rulers artificially divided it in 1921. That imposed division is the root of today's violence.

To maintain their position in Northern Ireland, the British colonial rulers imposed systematic discrimination against Catholics.

Sands was sentenced to fourteen years in prison, not for any "terrorist" act, but for possession of firearms. This right is denied to Catholics in Northern Ireland. But right-wing Protestants who support British rule are armed to the teeth by the government through outfits like the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment. Together with the British army, they terrorize the working-class Catholic ghettos.

But when Catholics possess arms, that's "terrorism."

"Crime is crime"? What hypocrisy!

Discrimination and oppression propped up by British bayonets have made thousands of young Irish workers like Bobby Sands willing to fight for a free, united Ireland by any means necessary—including the sacrifice of their lives.

The people of the Catholic ghettos know that "terrorist" and "common criminal" are tags that colonial rulers have always applied to those who resist domination.

The Margaret Thatchers of two hundred years ago called George Washington a "common criminal."

Not too long ago, Thatcher denounced Robert Mugabe as a terrorist when he headed the struggle against white minority rule in Zimbabwe. Now he is the president of an independent, Black-governed country.

The working people of the Catholic ghettos answered Thatcher's propaganda by electing Sands to represent them in Parliament. They know from bitter experience that it is Thatcher and the billionaires she represents who are the real criminals and terrorists.

Unlike millions of Americans, the Reagan administration is standing behind Thatcher's inhuman policy. He would like to follow her example by portraying striking miners, Blacks who protest racist murders, and opponents of budget cuts as "terrorists," "subversives," and "common criminals."

But Thatcher's position is growing weaker. More and more people are seeing through her "terrorism" scam. In a recent poll taken by the British weekly *Guardian*, 58 percent favored British withdrawal from Ireland.

Now is the time for thousands here in the United States to protest in the streets against Thatcher's policy. Now is the time for unions, civil rights organizations, and others to add their voices to the millions who insist that the demands of the nationalist prisoners in Thatcher's jails be granted now!

No aid to Pol Pot!

The State Department told the media May 2 that it plans to step up U.S. support to forces fighting the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea. The targets are the peoples of Indochina, and above all the Vietnamese revolution.

The army of ousted dictator Pol Pot, concentrated in Thailand near the Kampuchean border, makes up the great majority of the counterrevolutionary forces. This army was responsible for the deaths of literally millions of people during Pol Pot's reign. Washington hopes to forge a front based on the Pol Pot army, with Prince Norodom Sihanouk providing a "liberal" cover.

The prospective "front" is being described as nationalist. But Pol Pot's terrorist army—and anyone who allies with it—is hated by the Kampuchean people. They, along with the Vietnamese, will fight to prevent its return.

Washington is trying to rekindle the smoldering embers of war in Indochina. This policy is a continuation by other means of the genocidal war the American government waged against the peoples of Indochina.

Unlike Reagan, American working people share the hatred that the Kampuchean people feel for the likes of Pol Pot and his army of mass murderers. And as the facts become known, they will recognize the Reagan-Pol Pot alliance as part of Washington's drive toward new Vietnams.

All support to the Pol Pot army and other counterrevolutionary gangs in Indochina must cease. Washington should recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; end the economic blockade of these countries; and give massive amounts of food and other aid to help the peoples of Indochina overcome the damage done by Washington's war and subsequent policies.

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Poland: CP members seek 'renewal'



An interview with a factory worker and Communist Party leader who is helping to lead the fight for democratic rights and against privilege and corruption in Poland's governing party. **Page 21.**

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Bobby Sands death sparks world protest

By Suzanne Haig

Bobby Sands died May 5 in H-Block at Maze Prison in the sixty-sixth day of his hunger strike. He was twenty-seven.

Sands was demanding the rights associated with political prisoner status for Irish nationalists held in British jails. But the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher remained ruthless and implacable, dismissing Sands as a criminal and even presenting his death as proof of her firmness.

Sands, a member of the Irish Republican Army, was elected to parliament from his cell in April. He was the thirteenth Irish nationalist allowed to die in British jails as a result of a hunger strike.

The world responded with outrage.

In Northern Ireland, families poured into the streets in the Catholic neighborhoods. Garbage can lids were pounded to spread the word through the working-class ghettos.

Thousands lined Belfast streets when Sands's body was brought to his parents' home. Black flags flew from houses, and hundreds stood in the rain outside the home to pay their last respects.

May 7 has been declared a day of mourning. Sands will be given a massive martyr's funeral that day, led by his IRA comrades.

About 11,000 British troops and



Supporters of the Irish freedom fight marching in May 3 antiwar action in Washington, D.C. Militant/Lou Howort

14,000 police and military reservists were put on alert in Northern Ireland. Armed right-wing Protestant paramilitary gangs paraded in the streets in preparation for backing the British troops in attacks on the ghettos.

The Thatcher government was preparing to use any violent explosion to suppress the Catholic community and divert world attention from the mistreatment of the political prisoners.

More hunger strikers

But the Provisional Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, urged "dignified" mourning. Sands's mother issued a similar call.

The H-Block Armagh Committee released a statement declaring that "the period leading up to the funeral should not be marred by any action which would detract from the dignity and heroism of Bobby Sands's sacrifice or distract attention from the continuing hunger strike."

Three other Irish political prisoners are currently on hunger strikes: Francis Hughes, in his fifty-third day as we go to press; and Patsy O'Hara and Raymond McCreesh, in their forty-sixth day. Seventy more imprisoned nationalists reportedly announced they will begin hunger strikes.

In the United States, protests occurred in front of British consulates in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, Boston, Chicago, New York, and other cities.

In New York City, the 35,000-member Transport Workers Union Local 100 called on bus drivers to keep their headlights on all day May 7 to protest Thatcher's callous policy.

Some 200 TWU members, wearing green ribbons for the Black children in Atlanta, joined a picket line at the British consulate in Manhattan May 5.

The 110,000-member International Longshoremen's Association is staging a twenty-four-hour boycott of British shipping May 7.

Even some Democratic and Republican politicians feel pressured to take positions opposing the British government's stand.

The New Jersey Assembly passed a resolution May 4 hailing the "Honorable Bobby Sands, M.P." for his "courage and commitment" and denouncing the "irrational and inhumane" policies of Thatcher's government.

The Massachusetts Senate proclaimed Sands the "most recent and conspicuous victim of British injustice to the Irish people."

"The British government persists in its occupation of that portion of occupied Ireland which it seized by force and rules with systematic injustice. That occupation, with its cruel incidents of oppression is the root cause of the troubles of that otherwise peaceful land."

'Beacons of light'

Thousands took to the streets in three cities in France to protest the death of Sands.

Protests were also reported in Oslo, Norway; Athens; Brisbane, Australia; and many other cities.

The Iranian government announced it would send a representative to Sands's funeral. Tehran radio carried a message from President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr to Sands's parents. Bani-Sadr called Sands a "brilliant star" and predicted his death would turn the youth of Northern Ireland into "beacons to light the path of the liberation struggle."

Moral bankruptcy

In the European Parliament, the 120-member caucus of Social Democratic

representatives, which includes British Labor Party leader Barbara Castle, condemned Thatcher for failing to take "positive action" to end Sands's hunger strike.

The Soviet news agency Tass condemned the British government for refusing to grant Sands's demands "despite large-scale protests by world public opinion."

In the face of growing isolation, Thatcher stated in parliament that granting political status would be giving Irish "terrorists" a "license to kill." "This government will never grant political status no matter how much hunger striking there may be. . . .

"Mr. Sands was a convicted criminal. He chose to take his own life," she claimed.

According to news reports, one voice was raised in parliament to challenge Thatcher's criminal stand. Over shouts of opposition from Conservatives, Labor Party member Patrick Duffy told Thatcher:

"By appearing hard and unfeeling, or firm and determined, you have spectacularly illuminated for growing bodies of opinion in neighboring and allied countries, whose comments are flowing in hourly, your government's moral bankruptcy and the colossal and criminal incompetence of Conservative governments of all times in their dealings with Ireland."

But Michael Foot, head of the parliamentary Labor Party, backed Thatcher's stand.

Not in vain

The British cabinet is now drafting legislation that would disqualify certain convicted criminals from running for parliament, according to the May 6 *New York Times*. Thatcher hopes to use such a law to block Sands's constituents from electing another political prisoner to his vacant seat.

Grossly undemocratic moves like this will not stem the growing upsurge in Northern Ireland, nor the world outrage at Thatcher's cruelty.

The protests show that the movement against British rule in Northern Ireland is on the rise.

Bobby Sands did not die in vain.

N.Y. picket

By Marc Lichtman

NEW YORK—More than 4,000 people paraded and picketed here May 5 to express outrage at the British policies that murdered Bobby Sands.

Some 500 people rallied on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral to hear former attorney general Ramsey Clark, onetime New York City Council president Paul O'Dwyer, and others. The rally was called by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

"Bobby Sands died for human rights," declared Clark.

O'Dwyer compared the freedom fight in Ireland to those in El Salvador and the Black ghettos of America. He announced that the International Longshoremen's Association had decided to stage a one-day boycott of British goods to protest the killing of Sands.

"Margaret Thatcher has disposed not of Bobby Sands, but of herself," declared Father Daniel Berrigan. "She will go the way of all pimping politicians."

The protest rally ended with the singing of "We Shall Overcome," the theme of both the U.S. and Northern Ireland civil rights movements.

The picket line grew in size as it marched down Fifth Avenue to join a demonstration already in progress at the British Consulate, called by Irish Northern Aid. By this time, participants in the actions had numbered thousands.

Irish group under attack

A federal judge ruled May 1 that the Irish Northern Aid Committee (Noraid) must register as a foreign agent with the government. The government claims Noraid is an "agent" of the Irish Republican Army.

Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley sent a letter to Noraid leader Frank Durkan backing the committee's fight against government harassment. The trial of the SWP's suit against government spying and harassment is presently going on in a New York federal courtroom. Below are excerpts from Pulley's letter:

"This attack on your democratic and human rights is aimed at stopping organized solidarity in this country with the just struggle of Ireland for its freedom from British imperialism and military occupation."

"But support for the struggle of the Irish people is growing among American workers of all colors as they learn more about the heroic fight of the H-Block and Armagh political prisoners, especially Bobby Sands."

Read the ideas they're out to suppress

One of the most important trials of the 1980s is taking place in a courtroom in New York City. At stake is the right of American workers to hold socialist ideas and to put those ideas in practice.

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Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Milwaukee conference hits U.S. Salvador policy

Frank Forrestal reports that some 250 people attended an April 11 conference on U.S. intervention in Central America, sponsored by the Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy/Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CAND/CISPES).

In the evening, a spirited solidarity rally was held with Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists; Michael Donovan, brother of one of the slain missionaries in El Salvador; Anne Braden from the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador; and others.

Joseph Gruber, vice president of the Wisconsin AFL-CIO, told the gathering that trade unionists have to stand on the side of human rights. He noted that for years the AFL-CIO leadership held the view that behind every human rights activist was the red menace. "If that's the truth," he said, "then I guess I am a communist."

Providence labor backs Salvadorans

The Providence, Rhode Island, Central Federated Labor Council of the AFL-CIO, representing ninety-seven union locals in the city, passed a resolution in March calling for the withdrawal of U.S. advisors from El Salvador. The council also urged passage of House Bill HR 1509, which would prohibit U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

Kirkpatrick gets the silent treatment

More than 200 protesters, organized jointly by the NAACP, the El Salvador Mobilization Committee, and Catholic clergy, turned out to protest the awarding of an honorary doctorate to U.N. Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick at commencement ceremonies at the University of Pittsburgh on April 26.

In addition to the picket line, more than 140 faculty and staff members signed a letter to the university chancellor denouncing Kirkpatrick and maintaining that her choice as a speaker was "inconsistent with the ideals and goals of the university."

During her speech at the ceremonies, applause was very sparse as the audience of 6,000 observed a protest of silence.

Cuban film gets a 'surprising' review in Pittsburgh

In the April 15 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the Cuban film *Death of a Bureaucrat* was rated to be the "most delightful movie satire since 'Being There,'" a film featuring Peter Sellers.

George Anderson, the *Gazette's* drama critic, begins his review by pointing out that, "There's a certain tempting irony about opening a movie called 'Death of a Bureaucrat' on income tax day."

"But the real news . . . is that it is the first Cuban film ever to land a commercial booking in a Pittsburgh theatre."

He then goes on to explain that "its only propagandistic purpose is on the side of humanity against unfeeling rigid governments that threaten to bury their citizens in red tape. That's a cause any right-thinking American can support—especially on this [income tax] day."

After briefly describing the plot of the movie, Anderson notes that, "For an American, the freedom that [Cuban film director] Alea enjoyed in making his engaging film is surprising. He even makes fun of a pompous head of a studio making ridiculous propagandistic posters, using an octopus to represent imperialism, with names of American corporations tied to each tentacle."

He ends his review by pointing out that, "When a movie speaks so entertainingly across political gulfs, as 'Death of a Bureaucrat' does, it provides a heartening reminder that people and art transcend governments. . . ."

Anderson's surprised reaction is why Washington has imposed a blockade against Cuba. Even the slightest rupture in the blockade brings "surprisingly" favorable reviews of the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution.

End the blockade now!

—Nelson González

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Major protest against Reagan set for Notre Dame May 17

The Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador has called for a massive demonstration May 17 at 1 p.m. on the grounds of Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana.

The protest has been called to denounce the university administration's decision to confer an honorary degree on Ronald Reagan, who will be addressing the student body that day. FBI Director William Webster will also receive a degree.

Two weeks ago, when the university announced its plans, over 800 students turned out to protest.

In addition to the Chicago Religious Task Force, the Christian

Committee on El Salvador, a Notre Dame University-based El Salvador solidarity group, has endorsed the action, as has the Indiana Latin America Network.

Other solidarity groups in the region are planning to participate.

The demands of the protest will be: Stop U.S. aid to El Salvador; Withdraw U.S. troops; Cut the military budget; Restore funds for human needs.

For more information call or write to: Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador, 407 South Dearborn, Room 370, Chicago, Illinois 60605. Telephone: (312) 427-2533.

Protests demand truth on disappearance of priest

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—The disappearance of a Chicago priest in San Salvador on April 26 has provoked widespread outrage here, directed at both the Reagan administration and the El Salvadoran military junta.

On May 6, according to State Department spokespeople, Father Roy Bourgeois entered the American Embassy in San Salvador apparently unharmed after being missing for ten days.

A Maryknoll Fathers media spokesperson verified this report in a phone interview with the *'Militant.'* Plans are being made to organize a press conference as soon as Father Bourgeois returns to the United States, he said.

In that country, he said, "people do not disappear, they are made to disappear." And the only forces capable of making such "disappearances," Dahm said, "are the military, the paramilitary right wing, and the government they are under the orders of."

President Reagan announced on April 28 his "full satisfaction" with the "investigation" ordered by El Salvador's president José Napoleon Duarte.

Meanwhile, WMAQ-TV, which also has a news team in El Salvador, has tried to help the cover-up of Bourgeois's disappearance.

On April 29 newsman Jim Ruddle scolded a Maryknoll priest on the air, via telephone from San Salvador, about Bourgeois's "violation of journalistic ethics" in coming to El Salvador with a news team while being a "known critic of the government."



Demonstrators at May 3 march on Washington

Some 250 protesters picketed the U.S. Federal Building on April 30 in Chicago. They demanded the government act to find Father Roy Bourgeois, a member of the Maryknoll order.

Bourgeois has been a central leader of the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador. He went there recently accompanying a WBBM news team as an interpreter for the CBS affiliate's feature series on the Catholic Church.

News of Bourgeois's disappearance reached Chicago on April 27. On April 28, more than 200 people gathered at a religious service for Bourgeois, where Father Thomas Dahm placed "total responsibility" for the missing priest's safety on the government of El Salvador.

"Newspeople," Ruddle lectured, "aren't supposed to take positions," they're supposed to "remain objective" and avoid "taking sides."

But Bourgeois didn't report news, he was a translator. In fact, he told religious colleagues prior to his trip he would "stick like glue" to the WBBM crew, out of fear of the government and the paramilitary gangs it operates.

The Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador is organizing support for an independent investigating team on Bourgeois's disappearance. It would be composed of Maryknoll priests and nuns and members of Congress. It would work with a separate team fielded by the U.S. State Department.



Photos by Lou Howort and Roberto Kopeck

MAY 3: U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR!

By Nelson González

The May 3 march on Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador was the largest and most important antiwar demonstration since the end of the Vietnam war.

March organizers estimated that over 100,000 people turned out. Official police estimates put the size of the demonstration at 25,000, but even conservative estimates from march participants placed it at three times that size.

The massive, peaceful, and well-organized action was initiated by the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) and actively built by numerous other organizations, including the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Mobilization for Survival, National Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, the National Black United Front (NBUF), and others.

The most popular slogan was "No draft, No war, U.S. Out of El Salvador!" Many marchers tied this to Reagan's budget cutbacks.

District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, for example, had a banner that read: "American trade unionists say: money for human needs, not war machines."

Contingents came from as far away as San Antonio, Texas; North Dakota; and Florida. The Northeast and Midwest were well represented. Ten thousand also demonstrated in San Francisco.

Internationalist character

The large number of Latino participants on the Washington march highlighted the internationalist character of the protest. Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and Cubans joined in. There were also many Iranians, Palestinians, Filipinos, and Haitians.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Casa El Salvador, and Casa Nicaragua came in organized contingents.

The National Black United Front brought a contingent of several hundred supporters, in addition to those brought by the Black Veterans for Social Justice.

Besides District Council 37 of AFSCME, union contingents came from Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers Union, District 65 United Auto Workers, and UAW Local 900.

District 37 and the Black United Front led off the march. Many religious groups also had contingents.

In addition, almost every left group participated, including Workers World Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, Communist Party, Young Workers Liberation League, Communist Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Some marchers were veterans of the anti-Vietnam war movement. But for the most part, the march was composed of college-age and high-school youth who had not participated in a national antiwar march before.

These youth represented a new generation of fighters who are the driving force of today's "Vietnam syndrome."

Co-chairing the rally were Larry Holmes of PAM and Heidi Tarver, representing the Ad Hoc May 3 Coalition and CISPES.

Sister Geraldine Blake, regional coordinator for Central America of the Maryknoll Order, told how she had lived in Nicaragua for nine years—through earthquakes, droughts, and two popular insurrections.

"The church will not hesitate to take up the cause of the poor, not to ask for charity, but to ask for justice," she declared.

She asked those present to pray for Rev. Roy Bourgeois, the Maryknoll priest who is among the latest to "disappear" in El Salvador. She ended by calling upon the U.S. government to halt all military aid to the junta.

Michio Kaku, professor of nuclear physics and a leader of the antinuclear movement, explained the connection between the nuclear industry and the Salvadoran junta.

Michael Donovan, brother of one of the slain Catholic missionaries, delivered a short message.

Paul O'Dwyer, former New York city council president, unleashed a stinging

attack on U.S. interventionism. He blasted the government's role not only in El Salvador, but around the world.

O'Dwyer also took several minutes to denounce British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her disregard of the just struggle of the Irish people. When he urged the crowd to remember Irish H-Block leader Bobby Sands, there was spontaneous, sustained applause.

One of the most inspiring moments came during the performance of "Sweet Honey in the Rock." The group had composed a beautiful song describing the plight of the Black community in Atlanta. During the performance, the huge crowd was silent. Most demonstrators were wearing green ribbons.

When the singing ended, the rally broke out in chants of "Defend Atlanta's children, not the junta!"

FDR speaker

After Bella Abzug and several others spoke, Arnuldo Ramos was introduced as a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. As he came to the microphone, the crowd rose to give him the longest ovation of the day.

"In the last few months, there have been over 5,000 people killed in El Salvador," he said. "Is this the way you want to invest your tax dollars?" Tens of thousands of people answered, "No!"

"Do you want to empty America's coffers to save someone like Duarte?" Again, the crowd shouted, "No!"

Ramos ended by saying, "The greatness of this march will fill my compatriots with hope to continue the struggle. . . . We have only begun to fight." The demonstrators again rose to their feet in a standing ovation.

Rally participants showed a high level of receptivity and support for struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world.

When Rev. Herbert Daughtry of NBUF talked about the need to support Grenadians, Nicaraguans, South Africans, Namibians, and Palestinians against U.S. imperialism, his speech was well received by everyone.

Another noticeable characteristic of

the march was the sustained enthusiasm and energy of the participants. This reflected the youthfulness of the march, but also the level of commitment and willingness to back it up with action.

In an attempted provocation, forces backing the Reagan administration organized a counter-action on the fringes of the May 3 demonstration. It was sponsored by a group calling itself the Institute on Religion and Democracy.

According to the May 3 *New York Times*, William Doherty, executive director of the CIA's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), endorsed the right-wing action.

The counterdemonstration attracted only 300 to 400 followers of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

While counterdemonstrations in support of U.S. policy in El Salvador draw "moonies," the solidarity movement is gearing up for bigger and better actions.

Heidi Tarver announced national solidarity actions on July 19 to defend the Nicaraguan revolution and to protest the Reagan administration's aid cutoff there.

Rev. Daughtry also urged support for the Black United Front's protest May 13 when South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha comes to Washington, D.C., to meet with Secretary of State Haig.

As the May 3 demonstrators, along with coal miners, rail workers, and others are showing, the Reagan administration hasn't seen anything yet.

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Socialists defend rights of non-citizens

Question Immigration official in court

By Harry Ring

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

Such proscription would mean that members or supporters of the party not born in this country would be subject to possible deportation proceedings. Supporters abroad could be excluded from entering the United States.

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

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

Although it was apparently decided on earlier, the INS move was not publicly disclosed until the trial was under way. Formal notice was handed the SWP following testimony in the party's behalf by Brazilian-born jazz musician Gaudencio Thiago de Mello.

Previously proscribed

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

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

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

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

However, after a court recess, Bertness asked to clarify his original an-

swer. He then asserted that the review was decided on because the State Department categorizes the SWP as a "proscribed" organization and the INS felt the government should be "consistent" on the question.

Who called the discrepancy to his attention?

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

'Good reason'?

In a document submitted to the court April 24, the INS stated, "It is now the position of the Commissioner of the INS that good reason exists to believe" the SWP should be declared a proscribed organization.

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

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

Continued on page 13



GLENN BERTNESS

Militant/Diane Jacobs

What this case is about

Socialists have always known the government doesn't like them and, when ever practical, will hit them below the belt.

Socialists have also understood that they're not the only ones who get hit below the belt.

There are a lot of other people in this country that the government doesn't like.

Militant unionists. Blacks and Latinos who demand their rights. Women who fight for full equality.

Opponents of war. Environmentalists. Gay rights advocates. Many more.

All of these are on the government's hit list.

The aim of the socialist suit is to scrap the list.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are demanding \$40 million damages for illegal acts the government has committed against them—burglaries, wiretaps, victimization of members, and more.

They are also demanding a halt to some of the "legal" things the government does.

For instance, there are laws which flatly contradict the Constitution. Like the Smith and McCarran Acts, which make the advocacy of certain ideas illegal, even though such advocacy is guaranteed by the First Amendment.

The socialists are also challenging the president's little-known but

sweeping powers to issue "executive orders" authorizing the most odious kind of secret police activity—like FBI snoopers checking the "loyalty" of civil service employees, members of the armed forces, "defense" plant workers.

The socialist suit is aimed at these antidemocratic laws and executive orders as well as at the admittedly illegal acts the government has committed. They are asking the court to rule that these laws and orders don't apply to them.

If they win, the government will have a hard time applying them to others. That's why everyone who wants a better life has a stake in the outcome of this trial.

Newark picket line protests deportation threat

By Vivian Sahner

NEWARK—Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members organized an informational picket line at the Federal Building here on April 30.

Supporters joined in picketing and distributing leaflets explaining threats by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport socialists and "affiliates."

Lauren Selden, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union—New Jersey, also joined the protest. He told the *Militant* why.

"The INS declaration is a clear signal that the Reagan administration has the same mentality as those who sat in Washington during the worst days of the cold war," Selden said.

"This president will try to hide the attack behind his customary benign smile, while he's pushing through another era when those who seek change are labeled subversive and therefore outside the protection of the Bill of Rights."

Solidarity messages

Other civil rights defenders sent messages of support.

"I want to add my voice to those who condemn the projected addition of the SWP to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's list of 'forbidden' organizations," said Reverend Paul

Mayer, convener of the Religious Task Force, Mobilization for Survival.

"The present administration would be better advised to address itself to the real threats to our national secur-

ity, such as our deteriorating cities, the escalating rate of inflation and unemployment, and the cutbacks of basic human services. . . ."

Frank Askin, a Rutgers University professor of law and general counsel for the ACLU, commented, "I would suggest that the government attorneys defending this case take a fresh look at their constitutional law books and after so doing withdraw their suggestion that the Immigration and Naturalization Service might in fact undertake punitive action against SWP supporters."

Alan Swenson, program coordinator of New Jersey SANE; and Christine Carmody-Arey, coordinator of New Jersey National Organization for Women, also sent messages.

Several foreign-born members of the SWP walked in the Newark picket line. Frank Camo, who was born in Italy, told the *Militant* that the INS first harassed him in the early 1970s after he participated in anti-Vietnam war

demonstrations in Philadelphia.

"I wasn't even a socialist then. The INS called me in and started asking me questions about the Philadelphia Committee to End the War. They visited my boss. They even visited my mother's boss," Camo said.

"It was one reason I didn't join the SWP until 1976, after I became a naturalized citizen."

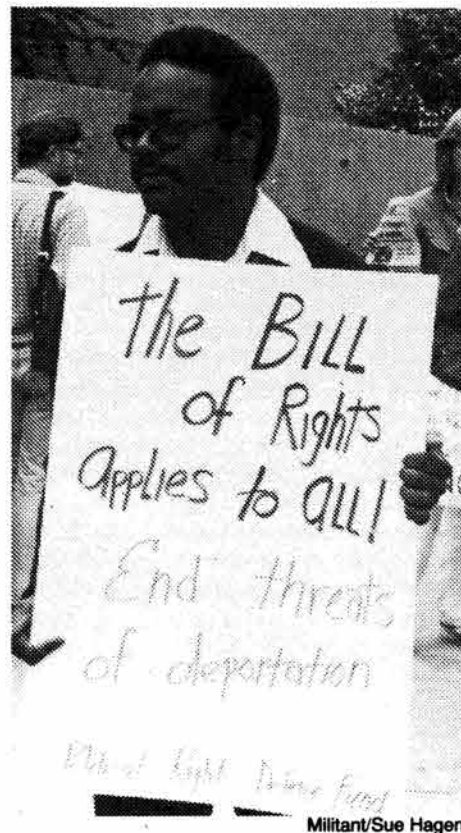
SWP not only target

"It's important to understand what the INS is doing now," Camo continued. "They aren't just out to get the SWP; the INS is used against anyone who has ideas the government doesn't like."

James Harris, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey, also walked the picket line. Harris called the INS move "a threat to everyone's right of freedom of speech and association."

"We have put the thought-control policies of the INS, the FBI, and other agencies on trial," said Harris. "The government is trying to defend its actions by threats and intimidation."

"But we aren't going to be intimidated. We're going to launch the largest public protest of the INS move that we can."



Militant/Sue Hagen

NEWS OF THE TRIAL IN THIS ISSUE

In addition to coverage of day-by-day events in the trial against government spying, this issue contains a number of features highlighting the socialists' case.

- Harassment in the army (page 11)
- What's at stake for Blacks (page 9)
- Crimes against antiwar movement (pages 24-28)

Building support for suit—a central task

By Malik Miah

After four weeks, the main issues in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government have come forward clearly.

The FBI's forty-five years of illegal activity; the undemocratic "thought control" legislation; and the government claim to unlimited powers of the presidency to "protect and defend the U.S. Constitution" are being brought into public view.

The stakes are high in the battle unfolding in New York's Foley Square.

The central leadership of the SWP in New York is devoting the bulk of its time and energy to lead this historic battle against the government's secret police. All members of the SWP and YSA, in branches, chapters, and trade union fractions, are now moving to put maximum resources into this fight.

Andrew Pulley, the SWP's 1980 presidential candidate, is helping to coordinate the suit-support activities from the party's national office. He told the *Militant*, "We are proposing to our branches that a radical shift take place in the priorities of their work. As long as the trial is going on, the party's number-one national campaign is winning new support for the case and explaining the stakes involved in the trial."

"This case concerns all supporters of democratic rights—trade unionists, Black activists, women's rights supporters."

"The confrontation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service will have special meaning to supporters of the Salvadoran revolution and all political refugees of brutal dictatorships whom the INS are threatening to deport."

Miners' strike

The trial takes place at a time when other important political events are happening. These include the coal miners' strike; a major antiwar protest at Notre Dame University in Indiana when Ronald Reagan and FBI Director William Webster go there to accept honorary degrees May 17; actions in support of Irish political prisoners; a May 25 march on Washington, D.C., called by the Atlanta mothers.

SWP and YSA members are active on all these fronts. It's all part and parcel of the same confrontation taking place at the trial. This is how the government sees it. In reality, they look at all of these actions as "subversive activities."

The socialists will be taking the story of this trial to participants in these struggles and asking their help.

Pulley said socialist workers think they should get support from individuals and groups, such as the Communist Party, that have been victimized by the FBI. He pointed to a recent editorial in the *Guardian* newsweekly, which said:

"We believe it is incumbent upon left and progressive people to understand the far-reaching implications of the current trial. . . . All progressive people would bear the brunt of an adverse decision."

The latest issue of *In These Times* features a story on the trial and announces regular coverage.

At the trial, FBI Agent Charles

Mandigo said the main basis for the FBI's investigation of the SWP is that we are "subversives." He has submitted a "secret affidavit" to the judge. The government alleges it contains evidence of "illegal acts" by socialists. Yet the FBI has not arrested us!

In the 1940s and 1950s, the Smith Act thought-control law was used to jail leading SWP and Communist Party members.

Today the situation is different. The government and its finks are just as rotten as ever. But the working class and its allies—here and abroad—are more conscious of their power and are using it.

Political context of trial

This is the political context in which our case against the government occurs. Our suit is one way to oppose the attacks of the Reagan Administration. The more support it gets from the labor movement, Black organizations, women's groups, forces on the left, and others, the more pressure is exerted on the government and its informers to leave us all alone.

It makes it harder for Reagan to pardon FBI agents; to harass Black Party activists; victimize undocumented workers; or to pass and carry out antilabor legislation.

In other words, supporting the socialist suit against the government is one more vehicle working people can use to fight back against the attacks of the employers and government.

We must remember that the government is using the unlimited resources of the state to conduct its campaign against us. They have an army of FBI, INS and other agents to call upon—paid for by our tax dollars.

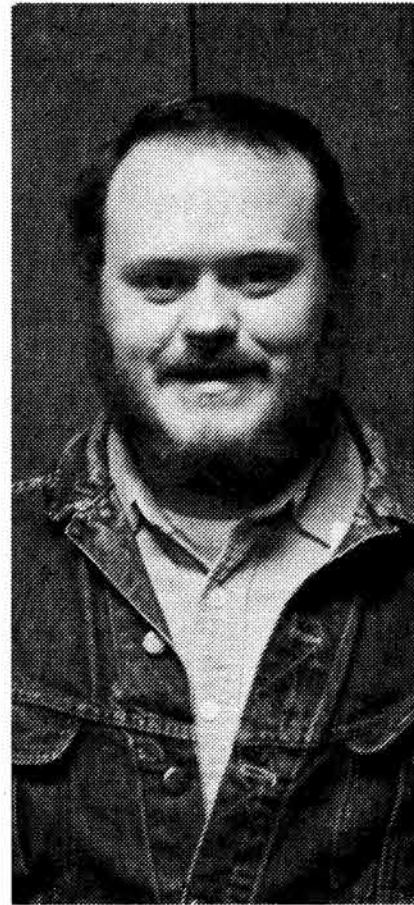
PRDF

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has been organizing support for the suit since 1973. PRDF has wide endorsement from people who do not necessarily agree with the ideas and views of the SWP and YSA, but oppose the FBI's legal and illegal acts.

Prominent sponsors include Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers; Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP; Edward Asner; Jane Fonda; four of the Hollywood Ten, who served prison terms for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee; and many more. PRDF has raised thousands of dollars to help defray legal expenses.

Now that the trial is in full swing, PRDF's role is even more important. Broadly supported PRDF rallies, with speakers from a cross-section of the FBI's victims, can become big events. They in and of themselves can strike a

Striking coal miners attend trial



RICH POLING

Militant/Stu Singer

Rich Poling and Tom Moriarty, two striking coal miners who work near Fairmont, West Virginia, came up to New York for a few days to attend the trial. Both are members of United Mine Workers Local 1949.

After their first day at the trial, I asked Rich what he thought.

"It's what I expected. The government was very evasive and they're trying to stretch it out."

"The way I see it is they're trying to exhaust you financially. That's the name of their game. They obviously have more money than this organization."

Poling said miners have had their own experiences with government attacks on their rights: "I would say whenever we have strikes or problems, miners always see that particular part of our society—the government, the police, the National Guard, whatever—always siding with the companies against the working people."

"It always ends up that they're the ones we end up fighting and coal miners know that. That's in their tradition. They have a sense of whose side the government is on."

"I think that's why there's a lot of empathy with your case."

political blow against Reaganism and the political police.

Some examples

Here are some examples of the things people are now doing to back the suit:

Seventeen people in Philadelphia, who regularly attend Militant Forums, met to discuss the suit. They decided to send out a 1,000-piece mailing and build a picket line against the INS decision to "review" the status of the SWP.

In Chicago-Gary, socialist steelworkers are putting out a special piece of literature to win support from co-workers.

At the UAW-organized Budd plant in Philadelphia, after one worker learned of the trial, he pulled out his wallet and donated \$5.

In New Orleans, and several other cities, PRDF has won new Black support. When Blacks hear of the NAACP's strong support for the suit, many want to do what they can to help, too.

After the massive April 29 rail dem-

onstration in Washington, more than 100 rail workers came to a reception sponsored by the SWP. They heard a report on the trial from Steve Wattenmaker, a pipefitter in a Conrail shop.

More than 5,000 pieces of a special PRDF fact sheet and petition on the government's threats to deport socialists were distributed at the May 3 antiwar action in Washington. *Militant* salespeople at the demonstration reported high interest in the case. People they talked to asked how the case was going, who was on the stand, and how they could help.

Money is badly needed for the suit. PRDF must raise \$125,000 just to cover legal costs. (See page 9 for more details.)

Socialists are asking for and getting contributions on the job. There are also many professional people—doctors, lawyers, artists—and others who can give large sums of money to the case.

For example, a PRDF supporter in Racine, Wisconsin, aided by SWP members from Milwaukee, recently organized a cocktail party. This can be done in many places.

The virtual news blackout on the trial nationally (part of a failure by the capitalist media to report pro-working-class activities) means winning local news coverage is extremely important. If candidates for public office, PRDF endorsers, co-workers, or other supporters of the case come to New York and attend the trial, they can return and talk about the case on local radio and TV, get press interviews, and speak before unions, on campus and in high schools.

The most effective way working people can keep informed is by reading the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. An accompanying article on page 8 details a major sales drive underway for the duration of the trial.

COME TO THE TRIAL

Show your support.
Daily from 10 a.m. at the Federal Courthouse,
Room 302.
Foley Square, New York City

MEET THE WITNESSES FOR THE SWP AND THE YSA

Each Saturday during the trial. Hear reports on the trial proceedings. Find out what socialists stand for. Refreshments.

IN MANHATTAN:
108 E. 16th St., 3-4 p.m.

IN BROOKLYN:
335 Atlantic Ave., 3-5 p.m.

Malik Miah is a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party.

Launch sales drive to back socialist suit

By Margaret Jayko

There are a lot of people in this country who don't like the FBI, the CIA, or the Immigration Service—la migra. They're inspired by people who are fighting back against these political cops.

People like the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, who have put the government on trial for its illegal spying and harassment.

But the commercial media isn't telling. When it comes to revelations about government crimes against socialists, Blacks, Latinos, women, and unionists—crimes that are repulsive to the majority of the American people—mum's the word.

Especially when the victims start winning a few rounds.

Big sales drive launched

That's why members and friends of the SWP and YSA have launched a new campaign to sell as many copies as possible of the *Militant*, and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The campaign will run until the end of the trial.

Across the country, SWP branches, and YSA chapters are setting their goals in this national effort to spread the word about the trial.

They are discussing how many individual copies they can sell each week, as well as a goal for special introductory subscriptions. The \$2 introductory subscriptions will be attractive to people who are interested in following the trial every week.

The drive got off to a fine start at the May 3 Washington demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. SWP and YSA members were among the tens of thousands of demonstrators who had come to demand the U.S. get out of El Salvador.

May 3

Militant and *PM* salespeople talked to many on the march. "Have you seen the *Militant/PM*? It has full coverage of the socialists' suit against the FBI, CIA, and INS."

Many had already heard about it, through the few articles that have appeared in the capitalist press, or the sympathetic coverage in several of the radical papers.

But, heard of it or not, the response was friendly and interested. Many who came to Washington were demonstrating against government policies for the first time and were eager to find out about others who are standing up to Reagan.

Bill Scheer sold twenty-three copies of the *Militant* and two subscriptions. He found the best way to sell was to talk to people about the trial. "Everyone's response was positive and concerned. People gave me donations and wished us the best of luck."

Maggie Trowe sold twenty-two *Militants*, one *PM*, three *Militant* subscriptions, and ten copies of the *Young Socialist*. She would have sold more *PMs* except, "many of the Latinos I spoke to already subscribed."

"I'd tell people that the *Militant* has the views of the party that's putting the FBI on trial. I invited anyone who lived in New York or visiting there to attend the trial. That way they could see for themselves how we're forcing the government to show some of its true colors."

Don Davis helped staff the socialist literature table at the demonstration where the *Militant*, *PM*, and suit literature were prominently displayed and distributed.

"We sold thirty-seven subscriptions to people who wanted to keep up with the trial proceedings."

"People said they suspected the government had done a lot of under-



'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' sales drive got off to good start at May 3 demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Table displaying socialist literature, above, also did brisk business.

BROOKLYN

PROTEST NEW DEPORTATION THREATS

Speakers:

Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party under order of deportation
Elias Ayoub, Palestinian activist facing deportation
Puerto Rican Socialist Party representative
Casa Nicaragua representative
Ernesto Jofre, president, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 169

Friday, May 15, 8 p.m.
 333 Atlantic Avenue

Sponsors: Political Rights Defense Fund, Casa Nicaragua, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Palestine Solidarity Committee.
 Donation: \$2. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

handed things. So they were pleased to learn that our suit and trial have been able to document a lot of it."

By the end of the day, the socialists had gotten out 1,650 papers and 10,000 leaflets and brochures about the trial. Eighty-eight subscriptions were sold.

Teams to coal fields

The thousands of coal miners now on strike to defend their union are certainly high on the government's hit list.

In solidarity with these fighting unionists, socialist miners and other members of the SWP and YSA have taken the *Militant*, *PM*, and information about the trial to coal towns across the country.

Coal miners are interested in exchanging ideas with socialists about the strike. But the sales teams have found that strikers are also interested in the socialist suit, the racist murders

in Atlanta, and many other social and political issues.

The eight sales teams have visited the coal fields of Pennsylvania; West Virginia; Birmingham, Alabama; Kentucky; southern Illinois; Utah; and Colorado.

So far, they've sold more than 750 subscriptions, mostly to coal miners and their families.

Miners are certainly no strangers to cops, spies, informers, and other government finks. The proud history of their union includes the fight against such company-inspired scum. So they can certainly relate to the socialists' battle with the boys in the White House.

One woman miner in Utah had thought about voting for the SWP candidates in the last election after she had seen him on TV. She was very supportive of the SWP suit: "I hope you

get every penny out of the government that you're suing them for."

A woman in Nemicon, Pennsylvania, explained, "When they were trying to organize the UMWA here, the cops had rifles and machine guns and would fire on us from the hills to terrorize and intimidate people. The FBI is just like cops. They're all crooks."

Learning about socialism

On May 4, Tom Moriarty and Rich Poling, two striking miners from West Virginia, came up to New York to attend the trial for a few days. Rich has been reading the *Militant* for about six months, and has been following the trial coverage.

He especially liked the testimony of Farrell Dobbs, the first witness and a longtime leader of the SWP.

"Dobbs was very open about everything. He wasn't trying to hide anything about it. I think reading his testimony would give people a quick overview of what the Socialist Workers Party stands for," said Poling.

The Dobbs testimony gave a concise explanation of many of the basic ideas of Marxism. Many readers had a reaction similar to a woman in Brooklyn who recently bought a subscription.

She said that she had learned more about socialism from reading Dobbs's testimony than anything else she had ever read.

The testimony of leaders of the SWP that is run in the *Militant* and *PM* can be used in classes introducing people to socialist ideas.

Lots of opportunities

There are many ways that *Militant* and *PM* readers can use the papers to get out the word about this courtroom battle.

Saturday tables at shopping malls and in Black and Latino communities, complete with banners about the trial, can be effective.

The fact that the *Militant* and *PM* have the scoop on this trial will surely boost sales at plant gates, rail yards, and other worksites.

The same is true for sales at high schools and colleges.

'Perspectiva Mundial'

PM is the only Spanish-language publication that runs extensive coverage of the trial.

Latinos, who have been a major target of la migra, can readily identify with the bold response of the SWP and YSA in the face of the INS's threat to deport foreign-born members and supporters of these organizations. One Latin American activist explained that if the government wants to deport socialists, it'll go after activists in the El Salvador solidarity movement next. So, he was going to pay a lot of attention to *PM's* coverage of the trial.

And fighters for Puerto Rican independence have first-hand knowledge of the government's use of the slander "terrorist" to try and break them.

All of this makes sales of *PM* a priority. *PM* will find a warm welcome among Latino workers, in communities, and at colleges and high schools with large numbers of Spanish-language speaking students.

Get out the truth!

The more light that can be shed on the hidden workings of Washington's political police apparatus, the less able they will be to use it against us.

The *Militant/PM* sales drive offers every reader the chance to help defend and extend democratic rights.

To order a weekly bundle of the *Militant* and *PM*, write to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

What's at stake for Blacks in SWP suit

By Malik Miah

Why should Blacks active in unions, civil rights, women's, student, and other organizations endorse and financially contribute to the Political Rights Defense Fund?

PRDF gathers support and raises money for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit.

PRDF is seeking to get at least \$125,000 in the next two months to pay for escalating legal expenses.

The socialist trial concerns every potential victim of the government's political police. The SWP and YSA are strong supporters of the Bill of Rights—while the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other governmental agencies openly claim the socialists' democratic rights can be violated to "defend" the U.S. Constitution.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, in a recent statement explained clearly why Blacks should support the socialists:

"The NAACP holds a profound respect for the democratic process and feels that any illegal actions by a governmental agency or by the police, through illegal wiretappings, the use of provocateurs and other harassment tactics, have no place in this society."

Other Black supporters of the suit include: Horace Sheffield, national secretary of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and a member of the UAW's international staff; Cleveland Robinson, United Auto Workers District 65; Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; activist Dick Gregory; Rev. Willie Barrow, vice-president of Operation PUSH; Lucius Walker of the National Anti-Klan Network; Representatives John Conyers, Ron Dellums, Gus Savage and George Crockett.

Blacks singled out

Civil rights activists know first-hand how the FBI's spies and counter-intelligence programs work. For decades Blacks have been singled out for special harassment, blacklisting, and wiretapping. We have always been treated as second class citizens—or worse.

One of Malcolm X's bodyguards at the time he was assassinated was a police agent. The FBI and CIA fol-

lowed this outstanding leader wherever he went—here and abroad.

The FBI also followed Martin Luther King Jr. until he was assassinated in 1968 while organizing support for striking sanitation workers in Memphis. FBI records document a scheme to drive King out of political life or to commit suicide through the use of tape recordings they claim to have made in his hotel room.

The FBI also worked with police red squads to victimize and frameup Black activists. Agents provocateurs infiltrated many Black groups like the Black Panther Party in New York City.

Oppose Reagan's program

Supporting the socialist suit, and giving money to PRDF, is one way you can oppose Reagan and his plans—plans that include social cuts and higher military spending, in addition to stepping up practices directly opposed by the socialist suit.

It is a way to answer the racists in Congress. Members of the House and Senate openly talk about letting the

1965 Voting Rights Act die.

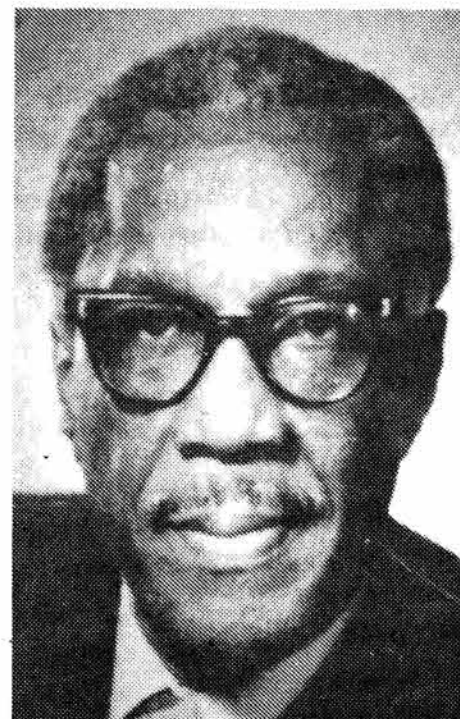
The Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on the constitution plans to discuss banning affirmative action programs. Sen. Orrin Hatch, chairman of the subcommittee, is introducing a constitutional amendment to forbid federal and state governments to make "distinctions on account of race, color or national origin."

PRDF Rallies

PRDF rallies are being organized nationwide to explain the stakes in the socialist suit and its relationship to other fightbacks against the government. The aim is to get a broad array of speakers—victims of FBI attacks and supporters of the case. These speakers will include Blacks in the trade unions, civil rights organizations, and other groups. The rallies will strike a blow against Reaganism and racism. (A list of cities where these will occur is on this page.)

There is deeply felt hatred in the Black community—and among other working people, too—against the un-

democratic and totalitarian methods of the FBI. Once they hear what is at stake in this trial, they will lend support—financial and otherwise—to PRDF in this fight.



REP. GEORGE CROCKETT



Board Chairperson Margaret Bush-Wilson and Executive Director Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, which recently endorsed socialist suit.

How you can help

Add my name to the list of sponsors of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment.

Enclosed is \$_____ to help defray legal and publicity costs of the suit.

Name _____

Signature _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to **Political Rights Defense Fund**, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

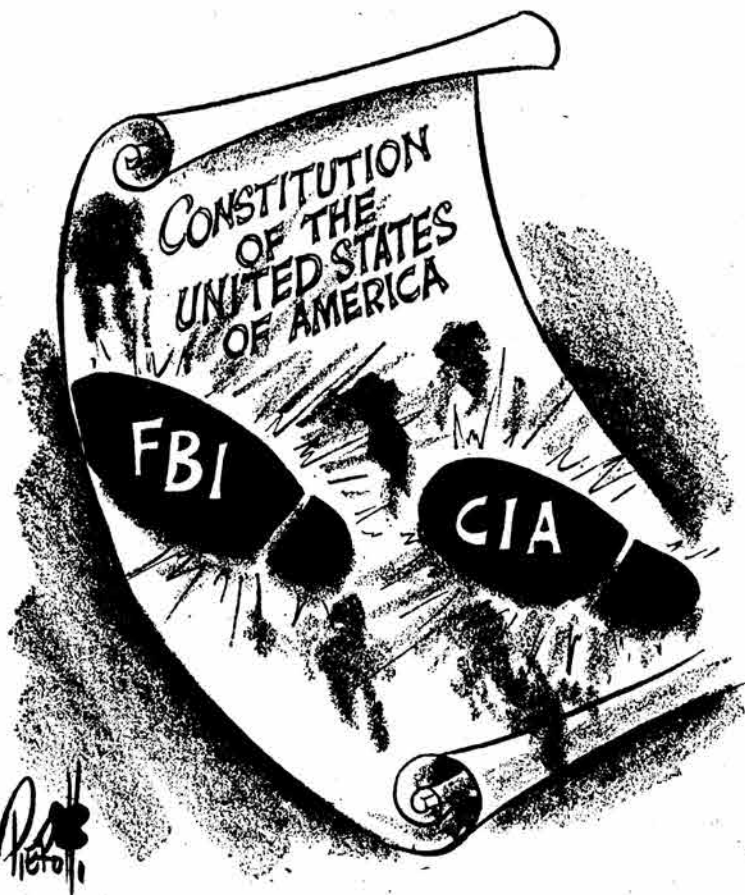
Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund are planning rallies across the country during May and June. Up-to-the-minute trial news on the Socialist Workers Party \$40 million lawsuit against the government will be a main attraction.

Victims of the government's political police—trade unionists, Black rights activists, participants in the women's movement, and others—will be featured speakers. For more information on the rally nearest you, call the numbers listed below.

May 16	Los Angeles (213) 225-3126
May 21	Burlington, Vt. (212) 691-3270
May 29	Schenectady (518) 374-1494
May 30	Louisville (502) 587-8418
May 30	Philadelphia (215) 927-4747
May 30	Salt Lake City (801) 355-1124
May 30	Twin Cities (612) 644-6325
May 31	Detroit (313) 875-5322
June 6	Piedmont (919) 723-3419
June 6	Cincinnati (513) 751-2636

June 6	New York (212) 533-2902
June 6	San Diego (714) 234-4630
June 10	Miami (305) 769-3478
June 13	St. Louis (314) 725-1570
June 13	Portland (503) 222-7225
June 14	Seattle (206) 723-5330
June 14	San Francisco (415) 824-1992
June 14	San Jose (408) 998-4007
June 14	Oakland (415) 763-3792



DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

DAY 17: THURSDAY, APRIL 30

INS official Glenn Bertness testifies about why agency is now trying to put SWP in 'proscribed' category, which could subject foreign-born members to deportation proceedings. Under examination by SWP attorney, he admits action is response to party suit.

Veteran SWP leader George Breitman begins testimony. It's a point-by-point refutation of innumerable factual errors in key government affidavit submitted by FBI agent Charles Mandigo.

DAY 18: FRIDAY, MAY 1

Breitman continues dissection of errors in Mandigo's affidavit. Under cross examination, government lawyers challenge Breitman's statements. Judge Griesa asks the government lawyers, do you deny the accuracy of Breitman's corrections? They do not answer.

FBI agent Gary L. Stoops, supervisor of the federal government's 'applicant loyalty unit,' takes the stand.

DAY 19: MONDAY, MAY 4

Stoops continues testimony. Says Justice Department never responded to written FBI inquiry on policy on investigating SWP members applying for government jobs after FBI announced end to 'national security' investigation in 1976. Judge expresses disbelief that no answer ever came, demands real story. Stoops then tells of meetings where policy on handling such investigations was agreed to.

Cornelius Scully III, of State Department visa office, testifies a non-citizen SWP member would be denied visa, although policy is not written down.

Kathleen Fitzgerald and Steven Horne tell of FBI role in breaking up their marriage by unsuccessfully trying to get Horne to inform on his wife when she was in the YSA in the early 1970s.

DAY 20: TUESDAY, MAY 5

No session in morning. Barry Sheppard, SWP national co-chairperson, explains SWP policy of destroying financial records in order to keep names of members and contributors out of hands of political police.

Sheppard states SWP opposition to totalitarianism in any form and outlines historic and current positions of Marxists on relationship between socialism and democracy—including opposition to one-party rule. Explains what is really meant by 'dictatorship of proletariat.' Says because of likely misunderstanding, term is not used often. Judge Griesa questions Sheppard closely about how socialist society will work and how views of SWP compare with those of British Labour Party.

DAY 21: WEDNESDAY, May 6

SWP member Will Reissner tells of FBI harassment through visits to landlord and employer. His sister, Gabrielle Shelley, says FBI held up her security clearance solely because of brother's views. Rev. Harold Hadley says FBI visited him after he married Reissner and Wendy Lyons in 1965.

Barry Sheppard returns to stand. Explains SWP view on how decisions on production of consumer goods will be made in post-capitalist economy. Says SWP advocates peaceful election of workers and farmers government, which will need changes in Constitution to implement program. In cross examination, government focuses on SWP policy on financial record keeping.

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Lawsuit attracts broad support

Sponsors of the socialist suit against the government's political police represents a broad cross-section of American society. It includes political activists, trade unionists, Black rights fighters, feminists, students, and civil libertarians.

Among the many prominent supporters are: Michael Harrington, chair, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Douglas Fraser, president, United Auto Workers; Dick Gregory; John Henry Faulk; U.S. Rep. George Crockett; Morton Sobell, Rosenberg case defendant; Edward Clinch, director, International Association of Machinists, District 98; Daniel and Philip Berrigan; Rafael Cancel Miranda of the Puerto Rican Nationalists; and Andrew Young, former U.S. representative to the United Nations.

If you would like to endorse the case please fill out the coupon on page 9 and mail to: *Political Rights Defense Fund*, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.



Alice Peurala
President,
United Steelworkers
of America Local 65*

"As a longtime activist in the labor movement and the civil rights movement, I feel strongly that all political organizations must have the absolute right to function in a free society. . . . Our citizens must have the right of political expression, without harassment and oppression from agents of the federal government. For the foregoing reasons I support your suit in defense of the Bill of Rights."

Cleveland Robinson
Secretary-treasurer,
District 65
United Auto Workers

Norman Dorsen
Chairperson,
American Civil Liberties
Union

*Organizations listed for identification only



Rev. Joseph Lowery
President,
Southern Christian
Leadership Conference

"Since its inception, the civil rights movement has been subjected to illegal surveillance, disruption efforts, and harassment by the FBI.

"We must demand an end to FBI interference in legal political activity that is guaranteed by the U.S. Bill of Rights. We have the right to speak out and demonstrate against unemployment, job discrimination, cuts in social services, the attempts to repeal the Voting Rights Act, the rise of Klan violence, and here, in Atlanta, the murders of our children.

"... I support the SWP's national suit, which will put questionable operations on trial, as well as their Atlanta efforts to stop these illegal activities at Lockheed."

Edith Van Horn
International Representative,
United Auto Workers

A. Whitney Ellsworth
Former chairperson,
Amnesty International

I.F. Stone

Rep. John Conyers
(D-Mich.)

James Mangan
Manager,
Twin Cities Joint Board
Amalgamated Clothing and
Textile Workers Union

"Government interference and harassment of political groups like the Socialist Workers Party poses a threat to all political groups, and must be stopped or our political rights will soon disappear."

Edith Tiger
Director,
National Emergency
Civil Liberties
Union

Dave Dellinger

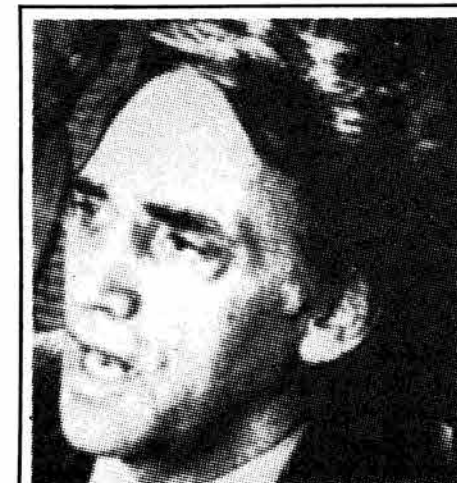
Noam Chomsky

Ramsey Clark

Bella Abzug

Ossie Davis

Victor Reuther



William Kunstler

"When the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit goes to court, the result will be one of the most important trials in American history for revealing the machinations of the government in investigating dissident domestic groups."

**American Federation
of State, County and
Municipal Employees**

**National Association
for the Advancement of
Colored People**

National Lawyers Guild

**California Federation
of Teachers, AFL-CIO**

**Michigan Federation of
Teachers, AFL-CIO**

**Democratic Socialist
Organizing Committee**

**National Alliance
Against Racist and
Political Repression**

Operation PUSH

COMING NEXT WEEK...

The next issue of the *Militant* will carry the court transcript of George Breitman's refutation, line-by-line, of the Mandigo affidavit. Breitman is a longtime SWP leader.

The March 13 *Militant* carried sections of the affidavit, prepared by FBI Special Agent Charles Mandigo, concerning alleged viola-

tions of the law by six leaders of the SWP. The same *Militant* carried an article by Breitman outlining some of the factual errors and outright lies in the document.

Breitman's court testimony provides new information not in his first article and background information concerning the SWP's par-

ticipation in and support to the Fourth International, especially from 1938 to 1946.

Breitman also explains the SWP's view of the notorious Taft-Hartley slave-labor law passed in 1947—particularly how the party campaigned against it in the labor movement at the time.

Don't miss this next issue.

Black vet: how GIs organized against war

By Vivian Sahner

On April 24, Andrew Pulley took the witness stand in the Socialist Workers Party trial against the government. Pulley was the Socialist Workers 1980 presidential candidate.

His testimony—and the cross examination by government attorneys—touched on many of the key issues in the socialist trial. In particular, the FBI's use of informers, surveillance of socialists, and special hatred for Black rebels.

The government also probed again the SWP's relations with the Fourth International and other revolutionaries abroad. Pulley described how, as a candidate for public office and as a Young Socialist Alliance and SWP leader, he made several international trips. He told the court about his meetings with revolutionaries in Ireland, Japan, Australia, France and other countries. (More on this in next week's *Militant*.)

The first thing Pulley testified about was his activities as a GI opposed to the Vietnam War. SWP attorney Shelley Davis began by asking Pulley why he joined the Army in 1968.

"I 'volunteered' because my probation officer gave me a choice of an incitement to riot charge or joining the army," Pulley explained.

"The charge of incitement to riot came as a result of a protest in my high school; we were protesting the murder of Martin Luther King.

"The whole situation was one of a racist confrontation—in any case, no justice was to be coming my way." Faced with a choice between jail, and the Army, "I went into the Army."

Pulley added that things weren't much different there. "There was a similar atmosphere . . . there was a double standard of justice."

Ft. Jackson

In December 1968, he was transferred to Ft. Jackson, South Carolina.

"I was told as soon as I arrived to report to the commanding officer . . . he told me they knew how to deal with troublemakers.

"What this really amounted to," Pulley explained, "was being harassed if you would talk about political subjects like the war in Vietnam or the question of the Black liberation movement."

Shortly afterwards, a soldier named Joe Cole came up and introduced himself. Officers at Ft. Jackson were saying that Pulley was a "Black power punk," and Cole wanted to meet him.

"Joe Cole brought me my first copy of the *Militant*," Pulley added. "It had an offer to order tapes of Malcolm X.

"Of course, those tapes hit right home. . . ."

A growing group of soldiers began to meet regularly, listen to Malcolm's tapes, discuss Black rights and the Vietnam War.

GIs United Against the War

Later, Pulley testified, some of them founded a chapter of GIs United Against the War. Three of its members also belonged to the SWP.

"I was new to this whole thing," Pulley said, "but I had an immediate interest in being against the war as well as just my identity with the rights of the Vietnamese people."

He was convinced that soldiers had an important role to play in the movement against the war. "And we felt that soldiers have the right to and should voice their opposition to the war," he added.

They launched a "massive petition drive to solicit permission from our commanding officer to discuss the legal question of the war . . . we got hundreds of signatures," Pulley told the judge.

"We did not attempt to meet if it was not off duty, and we circulated the petition only when we were off duty."

Pulley testified that they went from barrack to barrack encouraging soldiers



Andrew Pulley on witness stand

to attend anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in Atlanta. He said the largest meeting on base included more than 150 soldiers.

Thrown in stockade

For this activity, he and seven other soldiers were thrown in the stockade and threatened with a court martial.

They faced up to ten years imprisonment on charges of demonstrating without the approval of the post commander, demonstrating in uniform, breach of peace, and showing disrespect to an officer.

The SWP, the YSA, and others opposed to the war helped organize the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee on behalf of the Ft. Jackson soldiers. Bertrand Russell was the honorary chairperson of the committee. Meetings were held across the country to discuss the case, and thousands of letters of protest poured into Ft. Jackson.

Army backed down

The Army finally backed down. After two months they offered the soldiers a dishonorable discharge in lieu of a court martial.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee sponsored a national tour for Pulley after this victory. The purpose of the tour was twofold, Pulley explained to the court.

"One was simply to explain what we had done in the Army. The importance of appealing to and drawing in military personnel into the antiwar movement," Pulley said.

"Informing them, soldiers and sailors and airmen, that they had the right to participate in the antiwar movement, the right to demonstrate and the right to put out antiwar publications.

"Also," he said, "to try to convince the activists in the civilian movement that this had to be done, it was in fact possible to do it."

Pulley told the court that he joined the YSA during this tour.

Pulley's cross examination

The government didn't like Pulley's testimony at all. When the time came for cross examination, they tried to show Judge Griesa that Pulley really was a troublemaker.

"Is it true, Mr. Pulley, that you were arrested three times prior to the time you went into the service?" government attorney Edward Williams asked.

Pulley said he could only remember two arrests—the high school protest over King's assassination and for truancy from school.

"Weren't you also arrested in 1966," Williams demanded, "for being out late at night when you were a youngster?"

It was one of the only times Pulley looked amused on the witness stand. "That's conceivable. I don't recall it," he answered.

Then Williams tried to show how disruptive Pulley was at Ft. Jackson. All he succeeded in proving was that hundreds of soldiers there opposed the war.

"Isn't it true there were over 150 men in a gathering outside the barracks?" he asked.

"Yes, definitely that many," Pulley answered. "I thought it was more."

"Isn't it a fact, Mr. Pulley, that there were close to 300 men in that gathering?" Williams continued.

Pulley agreed, "I thought it was more than 150. It was a pretty sizable gathering of people."

Mandigo slanders

Williams then quizzed Pulley on the Mandigo affidavit. In a document submitted to the court, FBI agent Charles Mandigo claimed that Pulley told soldiers to disobey orders and take up their guns against their officers.

Williams asked Pulley if he ever said "the GIs are not ready to take up arms

against their officers or to overthrow capitalism although this is the long-term perspective."

Pulley said no. SWP attorney Davis asked Williams for the source of the supposed quote.

Just as the socialists suspected, the "statement" attributed to Pulley came from the vivid imagination of an FBI informer.

Williams told Davis, "This was produced within the Heisler documents." Heisler was an FBI informer who infiltrated the SWP until 1980.

"This was an informer report by Mr. Heisler?" Davis asked.

"Yes," Williams replied.

Several times on the witness stand Pulley explained to the court exactly why he never would have made such a statement.

"That runs totally counter to everything I did as a soldier and everything the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance did in the antiwar movement," he said.

"We felt that the slightest illegal act would constitute a pretext where GIs would have been arrested, sent to jail or what-have-you."

"Not only that, it was totally inconceivable that an antiwar movement in this country involving soldiers or masses of people could be built if anyone advocated what your document claims I advocated."

FBI frame-up trial in San Diego

By Michael Baumann

Three union activists in San Diego's National Steel and Shipbuilding Company shipyard face possible sentences of up to forty years on conspiracy charges of plotting to blow up NASSCO's electrical transformers.

The three are David Boyd and Rodney Johnson, both members of Ironworkers Local 627, and Mark Loo, a member of Machinists Local 389. Johnson and Loo are also members of the Communist Workers Party.

All three were fired last year in a union-busting drive following a demonstration to protest NASSCO's notorious safety record.

Their trial, which opened April 28, has all the earmarks of a continuation of the company's campaign against the union, with the help of federal and local police agencies.

The chief evidence against them comes from tape recordings made by an FBI informer, and a pipe bomb found in the informer's tool box. The major witness for the government is the informer himself, Ramon Barton, who doubles as a company spy.

The FBI tapes are equally tainted, expert witnesses for the defense contend, for they contain large gaps during instances when the defendants tried to talk Barton out of any bombing.

This is not the first time the CWP has been targeted for attack by the government. In November 1979, five members of the CWP were murdered by a group of Klansmen infiltrated by informers from the Treasury Department and the FBI.

Future issues of the *Militant* will report further on this important political trial.

Government blocks SWP leaders from attending Fourth International meeting

The United States government has directly intervened to prevent the Socialist Workers Party from participating in the next important leadership gathering of the Fourth International—an International Executive Committee (IEC) meeting scheduled for May 7-14 in Europe.

Government lawyers in the trial of the lawsuit brought by the SWP against secret police spying and harassment have subpoenaed central SWP leaders who had planned to attend the IEC meeting and present reports there. Those subpoenaed are legally required to be available to appear in court on twenty-four hours' notice when the government presents its case. They cannot leave the country.

Among the fraternal IEC members subpoenaed are Mary-Alice Waters, Barry Sheppard, Doug Jenness, Larry Seigle, and Pedro Camejo.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, along with Malik Miah, Fred Halstead, Andrew Pulley, and José Pérez are important witnesses in the SWP's direct case and are subject to recall to the stand on twenty-four hours' notice.

Points under discussion

Waters, a national cochair of the SWP, was planning to give a counterreport at the IEC meeting to the draft resolution on the Cuban revolution and the Castro leadership being presented by a majority

An editorial

of the United Secretariat. (The United Secretariat is an elected executive body of the IEC.)

Sheppard, also a national cochair of the party, intended to present a counterreport to the United Secretariat majority's draft resolution on the world situation and the tasks of the Fourth International.

Jenness, who is assigned by the SWP's National Committee to be resident in Europe to participate in the bureau of the United Secretariat, would have presented a report on Afghanistan, outlining the SWP's views on this disputed question in the International.

Miah, a national cochair of the SWP, had planned to present a counterreport on implementing the turn into industry adopted at the 1979 World Congress.

In addition, SWP leaders would have given counterreports on Poland and Nicaragua.

The IEC is the highest body of the Fourth International between world congresses. The IEC meeting, set for May, is the first since the November 1979 World Congress.

The government knew full well about the May IEC meeting. It knew about the IEC agenda, the issues under dispute, and that SWP leaders were planning to attend and present reports.

In fact, Waters was handed a subpoena by U.S. Attorney Edward G. Williams immediately after a pretrial deposition in which she indicated that she was one of the likely persons to attend the May IEC meeting. She explained that she had been a fraternal member of the IEC since 1969 and had attended many previous IEC meetings and world congresses.

IEC meeting raised at trial

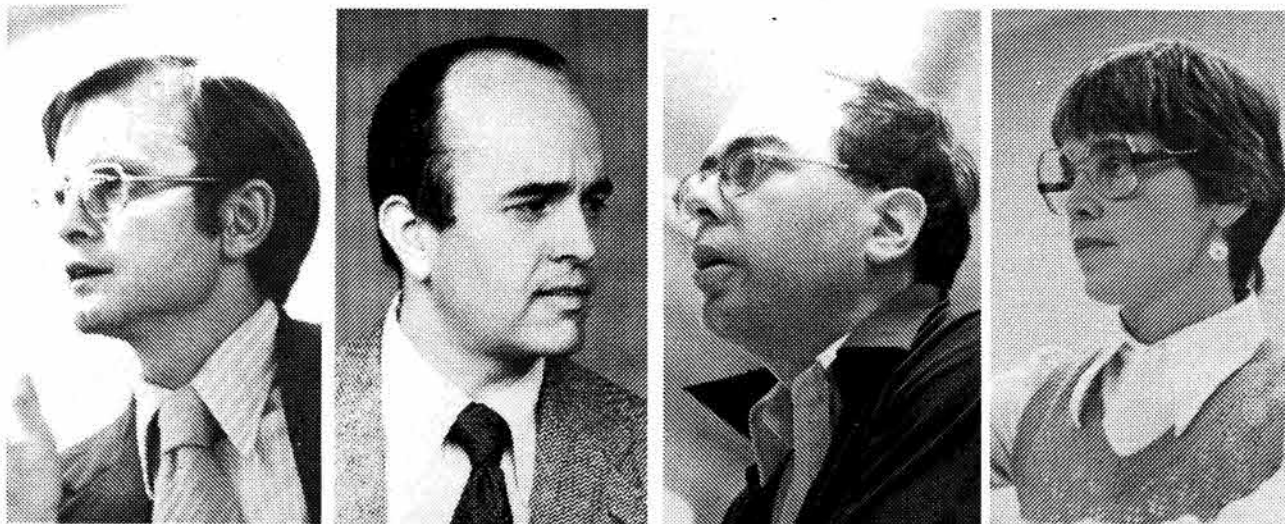
The IEC meeting was again brought up by the government during the trial itself.

During cross examination, Williams asked Barnes when he planned to visit Europe next.

"I hope to go to Europe for the next meeting of the International Executive Committee, which is scheduled for May because of very important political questions being debated there," Barnes replied. "But I don't know if I will be able to because of obligations connected with the trial." Barnes added that he hoped the IEC meeting would be postponed.

At that point, Williams submitted into evidence a December 4, 1980, letter from the United Secretariat Bureau to sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International. The letter pertained to the dates and the proposed agenda of the IEC. It indicated that resolutions were being prepared on important disputed questions. The letter stated that the United Secretariat had "decided to propose the following agenda:

"The international situation and the present



SWP leaders, from left, Barry Sheppard, Jack Barnes, Doug Jenness, Mary-Alice Waters. All must legally be available on twenty-four hours' notice for trial.

stage of building sections of the Fourth International;

"The Cuban revolution and the Castroist current; "The turn to industry and the political/organizational implications of this;

"Finally, a point dealing with some events of immediate importance, which will be decided later on the basis of four possibilities: Nicaragua and Central America, Poland, Afghanistan or Iran."

Williams particularly drew Barnes's attention to one paragraph in the letter. It reported that the November 1980 United Secretariat meeting had decided to change the dates of the IEC meeting from February to May in order to allow more time for preparations.

The paragraph noted that "an initial proposal of postponing it to April was made by the Bureau; but information we received on the dates of the law suit trial of the SWP against the U.S. government, which must start on the 16th of March, raises another difficulty. Finally, the USec decided on the 6-12th of May. These dates are now definitive; they won't be changed (except for possible minor modifications in case of unforeseen technical difficulties), even if the SWP case goes on beyond the date presently foreseen."

And this was not the last time that the government raised the question of the SWP delegation to the IEC meeting. When Andrew Pulley, the SWP's 1980 presidential candidate appeared as a witness for the SWP on April 29, Williams also asked him whether or not he was planning to attend. Then, right after Pulley left the stand, Williams handed out another subpoena, this one to IEC fraternal member Larry Seigle.

Voorhis Act

The SWP, one of the founding parties of the Fourth International in 1938, was forced to disaffiliate in December 1940, after Congress adopted the undemocratic Voorhis Act on the initiative of President Franklin Roosevelt.

This disaffiliation means that the SWP is barred from making financial contributions to the International or casting decisive votes. Both Barnes and former SWP national secretary Farrell Dobbs testified at the current trial that the SWP has continued in every other way to politically support the International and actively participate in its meetings. The SWP has continued to serve in a fraternal capacity on leadership bodies such as the IEC and United Secretariat.

At the time the Voorhis Act was passed and the SWP disaffiliated, the international center of the Fourth International was functioning out of New York City. It had been moved there in 1939 because of the outbreak of the war in Europe. SWP leader George Breitman testified during the current trial that the international center remained in New York, and SWP leaders continued to collaborate closely with it, until the end of World War II.

Previous gov't interference

For more than forty years, the federal government has sought to intervene in and disrupt the SWP's democratic right to meet and collaborate in this fashion with its co-thinkers in other countries.

During the witch-hunt of the early 1950s, the government used its powers to exacerbate difficulties inside the Fourth International. In 1953 and 1954 the struggle over a series of political and

organizational issues led to a split in the International and the formation of two public factions.

Speaking about these events in a talk in 1975, Joseph Hansen, a long-time leader of the SWP and the Fourth International, stated, "It is possible that the split could have been avoided. [SWP leader James P.] Cannon was certainly of the opinion that we should try to avoid it. But among other handicaps, it was not possible for the top leaders of the SWP to go abroad. That was during the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt, and the State Department banned known radicals from leaving the country—unless, of course, they were being deported. Consequently we were unable to argue our case at the congress where the international struggle culminated; and Pablo [Michel Pablo, the central leader of the International Secretariat faction] took factional advantage of this situation." (See *James P. Cannon: the Internationalist*, by Joseph Hansen, Pathfinder Press, 1980.)

Hansen himself unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a passport to attend this congress.

In 1962, when discussions were far along in reunifying the Fourth International, an article appeared in the *Columbus Dispatch* (Ohio) that had all the earmarks of a government plant. Released from the *Dispatch's* Washington Bureau, the May 15, 1962, article was headlined, "'Fourth International' Revival Being Watched."

"Efforts by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to reunify the 'Fourth International' are being watched by high government sources," the article said. Developments that were particularly noted were Hansen's trip to South America in October and November 1961, his trip to Paris in December, and a trip by an unnamed Belgian leader to the United States to discuss with SWP leaders.

Bans on entering U.S.

The government has also banned many leaders of the Fourth International from legally entering the United States to attend conferences, give public speeches, and meet with SWP members. It has sought to obstruct entry by many other leaders of the International.

Now the government is taking advantage of the trial of the SWP lawsuit to interfere once again in the discussions of the International. This is the latest in the long record of harassment and reprisals by the capitalist rulers against the SWP and the Fourth International.

Bolivian gov't frees González Moscoso

Hugo González Moscoso has been released by Bolivian security forces and has arrived in Sweden, according to information received May 4.

González Moscoso, a long-time Bolivian workers leader, had been arrested April 14.

Arrested along with him were León Kolle Cueto, first secretary of the Bolivian Communist Party, and Alberto Chávez, a leader of the Flour Workers Union and a delegate to the Departmental Workers Federation of Santa Cruz.

It is not known whether Kolle Cueto and Chávez are still being held.

Telegrams on their behalf should be sent to the Bolivian Embassy, 3014 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C.

The FBI smear campaign against Starsky

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Dr. Morris Starsky, former professor of philosophy, doesn't match the traditional picture of an academic figure. That was apparent from his April 29 testimony in the SWP trial.

Certainly, Starsky has impressive academic qualifications. He received a bachelor's degree with honors from the University of Rochester, a master's degree from Brandeis, and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

But Starsky, a member of the SWP, is definitely not an ivory-tower intellectual. While teaching at Arizona State University in Phoenix in the 1960s, he helped organize the first antiwar teach-in at Arizona State. He led campus free-speech fights. He helped organize campus support for area union struggles and helped establish a chapter of the American Federation of Teachers. He served as an elector for Socialist Workers candidates.

For all these reasons, the FBI teamed up with ultraright Arizona politicians to drive Starsky off the campus.

Under examination by attorney Charles Brennan, Starsky testified about what they did to him.

Right-wingers on the university's board of regents were unhappy with Starsky being on the university faculty, and members of the state legislature publicly denounced him.

The pressure built to the point in the late 1960s that the university's Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure held lengthy public hearings on whether Starsky should be retained.

Three thousand students and 250 professors signed petitions in his support.

But the local FBI decided this was a good time to jump into the fight and help get Starsky.

In 1970, they sent an anonymous poison-pen letter to the faculty committee.

Despite the smear letter and pressure from the regents and legislature, the committee on tenure voted unanimously to keep Starsky on.

Despite this, the Phoenix FBI expressed satisfaction to Washington that its letter had "greatly tarnished Starsky's standing and reputation in the academic community."

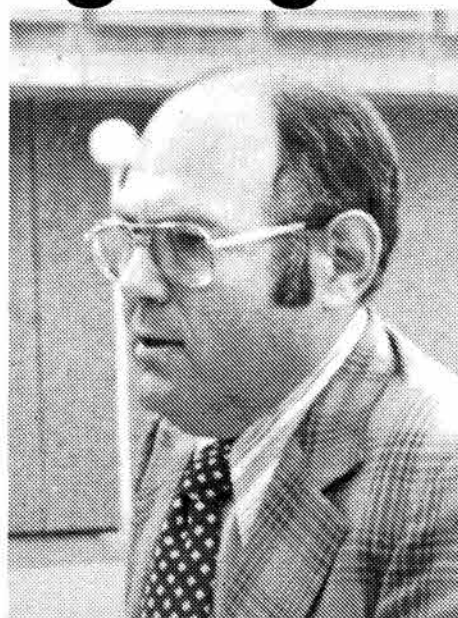
The regents then utilized a legal loophole to terminate Starsky's teaching contract in 1970—despite the fact he had tenure, which should have guaranteed his job.

Starsky took legal action and a federal court ruled he had been wrongly dismissed. But it ordered a lower court to deal with another legal trick. When Starsky left the university he accepted a year's sabbatical pay that had just fallen due.

The lower court ruled this meant he had accepted his dismissal. End of case.

Meanwhile, Starsky testified, he obtained a teaching position at San Diego State College. But the local press started going after him, and his one-year contract was not renewed.

Starsky then accepted a position as head of the Philosophy Department at California State College, Dominguez Hills. Nine days before the term was to begin, his contract was cancelled.



MORRIS STARKY

Starsky went to court, and the university granted him a \$20,000 settlement.

With the exception of one part-time teaching job in Cleveland, that was the end of Starsky's academic career. He told the court that in the period that followed he applied for more than 200 faculty positions—to no avail. The word was out.

From 1971 to 1978, he testified, he obtained whatever work he could—clerical, legal researcher, parking lot attendant, shoe store clerk.

In 1978, he suffered a heart ailment and is now dependent on a social security disability pension.

Under examination by attorney Brennan, Starsky described the im-

pact, financial and emotional, of the vendetta against him.

Starsky was cross-examined by Justice Department attorney Joseph Sher, who represents the FBI and is apparently deemed an expert on teachers the FBI gets fired. He had also cross-examined SWP member Evelyn Sell, whom the FBI had gotten fired as a Headstart teacher in Texas.

Sher seemed intent on establishing that Starsky was no mere philosophical socialist—that he joined protests and pickets, sought publicity for causes, actively opposed the Vietnam war, was in conflict with the regents and legislature—all of which Starsky had already stated.

Sher then came to the point of these questions. He asked Starsky if he was "a very controversial figure."

Starsky replied, "Yes."

The point of the question seemed to be that this gave the FBI the right to send poison-pen letters.

Sher finally came to the climax of his cross-examination. He read to Starsky from a book another professor had written about his case. In the book, Starsky is quoted as telling his wife that soon his "mission" in Arizona would be completed.

Had Starsky actually made that statement? Sher demanded. Starsky smiled and conceded it was possible.

Sher drew himself up and solemnly asked: "What was the nature of your mission?"

Starsky broke into laughter and explained it was to complete his Ph.D. thesis.

Testimony was concluded.

... INS witness

Continued from page 6

outcome of that case was the basis for reconsideration.

When was the Scythes decision handed down?

In 1962.

What was the nature of the ruling?

That membership in the SWP was not grounds for deportation!

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

Win with a loser

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kangaroo court

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

By the most totalitarian means imaginable.

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

How will the Burlington INS determine if the SWP should be proscribed? It will ask the FBI.

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

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

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

No right to appeal

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

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

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

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

"No."

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

"No."

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

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

A little book

No, Bertness explained. Only in the sense that the SWP would be so listed in

the handbook used by INS agents. This handbook, he advised, is "available" to the public.

(That is, if someone wishes, they can go to an INS office and ask to see the handbook. After signing in, they will be ushered into a reading area and permitted to peruse the handbook.)

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

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

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

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

This, of course, has nothing to do with the policies of the SWP. A declaration of principles adopted by its founding convention in 1938 declared that within the framework of defending the revolution, a workers' state would guarantee the political rights of "opposition groups or parties."

The SWP's uncompromising record in the fight against Stalinist bureaucracy testifies that the statement was no mere rhetoric.

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

That could mean that thousands of foreign-born people in this country who are partisans of the great liberating achievements of the Cuban revolution

could become fair game for the INS.

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

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

(An attempt by attorney Davis to have Bertness define "good order and happiness" was ruled out of order by Judge Griesa.)

But the INS cops don't limit themselves to assuring that foreign-born SWP members or supporters aren't doing anything to make people unhappy. For instance, while the INS does not at present label the SWP proscribed, it has arbitrarily declared the Fourth International a proscribed organization. So has the State Department.

Double-edged weapon

This labeling of the Fourth International is neatly used as a further weapon against the SWP. As Judge Griesa noted in looking at the INS handbook, while the SWP is listed in category III, its name is followed by "(Fourth International)."

This despite the fact that, according to Bertness, the INS "can find nothing, in searching for documentation," to establish that the SWP is formally affiliated to the Fourth International.

For years the Communist Party has been victimized by the INS as a "proscribed" organization. Major efforts have been required to defend Communist Party members—real and alleged—from denaturalization and deportation proceedings. Over the years, some of the frame-up victims have actually been forced out of the country.

If the government were to succeed in putting the SWP in this category, it would be another step toward totalitarian rule in this country. A hard fight against it is essential.

Targets of FBI victimization testify at trial

Was tagged 'disloyal'

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—The persistent efforts of the government to victimize members of the Socialist Workers Party was illuminated by the testimony April 29-30 of Kenneth Evenhuis. A member of the Los Angeles SWP, Evenhuis is a letter carrier.

Under examination by attorney Charles Brennan, Evenhuis described his experiences.

Evenhuis joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1964 and the SWP four years later. After joining the YSA he worked part time and attended a commercial aviation school. After four years of study he obtained licenses that qualified him to be either a commercial pilot or an airport traffic controller.

Evenhuis then applied to the Federal Aviation Administration for a controller's job.

He was interviewed and told he qualified for the post.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

KENNETH EVENHUIS

Meanwhile, he had been classified for the military draft as "1-Y"—someone to be taken only in the case of a national emergency.

With that classification came a listing of his various activities in the YSA and SWP.

Then came notice that he had been rejected for the controller's job. The FAA told him it had been advised by the FBI of his membership in the SWP and YSA. The FBI sent a virtually identical list of his socialist activities.

Evenhuis told the court he found it highly objectionable that his political beliefs and activities were being pried into. And he flatly rejected the government assertion that the SWP and YSA advocated the violent overthrow of the government.

But he was not in a position to challenge the FAA finding and to try to compel it to hire him, he explained. He had married recently and had his first child to support. There were mortgage payments on a new home.

He took a job as a letter carrier.

Some three months later, he received a letter from the Civil Service Commission repeating the same litany of charges against him and informing him he was disqualified from postal employment.

This time, he already had the job and was legally entitled to retain it while he appealed this decision.

In July 1971, a final decision was made to terminate him.

The explanation offered by the government was worthy of the Salem witch-hunt of the seventeenth century.

If a person accused of being a witch denied it, that was considered conclusive proof of guilt. Who else but a witch would deny being a witch?

So it was with Evenhuis. He had, the government asserted, made a "false statement" on his job application. He had denied being a member of an organization advocating violent overthrow of the government.

At the same time, the government noted, he admitted membership in the SWP.

A Bureau of Personnel Investigation report stated:

"In light of that membership and activity [in the SWP], his denial that the SWP seeks the overthrow of the United States government by force and his statement that he has not assisted in any such attempts and does not condone that objective are not worthy of belief.

"It is inconceivable that he could be as active as he is . . . without knowledge of the history and true purpose of the organization. Therefore it is concluded that his negative answer to question 15a(2) of his application . . . was an intentionally false statement. . . ."

Meanwhile, another SWP postal worker, Duncan Gordon, fired on the same grounds, had gotten his fight into federal court. The court ruled the post office had not established valid grounds for the firing and ordered him reinstated.

The post office decided to reinstate Evenhuis, with back pay. A decade later, he is still delivering mail, and the republic has apparently not suffered from his doing so.

Meanwhile, Evenhuis testified, people knew of what he had experienced. This did not contribute to their sense of security in pursuing the politics of their choice.

His wife Donna had also been a member of the SWP. But, Evenhuis testified, after he was fired, she was visited at her job by FBI agents. Concerned about the well-being of their children, she left the organization. He sees the government as responsible for depriving her of her rights.

The government had little to offer by way of cross examination.

Attorney Brennan then entered into the record the cases of four other civil service employees who were targeted for victimization because of their membership in the SWP. These cases, Brennan told the court, established a clear pattern of such illegal government activity, activity from which the SWP is now seeking injunctive relief.

Candidate's problems

By Harry Ring

Sharon Grant was the Socialist Workers Party 1980 candidate for Congress in the Newport News area of Virginia.

She testified in the party's lawsuit April 24. Under direct examination by attorney Randlett Walster, she described campaign experiences which confirmed the "chilling effect" of the government's long-standing campaign against the party.

To obtain a Virginia ballot place, the party gathered more than 3,000 signatures on nominating petitions.

Grant testified that most people she approached, at her workplace, or in shopping malls signed the petitions. Some declined because they didn't support socialists being on the ballot, she added.

But, she testified, others declined to sign because they feared it could mean trouble for them.

This was apparent, she explained, from the questions people asked.

Where do the petitions go? Do the police see them? The FBI?

She told of one woman who was interested in what the campaign was doing but was unwilling to come to the campaign headquarters.

Another woman said she would like to help the campaign but would not undertake anything involving direct contact with the organization.

She indicated she assumed Grant was being followed.

Grant told of a man who paid for a copy of the *Militant*, but wouldn't take the paper, explaining he was concerned about being seen with it.

"I don't want cops or the FBI following me, or coming to my house," he said.

Grant received 13,688 votes against the Republican nominee, the only other candidate in the race. In three Black precincts she won more than 40 percent of the vote, despite the handicaps of FBI harassment.



Militant/Lou Howort

SHARON GRANT

Visits from snoopers

By Michael Baumann

A visit he received from the FBI in 1973 "scared the hell out of me," Michael Schlosser testified April 23.

Schlosser, a Vietnam-era veteran from Allentown, Pennsylvania, told about the grilling two FBI agents gave him following a \$10 contribution to the SWP presidential campaign.

"They said they wanted to talk to me about my membership in the SWP," he said. "I told them I wasn't a member of



Militant/Diane Jacobs

MICHAEL SCHLOSSER

anything" but they insisted "they had knowledge I was."

While one agent questioned Schlosser, the other poked through his books and periodicals.

They kept claiming the SWP was a "violent organization," Schlosser said, "and that because of my association with them I was considered violence-prone and would have to be watched."

When he asked for specifics, "for proof of their statement, they would not give me any. They just repeated it two or three times."

In questioning Schlosser about his job, the agents made clear that they already knew the answers, down to the name of his supervisor and his exact take-home pay. This gave Schlosser reason to believe that substantial questioning about him had already been conducted at work, and that his job might be in jeopardy.

As a result, Schlosser dropped all political activity for nearly two years. Prior to this he had been one of the leaders of the local movement against the Vietnam war.

It wasn't until 1975, when he heard about the Political Rights Defense Fund and the suit it was conducting against government spying that Schlosser reconsidered his decision.

"I saw a series of articles in the *Militant* about other people who had gone through the same thing I had.

"I saw there was a way to stop this."

Harassing a teacher



Militant/Michael Baumann

MAUDE WILKINSON

By Michael Baumann

Maude Wilkinson was "shocked, angry, and stunned" when she learned of an FBI plot to get her fired from her teaching job in Washington, D.C.

Wilkinson, a former member of the Young Socialist Alliance, testified April 23 about her reaction when she learned of an anonymous poison-pen letter sent to her employer in 1969.

The letter, signed "A Concerned Citizen," purported to be from one of her neighbors, seeking to "protect the D.C. School System from the menace" of a socialist teacher.

It was actually concocted by the FBI as part of a campaign to harass Wilkinson because of her views.

"From reading these documents," she told the court, "I learned that an agency of the United States government had spied on my personal life, tried to use a harassment technique to alienate me from my parents, tried to malign my character, and attempted to get me fired from my job and ruin my teaching career."

Wilkinson said afterward that she was happy to see someone taking on the FBI.

"The important thing about this suit," she said, "is that it's helping to protect my rights, everybody's rights, not just the members of the SWP."

Haig on human rights: forget it

By Ernest Harsch

In two recent speeches, Secretary of State Alexander Haig outlined the Reagan administration's "new direction" in foreign policy.

As has already become evident in the White House's intervention in El Salvador, that "new direction" involves stepped-up aid to right-wing dictatorships and the labeling of any struggle for independence and social justice as "terrorism."

In the process, Reagan and Haig have been employing an even more perverted concept of "human rights" than the previous Carter administration. Haig spelled this out in a March 31 "off-the-record" speech that he gave before the Trilateral Commission in Washington.

In applying this "human rights" policy, Haig said, "the first imperative is to strengthen the U.S., its allies and friends, the main safeguard against the spread of totalitarian aggression."

As a result, Haig stressed, "we must be discriminating in our actions" in denouncing human rights violations. It is necessary, he said, "that we examine the credentials and program of the opposition as well as the government."

A fine distinction

To justify this approach, Haig tried to draw a distinction between "totalitarian" and "authoritarian" regimes. The former, he implied, were all those that were hostile to or critical of U.S. policy; they should be opposed. The latter were not so bad, he suggested, since they wielded "absolute authority in only a

few politically sensitive areas"; they should be encouraged to evolve "toward a more democratic form" through the provision of U.S. assistance.

The real meaning of this dual approach has become absolutely clear in the White House's recent policy moves.

On the one hand, it has taken action against a number of regimes that it considers "totalitarian." Credits for wheat sales to Nicaragua have been cut off, food aid to Mozambique has been stopped, new threats have been leveled against Cuba, and pressures have been put on various European countries to deny economic aid to Grenada.

On the other hand, Washington has been establishing closer ties with such brutal "authoritarian" regimes as those in South Korea, Argentina, Chile, the Philippines, and El Salvador.

Red menace returns

In an April 24 speech, Haig also tried to revive a standard U.S. justification for its aggressive actions: the specter of a "Soviet danger."

Moscow, Haig charged, "is the greatest source of international insecurity today. Let us be plain about it: Soviet promotion of violence as the instrument of change constitutes the greatest danger to the world."

The real purpose of such attacks on Moscow is to smear any struggle for social change as nothing but an instance of Soviet-backed "terrorism" or "war by proxy"—to use Haig's words.

But while the Reagan administration is attempting to broaden its definition of

terrorism, it is likewise seeking to keep it selective. Conspicuously absent from its tallies are terrorist actions carried out by numerous pro-American regimes:

- The Chilean military junta, which came to power in 1973 through a U.S.-backed coup, murdered some 20,000 workers and political activists in the wake of the coup.

- During the last months of the shah's tyranny in Iran, an estimated 60,000 men, women, and children were gunned down for demonstrating their opposition to the U.S.-backed butcher.

- Since the beginning of 1980, according to Catholic Church figures, some 19,000 Salvadorans have been killed or "disappeared" by the pro-American junta in that country.

These are only a few examples out of many. They all point to the actual "greatest source of international insecurity"—the imperialist government in Washington.

U.S. opposition

Haig's speeches have been aimed not only at foreign audiences. They are also part of Washington's ongoing campaign to try to undercut domestic opposition to the arms buildup and moves to intervene militarily in other countries.

By continually harping on a fictitious "Soviet danger," the U.S. rulers are hoping to confuse Americans about what is really going on in Central America, the Caribbean, Iran, and elsewhere.

But at the same time, they know that opposition to U.S. military moves



ALEXANDER HAIG

abroad runs deep and cannot be turned around by wild charges of "international terrorism."

That is why they are now seeking to strengthen the powers of the FBI, CIA and other secret police agencies.

In a report on steps taken to inflate the U.S. government's tally of "terrorist" incidents, *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr commented that the new figures could "be cited by conservatives to justify increased surreptitious surveillance of political dissidents at home."

Freedom of information: less of that too

By Harry Ring

The Reagan administration has taken several steps to gut the Freedom of Information Act.

Attorney General William French Smith has scrapped a guideline to the act. Meanwhile, the Justice Department is readying legislative proposals to Congress for more far-reaching "reform" of the act. On "Meet the Press" April 26, FBI director William Webster asserted the act includes a lot of "unreasonable requirements."

Enacted in 1966, the statute permits citizens to obtain documents and information from government agencies.

Particularly since Watergate, it has

been used by individuals, groups, and the media to obtain important information on illegal activity by the FBI, CIA, and other police agencies.

The change made by Smith May 4 was to remove a guideline prohibiting government agencies from withholding information unless they can establish that its release would be "demonstrably harmful" to the government.

The law already contains nine exemption loopholes under which requests for information may be denied.

These were so widely used by agencies as pretexts for denying information that it evoked many lawsuits.

To ease that problem, Griffin Bell,

then attorney general, in 1977 put the "demonstrably harmful" guideline into effect.

The present decision to remove that guideline was sharply criticized by Jack Landau, director of the Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press. He declared May 3 that the change would "severely restrict the public's right to know government information."

The intent, Landau charged, was to send a "clear message" to agencies: "When in doubt, keep it secret."

Criticism was also made by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The move was also scored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. In a May 5 statement, the editors charged:

"This action will greatly harm the free flow of information. . . . Secrecy—especially government secrecy—is inimical to a free nation."

Despite the many difficulties put in the way of those seeking information under the act, material has come to light confirming widespread illegal government activity. It is this the Justice Department is now trying to shut off.

Its response is typical of those who have something to hide.

Antinuke group smeared at Senate hearing

By Margaret Jayko

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On April 24, I waited in line with about forty other people to get into the hearings of the newly formed Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

According to opening remarks by Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.), the hearings were designed to assess the "terrorist threat to our freedom and national security" which is being organized by the "Soviets."

But it rapidly became clear that the real target of these hearings is the American people.

They want to convince us that there really is a threat to our "freedom" from the Soviet Union and Cuba.

And that there are people in this country who are agents of "international terrorism."

Therefore, we must pull out all the stops and let the FBI and CIA do their jobs.

Most importantly, they want to intimidate people.

That was the purpose of witness Arnaud de Borchgrave's smear of the anti-

nuclear organization Mobilization for Survival as being a tool of Soviet "disinformation."

De Borchgrave wrote a book entitled *The Spike*, which is a novel about "Soviet disinformation." Denton suggested that one of the fictional characters who helped the Russians was really Wilfred Burchett "by another name." Burchett is a radical journalist who spent many years in Southeast Asia.

William Colby, former director of the CIA, pointed to the CIA Phoenix program as an example of successful "anti-terrorist" activity. Begun in 1968, it organized the murder of more than 20,000 Vietnamese, who were targeted as communists. He cited this example of government terrorism as the most effective U.S. program of the Vietnam war.

Another big part of the intimidation campaign was the repeated attacks on the press by Denton and the witnesses, accusing the media of being used by the Soviet Union during the war in Vietnam and implying that they were heavily infiltrated with Soviet agents.

"Disinformation," according to Denton, is used particularly to "attack the integrity and competence of the Western intelligence services, including the CIA."

The message couldn't have been clearer—if you're against nuclear power, or U.S. aid to the junta in El Salvador, or don't like the repulsive crimes that are routine for the CIA and FBI, or just have a different point of view—watch out. You're fair game for Denton and his boys—if they have their way.

But this isn't the 1950s. We've been through Watergate, Vietnam, the so-called energy crisis, and the depression and cutbacks. Working people are suspicious of the government. And angry. They are not going to be easily cowed into submission.

But the government is trying.

The hype began even before you got into the hearing room. You had to go through an airport-style metal detector, and then the guards searched your bags.

The witnesses swore to tell "the whole truth." That didn't stop them from lying

through their teeth for the rest of the day.

Colby, the first witness, explained that "public support is an essential element of the struggle against terrorism."

He said that it was necessary to use "proper and legal tactics" when fighting terrorists so that you don't create sympathy for them.

Then he laid out his view of "proper and legal."

He explained that the CIA should be free of congressional scrutiny and exempt from the Freedom of Information Act. And the FBI should be able to investigate whomever they want.

He ended by saying he was a firm supporter of the recently enacted FBI and CIA "guidelines."

Which tells you how much those guidelines are worth.

He claimed that the CIA no longer aids its right-wing Cuban terrorist buddies that operate out of Florida.

He also claimed that the CIA has never assassinated a foreign leader. Though, he chuckled, "it was not for lack of trying in the case of Mr. Castro."

By William Gottlieb
and Stu Singer

In an unprecedented display of unity in action, all the rail unions in the United States called out their members for demonstrations April 29.

In Washington, D.C., 20-25,000 rail workers marched. Several thousand

There were a number of workers wearing green ribbons in solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta.

An older man from Altoona, Pennsylvania, wore a hand-lettered sign: "Money for railroads, not El Salvador."

The rally was addressed by Fred

workers out of jobs. They will repeal all employee protection, eliminate cost-of-living increases for railroad retirement benefits."

The railroad union leader warned workers not to believe company propaganda that they would be given other jobs.

claiming the proposed rail cuts would weaken American military capacity. He said railroads are necessary to achieve energy "independence." This failed to generate much response from the crowd.

Kirkland was loudly cheered, however, when he said, "It is not the labor movement, but too many politicians who have lost touch with the aspirations of working people."

When UTU President Fred Harco introduced Kirkland, he said, "Lane Kirkland just mentioned to me that we can get out a crowd like this today. What can we do on Labor Day?" He apparently referred to the idea raised several months ago about a national demonstration by the labor movement on Labor Day. But nothing more was said about it.

After the rally, many rail workers tried to lobby Congress. They got a cool response, however.

The very day of the rally the Senate Commerce Committee voted to approve Reagan's Amtrak cutbacks. This would make the United States the only major industrial nation without a national passenger rail system. The price would include the loss of tens of thousands of railroad jobs.

Railworkers march on D.C.

participated in protests in other cities. East coast rail service was sharply curtailed by the midweek protest, although no strike was called. The aim of the demonstration was to oppose Reagan's proposed budget cuts against the railroads.

The cuts would end Amtrak passenger service outside the northeast corridor, dismember the Conrail freight system, and jeopardize the entire railroad retirement fund. More than 70,000 rail workers could lose their jobs if Reagan's cuts go through.

The Washington demonstration, on a warm, sunny spring day, saw sign-carrying union members march from near Union Station to a rally at the steps of the U.S. Capitol Building.

Many workers wore buttons and carried signs reading *Solidarnosc*, the name of Poland's independent union. There was a real sense among many of the rail workers that they were following the example of the militant Polish workers.

Kroll, head of the Railway Labor Executives Association and Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Fred Hardin, president of the United Transportation Union; and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

Kroll pointed to the fighting tradition of American rail workers. Referring to the historic strike of 1877, Kroll said, "In 1877 rail workers engaged in an enormous strike, they were battered down and killed, but it inspired other unions. The rail workers fought for and won the eight-hour day. They led the fight to outlaw company unions."

Kroll said that today's rail workers "will fight just as long and just as hard to preserve our rights and save our jobs . . ."

"We stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the mine workers and other workers and minorities striving to be part of the American dream," he added.

"The Reagan proposals will destroy Conrail and Amtrak," Kroll pointed out. "They will put 40,000 to 70,000 rail

"Conrail propaganda says you will be hired by other railroads if you lose your jobs. It's not true. We do not want to be in the lines of the unemployed. We want the right to have a job."

"We will win this battle," Kroll declared, "through legislation or on the picket line, like our brave brothers and sisters the coal miners."

Kroll's speech was frequently drowned out by loud applause, but also by calls of "strike, strike, strike." Any mention of Reagan's transportation secretary Drew Lewis or budget-cutter David Stockman brought boos and jeers.

Lane Kirkland spoke last. He tried to outflank Reagan from the right by

Rail bosses, union heads try to force pay and benefit givebacks

By Stu Singer

On May 5, Fred Kroll, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, announced that officials of twelve of its fourteen unions had agreed to give up \$200 million a year in wage and benefit hikes union members would receive under present contracts.

At a news conference with Kroll, Conrail Chairman L. Stanley Crane said the union heads also agreed to work rule changes. Crane said Conrail management would defer \$28 to \$29 million a year in their salary increases.

On May 4 Crane had announced that Conrail had its smallest quarterly deficit in history. He attributed this to laying off 6,058 workers in the last year. Crane gave no estimate how many more of Conrail's workers would lose their jobs under the new work rule changes.

Two unions have so far refused to approve the givebacks: the Signal-

men's Union and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

According to the *New York Daily News*, "The agreement—which is viewed as a message that the unions are willing to give up large measures of protection in order to preserve the nation's railroads . . ." may allow New York's Metropolitan Transportation Authority to take over local Conrail commuter lines. The MTA wants to put those Conrail workers under New York State's Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees.

The givebacks still have to be sold to the two other unions and to the rail union members.

In addition, the plan has to be accepted by the Reagan administration, which still threatens to end funding of Conrail and Amtrak.

The rail unions are currently negotiating new contracts with all the railroads. The proposed concessions to Conrail will have an impact on those negotiations.



Thousands of rail workers traveled to Washington by bus.

At a big rest area in Maryland two buses from a Conrail shop which were following each other pulled in for a half hour stop. A dozen other buses were already there. The people milling around the other buses were all wearing buttons with the initials "E.O.A."

to cut our jobs."

"Well, good luck. Maybe we'll see you there."

"Yeah. Come over to our march if you get tired of talking to the politicians."

After the rail workers' bus pulled out, one rider asked another who were the people on the other buses?

Did he think nationalization was a radical idea?

"Radical? No. It's a smart idea."

Another engineer was standing nearby. He overheard the discussion. "I never thought about nationalizing the railroads. But if it benefits the country, we might as well."

About 150 demonstrators came from the Delaware and Hudson Railroad. Many were from around Albany, New York. They had signs printed up reading, "Help the D & H succeed."

When a *Militant* reporter asked one to explain what the situation is with the D & H, he was immediately surrounded by a dozen workers. "Get it right. No one ever explains what's happening. Get the facts." Everyone contributed to the discussion.

"We formed a coalition of seventeen unions. It's the first time we ever negotiated together."

"We have to be like a fist—not separate unions."

What's the problem with the D & H now?

"It's mismanagement. That's 80 percent of the problem. In 1966 it was absorbed by a conglomerate. They've raped it. The profits are taken out, not put back into track or cars."

"You come up to the yard in Mechanicsville, north of Albany. Sneak in your camera. You won't believe how run down it is."

"The federal government should force a clean-up of the railroads."

'This is a political demonstration'

"You going to the demonstration?"

"Yes, in Washington."

"Well, what does that button mean?"

"Economic Opportunity Act. We're going to talk to the congressmen against cutting the EOA community services."

"What does that have to do with the railroads?"

"Railroads? What do you mean?"

"Aren't you going to the demonstration about the railroads?"

"Didn't know there was one. We're going because they want to cut the anti-poverty funds. It's not a demonstration, really."

"We're from Conrail. They're trying

"They're going to Washington to protest welfare cuts. We're going to Washington so we won't end up on welfare."

* * *

At the demonstration, a young guy wearing bib overalls and a BLE sticker (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers) was asked what he thought of nationalizing the railroads.

"The workers should run it. Let the guys run it. If they sell Conrail they'll just have the same management people running it into the ground. Same clowns, different circus."

Actually, an informal poll of the demonstrators came up with no consensus on what to do about the railroads, except for near unanimous opposition to Reagan's cuts.

But if there was no agreement on whether the railroads should be nationalized or run for a profit, there was widespread agreement on what rail workers should do to save their jobs: "Strike. Strike. Shut 'em down. We should shut down every railroad in the country."

"If we strike now, everybody will get an idea of what it will be like when they cut back the railroads the way they want to."

by Stu Singer

After the April 29 rail demonstration, about 150 workers went to a nearby hotel to participate in a meeting organized by the Socialist Workers Party to discuss the protest and the general situation facing rail workers.

The crowd at the SWP meeting was

average \$2,500 a year per person.

"What's happening on Conrail is part of a huge economic crisis. When Chrysler contracts were torn up, Ford and General Motors turned around and wanted the same thing.

"If they can pull this off on us, you can imagine what will happen with contract

rail labor. They are talking about how they can help each other in case there's a strike."

Response to miners

When John Hawkins took the mike and introduced himself as a member of United Mine Workers Local 6132, the

"The solidarity demonstrated here today is a big step toward that labor party, which is the road to the future."

Another speaker was from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

"I don't care if you're a miner or a railroad worker, or if you work in aviation or for the federal government. We're going to all have to stick together. I don't care if you're in the Socialist Workers Party, if you represent your own local, or if you represent yourself. If we don't all stand together, we're all going to stand alone." Loud cheers and applause and shouts.

'Pull together'

Then an older man, a brakeman on the Chessie from Newport News, spoke: "I've been on the railroad for forty years. We're all going to have to pull together. I don't want to talk to Reagan or Carter. I want to talk to you all. I've seen some hard times in my life. And I'm saying one thing: let us all pull together."

Another brakeman from Newport News, Joe Harris, spoke: "I'm from Local 21 of UTU. About fifteen of us made the journey up here. You've heard speeches. You've seen people going to talk to their representatives to express their feelings. But being here today, I see the young people who are interested in their future. It gives me a lot of hope that the world is going to be in pretty good hands."

Tom Moriarty from Morgantown, West Virginia, United Mine Workers Local 1949 spoke.

"One of the guys I was talking to outside today said that, when Reagan pulls back the curtain in his office and looks out the window, it's going to look more and more like Poland." There were cheers.

The member of the carmen's union spoke again later in the discussion. He works for Fruit Growers Express in northern Virginia near Washington.

"I want to tell you one thing," he said. "You take one cent. It's only worth about a quarter of one cent now. If you take the Democrats as one side and Republicans as the other, you can see plainly that what we need is not either one."

"We need a representation of labor. Neither one of the Democrats and Republicans is worth one cent." The penny he was holding in his hand went flying, to shouts and cheers from the crowd.

A Black woman rail worker spoke. "We've decided our children are going to have enough to eat. They will go to college. If Reagan does not want them to, that's his tough luck."

With that, the meeting ended, but people stayed around drinking beer and talking for several hours more. A few discouraged people came in later who had been lobbying Congress. Their results did not amount to much.

and works at the Amtrak headquarters in Washington, a few blocks away.

"Almost everybody in the office came out for this. We arranged to keep just enough people there to keep it going."

She introduced the chairman of her local, Vince Benson. The young Black man explained the tremendous pressure from the ranks of the union on the top leadership which led to calling this demonstration. "It's remarkable to have BRAC and UTU working together like this. It's a new development."

What does he think about the idea of a labor party?

"I've discussed this idea with people for a number of years. I never believed you'd get a labor party until you had this kind of pressure from the rank and file. But this demonstration is a sign the pressure is there and it's starting to have an effect."

"This is a political demonstration. It's not just for wages or working conditions. This is a protest against Reaganomics."

—Stu Singer

'Two parties not worth a penny'

representative of the rail workers and others who had participated in the large demonstration. For a majority of those present, it was the first meeting organized by the SWP they had ever attended.

It began with short talks by SWP members Tory Dunn and Steve Wattenmaker.

Dunn, a Conrail engineer, referred to other rail shutdowns, like the Milwaukee Road and the Rock Island. "They figured the Rock Island was worth more lead than alive. That's what they're doing to Conrail now."

"They're talking about getting rid of 20-70,000 jobs. For the people who are left, there would be a \$200 million pay cut each year for five years. It would av-

negotiations for all rail workers—what the management of profitable railroads, like the Burlington Northern, will demand.

"I think it's time we nationalized the railroads," Dunn concluded. This brought loud cheers.

"We have so-called friends of labor who are not our friends at all. This is a political problem and we need a political answer. We need a labor party to represent us in Congress."

Socialist suit

"I'm asking your solidarity for the most important civil liberties case to affect the labor movement for a long time," Steve Wattenmaker told the crowd. "Today's rally has been a great example of solidarity and we need to continue it."

Wattenmaker works in Conrail's Elizabethport, New Jersey, diesel shop. He is a pipefitter and member of Sheet Metal Workers Union Local 396.

Describing the socialist suit, he pointed out, "The government claims they have the right to spy on us socialists because they don't like our ideas. That would justify government disruption of the rail unions, since our unions don't agree with the government, as was shown today."

Wattenmaker invited rail workers to attend the trial in New York City to show solidarity with the socialists and to learn from this example of how the government works. "See how closely this suit is tied to the fight our unions are involved in right now," he said.

The microphone was open for anyone to speak from the floor. Tom Pontilillo, chairman of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Local 501 in New York, took the floor.

"We are not going to ask Congress. We are going to tell Congress what to do," he said. This met with loud applause.

Joe Swanson from United Transportation Union Local 305 in Lincoln, Nebraska, spoke. He reported on how his local and others from the area participated in the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, against nuclear power. "There were 15,000 people in Harrisburg and 25,000 here today. It shows me that when we're together we're going to move."

"In Lincoln we have a coalition of all

rail workers in the shops and yards around Altoona. Now there are 2,300 and most of that will be lost if Reagan's cuts go through. There aren't many other jobs in the area.

"We brought seventeen buses from Altoona," one of them said. Altoona is right in the middle of Pennsylvania. "I work in the office. My husband's an engineer. Railroads. That's all Altoona is. PPG and the other factories are all laying off."

What's the problem with Conrail?

"There's a lot of waste in management. In my office, there's one supervisor for every seven workers. In fact, there are these two computer operators. And they have a supervisor just over them. They know what to do, they don't need a supervisor at all."

An older worker is standing nearby. He sees the sign and hears us talking about Altoona.

"Altoona. The great horseshoe curve. I've been through there many times. We'll lose all that."

Fred Kroll chaired and gave the main talk. He read a list of other

room erupted in cheers. It expressed the feeling one rail worker described as "respect for the people who are slugging it out in the front-line trenches." Another rail worker in the crowd jumped up to shake Hawkins's hand.

"As you all know, we've been on strike for over thirty days," Hawkins said. "I was mighty proud to see 20-25,000 railroad workers marching together in the street telling Congress what they could do with those budget cuts."

"Mine workers throughout the country are going to watch this demonstration on TV and be inspired by it. You're opening up another front against the same people who are trying to stick it to both of us."

A rail worker shouted out, "How do they move that coal?"

Hawkins responded, "Some of it moves by truck and some of it moves by rail, and I've been told by some railroad workers that if we have picket lines up, you won't move that coal. I hope you honor that."

"Sometimes it's hard to tell who we're negotiating against: the Bituminous Coal Operators Association or Reagan. It looks like both. It's a shame that we've been out for thirty days and the companies refuse to negotiate."

"What we're looking for, in addition to our own strength on the picket lines, is solidarity from other unions. That can be displayed in all kinds of ways. Get all of labor mobilized behind the mine workers' struggle."

"By sending out that first contract, the operators were striking a blow against our union. We have to get out the truth that coal miners aren't greedy bastards, but are fighting to defend their union."

"We came to Washington on March 9 for the black lung benefits protest. We were here in about half the strength that you all were today. I think May 4 the textile workers are going to be marching here."

"Somebody mentioned before that we need to put in the White House and Congress and every single state house in this country people who would care about maintaining the rail system, who would care about Black children being murdered in Atlanta. That's why we need a labor party representing us working people."

unions and union leaders who were backing the rally. It included Miners union president Sam Church and the heads of all the rail unions.

One remark that got a lot of laughs was when United Transportation Union President Fred Hardin introduced AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland.

The only time Lane Kirkland ever worked for a living was a year or two at the beginning of World War II when he was an officer on a commercial ship. He rose to his position of prominence as the main flunkie for George Meany.

Hardin said: "Lane Kirkland was a working man. He still is a working man."

Toward the end of the demonstration, a Black woman standing next to a *Militant* reporter said this was her second demonstration in Washington. "The first time was two years ago when we had that march for the Equal Rights Amendment."

She is a member of BRAC Local 1906



Militant/Salm Kolis

More than 600 copies of the *Militant* were sold at the demonstration and about \$100 of socialist books and pamphlets. The literature sales were particularly good considering that the Washington cops forced the SWP to take down its literature table soon after it was put up.

The Young Socialist Alliance distributed 3-4,000 copies of their new folded leaflet in support of the coal miners.

A couple of petitioners got the signatures of 160 rail workers in support of the socialist unionists fired by Lockheed Aircraft in Marietta, Georgia. Marcia Gallo, one of the petitioners, said that when she explained what happened at Lockheed, many rail workers would tell her stories of workers they knew who were unjustly fired and how cops of all kinds have messed around with rail workers and their unions for years.

Two women, both member of BRAC, carried a banner: "Ghost town of the East, Altoona, Pa. Thanks Ron."

They estimated there used to be 6,000

Rail action promotes political discussions



Recent labor actions against proposed budget cuts include, from left, April 29 march by rail workers and March 9 miners' demonstration. Right, UMWA Local 2258 Secretary-treasurer Carl Petro, a speaker at Pittsburgh Militant Labor Forum.

The historic rail labor demonstration in Washington April 29 reflected tremendous pressure from the ranks to respond to the attacks labor is facing. There is a deep, thoughtful discussion going on among union members and working people in general about what is happening and what should be done about it.

In the week preceding the demonstration, there were two particularly interesting meetings where these discussions emerged. They were at forums sponsored by the 'Militant' in New York City and in Pittsburgh.

Below are reports on some of the talks and discussion at those two forums.

Miners and rail workers exchange experiences

By Doug Hord

PITTSBURGH—A number of miners and rail workers met here at the Militant Labor Forum on April 24 to discuss the fight against Reagan's budget cuts.

Carl Petro, secretary-treasurer of Local 2258 of the United Mine Workers, and Jack Arnold of United Transportation Union Local 1418 spoke.

Petro said, "The government studies Reagan always refers to show that many recipients of black lung benefits don't have black lung. And I don't doubt this. My mother gets \$286 a month and she never set foot in a coal mine. But my father did. He died of black lung.

"It cost my mother a husband and me a father to get some of those benefits. She's entitled to some of that money. If they want to talk about cutting the widows off, they are going to have a fight on their hands."

Profits in black lung . . .

Petro quoted at length from *Coal Age*, the industry trade magazine. It spelled out how the coal companies routinely appeal 40 percent of the claims awarded for black lung.

To continue paying the claims while the appeals are settled, the fund must borrow at current interest rates. But when the companies lose the appeal they only have to reimburse the fund at a 6 percent rate.

"In the industry's own words," Petro

said, "this is breaking the fund. It is more profitable for them to appeal the claims than to pay them right off. And to top it off, they want to further restrict the eligibility requirements.

"That is why we marched on Washington, D.C., March 9. The government's strong-arm tactics and Reagan's cutbacks threaten unionism itself. The only way we can make our point known is to show up in mass."

Petro continued: "Reagan wants to make cuts that are unbelievable. If they take away our black lung benefits, we'll lose school lunch programs, special education, food stamps. The unions fought long and hard to make these programs available. If we don't save them now we'll never see them again."

. . . and bankruptcy

Jack Arnold spoke next. He explained the history of Conrail. When he was hired on the Pennsylvania railroad in 1968, the railroad was profitable. Then along came the New York Central on the brink of bankruptcy. The merger of these two railroads formed the Penn Central.

Money was drained out of the Penn Central into real estate. A couple of years after the merger, the Penn Central was bankrupt and in ruins. From the Penn Central, the Erie, and several smaller bankrupt railroads Conrail was formed.

Over the next five years, the government poured over \$3 billion into fixing Conrail up to where it is now.

"Now," Arnold said, "Mr. Reagan is saying no more dollars for Conrail. We are going to break it up and sell it back to the same crew that made it go bankrupt in the first place. A real good idea."

Reagan's plan would involve abandoning half the railroad's 17,000 miles of track and laying off up to 55,000 workers.

"They put \$3 billion into Conrail and Reagan wants to sell it for \$900 million," Arnold continued. "You talk about waste."

"Now that Conrail is about to turn a profit, the government is going to turn it back to the Penn Central or Chessie or whoever. They'll run it into the ground again and come back looking for another billion-dollar handout," he predicted.

Conrail management has its own plan for making the railroad profitable. Under this plan, 12,000 jobs would be lost and a 10 percent wage cut imposed.

Arnold said, "Reagan has his plan, Conrail came up with its plan. They're all no damn good. Conrail and the

unions say we must give up everything we can to keep Conrail alive. I say we are not going to give up a thing. What got the Penn Central in trouble was they didn't put their money into the railroad operation. We didn't do it."

Arnold explained the reduced crew agreements signed by the UTU in 1978 to help make Conrail profitable. Conrail management saw the UTU's work rule concessions as a green light for the wholesale elimination of crew members on any pretext.

Fighting back

In 1979, the Conway, Pennsylvania, UTU local called a series of protest strikes. In the face of injunctions and personal fines in the millions of dollars, the Conway workers stood firm. The strike spread over the Conrail system into four states. The company backed down and everybody was reinstated with no penalties.

"Now they are deathly afraid of us," Arnold concluded. "That's what the union is all about. Everybody is sticking together and not taking that bullshit. The coal miners are standing firm, and if there is anything we can do to help, we'll do it."

Ginny Hildebrand, a Pennsylvania miner, chaired the forum. Earlier in the week, she visited Arnold's local meeting to report back to her miners local on preparations for the rail workers' April 29 march on Washington.

"We're out on strike and, although we are a strong union, we need allies," Hildebrand said. "What the rail unions are doing to fight the Conrail cutbacks is essentially to open up a second front against the Reagan administration, coal operators, and rail barons."

BLE leader: 'Get labor party off the ground'

By Steve Wattenmaker

NEW YORK—Conrail and Amtrak workers roundly condemned Reagan's proposed budget cuts at a Militant Labor Forum here April 27.

The public meeting, "Can We Save Conrail and Amtrak—Rail Workers' Speakout," attracted railroaders from New York and New Jersey.

Tom Pontilillo, chairman of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Local 501, was one of those speaking at the meeting.

He denounced the whole range of government proposals to deal with Conrail and Amtrak.

"These proposals differ only to the extent that some groups advocate leaving us with half a crumb, while the so-called moderates would treat us to three-quarters of a crumb," Pontilillo said.

What cuts mean

"We all know too well what these proposals would mean to us: over 70,000 workers thrown out on the street; the destruction of the railroad retirement system; and a steady stream of personal bankruptcies, foreclosed mortgages and broken families for all rail workers.

"But the only question which has yet to be answered is *why*? Why are these the only solutions being discussed?"

"The question has been avoided," he continued, "because the answer lies in the exploitation of all the resources of all the people, including transportation, for private profit. It is avoided because this exploitation is the center pin of the American capitalist economic system and has been for two hundred years.

"The United States is the only major industrial nation in the world without a nationalized transportation system. What do Washington and Wall Street know that the rest of the world doesn't know? Well, if they knew anything about railroading we wouldn't be where we are now."

Mismanagement crippled Conrail and Amtrak, Pontilillo explained. "And they want us to pay for this mismanagement? No way!"

Out for jugular

"The powers who run this country and were responsible for the election of the present government are out for labor's jugular vein. Their eventual aim is to outlaw all strikes and impose binding arbitration by a 'government neutral' on all labor. This must never come to pass."

To answer this challenge, Pontilillo stated, it is incumbent upon labor to unite in a massive and permanent show of political power.

"It's time to get the much-talked-about labor party off the ground. We have the talent, the answers, and the numbers to get the American workers where they should be. This is the perfect time to demonstrate it.

"Let the example of our Polish brothers and sisters remain ever-fresh in our minds," Pontilillo said in closing. "That through solidarity we can win, we must win, we will win."

There was more than an hour of free-wheeling discussion by rail workers at the meeting.

Unions back UMW strike

By Stu Singer

In the first large solidarity demonstration since the coal miners' strike began March 27, 2,500 rallied at Point State Park in Pittsburgh April 30. The miners came mostly from West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Speakers included United Steelworkers Vice-president Joseph Odorcich and District 15 Director Paul Lewis; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Vice-president Henry Dropkin; AFL-CIO International Representative Alan Kissler; Jesse Young, representing the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers; and Mario Rosso, representing the maritime unions.

They all brought essentially the same message. As the IAM representative put it, "The UMW are the shock troops of the labor movement. If the United Mine Workers go down, the rest of the labor movement goes down also. We are behind you all the way."

The demonstration was initiated by UMW District 17 in Charleston, West Virginia. They originally called for a march on the headquarters of Consolidation Coal in Pittsburgh. B.R. Brown, president of Consol, which is owned by Conoco Oil, is the chief negotiator for the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

The rally was directed against the oil companies, which, along with the steel companies, are the biggest coal producers. Many miners carried signs denouncing big oil and B.R. Brown.

UMWA District 5 (Pittsburgh area) President Donald Redman chaired the rally. Redman, along with District 17 Vice-president Cecil Roberts, had campaigned against the proposed contract, which union President Sam Church had



April 30 demonstration in Pittsburgh

supported. But all three were among the speakers in a demonstration of unity against the operators.

Church, speaking before a large group of miners for the first time since the contract was voted down, was booed and heckled a few times. But his acknowledgment to the miners, "You made your choice. I'll stick by it," seemed to be appreciated.

An independent coal operator, Jack Henry, also spoke at the rally. Henry owns a mine in southern West Virginia, where 150 UMW miners work. He offered to negotiate with the UMW separately from the BCOA and offered to agree to the union's demands on some of the key issues that led to the rejection of the first contract.

These included getting rid of the forty-five-day probation period and continuing to pay a royalty to the union pension fund for any nonunion coal processed at a union mine.

While there was applause that a coal operator agreed with some of the union's contract demands, Henry received a mixed reception.

When Henry described how great relations with "his" miners supposedly are, one miner in the crowd shouted out, "Well, how come they're paying union

dues at all if things are so good?"

A few days before the Pittsburgh rally, Emery Mining Corporation, based in Utah, the largest underground coal producer in the West, announced its withdrawal from the BCOA and also asked the UMW for separate negotiations.

As the *Militant* goes to press, there are reports that negotiations are supposed to reopen May 7 between the UMW and the BCOA.

As we reported last week, there are two cases coming before the courts where the royalty issue in the contract is challenged by the operators as being in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The Supreme Court announced May 4 that it would rule soon on one of these cases involving a suit by Kaiser Steel against the UMW. Kaiser, a West Coast steel producer, is suing to avoid paying the royalty on coal bought from Mid-Continent Resources. Mid-Continent is the operator of the Dutch Creek No. 1 mine in Redstone, Colorado, where an explosion killed fifteen miners in mid-April.

A Supreme Court ruling either way could have an impact on the negotiations.

In addition to the United Mine Workers' strike against the bituminous

coal industry, 2,000 UMW anthracite miners in eastern Pennsylvania rejected a proposed contract and went on strike May 1.

Violence against union pickets by company gunmen and state police in Virginia and Kentucky have continued. In Virginia, where more than 200 state police were sent into the coalfields to keep nonunion coal moving, the cops are reported to be wearing T-shirts reading, "The Dalton Gang Rides Again." Virginia Gov. John Dalton is notorious for using the state cops against strikers.

In Kentucky, the state police are using airplanes to patrol coal areas.

In St. Louis, 250 miners from the southern Illinois coalfields demonstrated outside a coal terminal May 4. The terminal transfers coal from rail cars to Mississippi River barges.

Workers on the barges informed the miners that nonunion coal was secretly being sent to Tennessee Valley Authority power plants, which normally use union coal.

The terminal operator got a temporary injunction against the UMW immediately after the union show of force. The injunction limits union pickets to four.

Steelworkers reform candidates unite

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Candidates for directors of United Steelworkers districts representing one-third of the union's 1.2 million members announced a "united effort to return our union to its membership" at a news conference here April 27.

USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff, who hosted the news conference, is head of the union's largest district, with 110,000 members in the Chicago-Gary area. He was joined by Dave Patterson, president of Local 6500, representing more than 10,000 nickel miners at Inco in Sudbury, Ontario, USWA District 6; Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938, the 4,000-member iron ore miners' local on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota; USWA staff representative Marvin Weinstock from Youngstown, Ohio, running for director of District 27; and Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 at the historic U.S. Steel Homestead mill in District 15 in the Pittsburgh area.

The five candidates base themselves on opposition to the union's top hierarchy headed by international President Lloyd McBride. All five were active supporters of the insurgent election campaign of Chicago Steelworker leader Ed Sadlowski's slate in 1977.

Samargia and Patterson both led the largest strikes by major locals in the union since the last election—four and a half months on the Iron Range and over six months in Sudbury.

McBride and the other four top officers face no opposition but at least twelve of the twenty-one districts have contests for director.

Balanoff said the joint effort of the five would "continue beyond the upcoming election" until enough "progressive unionists are elected to office to properly serve the membership. This movement will continue no matter how we do in the election, because it is shared principles that draw us together."

Balanoff delivered a joint statement from the five, blasting the "buddy-buddy relationship our union has established with the employers" and a dues structure that fails to "leave enough money in most local treasuries to fight the companies' onslaught of contract violations."

The McBride regime and its predecessors, Balanoff said, claimed that the "cozy relationship between the international and management promised us job security."

But this arrangement has resulted in massive layoffs, shutdowns, contracting out of union jobs, and short workweeks that slash the wages of USWA members.

Balanoff likened today's bosses to the corporate labor haters who tried to block "the organizing efforts of the 1930s. Against the attack, the international has stood by helplessly. It has been so long since the international has fought back that it no longer knows how. But our members remember."

Steelworkers have to reject the notion that what is "good for management is good for labor," Marvin Weinstock said. "It has never been that way." The union's position should be, he said, "what is good for labor is good for the country."

Steelworkers have to "tell the corpor-

ations that our jobs are more important than their goddamn greed," Ron Weisen told the media. When the union faces negotiations for its next contract, he said, the steel giants "are going to take us on, and we'd better be ready. They're taking on the coal miners today."

But the international has been "in bed with the corporations so long it should file for maternity leave," Weisen said.

Steelworkers need to be wary of the import scare, thirty-year-old Dave Patterson told reporters.

Canadian bosses attack U.S. imports, U.S. employers attack Canadian imports, and, he asked, who suffers? "Steelworkers, in the United States and Canada," Patterson answered.

Steelworker solidarity goes beyond the Canada-U.S. border, according to Joe Samargia. He explained how his local union worked with elected officials and religious leaders to oppose U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta. Why?

"From a union standpoint, the majority of deaths and murders that have been going on are of union organizers," he said.

The five dissident candidates face stiff opposition from candidates financed by McBride's patronage machine. Balanoff charged it "is well on its way to accumulating campaign contributions of \$400,000 by dunning each staff representative \$300 to \$500."

The Chicago *Sun Times* later reported that an unnamed union spokesman confirmed this practice, terming it a "personal" decision.

Nomination challenges backfire

By Stu Singer

One response of the McBride machine to the district director challengers has been to try to keep one of them, Ron Weisen, off the ballot.

District 15, where Weisen is running, covers part of the Pittsburgh area, where the union's international headquarters is located. After Weisen won the required number of local nominations to appear on the ballot, incumbent Paul Lewis challenged them. He filed a complaint with the International Executive

Board, which ordered votes to be taken over in two of the locals Weisen had won, at the U.S. Steel Irvin Works and at Fort Pitt Bridge Company.

Weisen won both votes the second time, guaranteeing his place on the ballot. The win at Irvin Works was particularly impressive. In the first balloting, only 257 workers voted. In the revote, 858 steelworkers came out, giving Weisen a giant 519-339 margin over the incumbent. It was a fitting response to the heavy-handed maneuver of the international.



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How capitalist press lied about Bay of Pigs

April 19 was the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution's victory against the U.S.-backed mercenary invasion at Playa Girón near the Bay of Pigs. The counterrevolutionary Brigade 2506, which carried out the invasion, was supplied with five armed freighters, twenty-four B-26 bombers, twelve transport planes, and artillery and small arms by the CIA.

But no less important than the arms, money, and training provided by the CIA was the propaganda support provided by the imperialist media, which has never ended its campaign of slander and disinformation against the Cuban revolution. The following article on this aspect of the Bay of Pigs invasion appeared in the April 19 issue of the English-language 'Granma' weekly, published in Havana.

The image that the peoples of Latin America received of the mercenary aggression at Playa Girón, which was launched from Puerto Cabezas [Nicaragua] on April 13, 1961, was essentially the image that was presented by the mass media.

That image was almost completely designed and manipulated by the U.S. news agencies Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). These agencies' ties to the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) clearly indicate that they are both instruments of U.S. imperialism.

During those days in April 1961, AP and UPI applied the basic techniques of disinformation—the essence of imperialist propaganda—by:

- unscrupulously distorting or inventing facts;
- suppressing or concealing information about developments that went against U.S. imperialist policy; and

- misrepresenting probable outcomes.

Phony war diary

AP and UPI's April "war diary" about the invasion of Cuba by mercenary forces in the pay of Yankee imperialism is frighteningly eloquent. In this "war diary," as improbable as they seem, were the following dispatches:

WASHINGTON, April 17 (AP).—Anti-Castro forces invaded Cuba today in three places, and Santiago, the main city in the easternmost end of Cuba, may already be in the hands of the invaders. Castro's militia, as well as the army and navy, have gone over to the invaders.

GUANTÁNAMO, April 17 (UPI).—Sources say that a group of invaders landed near Santiago de Cuba, some 65 kilometers from Santiago (sic).

MIAMI, April 17 (UPI).—Stories are circulating that the Cuban navy has rebelled. Naval stations were heard communicating with navy headquarters in Havana for more than an hour.

MIAMI, April 17 (AP).—Most of the 400,000-man militia recruited by Castro has now deserted, and the decisive battle will take place within a few hours.

NEW YORK, April 17 (UPI).—The invading forces have occupied the city of Pinar del Río, the capital of the province of the same name. The invasion of the provinces of Matanzas and Santiago is progressing well.

MIAMI, April 17 (AP).—The Isle of Pines was taken by the rebels and 10,000 political prisoners were set free and joined the uprising.

MEXICO, April 17 (UPI).—Prime Minister Fidel Castro has fled and his brother Raúl has been captured. General Lázaro Cárdenas is negotiating political asylum for Fidel.

MIAMI, April 17 (AP).—News has

been received that there is fighting in the streets in Havana.

NEW YORK, April 17 (UPI).—At 7:25 a.m., anti-Castro forces rose up in several places in the interior of Cuba. One of the centers of activity was the province of Camagüey.

MEXICO, April 18 (UPI).—The luxurious Habana Libre Hotel, in the Cuban capital, was totally destroyed after an air attack on Havana.

NEW YORK, April 18 (AP).—Farmers, workers and militiamen are uniting with the invaders and cooperating with them in the liberated zone, which is expanding rapidly.

MIAMI, April 18 (UPI).—Invading forces today isolated the port of Bayamo, on the southern coast of Oriente province.

MIAMI, April 20 (UPI).—The prime minister was incapacitated during last Monday's air attacks and is suffering

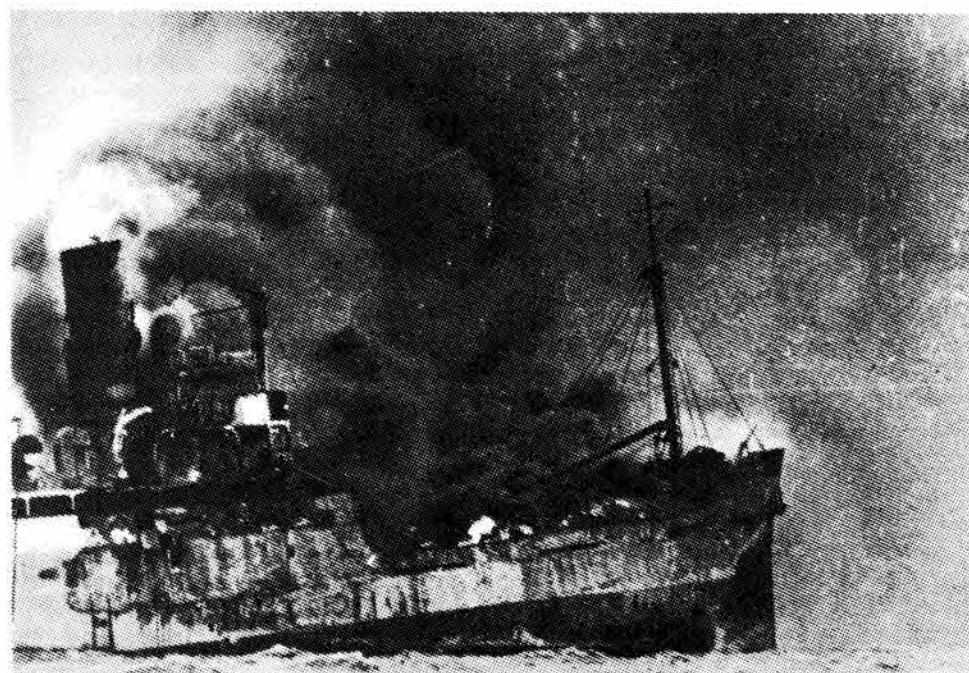
traordinary number of irresponsible statements, lies and slanders.

In Nicaragua, from whose eastern shores the invasion was launched, the headlines of *Novedades* and *La Prensa* participated actively in the disinformation campaign.

For example, on Tuesday, April 18, *Novedades* published a UPI dispatch datelined Miami on a request made by the Cuban Revolutionary Government for blood donations. The headline of the article read: "Castro Asks For Blood." On the same day, *La Prensa* printed a huge headline which said: "Invaders Receive Reinforcements."

Somoza's complicity

The editorials of *Novedades*, run by the Somoza family, reflected the complicity of the regime. On April 18, the paper stated, "Far from respecting the democratic principles originally pro-



Ship used to carry invasion force sinks into Bay of Pigs.

from physical and perhaps mental collapse. He is now under treatment.

Deliberate omission

Something very significant about these AP and UPI dispatches is that almost all of them have datelines outside of Cuban territory. Also, there is a deliberate omission in all of them: none of them say that the mercenary brigade was trained by the CIA in Guatemala and that the invasion was launched from Puerto Cabezas, on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

The bourgeois Latin American archives and newspapers of the time record the information campaign unleashed by the CIA.

A review of the Nicaraguan papers *Novedades* and *La Prensa* gives us an idea of what the peoples of Latin America were reading about the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón. There have been very few periods in which the AP and UPI wires have carried so much disinformation and infamy. The U.S. news agencies released an ex-

claimed by the anti-Batista revolution, Castro introduced right after his triumph the worst horrors and cruelties as a system of government." On April 19, when the outcome of the invasion was still unknown, *Novedades* made an appeal: "The responsibility of all of Latin America in view of the Soviet threat in Cuba is to support the United States morally and materially."

The first mention in the Nicaraguan press of Puerto Cabezas being the base from which the invading ships left appeared in *Novedades* on April 20, after Brigade 2506 had been defeated, had surrendered and had been taken prisoner.

At that time, Luis Somoza categorically stated in an interview with *Novedades* that "At no time have there been revolutionary elements in Puerto Cabezas ready to invade another country."

It was precisely on April 20 that the absolute control the CIA had exercised over Puerto Cabezas for several weeks came to an end.

From Intercontinental Press

'Three Mile Island' in Japan

One of Japan's worst nuclear accidents—in which fifty-six workers were exposed to dangerous levels of radioactive contamination—took place on March 8. It was not revealed, however, until April 20, as a result of an attempted cover-up by the Japan Atomic Power Company.

The accident at the Tsuruga power plant on the Japan Sea, nearly 200 miles west of Tokyo, has become a major issue in Japan, the only country to have ever suffered a nuclear attack.

The first signs of the accident were discovered after government inspectors found abnormally high radioactivity in soil and water samples near the plant, after it had been shut down April 1 for a routine check and maintenance period.

They then discovered that on March 8 at least forty-five tons of radioactive waste water had overflowed a filter tank at the plant.

Fifty-six plant employees were ordered to mop up part of the spill with plastic buckets and rags. The company claimed the workers were exposed to only small amounts of radiation, but this was disputed by officials of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which

regulates Japan's nuclear plants.

Some of the spill seeped into the general sewage system, which carries water into nearby Urazoko Bay, a rich fishing ground.

The company's crude attempt to stifle news about the accident was the second such cover-up effort this year. In January it tried to suppress knowledge about two incidents of leakage caused by cracks in a water heater.

Once it had been caught, the company shifted tactics and tried to minimize the seriousness of the accident. Akira Machida, the plant's general manager, claimed that it was "no where near as serious as America's Three Mile Island." Officials also proclaimed that the incident had been magnified by "Japanese emotionalism toward anything nuclear."

Such "emotionalism" has already resulted in the stalling of construction on new nuclear plants following the widely publicized near-meltdown at the U.S. Three Mile Island plant in 1979.

Japan's own "Three Mile Island" at Tsuruga will undoubtedly bolster the movement against nuclear power in that country.

From Intercontinental Press

Japanese Trotskyists sentenced

Watake Kumeo, a leader of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), Japanese section of the Fourth International, has been handed a ten-year prison sentence for his part in mass demonstrations against the Narita airport three years ago. Thirteen other persons, most of them JRCL members, were given sentences ranging from four to nine years.

The fourteen will appeal their sentences. Meanwhile, some 300 other demonstrators are awaiting trial.

Construction of the Narita airport has been a controversial issue in Japanese politics since the plans for it were announced in 1965. It was opposed by farmers who were slated to lose their land to the airport and by residents of the area and others concerned about its environmental hazards.

Construction of the airport was continually delayed by mass protests. On March 26, 1978, thousands turned out to demonstrate against its impending

opening. Despite the largest police mobilization in Japan since the end of World War II, about a thousand protesters succeeded in occupying the airport, including the control tower.

Hundreds were arrested, including members of the JRCL who were active in the building of the demonstration. In the trial of the fourteen activists the government invoked a law designed for prosecuting hijackers, which carries particularly heavy sentences.

Although the airport has since been officially opened, it has only one runway and continues to face considerable opposition.

Letters of protest against the verdict and sentences can be sent to Judge Hanajiri, c/o Supreme Court, 1-1-4, Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan, with copies to the Airport Opposition League, c/o Shinjidaisha, 5-13-17, Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

From Intercontinental Press

Polish CP activist speaks on party 'renewal'

The following interview was conducted in February 1981 in Torun, Poland. Torun is a city of 230,000 inhabitants, less than 100 miles south of Gdansk. The Towimor machine tool factory, which produces machines for shipyards, is located in Torun.

During the August 1980 strikes in Poland, the strike committee at Towimor was built with the active participation of Communist Party members in the plant. Some of them were elected to the strike committee. Subsequently the strike activists were elected to the plant's party leadership.

The first secretary of the Towimor party group, Zbigniew Iwonow, was expelled from the party by higher bodies. But he was immediately re-elected first secretary by the Towimor party organization, despite his expulsion.

The interview with Iwonow was conducted by Pierre Caen, and was published in the March 16 issue of the French-language fortnightly 'Inprecor.' The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

Question. Can you tell us what took place in the party unit inside the Towimor factory?

Answer. It began with the strike. Most of the party members in our factory supported the strike. Some were even on the strike committee. One party member, Stanichesky, was even the delegate from the strike to Gdansk.

After the strike we very quickly realized that the Solidarity union was like insurance for the people. But we had to seek some insurance within the party, because the party had already gone through so many crises that it could not survive another one. We became conscious that the most important thing was to proceed to really democratic elections in the party.

Despite the resistance of the party leadership at the city and departmental level, we were soon able to organize democratic elections in our plant, which



took place on August 15, by using the party rule that stated that an election could be called when 30 percent of the members requested it.

As a result of the new election, people who had been on the strike committee became part of the party leadership at the Towimor plant. The first phase of our work was to help Solidarity, because we had seen that it was very important that the union grow.

We very quickly realized that the changes we had made in our party at the plant level were still not enough. We therefore sought to make contact with other members of party organizations who thought like we did. The party group at the university was the first one to respond to this call. We were able to establish an interplant commission. We no longer had any confidence in what the authorities said.

All the documents that the commission works out are circulated in all the rank-and-file bodies of the party, where they are discussed and people state whether or not they approve of the document.

These discussions deal with whatever the members want. We focus on questions such as how we want to see the party evolve in the future and how to work with Solidarity.

Because we are workers, we do not act like diplomats. We don't mince our

words in meetings. When we think that someone is a thief or a gangster, we say it clearly. The people who do not want the party to go through a renewal are not pleased to hear such talk, because they are not used to working in this way. They think you should always applaud when the first secretary speaks, without asking whether what he says is good or not, and that you should not shout out that the person is an idiot and is talking nonsense.

And I was expelled from the party on such questions of form rather than substance. It was a little like the Inquisition. One Sunday I was told I had to come to a conference on Monday, and on Monday I was expelled. But the factory party group rejected this. So now I am a first party secretary who is not in the party! [laughter].

Q. How do you see the aftermath of the preparation of the congress?

A. Our positions are majority positions in the party. Only a few thousand—with their families who are doing well—try to defend themselves. . . .

For democratic elections

Q. How do you think democratic elections can be imposed on all levels before the congress?

A. We think that it would be good if

the party authorities were elected by direct vote at every level.

We have also thought about the party's role. Up to now our party had a role it should not have had. It duplicated the functions of the state (administration, police). Therefore we think that we have to do away with this situation where the state apparatus in each arena is duplicated by the party apparatus; we have to do away with this bureaucracy.

We also must reflect on what the role of the Communist Party in the factory should be. It should be a force that makes proposals on all the problems and not an instrument of the government. I would like to have that kind of party in our country. To join this party people should have to wait one or two years to show they know what to do, so we have quality rather than quantity.

'Thorough housecleaning'

Q. People have spoken of self-management on the factory level, but how do you envision self-management on the level of all of society, so that the workers can be the ones who really make the decisions?

A. Today they say that the factories belong to us, but that is not true. They are in the hands of the government. The government is led by a very limited group, not even by the entire political bureau of the party, but only some of the members. And they are the ones who make the decisions. Society as a whole has no influence, but it feels all the consequences of all their decisions. That is why we think that this reform must be carried out as quickly as possible.

What should this reform be? A thorough housecleaning throughout Poland.

Me, I think that the factories must have greater autonomy and the workers must be able to make the decisions. I imagine it as a body of councils of all the workers who would have shares in the factory. Of course they could not sell these shares because those who had the most money would gain. The workers would be able to decide how the enterprise should be developed, how to distribute, how to find sales outlets; it

Continued on page 23

'Daily World' writer slanders Solidarity leaders

By Suzanne Haig

Conrad Komorowski, a writer for the *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist Party USA, recently returned from a six-week visit to Poland. He gave a forum in New York City on April 16, presenting his view of the events.

The Communist Party leadership finds itself between a rock and a hard place on this issue. Solidarity, the independent union in Poland, clearly has the support of the working class and cannot easily be attacked. Millions of American workers strongly identify with Solidarity, and with the aspirations and struggles of the Polish workers.

But the Communist Party, loyal to the privileged bureaucrats that rule in Moscow, must defend or explain away their denunciations of Solidarity and threats to Poland.

Komorowski claimed that the Soviet government and the CPUSA strongly support Solidarity, viewing it as "a partner in the building of socialism" in Poland.

However, he asserted, elements in the leadership of Solidarity are "against socialism." These individuals endanger socialism to such a degree that Moscow—if all else fails—may have to provide "brotherly assistance." This would "not be an outside invasion," he insisted.

Who are these antisocialist elements that threaten to "destabilize the country"?

None other than Lech Walesa, the most prominent leader of Solidarity;

Anna Walentynowicz, a leader of the August strike in Gdansk; Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, figures identified with KOR (the Movement for Social Self-Defense, a group advocating socialist democracy in Poland); and others.

Komorowski linked them to a "Trotskyite world network and the CIA." Also involved in the plot are an alleged espionage center in Sweden and former Polish landlords from Silesia, now resident in West Germany, who are said by Komorowski to be organizing a military force in West Germany.

Nazi connection?

Komorowski topped it off with a hint that Walesa and the others have Nazi connections. Leaflets and swastikas have been found in Gdansk, he said. Textbooks from West Germany are turning up with maps showing Gdansk and the rest of Poland's Baltic Sea region as part of Germany.

But how could a few fascist spies win the support of millions of Polish workers? Does Komorowski think the Polish masses are fools, duped into following piper Walesa back to capitalism?

Komorowski presented no concrete proof that Walesa and the others are linked to the alleged spy network, Nazi leaflets, or other pieces of this elaborate conspiracy theory.

Nor did he explain why he had thrown Trotskyists into this unappetizing stew. Komorowski should be aware that the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky—who was Lenin's collaborator in the Russian revolution

and organizer of the Red Army—is irreconcilably opposed to the CIA and has always defended the gains of the Polish revolution, while opposing the antidemocratic practices of the governing bureaucrats.

Poles are all too familiar with charges like those made by Komorowski. False accusations of "Nazi-Trotskyite" plotting were used by Stalin in 1938 to abolish the Polish CP and murder its leaders. The party was reconstituted only after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. And new purges on similar frame-up charges followed World War II.

During the discussion period Komorowski was asked why the supposed enemies of the people had not been arrested. He replied, "If they were, the Polish government would be called terrorist. The population is too lax. The party cannot take action, because the people have been poisoned." Arrests would be "used by their enemies."

Komorowski claimed, "Many of the workers are against the [Solidarity] leadership, because [it does] not care about the workers' grievances."

"They use terror, threats, and beatings against workers," he asserted. The workers are "angry because these leaders called a general strike [in March] when the country has serious production problems."

Garbled facts

Komorowski was garbling the facts. It wasn't Solidarity leaders who were beating workers, but the Polish police. They attacked Solidarity leaders in Bydgoszcz on March 19 while the

latter were negotiating with officials about recognition of Rural Solidarity, the farmers organization. Several workers were so badly beaten that they had to be hospitalized.

Although Warsaw pact troops were maneuvering on Polish soil, ten million workers joined a four-hour warning strike March 27 to express their hatred of these terror tactics. They recognized the Bydgoszcz attack as an attempt by diehard bureaucrats to roll back the gains of the workers.

When the government agreed to punish the brutal cops, a general strike called for March 31 was cancelled.

Attack on farmers

Komorowski attacked Solidarity's demand that Rural Solidarity be recognized as a union of Poland's working farmers. Rural Solidarity is "phony," he asserted. It has "no real base among farmers" and is "a pressure action by the reactionary leadership to put the government in a difficult position."

Komorowski spoke too soon. On April 17, a day after his forum, the Polish government recognized Rural Solidarity.

A lively discussion followed Komorowski's presentation. It seems likely that a growing number of supporters of the CPUSA will reply to Komorowski by echoing Tadeusz Neckowicz, a Polish CP member:

"The authorities should not present the changes going on in our country as the work of antisocialist forces, but as a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles."



Class struggle deepens in Honduras

By Lars Palmgren

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras—There are six national daily newspapers in Honduras, more than in either Nicaragua or El Salvador. And yet the total population is just slightly more than 3.5 million, and half of the adult population is illiterate. But all these papers do not express any real range of different political opinions. Positions falling outside the two big capitalist parties, the National Party (PN) and the Liberal Party (PL) are limited to a few paid advertisements.

There are supposed to be presidential elections in Honduras in November or December 1981, and the campaign spectacle is already in full swing.

Despite their mutual accusations, the capitalist parties are campaigning around a common slogan: "Honduras is different," or as *La Prensa*, the most reactionary daily paper says: "We here in Honduras are not like those people in Nicaragua and El Salvador. We hate violence, love peace, and solve our problems with free elections." The radio adds: "Nobody needs to be liberated here."

Real difference

There is some truth to the statement that Honduras is different. It is a fact that over 80 percent of the voting-age population participated in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in April 1980. They did that despite a boycott called by the Revolutionary Patriotic Front (FPR) which was organized by the Moscow-oriented Communist Party of Honduras (PCH), the Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist (PCML, a split from the Communist Party), the Socialist Party (PASO), and the Christian Democratic Party (PDCH).

The real difference in Honduras, however, is that, as Reinaldo, a leader

of the on-going teachers strike told us, "The revolutionary leadership is still in diapers."

The material situation for the majority of Hondurans is terrible. Three quarters of all children under seven years of age are malnourished. Half the adult population has a daily intake of under 1,500 calories. In the last ten years consumption of corn and beans, the staples of the Honduran diet, has actually declined.

In spite of land reform programs, most of the peasants are landless and depend on seasonal agricultural labor. During long periods of the year unemployment in the countryside is as high as 75 percent.

The elections of April 1980 were the first in over ten years. Lacking revolutionary leadership, most Hondurans saw the elections as a minimal way to influence the political situation. The surprising victory for the Liberal Party represented not so much support for the Liberals as revolt against ten years of corrupt military dictatorship.

U.S. bolsters military

Washington's plans call for using the Honduran military to smash all attempts to form a guerrilla movement in Honduras, support the Salvadoran army in its "Operation Sandwich," and last, but not least, carry out constant harassment of Nicaragua along the common frontier.

There are indications that Washington would like to make the Honduran army the gendarme of Central America. The army already has 30,000 men, most forcibly recruited, and the air force has about twenty modern war planes and more armored helicopters.

During the last year U.S. military aid reached a new high of \$3.5 million. Increasing numbers of Honduran officials are taking special courses in the

United States and Panama. The Honduran air force got special credits to buy ten new Bell VH-11H ("Huey") helicopters. In the list of U.S. military material to Honduras there are items identified as "classified products"—a category only used for very sophisticated equipment.

The fact that last year's elections drew widespread participation and that this year's probably will too, does not however mean that U.S. imperialism's plans are going to be accepted by the Honduran masses. The revolutionary struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador have had a big influence on Hondurans.

That can be seen in the big mass mobilizations since 1978, and particularly since the election of April 1980. Mobilizations are broader, more militant, and more political than ever before. For example, the fight for free education reached almost insurrectional proportions in some villages and towns, where the whole population went into the streets and confronted the army. In the major cities mobilizations led by the teachers union and including students and their parents have taken over roads and bridges and occupied ministries.

Militant struggles have developed in defense of trade-union leaders. At the Rosario Mining corporation the 1,500-member union carried out a victorious one-week strike to protest the firing of their president.

Peasant cooperatives in the north, which used to be forced to sell their bananas to the multinational companies for processing, carried out strikes demanding control of the processing plants.

Unions and the left

The trade-union movement in Honduras is relatively strong but is divided

and has been controlled for many years by anticommunist leaders linked to the trade-union bureaucracy in the United States and the CIA-supported American Institute for Free Labor Development. Recently, however, the class struggle tendency has gained influence in several important organizations, such as the 12,000-strong union SITRATERLO, on the United Brands banana plantations; the biggest peasant organization, ANACH; and the biggest teacher federation, CORPRASUMA, with 18,000 members.

The revolutionary struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador have had a significant impact on the traditional left parties as well.

An intensive discussion about the lessons of Nicaragua and El Salvador has already led to splits in both the PCH and the PCML.

In spite of these splits and divergences, the different groups seem to be more willing to carry out united actions than ever before. This has been shown by the solidarity work with El Salvador and Nicaragua, and in discussions of creating an electoral front called the Honduran Patriotic Front (FPH).

So even if Reinaldo is right in that the revolutionary leadership in Honduras "is still in diapers," it seems that the tendency is toward rapid maturity.

The capitalists seem to understand this quite well. Why else are they imitating their Nicaraguan and Salvadoran class brothers and getting their money out of the country? Last year capital flight from Honduras amounted to \$200 million. It seems that not even the capitalists believe their campaign slogan about "the Honduran difference."

From Intercontinental Press

The plight of Salvadoran refugees in Honduras

By Lars Palmgren

LEMPIRA PROVINCE, Honduras—A thousand people used to live in La Virtud, a small, forgotten, almost inaccessible village on the Honduran frontier with El Salvador. It had no electricity, school, teacher, or doctor.

Now 3,000 people live in La Virtud. The 2,000 new inhabitants are refugees from El Salvador. Another 6,000 to 7,000 refugees live in the surrounding area.

On March 18, more than 4,000 new refugees poured across the border. They are concentrated in a place called Los Hernández, an hour's walk from La Virtud, toward the Río Lempa that separates the two countries.

There are still no tents in Los Hernández. Plans have been made to move the refugees four kilometers in from the dangerous border, but the military has not yet given permission. So all the thousands of refugees are concentrated in a small enclosed area.

Two days before we arrived a refugee was shot to death by a Honduran soldier. "He did not stop when I told him to," was the motivation offered by the soldier.

Even more than Honduran soldiers, the refugees fear Salvadoran soldiers and members of the right-wing paramilitary organization ORDEN, who have crossed into Honduras several times. The day we arrived in Los Hernández a Salvadoran plane flew over the area and dropped several bombs.

The biggest reason for fear, however, is what happened when the refugees crossed the Río Lempa. "We started to cross at night so they would not see us," an old man leaning on a stick tells us.

"In the beginning it was all right. But when the light came the hell started. They shot at us from the mountains, and airplanes came and shot at us too. In the end a helicopter hovered in the air above us for at least half an hour shooting, shooting. . . ."

The response of Honduran peasants to the refugees has been impressive. "They are our brothers," one man who now has his house and farm full of refugees says. "We must support each other."

A striking example of that support occurred March 24, the anniversary of the assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. Hundreds of peasants came to the camp loaded with food for the refugees—pigs, chickens, vegetables, whatever they had to

share. They had heard that the refugees did not have enough to eat.

The new refugees in Los Hernández brought the total number in Honduras to almost 40,000. Most are around La Virtud or in the area bordering the province of Morazán.

According to the United Nations refugee commissioner in Tegucigalpa, Charles Henri Bazouche, 40 percent of the refugees are less than seven years old. Another 40 percent are women, and the rest are mostly old men.

The refugees do not have any real political status in Honduras. They cannot leave the border area and do not have permission to work. The government recently decided the refugees must carry a special identity card at all times.

This contrasts sharply with the treatment given the 15,000 Somozaists who fled from Nicaragua after July 19, 1979. They were given residency cards and work permits.

Before leaving Los Hernández we talked about the future with the refugees. "We feel a tremendous gratitude toward our Honduran brothers and sisters," one of them says, "and we hope we will soon be able to pay them back for their help."

"Because," he states with great seriousness, "we have no plans to stay here very long. This is a situation that must change. We all long to return to the struggle for our victory. And then we will remember those who helped us here."

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Behind Syrian-Israeli clash in Lebanon

By Janice Lynn

The latest confrontation in Lebanon between Syrian and Israeli forces has underscored the danger of a full-scale war breaking out in the Middle East.

Fighting between Israeli-backed rightists and Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon broke out at the beginning of April.

The Israeli regime, which has been urging the rightists on and which openly admits that it is supplying them with arms, took advantage of this latest outbreak of fighting to launch new air and land attacks against Palestinian refugees in southern Lebanon.

Then on April 28, the Zionists escalated their provocations against the Syrian forces. Israeli jet fighters flew into central Lebanon and shot down two Syrian helicopters. Four Syrian soldiers were killed.

In response, the Syrian regime moved anti-aircraft missiles across the border into eastern Lebanon to defend against any further Israeli attacks.

Haig's visit

Behind the Zionist military attacks has been a stepped-up campaign by Washington against the Syrian regime, which coincided with a visit to the Middle East by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig.

Haig gave his approval to the Israeli attacks against Syrian forces when he declared in Jerusalem April 6, "We view the brutality of the Syrian action against the Christian enclave as a very, very serious turn of events which is unacceptable by any measure of appropriate international standards."

Haig had nothing to say about the brutal Israeli raids, nor those by the Israeli-backed Christian rightists, against Palestinian refugee camps and Muslim villages in southern Lebanon.

Just four days earlier, however, Richard Allen—President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser—made clear Washington's position. Over nationwide television, Allen declared that Israeli raids into southern Lebanon were "hot pursuit of a sort and therefore justified."

Prominent Arab-Americans and several Arab-American groups immediately denounced Allen's statement, calling for his resignation and a repudiation of his comments.

But the following day, the White House issued a statement defending Allen's position.

U.S. assails Syria

Washington has been stepping up its pressure against the Syrian regime because it has become an obstacle to



Death and destruction in Beirut. Israel is supplying arms to Christian rightists and launching new attacks against Palestinian refugees in southern Lebanon.

U.S. military and diplomatic plans in the Middle East.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad refused to go along with the Israeli-Egyptian Camp David accords. He denounced Washington's abortive raid into Iran, formed an alliance with the anti-imperialist Libyan regime, signed a twenty-year friendship treaty with Moscow, opposed the Iraqi invasion of Iran, and is now opposing the Israeli-backed Phalangists.

On April 9, a congressional committee voted to cancel \$130 million in economic aid to Syria. And it was announced that Reagan was seeking no aid for Syria in 1982.

On April 11, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee denounced the Syrian role in Lebanon and seventeen senators urged Reagan to call for the withdrawal of Syrian troops.

"The new American attitude has apparently freed Israeli strategists to consider more extensive involvement in Lebanon," noted *New York Times* correspondent David Shipler April 29.

Israel's aims

Israeli military figures began to talk more openly about their real aims. In an April 18 article, Shipler reported that Brig. Gen. Yaakov Even bragged:

"We are on the offensive. We are the aggressors. We are penetrating the so-called border of the so-called sovereign state of Lebanon, and we go after them wherever they hide."

One of Washington's main concerns, noted *New York Times* Washington reporter Bernard Gwertzman April 30, "was the success of Syrian forces last weekend in dislodging the Phalangists from a mountain ridge overlooking the Christian areas. . . ."

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin revealed that Washington had been kept abreast of Israeli decisions and said that the Reagan administration understood Israel's motives for intervening.

The Reagan administration made no criticism of the Israeli regime for shooting down the Syrian helicopters. During the entire month of April, Washington was egging the Zionists on.

But the escalation of the fighting between the Israelis and Syrians began to go further than the U.S. government was banking on. The fighting threatened to escalate into a full-scale war. This was more than the imperialists were prepared for at this time.

Washington had to take into account the Iranian revolution and its impact in the Persian Gulf area, as well as the revolutions and anti-imperialist struggles in Central America, southern Africa, and Indochina.

In the immediate Middle Eastern area, the Syrian regime's relations with the Soviet Union posed the possibility of a wider confrontation with

Moscow. It was one thing putting pressure on the Syrian regime, but quite another to open up the danger of confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Fears full-scale war

A war in the Middle East could also lead to the overthrow of Egypt's Sadat. Would the Egyptian masses tolerate Sadat just sitting idly by and not coming to the aid of the Syrians if they were under attack by the Israeli regime?

Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi pledged his country's resources to defeat Israeli aggression. Even King Khalid of Saudi Arabia and Kuwaiti leaders—among the most servile of proimperialist rulers—made verbal declarations of support for Syria in the event of a war with Israel, indicating their assessment of how the masses in their countries would react if such a war breaks out.

The danger of a full-scale war in the Middle East led the State Department to issue a statement April 29 publicly dissociating itself from having "given a 'green light' to Israel to undertake any military actions in Lebanon."

Nevertheless, U.S. officials loudly protested the fact that the Syrian missiles in Lebanon were Soviet-made and even began to float rumors that Soviet advisers had accompanied the missiles into Lebanon.

Of course, the Israeli F-15 and F-16 jet fighters that were used in strafing runs against Syrian positions are all American-made, as are the majority of weapons supplied to regimes throughout the Middle East.

Soviet ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin denied the reports of Soviet advisers in Lebanon, and on May 1, even Haig had to admit that the rumors were unfounded.

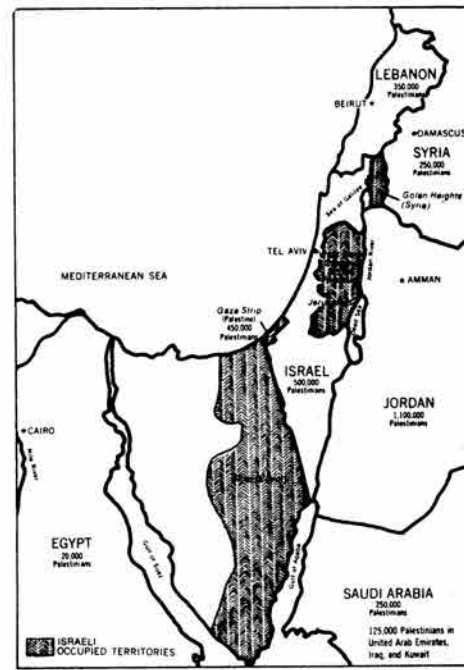
Hypocritical concern

Along with their propaganda against a supposed Soviet threat, Washington and Tel Aviv have made much of their "humanitarian" concern for Lebanon's Christian population.

"We do not want war with Syria, but we will not allow the Syrians to take over Lebanon and annihilate the Christians," warned Israeli prime minister Begin April 28.

Syrian troops have been stationed in north-central Lebanon and have been in control of Zahle since 1976. In these five years there have been no massacres of the Christian population, no campaign of genocide. The same cannot be said of the indiscriminate bombings and shellings by Israeli forces.

The latest fighting is a Syrian response to military actions by rightist forces. It was the Israeli-backed Christian rightists who took the offensive action. It is they and the Israeli regime who hold full responsibility for the killings in Lebanon.



Washington has now begun talking about bringing peace to Lebanon and resolving the situation "through political and diplomatic means." But its aims remain the same—to maintain imperialist domination in the Middle East with the aid of the Zionist regime in Israel.

Washington has moved full steam ahead to secure new military bases in the Middle East, build a Rapid Deployment Force for use in the Persian Gulf, and is providing massive military aid for both the Israeli and Egyptian regimes.

Since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed shah of Iran, the Israeli regime has become even more central to the U.S. rulers' plans in the Middle East.

"Our defense requires that we should resist the hectic efforts currently being made to fill our region and to surround it with foreign military bases and forces with no other aim but to subject our area to imperialist and Zionist demands," declared Assad May 3.

The workers movement around the world must demand: U.S. Hands Off the Middle East! Stop Israeli Aggression in Lebanon!

From Intercontinental Press

U.S. to send troops to Sinai

In a major step toward establishing a permanent military presence in the Middle East, the U.S. State Department has announced plans to send American troops as part of a "peacekeeping" force in the Sinai, between Egypt and Israel.

The 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty coming out of the Camp David accords called for a "peacekeeping" force established by the United Nations after Israel completed its withdrawal from the Sinai. The Soviet Union has said it would veto such a UN force.

In announcing plans to go ahead with the force on its own, the U.S. government said it would supply most of the funds and probably half of the 2,500 troops. The force would be located at several strategic points, would be highly mobile, and include helicopters and other vehicles.

Washington is pressuring New Zealand, Australia, Peru and other governments to volunteer their troops as well, but so far is having little success.

This force will have nothing to do with peace in the Middle East. It will be another move to bolster imperialist domination of the region and a new danger to the Iranian revolution, the Palestinian people, and all the oppressed masses in the area.

... Poland

Continued from page 21

would be a reform of the entire management of the factory. Marketing would have to be expanded.

Q. How do you view the collaboration between the party radicals and Solidarity?

A. There are many areas where we think the same way, especially in the area of social policy. Neither the party nor Solidarity can be isolated from the problems of the moment. Under present conditions, it is impossible for Solidarity to focus solely on economic problems, as the government would like it to. Our differences with Solidarity relate to international policy. We are working under very specific conditions. Unhappily, in your country, you have better conditions.

At this point the interview had to end because the party control commission arrived at the party's factory offices.

—From Intercontinental Press

FBI CRIMES AGAINST ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

Testimony of Fred Halstead

Fred Halstead, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a chief organizer of many major demonstrations against the Vietnam war, took the stand April 22-23 in the socialists' suit against government spying.

Halstead's testimony covered numerous efforts to disrupt the antiwar movement, now proven to have been the work of the FBI. Also taken up was his extensive travel abroad as a socialist journalist, participant in deliberations of the Fourth International, and international spokesperson for the anti-Vietnam-war movement.

Halstead was questioned first by SWP attorney Shelley Davis, then cross-examined by Assistant U.S. Attorney Cathy Silak.

His testimony follows below. It has been excerpted for reasons of space.

Davis: Will you state your name, please?

A: Fred Halstead.

Q: When did you join the Socialist Workers Party?

A: In 1948.

Q: What leadership positions if any have you held in the Socialist Workers Party?

A: I have been a member of the National Committee since the early 1960s. From time to time I have been on the Political Committee.

Q: What was your occupation in approximately 1948?

A: I was a merchant seaman and went part-time to school at UCLA.

Q: Did there come a time when you ceased working as a merchant seaman?

A: Yes. Shortly after I joined the Socialist Workers Party I received a letter from the Coast Guard, which licenses seamen, saying they would not validate my seaman's papers because I was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which was listed that year on the Attorney General's subversive list.

Q: Could you sail without validated papers?

A: No, I could not.

Q: Did this have any other effect on your career choice?

A: Yes.

Q: Can you tell us what that was?

A: I was going to school to train to be a school teacher. The counselor said given I was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, in the atmosphere that existed, there would be no chance of becoming a school teacher either.

A union activist

Q: Were you active in any other union capacity subsequent to that time?

A: I had to go to a different line of work. I worked at several jobs.

I was a hod carrier and I was active in the hod carrier and labor local in Los Angeles.

I worked in aircraft supply plants where I was active in the organizing drive of the Automobile Workers union.

Finally, I learned the trade of garment cutter and that has been my trade to this day and I was active in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Q: Were you ever arrested in connection with a labor strike?

A: Yes, in Detroit in 1954.

Q: Can you describe the circumstances?



Militant/David Warren

Halstead addresses April 27, 1968, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco: 'We built the movement wherever we could. We advocated that it carry out activities of as broad a nature as possible, reaching out to as many people as possible, and particularly to the working people.'

A: I was on a picket line. I was working in a General Motors plant and there was another plant, Square D, across the street from that which was on strike. I was helping on the picket line picketing.

The police came and rounded up the pickets and I was arrested. They charged me with a specious charge, armed robbery. But there hadn't been any robbery, and I wasn't armed so the charges were dropped as soon as we got before a judge.

Appeal to GIs

Davis: [Enters into evidence series of FBI documents showing Halstead was placed on the National Security Index within two years of joining SWP and was designated a "key figure" on list following his election to party National Committee. Also introduced are documents showing FBI kept extensive files on Halstead's 1968 presidential campaign. Davis then questions Halstead about FBI report on one of his campaign speeches.]

Mr. Halstead, I direct your attention to where it says that you spoke at a Militant Labor Forum on October 6, 1967, quoting you as saying:

'In order to stop the war an appeal must be made to the organized workers and the GIs,' referring to the war in Vietnam.

Did you ever make that statement?

A: I frequently made similar statements. It was our view that the war was wrong, it was not in the interests of the common people in this country and that the working class, particularly the organized working class in the unions, could be a powerful force in opposing it.

We attempted to reach them with the antiwar message and encourage workers, unionists, to become involved in antiwar activity.

Similarly, the GIs, because they were the strata of the population that had the most direct interest and we advocated the slogan together with many

others, "Bring the troops home now."

Q: Was that also the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: We were probably among the first, not the only the people in the antiwar movement, but among the first who advocated that the movement pay attention to talking to GIs.

I was of the opinion that GIs could be reached. There were others in the movement that didn't think so.

But I remembered when I was a GI in the Navy. Right after the Second World War, I was on a ship in China, and there was a going home movement to get us out of there among the GIs. I wasn't a leader of it but I saw it.

Leaflets were passed out, discussions, and delegates elected to meetings and even mass demonstrations. This was in a shooting situation. There was a civil war going on in China which they got us involved in, which we didn't know about until we were involved in it.

Eventually they did pull us out of there. So I knew that GIs were thinking human beings and could be reached with an antiwar message.

Q: What actions if any did you urge GIs to take with respect to the war in Vietnam?

A: Most of all to think about it and exercise their rights as citizen soldiers, to express their point of view to their Congress people in letters and any legal way they could—including going on demonstrations where that was permitted, which it was in the United States, out of uniform.

And putting out newspapers, GI newspapers, discussing the matter, letting their views be known. They after all had more rights than anybody else, in our view, to object to this war.

Trip to Vietnam

Q: In the course of your campaign did you have occasion to travel overseas?

A: Yes, I did.

Q: Where did you go?

A: I went to South Vietnam. That was the main purpose of my trip, to

speak to GIs in the war zone and find out what they had to say too.

On the way I stopped in Japan, where I met with some GIs and talked to them and met with the Japanese peace movement and had several conferences there.

On the way back, since Vietnam was halfway around the world and it is no more expensive to come back through Europe, I stopped in Germany and spoke to GIs there.

Judge Griesa: Did you speak to troops in South Vietnam?

Halstead: Yes.

Davis: [Enters into evidence bogus news article, drafted by FBI for Army to circulate in overseas press to "decrease the effectiveness of Mr. Halstead's efforts to contact military personnel."]

Can you tell us what reactions, if any, you encountered from GIs when you went on your trip?

A: I got no hostility whatever from any of them. They were all polite, listened to me in a friendly way. Most of the GIs I met in Vietnam did not have my position, did not agree with me. But all of them were willing to listen and anxious to listen.

A minority, a small minority, were outright in favor of the war but even those were not hostile to me.

A larger minority were outright against the war, agreed more or less with my position: we should just get out totally.

The great majority were just making up their minds. They were confused on the question but quite anxious to hear different points of view and quite pleased that somebody from the States came to talk to them about it.

Role in antiwar movement

Q: Were you active in the movement against the war in Vietnam?

A: Yes, I was.

Q: In what way did you participate?

A: I was on the leading committees of the major national coalitions of the movement that organized the big dem-

onstrations in Washington and New York.

I was also on the executive committee or administrative committee of the major, the largest of the local coalitions, which was the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

I was on the staff of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee for a period of time.

Q: For what period of time were you on these committees?

A: From 1965 on one or another of them, until 1975.

Q: Are you familiar with the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance's participation in the antiwar movement?

A: Yes, I am. I was the most prominent member of the SWP involved in this work. I frequently consulted with many of the SWP members and Young Socialist Alliance members who were involved in it.

Q: In what way did the SWP and YSA participate in the antiwar movement?

A: We had advocated that the movement demand of the government the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Vietnam, now. Bring the troops home now. Immediate withdrawal.

We built the movement wherever we could. We advocated that it carry out activities of as broad a nature as possible, reaching out to as many people as possible and particularly to the working people and the GIs, for reasons I have given.

We advocated that the demonstrations that were carried out be carried out peacefully and in an orderly fashion and be as large as possible.

We advocated that it be a nonexclusive movement, that it include everybody who was opposed to the war and who was willing to demonstrate against it in an orderly fashion.

Those were our positions. That's what we fought for, what we worked hard for.

Q: Did the SWP and YSA participate in various antiwar coalitions?

A: Yes, frequently.

These national coalitions that I mentioned were coalitions of hundreds of groups—political groups, trade unions, churches, pacifist groups, student groups, regional groups. A local coalition like the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee was a coalition of 150 groups around New York, and we were two of the groups involved.

We were frequently involved in the leading committees and worked together with others to advocate the largest possible demonstrations and educational activity, referenda which would put the issue to the voters in cities where it was possible to get it on the ballot, which was very difficult to do, teach-ins, that sort of activity.

Q: Can you briefly describe the organizational structure of these antiwar coalitions?

A: Yes. They were composed, as I said, of many different groups. There were representatives or people from these groups who offered to speak for those groups, on usually a steering committee. There would be smaller subcommittees to carry out specific tasks like organizing a particular part of the demonstration or a particular educational campaign.

All of these meetings were open to anybody who wanted to come and observe. There were frequent conventions or conferences at which the basic decisions for the next period would be taken.

Antiwar Coalitions

Q: Are you familiar with the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee?

A: Yes.

Q: Were these organizations organized in the manner you just described?

A: Yes, generally.

Q: To your knowledge what was

the relationship between the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance and the National Peace Action Coalition?

A: We were two of the groups involved in it. There were many, many other groups also involved. We were very active, hard-working in that coalition. But we were just a part of it, along with other people.

Q: To your knowledge, did the SWP or YSA ever control either the National Peace Action Coalition or the Student Mobilization Committee?

A: No, those were very large coalitions involving as I say hundreds of groups and getting out demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people, at a time when the total membership of the SWP and the YSA did not exceed a couple of thousand.

We were part of it and an important part of it, but along with a lot of other people.

Q: Can you describe the process by which decisions were made in the antiwar coalitions you were in like the National Peace Action Coalition?

A: They were made in open discussions and there were sometimes very sharp discussions and sharp disputes. At big conferences, by majority, after long discussion and open conferences. Then they were carried out by smaller committees, which also had open discussions and disputes and majority votes.

There was an attempt to reach consensus on most questions but sometimes it came to a vote.

FBI view of movement

Davis: [Enters into evidence a 1976 FBI document recommending continued investigation of SWP and YSA.]

The final paragraph on Page 24 starts:

'An example of the Trotskyites' ability to infiltrate and control mass action groups was their control in 1971 of the National Peace Action Coalition.'

I would like to direct your attention to the top of Page 25 where it says:

'NPAC. Under the organization and discipline of the Trotskyites formulated plans for mass demonstrations in April 1971 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, California.'

They describe the demonstrations in the middle of that paragraph as:

'One of the largest demonstrations in our capital's history, where an estimated 300,000 persons demonstrated.'

Then directing your attention to the last sentence:

'The organizational skill and discipline of the Trotskyites was demonstrated by the masses they were able to mobilize for that demonstration.'

Mr. Halstead, are these statements I just read correct?

A: There is a grain of truth in some of them but a lot of them are tendentious, particularly this one where they state:

'They did not advocate violence not because they abhorred violence but

because they believe tactically it would be premature and turn people off.'

We did everything we could to make those demonstrations peaceful and orderly because we thought it was the right thing to do for all kinds of reasons.

We didn't want to get shot and clubbed and get anybody else shot and clubbed.

The part about our controlling, I have already answered that substantially. We didn't control, we were part of the leadership along with a lot of other people.

They were very large demonstrations and we did use whatever organizational skill and discipline we had to make them as big as possible and as educational as possible and peaceful and orderly.

October 1969 Moratorium

Judge Griesa: Was this demonstration—the text here talks about a demonstration in Washington in April 1971 involving 300,000 people. Was that the—

Halstead: That was April 24, 1971.

Griesa: Was that the one that was called the Moratorium?

Halstead: No, the Moratorium took place in October 15, 1969, and it was followed by another very large demonstration, November 15, 1969.

Griesa: The Moratorium was again when?

Halstead: October 15, 1969, followed by a very large demonstration of November 15—it actually took place three days, that demonstration. It started on November 13th and went through the 15th.

Griesa: Also in Washington?

Halstead: The Moratorium was in Washington and many cities across the country. Millions of people participated in that.

Griesa: Now, in Washington, this one that is referred to here in April '71, was this bigger as far as Washington was concerned—

Halstead: Yes, this was the biggest of all.

Griesa: Did the SWP participate in the Moratorium?

Halstead: Yes, and November 15, 1969, as well. We were part of the groups organizing the demonstrations as well.

I was chief marshal for the November 15, 1969, demonstration.

Griesa: What do you mean chief marshal?

Halstead: I organized the logistics and technical aspects of the demonstration together with another person who was co-chief marshal, whose name was Bradford Lyttle.

Griesa: Of the whole demonstration, not just for the SWP alone?

Halstead: No, the whole demonstration. I was working for the coalition and we organized the technical aspects getting the permits from the authorities setting up—

Griesa: November 1969, you said you were the chief marshal or co-chief marshal?

Halstead: The co-chief marshal, there were two of us.

We also organized the marshals, who were several thousand people trained to provide information, make sure the thing went smoothly and went peace-

fully and in an orderly fashion.

Griesa: All right.

Role in demonstrations

Davis: Specifically, what role did you play in the various antiwar coalitions you belonged to?

A: In addition to being on the information committee and engaging in general discussions and expressing a point of view, I was usually given the assignment of working on or being in charge of the logistics and marshals, or monitors as they are called in the west.

Q: I would like to direct your attention to Plaintiffs' Exhibit 217, which is a memorandum dated January 14, 1972, from Chicago [FBI office] to Director FBI.

I call your attention to Page 2 where it says:

'Halstead was SWP candidate for President in 1968 and is a member of the Chicago branch of SWP. He has been named chief marshal in every major national march since 1967, including the April 24, 1971, march on Washington.'

Is that statement true, Mr. Halstead?

A: It is somewhat exaggerated.

I was the co-chief marshal. There were usually two of us. And on many, most of the major demonstrations. There were probably some that I wasn't, that wasn't the particular position I held. But on most I did.

Q: How were you chosen as chief marshal?

A: By the coalition. Whatever the legal body of the coalition was. When the preparations for the demonstration would get under way there would be a committee meeting which would divide up the tasks and because of our experience and inclinations usually it ended up choosing me and Bradford Lyttle from the committee as the co-chief marshals.

Q: What were the marshals trained to do in the event of a violent disruption?

A: To prevent the violence if we could or to isolate it if we couldn't, as best we could.

We developed a number of techniques in consultation with various Quaker groups who were effective in this—in cooling potentially or even violent situations without using violence ourselves.

We would do that by interposing a mass of sturdy bodies, for example, in a situation; to break up a fight, talk it down. Sometimes if there were attempts by some group to rush the stage and destroy the demonstration or injure the prominent people on the speakers stand, we would have to make a wall of bodies with arms locked and prevent that rush.

We would organize thousands of such marshals for the major, big demonstrations and less for the smaller ones.

There were times when there would be an attempt from within the demonstration by provocateurs or just by people who had the idea that they wanted to lead the demonstration off the permitted route. In that case the marshals were usually instructed to let them go but to explain to the mass of

Continued on next page



GI contingent leads April 17, 1971, antiwar demonstration in Austin, Texas: 'I knew that GIs were thinking human beings and could be reached with an antiwar message.'

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Continued from preceding page

the marchers that was not the permitted route and tell them what was the route and filter out those who wanted to go away.

There were times when that wasn't the wise thing to do and we actually made a wall and locked arms and stopped people, like for example near the White House where the authorities specifically had instructed us not to let anybody go that way because they would be hurt if they did.

Then we would make a wall, something like a very large line in a football line and just hold it and not let people go through that way and those were the kinds of methods we used.

FBI pens an 'open letter'

Davis: [Enters into evidence letter written by FBI in 1966 and mailed anonymously to numerous antiwar groups.]

Did there come a time when you received a letter entitled, 'Open Letter To Trotskyites'?

A: Yes. I received this in the mail without a return address on the envelope.

Q: Mr. Halstead, directing your attention to the period of March 1966, can you briefly describe the situation in the antiwar movement at that time?

A: Yes. This was a period when there were centrifugal forces operating, a near split in the movement, a lot of difficulty and disagreement and argument.

There had been a conference in late 1965 of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which was the national coalition at the time.

At this conference there was a dispute, an argument that dominated the conference. It was essentially over what slogan was to be used, whether it would be immediate withdrawal or something like bring the troops home now, some form of withdrawal, or some other slogan that implied that the United States should stay there for some period of time.

In this discussion the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party argued strongly for the immediate withdrawal position.

The discussion became very heated and as I say the movement was almost split. There was considerable heat absorbed by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in many circles for having fought so hard at that conference for their point of view.

It was in this context that this letter arrived, trying to stir up the differences and add to the vilification about us; make it more personal and more bitter.

Griesa: When you said 'arrived,' what did you mean?

Halstead: Received it in the mail, without a return address. It was an anonymous letter—in that sense "arrive."

Other people received it, too. Not only people in the SWP but other people in other organizations told me they received this letter and what was it all about.

Some of the more experienced people recognized that it was something from outside the movement but we didn't know just where.

It was just some sinister force trying to stir up differences. Other people were misled by it. It wasn't until we got this document from the FBI that we knew that it was of FBI origin.

Davis: [Introduces a poison-pen letter FBI wrote and circulated in 1968.]

Mr. Halstead, did there come a time when you received a letter regarding the SWP and YSA participation in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968?

A: Yes.

Q: I direct your attention to the paragraph where it says:

'So over 100,000 protesting

Americans showed up during the Democratic mess last month. Balls. As usual the NMC [New Mobilization Committee] completely exaggerated the whole thing from start to bloody finish. ROC was there close up tight with the pigs. Where were you pal? Where was SMC? Where in hell was YSA-SWP?'

Can you tell us what the incidents referred to are?

A: Yes. This refers to a demonstration that took place in Chicago in mid-summer on the occasion of the Democratic Party convention, of the nominating convention.

There was a demonstration there. It got a great deal of publicity and involved a riot which was characterized as a police riot. It was a bloody affair. It was not a large demonstration, only about 12,000 people.

The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party were not part of the leadership of this demonstration and did not build it.

Judge Griesa: Who was not?

Halstead: The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, because we disagreed with its fundamental political thrust, which was to support one of the candidates in the nominating convention, a peace candidate, either McCarthy or some peace candidate.

We already had a candidate, which was me for president of the United States and Paul Boutelle as vice-president, and we didn't want to represent ourselves as appealing to the Democratic Party delegates to nominate a different candidate. That's the reason we were not involved in this demonstration. It was a political reason.

But this letter we now know was written from the FBI purporting to come from somebody in ROC, the Radical Organizing Committee, defiles the SWP for being cowardly and not wanting to engage in fights with the police and that was one of the tricks that these FBI people wanted to do.

On the one hand they'd accuse us of secretly advocating violence and on the other hand go around the movement and rail against us because we didn't and because we eschewed it and did everything we could to keep it peaceful.

'Notes from Sandcastle'

Q: Did you ever receive an anonymous letter entitled 'Notes from the Sandcastle'?

A: Yes.

Q: I hand you Plaintiffs' Exhibit 214AA for identification.

Is this the letter you referred to?

A: This is a copy of it, yes.

Q: Can you tell me what the Sandcastle refers to?

A: Slang for Columbia University. This purports to be from one Bernie, Sandcastle Class of 1971. Also, this was received in an envelope without any return address.

Judge Griesa: This was another anonymous letter you and others received. Right?

Halstead: Yes.

Q: Turning your attention to the second paragraph where it says 'Speaking of April 6, the original plans of SWP-YSA called for the Peace March to be held on that date, the same date on which the Christian World celebrates Easter. The master plan was presented to the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade by Rick Wadsworth, Joanna Misnik and several other kids a few weeks ago.'

Then it goes on to say, 'Let's make it April 5th on Fifth Avenue. We don't want the plastic society too pissed off.'

Can you tell us what that refers to?

A: This refers to a meeting of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, which called the demonstration in New York City for April 5th.

There had been an original proposal to call it for April 6th, which was Easter Sunday.

I had supported the April 6th date because it would have been easier for GIs to make it on that day. They can get off duty on Easter easier than other days, and this demonstration had been specifically called as a GI-civilian demonstration against the war.

That's what that particular phrase refers to.

There was some argument between the two dates and finally we settled on April 5th and even those of us who were in favor of the other date agreed to go on April 5th.

That's what that refers to.

Q: Turning your attention to the third paragraph—

Griesa: So this letter criticizes what?

Halstead: Well, there was a lot of heat about this argument, about dates, so they criticized the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee for making it on the 5th, I suppose.

It is a ridiculous, tendentious statement that somebody was afraid to have it on Easter because, according to this, they would be afraid that the "Christian World" would beat us up or something. That's absurd, but that's what they are referring to.

There was some heat about the dis-

cussion on the two dates but it was finally settled.

Opposed confrontations

Q: Referring to the next paragraph where it says, 'Chicago's Vietnam GI takes a rather dim view of the whole bit. Their opposition is natural when you figure that the YSA'ers are trying to take the starch out of the GI movement.' Can you explain what this refers to?

A: Well, there was a newspaper, a newspaper aimed at GIs that was put out in Chicago and this is just trying to stir up hostility between the writers of that newspaper and the publishers of it and the YSA.

We were generally cooperative in the movement.

Q: Then referring to the final item where it says, 'The truth of the matter is that the SWP/YSA/SMC Coalition has never had the guts to play it like it really is. A march to confront the establishment and find the landscape crawling with pigs, since you can't sell The Militant to pigs, they cut and run. You will never see Matilde Zimmermann with battle wounds.'

Can you tell us what that refers to?

A: Yes. There were proposals that there be confrontations with the police on this particular demonstration.

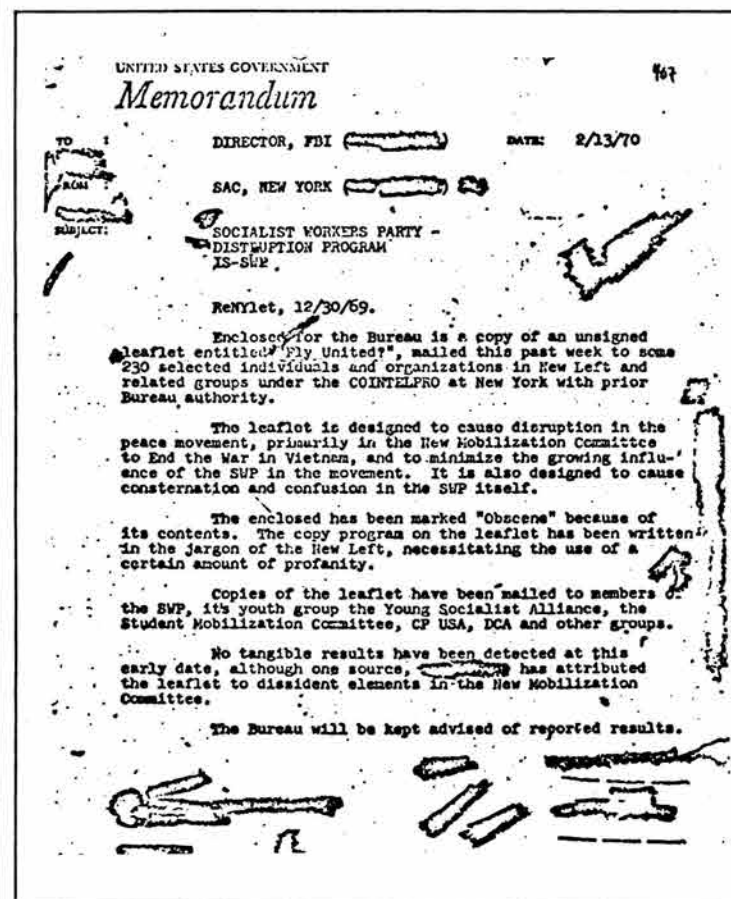
The great majority in the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee came down hard against that, including the YSA and the SWP. I was the SWP spokesman in this argument. We pointed out that it was generally never a good idea to seek those confrontations, but it was particularly important to avoid any arrest situation on this demonstration because there would be active duty GIs involved. It is one thing for a student to get arrested and spend the night in jail. It is another thing for a GI to get arrested. He gets in trouble with his service and it is much more serious.

Keep it peaceful

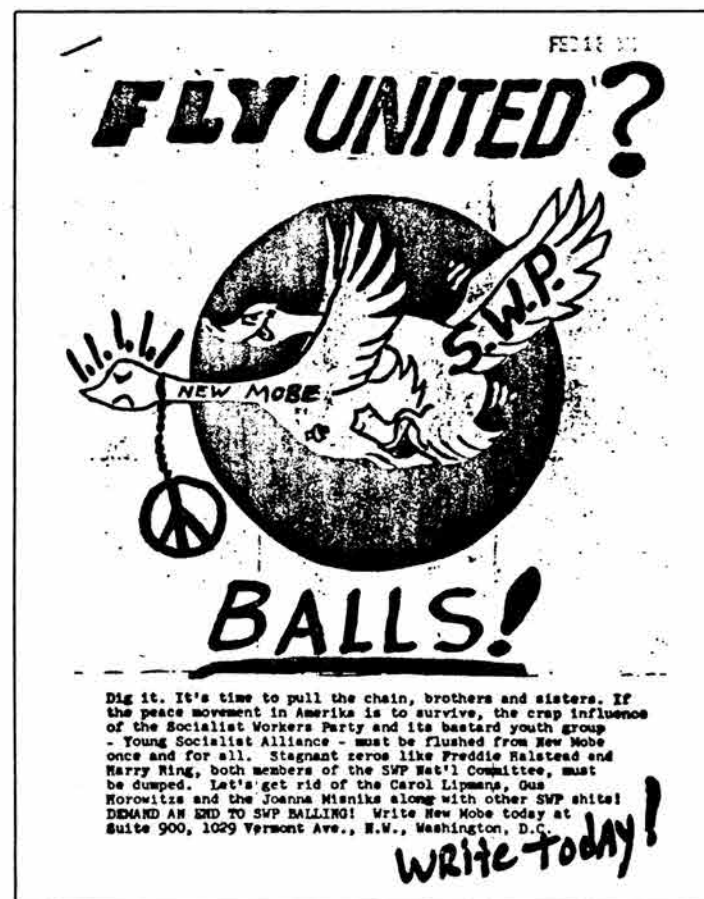
So, it was very important and I was the chief marshal, appointed the chief marshal of this demonstration, and organized the monitors to keep it peaceful.

Now, this is a statement villifying the SWP and the YSA and Matilde Zimmermann, who was a prominent member of the SWP, for not wanting to fight with the police. That's what "pigs" means here.

"You will never see Matilde Zimmermann with battle wounds, chums," and so on. This was the sort of thing that the FBI was trying to sell in the



In 1970 the FBI mailed a red-baiting leaflet, supposedly from an antiwar activist, to 'cause disruption in the peace movement . . . and to minimize the growing influence of the SWP.'



movement, villifying us for wanting peaceful, legal demonstrations.

Now, this demonstration did occur. It did have a hundred or more than a hundred active duty GIs in front of the demonstration, out of uniform, but identified with a paper hat that said "GIs for Peace" and of course they had the GI haircut, which most students did not have in those days.

We had one difficult time preventing a confrontation because there was a group that came into that demonstration, headed by a man called Demmerle, a group called Crazies, who had poles, on the end of which they had placed pigs' heads that they had bought at butcher shops and they walked into that demonstration and they taunted the police, wherever the police were, with these pigs' heads. Our monitors had to separate them off. It was rather difficult but it was a very large demonstration, something like 100,000.

When they finally got up to the bandshell in Central Park, the GIs were sitting on benches in front of the stage, there were a few policemen there at the stage. It was city property and they had the policemen there to guard it and these people with the pigs' heads came up near to where the GIs were and taunted the police and tried to provoke them with these pigs' heads.

Fortunately on that occasion these officers were particularly cool and did not provoke and our monitors were able to separate that situation out.

But it was very close, very close. There could have been a violent confrontation right—involving these GIs. A number of them could have been involved in it and gotten arrested and been in real trouble. And that's what this letter, that sort of thing is what this letter is aimed to provoke. And that was paid for with our tax money.

Silak: I move to strike the last statement of the witness, your Honor.

Griesa: Motion denied.

Q: You mentioned Mr. Demmerle.

What role, if any, did he have in this demonstration?

Surfaced as informer

A: He led the Crazies, the group called the Crazies, with the pigs' heads.

And he later surfaced as an FBI informer in a different case, a case not involving the antiwar movement, years later showed up testifying, turned out he was an FBI informant, and had been.

Griesa: In what organization?

Halstead: In the Crazies.

Griesa: You don't claim he was an FBI informant in the SWP?

Halstead: No, he was not. He definitely was not. In one of these, in the Crazies, I suppose, but where he surfaced in the court case was in regard to another group that had nothing to do with the antiwar movement.

Davis: Your Honor, I would like to direct your attention for a moment to the cover memorandum attached to this letter and directing your attention to the first paragraph where it says, "The note from the Sandcastle was sent to individuals and organizations just prior to their participation in the demonstration on April 5, 1969."

The last sentence in that paragraph states that the letter "was designed to disrupt plans for the demonstration and create ill-will between SWP/YSA and other participating non-Trotskyist groups and individuals."

This document is captioned "SWP Disruption Program," 214AA. I would like to submit it into evidence.

* * *

Q: Did there come a time when you received a copy of the leaflet entitled "Fly United"?

A: Yes. Once again I received this in

the mail in an envelope without any return address.

It contains a picture of two geese, one marked "New MOBE" being violated by one marked the "SWP," and some vile language about the SWP and myself and other people.

Q: Directing your attention to the period of February 1970, can you briefly describe the situation in the antiwar movement leading to this letter, to this leaflet?

A: Yes, once again the movement was in a crisis; there were centrifugal forces and there were many people falling away. We had a very successful demonstration in the fall, which was the Moratorium, November 15th. And people were very hopeful it would affect the government but we were told that it had no effect at all, that the president watched a football game and so on and people believed that, a lot of people believed that was true.

We now know it had a great effect but at the time it wasn't public and so there was a lot of frustration and elements of division. Once again, the SWP and the YSA were hanging in there trying to keep it together, and this is just another attempt to ridicule us and for that. The New Mobilization Committee was in crisis. It did almost dissolve except that—as a matter of fact I attended a meeting which was for the purpose of dissolving the organization and while we were in that meeting, the news came that Cambodia had been invaded. So we set that point aside and went ahead and organized the demonstration against that.

Disruption Program

Davis: Your Honor, I would like to call your attention to the cover memo of that dated 2/13/70, to Director FBI from SAC [Special Agent in Charge] New York entitled "Disruption Program" where it indicates the leaflet "Fly United" was sent to 230 selected individuals and organizations in the New Left and related groups.

The second paragraph in that same exhibit indicates:

"The leaflet was designed to cause disruption in the peace movement primarily in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and to minimize the growing influence of the SWP in the movement. It is also designed to cause consternation and confusion in the SWP itself."

* * *

Davis: [Introduces letter FBI circulated in 1970, with expressed aim "to cause splits within NMC (New Mobilization Committee) leadership by pitting the non-Trotskyites against radicals who are members of the SWP."]

Have you ever received a copy of this?

A: Yes. Once again I received this in the mail without any return address.

Q: I direct your attention specifically to the third paragraph, where it says:

"Over the past several years the Trotskyites have literally taken control of the body proper and have repeated resisted efforts to recruit black brothers into NMC leadership. In addition they have seen fit to use the good offices of the NMC to further their own political aspirations, nebulous as they are."

"I have been sicked on more than one occasion by the promises made to the Black United Front, promises not kept, promises made with the mouth and not the heart. The attitude of the Steering Committee toward the UF was and is a matter of disgrace."

Are these statements correct?

A: No, they are slanders. This matter of the Black United Front [came up] during the time we were organizing the November 15, 1969, Moratorium. The committee received a letter on a letterhead which said Black United Front. A

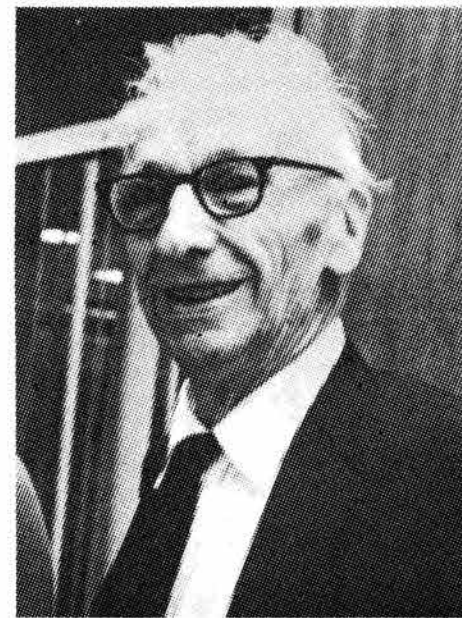
lot of prominent figures in the Black community in Washington [were listed] on the letterhead.

We didn't know at the time but this had been a genuine group which had been put together for some particular activity. That activity had passed and was over and the group was actually defunct but the individuals listed on the letterhead were real individuals.

We received that letter and it contained within it a demand upon the antiwar coalition that it pay one dollar per demonstrator who was going to come to Washington. That it would have been hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Black United Front.

This created terrible consternation inside the committee. There were those of us who looked at it and said well, this is just ridiculous on the face of it, it is some kind of a phony. These people wouldn't do this.

But there were others who felt very sensitive about the fact there weren't very many Black people in the leader-



Militant/Harry Ring

A.J. Muste: "He was one of the people who was instrumental in introducing in the American strike movement in the 1930s the sit-down strike. He was a piece of American history and venerated as such."

ship committees at that time. There had been earlier.

The two most prominent Black figures who were prominently against the war were Malcolm X and Martin Luther King and both had been assassinated by this time.

What is more there were many other crises going on in the Black community. Most of the Black leaders, while there were many against the war, were not spending their time on these committees.

So there was a disproportionate representation and this was a matter of concern to all of us.

But some of the people on the committee thought we should negotiate with this group and got ahold of someone who claimed to be from the Black United Front and went through long negotiations and didn't get anywhere.

In the first place we didn't have any such money, and there was no possibility of paying it.

Forged letter

Finally it came out that one of the very prominent figures, Julius Hobson, the first elected Black representative in Washington—he was on the school board and that was the first elected position in the city there—he told us, look, this is phony, forget it. He explained what this group was and somebody is pulling your leg.

After that it was resolved, and it turned out this letter had been written by the FBI, forged and written by the FBI.

We know that because the FBI man who did it left the FBI and wrote a long article about it in the *New York Review of Books*.

Q: What effect, if any, did this letter have?

A: This caused considerable discussion and bad feelings and took up an

awful lot of our time in meetings.

Q: Mr. Halstead, as part of your participation in the National Peace Action Coalition did you have occasion to travel abroad?

A: Yes, on an occasion in 1972, there was a conference called in Paris, the World Conference on Peace and Independence for Indochinese people. It was sponsored by the Stockholm Peace Conference of the World Peace Council and it was held in Versailles, a suburb of Paris.

I attended that as part of an NPAC delegation.

Q: Can you briefly describe what took place at this conference?

A: Yes. There were two American delegations there. By this time another coalition called the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice had been formed in the United States. There were actually two national antiwar coalitions there, the National Peace Action Coalition and the other one. Each sent its own delegation to this conference.

There was a discussion there on the various proposals made by these two delegations as well as other proposals made for action, demonstrations, protesting the war in Vietnam around the world.

Then there was a resolution passed which included part of the NPAC proposal, which was a demonstration for April 22, 1972. There were delegations there from all the Indochinese countries, as well as from many countries around the world.

I participated in informal conversation with a number of them. That is what happened at the conference.

Q: Did you have occasion to speak with any representatives of the National Liberation Front at this conference?

A: Yes, I spoke to one representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam over lunch.

Two things stand out in my mind about the conversation:

One was that he recognized me. He said he recognized me from my pictures in the *Militant*, which indicated that he had read it and apparently followed the American scene with some closeness.

The second thing was that I asked him if it were true, a report that I had seen that the NLF had given instructions to its military units not to fire upon American GIs if they were not fired upon. He said that was true.

That by that time in the war they had become convinced the majority of the American GIs were not in favor of the war. I said I had become convinced of that also.

But he went on and said they are not even being ordered into offensive combat. They are generally being kept around their bases.

The main problem now was the bombing. Then I asked him how the population was standing up under that. He said it was very difficult but they weren't going to break under it. That was about it.

Judge Griesa: Is that the same group called the Vietcong?

Halstead: Yes, the NLF was referred to by its enemies as the Vietcong.

Q: Where did you see a report on the National Liberation Front policy?

A: It was reported in the newspapers here and it was unconfirmed. I just wanted to ask that question of him.

Q: Did you have any other occasion to speak outside the United States regarding the anti-Vietnam War movement?

Judge Griesa: Wait a minute.

When you talked about the bombing, you understood him to mean the U.S., the only problem was the U.S. bombing?

Halstead: Not the only problem. They wanted the American troops out but the way their people were getting killed in the north was by U.S. bombs.

Griesa: How were the other people getting killed? There were

Continued on next page

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Continued from preceding page
some other people getting killed besides their people, right?

Halstead: Yes, sir.

Griesa: Did you check into that?

Halstead: There was fighting going on between the Saigon Army—the ARVN—and the NLF. This was a civil war.

The Americans were backing the ARVN with air cover and bombing but by that time the Americans, according to him, were not generally being sent into ground combat. They were in positions around their bases.

Under those conditions he said their people had orders not to fire upon the Americans unless fired upon.

* * *

Q: Did you ever attend any meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall when that was?

A: That was sometime toward the end of 1972, also in Europe.

Q: Can you briefly describe what took place at that meeting?

A: As I recall, the part that interested me, that I spoke on at least, was a discussion about Latin America. I spoke very strongly against the position taken by the Ninth World Congress, the guerrillaist position, and in favor of the view that the tendency in resistance to the military dictatorships in Latin America would tend to be in the cities among large populations and unions and so on.

That was confirmed in my view by my trip to Argentina where I went to report on the election campaign there.

Judge Griesa: How did you characterize it, the guerrillaist position?

Halstead: Well, there was one position which was that under the military dictatorships in Latin America, that the only way that could be effectively fought, because it would be so tight and nothing could happen in the ordinary political way among the city populations or urban populations, was from the countryside with epoch long rural guerrilla warfare. That was the position.

Then there was the other position, that it was more likely that urban masses would become involved, that there would be all sorts of different kinds of democratic openings and developments for working in unions, and so on. That was the other position.

Griesa: The majority position was the first one about guerrilla warfare?

Halstead: It had been at the Ninth World Congress.

Griesa: In 1969?

Halstead: Yes. At least that was the position adopted. I wasn't there.

Griesa: But that was the majority position at the Ninth World Congress, right?

Halstead: That is my understanding.

Griesa: The second position was the position you were speaking in favor of, right?

Halstead: Yes.

Davis: [Questions Halstead about two visits to Argentina during rise of workers movement there, about his election to Control Commission of Fourth International in 1974, and about meetings of commission he attended. Then asks:]

Have you had occasion to travel abroad subsequent to the meetings you just described?

Trip to Nicaragua

A: Aside from fishing trips to Mexico, I think that—I think the only time was when I went to Nicaragua.

In late August of 1979, about six weeks after the triumph of the Sandinista forces against the Somoza forces in Nicaragua, I went there then. I stayed for less than two weeks. The purpose of my trip was, and this was an exciting development, I wanted to

see what was going on, what the new regime was like, what had happened.

I visited the sections of Managua in which the uprisings had taken place, the large working-class section, and talked to the people who had taken arms in hand and risen against the National Guard, fought and held their neighborhoods for about two weeks, a little more than two weeks, were forced to retreat to a city to the south called Masaya.

I went there and I spoke to a number of people there who were in that fighting. That's where they fought until they defeated the National Guard and Somoza left the country.

I took pictures of the people and the buildings and the damage of the earthquake that had happened in 1972 which the Somoza regime had not rebuilt and so on, and interviewed children and all sorts of people.

When I came back to the United States I made a little tour and gave a talk with a slide show from these pictures in solidarity with the Sandinista revolution.

Q: Did you ever meet with any members or sections of the Fourth International while you were in Nicaragua?

A: There is no Nicaraguan section of the Fourth International and there was not at that time. But there were other visitors from afar who were members of the sections of the Fourth International.

As a matter of fact, Hugo Blanco was there, had come from Peru also to take a look at the Nicaraguan revolution and there were two or three people there from Europe and another American or two who were members of the Socialist Workers Party, Barry Shepard, I think was one of them, and we met sort of as an ad hoc group of members of the Fourth International and friends and exchanged views of what we thought about this situation and this new regime and the Sandinistas. We decided that we were pleasantly surprised and pleased by what we found there and that the government seemed to be doing about the best it could for the common people under the circumstances, that the Sandinistas were a genuine revolutionary group. We decided to recommend to the sections of the Fourth International that they pay close attention to these developments.

CROSS EXAMINATION

Silak: Mr. Halstead, yesterday you referred to an A.J. Muste, a prominent pacifist, one who was active early years of the antiwar movement in the mid '60s.

Is the person you referred to yesterday the same A.J. Muste who with James Cannon formed the Workers Party in 1934?

A: One and the same. I was as surprised as you were to find that out. I thought he was a historical figure who disappeared somewhere and I remember some time I found he was still alive, had become the most prominent American pacifist.

All that time he had maintained friendly relations with everybody that had been associated with him even though he disagreed with them on various political points. He was a piece of American history and venerated as such.

It was one of the reasons why he could help to bring this movement together on a national scale for the first time in a really effective way. He succeeded in doing that just before he died at the age of 81. It was his last great work.

Q: Did he ever belong to the Socialist Workers Party?

A: No. The Socialist Workers Party was formed in 1938. Muste had dropped out of the Marxist movement in 1936, had gone back to the church, had become I think by 1938—he was probably a pastor at the Presbyterian Labor Temple, something like that.

Later on he came on the staff of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Q: At the time that he became a pacifist he had left the Marxist movement?

A: He had been a pacifist to begin with back in the First World War.

Q: How do you know that?

A: I know it from reading history books about that period. There was one that I would recommend you read, by Nat Hentoff, called *A Biography of A.J. Muste*.

A.J. Muste was a Lutheran preacher in the First World War. He found himself opposed to that war on a pacifist basis, being opposed to violence.

He found himself unable to counsel the families of the soldiers who had been killed along the lines that were suggested, that he should tell them this was necessary for the defense of the country and so on. He found that he could not believe that.

So he left the pastorage and went to the Quakers.

Pardon me if I am little bit nonplussed. It is something that young people should know.

Q: Mr. Halstead, you testified before that Mr. Muste was one of the founders of the antiwar movement. Was everyone who was involved in the antiwar movement someone you described as a pacifist?

A: No. In the United States the word pacifist, the usage in American English is somewhat different than overseas.

For example, in Japan the word pacifist refers to anybody involved in the peace movement. But in the United

States the usage is very narrow. It refers to somebody who is principally opposed to violence as such, even in self-defense, and who eschews it. Eschews carrying arms, for example, under any conditions, even in self-defense.

That is what Muste was in the First World War, up through the early '30s. But the experience of the strikes and the many times successful attempts to crush them with violence and the methods that the workers had to use in order to defend their picket lines, made him modify his views somewhat. He still tried to introduce the methods—because at that time he was a leader of some of these strikes—of nonviolence, by which he meant Gandhian non-violence. It has a particular meaning.

It means revolutionary positive action of a massive kind that does not use violence. He was one of the people who was instrumental in introducing into the American strike movement in the 1930s the sit-down strike.

You see, before that you would have situations where the majority of the workers in a plant would want the union, would even vote for it, would go out on strike.

But there were many unemployed in various places that the bosses could hire under the press of hunger to walk through the picket lines that they couldn't hold it.

So fights would start on the picket line. To avoid that, Muste, among others, introduced the idea of occupying the plant, sitting down in the plant so you could win a strike without violence.



Guardian/Jerzy Kowalski

Sign of the times: anti-Reagan protest on street below courthouse April 23, during Halstead's testimony. Songs and speeches from demonstration could be clearly heard in courtroom, as Halstead told of FBI efforts to disrupt such actions.

Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead.

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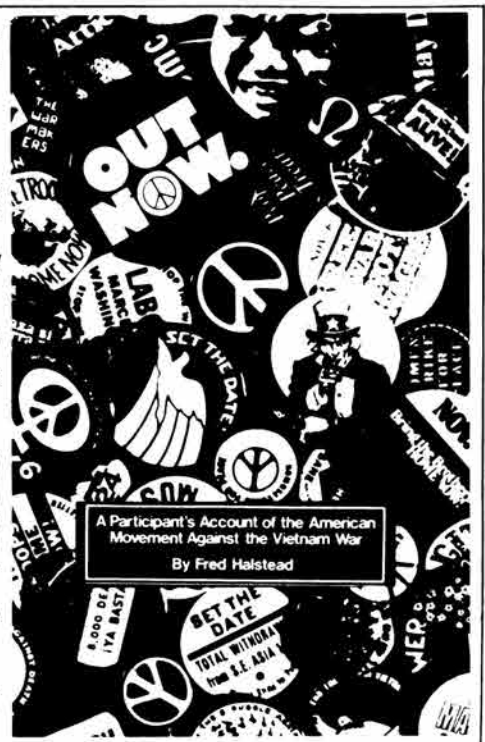
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Demonstrators say no to Rocky Flats plant

By Rose Peery

DENVER—"The United Mine Workers give support to your rally, and I'm glad to be here today. The striking miners also need your support."

Gene Duran, representative of the Coal Miners Political Action Committee from United Mine Workers District 15, was greeting 5,000 people who had marched to the state capitol here April 25.

They were demanding an end to the building of plutonium triggers for nuclear warheads at the Rocky Flats plant, sixteen miles from Denver. It was the fourth annual demonstration demanding the plant be shut down.

The demonstration started at the Auraria Higher Education Center. Almost 4,000 people marched from there to the capitol. Many contingents participated, including one from a high school.

About a dozen railroad workers from various unions passed out information on the April 29 actions called to protest cuts in Conrail and Amtrak. Some members from a Teamsters union local participated, as well as several health workers.

Jerry Gordon of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment addressed the rally. "The issue

posed today, more clearly than ever before in the history of this country is guns or butter," he said. "No longer guns and butter. It's either guns, for the nuclear arsenal, or butter, for human needs."

Gordon also called on the marchers to support the mine workers. "When the miners, the United Mine Workers, marched on Washington March 9 to preserve black lung programs, they were saying No! in their own way to Reagan's war program."

Later in the rally, Patrick Thompson, a former worker at the Rocky Flats plant, spoke. He had been a pipefitter at the plant until he left in 1975 after being contaminated. He stressed that workers at the plant did not like building bombs.

"The interest we can show in producing peaceful, non-destructive jobs for these people is going to be what they really need," he said.

Father Ron Weissbeck, a Catholic priest from Fort Collins, Colorado, called for "joining our brothers and sisters in El Salvador who are struggling for our basic dignity."

Other speakers addressed the problem of uranium mining, particularly on Native American lands.

Wash. antilabor bill targets ferry workers

By John Sorenson

SEATTLE—Legislation to put Washington state ferry system workers under state civil service, eliminating union representation and outlawing strikes, has been enacted by both houses of the state legislature here and awaits only the signature of the Republican governor, John Spellman, to become law.

If Spellman does not sign the anti-union bill and refuses to veto it, it automatically becomes law on May 19.

A veto is being urged by the union movement and by some influential sectors of the employing class. Gov. Spellman has criticized the draconian legislation and claims to favor a more moderate form of union control, retaining a no-strike clause, but providing for union recognition.

The bill would allow possible \$5,000-a-day fines for a union that violates a court injunction against striking.

On April 6 ferryboat workers carried out a twelve-hour walkout to protest the threatened legislation. The politicians in the state capitol called the strike "blackmail."

In response to this, labor officials, liberal Democrats, and Gov. Spellman reached an informal agreement for compulsory arbitration of all disputes in the vital Puget Sound ferryboat transportation system.

All such "compromise" solutions now appear to have failed, and there is talk among union members and officials of a general strike as a "last resort."

Under these circumstances, an extensive discussion among workers has been provoked by the dictatorial stance of the politicians in the two capitalist parties.

Worker militancy was demonstrated in the fifteen-day strike of 1,000 tugboat workers that halted shipping in Puget Sound and Alaska earlier this year. That strike was settled when members of the Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific (IBU) voted to return to work. They went back on March 31, having won most of their demands.

The way the strike was conducted and the gains that were made is an example of the changes going on in the union movement.

When the IBU returned to work, strike coordinator Barry Binsky announced "a tentative agreement contingent on the resolution of three addendums to the master contract." His statement contrasts with the usual pledges of "mutual respect and cooperation" offered by union officials and employers when strikes are concluded.

The effectiveness of the tugboat strike by a union that only one year earlier had been thought by employers to be weak and almost helpless is testimony to the power of union solidarity on the Pacific Coast.

Last year the Inlandboatmen freed themselves from organizational ties with the corrupt Seafarers International Union and subsequently voted to affiliate with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

At the present time, with the antilabor bill now before the governor, union solidarity is badly needed. The April 6 strike by ferry workers, the first political strike here in a long time, shows the determination of unionists to resist such laws.

John Sorenson is a former member of the Sailors Union.

New England safe energy meeting

On Saturday, May 16, the New England Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment will hold a conference for trade unionists to discuss nuclear power hazards and the nuclear industry's effect on jobs.

Featured speakers for the conference are Tom Twomey, national director of COMPAC, United Mine Workers of America; Kevin Mahar, president, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201; Don

Sweitzer, national legislative representative, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Jerry Gordon, national coordinator, Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment; and Charles Komanoff, economist and energy consultant for New York State.

The conference will be held at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Registration begins at 9 a.m.

Steelworkers march against Bailly nuke

By Jon Hillson

BURNS HARBOR, Ind.—Nearly 800 anti-nuclear power demonstrators, led by a contingent of some 200 Steelworkers, protested the construction of the Bailly 1 reactor here on April 25.

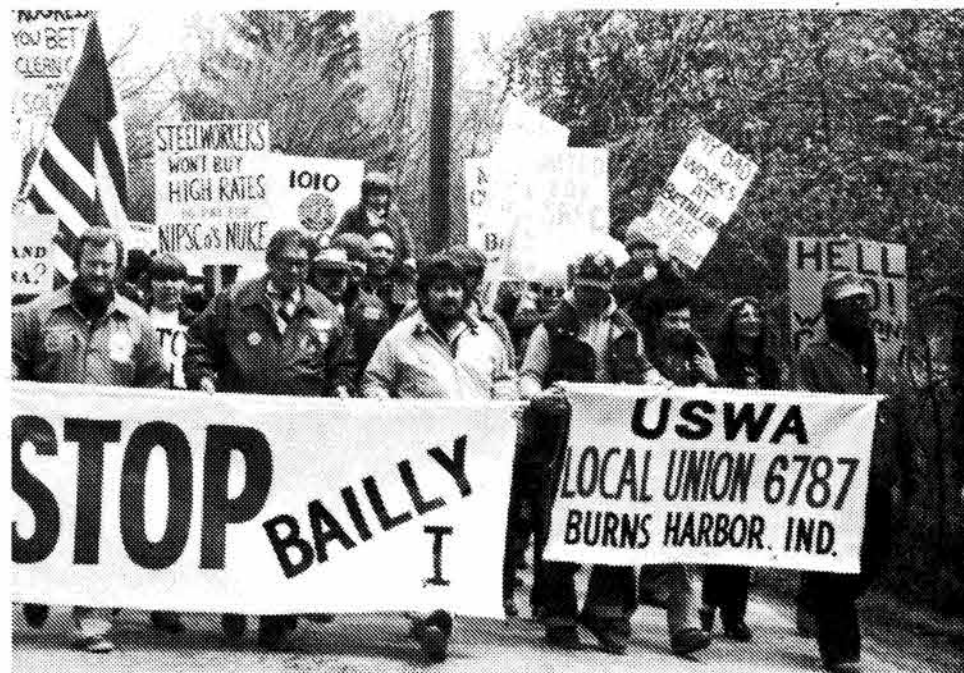
The cheering, chanting, sign-waving action dwarfed an earlier, pro-nuclear counter-demonstration of seventy called by the Lake County Leadership Council, a local group of Reaganite businessmen, lawyers, and building trades union officials.

The antinuclear march was called by the Bailly Alliance and Porter County Citizens Concerned About Bailly. Citizens Against Nuclear Power, based in nearby Chicago, cosponsored the event along with Indiana United Steel-

fired plants," Balanoff said to a round of cheers. "We in the United Steelworkers are for progress, life, jobs, and protection. Nuclear energy is not the power and the energy of the future. It's the energy of death and destruction, and we're against it."

Balanoff was seconded by Fred Hershberger, president of USWA Local 12775, which represents NIPSCO's production workers. The utility, he said, "doesn't care about you, they care about the almighty dollar. That's their only criteria. They only want to make money, not save lives and protect the public around this area."

USWA Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel, 500 yards from the Bailly site, organized the biggest union contingent



Militant/Jon Hillson

Dangers of nuclear power brought out many unionists and environmental activists.

workers locals 1010, 6787, 12775, 13796 and 1834 and the Porter County Central Labor Council.

In February 1981, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) gave the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO), Bailly's owners, the green light to drill pilings for the plant, despite the failure of the nuke to meet any of the NRC's site guidelines.

Construction had been stopped in September 1979, when NIPSCO's license expired. Its renewal, and the start up of drilling, has sparked increased anger here, particularly in the labor movement.

"Steelworkers in northern Indiana are sick and tired of being ripped off by corporations like NIPSCO," USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff told the crowd at the Bailly gate. The energy monopoly will "do anything to make a fast buck."

Bailly, Balanoff said, is a "threat to the health and life of working people and our families." The head of the 110,000-member district, USWA's largest, questioned how other labor unions make their energy policy decisions. In District 31, he said, "we do it by discussion and voting. The last three district conferences voted against Bailly being built."

Nuclear power should be replaced by "cheaper, safer, cleaner, modern coal-

at the rally. Local 6787 President David Wilborn led it in chanting, "No nukes!"

He blasted the steel giant for giving its blessing to the neighboring nuclear generating station. "Bethlehem Steel ain't never told us the truth," Wilborn said. "They've always lied to us. They want 600 workers to stay inside that [steel] plant and close it down [in the event of a Bailly emergency]. That's their evacuation plan. Do I see any volunteers?"

Not a hand went up. According to the NRC, Wilborn said, nuclear plants are supposed to be built in "non-populous areas." But 6,000 USWA members work at the mill. "I guess the NRC doesn't think steelworkers are people," he said.

Wilborn said NIPSCO's recent major accident at Bethlehem should convince anyone of the dangers of the Bailly nuke.

The multi-million-dollar accident last month turned the northwestern Indiana night-time sky orange from huge mill fires. More than 300 workers are still laid off after damages crippled sections of the workplace.

A day after the demonstration, the results of a Gary Post-Tribune poll showed only 34 percent of northwestern Indiana residents favor the completion of the nuclear power plant.

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Affinity group—Tricky Dick Nixon, who was pardoned for any crimes he may have committed while president, sent bottles of champagne to Felt and Miller, the convicted FBI burglars whom Reagan pardoned. Said Miller, "I think he's a fabulous guy."

Cut their tongues out?—Ultraright Sen. S.I. Hayakawa says he intends to introduce a constitutional amendment making English the sole official language. With so many Spanish-speaking people here, he's afraid that by the year 2000 they'll be demanding to make Spanish a second official language.

Congressional wit—As the Senate Commerce Committee approved Reagan's proposal to ice most passenger train service, Sen. Barry Goldwater waggishly suggested the surplus cars could be used to base the portable MX missiles. He might have added that if the Pentagon ran them like Conrail did, it would scare the Russians to death.

Militant subscription, anyone?—A growing number of readers of the capitalist press are learning the score. In a poll, 61 percent said they believed "little" or "only some" of the news. Ranking below journalists in public

confidence were only business and ad execs and Congress members.

Right off—Seeking re-election, Pas-saic city council member Joseph Lipari had a campaign slogan in Spanish urging people to vote for him. But an alleged typographical error turned "vote" to "bote," or throw out.

A good cop is hard to find—The Dade County, Florida, sheriff's office is offering \$500 finder's fees to people who help recruit deputies for the Miami area. Two ad agencies, one white-owned, the other Black, have been

hired to help improve the public image of cops.

For your coffee table—A New York publisher is offering a book that assertedly contains excerpts from the writings of the world's greatest thinkers, bound in what is described as a rare wood and gilded in 24-karat gold. \$2,500.

How about dogs, cats and canaries?—Pope John Paul II says nudity robs the human body of dignity and moral character.

Union Talk

El Salvador: Seattle machinists talk out issues

The following column is by Boeing worker Jim Levitt, a member of Seattle's International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District 751, Local C. Levitt also works with the Labor Task Force of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

April 16, 1:15 a.m. About 125 members of International Association of Machinists and Aerospace workers District 751, Local C, are attending the second-shift local meeting. Local C, with over 12,000 members, is the largest of four locals representing the work force at Boeing's Seattle area plants.

Tonight's meeting is a bit smaller than usual. Fewer of the young workers are here. Many of the members in attendance are shop stewards. It looks to be another uneventful meeting.

Local President Ralph Warren opens the meeting with the pledge to the flag. Minutes from last month. Then a surprise: at the very last minute he has received a request for a guest speaker, whom he has then invited. Would we please welcome Ricardo Melara, representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador?

Speaking through a translator, Melara explains that he and five other FDR representatives are on tour in the United States to reach the North American people with the facts about the situation in El Salvador, and to appeal to us to halt the U.S. intervention in his country.

He tells us, "Union rights in El Salvador do not exist." He points out that many of the union halls in El Salvador have been bombed. "Any meeting like this would be considered subversive and would

be suppressed. The struggle in El Salvador is not a struggle for 'communism' imposed from outside. It is a fight that grows from the real conditions faced by the Salvadoran people."

He thanks us for listening to him. The audience has been attentive throughout.

Local President Warren returns to the microphone. He has recently attended an IAM legislative conference in Washington, D.C., where he heard a presentation on El Salvador. "It's obvious," he says, "that there's a lot more happening in El Salvador than we're hearing about." He hopes the members will discuss this a bit under good and welfare. This is the first time I've heard a union official encourage discussion on a big political issue.

Good and welfare rolls around. Eva, a machinist apprentice and a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, takes Warren up on his suggestion to discuss El Salvador.

The next speaker is an older man who is upset by the discussion. "When I come down here at one o'clock in the morning I want to talk about union business. If people want to talk about El Salvador or the ERA or other things like that, they should stay around and do it after the union meeting." He is greeted by applause from about half the members.

I take the floor to explain that this is union business. "Our tax dollars are going to support a military dictatorship that crushes unions. If Reagan succeeds in sending more troops to El Salvador, we know who they'll be: some of our members, or our brothers and sons. We're opposed to Reagan's cuts in social services—services that the union

movement has fought for years to get. We need to oppose his attempts to get us into another war." These remarks, too, are met with applause and some shouts of "right on."

The discussion continues under new business, with a resolution calling for an end to all U.S. military and economic aid to the governing junta in El Salvador. Five or six people speak, including several whom I have never seen before.

A young steward from the Everett plant recalls a tale of oppression of Salvadoran farm workers he had heard from a family friend ten years ago. After the meeting he will buy a "Stop U.S. Intervention in El Salvador" button and ask for five more.

The debate is interesting in many respects. It is completely open and free of name-calling. A motion to table the resolution, a favorite maneuver used to kill discussion, is voted down by the membership. The question surfaces again and again, "Is this union business?"

A sizable number of the members say yes, although not enough to pass the resolution. The "yes" vote includes some members who only a month ago voted against a union resolution condemning Klan-type attacks. Some of those who vote no or abstain want to learn more about El Salvador and the U.S. role there. And many still have their doubts that this is "union business" since it doesn't pertain to our contract with Boeing.

But no one spoke up in support of U.S. intervention in El Salvador. No one professed belief in Reagan's "white paper" on the war there. The best political discussion in District 751 in years made it very clear that no one is ready to march off to war. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

ATLANTA MURDERS: HOW TO STOP RACIST ATTACKS. Panel: Mel Mason, Seaside City Council, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., May 15, 7:30 p.m. Western Addition YWCA, 1830 Sutter St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN ABORTION WAS ILLEGAL? Panel discussion on the Human Life Amendment. Speakers: Page Melish, National Organization for Women; Patti Post, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights; Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 22, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

FILM: 'WITH THE CUBAN WOMEN.' Speaker: Lea Bockman, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. N.E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA GARY

'EL SALVADOR: REVOLUTION OR DEATH.' A

film. Fri., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

IRELAND: STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH REPRESSION. Speaker: Richard Lucy, vice-president of Irish Northern Aid, Chicago. Film: 'The Patriot Game.' Fri., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

BEHIND THE STRUGGLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND: 'CREGGAN.' Prize-winning documentary on the struggle in Northern Ireland. Sun., May 17, 7 p.m. Humanities 106, Janet Wallace Fine Arts Center, Macalester College. Donation: \$2. Ausp: MacCARD in cooperation with Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION FOR REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS. March for reproductive freedom. Sat., May 16, 12 noon. Assemble at Bryant Park, 6th Ave. and 41st St. Rally at 2 p.m. Union Square, 14th

St. and Broadway. Ausp: May 16th Coalition. For more information call (212) 580-4813 or 683-2084.

SCHENECTADY

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speakers: Austin Devine, former Irish political prisoner; Anni McAvoy, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 323 State Street. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO TOLEDO

EVOLUTION VS. 'SCIENTIFIC CREATIONISM.' Speakers: Peter Archer, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

NEW YORK CITY

RALLY. National Black United Front protests visit of South African Foreign Minister to U.S. Wed., May 13, Isaiah Wall, 42nd St and 1st Ave., 12 noon. March to South African Mission, 300 E. 42nd St. For more information call (212) 596-1991.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speakers: Dan Dickeson, former writer for *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 16, 7 p.m. 677 S. 700 E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

BOBBY SANDS: WHAT HE LIVED FOR. WHAT HE DIED FOR. Speakers: Marc Strumpf, Washington chapter, Smash H-Block Committee; Barbara Pryor, recently returned from Northern Ireland. Fri., May 15, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant N.W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

SHOULD ABORTION BE LEGAL? A debate. Speakers: Nancy Makler, member United Mine Workers Local 1702, Socialist Workers Party; Wanda Franz, state president, West Virginia Right to Life. Fri., May 15, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Letters

On SWP suit

The testimony by Farrell Dobbs, Jack Barnes, and others in the trial of the U.S. government is the best ever developed on behalf of socialism. It tells openly—for all to see and hear—that civil rights and constitutional guarantees are the real concerns of people, rather than the worn-out phrases tossed about carelessly by Republican and Democratic politicians.
John Enestvedt
Sacred Heart, Minnesota

'Revitalization'?

A report unveiled by the director of the Philadelphia library system is entitled, "The Free Library and the Revitalization of Philadelphia."

It proposes putting branch libraries on a three-day schedule, having one crew staff two branches, and reducing the holding of adult fiction because "it is easily and inexpensively available in retail stores."

If this is revitalization, we'd hate to see what "strangulation" looks like.
Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Federal land grab

The Traditional Dine (Navajo) People and the traditional Moqui (Hopi) People of the former Joint Use Area (J.U.A.) are now facing the reduction of their livestock, which is the first major step leading to the relocation of

approximately 6,500 people. The people are being forcibly relocated in the largest mass removal of Indian people since the Cherokee Trail of Tears in the 1800s. The people from the J.U.A. have refused to move from their traditional homeland and say that any such removal would be a form of genocide.

The federal government fabricated the "Navajo-Hopi land dispute" and consequently a public law (P.L. 93-531) and relocation program were formed in order for Peabody Coal and other energy corporations to gain access to a coal deposit. The federal government recognizes that there is twenty-two billion tons of coal lying underneath the lands of the two Nations.

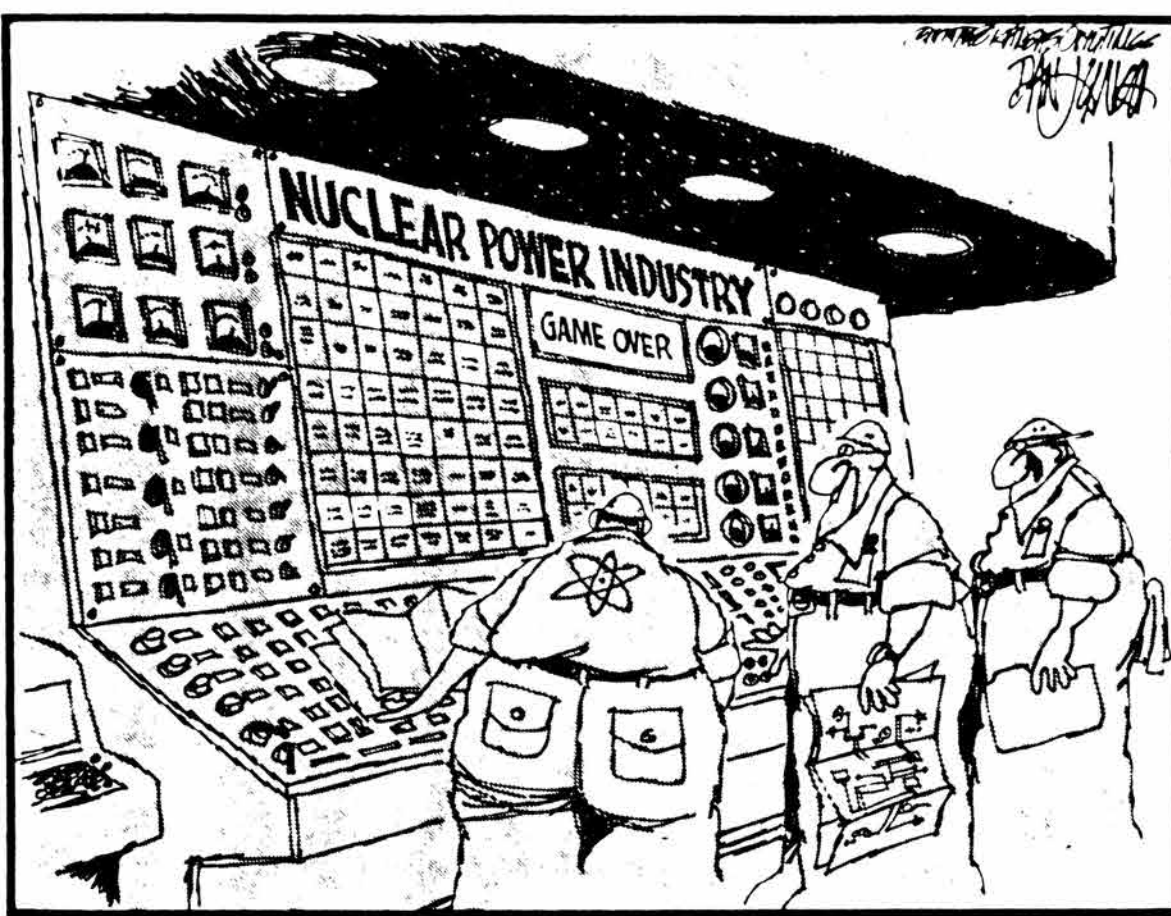
On April 18, the Hopis technically got jurisdiction of the J.U.A. Since that time the Traditional Dine People (of Teesto) have passed a resolution to resist relocation and livestock reduction of any kind.

A.I.M. for Freedom
Survival Group
1728 8th Avenue
Oakland, CA 94606

Vietnam coverage

Thank you very much for your continuing coverage of the revolution in Vietnam. The article in the April 17 edition of the *Militant* on "The differences between the Vietnamese and the Chinese revolutions" is especially helpful.

It is tough, but quite exhilarating, speaking out for



socialism down here in southwestern Oklahoma.
Thomas Atwater
Lawton, Oklahoma

ABC 'Nightline'

Militant readers might tune in ABC's "Nightline" (11:30 p.m. every weekday night).

This program has had a number of interesting in-depth reports on El Salvador in the past month. Several times Alex Drehsler, the *San Diego Union* reporter who has written interesting reports from

guerrilla-controlled areas, has been featured.

Intentionally or not, the reports have generally been critical of the U.S. government's position, with much valuable information being provided.
M.K.
San Diego, California

Social albatross

The Texas prison system is an exorbitantly expensive monolithic example of man's inhumanity to man. It is a social and financial albatross which hangs about the neck of all taxpaying Texans; and its concept of picking cotton and picking up pecans as "rehabilitation" only reflects a horrid, festering sore in society and a great waste of human resources. This need not be.

To believe that the Texas prison system does anything but punish is to hallucinate. Those who say otherwise offer only pretexts, while the truth is hidden by masks of personal motives.

The present imbroglio which pits the state of Texas against the U.S. Department of Justice is a good thing. Perhaps now even the most myopic will be able to see that the most intelligent, economical, and common sense approach is

that of halfway houses, work release centers, victim reimbursement, and the like. U.S. District Judge W. W. Justice has, hopefully, touched the conscience of Texans to that fact, by his decision.

After all, there was another federal order which many erroneously denounced as "too expensive" and which was attacked by several states as "federal encroachment." It was the Emancipation Proclamation.

A prisoner
Texas

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

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

Mothers in Atlanta urge support for May 25 rally

Steel union, other labor bodies, endorse action

By Suzanne Haig

Three international unions, the United Steelworkers of America, the United Food and Commercial Workers, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, are among the growing list of endorsers of the May 25 rally in Washington, D.C., protesting the killings of Black children in Atlanta.

The action, called by the Committee to Stop the Children's Murders, will take place Monday, Memorial Day, at the Lincoln Memorial. Assembly time is 11 a.m. The program begins at 1 p.m.

At a press conference held in Washington April 30 to announce the rally, Camille Bell, chairperson of the committee and mother of Yusef Bell, one of the twenty-six slain children, asked, "How in God's name can America flourish when our young people are

being brutally murdered throughout the nation at alarming rates?

"For the betterment of our children's lives, for victory over society's injustices, we need you in Washington, D.C., on May 25."

So far buses are being organized in Boston; Pittsburgh; Philadelphia; Baltimore; New York; St. Louis; Kansas City, Missouri; Jersey City, New Jersey; Buffalo; and Atlanta, according to a staff member at the committee's office in Atlanta.

Plans are under way for buses to come from as far away as California and Toronto, Canada.

In New York City, District 1199 of the National Hospital Union plans to send twenty buses for members and their families and District 65 of the United Auto Workers is planning to send a couple of buses.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1980 candidate for president of the United States, stressed the importance of the rally in an interview with the *Militant*.

"May 25," he said, "has the potential to bring together trade unionists, the Black community, students and all people opposing Reagan's racist policies, cuts in social services and the government's failure to find the killers or to protect the Black community in Atlanta or around the country."

"All people opposing this government inaction should be in Washington," he said.

Endorsers of the action include: D.C. Mayor Marion Barry; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Martin Luther King Center; Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH; National Black Independent Political Caucus; Congressional Black Caucus member Walter Fauntroy; and others.

Protests around the Atlanta killings continue to occur across the country. These can help build May 25.



Atlanta mothers, leaders of Committee to Stop Children's Murders, at April 30 press conference to announce May 25 rally. From left, Venus Taylor, Willie Mathis, Camille Bell. Press conference was held at national AFSCME headquarters.

Brooklyn rally to aid Atlanta

In New York City a "Mother's Day March for Action," endorsed by a large number of organizations, will be held May 10 in Brooklyn. Assembly is at 3 p.m. at Utica Avenue and Eastern Parkway. The rally will be held at Classon Avenue and Eastern Parkway at 5 p.m.

For information call, Coalition of Concerned Black Women: (212) 638-0413.

District 65 of the United Auto Workers has called a "Save the children, join the mothers of Atlanta" rally on May 14, 5-7 p.m., at District 65 headquarters, 13 Astor Place.

Call (212) 673-5120 for information.

On April 17, more than 1,500 Blacks and their supporters rallied on the steps of the federal building in San Francisco. On April 18, in drizzling rain, more than 2,000 demonstrators marched in a candlelight procession to Mosswood Park in Oakland, chanting "Save the children, find the killers!"

Some 4,000 to 5,000 people marched through downtown Phoenix to show support for the Atlanta Black community on April 26. The action was sponsored by the Progressive Interest Group, local and state chapters of the NAACP, Black Student Union of Phoenix College, and others.

The Black media is also building the

Washington rally. The *Pittsburgh Courier* endorsed May 25 and its editorial on the action appeared on the front page of the *St. Paul Recorder*.

Dick Gregory and others have put together public service announcements for Black radio stations.

Leaflets and other materials are available at the Atlanta Committee office. For further information including on buses contact:

Committee to Stop the Children's Murders, Washington, D.C.: 1025 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 1240, 20005. (202) 783-6627. Atlanta: 859 1/2 Martin Luther King Drive, 30314. (404) 525-7892.

Striking miners win union backing

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Rail workers demonstration

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