

THE MILITANT

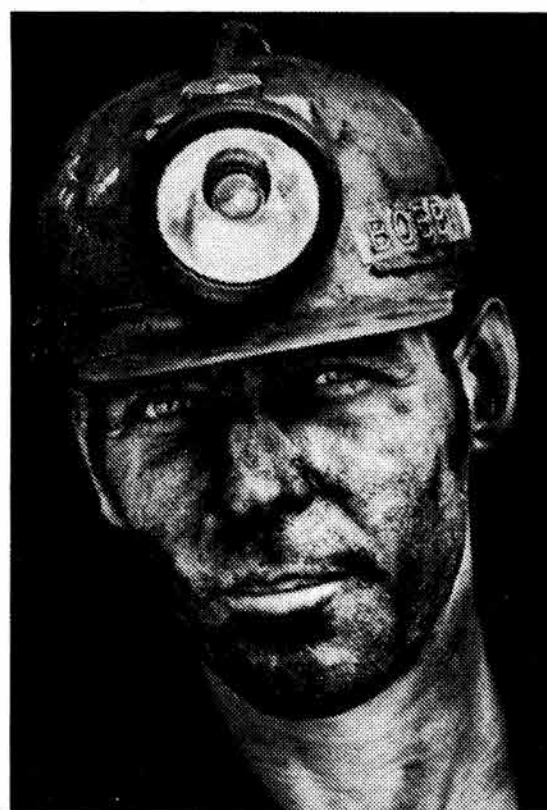
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

**MARCH ON
D.C.
MAY 25
TO STOP
ATLANTA
KILLINGS**

—PAGE 3

FRENCH ELECTIONS: WORKERS WIN BIG VICTORY

—PAGES 2, 7

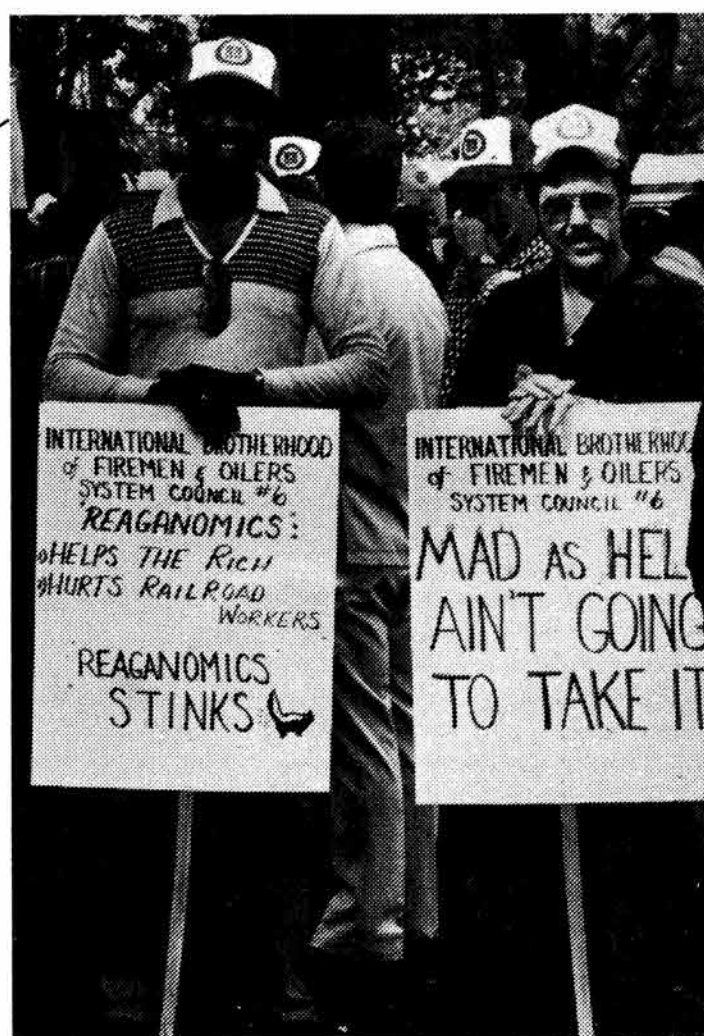


**Solidarity
with miners'
strike**

—PAGE 5

*Inside: full text
of company pact
with union heads*

**The plan
to slash
Conrail
workers' wages**



Militant/Stu Singer
Rail workers at April 29 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

—PAGE 4

Black party leaders denounce FBI disruption

—PAGE 12

U.S. workers & French elections

The May 10 election of François Mitterrand as president of France is a victory for working people.

The Socialist Party candidate defeated incumbent President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing by 52 to 48 percent.

The French franc immediately plummeted. The stock market was in chaos. And no wonder. For the first time since General Charles De Gaulle came to power in 1958, the workers of France finally elected a candidate of one of their own parties.

The White House and Wall Street were shocked. The State Department said the United States will be "watching carefully" the situation in France.

Reagan's belated congratulatory statement was cautious.

Major capitalist dailies like the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* also expressed concern.

The *Post* observed, "His (Mitterrand's) victory adds another element of uncertainty to the task the Reagan administration has set for itself of restoring the strength and unity of the West."

The response of French workers was quite different. According to ABC's "Nightline," 70 percent of French industrial workers voted for Mitterrand. More than 100,000 people gathered at the Place de la Bastille in Paris the night of the victory.

One rail worker interviewed said he backed Mitterrand as a way to push for the 35-hour work week.

A bakery owner said he supported Mitterrand because he was feeling the squeeze from inflation and Giscard's austerity drive.

Intercontinental Press correspondent Claude Rodier reports (see *Militant* page 7): "To show the bosses that the relationship of forces had changed, workers used company time to drink toasts to their victory and discuss the results among themselves."

The new hope and high expectations among French workers is what the ruling circles in Paris and the capitalist world fear. The capitalists are stepping up attacks on working people, not granting them concessions. Mitterrand's victory throws a monkey-wrench into their austerity drive.

Seven years of Giscard's austerity combined with an aggressive imperialist foreign policy is what French workers want to alter. They want jobs, not war.

Imperialism understands this well. This is why Washington, London and Bonn are so concerned about the Socialist Party victory.

Workers in Western Europe, Japan, the

United States, and around the world will be encouraged by this victory, which shows it is possible for the workers to throw out right-wing capitalist governments.

Mitterrand's election will give encouragement to workers and peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial world, too. The French Socialist Party is a member of the Socialist International, which opposes the brutal junta in El Salvador. Mitterrand is a member of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution in Nicaragua, initiated by the Socialist International. The new president will be under pressure to take his distance from Washington's war drive.

The French workers' action in tossing out Giscard points the way forward for American workers.

We face the same problems: high inflation, unemployment, social cuts, racist attacks, attacks on women's rights, and the soaring war budget.

Unlike our brothers and sisters in France, we have no mass workers party. We have powerful trade unions—but the policy of the union leadership is to support the capitalists' parties.

We need to build a labor party based on this potential power of our unions.

The French people have shown what can be done.

Let's follow their example.

The scrap heap

Despite his campaign promises to the contrary, President Reagan moved on May 12 to slash social security benefits.

Workers who retire at sixty-two currently get 80 percent of the benefits they would receive if they retired at sixty-five. Reagan is proposing that this be reduced to 55 percent. He also wants to eliminate the benefits that children of workers who retire at sixty-two are now entitled to.

The administration is also taking aim at the way the cost-of-living formula is calculated. The intention is to slow down or eliminate increases in the income that retirees now receive from social security.

The cuts that Reagan is proposing reflect not only his reactionary personal views. They are being urged on the administration by Republicans and Democrats alike. Some Democrats, for example, want to raise the retirement age to sixty-eight—going even further than Reagan.

In a May 13 editorial, the *New York Times* hailed the actions of Reagan, the House, and the Senate to slash social security. The *Times* wrote, "Social Security has become both an inducement for the productive to leave the

work force and an incredibly expensive substitute for personal retirement savings."

This reflects the bosses' mentality in a nutshell. As long as we produce profits for them, they recognize that it is unfortunately necessary to provide us with some kind of wage—as long as we don't win "excessive" increases.

If we can't work any more, however, they think we should be thrown on the scrap heap like a used-up machine. As the *Times* editorial shows, they are now beginning to present social security for retirees as a boondoggle. They portray the elderly as lazy "cheats," just as they have always portrayed recipients of welfare and unemployment compensation.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the need to replace the capitalist system with a social order where production will be for the needs of the great majority and not the private profits of a tiny handful.

Israeli war threats

The Israeli regime is pushing the Middle East to the brink of war.

The crisis began in early April when fighting broke out in Lebanon between Israeli-backed rightists and Syrian troops stationed there.

The Zionists used the outbreak of fighting as the pretext to step up their raids on Palestinian refugees and Lebanese Moslem villages in southern Lebanon.

On April 28, Israeli warplanes flew into central Lebanon and shot down two Syrian helicopters, killing four Syrian soldiers.

In response, the Syrian government moved antiaircraft missiles into eastern Lebanon to defend against further attacks.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin warned repeatedly last week that Israel would resort to "military action" if Syria did not withdraw its missiles from Lebanon. Currently Israeli troops, armor, and heavy artillery are reported to be massing along the border with Lebanon.

Although the Reagan administration is currently acting as a mediator, Washington's policy is directly responsible for the Israeli provocation.

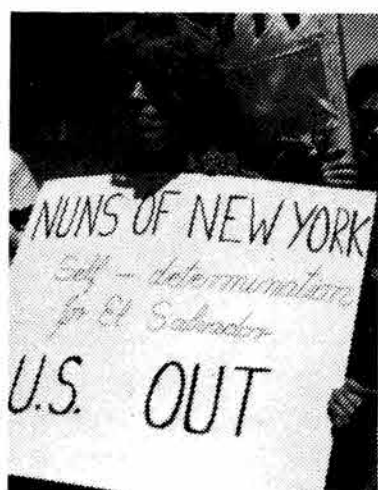
When Secretary of State Haig was in the Middle East in April, he gave his approval to the Israeli attacks against Syrian forces. He presented Syrian resistance to the right-wingers as a danger to peace.

Reagan's security adviser, Richard Allen, declared Israeli raids into southern Lebanon as "hot pursuit of a sort and therefore justified."

Israel has no business in Lebanon. Stop the raids!

Militant Highlights This Week

- 3 Atlanta candidates' debate
- 5 Miners solidarity
- 6 Socialist vs. KKKer
- 7 Protest waste dumping
- 8 Sales team reports
- 16 Vietnam-Salvador rally
- 22 Testimony of George Breitman
- 10 Day by Day
- 17 Solidarity with Central America and Caribbean
- 18-21 World news and analysis
- 29 Our Revolutionary Heritage
- 30 The Great Society American Way of Life What's Going On
- 31 Letters If You Like This Paper...



May 3 and fight against war

Washington is on a drive toward militarization and war, in an effort to stem the tide of liberation struggles in Latin America, Asia and Africa. The May 3 Pentagon march showed the depth of popular opposition to that drive. **Page 16.**

The Militant

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Atlanta mothers expect massive May 25 rally

By Carlos Williams

ATLANTA—I spent April 22 in the offices of the Committee to Stop Children's Murders. The committee is organizing a rally in Washington, D.C., on May 25 to protest the unsolved murders of Black youth in Atlanta.

Along with protesting the wave of murders of Black youth in Atlanta, May 25 is focusing on other questions, including opposition to President Reagan's cutbacks in social services.

12:00 noon—"We're protesting how the country is falling apart," Sharon Moore, a staff worker, told me. "We're protesting murdered and missing children all across the country. This could happen anywhere. That's why people are demonstrating. That's why we formed our organization."

A quick look around the office and one could see a calendar of speaking engagements. The entire months of April and May are filled. From California to New Jersey, from Florida to Indiana, Ohio and Colorado. The mothers are getting out their story. They have addressed union meetings, community groups, students, and the media.

I asked Moore if she got any hostile questions when speaking. She said the only one was about the green ribbons. A person asked wasn't it "a symbol of a race war?"

All across America, Blacks and whites in the hundreds of thousands are wearing green ribbons. Why? To

show their solidarity with Atlanta's Black community and to protest the continued killings.

Obviously, this is an expression of race solidarity—not race war. Moore said she's also frequently been asked if the killings are racially motivated. She answers she's not interested in the race of the killer.

2:00 p.m.—Loud cheers went up in the office. IBM called saying they were donating a xerox copier ninety days, free of charge, for the office.

2:26 p.m.—Political activist Dick Gregory called to speak to Venus Taylor, one of the mothers of the slain children.

3:20 p.m.—The ABC-TV local affiliate visits the office to film a special.

3:40 p.m.—Volunteers, staffers, and brothers and sisters of some of the slain children finish putting out a 1,000-piece mailing with information on the march.

3:45 p.m.—I asked Eunice Jones the importance of May 25. "Through all this," she replied, "lots of people from around the world will give us moral support. This is good because we can't do it all by ourselves."

Jones explained that the investigation is "not going well. I think they should get the murderer. There's not enough being done. There's too many people on computers sitting behind desks. They got to get out on the streets."

What about Mayor Jackson? I asked.

Mine locals back action

With the discovery of the body of seventeen-year-old William Barrett in Atlanta on May 12, bringing the total of murders of Black youth there to twenty-seven, civil rights, labor, and other organizations in many states continue to build for the rally in Washington, D.C., May 25 to protest the killings.

Two United Mine Workers locals, 6132 near Pittsburgh and 1949 in Fairmont, West Virginia, have

endorsed May 25. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Coalition to Stop the Children's Murders are organizing buses from Pittsburgh to go to Washington.

The May 25 rally will assemble at 11 a.m. at the Lincoln Memorial. The program begins at 1 p.m. For more information call the Committee to Stop the Children's Murders, Washington, D.C.: (202) 783-6627. Atlanta: (404) 525-7892.

"He's doing a little talking now, but he came twenty-four children too late," was her reply.

I asked Jones about the media slander that the murdered youth were "street kids."

"Little white kids do the same thing as our kids do to survive—run errands for people in their neighborhood. But they blame the Black child. White kids are not branded as hustlers. They're not branded as street kids. They're not branded as homosexuals, because they're not being killed."

Jones expressed her views on the FBI charge that some of the parents killed their own children. It was "cold blooded and unfitting. It's like they're not paying any attention to our pain and agony. They have no facts. If they did they'd arrest one of us. It hurts all

of the parents.

"It hurts all Black women in general. If they can say this, it means they're saying this is what Black women in general do. My mother didn't kill me."

4:24 p.m.—Hodding Carter III, of former President Jimmy Carter's administration, walks in. Carter III is now a columnist for the *Wall Street Journal* and an interviewer for public television. He came to interview Ann Maxey, a key organizer of the committee.

Maxey told Carter that people from ninety cities will be in D.C. on May 25.

I left the office full of people, busy with activity, building the May 25 rally. Calls were coming in from all over the country. Little did I know that more Black youth would be murdered or missing before this historic rally.

Mayoral candidates debate Atlanta killings

By Dick McBride

ATLANTA—Nine candidates have entered the race for mayor of this city. Among them are a fired police chief, Reginald Eaves; a fired United Nations ambassador, Andrew Young; and a fired Lockheed worker, André Kahlmorgan of the Socialist Workers Party.

Because the mayoral office is limited to two terms, Mayor Maynard Jackson is unable to run for reelection.

The problems facing working people in Atlanta are the same as in other cities across the country: unemployment, inflation, cutbacks in social services.

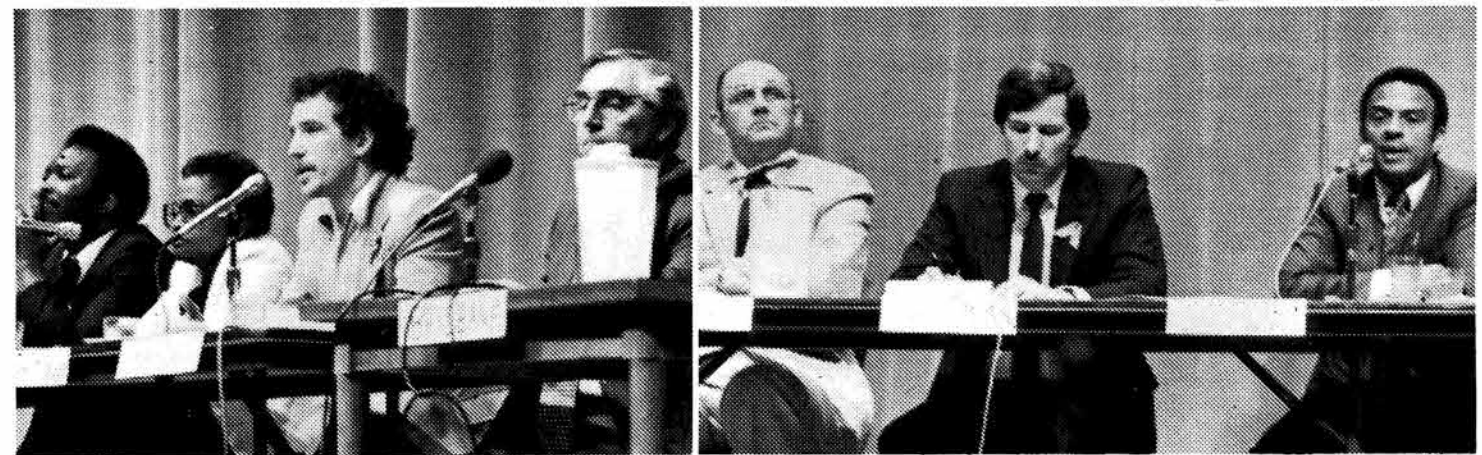
But the central issue in the Atlanta campaign is the murder of Black youth.

Except for Kahlmorgan, all the candidates have a silent agreement not to make the murders of the Black youth an issue in this campaign.

The response of the candidates to this issue was demonstrated recently at a debate before a predominantly Black audience of 300 at Morehouse College.

Chris Hoepfner represented SWP candidate Kahlmorgan at the debate. His opening remarks went straight to the point.

Hoepfner told the audience, "While many don't think the child murders should be made an issue in the campaign, they are an issue. This is happening in our streets, and we can't take



Campaign debate. Socialist Chris Hoepfner, third from left, speaking. Far right, Andrew Young.

a business-as-usual position."

He explained the government inaction to solve the child murders is part of a Democratic and Republican party stepped-up racist campaign going on throughout this country.

"We've seen the murder and refusal to bring to justice the killers of Arthur McDuffie in Miami, the killing of Black men in Buffalo, New York, and the recent killings in New Orleans," he said.

He urged everyone to build the May 25 rally in Washington, D.C., which has been called by the mothers of Atlanta's slain Blacks and which can help force the local, state, and federal governments to act.

Hoepfner explained the socialist campaign's total opposition to the propaganda by the government and media blaming the children.

He spoke against the accusation made by an FBI agent that the mothers had killed their own children.

During the opening statements, Hoepfner was the only candidate to be interrupted by applause.

Andrew Young and the other candidates said nothing in their opening remarks about the child murders.

Young's plan for Atlanta is to create jobs by new businesses starting up in neighborhoods (grocery stores, auto repair shops, etc.). "People have access to capital," he said, "and we can

generate a vibrant neighborhood business revolution that will help us employ ourselves."

The other candidates addressed themselves to what they called the "burning issues" of increasing Atlanta's tax base and luring business into the city to create jobs.

One candidate, Sydney Marcus, a white contractor, suggested that the women at the predominantly Black Capital Homes housing project who have "native ability to sew" could have jobs in the needle trades if we "lured" these businesses into Atlanta. That's white business compassion for you. You dread to hear his proposal for the "living wage" to pay this "native ability to sew."

All of the candidates except for socialist Hoepfner talked about strengthening the police, suggesting everything from using shotguns to the idea from one candidate, named Schulman, an ex-CIA agent, that "the police should use mushroom bullets. You can stop a robber with less shots, two or three, as opposed to seven or eight," he said.

During the question period, a Black man asked all the candidates why only one of them had addressed the child murders. He asked if they favored investigating the KKK and defending the mothers against FBI accusations.

Andrew Young said it was inappropriate to say anything in public regarding the investigation and to do what we can in private.

Continued on page 8

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.

Unfortunately, they're not going to let you watch it on live television. But you can read about it in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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Conrail workers hit by wage-cutting pact

Full text of agreement on contract concessions

By Stu Singer

The *Militant* is printing all the text and accompanying charts and letters we have been able to obtain explaining the wage, benefit and work-rule concessions agreed to by rail union leaders and the management of Conrail.

We feel this information should be available to all rail workers as quickly as possible.

These concessions will be a real blow to Conrail workers and all other rail union members if they go through. The national rail contracts are presently being negotiated and will be influenced by these concessions.

The United Auto Workers members at Chrysler who are already suffering from similar contract concessions will want to study the proposed Conrail deal; so will coal miners who are entering the seventh week of a national strike to avoid givebacks.

The Conrail contract concessions were announced at a May 5 news conference by New Jersey Democratic Congressman James Florio, union leader Fred Kroll, and Conrail Board Chairman L. Stanley Crane.

The announcement came less than a week after the demonstration protesting the proposed cuts in Conrail and Amtrak. The protest brought up to 25,000 rail workers to Washington April 29. The militant action, which disrupted some rail service in the northeast that day, saw workers chanting "Strike, Strike, Strike!"

Thousands of other rail workers demonstrated in cities throughout the country April 29.

The demonstrations were organized to protest the plans of both the Reagan administration and Conrail management. The Reagan proposal is to abolish workers' job protection rights, cut funding for Conrail, and sell it to private lines. Conrail management proposes to keep Conrail as a system to be made profitable by big wage concessions by the workers. Both plans will eliminate rail worker jobs, wages, working conditions, and benefits.

The concessions announced May 5 represent the

union officials backing Conrail management demands. The only additional points are agreement to also cut the pay of management and to support putting a "representative of the employees," presumably Fred Kroll, on the Conrail Board of Directors.

Kroll acknowledges the extent of the concessions: "Two hundred million dollars is a hell of a lot of money from the workforce—a hell of a sacrifice."

It takes a hell of a nerve to offer Conrail's fabulously rich owners \$200 million a year out of the pockets of working people.

And the concession agreement contains no provision at all to safeguard jobs.

Fred Kroll is chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association and president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, one of the largest rail unions.

The reaction of the Reagan administration so far is to go ahead with their plan to cut Conrail funding and sell it off.

The concession agreement has been approved so far by the heads of twelve of the fourteen unions which represent the 70,000 Conrail workers. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Signalmen's union have not agreed.

Most rail unions do not have the right of the membership to vote on their contract. As yet, none of the unions have announced a ratification procedure.

Conrail (Consolidated Rail Corporation) is the 17,000-mile, federally funded railroad put together from six bankrupt lines in the Northeast and Midwest. It was formed in 1976.

Conrail is a privately owned corporation. It has received over \$3.3 billion from the government since it was set up.

Much of Conrail's income goes into the pockets of the previous owners. Penn Central Corporation, for example, a Conrail shareholder and now a major real estate owner, was paid \$2.1 billion by Conrail.

One reference in the proposed agreement needs further explanation. It is Section 4, where Title V of

the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973, is referred to. This is the law that established Conrail and Amtrak.

In addition to their proposal to cut Conrail funding and sell it to other railroads, the Reagan administration is also pushing a bill to end the government-backed income guarantees that rail workers won when Conrail was set up. This is called Title V.

Another development related to the fate of Conrail concerns the commuter lines around New York City and Philadelphia. They carry 370,000 people a day.

Richard Ravitch, head of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority in New York, demands that rail workers be put under New York's no-strike Taylor Law before the MTA will consider taking over Conrail commuter lines.

Behind the lawyers' language, this set of concessions represents an attack on rail workers and all other working people.

It requires wide circulation and serious discussion.

Rail workers gave an example of their militancy and a hint of their potential power at the April 29 demonstrations.

It will require the same unity among the different rail unions to fight the givebacks in this contract and the attacks of the Reagan administration. Rail workers will have to act in some of the bold ways hinted at on April 29.

A successful fight to save the jobs and wages of Conrail workers will require action by rail workers across the country and the backing of the entire union movement.

In particular, the fate of the rail workers is tied to the hard battle being fought by the United Mine Workers.

The *Militant* will continue to report on the discussions about the serious questions facing rail workers and the perspectives that are raised to help win the fight.

May 5, 1981

Mr. Fred J. Kroll
Chairman
Railway Labor Executives Association
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kroll:

This letter reflects a number of understandings reached by parties in connection with the Agreement of May 5, 1981 regarding labor contributions to self-sufficiency for Conrail.

Nonrailroad Subsidiaries

The labor organizations signatory to this agreement strongly desire that employees of nonrailroad subsidiaries of the Corporation make wage concessions equivalent to those provided for in this Agreement. The Corporation agrees that equity requires such concessions by subsidiary employees. The Corporation will instruct the managements of its subsidiaries to exert every reasonable effort to induce the labor organizations representing subsidiary employees to agree to such concessions.

Shares of Stock

The labor organizations signatory to this Agreement strongly desire that employees making the concessions regarding rates of pay provided for in this Agreement receive shares of stock in the Corporation in exchange for the economic value of their concessions. The Corporation understands and supports this desire, but is without legal authority to transfer stock to employees in exchange for the concessions. The Corporation will recommend strongly to the Department of Transportation and to the United States Railway Association that an arrangement be made to provide shares to the employees of Conrail securities constituting a meaningful interest in the Corporation.

Directors

The labor organizations signatory to this Agreement strongly desire that the representatives of Conrail employees be elected to the Conrail Board of Directors. The Corporation will encourage the Department of Transportation and the United States Railway Association, which control the majority of the stock of the Corporation, to give careful consideration to the appointment of directors repre-

senting Conrail employees when the terms of present directors expire in March 1982.

Very truly yours,
R. E. Swert
Senior Assistant Vice President,
Labor Relations

May 5, 1981

Fred J. Kroll
Chairman, Railway Labor
Executives Association
AFL-CIO Building
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kroll:

This letter refers to conferences leading to an agreement between Conrail and labor organizations representing its employees regarding labor contributions to self-sufficiency for Conrail.

In the event Conrail negotiates an agreement with an organization not signatory to such labor contribution agreement which does not contain wage deferrals substantially identical to those contained in that agreement, the wage deferrals, or lack thereof, contained in such agreement with a non-signatory organization shall be applicable immediately to the employees represented by the signatory organizations.

Very truly yours,
R. E. Swert
Assistant Vice-President
Labor Relations

Explanation of Conrail Labor Contribution Agreement

• Conrail will place into effect all provisions of the National Agreement for each organization, except

— Wage increases on Conrail will lag National increases by 10% until December 31, 1981.

— Thereafter, wage increases on Conrail will lag National increases by 12%.

— Examples of how this works are attached.

• At no time will wages on Conrail be cut.
• Management will take the same wage deferrals and force reductions as agreement employees.

• The contribution agreement is cancelled if the Federal government passes laws to break-up Conrail.

• Work rules will be handled under expe-

ditioned Railway Labor Act procedure.

• The Agreement is subject to each organization's ratification procedures.

• The Agreement lasts for the term of National Agreement (or 3 years), but if Conrail sells small parts of railroad, employees on that part go back to National wage levels.

• Conrail will recommend to Federal Government that employees receive stock for deferred wages, and be represented on the Board of Directors.

collectively referred to as "rates of pay"), provided for in the National Agreement to be made effective on or before December 31, 1981, shall be made effective for each craft or class of Conrail employees on the respective dates set forth in the National Agreement to the extent the sum of such increases exceeds 10%.

(ii) Increases in rates of pay provided for in the National Agreement to be made effective on or after January 1, 1982 shall be made ef-

Date	Suppose industry increases are:	Conrail increases would be:	Conrail lags industry by:
4/1/81	7%	0%	7%
7/1/81	3%	0%	10%
10/1/81	2%	2%	10%
1/1/82	2%	0%	12%
7/1/82	5%	5%	12%
1/1/83	5%	5%	12%
7/1/83	5%	5%	12%
1/1/84	5%	5%	12%

Date	Suppose industry increases are:	Conrail increases would be:	Conrail lags industry by:
4/1/81	6%	0%	6%
7/1/81	3%	0%	9%
10/1/81	2%	1%	10%
1/1/82	4%	2%	12%
7/1/82	5%	5%	12%
1/1/83	5%	5%	12%
7/1/83	5%	5%	12%
1/1/84	5%	5%	12%

Agreement between Conrail and Certain Labor Organizations for Labor Contributions to Self-Sufficiency for Conrail

1. This Agreement is intended to provide for the deferral of certain wage increases, without reductions in current rates of pay, from agreement employees as a means of enhancing Conrail's prospects to become self-sustaining. To accomplish this objective, Conrail agrees to adopt and apply the terms of the National Agreements reached between the industry and signatory organizations, subject to the limitations hereinafter set forth.

2. (a) (i) Increases in rates of pay, including cost of living adjustments (hereinafter

effective for each craft or class of Conrail employees on the respective dates set forth in the National Agreement to the extent the sum of such increases, combined with the sum of the increases in rates of pay provided for in the National Agreement for 1981 and referred to in subparagraph (i), exceeds 12%.

(iii) For the purposes of this Agreement, each "increase," including each cost of living adjustment, shall be computed as a percentage increase over the rate of pay existing immediately prior to the increase.

(b) This document shall not be construed to require a reduction in rates of pay in effect as of the date of this Agreement.

3. The Corporation reserves the right not

to place into effect the terms and conditions of the National Agreement for Conrail employees in any craft or class the representatives of which are not signatories to this Agreement.

4. Labor cost savings resulting from (a) the National Agreement as applied to a craft or class of Conrail employees, or (b) implementation of the existing Crew Consist Agreements or the Fireman Manning Agreement, or (c) any action by the Corporation authorized by Title V of the Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973, as amended, (the "Rail Act") or, (d) separation of employees under any other law or agreement, or (e) termination or transfer of Conrail's responsibility for the actual payment of allowances, expenses or costs under Title V of the Rail Act, or other employee protection program, shall not be counted toward the amount of labor contributions or labor cost savings required under this Agreement.

5. The signatory parties to this Agreement recognize the necessity of an expedited procedure for the processing of proposed rules changes served pursuant to the Railway Labor Act by or on the Consolidated Rail Corporation. Accordingly, proposals served by or on the Consolidated Rail Corporation subsequent to the date of this Agreement shall be handled in accordance with the terms of the Railway Labor Act, as amended, subject to the procedures outlined below:

(a) The Consolidated Rail Corporation or a labor organization may serve a Section 6 Notice on the other party of desired changes in the applicable working rules agreement. Within 90 calendar days thereafter the other party will be privileged to serve counterproposals for concurrent handling with the initial Section 6 Notice.

(b) The parties will make a sincere effort to resolve the issues in direct negotiations.

(c) Direct negotiations between the parties will continue for a minimum of ninety (90) calendar days. If either party feels that insufficient progress is being made in direct negotiations at any time following the expiration of the initial ninety (90) calendar days hereinabove referred to, such advice will be given to the other party to the dispute and the parties will jointly invoke the services of the National Mediation Board with the request that the National Mediation Board immediately docket the dispute and conduct concerted and expedited mediation. The National Mediation Board will conduct mediation for a minimum of ninety (90) calendar days from the date the dispute was docketed by that Board.

(d) At the end of that period, the notices involved in the dispute may be submitted at the request of either party to an Advisory Fact Finding Panel consisting of 7 members, 2 to be selected by the organization, 2 to be selected by the carrier, and 3 public members to be selected by mutual agreement of the parties and appointed by the National Mediation Board. If either party makes such submission, the parties shall request that mediation be recessed. The appointment of the public members shall be made within ten (10) calendar days of the date of request. If the parties cannot agree upon the selection of the 3 public members, the National Mediation Board shall make such selection. One of the public members shall be selected chairman by the parties, or failing agreement, by the National Mediation Board. The Advisory Fact Finding Panel shall convene within thirty (30) calendar days from date of appointment of the public member(s) and shall

promptly investigate the facts of the dispute and make a written report to the parties, setting forth advisory recommendations for resolution of the dispute. Such report shall be issued within 180 calendar days from the date of the appointment of the public member(s). The time limit for issuing the report may be extended by agreement between the organization and the carrier members of the Panel. However, in the event the carrier and organization members are unable to agree on an extension time, the public member(s) may extend the time limit on their own motion for one thirty (30) calendar day period. The procedures and manner of investigation of the Fact Finding Panel shall be established by the Panel.

(e) Following the issuance of the report of the Advisory Fact Finding Panel, negotiations and/or mediation will resume for a period of not less than sixty (60) calendar days from the date the report was issued.

(f) If the dispute is not resolved during processing in the procedural step set forth in the paragraph next above, and has not been submitted to arbitration, then any time following the expiration of the moratorium provided for in Section 6(a) of this Agreement or after the Mediation Board has terminated its services, whichever is later, either party to the dispute may serve a 30-day written notice to the other that peaceful efforts have failed to resolve the dispute. Thereafter, the dispute may be progressed to a conclusion under the Railway Labor Act, as amended.

6 (a). The parties to this Agreement shall not serve nor progress prior to the date or dates for such action as provided under the National Agreement or April 1, 1984, whichever is earlier (not to become effective before the date or dates provided in such National Agreement or April 1, 1984, whichever is later), any notice or proposal for the purpose of changing the provisions of this Agreement and any proposals in now pending notices on subject matters covered by this Agreement will be withdrawn by the parties concurrent with the settlement of the National Agreement. This will not bar management and any organization from agreeing upon any subject matter of mutual interest.

(b). This will not bar the parties from handling work rule notices in accordance with the provisions of Section 5 of this Agreement.

6(c). This Agreement shall expire as to freight employees leaving service with the Corporation upon sale or transfer of freight rail properties of the Corporation upon which those employees were employed. For purposes of this subsection, rail properties has the same meaning as under Section 102(12) of the Rail Act.

7. If this Agreement should be determined to be invalid in whole or in part with respect to any craft or class covered, this Agreement shall be of no force or effect with respect to that craft or class and the rates of pay of all employees in such craft or class shall be returned to the levels applicable on the effective date of this Agreement.

8. The Corporation will abide by the provisions of proposed legislation pending before the House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce as of the date of this Agreement regarding nonagreement employee compensation and force levels, which reads as follows:

"(1) Non-agreement personnel.—(A) (i) Employees who are not subject to collective-bargaining agreements (hereinafter in this section referred to as 'non-agreement personnel') are foregoing wage increases and benefits in an amount proportionately equivalent to the amount forgone by agreement employees pursuant to paragraph (5) of this subsection, adjusted annually to reflect inflation.

"(ii) For purposes of this subparagraph, non-agreement personnel shall be assumed to be eligible to receive periodic wage increases to the same extent as agreement employees.

"(B) The number of non-agreement personnel is reduced proportionately to any reduction in agreement employees (excluding reductions pursuant to the termination program under section 702 of this Act). Any reduction in non-agreement personnel which occurs after May 1, 1981, shall be included for purposes of this subparagraph."

9(a). This Agreement shall be construed as a separate Agreement by and on behalf of Conrail, its employees represented by the labor organizations signatory hereto, and each such signatory.

(b). This Agreement is made subject to the ratification procedures of the respective labor organizations signatory hereto. Such organizations agree to notify Conrail promptly of the results of such ratification.

(c) This Agreement shall be null and void if there is enacted into law any provision that could cause the sale or transfer of substantially all of the Corporation's freight rail properties (as defined in Section 102(12) of the Rail Act) during the term of this Agreement.

Labor answers attacks on miners

By Fred Feldman

Big business and the government are escalating their efforts to bring the United Mine Workers of America to heel. And that means labor solidarity with the miners is becoming even more important.

Anti-miner propaganda is taking a new tack. Up until recently, the bosses claimed that it made no sense for miners to strike in defense of their rights, since even a long strike would have little impact on the industry or the economy.

Now all the problems of the economy are being pinned on the striking miners.

The employers' public relations campaign needs to be answered by spreading solidarity with the miners throughout the labor movement. And that is beginning to happen.

The miners' demonstration in Pittsburgh April 30 showed broad labor support for the union. Speakers included United Steelworkers Vice-president Joseph Odorchich 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.

A good example of what is possible was reported to the *Militant* by Bill Kalman, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead works.

At a recent union meeting, the local voted in favor of supporting the miners' strike and to invite miners to the next meeting.

At the May 11 union meeting, seventy-five steelworkers heard two officers of United Mine Workers Local 2300, representing union members at the Cumberland mine in Kirby, Pa. The officers were Local President Tony Brnusak and Recording Secretary Jane Christopher.

Formerly owned by U.S. Steel, the Cumberland mine was sold a few weeks ago to Sohio, one of the Rockefeller family oil companies.

The two miners were introduced by Local 1397 President Ron Weisen.

Taking up the issues in the strike, Brnusak described how the Arbitration Review Board was used against the Kirby miners. (The UMWA is demanding that the pro-company ARB be abolished and all its rulings cancelled.)

He told how Local 2300 had been forced out on strike even before the contract expired, when U.S. Steel fired six miners for joining a picket line against imposition of a four-day week. The company claimed the right to fire the six under ARB ruling 108. That ruling authorizes dismissal of any miner for picketing, making statements, or any other action that can be interpreted as encouraging an unauthorized strike.

The issue of the firings is now in

arbitration.

Brnusak also pointed to the dangers to miners' safety involved in the forty-five day probation period the mine-owners are demanding for new hires. A probation period would give the company forty-five days during which new miners could be forced by the company to work under unsafe conditions with no union protection if they refused.

"You had a demonstration last week against U.S. Steel," said Brnusak, referring to a protest action outside the U.S. Steel stockholders' meeting in Pittsburgh, May 4, which Local 1397 was involved in.

"Miners demonstrated against cuts in black lung benefits in Washington March 9. And we protested the four-day week policy at Kirby. It's clear that we have to be united like the Polish workers if we're going to get anywhere."

The Steelworkers local agreed to hold a plant gate collection on May 20 for the miners.

Officers and members of Local 1397 sense the big stakes for all workers in the miners' strike. As more unions and other organizations find out the truth about the strike, active support for the miners will spread rapidly.

Women miners to meet

The Third National Conference of Women Coal Miners will meet in Carbondale, Illinois, on May 22-24.

The conference will begin with a memorial service at Mother Jones's gravesite, both because she was a staunch advocate of the rights of coal miners and because the Equal Rights Amendment is coming up for a final vote in Illinois.

Addie Wyatt, the Executive Vice President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and a leader of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, will give the keynote address.


Workshop topics include: mine health and safety; childcare in the coalfields; union organizing and building the UMWA; sexual harassment; and special health concerns of miners.

Two hundred people are expected to attend from ten states, including for the first time a contingent of women miners from Utah.

The conference is open to all women coal miners and their supporters. Organizers say it's a good idea to pre-register. The registration fee of \$48 includes room and board.

The conference is sponsored by the Coal Employment Project. For more information, contact Mary Anne Cabage at P.O. Box 3403, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 37830; or call (615) 482-3428.

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Miners demonstrate May 12 at coal terminal in St. Louis.

Militant/Robert Allen

Socialist vs. KKK in N. Carolina race

By Kelly Lawrence
and Greg McCartan

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Until three weeks ago, Betsy Soares was the only announced candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem. Soares, a welder at Bahnsen Company, is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

But on April 24, Joe Grady, the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of Liberty, a faction of the Ku Klux Klan, announced that he will run for mayor on the Republican ticket.

James J. Booker, the chairman of the Forsyth County Republican Party, said, "We're not going to disavow him or back him. Mr. Grady is a citizen of this country. Right now, he is registered as a Republican and he has a right to run. I don't expect him to survive the primary."

Soares's response was very different. At a well-attended news conference, she called on the labor movement to "launch an emergency effort to field its own independent candidates" to oppose this racist, anti-working class campaign.

Grady's campaign comes on the heels of the acquittal last year of six Klan and Nazi members who murdered five anti-racist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Grady organized a support rally for the murderers, where they displayed autopsy photographs of the victims.

He also brought picnic lunches to the courtroom for the defendants during the trial.

But Grady's activities don't stop at picnic lunches and rallies.

Two months ago, he led a group of twenty robed KKKers to the Lincolnton County jail to try to post bond for a twenty-year-old Black man accused of raping a white woman. Grady claimed that the racist vigilantes wanted to "see that justice was done."

Grady also heads the recently-formed coalition of the KKK and Southern Whites Against Tyranny (SWAT), a group that took credit for threatening meetings of Black leaders Dick Gregory and Julian Bond during Black History Week here.

Since her news conference, Soares herself has received threatening letters from the Klan, inviting her to a July 4 burning-in-effigy of Black City Council members, and to a showing of the racist film, "Birth of a Nation." This harassment is an attempt to intimidate her and her campaign supporters. The Klan-Republican says that one aim of his campaign is to keep communists out of Winston-Salem.

Soares explained, "Racist scum like Grady feel comfortable in both of the major capitalist parties. Grady himself has run for public office twice before—once as a Democrat and then as a Republican."

"This fact should lay to rest any belief that the two parties represent different interests."

"The Klan-Republican's rhetoric



Militant/Kelly Lawrence

SOCIALIST BETSY SOARES

about support to the 'working class man' is simply a smokescreen.

"Grady claims he opposes the 'wealthy white manipulators who run this city like a country club.' But a look at his program shows that there's nothing in it for working people, Black or white."

Grady is opposed to the city's affirmative action program for hiring Blacks in local government positions. He's opposed to federally-funded programs to upgrade housing and services in the Black community. He's a big supporter of "free enterprise."

Soares pointed out that the Klan has traditionally opposed workers organizing into trade unions. They oppose the Equal Rights Amendment and legalized abortions.

"That's why, despite rhetoric to the contrary, the interests of the Klan and the interests of workers are diametrically opposed."

"But they mesh quite nicely with the textile and tobacco barons who run this state."

"The ruling rich and their two parties know very well that they can use campaigns like Grady's as a battering ram to make even further inroads with their own offensive against Blacks, Latinos, women, and labor."

"It's their bipartisan policy of war against the workers and farmers in the U.S. and around the world that creates

an atmosphere where avowed racists like Grady can operate openly."

"Grady appeals to white workers in order to try and divide those of us who work for a living."

"That's why this Klan-Republican campaign, and the racist violence that goes with it, poses a grave danger to the labor movement of this city."

"My campaign stands 100 percent opposed to the Klan, and on the side of Blacks, women, and all working people. I'm for making Winston-Salem a union town. I support the Voting Rights Act, busing to desegregate the schools, and open housing. I join with the Black community's outrage over the Klan's photo exhibit to be displayed in our public library."

"Let's follow the example of the 4,000 women and men who marched here for the ERA on May 2; the tens of thousands of young people who went to Washington on May 3 to oppose Reagan's war drive; the textile workers, rail workers and coal miners who are saying 'Enough' to the White House and the corporations."

"Through mobilizing in actions like these, we can show the people who run this city that the majority does not support their pro-big business policies."

"And by labor fielding its own candidates in the elections, we can provide an alternative to the whole gang—Klan, Republicans and Democrats—on the political level."

SWP hits restrictive ballot law

By Greg McCartan

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—On April 17, the North Carolina state legislature passed a bill that further restricts the voting rights of working people. House Bill 406 requires that anyone signing a petition to attain ballot status for a third party would have their voter registration changed to that party. Although the bill also lowers the number of petitions needed from the current 10,000 to 5,000, the measure basically requires third parties to register at least 5,000 voters under the party's name.

Douglas Clark, chairperson of the Elections Laws Committee, explained that after a party had submitted the required signatures, "The [local] election boards would then note that [the signers'] registration had been changed from Democrat to Communist."

In 1980, four parties in addition to the Democrats and Republicans achieved ballot status in the state. Independents for Anderson, the Citizens Party, Libertarian Party, and the Socialist Workers Party all fulfilled the requirements under the old state law. It was the first

time since the 1930s that a socialist party was on the ballot.

The ability of the four parties to attain ballot status reflects the growing dislike of the policies of the Democrats and Republicans, policies that benefit the rich, and not the poor and working people. But rather than change their policies, the two parties decided to just make it harder this time for third parties to express their views.

Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, said: "The Democrats and Republicans hope to further restrict the rights of working people to organize independently of the two parties of the rich. Socialists get on the ballot for the first time in forty years, the National Black Independent Political Party is being organized here and in other states, and there is a discussion in the labor movement about labor forming its own party. The response from the parties of the rich is to clamp down on democratic rights, to try to stop Blacks and working people from questioning their policies."

"We plan to go on a campaign to challenge this blatantly undemocratic law."

U.S. Irish protests win Black support

An outpouring of support for the Irish freedom fight has taken place across the country since Bobby Sands died on May 5.

Marc Lichtman reports from New York City that "protests at the British consulate have been going on around the clock since Sands's death." They have been called by the Irish Northern Aid Committee (Noraid), with many other groups and unaffiliated individuals participating.

The biggest protest to date occurred on May 9, when more than 5,000 people picketed the consulate and marched to the United Nations for a prayer service.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the National Black United Front addressed the rally, and NBUF members marched at the head of the demonstration.

In Detroit, according to Militant correspondent Sheila Ostrow, more than 1,000 people came together May 7 for an interdenominational service, followed by a candlelight march and rally.

One of the keynote speakers at the service was Rev. Nicholas Hood, pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church and a member of the Detroit City Council.

Hood, who is Black, received loud applause when he said, "I am not here because I am a Protestant clergyman. This is not a struggle between Protestants and Catholics. I have come here because human rights denied anywhere means that human rights will be denied everywhere."

"We must all unite against segregation and discrimination in Northern Ireland, South Africa, the sunbelt, and the snowbelt. There are those in this country who know all too well the effects of segregation, discrimination, and violence."

A boycott of British Airways was announced at the rally. A conference to organize the boycott will be held on Saturday, May 16, at 3 p.m. at the Gaelic League, 2068 Michigan Avenue in Detroit.

In Philadelphia, 5,000 people held a candlelight vigil at the Philadelphia Bulletin offices, May 5, according to Militant correspondents Newton Brown and John Warner.

"The action, called by Noraid, took place at the Bulletin because of its connections with Associated Press, which Irish Republicans feel has rendered the most biased, pro-British imperialist coverage of all international press agencies," they write.

Jack Sharkey, a leader of Noraid, told the rally, "The action our government takes is to suppress our movement and news from Ireland. In the last ten years the federal government has closed down our paper [The Irish People] and accused us of being foreign agents."

Charlie Crumlie, who spent three years on H-Block, also spoke.

A march has been called for May 17 at 2 p.m., from Cottman and Frankfort Aves. to Roosevelt Blvd.

In San Francisco, 500 people marched on May 6. A group of Black,

Latino, and Irish demonstrators carried a symbolic coffin.

In Chicago, 500 attended a memorial mass on May 9, and picket lines are up every day at the British consulate.

In South Boston, 500 attended an outdoor mass on May 9, followed by a motorcade and picket line downtown.

Paul Chelstrom dies

Paul Chelstrom, a member of the Socialist Workers Party since 1938, died on May 5 at the age of seventy. He had been a rail worker for thirty years.

A meeting in tribute to Chelstrom's life will be held Saturday, May 16, at 7:30 p.m., 508 N. Snelling, in St. Paul, Minnesota.

An appreciation of his contributions to the revolutionary movement will be published in an upcoming issue.

A turning point in France

Workers celebrate defeat of rightist regime

By Claude Rodier

PARIS—On Sunday, May 10, at 8 p.m., the television news announced the results of voting in the second round of the French presidential elections: 52 percent for Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand, 48 percent for incumbent President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

As soon as the results were reported, there was an outpouring of joy. On Sunday night, the streets belonged to the workers.

In Paris, where the Socialist Party called on people to gather in the huge Place de la Bastille, more than 100,000 people responded. The Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International, had a contingent there.

Neither rain nor the closing of the subways for the night could disperse the immense and enthusiastic crowd. The only reason they gave up the idea of a triumphal march through the streets of Paris was that the streets were blocked by the massive traffic jams made up of the streams of horn-blowing workers in their cars.

On Monday morning, the new mood could already be felt in the factories. President Giscard's defeat was also a defeat for the bosses. The two candidates in the second round had been from two camps. And the bosses's camp had lost.

To show the bosses that the relationship of forces had changed, workers used company time to drink toasts to their victory and discuss the results among themselves.

For the first time in twenty-three years, the workers had been able to place their representative at the head of government.

The victory over the right was at the same time a victory over the divisions and disunity that have plagued the workers movement.



Socialist Party leader François Mitterrand, left.

Voters who supported the Communist Party candidate in the first round overwhelmingly cast their votes for Mitterrand in the second. The attacks carried out by the bourgeoisie under Giscard had reached an intolerable level and affected ever wider layers of the population, who were radicalized under the impact of the economic crisis.

At the same time, the bourgeoisie was in the midst of a serious political crisis. Jacques Chirac, the leader of the Gaullist party (the Assembly for the Republic—RPR), and himself a former prime minister under Giscard from 1974 to

1976, had waged a first-round campaign that was extremely critical of Giscard's performance. Chirac had accused Giscard of weakness in foreign policy and laxity on economic questions.

The Gaullist leaders did not mobilize their supporters behind the incumbent president in the period between the two rounds. Some even called openly for a vote for Mitterrand.

The new president has already announced that he will dissolve the National Assembly and order new legislative elections before summer vacations begin. At present the Giscardians and

Gaullists between themselves have a majority in the assembly.

Even with the best results, the SP will not win a majority in parliament. A parliamentary majority will have to be established through alliances with other forces.

Among the potential partners in such a coalition are the Communist Party, the Left Radicals (a small bourgeois party), or certain Gaullist deputies who go over to Mitterrand.

Given this situation, on the morning after the election the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International, began massively distributing leaflets in the factories, focusing on three immediate objectives:

First, that the workers' parties win a majority in the legislative elections, and that this majority be translated into a parliamentary majority through a proportional representation system.

Second, that a government be organized based on the main workers parties and them alone, meaning a government of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, without any renegade Gaullists or Left Radicals.

Finally, the leaflets called on Mitterrand to take steps that will encourage the mobilization of the workers. These steps include an immediate halt to layoffs, an increase in the minimum wage, and the abrogation of existing measures that restrict democratic rights.

The LCR ran Alain Krivine for president. He campaigned for a united workers' response to the attacks of the ruling class.

An undemocratic election law kept Krivine off the ballot at the last minute, so the LCR called for a vote for any workers' party candidate on the first round and for Mitterrand on the second.

From Intercontinental Press

Pa. mining communities protest waste dumping

By Ronnie Zuhlke

BURGETTSTOWN, Pa.—Over 400 residents met in the high school gymnasium here April 14 and April 30 to resist the dumping of radioactive nuclear waste in Hanover Township, about twenty-five miles west of Pittsburgh. Other mass meetings have also taken place throughout Washington County.

Residents of this predominantly coal mining area gathered to register their strong opposition to the use of their environment as an all-purpose dump site for industry and the U.S. government.

Robinson and Findlay Township residents began to organize themselves last year, when they learned of a proposal to dump 11.5 million gallons of pickling acid into the pits of area strip mines. Pickling acid is a chemical waste product that was to be brought into the area from the major steel mills in Washington and Allegheny counties and from as far away as Cleveland. The chemical wastes were to be dumped in the pits of worked-out strip mines.

But area residents searched public records and found chemical dumping had, in fact, already been occurring.

Shortly afterward, the U.S. Department of Energy announced plans to relocate 200,000 tons of radioactive waste currently stored at the Canonsburg Industrial Park, also located in Washington County.

The relocation proposal is part of a state and federal effort to decontaminate the Canonsburg Industrial Park, where radium and uranium refining

began in the early 1920s. During the 1940s, uranium was refined there for the Manhattan Project to build nuclear bombs.

In 1965, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission approved a plan for the "cleanup" of the radioactive material. The procedure included the burial of thousands of tons of radioactive contaminants in a lagoon that has since become the Canonsburg Industrial Park.

Ten years later, federal inspectors

admitted finding high concentrations of cancer-causing radon gas seeping into the buildings in the Industrial Park.

So, today, the Department of Energy and the Department of Environmental Resources are seeking a new site for the disposal of their radioactive wastes.

The proposed sites are abandoned strip mines. Residents are deeply concerned about the spreading of radioac-

tivity through mine subsidence and the contamination of their water supply.

Danice Brinkley, executive officer of the Concerned Citizens of Southwestern Pennsylvania, believes a lot more organizing needs to be done.

She says, "We got involved because of the chemical wastes and that was the problem that brought us together. The nuclear issue is quite new, we plan to get informed and to educate others. We feel that the whole area is sited."

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Building a Party of Socialist Workers

A new book of reports and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party. Edited by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark.

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Ronnie Zuhlke is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2874 in Washington County, Pennsylvania.

Miners discuss strike, Atlanta, Reagan

By Margaret Jayko

In the past month, over 1,100 coal miners and their families have bought subscriptions to the *Militant* newspaper.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have fielded eight sales teams of miners and other socialist workers to visit coal towns across the country. They are selling special introductory *Militant* subscriptions and distributing the new Pathfinder pamphlet, "Coal Miners ON STRIKE."

The teams wanted to find out what miners have to say about the strike, the contract, and their union—something you can't learn by reading most papers or watching the news.

But miners know that their strike is part of a bigger picture. They invited the socialists into their homes to discuss everything from the child murders in Atlanta and the Reagan budget cuts, to what's happening in Poland, El Salvador, and Ireland.

Miners were also interested to hear about the SWP/YSA suit against Washington's political police, and the socialist ideas that the government is trying to suppress.

The teams went door-to-door in mining communities in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Illinois, Colorado, and Utah.

Issue is scab coal

The Alabama team sold 108 subscriptions, ninety of those to miners. Black miners bought 65 percent of them. The team spent its time in Walker County, northwest of Birmingham.

They found, as did all the teams, that miners see the central issue in this strike as being whether the coal companies will be able to expand their non-union operations. That would deliver a crippling blow to the UMWA.

As one retired miner told the team, "If they let scab coal come in, it will break the union."

Miners—both white and Black—were horrified by the murder wave in Atlanta. Many Black miners, especially, felt that the police are running a cover-up and that not enough is being done to find the killer.

The team found that most mines in the area had women working in them. The big majority of male miners they talked to thought that women who needed the jobs had a right to be in the mines.

Households with no miners in the family supported the strike also.

One young woman's husband had been laid off from his job in an explosives factory. The company said it was because of the miners strike. The woman supported the strike and thought the miners were doing the



Linda May Flint, a socialist coal miner from West Virginia, talking with Colorado miners. The Denver team went to Redstone, site of the recent mine disaster that left fifteen miners dead.

right thing in standing up for their union.

She bought a subscription.

Though miners were friendly to the team, the cops weren't.

In Jasper, which is the political and economic center of Walker County, cops ran the team out of town for selling without a license and selling door-to-door. The team promptly filed a suit against the undemocratic laws and got a temporary restraining order.

The *Birmingham News* covered the story. When the team returned, despite cop harassment, they sold eleven subscriptions. Many miners who had seen the article said they thought it was fine for them to sell door-to-door, and they wished them luck with the case.

Utah miners

The Price, Utah, team sold 168 subscriptions and 170 single copies of the *Militant* in ten days.

Most of the subscriptions were bought by miners and their families, with many others sold to rail workers. Chicanos make up a large proportion of the 3,700 union miners in east central Utah, and they bought a lot of the subscriptions.

There are also a number of nonunion mines in this area, which are still operating. District 22 of the UMWA, which Utah is part of, voted for the proposed contract by a two-to-one margin. So miners were eager to talk to Linda May Flint, a miner from West Virginia. They had a lot of questions and misconceptions about why eastern miners voted the contract down, and what conditions were like in the mines back east.

Miners were glad to see the *Militant*. The Price paper comes out only two times a week, and its "coverage" of the strike is neither extensive nor sympathetic.

Miners there are worried about the Reagan administration's cutbacks in social services. Local 1769 had sent representatives to participate in the March 9 UMWA demonstration in Washington to protest proposed cuts in black lung benefits.

Some miners are looking to Poland for ideas on how to defend their union and stop the big business assault on their rights and living standards.

"I'm really proud of my Polish brothers and sisters. Look at what they've been able to do over there," commented one Chicano miner.

"We have to unite here just like in Poland. All miners, rail workers, steelworkers, all of us. That's the way we'll get everything we need. It's going to happen here sooner or later."

Interest in the *Militant*'s coverage of El Salvador and Central America ran high there.

One retired railroad worker, seemingly uninterested in a discussion his wife was having with a team member, suddenly looked up from his tomato garden and said, "What this country needs is a Castro."

His wife bought a subscription.

Most miners were opposed to the construction of nuclear power plants. As the wife of one UMWA miner said, "If it [nuclear power] can't be controlled, then we shouldn't use it."

Reagan no solution

Southern West Virginia is the heart of the UMWA. So far, the Charleston-based team has sold 239 subscriptions, putting them out in front.

The response to the socialist suit against government spying was sympathetic there. Miners understand from personal experience that the cops are on the side of the companies. And many have their own stories about federal or local cop harassment of their union.

The team sold subscriptions to miners who had voted for Reagan because they were groping for radical solutions to the problems they faced. But they didn't like the "solutions" that Reagan is now proposing.

As the team drove through the town of Madison, about thirty miles south of Charleston, they did a double-take. A big yellow banner was stretched across the main road: "Remember the children in Atlanta April 20-25." The same thing happened in Danville. Both towns are mostly white.

It turned out that the NAACP had gotten the mayors and city councils of the two towns to declare a week in solidarity with Atlanta and to call a rally for April 25.

When the team stopped to eat in Whitesville, they met a waitress who was wearing a homemade T-shirt that said, "I'm a miner and I love it." She

worked at an Armco mine. She bought a subscription and took a bunch of sub blanks for her friends.

Ireland

The northern West Virginia team sold 176 subscriptions, about half of them to UMWA members.

Ireland was on the minds of some miners there.

One team member, a coal miner, was talking to a couple about the issues involved in the hunger strike in Ireland. The woman interrupted her and said, "Don't they just want the English out of Ireland?"

The team met a young guy who's been a miner for twelve years. He supported Reagan's budget cuts and volunteered that he thought the U.S. government should intervene in El Salvador.

They met some non-miners who opposed the strike. Generally, these people were not interested in buying subscriptions.

Team members talked to many widows whose husbands had died of black lung disease. In Shinnston, a town of about 200 families, team member Gina March talked to a woman who had buried two husbands who were victims of black lung. She'd "do anything to support the miners."

In discussing Atlanta, she pointed out, "If those kids were white, they'd have done something by now. You know, we're white, but we could just as easily have been Black."

Miners bought the *Militant* because it covered their strike from other than the company point of view, and it had news on what other union brothers and sisters were doing and saying about the strike.

But they were also interested in reading a paper with a socialist point of view.

Some miners were turned off to the explanation that this was a socialist paper. But most weren't.

One miner in southern Illinois wanted to know why a socialist paper was supporting the Polish workers.

And the teams had many hours of discussion about what socialism is and their view of the Soviet Union.

There's a lot of political discussions going on in coal towns across the country. And the *Militant* is becoming a small but significant part of them.

... Atlanta

Continued from page 3

All candidates thought it was wrong for the FBI to accuse the mothers, especially if they had no evidence. But only Hoeppner explained that the FBI was attempting to discredit the mothers in order to divert attention from their own inability to solve the crimes.

All candidates thought the KKK and other racists should be investigated, if they weren't already.

André Kahlmorgen said in a statement released to the press that she "will continue to raise the issue of the killings and help build mobilizations of the Black community, labor movement, and others to demand a stop to the murders and a stop to the cover-up."

"The government's treatment of the Atlanta killings," she stated, "is the way they treat all crises affecting working people, from plant closings to racist murders: blame the victims."

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.

- Threat to deport Iranian socialist (page 11)
- What's at stake for labor (page 14)
- Testimony of George Breitman (pages 22-27)

White House staffer to be questioned

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—The trial of the socialist suit against government spying and harassment has reached into the Reagan White House.

Mary Lawton, a member of the White House staff and formerly an attorney with the Justice Department, was required to give sworn testimony in Washington May 13 in conjunction with the trial under way here.

Lawton's name first entered the picture May 4 under questioning of FBI agent Gary Stoops by Margaret Winter, attorney for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Stoops testified he consulted with Lawton when she was still in the Justice Department in figuring out what to do about the policy of automatically investigating SWP and YSA members applying for government jobs after the attorney general announced an end to the "domestic security" investigation in September 1976.

These developments are certainly being watched with great interest by

others in the Reagan White House, including the man in charge.

'Loyalty unit'

Gary Stoops was formerly head of the FBI's "loyalty unit." In that capacity he supervised investigations of socialists who applied for jobs with the federal government.

Stoops testified Friday, May 1, and continued the following Monday.

The next day Barry Sheppard, SWP national co-chairperson, took the stand. He remained there, with the exception of one morning session, for the next five days of the trial.

Sheppard is the latest of several witnesses to testify extensively about the political views of the SWP. (See box below.)

On May 13, with the trial wrapping up its twenty-fourth day, the socialists were still putting on their direct case and had called a total of twenty-six witnesses.

Stoops was not what you would call a cooperative witness. A high-level administrator, his testimony was riddled with purposefully hard-to-understand bureaucratic lingo. It took persistent questioning by Winter to get

an answer. Finally Judge Thomas Griesa intervened to get Stoops to come across with a response to the key questions.

Stoops had been called to testify on FBI administration of Executive Order 10450.

In the weeks leading up to the trial it emerged as one of the executive orders (measures decreed by the president with no discussion or vote) that the FBI cites as the basis for its authority to continue its "investigation" of the SWP.

The initial version of the order appeared in 1947. President Harry Truman demanded a "loyalty" check of all government employees. It was an opening volley in the anti-communist witch-hunt.

Attorney general's list

It authorized the notorious "attorney general's list of subversive organizations." Among them was the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the Communist Party and many groups associated with it. For almost three decades, before you could go to work for the government, you had to sign a statement saying that you had never be-

longed to any of these organizations.

In 1974 President Nixon abolished the attorney general's list. But the underlying executive order remained intact.

Stoops testified that scrapping the list had no practical impact on the FBI. They still maintained their own private list of proscribed organizations.

As for what changes did take place, Stoops said, "Before I think they had described fascism as one of the groups, and so forth, and they tried to bring it more in line with the current thinking of the times."

In 1976, under pressure of the current lawsuit, the attorney general announced an end to the "domestic security" investigation of the SWP and YSA.

This had no effect on investigations carried out under the rubric of "foreign intelligence."

Nor, as Stoops testified, did it stop investigations under 10450.

Shortly before Stoops took the stand, the government turned over to the socialists a copy of a memo dispatched to the attorney general from the FBI

Continued on next page

SWP leader explains socialist views

NEW YORK—By the end of the third of his five days on the stand, the transcript of Barry Sheppard's testimony was already two-and-a-half inches thick.

Under direct examination by Margaret Winter, the national co-chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party discussed in depth a range of political questions.

When the trial opened, it was not clear just how much testimony of this kind there would be.

But as things proceeded, the political views of the plaintiffs have become more of a factor than anyone had predicted.

This resulted, in part, from counter moves by the government. On April 30 Glenn Bertness took the stand to explain the Immigration and Naturalization Service threat to deport socialists. He justified it on the basis that the SWP advocates "world communism," which the government defines as "totalitarian dictatorship."

This raised some questions. Is this true? What are the socialists' real views?

Sheppard answered these questions. He laid out the long-standing socialist opposition to totalitarian dictatorship of any kind. He explained where the real totalitarian danger comes from—the U.S. ruling class, forced to employ increasingly coercive and undemocratic measures to safeguard the rule of a small minority.

Sheppard cited positions detailed in a document called "Socialism and Democracy." It was approved by the SWP leadership in 1979, he said, and Sheppard presented it at the World Congress of the Fourth International that same year.

Griesa took over questioning of Sheppard several times to probe socialist ideas further. He wanted to find out, for example, how SWP views compare with those of the British Labor Party; and how the SWP thinks a workers and farmers government will come to power.

Major excerpts from Sheppard's testimony will appear in future issues of the *Militant*.

In cross-examination, the government has been treading on well-worn ground.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward Williams returned again to the question of SWP financial practices. Sheppard said that the socialists have long had a policy of destroying financial records that would reveal the names of members or contributors if the records fell into the hands of political police.

Griesa has expressed sharp disapproval of the destruction of records. During Sheppard's testimony he said that the socialists should have brought their concerns on this to his attention rather than continue to discard records.

Williams has also returned repeatedly to the subject of pen names—or "aliases" as he calls them—used by party members. The socialists have explained many times now that these names are used within the Fourth International to protect the identity of socialists from countries with repressive regimes.

These questions actually reveal the weakness of the government's defense. After more than forty years of spying, they've not been able to come up with a single illegal act. They're reduced to trying to clutter the court record with innuendoes.

Their other ploy to get around lack

of evidence of illegal acts is the secret affidavit. Claiming it contains evidence of crimes by socialist leaders, government lawyers insist that only they and the judge can lay eyes on it. "National security" would be endangered by exposure of "sources" if others see it, they say.

The socialists have been trying to deal with this problem. George Breitman's testimony dealt a blow to its credibility. (See page 22.)

On May 6, the judge said that as the trial has proceeded, the secret affidavit has "loomed less large" in relation to the whole case. The plaintiffs need not be so concerned about it, was the message.

On May 11 attorney Winter expressed the opinion to Griesa that even if he disregarded the information in the affidavit, that did not get rid of the problem. An appeals court could later decide that the affidavit was crucial in ruling on a lower court decision. Winter also raised several proposals designed to get around the "national security" roadblock in dealing with the affidavit.

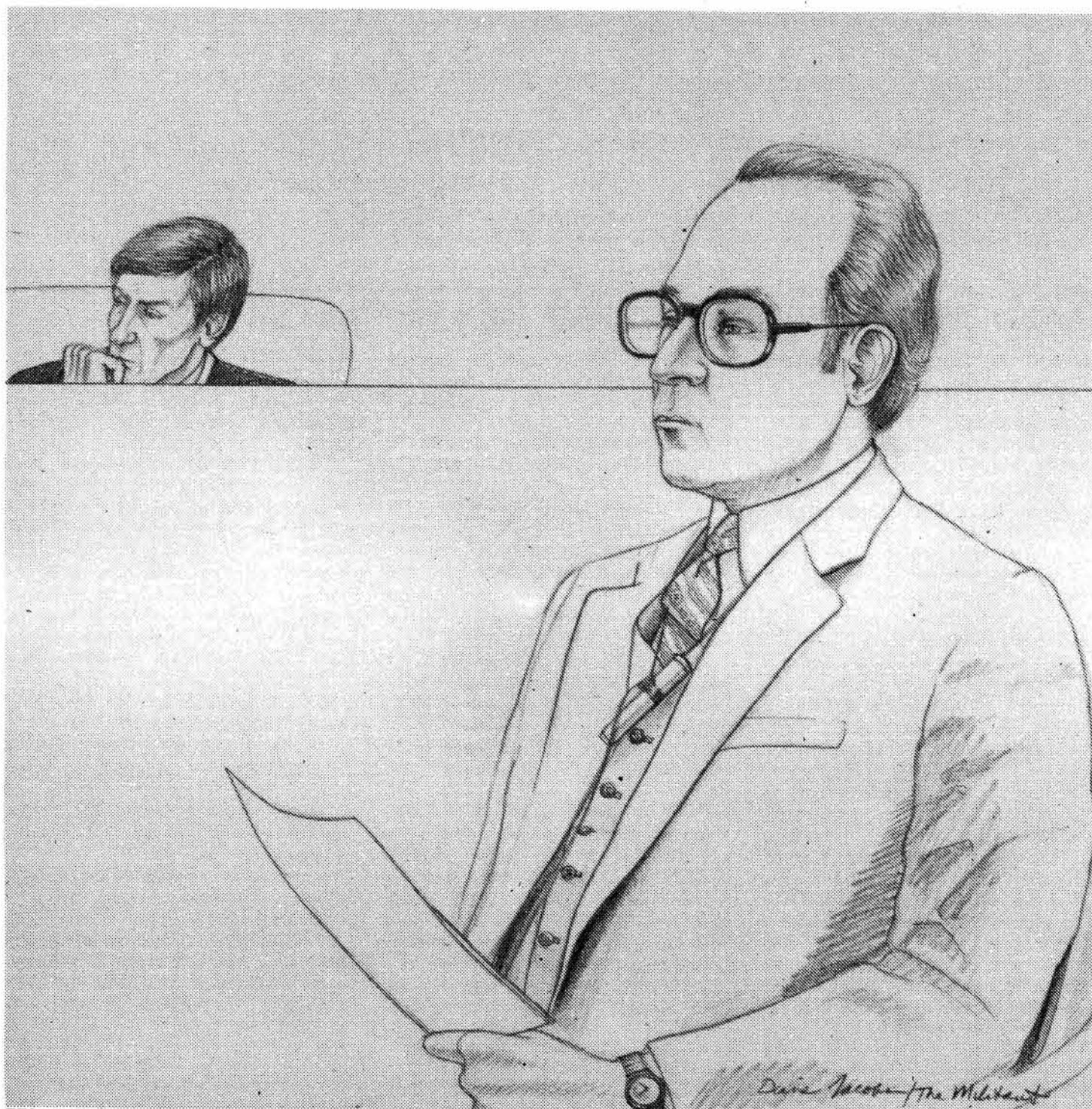
"Just have a little patience with me and I'll see what I can work out," the judge said. "I am in a better position to make a proposal because I know what's in the secret affidavit."

—N.B.



BARRY SHEPPARD

Militant Lou Howort



FBI agent Gary Stoops, head of 'loyalty unit,' on witness stand.

... trial

Continued from preceding page

on February 10, 1977. It asked about how to conduct "loyalty" investigations under 10450 in light of the recent announced end to the other investigation.

Under questioning, Stoops swore that there had never been a reply to this letter.

The answer was not very convincing. The judge demanded he come up with the real story.

Stoops then told of a series of meetings between the FBI and Justice Department.

The FBI wanted the policy spelled out in writing. Apparently, the Justice Department was stalling on this until the completion of litigation on this suit, which gives the plaintiffs access to government records.

Unwritten policy

But that didn't stop them from coming up with an unwritten policy. Before the supposed end to the investigation of the socialists, Stoops revealed, the FBI automatically conducted a "full field investigation" when the name of an SWP member was referred to his unit. Now what they do is handle each name on a "case by case" basis.

They send back to the agency to which the socialist is applying a statement that says: "The SWP is a revolutionary Trotskyite Communist organization" which "believes that eventual violent revolution in the U.S. is inevitable."

If that agency requests a full field investigation, the FBI then goes to the

Justice Department for approval before going ahead.

The attorney general announced an end to the SWP "domestic security" investigation in 1976 because they wanted to make it appear that the issues posed by the socialist suit were no longer relevant.

The 1977 memo from the FBI on executive order 10450 brought out the fact that under its provisions the FBI has full authority to continue its investigation of the SWP. Rather than confront this issue head on—by either openly going ahead with the investigation on one hand, or rescinding the executive order and ending it on the other—they chose to sweep the ques-

tion under the rug, at least until the suit had run its course.

That's the reason for the off-the-record policy and the attempt to cover it up that is now coming out.

America's Road To Socialism

By James P. Cannon

paper \$2.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Come to the trial

Is there anything you can do to help in this court fight? Yes, a lot. For one thing you can contribute to the Political Rights Defense Fund, and go to the PRDF rally in your area. You can show your friends the *Militant*.

But one of the most important—and most enlightening—things you can do is to attend the trial yourself.

The spectators in the courtroom are not mere passive observers. By their very presence, they play a role in the proceedings. They represent the countless victims of FBI criminality through the years—who now have a chance to see the government put on trial, and who are asking for justice.

Who comes to court? There are socialist workers from the New York/New Jersey area. Others come from

further away, some from quite a distance. There are supporters, friends, co-workers, parents, brothers, sisters, and others interested in what's taking place here.

On the morning of May 12 some ten students, about eleven years old, showed up.

The judge began by explaining what the trial was about, and who the contending sides were.

As the students were leaving, some socialists who had also been viewing the trial asked them what they thought.

They hadn't been able to check the whole thing out, they said. But from what they'd seen, they thought the socialists ought to win.

DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

Judge declares two-day recess. No sessions of trial held Thursday, May 7, or Friday, May 8.

DAY 22: MONDAY, MAY 11

SWP attorney Margaret Winter urges steps to deal with questions posed by secret affidavit, said to contain evidence of crimes by socialists. Judge Griesa urges patience, says he is working on proposal on matter.

In cross-examination, government attorney Edward G. Williams presses SWP National Co-chairperson Barry Sheppard to say that party favors violence. Sheppard reiterates that SWP favors peaceful social transformation, but advises workers that capitalist rulers will seek to thwart majority decision, and majority has right and need to defend itself.

DAY 23: TUESDAY, MAY 12

Sheppard returns to stand. Continuing cross-examination, Williams tries to establish, without shred of evidence, that despite denials, SWP is an actual section of Fourth International. Sheppard explains again that the SWP would be, if reactionary Voorhis Act did not make it impossible. As fraternal section, party has never concealed its full political solidarity with International.

Williams tries to discredit Peruvian revolutionary Hugo Blanco and other leaders of Fourth International targeted by cops. Sheppard testifies about SWP efforts to mobilize support that won Blanco's release from prison.

DAY 24: WEDNESDAY, MAY 13

In rehash of previous questions, Williams again tries to establish SWP is section of Fourth International and favors violence.

Under redirect examination by SWP attorney Winter, Sheppard tells full story of Peruvian peasant struggle that led to Blanco frame-up, how his freedom was won, and points out that he is now elected member of Peruvian parliament.

Sheppard elaborates on prediction of ruling-class violence, citing testimony by SWP leader James P. Cannon in 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act trial. Again citing Cannon, he outlines party's position on nationalizations by workers government, including issue of compensation.

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.

Iranian socialist faces deportation threat

The following article is scheduled to appear in the May-June issue of the 'Young Socialist.'

By Etta Ettlinger

If Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh was a wealthy despot from a U.S.-backed dictatorship, she would have no trouble staying in this country. The U.S. government welcomes to our shores tyrants like the Shah of Iran, Sir Eric Gairy of Grenada, or Nicaragua's Somoza—all dictators recently toppled by popular movements.

But Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh is not a dictator. She is a nineteen-year-old student. She's a socialist. She is a supporter of the revolution in her native Iran.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has a proven distaste for young people, Iranians, and socialists. That's why Hariri-Vijeh is today facing deportation from the United States.

Like many other young people from countries underdeveloped by years of U.S. economic domination, Hariri-Vijeh came to this country to attend school. When she left Iran it was still under the rule of the shah, whose jails swelled with critics of his brutal regime.

The shah was overthrown by a massive popular upsurge in January 1979. Ten months later, when the shah came to this country, the U.S. embassy in Iran was seized. It had long been used as a base for spy operations by the U.S. against the Iranian people.

The INS announced in November 1979 that it would ask 50,000 Iranian students in the U.S. to report for a review of their student visas.

This blatantly racist and discriminatory move came about because of the U.S. government's hostility toward the Iranian revolution. It was designed to intimidate critics of the American government's policies against Iran, and to drive a wedge between U.S. workers and their brothers and sisters in Iran.

By the time the INS announced this plan, Hariri-Vijeh's student visa had expired, as a result of temporary problems in passing an English proficiency

exam in 1978. For this reason, and the anti-Iranian climate whipped up by the U.S. government, she did not report for the INS round-up.

As a student at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Hariri-Vijeh carried a full-time course load, and "maintained an above-average academic record," according to the international student adviser there.

In addition to her classroom studies, she became involved in political activities, as do thousands of others. In particular, she became active in the movement against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Hariri-Vijeh joined the YSA in February 1981. She told the YS, "I joined the YSA because it stands for things I believe in. The YSA supports the revolutions in my country, in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador. The YSA opposes the draft. We support Black rights and women's rights."

Less than three weeks after she joined the YSA, Hariri-Vijeh was visited by two agents of the INS. Shortly thereafter, she was scheduled for a deportation hearing on June 9, 1981.

Hariri-Vijeh's only "crime" is failing to pass an English exam, and to file some papers on time. Thousands of other international students face similar problems.

Hariri-Vijeh's real crime in the eyes of the INS is her membership in the YSA. Documents filed by the INS in federal district court in New York indicate that membership in the YSA or Socialist Workers Party may be grounds for exclusion or deportation.

Speaking at a May 6 news conference in Baltimore, Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh explained, "The U.S. government found room for the shah, a man who murdered and tortured thousands of my people for speaking up against oppression and exploitation. Why isn't there room for me? My only crime is the ideas I hold. If Ronald Reagan can pardon convicted criminals like FBI burglars Felt and Miller, why can't the INS renew my visa and let me complete my education?"

It is exactly because of harassment such as this deportation threat that the



Salm Kolis/Militant

MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH: Iranian student challenges immigration cops' harassment of socialists.

YSA and Socialist Workers Party are in federal court right now, suing the FBI, INS, and other government agencies for violating the Bill of Rights.

Hariri-Vijeh told the YS, "Through our lawsuit we are standing up for the rights of every worker and student in this country, whether they were born here or not. I am proud to be a part of this fight."

The Young Socialist Alliance has launched a national campaign to de-

mand that Hariri-Vijeh's student visa be restored, and to demand a halt to deportation proceedings against her.

Telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to: Wallace R. Gray, District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, E.A. Garmatz Federal Building, 100 S. Hoover Street, Baltimore Md. 21201.

Copies should be sent to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 2913 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Md. 21218.

Foreign-born socialists ready to tour your area

By Andrew Pulley

If the Immigration and Naturalization Service thought its threat to proscribe the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance as "subversive" organizations would intimidate foreign-born members of the SWP and YSA, they were wrong.

Both organizations are mobilizing opposition to that undemocratic and unpopular move. Press conferences, picket lines and rallies sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) have won wide support. Foreign-born members of the SWP and YSA are helping to lead the way.

To further this effort, some immigrant members of the party and YSA have volunteered to speak upon request. They are available for PRDF-sponsored rallies, Militant Forums, press interviews, and talk shows.

Having been born in countries that are focal points of the class struggle, these speakers can comment on these struggles as well as on the whole range of issues at stake in the trial against government spying.

The following are some of the speakers initially available:

Jesse McDonald, 28, is a striking coal miner and a member of United Mine Workers Local 2874. He came to the United States in 1977 from his native Ireland. He lives in Pittsburgh, where

he is a member of the SWP and YSA.

Maura Rodriguez, a 24-year-old Salvadoran, is a member of United Steelworkers Local 14019 in Baltimore. She is also a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the SWP.

Marian Bustin, a 27-year-old Scottish-born coal miner, has been a victim of INS harassment herself. A member of UMW Local 2995, she is also a member of the YSA and SWP in Morgantown, West Virginia.

Mirta Vidal, born in Argentina, is a member of the San Diego SWP. She is former national secretary of the YSA, former executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), and has been a staff writer for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Richard Fawkes, who was a student leader in the Bahamas, moved to the United States in 1973. A former member of the YSA National Executive Committee, he is a member of the Brooklyn SWP.

Porfirio Acevedo, who was born in the Dominican Republic, came to this country in 1968. He is a member of the Brooklyn YSA and SWP.

If you wish any of the above speakers for your area, please contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212)691-3270.

Asylum for Tulio Mendoza!

An urgent appeal has been issued by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) to help save the life of Tulio Mendoza.

Mendoza, a teacher who fled El Salvador in December after his name appeared on a "hit list," is under an order of deportation. Currently on a speaking tour of the U.S., he is seeking political asylum.

On May 7, immigration officials gave his attorneys until May 20 to "prove that Mendoza's life would be threatened if he was returned to El Salvador."

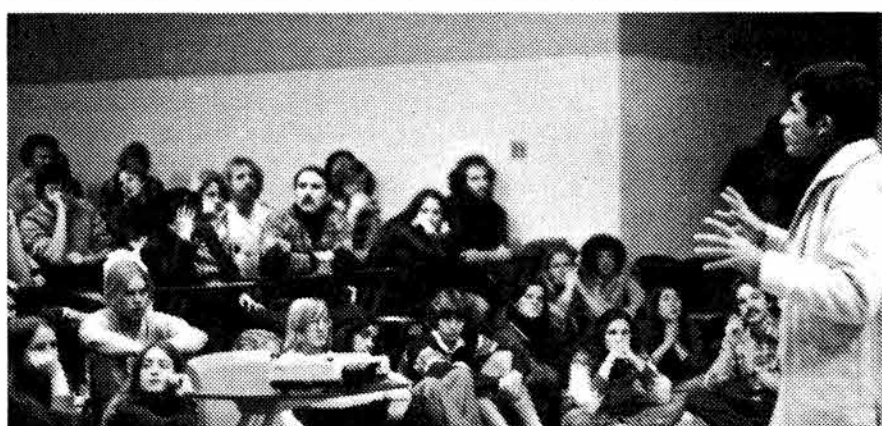
The decision to delay deportation is the result of a nationwide campaign. Backing has been won from teachers unions, Amnesty Interna-

tional, the Catholic archdioceses of San Diego and San Francisco, the Maryknolls, and the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee.

Nearly 100,000 Salvadorans have fled to the United States; more than 4,000 are seeking asylum. Reagan's deportation policy is a potential death threat to all of them.

Letters in support of asylum for Mendoza should be sent to INS District Director James O'Keefe, 8800 Front Street, San Diego, California 92188.

Send copies to USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, N.Y. 10003; and to Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee, c/o ACLU, 1546 Fifth Avenue, San Diego, California 92101.



Mendoza speaks to Colorado students during recent tour.

Black party leaders denounce FBI disruption

By Malik Miah

Three leaders of the National Black Independent Political Party recently sent a letter to Black organizations and leaders, informing them of an attempt by an FBI informer to discredit and disrupt the New York State chapter.

The NBIPP, formed last November at a conference of 1,500 people in Philadelphia, is holding its first congress August 21-23, in Chicago. At the congress, the party's statement of principles and charter will be discussed and voted on. National officers will also be elected.

Presently, NBIPP chapters and organizing committees are planning activities to celebrate Malcolm X's birthday, May 19, and to build support for the May 25 march on Washington called by Atlanta mothers.

FBI slanders

For these reasons, no doubt, the government's agents and informers are concerned about the Black party. Elombe Brath, Muntu Matsimela, and Segundo Modibo, the three Black party leaders, explained in their letter how they learned of the informer, and what it means for the Black movement:

"On Thursday, March 12, 1981, a batch of scurrilous and slanderous letters were mailed anonymously from Brooklyn, New York, to many individuals and organizations around the country by a self-professed informer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. . . .

"While this self-confessed 'informer,' in reality an *agent provocateur*, can probably speak with honesty about his—or her—own activities, this insidious individual sought to implicate by name several members of the NBIPP as accomplices in the said informer's foul actions.

"According to this FBI *agent*," they continue, "the letter was meant as both a confession and a warning that Brothers 'Muntu Matsimela, Elombe Brath' and 'Segundo (sic) Modibo,' along with the author, were *all* informers for the FBI, under some mysterious 'orders to destroy the NBIPP' by causing 'DIS-

FBI informer's letter

Brother/Sister

You may consider this letter a confession or a warning.

Muntu Matsimela, Elombe Brath, Segundo Modibo and myself are informers for the F.B.I.

Orders are to destroy the National Black Independent Political Party.

A few of the methods.

DISRUPT & CREATE CONFUSION.

If you are asking why i'am writing this letter.

My own conscience.

Muntu Matsimela, Segundo Modibo were voted out as members of the All African People's Party.

KEEP THE FATE

RUPTION & CONFUSION.'

What is the response of the Black party leaders to this smear attempt and disruption?

What kind of party

"Instead of trying 'to destroy the NBIPP,'" they explain, "we have been articulate advocates for the building of the Party into a genuine, progressive, popular mass party.

"The NBIPP we envision and struggle daily to build is a Party that is in total opposition to reaction and oppression, whether in the form of imperialism, monopoly capitalism, or its guardians, the FBI and CIA—the historical enemies of all Black people and all op-

pressed people struggling for self-determination throughout the world.

"The writer," they say, "must also be ignorant of the lessons the masses of our people painfully learned as a result of similar activities initiated by the FBI 'Counterintelligence Program' (Cointelpro) during the late '60s against the 'Black Nationalist' movement. Although the danger that a letter of this sort poses is clear, we must say that those experiences, bitter and hard as they have been, have taught us that our oppressor flourishes in an atmosphere of distrust, confusion and paranoia. These conditions allow our oppressor to exacerbate contradictions and create instability with the ultimate result being the complete disintegration of potentially

powerful contributors to our total liberation.

"The NBIPP represents this kind of potential, yet because of its embryonic level of development, it is very susceptible to counter-intelligence activities within its ranks."

Secret memorandum

The Black leaders refer to a secret memorandum (NSC-46) written by former National Security Council director Zbigniew Brzezinski. This memo, they say, urges the FBI to begin plans to assure that "the idea of an independent black political party now under discussion within black leadership circles would soon lose all support."

This memo was written before the Philadelphia Black Party convention.

"It is clear to us," the New York leaders observe, "that in light of the heavy CIA/FBI orientation of the present Reagan regime, and its nefarious policies against the worldwide Black movement, that NSC-46 is not one of the Carter Administration programs that has been scrapped!"

The FBI and other government agencies' attempts to disrupt and destroy the Black movement are not new, as the three brothers in the New York Black party explain. Exposing the actions of such finks to the Black community and to other working people is one way to exert pressure on the government to get its agents out of our organizations.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance trial against the FBI, INS, and other government agencies shows how the political police attempts to harass and "cause confusion" in the working class movement.

The socialist suit helped to expose the COINTELPRO programs of the 1960s.

The revelation that FBI agents are seeking to destroy the newly-established Black party is further proof why all Blacks should defend the right of the NBIPP to function, free of government interference. It also provides another reason for supporting and publicizing the socialist suit in the Black community.

New film: 'The Case of the Legless Veteran'

By Dick Roberts

SAN FRANCISCO—An important documentary film about the witch-hunt of the 1950s was premiered here May 2 before an audience of 300 at the Bay Area Filmmakers Showcase. Entitled *The Case of the Legless Veteran: James Kutcher*, the 58-minute film was produced and directed by Howard Petrick.

It is the story of a clerk in the Veterans Administration who was fired in 1948 because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher lost his legs at the battle of San Pietro during World War II.

Nevertheless, he was charged with subversion and fired. Kutcher fought for ten years against the Federal Employee Loyalty Program. In this difficult time, the government at one point went so far as to attempt to evict Kutcher's aged parents from their apartment because Kutcher dared to fight.

Ultimately, Kutcher won reversal of the decision and reinstatement at his job.

Petrick tells this story through an intermixture of news footage of the time and interviews with the central people involved in the case. The result is a vivid description and analysis of the ten-year struggle.

It brings out what today is little known about the McCarthyite period. Working people like Jimmy Kutcher, side-by-side with blacklisted actors and writers, were victims of this scourge.

Just as important, the film shows how to fight against the witch-hunters and defeat them.

Petrick himself was also a target of witch-hunters in 1967, when he was in the Army. He was arrested at Fort Hood, Texas, for organizing antiwar activities among the GIs. Faced with court martial, Petrick launched a civil liberties struggle and in 1971 won an honorable discharge.

"There are always infringements of civil liberties," Petrick told me in San Francisco. "I wanted to make a film that shows how to fight against those infringements."

The film does this through the interviews. It is mainly narrated by Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the SWP. Dobbs explains the policies of the government at every turn of historical events. And he explains how the SWP mapped out Kutcher's defense.

Others interviewed include journalist I.F. Stone, who coined the phrase "the case of a legless veteran"; Joseph Rauh, Jr., lawyer for Kutcher, playwrights Arthur Miller and Lillian Hellman; and George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Of course, the central person interviewed is Kutcher himself, who tells his own history; how it felt to be spotlighted in such an important civil liberties struggle, and why he wanted to conduct the fight.

Kutcher won admiration from the viewers in the San Francisco audience. "I was impressed by the almost off-way Jimmy put his finger on the main points," one viewer remarked.

The film was edited by Debra McDermott-Seligman along with Petrick. And

the cinematography was done by Ashley James.

Petrick dug deep into archival material to bring alive the period leading up to the case and the case itself. Sources included the National Archives, Library of Congress, NBC-TV, Pentagon, Veterans Administration, *New York Times*, *Militant*, and Library of Social History.

There is news footage of President Truman's main speeches launching the witch-hunt attacks, of Eisenhower and Churchill, of actors before the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, of events surrounding the Rosenberg execution and the Smith Act trials. Also a 1950 TV interview with Farrell Dobbs explaining why U.S. intervention in Korea should be ended immediately and the American troops brought home.

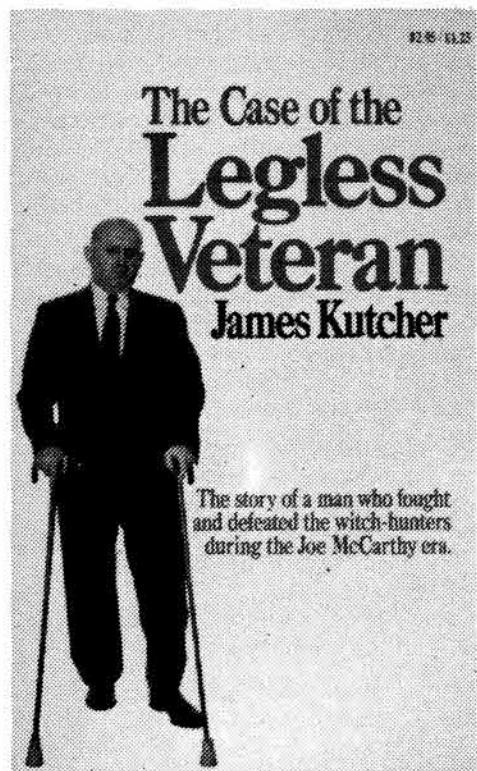
The climax of the Kutcher case was precipitated in 1955 by the government's attempt to revoke Kutcher's disability pension. This provoked such public outrage that after eight years of closed hearings the Loyalty Board was forced to open its doors.

We see the historic TV footage of this kangaroo court event, where Kutcher tells the board why he is a socialist.

From start to finish, this movie is a compact education about the struggle for civil liberties in this country. With the Socialist Workers Party again in the courts battling for the rights of Americans to hold socialist political views, this review of a proud chapter in the party's history couldn't be more timely. "It fits like a glove," Dobbs said at the

San Francisco viewing.

The film will initially be made available for fundraising purposes through the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 691-3270.



Kutcher's book on his case.

What media are saying about the trial

By Michael Baumann

"At issue is the right to free speech in general, and specifically the right of socialists to hold and promote their ideas."
—'Guardian,' April 22.

"One of the most significant civil liberties cases in litigation—and the first major test of alleged government harassment aimed at a political group."
—'Washington Post,' May 1.

You can go to the trial.

You can read about it, in detail in the *Militant*.

You might see something in your local newspaper, or in one of the radical weeklies.

But you'll find damn little on the socialists' trial against government spying in the major daily newspapers, and nothing on network TV or in the national newsmagazines.

'Brown-out'

The *Washington Post* is a good example of this editorial brown-out. The *Post* has published one article on the trial, on May 1, nearly a month after it opened. This despite their own conclusion that the case is "one of the most significant" now going on the country. (The article has subsequently appeared in other newspapers, including the *Boston Globe*.)

The *New York Times*, the big-business "newspaper of record," has left the record of the trial pretty thin. Three articles have appeared.

The first, April 3, announced the beginning of the trial and summarized the opening arguments of the socialists and the government.

The second, April 26, focused on the socialists' practice of shredding financial records. Not mentioned even once was their testimony in court stating the reason why—to keep the names of contributors out of the hands of the political police.

The third, May 1, is a report on the Immigration Service's threat to begin deportation proceedings against members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In local media, the picture has been brighter. In cities where socialists and supporters of civil liberties have organized news conferences to get out the facts, some substantial coverage has resulted.

In Cincinnati, both daily newspapers, the *Post* and the *Enquirer*, covered a May 4 news conference protesting the recent deportation threat against SWP members. The news conference, hosted by the Political Rights Defense Fund, heard from Margie Robertson, head of the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Dr. Morris Starsky, an SWP member fired from the faculty of Arizona State University in

Big response on Black station

When WLIB, New York City's popular Black radio station, hosted a call-in show recently on the socialists' suit against government spying, the response was "absolutely fantastic," says Susan Wald.

"People called in from all over the tristate area to talk, not just about the suit, but to ask what the Socialist Workers Party's program was. What we would do if we were in power. What we represent as opposed to the Democrats and Republicans."

Wald, who is the SWP candidate for City Council president, said there was special interest in the socialists' fight against the Immigration service.

Socialist Workers Accuse U.S. of 45 Years' Harassment

By Joyce Watler
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, April 30—Fred Halstead, a Socialist Workers Party activist of middle age, spoke for many in the movement as the party's suit against the government proceeded here last week.

"I've been waiting for this trial my whole life," he said, "but I didn't think I'd be the plaintiff. I thought I'd be the defendant."

He is 55, a third-generation Socialist, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party for 33 years. Like many in the party, he claims that as long as he has been a Socialist he has been hounded by the government, losing his job as a merchant seaman as a young man, receiving anonymous hate mail as an adult.

"Now, however, it is the federal gov-

ernment, and waging a "campaign of disruption and defamation." It also asks that the government be prevented from similar actions in the future.

The government does not dispute that an "intelligence gathering" took place. But it maintains that the FBI investigation of the Socialist Workers Party was "a legitimate good-faith investigation for both criminal and intelligence purposes" and that "the FBI has been authorized, since the days of President Roosevelt, to conduct intelligence-gathering activities in this country."

"The issue," the government said, in a pre-trial memorandum, "is whether the government has a right to keep itself informed on the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure of the

Aliens In SWP May Face Deportation

Thousands of legal aliens who belong to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are in jeopardy of deportation as a result of a government "offensive against the Bill of Rights," charged a party member and an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) official Monday.

"Anyone not naturalized in the United States,"

The review was acknowledged by immigration official Glenn A. Bertness in his testimony last week in New York City federal court during the trial of the party's \$40 million lawsuit against the government.

At the trial,

definition. "Across the country there are thousands." "It's an extremely dangerous thing and looks like an attempt to turn the clock back."

Scottish Socialist espouses cause of 'working poor'

By Dorothy Austin

FROM THE GRIME of industrial Glasgow to the coal and rock dust of a West Virginia coal mine, Marian Bustin has followed an alternate route. Where it leads, she does not know.

One of six children from a poor working-

Phillips, W. Va., to work as a conveyor-belt cleaner for \$9.50 an hour with some differential pay for various shifts.

"WHEN THE COAL slips off the belt, I shove it back on," she said. She works 500 feet below ground, and does not find the work strenuous. But she does find it strange and occasionally uncomfortable to be underground, and at times not be able to stand up straight. But she did not wish to exaggerate. She has had the job for 18 months.

She has had the job for 18 months.

tration, "surprising entries" and the use of anonymous letters.

She also said that she had been followed and investigated by the FBI and that there may be efforts to deport her, perhaps as an undesirable alien.

She conceded that there may be laws or rules against political activity by non-citizens, but she maintained that these are unfair and should be changed.

"If you are born in Scotland, or born somewhere else, you do not stop being a thinking person," she said. "I just believe it's a violation of human rights to single out someone because she's foreign born."

torney probed the SWP national financial officer for possible misdeeds in the party's spending operations, he produced a copy of a check stub marked "F."

"Would that be an initial for 'foreign'?" he asked. Waiting for a dramatic hush to punctuate his question, the lawyer quickly went on when the audience tittered.

Plaintiff's 4/29 Milwaukee

cause of 'working poor'

"We think there ought to be a labor party here, a party that would fight for the workers," she said.

On that basis, her party supports the miners' strike. She said that several provisions in the proposed contract are in question, and she paged through the contract to find the exact wording of those that clause. One calls for a probationary period for new miners.

"WHILE A PROBATIONARY period is common in many industries, coal mining is extremely hazardous, and a probationary period would mean that the new miner would be working for 45 days without union protection," she said.

That clause were adopted, she said, all non-union miners would be non-union business. She said that the clause would be a violation of human rights.

Some of the recent news articles on socialists' trial against government spying.

1970 because of his stand against the Vietnam War.

Prominent in the reports by both dailies were the results of follow-up inquiries they made at INS national headquarters in Washington, confirming Robertson and Starsky's charges.

Starsky's own case was featured in the April 15-21 issue of the Arizona alternative weekly *New Times*.

In Salt Lake City, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret News* reported on a news conference held the day the trial opened.

Lockheed firings

André Kahlmorgen was interviewed by her hometown newspaper, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, in connection with the trial.

Kahlmorgen is one of the fifteen Lockheed-Georgia workers fired last December for their political views. She was quoted extensively in the paper's April 30 issue on the relation between those dismissals and the socialists' suit.

"[Company] documents unearthed after the Lockheed firings," the *Journal-Constitution* reported, "show that the company authorized investigation and surveillance of party members and contacted the FBI about getting help in that work."

Big Red, a Brooklyn Black weekly widely read throughout the New York City area, reported on the trial April 25. It cites in particular an aspect of the

case involving a local employer—a shipbuilding company in the Brooklyn Navy Yard that fired five workers for their socialist views, only to be forced to reinstate them the following day.

FBI publicity

Typical FBI work in the course of the trial itself resulted in media coverage on opposite sides of the country.

When the names of two elected public officials—Mel Mason, a socialist city councilman in Seaside, California, and Bernard Sanders, the recently elected mayor of Burlington, Vermont—came up one day during trial testimony, the FBI immediately investigated them. This triggered a protest.

In the case of Sanders, who ran as an independent against the Democratic and Republican candidates, an editorial in the *Burlington Free Press* demanded from the FBI "an apology to Sanders and the citizens of the city."

Héctor Marroquín

Another source of publicity for the trial has come from speaking engagements by socialists around the country.

In Boston, the *Tufts University Observer* published an interview with Héctor Marroquín, an SWP member who faces an order of deportation.

Under the headline "Young Mexican socialist denied asylum," the *Observer* tells how "the FBI wants to deport Marroquín back to a certain death in Mexico because he holds socialist beliefs," and explains that his case is part of the trial under way in federal court.

Marian Bustin, a Scottish-born coal miner out on strike with the rest of the United Mine Workers union, has been speaking in several cities on the fight against government attempts to deport her for her socialist views.

Prior to a recent speaking engagement in the Midwest, Bustin was interviewed by the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. The interview, published as the lead article on the women's page, covered the issues in the trial, discriminatory use of immigration legislation, and the facts behind the coal strike.

An interview on the suit with touring SWP leader Richard Ariza appeared in the March 31 issue of the *Arizona State University Daily Wildcat*.

Two legal journals, *Guild Notes*, published by the National Lawyers Guild, and the *National Law Journal* have published major articles on the trial.

The article in the *Guild Notes* in-

cludes a statement by NLG President Mary Alice Theiler endorsing the suit and commending the socialists for their efforts "to expose to as many people as possible these illegal attempts to deny people their basic rights to organize."

The 'Guardian'

Two weeklies on the left have given prominent coverage to the trial.

The *Guardian*, published in New York, has provided regular news of developments in the case since the trial opened and has strongly endorsed the socialists' suit.

An editorial in its April 22 issue, entitled "The stakes are high," said in part:

"At issue is the right to free speech in general, and specifically the right of socialists to hold and promote their ideas."

"While the *Guardian* differs politically with the SWP, the largest Trotskyist formation in the U.S., we believe it is incumbent upon left and progressive people to understand the far-reaching implications of the current trial. It is not just the SWP that must face the government's accusations. In a fundamental sense, it is Marxism itself that is on trial. All progressive people would bear the brunt of an adverse decision."

'In These Times'

In *These Times*, published in Chicago, printed a substantial article on the trial in its May 6-12 issue. Noted in particular is how much information about FBI crimes has "surfaced as a result of the SWP's persistence."

"Out of these painstaking legal proceedings we have learned of 'Operation Chaos,' targeting college campuses; the 'SWP Disruption Program,' a program aimed directly at the party that sponsored over 90 burglaries of party offices and 1,300 informers; COINTELPRO plots to sow confusion and violence among antiwar and black power groups; and infiltration of the women's liberation movement at the personal behest of J. Edgar Hoover. People discovered how their lives had been disrupted—often ruined—as files confirmed that informers and agents had sent anonymous letters, phoned employers, parents, landlords to report their political activities."

Coverage of the trial has also appeared in *Workers Viewpoint*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Workers Party.

What's at stake for labor in SWP suit

By Malik Miah

The United Mine Workers of America, the United Steelworkers of America, the United Auto Workers and other unions should consider sending representatives to the federal district courthouse in New York's Foley Square.

The most important political trial in decades is occurring there. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are suing the government for over forty years of spying and harassment.

The outcome of the trial will affect the major industrial unions and all supporters of democratic rights.

Labor and finks

Throughout American history, the government and bosses have worked hand-in-hand to make America "union free."

How? By hiring informers—who many times are double-dipping as employees of the company and the FBI.

The aim of these finks has been simple: to frame up and victimize labor organizers—by any means necessary.

Many in the labor movement know from this rich history why the socialist case is of concern to them. It is not surprising that more labor officials and union members are supporting the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is gathering endorsers and raising money to help pay for the expenses of the trial.

PRDF

PRDF is seeking to raise \$125,000. So far, \$57,000 has been pledged, and half of that collected. This shows a big effort is needed to meet the goal.

Broadly sponsored rallies, cocktail parties and other fundraising events—where union officials will be among the speakers—are being organized to help in these fundraising efforts. (See box below.)

The labor movement's growing understanding of the case is reflected in a support statement by UAW President Douglas Fraser. Fraser said:

"The fact that the causes espoused by a specific party may be unpopular or controversial should have no bear-

ing on its constitutional right to operate.

"Police state tactics are not only unconstitutional but are abhorrent to the spirit of a free and democratic country and should not be tolerated."

Other union sponsors include: the International Executive Board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Edward Clinch, director, International Association of Machinists, District 98; Alice Peurala, president, United Steelworkers of America, Local 65; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, United Auto Workers; Michigan Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO; Minnesota Federation of Teachers, Local 59, AFL-CIO; James Mangan, manager, Twin Cities Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Henry Foner, president, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Joint Board, New York City, AFL-CIO; Moe Foner, executive secretary, District 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, New York City, AFL-CIO; Local 255, International Chemical Workers Union, Los Angeles; and Lodge 1380 Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Seattle.

Modern spying

Why labor organizations are backing the socialist suit is seen in two recent examples of government and company spying and harassment.

Fifteen workers at Lockheed's giant aerospace plant in Georgia were fired last fall allegedly for "falsification" of their employment applications.

Most of the fifteen workers are members of the SWP and YSA. Through the national lawsuit, Lockheed was forced to turn over secret, internal documents to the workers.

What did these documents show?

How the bosses regularly spy on the workforce, spy on union meetings, follow employees off the job, spy on political activities, and pry into workers' personal lives.

This violation of the workers' democratic rights is considered a normal company-employee relationship by the Lockheed management and its security



FBI-paid provocateur helped union-busting plot in San Diego shipyard. Victims of 'bomb conspiracy' frame-up are IAM member Mark Loo, and Ironworkers David Boyd and Rodney Johnson, shown with attorney Leonard Weinglass.

man, a former FBI agent.

So far, the fifteen workers have not gotten their jobs back. Significantly, scores of labor officials, civil liberties supporters, and others have sent protest telegrams to Lockheed.

A second example of government and company collusion against the rights of workers is seen in San Diego, California.

On April 28, the trial of three fired employees of the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO) began. The three are charged by federal indictment with conspiracy to bomb the shipyard and failure to register destructive devices.

This is a classic case of government and company use of *agent provocateurs*.

The three workers were part of a broader rank-and-file leadership at the yard. They helped to organize rallies

and other protests against the dangerous working conditions and substandard wages.

In response to this militancy, the company sent an undercover cop, Ramon Barton, into the yard. He quickly became one of the most belligerent workers against the company.

When the struggles began to make real progress, however, Barton emerged as a cop. He alleged that the three workers were planning to blow up a power plant.

Interestingly, Barton was a fink for the company, the San Diego Red Squad, and the FBI. The FBI paid him several thousand dollars.

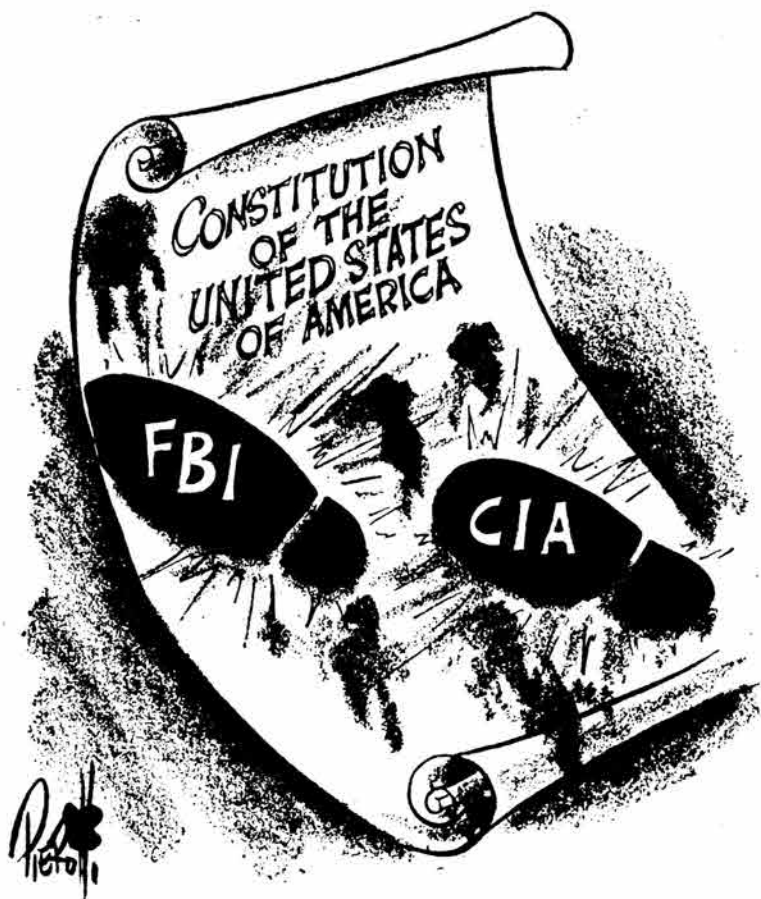
These two examples highlight how the companies and government work together to deny workers their rights on and off the job. It is good reason for the labor movement and all working people to support the socialist suit.

Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

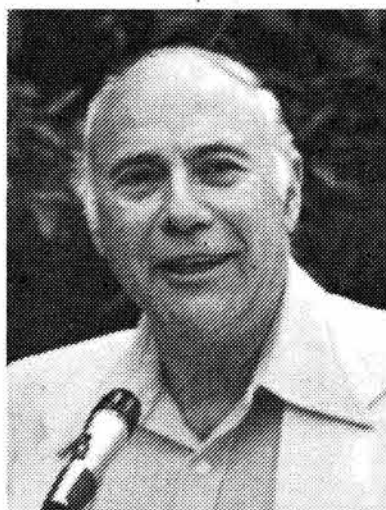
Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund are planning rallies across the country during May and June. Up-to-the-minute trial news on the Socialist Workers Party \$40 million lawsuit against the government will be a main attraction.

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	June 6	New York (212) 533-2902
May 21	Burlington, Vt. (212) 691-3270	June 6	San Diego (714) 234-4630
May 29	Schenectady (518) 374-1494	June 10	Miami (305) 769-3478
May 30	Louisville (502) 587-8418	June 13	St. Louis (314) 725-1570
May 30	Philadelphia (215) 927-4747	June 13	Seattle (206) 723-5330
May 30	Salt Lake City (801) 355-1124	June 14	Portland (503) 222-7225
May 30	Twin Cities (612) 644-6325	June 14	San Francisco (415) 824-1992
May 31	Detroit (313) 875-5322	June 14	San Jose (408) 998-4007
June 6	Piedmont (919) 723-3419	June 14	Oakland (415) 763-3792
June 6	Cincinnati (513) 751-2636		



Nationwide protests against deportation threat



Militant/Harry Ring



Cineaste/Wendy Zhevtlin



Militant/Harry Ring

Hollywood blacklist victims John Randolph, Albert Maltz, and Ring Lardner, Jr. are among prominent endorsers of trial against FBI, CIA, and INS harassment.

Los Angeles

By Rebecca Finch

LOS ANGELES—When news of the threat to review deportation status of members of the SWP and YSA reached Los Angeles, members of both groups and supporters of the socialist lawsuit moved into action.

An ambitious campaign was mapped out in conjunction with the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to reach the campuses, trade unions, Black and Latino groups, and liberal and left-wing organizations. PRDF has been coordinating financial and other support for the suit since it was originally filed in 1973.

A special media committee was set up.

And a series of fundraising projects was begun.

Already impressive new support has been won.

An afternoon reception was sponsored by PRDF on Sunday, May 2, to explain the threat from the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to introduce some of the witnesses from the trial to supporters of the lawsuit.

A longshore worker who attended took literature and committed himself to try to get a speaker about the lawsuit before the executive board of the two Longshore locals in the area. A member of the Communications Workers of America did the same. Another supporter, who is familiar with the Los Angeles media, agreed to help try to break the press blackout. Over \$1050 in pledges and contributions was raised.

Then a special telephone campaign was launched to ask for participation in a special protest delegation that would go to the INS May 12. Those who could not attend were asked to sign an open letter to the commissioner of the INS, or send a statement that could be read to the press at the time of the delegation meeting.

"The response to this was very good," said PRDF spokesperson Jerry Freiwirth. "Two blacklistees from the entertainment industry, John Randolph and Albert Maltz, signed the open letter. Mark Ridley-Thomas, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), in Los Angeles, endorsed the socialist lawsuit and signed the open letter.

"About a dozen groups, including the Citizens Commission on Police Repression, the Socialist Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, La Raza Unida

Party, and the National Lawyers Guild are going to send representatives to participate in the INS delegation."

New support is being won for the lawsuit in the labor movement as a result of the work that is being done.

Supporters of the lawsuit distributed literature about it at a demonstration called by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. One of those who received some was Ruben Saenz, Jr., the recording secretary for Local 255 of the International Chemical Workers Union. The 180 workers in the local, who make asbestos pipe, are currently on strike.

Three days after the brown lung demonstration, PRDF representatives called Saenz to ask him for his endorsement. He informed them that not only had he endorsed the suit, but his entire local had as well. They had mailed the endorser card along with a check to the Political Rights Defense Fund in New York.

Steve Cooney, general manager of Service Employees Local 660, the largest public employees union in California, added his name to the open letter.

Supporters of the lawsuit are now initiating discussions with about fifty other labor officials to seek their support.

In addition, a special mailing was done by PRDF to professors, student organizations, campus newspapers, and high schools, requesting speaking engagements and interviews for witnesses in the trial.

Potential for building support in the entertainment industry is especially great. Many here remember the blacklist of the McCarthy period.

"We've launched a special project to get many more signers for the Statement by Entertainment Industry Blacklistees that was first circulated by Ring Lardner, Jr.," said Patti Iiyama, another activist working on the lawsuit for the Political Rights Defense Fund. "With the help of some of the original signers of the letter, we are compiling an additional list of fifty to one hundred blacklistees and will be asking them to endorse the statement. Then we will reach out beyond that to entertainers who were not blacklisted, but who would oppose the practice, and ask them for their support."

A special appeal for funds to help pay the legal expenses of the trial is being made to those in the entertainment industry.

New York

NEW YORK—"We condemn the Immigration and Naturalization Service's use of deportation or exclusion as a means to suppress political views with which it does not agree."

That's how a broad group of prominent individuals and organizations here responded when they learned about the INS's threat to deport members of the SWP and YSA.

Signers of the protest statement include Rev. Daniel Berrigan; Noel Correa, from Casa Nicaragua*; the *Guardian* newspaper; Jim Haughton, from Harlem Fightback; and the Haitian Fathers.

Also, Paul O'Dwyer, former president of the New York City Council; Bertell Ollman, professor at New York University; author Grace Paley; Mary Alice Theiler, president of the

National Lawyers Guild; the New York City chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff; Michael Harrington, of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and Frank Durkan, attorney for Dessie Mackin, a jailed IRA supporter who also faces deportation.

An emergency picket line at the INS offices here was held on May 5.

Representatives of the New York Mobilization for Survival joined that protest. Messages of support were sent by the New York Civil Liberties Union and the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women.

*Organizations for identification only.

Philadelphia

By Josh Walton

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Fifty people picketed the Federal Building here May 5 to protest the INS threat to deport socialists.

Organizations represented at the picket line included the National Lawyers Guild, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Asociación del Istmo Centroamericano Nicaragüense (a Nicaraguan community organization), Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Philadelphia SANE, and the Consumer Party.

Max Weiner, of the Consumer Party, told the *Militant*

why so many groups came to picket: "If the government can successfully go after the Socialist Workers Party, then none of us are safe."

Another who recognizes the seriousness of the INS attack is Fae Stern, a longtime activist from Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

She told the *Militant* that although she was a child at the time, she remembers the Palmer Raids in the 1920s, when hundreds of foreign-born workers were deported.

"Only by people getting out in the streets will these kinds of things be stopped," Stern said.

Others walking in the picket line could be directly affected by the policies of the INS. Joe Miller, executive director of Philadelphia SANE, is a naturalized citizen.

"Wherever people around the world are fighting for their rights, they are under attack from the U.S. government," Miller remarked. "These cutbacks in social services and current moves against civil liberties go hand-in-hand."

Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With chants of "One, two, three, four, this ain't the fifties anymore!" a spirited picket line was held at the INS national headquarters here May 8.

Prior to the picket, Political Rights Defense Fund spokesperson Toba Singer was interviewed by WHUR, one of the most widely listened-to radio stations in the city.

Indianapolis

INDIANAPOLIS—Channel 4 TV, two radio stations, and the *Indianapolis Star* covered a news conference held here May 7 to protest the INS deportation threat.

Presented to the press was a message of protest to INS headquarters, signed by Henry Price, president of the Indiana American Civil Liberties Union, as well as by several local student leaders, professors, and civil rights attorneys.



In New York, Daniel Berrigan and Michael Harrington signed statement of protest to INS.



PRDF rally in New Orleans

By Michael Beslin

NEW ORLEANS—On April 25 the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) sponsored a support rally for the SWP trial against government spying.

One of the featured speakers was SWP National Chairperson Malik Miah, who gave a first-hand report on the trial.

Kalamu Ya Salaam, a leader of the Police Brutality Committee, pointed out, "In every demonstration for justice in New Orleans, the police come out with cameras and video equipment. . . . They use this information to try and incapacitate the leaders of the movement. We have to fight this by telling the truth to the people." The Police Brutality Committee is leading the fight to bring

to trial the police who murdered four Blacks in Algiers, Louisiana.

Dywood Belle, speaking for the organizing committee for a New Orleans chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, stressed the necessity for the Black movement to join with the socialists in fighting the FBI.

"COINTELPRO was designed to destroy the Black liberation movement," Belle said. "And today, as our people begin to struggle again, the same FBI gangsters who were involved in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King will be unleashed again."

"We have to do what the SWP is doing—fight to expose the government's disruption campaign."

Martin Lefstein, of the

People's Bookstore, attacked the hypocrisy of the U.S. government. "Progressive movements are always attacked by the police," Lefstein said, "but when right-wing terrorists strike, the police do nothing."

"They do nothing about the Somozaist guerrilla training camps in the Everglades or the Klan's camps. Their target is the progressive movements."

Rev. Jerome Owens of the A. Philip Randolph Institute gave greetings and expressed his support for the SWP lawsuit.

"When people in a democratic society can't express their beliefs, we're headed for serious trouble," Owens said.

Rally participants contributed \$1,158 to the Political Rights Defense Fund to help cover expenses of the trial.

May 3 march: blow to Washing

By Fred Feldman

The tens of thousands who converged on the Pentagon May 3 to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador have thrown a spotlight on the depth of the antiwar, antidraft sentiment that exists in this country. The widely publicized demonstration delivered a blow to the Reagan administration's drive toward war, and had a significant impact on the working class.

The war drive is at the heart of American politics today. Confronted by the gains scored by revolutionary struggles in Central America, Southern Africa, Iran, and Indochina, Washington is preparing new and vastly more murderous Vietnams.

It is using the threat of nuclear confrontation and nuclear war in an effort to impose its will on the toiling people of the world.

Stepped-up intervention

The week of the May 3 protest saw striking examples of administration moves to step up intervention on the side of brutal dictatorships and counterrevolutionary gangs.

On May 2, the State Department told the news media that the government will increase its support to reactionary forces seeking to topple the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea. The

basis of the counterrevolutionary front Washington is trying to create will be the terrorist Khmer Rouge army, headed by ousted dictator Pol Pot, responsible for millions of deaths. The latest moves are part of the attempt to tighten the screws on the Vietnamese revolution, which is also the target of an economic embargo.

Two days later, the administration announced plans to resume military aid to the dictatorship in Guatemala.

The latest moves fit into a course set from the first day of the administration, with the provision of aid and advisers to the Salvadoran junta as the most widely publicized example.

Other steps include the offer of up to \$1 billion in arms to the Argentine military dictatorship; the tacit support to exile groups in Florida and Honduras that are preparing a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua; and the mounting threats to Cuba and Grenada.

The U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf region is continuing. And we have the establishment of closer ties with the apartheid regime in South Africa; the cutoff of food aid to Mozambique; and the probes about legalizing CIA aid to South African-backed guerrillas in Angola.

Unable to provide even the hope of a better life to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Washington looks to war preparations to stem the tide of revolution.

Heart of offensive

The war drive is at the heart of the offensive waged by big business and the government against American working people.

It has shaped the Reagan budget, with its massive increases in arms spending and cuts in social services. The creation of new nuclear weapons systems like the MX missile—aimed at achieving a "first-strike" capability—and increases in the size of the armed forces are getting first priority.

The armed services have floated proposals to increase the "volunteer" army by 250,000 over the next few years.

Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) has introduced a bill reinstating the authority of the president to introduce conscription. And Rep. G.V. Montgomery (D-Miss.) has submitted a bill calling for drafting up to 200,000 people annually.

In addition to trying to convince American workers about the need for stepped-up military preparations and intervention, the ruling class is aiming to intimidate those who disagree. Hence the moves to strengthen the FBI and CIA, Reagan's demonstrative praise for FBI criminals in the pardon of Felt and Miller, and the smear of Mobilization for Survival—an antiwar, antinuclear group—at the opening



Top left, scene from April 25 rally in Denver against Rocky Flats nuclear weapons march and rally in Washington, D.C.

Protest Reagan at Notre Dame

A turnout of several thousand is expected to protest Ronald Reagan when he appears at Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana, on May 17.

A demonstration, set for 1 p.m., has been organized by the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador. It is endorsed by the Christian Committee on El Salvador, a Notre Dame University-based solidarity group, and the Indiana Latin America Network.

United Auto Workers Local 6 is involved in the effort and will be protesting plans to close down the Bendix plant in South Bend, as well as Reagan's appearance.

The National Organization for Women in Indiana, the Paddle Wheel Alliance, an anti-nuclear group in Indianapolis, and other groups will also be on hand that day.

Activists from Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, and other cities and states in the region are planning to participate.

The central theme of the protest will be, "Money for jobs, not for war; U.S. out of El Salvador."

New York rally hails Vietnam revolution, Salvad

By Nelson González

NEW YORK—"Our rally, held nearly one week after the huge May 3 demonstration in Washington to prevent an armed intervention in El Salvador, is the continued strong impetus of the American conscience to defend the nation's right to self-determination."

With these words, Ambassador Nguyen Ngoc Dung of the Permanent Mission of Vietnam to the United Nations opened her remarks to a May 9 meeting here in solidarity with Vietnam and El Salvador.

The rally, which drew 150 people, was initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos (CSVNKL) and cosponsored by a number of other organizations.

Hailing the sixth anniversary of Vietnam's 1975 victory, it linked defense of the Vietnamese and Indochinese revolutions to today's movement

against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Ambassador Dung, who was greeted with a standing ovation, told "of deep feelings still deeply kept in the memory of every Vietnamese. We consider American mothers, housewives, students, teachers, clergymen, lawyers, and workers who in the 1960s and 1970s contributed to the ending of the painful Vietnam war as the builders of the genuine friendship between the two peoples of Vietnam and the United States."

She pointed out that "the dream of so many Vietnamese generations—namely, national independence, liquidation of the century-old colonial yoke—has come true." But, she added, "a great number of problems have not yet been solved. The Vietnamese people have not enjoyed . . . peace." She cited the U.S.-supported invasion of Vietnam by China as an example, along with continuing threats from the

Chinese government.

"Last, but not least, the U.S. government has carried out an embargo policy vis-a-vis Vietnam, economic blockade . . . a policy that has been pursued against Cuba, Angola and newly-independent countries where revolution has just been successfully carried out."

Ambassador Dung expressed the solidarity of the Vietnamese people with the "struggle for peace, stability, and self-determination waged by their brothers and sisters in Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba . . . in the Southern part of Africa," and with "their Palestinian brothers and sisters."

The meeting was chaired by Abe Weisburd and Harriet Tanzman. Merle Rattner from CSVNKL blasted the Reagan administration's war drive, including its continued hostility to Vietnam.

There were an impressive array of

effect of deepening and spreading it.

The high-water mark thus far was May 3, when—in addition to the outpouring in Washington—10,000 marched in San Francisco, and 5,000 in Seattle, to protest U.S. support to the Salvadoran junta. The protest at the Pentagon was the biggest single antiwar action since January 1973.

As the May 13 *Guardian* pointed out in an editorial, "If the dispatch of a few dozen military advisers and the sending of arms and money to a rightist dictatorship in El Salvador, making threatening gestures to Cuba and Nicaragua in the process, can bring 100,000 angry people into the streets of Washington, what would it be like if Reagan tried to intervene massively as in Indochina?"

May 3 culminated two months of growing protest demonstrations on this issue, with tens of thousands participating in local actions March 24 and April 18 called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and other groups.

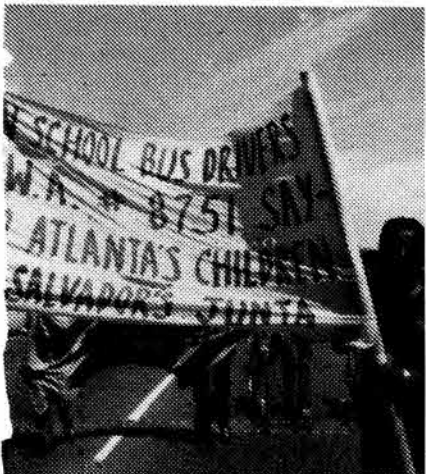
During the same period, nuclear weapons have been targets of rising protest. Some 5,000 marched April 25

international speakers and guests. These included representatives of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots, a group of Vietnamese living in the United States; supporters of the African National Congress, South African Blacks who are fighting apartheid; a member of the Angolan mission to the United States; a representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; and Joseph Canute Burke, Grenada's consul-general for North America.

Chan Bu Han, a Kampuchean national, described visiting his native land after an absence of ten years. He found that scores of his relatives had perished under the Pol Pot regime, which was toppled with the help of Vietnamese troops. He declared that the people of Kampuchea would "continue our revolutionary struggle for socialism."

A statement prepared for the rally by the United Nations mission of the Lao

on's war drive



s by Lou Howort, Roberto Kopec, and Rose Peery

other photos are of May 3 antiwar

demand a shutdown of the Rocky
ts, Colorado, weapons plant, and
00 protested the MX missile in Salt
e City on May 2.

urches voice opposition

The danger of nuclear war is also
ring wider opposition in the
urches. "In a time of political pres-
e for more U.S. arms buildup,"
orted Associated Press religion wri-
George Cornell, "Christianity has
ome increasingly skeptical about
ether modern warfare can ever be
rally justified, especially if it in-
ves nuclear weapons."

He cited Rev. J. Bryan Hehir, whom
described as the Catholic Church's
chief expert on the issue," as saying
at the emergence of nuclear weapons
s "provoked an increasing moral
pticism about the legitimacy of the
of force to resolve political prob-
as."

Hehir added, "We are unconvinced
at limited nuclear war can be fought
thin the confines of a just-war
ic."

The pressure of the broadening oppo-
sion to war and nuclear weapons is

reflected in the stands taken by a
growing number of church leaderships.
The National Conference of Catholic
Bishops has continued to oppose U.S.
policy in El Salvador, joined by a wide
range of Protestant and evangelical
groups.

The Reagan administration was par-
ticularly shaken when the leaders of
the Mormon Church—the dominant
force in Utah and normally a bedrock
of support to right-wing policies—
declared its opposition to the MX mis-
sile. Church leaders described the MX
as "a denial of the very essence" of the
"gospel of peace to the peoples of the
earth."

The failure of Reagan's policies to
reverse the "Vietnam syndrome" is
spurring tactical differences in the
ruling class over how to proceed with
the war drive.

That is why the capitalist media
gave significant coverage to the May 3
action.

The impact of May 3 was also sig-
naled when the Senate Foreign Rela-
tions Committee voted May 11 to make
U.S. aid to El Salvador conditional on
assurances from Reagan that "signifi-
cant progress" is being made in assur-
ing human rights.

This move will not change the ad-
ministration's course—and is not in-
tended to. It is an attempt by the
Senate committee to give U.S. military
intervention a more attractive face.

May 3 and working class

Actions like the May 3 protest, uni-
ting a wide range of organizations and
involving participants from all walks
of life, have a powerful effect on the
working class. They reinforce and ex-
tend the antidraft, antiwar sentiment
that already runs strong among mil-
lions of union members. Public em-
ployees, auto workers, electrical work-
ers, and other unionists joined the May
3 march.

The widespread protests have also
helped inspire the formation of labor
committees on El Salvador in San Jose
and New York. Speakers from the
Revolutionary Democratic Front of El
Salvador have appeared before dozens
of union meetings.

Buoyed by actions like May 3, the
opposition in the unions to U.S. inter-
vention puts those who support the
government's role—like AFL-CIO Pres-
ident Lane Kirkland—increasingly on
the defensive.

Actions like May 3 also play an
indispensable role in bringing into
motion the forces that can stop the
U.S. war drive—the tens of millions of
American working people. Mass ac-
tions—even bigger and broader—will
be needed as part of the struggle to
stay the hands of the nuclear-armed
madmen in the White House and the
Pentagon.

r struggle

ople's Democratic Republic ex-
essed firm support to the cause of the
Salvadoran people.

"At the present time, the valiant
ople of Salvador under the direction
the Democratic Revolutionary Front
ages an unyielding struggle against
e oppression of the fascist junta that
lds power and serves the interest of
perialism. . . . The Lao people voice
support to this struggle and will
and firmly on the side of the people
El Salvador until the total defeat of
s fascist clique.

The Lao People's Democratic Re-
public reiterates its militant solidarity
th the brotherly peoples of Cuba,
icaragua, and Grenada."

The meeting gave impetus to de-
ands that the U.S. government recog-
ze the Vietnamese and Kampuchean
overnments, stop aiding counter-revo-
lutionary forces in the region, and lift
e economic embargo against Viet-
am.



Militant/Lou Howort
Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Vietnamese am-
bassador to the United Nations, at May
9 rally.

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

FMLN/FDR greetings to May 3 demonstration

The following message was sent to the massive May 3 antiwar march
in Washington:

The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the
Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) hereby extend our warmest
greetings on behalf of the people of El Salvador and congratulate you for
the solidarity you have harnessed for our people in this event.

Your presence among thousands of *compañeras* and *compañeros*
represents the overwhelming repudiation of the people of the United
States to the interventionist and military policies of President Reagan
who in the last four months has provided fifty-six military advisors and
over \$30 million in military aid to the genocidal Salvadorean Junta.

Your participation in today's march also manifests the historical
commitment of the people of the United States and El Salvador to
struggle together to bring to a halt the military aid from the United
States government, to topple the Military Christian Democratic Junta,
and to reinstate a broad-based democratic and revolutionary government
determined to respect human rights and to be truly representative of the
interests of the Salvadorean people in order to implement the economic
and political transformations necessary to bring peace to our embattled
country.

The historical commitment of our peoples has been sealed with the
blood of more than 18,000 Salvadoreans and at least six citizens of the
United States who were cowardly assassinated by the Military Christian
Democratic Junta. The blood shed by our peoples must give North
Americans the strength to develop a broad solidarity movement aimed at
withdrawing all military advisors and stopping the military aid sent by
President Reagan. It is urgently necessary to contain the increasing
amounts of aid before the Administration decides—as in the case of Viet-
Nam—to send large-scale shipments of U.S. troops. Such action would
unnecessarily prolong the Salvadorean conflict and would trigger its
expansion to the entire Central American region.

The blood shed by Salvadoreans and North Americans commits the
FMLN-FDR, as the legitimate representative of the Salvadorean people,
to express our solidarity with the other demands of this demonstration
and to reiterate our unbreakable determination to struggle until we
overthrow the military dictatorship that has repressed the Salvadorean
people for more than forty-nine years in order to safeguard an unjust
economic structure.

Our triumph is inevitable since it counts with your support and since it
is based on the Salvadorean people's firm decision to struggle in unity
until the final victory.

REVOLUTION OR DEATH!!! WE SHALL WIN!!!

UNITED IN STRUGGLE UNTIL THE FINAL VICTORY!!!

'Mexico will defend cause of Nicaragua'

As military threats to the Nicaraguan revolution from the U.S.-backed
dictatorship in Honduras continue to mount, President José López
Portillo of Mexico has reiterated his government's commitment to
maintain close ties and provide extensive aid to the Sandinista regime in
Managua.

"Mexico will defend the cause of Nicaragua as its own," López Portillo
declared on May 6, during an official visit to Mexico by Commander
Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruc-
tion.

The Mexican president assailed Washington for "presenting Nicaragua
as a passing domino in a vast plot to destroy Western democracy." He
also expressed "deep worry" over recent attacks on Nicaragua by
counterrevolutionaries operating with impunity from Honduran territory.

Ortega and López Portillo signed a series of agreements under which
Mexico will increase its economic, commercial, technical, and cultural
assistance to Nicaragua. Such aid will reportedly total some \$200 million
during the next two years.

Reagan to resume Guatemala aid

The Reagan administration is preparing to resume military aid to the
right-wing terrorist regime of Gen. Romeo Lucas García in Guatemala.

Claiming that the Lucas regime faces a "major insurgency" with
"strong Communist worldwide support," John Bushnell of the State
Department told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 4 that
Washington "is disposed to support Guatemala."

Two days later, the State Department announced that Gen. Vernon
Walters (ex-deputy director of the CIA) and former U.S. ambassador to
Guatemala Frank Ortiz would soon travel to the Central American
country to work out arrangements for resuming military aid. On May 7,
Lucas García's foreign minister, Rafael Castillo Valdez, left Guatemala
for talks in Washington on the same subject.

Guatemala's military rulers have not received U.S. arms aid since 1977,
when they rejected a \$2.1 million offer because of State Department
criticisms over human-rights violations. Since then, however, the Pen-
tagon has helped Lucas and company secure arms, training, and
technical aid from Israel, Chile, and Argentina.

—Nelson González



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Jamaica's struggle against U.S. domination—Part I

Beginning this week, we are serializing Ernest Harsch's article on Jamaica, which appeared in the April 27 'Intercontinental Press.' Harsch takes up last year's electoral victory of Edward Seaga over Michael Manley in the context of U.S. imperialism's drive to contain the revolution in the Caribbean.

In part one of the article, Harsch reviews the anticolonial struggles of the Jamaican masses and the origins of Seaga's Jamaica Labor Party and Manley's People's National Party.

By Ernest Harsch

The new governments in Washington and Kingston have wasted little time in consolidating their reactionary alliance.

On February 23—less than a month after President Reagan welcomed Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga to the White House—a U.S. destroyer pulled into the Kingston docks. Its visit was part of a series of U.S. naval maneuvers in the Caribbean aimed at intimidating the people of El Salvador and other countries.

Then in early March, a team of leading U.S. businessmen arrived in Kingston to discuss with their Jamaican counterparts ways to increase U.S. investment in Jamaica. The team—which was named by Reagan—included Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller and the heads of Exxon, Gulf and Western, Alcoa, Kaiser Aluminum, Reynolds Aluminum, United Brands, and other large corporations, most of them with interests in Jamaica.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig has designated a senior adviser to the joint U.S.-Jamaican business committee to "help assure harmony with United States Government policy."

Jamaica News columnist Aggrey Brown commented, "Lest any natives continue to harbour the illusion that we are not for sale, let it be said, 'We are not for sale.'"

"We have been sold."

A proimperialist regime

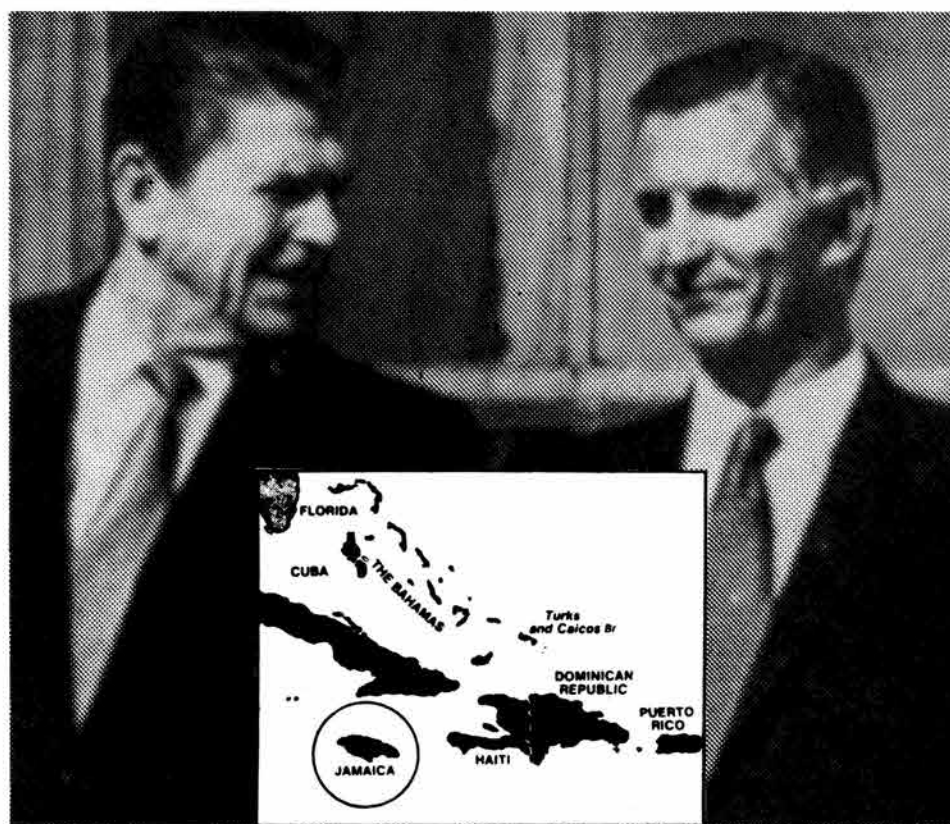
Since Edward Seaga came into power in early November—following a brutal U.S.-inspired destabilization campaign against the previous government of Michael Manley—he has adopted policies very much to the liking of his mentors in Washington.

Job programs have been cut and prices have been raised, while more funds and arms are being allocated for the police and military. Repression has been unleashed against radical political activists.

Plans have been announced to turn some nationalized enterprises over to private concerns and to revise the country's rent control laws. Government supporters have called for steps to control Jamaica's restive trade unions.

On foreign policy questions, Seaga has lined up with Washington's offensive against the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

One of his first acts was to expel the Cuban ambassador to Jamaica and sharply reduce Jamaica's relations with Cuba. A witch-hunt has been launched against young Jamaicans who have studied in Cuba.



Ronald Reagan with Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga

The imperialist governments and banks have shown their gratitude to Seaga by pledging hundreds of millions of dollars in loans. In addition, the International Monetary Fund has tentatively approved \$650 million in new credits to Jamaica. This is in sharp contrast to their attitude toward the Manley government, which they helped undermine through a severe financial embargo.

As Seaga's policies have already shown, his regime does not represent the interests of Jamaica's working population, the mostly Black workers and farmers who make up the vast bulk of the island's more than two million people. It represents the interests of the North American and British bankers and industrialists who dominate the Jamaican economy, plus the tiny elite of wealthy—and mostly white—Jamaican capitalists who are allied with the foreign companies.

New stage

The U.S. imposition of the Seaga regime was an attack against the sovereign rights of the Jamaican people. It marked the beginning of a new stage in the long conflict between the people of Jamaica and their foreign oppressors.

What Jamaicans want is to be able to decide their own future, and to be able to utilize the wealth they produce for their own benefit.

But the U.S. rulers have shown that they will not willingly accept that. What they want is unrestricted access to Jamaica's bountiful natural resources, including some of the world's richest deposits of bauxite, the raw material from which aluminum is made. They want to be able to employ Jamaica's workers at the lowest possible wages, without having to deal with strong unions. They want a government in power that will readily follow Washington's foreign policy dictates.

That is the same thing they are after in the rest of the Caribbean, a region of great political and economic importance, which the American ruling class

has long considered an "American lake." And to protect its interests, it has repeatedly intervened in the Caribbean with troops and other means.

Role in region

Jamaica is important to Washington in its own right. But it is even more important within the context of the Caribbean as a whole. It is the largest and most populous of the English-speaking islands. It is very close to Cuba and Haiti, and only 400 miles from Central America. Political developments in Jamaica have often had a big political impact in countries as far away as Trinidad and Guyana.

There are also historical links between the people of Jamaica and the struggle of U.S. Blacks. Marcus Garvey, the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the first mass Black political organization in the United States, was a Jamaican.

Thus, the outcome of the struggle in Jamaica will not only decide the future of that island, but will have profound repercussions far from its shores as well.

United Fruit Co.

American business has had a direct stake in Jamaica for nearly 100 years. The United Fruit Company, which later became notorious for its exploitation of Central America, first moved into Jamaica in the 1890s, at a time when it was still a direct British colony.

For several decades, the American companies were junior partners in the exploitation of the country. But American involvement in Jamaica grew. Gradually, U.S. imperialism supplanted the British as the dominant foreign influence over the island.

By the 1930s, however, the American and British imperialists began to face stiffer opposition from the Jamaican population, opposition that was fueled to a great extent by their deteriorating living standards.

The expansion of commercial export

crops like bananas and sugar used up more and more land and drove tens of thousands of small farmers off their plots. The rural unemployed and landless flocked to the cities in the hopes of finding jobs. Huge shantytowns arose in the western areas of Kingston. Urban discontent became rife.

A similar situation prevailed throughout Britain's Caribbean empire. And almost everywhere the workers responded in the same way: through massive strikes and the organization of trade unions. Beginning in 1934, big strikes and urban uprisings swept through the region, hitting Trinidad, Guyana, St. Kitts, Barbados, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia.

'37-'38 strikes

In 1937-38, it was Jamaica's turn to explode. First, spontaneous strikes by sugar workers and banana cutters broke out in various parts of the island. Then, in May 1938, police fired into a crowd of sugar workers, killing four. Massive protest marches and demonstrations swept the country. Banana workers brought the industry to a halt, marching from plantation to plantation to bring the workers out. Dockers paralyzed the wharves. Strikers and unemployed workers poured into the streets of Kingston, virtually taking them over. The mobilization of British troops and the arrest of the workers' main spokesman, Alexander Bustamante, just added to the ferment.

The upsurge was brought to an end only after Bustamante was released, the workers won wage increases, and the British authorities promised land reform.

Anticolonial struggle

The 1938 rebellion marked a major turning point in Jamaica's struggle against foreign domination. It showed the power of the young Jamaican working class and gave a big spur to the organization of trade unions. Anticolonial sentiments were greatly sharpened.

Against this background, the first Jamaican political parties were established. In 1938, Norman Manley, a prominent lawyer who had played a key role in arbitrating between the workers and the authorities during the rebellion, formed the People's National Party (PNP).

The PNP declared itself a "democratic socialist" party similar to Britain's Labour Party. It adopted an anticolonial stance and demanded Jamaican "self-government" under the British crown. It launched a struggle to win universal adult suffrage.

Parallel to the emergence of the PNP, Alexander Bustamante built up the island's first large union, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU). Bustamante was able to win a wide following, and the strength of the BITU forced employers to make concessions to the workers.

The effectiveness of the BITU as a workers' organization was seriously hampered, however, by the political orientation of its leadership. Bustamante himself was a businessman, and he administered the union like a business, from the top down. He enshrined himself as "president-for-life" and retained sole control over the union's funds. Most seriously, Busta-

mante tried to steer workers away from involvement in the anticolonial struggle, ridiculed the PNP's calls for self-government, and attempted to limit the BITU's concerns to solely economic issues.

But the anticolonial movement continued to grow. In 1942, the British authorities felt obliged to make some constitutional concessions. They announced that elections would be held for a House of Representatives in 1944.

Origins of JLP

Determined to block the PNP from winning office in those elections, Bustamante broke from his supposed "nonpolitical" stance and set up the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) to run against the PNP. Although the JLP claimed to represent the working class, few workers were among its candidates. The party won the backing of the planter class and businessmen.

The PNP likewise claimed to champion the workers' interests, and had an active left wing that included several leading unionists who were admitted Marxists. But the main leadership of the party was composed of petty-bourgeois nationalists and much of its funding also came from Jamaican business circles. Unlike the British Labour Party, which the PNP held up as its model, the PNP in that period had only a very small union base.

Most workers thus remained behind. Bustamante, despite the PNP's more anticolonial positions. The JLP won office in the 1944 elections.

U.S. companies charge ahead

It was during the JLP's first period in government that American business began to move into Jamaica on a truly massive scale. In the forefront were the U.S. aluminum companies.

Jamaica has some of the world's largest and richest deposits of bauxite. Lured by these deposits—plus the low wages of Jamaican workers and the incentives the Jamaican government accorded to foreign investors—American and Canadian aluminum companies began to establish major operations there. Reynolds, Alcan, and Kaiser sunk millions of dollars into mining and port facilities, and later into the establishment of bauxite refining plants.

Close on their heels came the U.S. banks. North American tourism to Jamaica skyrocketed. Jamaican trade ties increasingly shifted away from Britain and toward the United States.

While the bauxite firms reaped enormous profits, the conditions for the mass of Jamaicans remained abysmal. Unemployment was still high, and the acquisition of more than 100,000 acres of land by the bauxite companies drove even more small peasants off their farms. The wages of bauxite workers were very low, until they organized themselves and forced the companies to pay more.

The Jamaican economy experienced a rapid growth during the 1950s, but in a very deformed manner. Production was geared largely toward export. The few manufacturing industries that were developed had little relationship with each other or with Jamaica's still important agricultural sector. The Jamaican economy became more and more dependent on imperialist markets, capital, and finance.

A few Jamaicans did benefit from this, however: members of the old plantation aristocracy who began to diversify into construction and other industries. They formed the nucleus of a new industrial bourgeoisie that was closely allied with the imperialist companies and banks. Corrupt politicians and local managers also found numerous opportunities to enrich themselves.

Income gap grows

Overall, the gap between the standard of living of the ruling class and the masses of working people grew wider. By the 1960s, Jamaica had one of the highest ratios of income inequality in the world.

Both of the main Jamaican parties, the JLP and PNP, defended the grow-

ing involvement of North American corporations in Jamaica. Although they claimed to speak to all Jamaicans, especially the workers, their leaderships more directly represented the political and social interests of the Jamaican petty bourgeoisie and capitalist class. Jamaica's top "twenty-one families" divided their support between the two parties, although the JLP traditionally enjoyed the greater share of capitalist backing.

The PNP still called itself socialist, and in 1951 became a member of the Socialist International. But the following year, at the height of the Cold War, the leadership of Norman Manley launched a witch-hunt against the left wing of the party. A number of prominent trade unionists, who also considered themselves Marxists, were expelled from the PNP.

PNP in power

By 1955, the PNP got its first chance to gain office. The JLP's popular support had declined considerably in the preceding years, and the voters demanded a change.

Once in office, however, the policies of the PNP and Norman Manley were little different. Manley launched a plan of "capitalistic expansionism," under which he sought to lure more foreign investors to Jamaica. Although it was successful in attracting some new capital, the plan brought with it few of the jobs that had been promised.

In 1959, popular frustrations led to an armed revolt by unemployed urban youth. Norman Manley called on British troops to help put it down.

At the same time, the PNP nevertheless managed to build up a strong trade union base. Supporters of the PNP had established the National Workers Union (NWU) in 1952. By the end of the decade the NWU was as large as the JLP-affiliated BITU. Although both were "blanket" unions, with membership open to workers from all sectors of the economy, the NWU had a much stronger base among the more socially powerful sectors of the working class, especially the industrial workers employed in the bauxite industry and in manufacturing.

A decade of rebellion

The PNP's new trade union base did not save it from defeat at the polls, however. The policies followed by the Norman Manley government alienated voters, and allowed the JLP to return to power in 1962, the year Jamaica won its formal political independence from Britain.

The JLP's second period in office, from 1962 to 1972, witnessed an ever-widening class polarization within the country.

Bustamante—and after his retirement in 1964, Hugh Shearer—followed even more proimperialist policies than those of Norman Manley. "We are with

the West," Bustamante proclaimed. Jamaica was thrown open further to imperialist economic interests. Between 1958 and 1969, Jamaican trade with the United States increased by more than four times.

Most of the new foreign businesses attracted to Jamaica were small or highly mechanized, creating few jobs for the growing work force. In the countryside, more and more peasants were driven off the land and agricultural production declined.

The JLP regime established closer political and military ties with Washington as well. In 1963, it signed a U.S.-Jamaica Defense Treaty, under which the JLP government received U.S. military aid and training.

This was in direct response to the successful socialist revolution in neighboring Cuba. The imperialists and their allies throughout the Caribbean feared that the example of Cuba could spread.

Repression stepped up

Within Jamaica, repression was stepped up. Some socialist literature was banned from Jamaica, as were the writings of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and other Black American radicals. The JLP engaged in widespread electoral fraud in 1967 to assure its "reelection."

The Jamaican capitalists rallied around the JLP as the best defender of the social order. In 1967, Sir Neville Ashenheim, one of Jamaica's most prominent businessmen, was given a cabinet post.

In response to this ruling-class offensive, popular frustrations and anger grew.

Workers in many sectors of the economy went out on strike. Although the JLP regime tried to enforce the Essential Services Act, which limited the right to strike, there were so many labor actions that it was forced to retreat.

In 1964, a major strike broke out at the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, leading to a series of solidarity strikes by bauxite, hotel, utility, and sugar workers. Tens of thousands turned out for support rallies.

In 1965, protests rocked downtown Kingston. The following year, clashes between slum dwellers and the police in Western Kingston prompted the regime to declare a state of emergency.

The Rastafarian movement, a pan-Africanist cultural-religious current, gained much wider influence among young Blacks.

Numerous Black Power groups of a more openly political nature also emerged. These were inspired to an extent by the American civil rights struggle. They criticized the traditional policies of both the JLP and PNP, and the domination of Jamaica's largely white ruling class over the Black majority.

The vitality of this movement became evident in 1968. When the JLP government deported Walter Rodney, a popular Marxist lecturer at the University of the West Indies who first popularized the term "Black Power" in the Caribbean, widespread student protests swept the island. Police were sent against the demonstrators, and three people were killed.

Under the impact of this radicalization, the People's National Party embarked on a sharp change in political course. The growing militancy of the PNP's trade union supporters (especially among industrial workers), the criticisms directed at the party by the Black Power movement, and the mounting demands for change among young Jamaicans in general impelled the PNP to shed many of its proimperialist positions and policies. In the process, the party began to undergo an evolution.

In 1969, Michael Manley was chosen leader of the PNP following his father's death. Since the early 1950s, he had served as a central leader of the National Workers Union, playing major roles in the organization of the bauxite workers and in numerous strikes led by the NWU. He was one of the most prominent figures involved in building solidarity with the 1964 strike at the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation.

Coming from this background, Michael Manley more directly felt the pressures of the PNP's working class members than did the old-time party leadership. He criticized both the JLP and PNP for ignoring the interests of workers and called for greater local control over Jamaica's natural resources.

The PNP under Michael Manley also adopted a new stance toward the Black Power and Rastafarian movements.

While his father called out British troops to put down the 1959 armed rebellion, Michael Manley—during the course of the 1972 election campaign—publicly associated himself with the central figure in that revolt, Rastafarian leader Claudius Henry. The party made political overtures toward the Rastafarians and Black Power groups and adopted many of their slogans and symbols. The younger party candidates began to address rallies in the dialect of the workers and peasants, rather than the Oxford English of the ruling classes.

At a time of growing opposition to the JLP regime, the PNP's new course won it considerable popular support, greater than at any time before in its history.

Borne on the hopes of the Jamaican masses for some basic changes, the PNP was swept into office in 1972. With 56 percent of the popular vote, the PNP took thirty-seven seats in parliament, compared to sixteen for the JLP.

(To be continued)

You missed a lot last week if you missed . . . Intercontinental Press



There was, for example, an analysis by IP staff writer Janice Lynn of the Mideast war threat posed by Israeli aggression in Lebanon. From IP's Managua bureau, Arnold Weissberg reported on a May Day rally of 100,000 in Nicaragua, and on the continuing attacks on that country from neighboring Honduras. And there were three points of view from socialists on the Cuban revolution. In short, there was a lot of international news and analysis that we at the *Militant*, frankly, didn't have room to print. And this week there'll be more. Subscribe now to *Intercontinental Press*.

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Ranks of Polish Communist Party demand

By Ernest Harsch

In hundreds of meetings in factories and workplaces, members of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) are boldly standing up to voice their opinions, on a scale unprecedented in the party's history. Inspired by the enormous gains won by the Polish working class since the strikes of August 1980, they are insisting that the party be completely transformed, that it base itself on the revolutionary changes taking place in Polish society.

This was pointed to by one PUWP member at the giant Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. In a play on the party's name, he was quoted in the April 10 issue of *Zycie Warszawy*, the main Warsaw daily, as saying, "We must do everything to ensure that our party becomes truly Polish, truly united, truly of the workers, and truly a party."

Lech Witkowski, one of the leaders of the rank-and-file movement in Torun, put it in a different way. "We are not challenging Communist ideology," he said, "but we are challenging the gap between theory and practice."

To the top officials of the party, government administration, planning bodies, and secret police, the demands being raised by the ranks of the party are devastating. For it is precisely through this "gap between theory and practice" that the Polish bureaucracy tries to safeguard its privileged social position, relying on totalitarian and anti-Marxist methods of rule.

These bureaucrats are especially worried that this is now being widely challenged by members of the party itself—the very political instrument through which they seek to maintain their control over Polish society.

A bureaucratic leadership

Since the overturn of capitalism and the establishment of a workers state in Poland following World War II, the leadership of the Polish Communist Party has ruled in the name of the workers.

In actuality, however, it is the party of the privileged bureaucratic caste that feeds like a parasite on Poland's progressive property relations. Special material privileges, favoritism, and corruption became the rule for most party and government officials.

Top officials benefited the most. Through their control of the state apparatus, party leaders were able to divert goods and resources for their own enjoyment. While public hospitals or workers' housing were inadequate or rundown in many provinces, these officials were able to build posh homes and exclusive holiday resorts, often at government expense. To safeguard their privileges, the party leaders prevented workers from exercising any real decision-making powers, or even from expressing their opinions.

Zbigniew Iwanow, the first secretary of the party branch in the Towinor machine tool plant in Torun, put it this way:

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 its 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.

'Communication all one way'

This denial of workers' democracy in the country as a whole was naturally reflected within the party itself.

According to Ryszard Krasowski, the secretary of the party organization in the assembly section of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk:

The party higher-ups just weren't interested in what we thought. Communication was all one way, with them telling us what to do.

17 BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY 17

Organizacji społeczno-politycznych


- odnowa -

Torunskie Zakłady Urządzeń Okrętowych - "TOWINOR" - KZ PZPR

Dnia 19 lutego 1981 r. Nr 17

W środę 18 lutego w auli UMK odbyła się narada aktywna partyjnego naszego województwa z udziałem z-cy członka Biura Politycznego, sekretarza KC PZPR, Romana Neya. Po referacie wprowadzającym ogłoszonym przez I Sekretarza LK tow. Zygmunta Najdowskiego wywiązała się burzliwa dyskusja, której przebieg relacjonuje codzienna prasa. Ponieważ organizacja partyj Towinoru jednoznacznie określiła swoje stanowisko w sprawie uchwały prze Zjazdu oraz kontaktów politycznych, które zaocześnie z Konsultacyjno-Porozumieniowej, nie będziemy po raz k argumentów "za". Ograniczymy się do kilku krytycznych momentów atakujących komisję.

1. Charakterystyczne jest, że krytykujący komisję nie a przecież żeby oś ocenić trzeba najpierw to poznać
2. Większość atakujących komisję mówiła "w imieniu" k wyrażając zdanie, że przedstawiciele LKP nie powinni brodzić towarzysze, każdy z dyskutantów biorących u ma na poparcie swych słów uchwały macierzystej org i nowi w jej imieniu, a nie swoim własnym. Są to w znacznej mierze jak Elana, Merinotex, Metron, Tonin Budowlany, TPBP i wiele innych. Jakim prawem towar nam, że my nie mówimy w imieniu robotników? Czy t upoważniła do takiego stwierdzenia jego organizacja



'Renewal,' publication of rank-and-file Communist Party members at Towinor machine tool plant in Torun. Inset, Zbigniew Iwanow, first secretary of Towinor party branch.

As far as ideological and propaganda work was concerned, our party cell just had to obey orders. The propaganda we were ordered to spread was nonsense. We didn't carry out half the instructions, but still we got the blame when things went wrong.

J. Ojzanowski, a worker in the shipyard in Gdynia and a party member for thirty years, expressed similar views. "There was no way for the rank and file to go to the top," he said. "There was no initiative."

Such bureaucratic methods made the party increasingly unattractive to workers. While the size of the Polish working class has expanded considerably since the end of World War II, the proportion of party members listed as workers declined from 64.7 percent in 1946 to 39.6 percent in 1973 (the proportion of working farmers likewise declined, from 23.2 percent to 10.1 percent). In the meantime, the proportion of members from "white collar" or "other" backgrounds grew substantially; by 1973 they were just over half of the membership.

Today, some three-quarters of a million of the party's three million members are full-time functionaries, most of whom enjoy material privileges to one degree or another. They are the most conservative layer in the party.

In its struggle to maintain its parasitic grip over Poland, this bureaucratic caste also rests on the direct backing of the Soviet bureaucracy, to which it remains politically subordinate. The policies of the PUWP leadership are often decided under the "guidance" of Moscow, and the Kremlin has repeatedly intervened directly in the affairs of the party when those policies strayed too far from what Poland's Soviet oppressors wanted. (In the late 1930s, for example, Stalin dissolved the Polish Communist Party entirely and executed the majority of its key leaders. In 1956, Khrushchev threatened to invade Poland, but was forced to back down.)

Workers shake party

There were periodic protests against the bureaucratic methods of the party leadership from the ranks, most notably the 1965 "Open Letter" to party members issued by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, two members from the University of Warsaw. But such protests were met with swift reprisals in order to intimidate the ranks as a whole.

All this changed, however, with the outbreak in August 1980 of the most sustained and widespread strikes the

country had ever seen.

From the very beginning of the strikes, party members in the factories became involved, and some even took leadership roles. In the Towinor factory in Torun, for instance, most party members supported the strike and one became a delegate from the local strike committee to the Interfactory Strike Committee based at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

The victory of the workers in forcing the government to finally recognize Solidarity threw the PUWP leadership into a crisis. Some sectors of the party hierarchy reacted in desperation to Solidarity and sought to provoke confrontations with it. Others—while no less fearful of the workers upsurge—argued that it was necessary to adapt to a certain extent in order to retain some authority.

Following the official recognition of Solidarity, tens of thousands of PUWP members in factories around the country began to join the new independent union. Today, more than a third of the party's members also belong to Solidarity.

Movement for 'renewal'

Since the end of September 1980, nearly 140,000 party members have resigned in disgust over the policies of the leadership. Others, however, decided to wage a fight for democratic rights and social reform from within the party, taking as their model the rank-and-file democracy on which Solidarity is based.

Following the ouster of Edward Gierek in early September 1980, the new party leadership of Stanislaw Kania sought to placate the rebellious workers and discontented party ranks through talk of a "renewal." Many officials who had gotten caught in particularly blatant instances of corruption or abuses of power were booted out of the party (more than 70,000 by April 1981).

Party members, however, were not content with new promises or a limited purge of the bureaucracy. They began to carry through their own renewal.

In Gdansk, Szczecin, Torun, Wroclaw, and other cities, the ranks of the party organized internal party elections on the factory level by direct, secret ballot. The officials who had earlier been chosen by the party leadership were removed from office and replaced by new rank-and-file leaders, some of whom had been active in the strike wave.

At the Towinor factory in Torun, Zbigniew Iwanow, who had been a lead-

er of the strike in his plant, was elected first secretary of the factory party organization. He has called for a "thorough housecleaning throughout Poland" and has insisted that "the factories must have greater autonomy and the workers must be able to make the decisions."

For his radical views, Iwanow was expelled from the party by higher bodies, but was reelected to his position by the defiant ranks of the factory party organization.

In November 1980, a discussion document was presented to the party organization at the Fonica radio factory in Lodz, and subsequently was discussed in other party organizations in the region. The document pointed out:

They [the workers] are saying that the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be a dictatorship over the proletariat, that the broad masses' right to free expression must be guaranteed in law and in fact.

Up to now, the bureaucratic and bloated apparatuses running the state, the party, and the economy have imposed their arbitrary and subjective decisions upon the nation. We can no longer govern in this fashion.

Today the party must be the motor force of the revolution and must take the lead in it. If it does not, it will end up in the dustbin of history. Therefore, it must act to carry out redistribution of personal income and private wealth.

In order to do this, the document proposed, the party had to be changed "from top to bottom." The party, it insisted, had to be based on the workers, "meaning above all representing the population that lives from wage labor: the working class and the intelligentsia."

The bourgeois press in the West, which often tries to distort what is going on in Poland in an effort to discredit socialism, frequently portrays such demands for democratization of the party as attacks on the Leninist concept of democratic centralism.

But what the demands actually aim for is the restoration of the rights to full democratic discussion within the party that was an inseparable aspect of Lenin's concept and that had been suppressed with the rise of Stalin and the bureaucratization of the Communist parties.

The Bydgoszcz crisis

The extent to which the party leadership's authority has been weakened among the ranks was dramatically revealed during the crisis provoked by the brutal police beating of a number of activists of Solidarity and Rural Solidarity (the farmers' union) in Bydgoszcz on March 19. Declaring the assault an attack on all workers and farmers, Solidarity called a four-hour "warning" strike on March 27. The protest strike was a complete success, drawing out millions of workers and paralyzing the country.

Despite a ruling from the PUWP tops a few days earlier forbidding all party members from participating in "political" strikes, an estimated 95 percent of those who were members of Solidarity did so anyway.

Two days after the strike, a plenum opened in Warsaw of the Central Committee of the PUWP, which has some 140 members. The rifts within the party could hardly have been more glaring.

Kazimierz Barcikowski gave a report on behalf of the Political Bureau condemning supposed "anti-Communist tendencies" in Solidarity and branding the protest strike as "an open struggle against our party and state power, against socialism." But some members of the Central Committee, mostly representing factory or provincial party organizations, reflected the deep opposition within the party to the policies of the top leaders.

One, a committee member from the large aircraft factory in Mielec, got up and read his party organization's open letter to the leadership (see box).

sweeping reforms

Another, from a computer factory in Wroclaw, explained why her party organization had decided to join the strike despite the leadership's ruling.

Under the pressure of the ranks, the leadership of the PUWP finally agreed to convene an extraordinary congress of the party July 14-18 (the regularly scheduled congress was not due until 1985).

In preparation for the congress, rank-and-file organizations in different parts of the country began to establish closer links with each other, both to discuss their ideas and to press for as democratic a congress as possible. These groups call themselves "horizontal" structures, in contrast to the present "vertical" structure of the party, in which directives are handed from the top down.

On April 15, the first national conference of the movement was held in Torun, drawing 750 delegates from rank-and-file party organizations around the country. After singing the *Internationale*, the delegates stood up to express support for Solidarity, to demand democratization of the party, and to condemn the bureaucratic policies of the leadership.

"The authorities should not present the changes going on in our country as the work of antisocialist forces," declared Tadeusz Neckowicz, a delegate from Bydgoszcz, "but as a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles."

The conference adopted resolutions calling for the expulsion from the Political Bureau of "those members who have lost the trust of the rank-and-file" and demanding the direct election of a new leadership at the upcoming congress.

Although the official Polish press relegated its coverage of the Torun conference to a few perfunctory reports, the April 21 issue of *Zycie Warszawy* carried a long article discussing the kinds of demands that are being raised by party organizations throughout Poland.

Since August 1980, Zbigniew Sufin reported, the PUWP Central Committee has received 455 resolutions, letters, and proposals concerning the "socialist renewal" from numerous party organizations.

Many of the demands related to reform of internal party life and the selection of delegates to the extraordinary congress. They called for new party statutes to provide for the direct election by the ranks of leaders at all levels of the party, secret elections of delegates to the congress, a limitation on the number of terms an individual can serve in a particular post, greater access to information, and the separation of government and party functions.

"It should be recognized that the function of the party is to serve the nation," declared one document. "Control over the activities of the party should be assured through the central aim of turning the party over to the ranks."

Some of the most common demands raised in the documents were for legal action against the officials (including former party chief Edward Gierek) re-

sponsible for the country's economic and political crisis and for the expulsion from the party of those who have been "compromised" or who have a "low moral or ideological level." One demanded the "liquidation of the foreign bank accounts of ministers and directors, as well as party leaders, who have enriched themselves at the expense of the people."

The documents did not limit themselves to party affairs. They also discussed various aspects of the country's social and economic problems, including wage policies, rent levels, pension plans, and so forth.

The ferment within the ranks of the PUWP has alarmed the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, who fear that the revolutionary example of the Polish workers and rank-and-file party members could become contagious.

An April 25 Tass press agency report charged in a threatening manner, "Revisionist forces in the party are demanding reform of the party, abandonment of its present organizational structure and the creation, under the guise of so-called horizontal structures, of various unconstitutional forums that would replace the party's leading organs."

The purpose of these "revisionists," Tass claimed was to inspire "a campaign aimed at discrediting party workers, seeking to create difficulties between the various party bodies, between the Central Committee and the primary organizations."

Rather than reflecting a "revisionist" current, the activists organized in the "horizontal" structures represent those elements in the party who are beginning to discuss aspects of a revolutionary alternative to the years of bureaucratic misrule of the current party leadership. As this process continues, the positions of authentic Marxism—not the caricature upheld by Moscow and the Polish authorities—will become increasingly attractive.

That is exactly what Moscow fears. Its attacks on the demands for democratic reforms within the PUWP are intended as a warning to these activists not to go too far, as well as to the current party leadership not to let them.

Such interference from Moscow is the reason why some activists in the PUWP have been raising direct demands for the party to be able to determine its own policies.

The document that circulated among the party organizations in Lodz proposed that the party become "independent, flowing from the experience, traditions, and history of the Polish nation."

Zbigniew Iwanow has stated, "If we could vote freely, I am absolutely certain we would have socialism in Poland. But it would be a Polish version of socialism."

In a similar vein, a party member in Gdansk was quoted as saying, "The Kremlin and the party leadership are faced with a choice. Either this remains a puppet party loyal to strict Soviet ideology but divorced from the popula-

Open letter: 'Socialism not for benefit of elite'

[At the March 29-30 plenum of the PUWP Central Committee, Kazimiera Gromada, an alternate member of the Central Committee and a metalworker in the communications assembly section of the Mielec aircraft factory, got up to read an open letter to the plenum from the factory party organization. The following are the excerpts of the letter that were published in the March 30 issue of *'Zycie Warszawy.'* The translation is by *'Intercontinental Press.'*]

In the difficult situation facing our country, a growing majority of people are becoming anxious, not only with concern about the future of the country, but also about the very survival of the nation. Unqualified people allow themselves the luxury of carrying out provocations against the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski. They try to manipulate public opinion. They seek to walk a tightrope in the face of a growing social storm.

Most members of the party's factory organizations in Rzeszow Province have expressed their direct support for General Jaruzelski's measures and general stance of seeking justice along a Polish path—through a socialist renewal of society and an economic revival of the country. At the same time, they express their regret that the leaders of the party are becoming detached from the masses; they cannot or do not want to understand them.

Democracy cannot be a gift from the leadership. It is an integral part of

socialism, and belongs equally to everyone.

Socialism should not be for the benefit of an elite. It should not comprise the privileges of an exclusive ruling layer held together by narrow interests. Socialism means people's power, elected by the working class and representing its interests.

The party must be a revolutionary party, for that is the need of the moment. It must be revolutionary not through bloodshed, but in thought and action. It must demonstrate good sense, but also determination. It must rid itself of fortuitous elements—those who have been compromised, who have violated the law, and who have squandered the dignity of the name "party member."

But it is already difficult to regain confidence in the organization. There are people at the highest levels of the party who have been able to maneuver for years, who have already survived many a crisis and renewal and still know how to applaud new ones.

We demand that the Ninth Plenum find a way out of the crisis, and avoid a confrontation from a position of strength. We also demand qualitative steps to purge the party's ranks, especially through the holding of democratic elections to all leadership positions, by developing a political program and carrying the extraordinary congress through to the end, and by bringing to trial and punishing in accordance with the law all those who are responsible for our country's economic and political crisis.

From Intercontinental Press

tion, or it becomes a real workers' party with mass public support."

Despite the pressures from Moscow, many leaders of the PUWP, including party chief Stanislaw Kania, have concluded that it is more prudent for the time being to make some concessions than to adopt an inflexible stance.

At an April 29-30 plenum of the Central Committee—coming just days after the Tass attack—Kania reiterated his promise to support the "renewal," both in society as a whole and within the party. "Without democracy," he said, "the party is empty and shallow." He praised Solidarity as "a workers' organization, comprising millions of people of goodwill, in which many hundreds of thousands of party members operate."

More significant than such fine-sounding phrases, however, was his failure to attack the "horizontal" bodies, as Moscow has done. In fact, he said that the "new forms of contact that have appeared in the last few months" were "generally positive."

Kania also endorsed changes in the party statutes to provide for the election of leaders by secret ballot, freedom of debate, and limitations on the term of office. Other concessions included permitting factory and university party organizations to directly elect their own delegates to the congress (comprising about half of the total number of delegates) and the placing of local control commissions—which hear charges of corruption and handle other internal party affairs—under the supervision of the local party organizations.

These are all important gains in the struggle of the rank-and-file party members. Besides strengthening their position for the congress, they help legitimize discussion of further changes in the party and in Polish society.

Some leaders of the PUWP, however, are clearly hoping that they will be able to ride out the groundswell of demands by party members and obstruct the momentum of the new "horizontal" structures.

At the April 29-30 plenum, for instance, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski proposed incorporating aspects of the rank-and-file movement,

while rejecting others. Three Central Committee members, including one former member of the Political Bureau, Andrzej Werblan, went so far as to attend the conference in Torun.

Attempts to coopt and derail reform movements within the party are not new. In 1956, for example, Wladyslaw Gomulka, under tremendous pressure from workers and party members, promised extensive democratic reforms. But a few years later he turned around and suppressed most dissent and critical discussion.

The situation today, however, is quite different. For one thing, those who favor an end to bureaucratic rule have learned from the experiences of the past and are not relying on simple promises from the top.

But much more importantly, the mobilization of the Polish workers is qualitatively greater than in 1956, their political consciousness is higher, and they have their own independent organization—Solidarity—through which to defend their gains. The ranks of the party, particularly those who are members of Solidarity, are greatly strengthened by this mighty working-class movement.

—From Intercontinental Press

NEW YORK

POLAND: EYEWITNESS REPORTS

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Uprise of Polish workers gave impetus to reform movement within CP.

FBI LIES ANSWERED

Veteran Socialist Gives the Facts

Testimony of George Breitman

George Breitman, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, testified on April 30 and May 1 at the trial of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

Breitman's testimony further discredited the "Mandigo affidavit" on alleged crimes of six current and former SWP leaders. The affidavit was prepared by FBI special agent Charles Mandigo.

Breitman documented the large-scale errors, lies, and distortions in the public section of the Mandigo affidavit. This paragraph-by-paragraph dissection served to discredit the secret part of the affidavit, which Mandigo has sworn he was 'just as thorough and careful in drafting' as the public part.

Although the actual contents of this affidavit are still secret to all but the government lawyers and Judge Thomas Griesa, the government says it contains evidence of crimes they have so far been unable to present in public—despite more than forty years of spying.

The purpose of the secret affidavit is to block the trial from confronting the fundamental issues at stake—particularly the government's claim that it has the right to violate the democratic rights of socialists in order to 'defend' the U.S. Constitution.

Breitman also talked about some of the early history of the Fourth International and the role played in it by the SWP. He pointed out that the center of the International was moved to New York with the outbreak of World War II, and stayed here until the end of the war. The SWP leadership played a central political role in the center during this period—as a formal part of the International until December 1940, when the Vothris Act was passed; and as fraternal members afterwards.

This week's 'Militant' has the first part of Breitman's testimony, which goes over the Mandigo affidavit.

DIRECT EXAMINATION By Margaret Winter

Q: Mr. Breitman, where do you live?

A: New York City.

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

A: Yes.

Q: When did you join the Trotskyist movement?

A: The Trotskyist movement? Well, when I joined my first political organization, I couldn't tell the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism and rheumatism.

I learned about those things later.

The first organization I joined was a forerunner or ancestor of the Socialist Workers Party called the Workers Party of the United States.

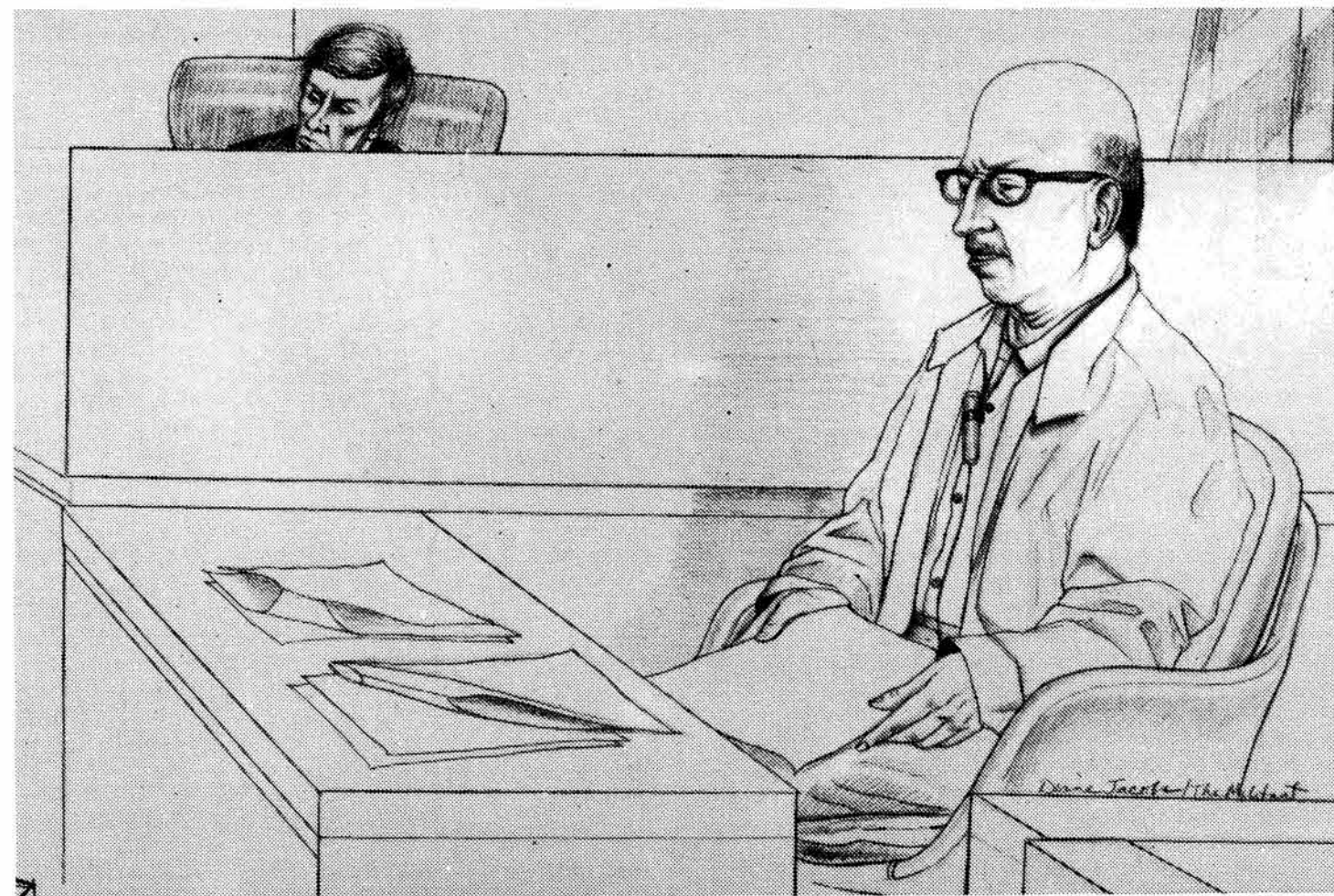
Its chief executive officer was A.J. Muste.

I joined it forty-six years ago in 1935 in Newark, New Jersey.

A leader of the SWP

Q: Have you ever held any national leadership positions in the SWP?

A: Yes. The national convention is the highest authority in the SWP. There have been twenty-five conventions, I



George Breitman on witness stand

think, up to this point, of the SWP itself, and I have attended twenty-one or twenty-two of them as a regular delegate or as a fraternal delegate.

I have also been a member of the national committee for forty-two years, since 1939. I estimate that as a member of that committee, I have attended close to one hundred meetings of the national committee.

Judge Griesa: Are you still on the national committee?

Breitman: Yes. And I was a member of the political committee from 1939 to 1954 and again from 1969 to 1978. I estimate that as a member of that committee, I attended over 1000 political committee meetings.

Public spokesperson

Q: Have you ever officially represented the SWP in public as a candidate or otherwise?

A: Yes. I represented the SWP before congressional committees and other government bodies—national, state and local. I have spoken before other organizations in the name of the SWP. I was a candidate for public office as the SWP candidate in ten different election campaigns from 1940 to 1954 in New Jersey, running for state, county and municipal office.

Q: Have you ever worked on the 'Militant' newspaper, Mr. Breitman?

A: Yes, I have worked on it. I have written hundreds of editorials and articles, some of which were signed by pen names.

I became a member of the editorial staff in 1941. I can thank the government for that because it was the beginning of the Minneapolis trial of SWP leaders and the *Militant* felt that it needed to expand its staff in order to deal with that event.

Griesa: I'll tell you, all of this is most interesting but you listen carefully to Miss Winter's questions and limit your answers to those questions.

A: What was the question again?

Q: I am trying to find out what the

positions were when you worked on the 'Militant,' the times and positions.

A: I began as a writer on the *Militant* in 1941. I became an editor later that year, and remained an editor until toward the end of 1943 when I went into the Army.

I resumed as editor again in 1946 and continued until 1954.

Early years in movement

Q: How did you happen to join the SWP?

A: I was unable to obtain work after leaving high school until I enlisted in the Civilian Conservation Corps which was a New Deal agency for youth, unemployed youth. I spent close to a year in Alabama working on the building of a fire tower. While I was there—in company with 200 other young men from the New York metropolitan area, working together with them—I came to the conclusion that I would like to try to work to improve society and remove such problems as unemployment, war and fascism. So on my return to Newark in 1935, I joined the Workers Party of the United States.

Early role

Q: Mr. Breitman, what was your main political responsibility when you joined that organization?

A: Well, for a time I was a branch and district organizer of the party. I also became a member of an unemployed organization, which later took the name Workers Alliance of America, and which consisted of unemployed people and WPA workers. I became state organization secretary of that organization.

Q: What kind of activities did you engage in in the Workers Alliance?

A: We represented our members as a sort of collective bargaining agency—

Griesa: I don't know why we have to get into all of this. We have really got to remember that by now there is a lot of general testimony about the goals and

organization of the SWP and indeed it is history and—

Winter: That was a detail I wanted to come out. Mr. Breitman was arrested but we can skip this.

Griesa: All right. Let's really draw this plaintiffs' case to a close.

Q: I believe you testified you were on the political committee from 1939 to 1954 and again from 1969 to 1978; is that right?

A: Yes.

Q: Was there a reason for the gap between 1954 and 1969 when you were not on the political committee?

A: I moved to Detroit, where I was active in the leadership of the Detroit branch of the SWP, and worked as a printer and a member of the International Typographical Union.

Editor of 60 books

Q: When did you return to New York?

A: I returned to New York at the end of 1967.

Q: What was your chief responsibility in the SWP after you returned to New York?

A: When I returned, my first year was spent in a hospital because I had a new attack of arthritis.

Q: When you got out?

A: I was unable to return to work as a printer because I couldn't sit up or stand up long enough to hold a job. At that time Jack Barnes of the SWP, whom I got to know in the Midwest, invited me to become an editor on the staff of Pathfinder Press. He pointed out that I would be able to work the hours that I was able to work and that I could do much of the work at home.

Q: When did you start work for Pathfinder Press?

A: Around the beginning of 1969.

Q: Have you been editing since the time you started at Pathfinder Press?

A: Yes, I have edited around sixty books that I would take responsibility

for, either as editor or co-editor, or as consulting editor.

Q: What were the subjects of the books you have edited?

Griesa: Look, Miss Winter, what do you need to bring out through this witness?

Winter: The reason why I wanted to establish what kind of books—

Mandigo affidavit

Griesa: What is it you want to bring out through this witness?

Winter: There are two subjects. One is early history of the Fourth International and meetings of the Fourth International in this country, which no other living SWP member has knowledge of.

Griesa: When were these meetings?

Winter: These meetings were in the early 1940's. And the other subject of the examination relates to the affidavit of Mr. Mandigo, and we think that it is quite important.

Griesa: What is he going to say about the affidavit of Mr. Mandigo?

Winter: The affidavit of Mr. Mandigo relates to six members of the SWP, four of them leading members of the SWP who are no longer living.

Griesa: Is he one of the six?

Expert testimony

Winter: No, he is not one of the six. Mr. Breitman, and this is what we are attempting to establish, has qualifications that are very extraordinary—knowledge of SWP history and also the history of these deceased members, and also has knowledge of allegations relating to—

Griesa: I will assume that he has been there a long time. You want to just come right specifically to your questions about these people.

Winter: I want to begin with Exhibit 130 in evidence and I could provide you with another copy.

Q: Mr. Breitman, I give you a copy of the declaration of Mr. Mandigo, Plaintiff's Exhibit 130 in evidence. Have you seen this document before?

A: Yes.

James P. Cannon

Q: Mr. Breitman, there are certain individuals that this affidavit relates to, and one of them is James P. Cannon. Did you know Cannon personally?

A: Yes, I did.

Q: When did you meet him?

A: I met him first in 1946—in 1936, excuse me. I got to know him well from 1941 to around the end of the 1940s, except when he was in prison, and I was in the Army. We worked on the same floor in an office right next to each other. I consulted with him quite frequently. After he moved to the West Coast, we corresponded frequently.

Q: Have you read all of Cannon's published works?

A: Yes, I have.

Q: How many books is that?

A: There were nine books of his published before his death. Since he died in 1974, there have been two additional volumes of his writings and speeches which are part of a series of eight or nine that are going to be published. The third one will be out later this year.

Q: Have you read any unpublished works by Cannon, writings by Cannon?

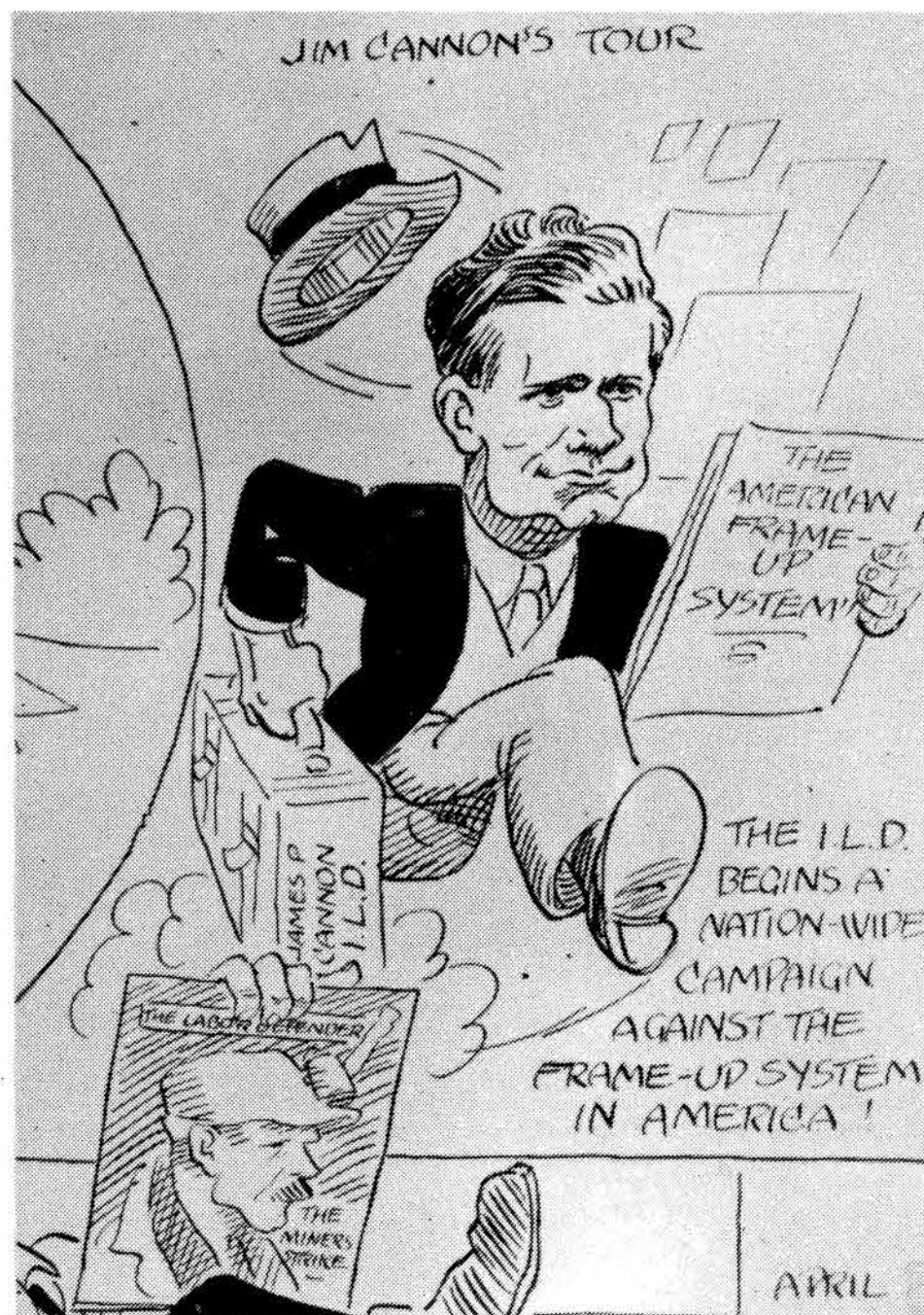
A: Yes. After his death, I read unpublished articles and notes of unpublished speeches when I went through this archives.

Mandigo's 'expertise'

Q: Would you please turn to page 13 of the Mandigo affidavit heading James Cannon. In the first paragraph, is there any error or inaccuracy in that first sentence?

A: Yes, there is an inaccuracy. There is no such organization as International Workers of the World. The organization Cannon joined in 1911 was the Industrial Workers of the World.

Q: Would you go down to the next paragraph, first sentence. Is there



Cover of April 1928 Labor Defender, magazine of International Labor Defense. James P. Cannon, then a leader of Communist Party, was national secretary of ILD from its founding in mid-1920s until his expulsion from CP in 1928. Under his leadership, ILD was nonpartisan defense body that mobilized world support for Sacco and Vanzetti and other victims of capitalist frame-ups.

any error or inaccuracy in that sentence?

A: Yes. It says that he led the Communist League of America from 1929 to 1933. The actual dates should be 1929 to 1934.

Griesa: I am sorry, what was the correct title of the workers organization?

Breitman: Industrial Workers.

Griesa: And what were the correct dates down below?

Breitman: 1929 to 1934 for the Communist League of America.

Griesa: Instead of 1929 to 1933?

Breitman: Yes.

Winter: Your Honor, a lot of the errors in there are obviously going to be minor ones. But we think that since we have no other way at this point of attacking the credibility of the other affidavit that Mr. Mandigo wrote and we cannot examine, that it is important to go through this. The other reason is, there is an area like this and it talks about perhaps purported crimes. We think that the dates and names may be important.

Griesa: Just cover the important things, please.

Winter: I guess we will just have to see what your Honor considers important here.

Q: I would like you, Mr. Breitman, to skip to the third sentence in that paragraph that begins: "He wrote frequently for the SWP paper, the 'Militant'." Is there any error or inaccuracy in that sentence?

Errors, small and large

A: The last part of the sentence is wrong. Cannon never wrote a book called, *Building a Proletarian Party*.

Q: Do you know of any book by that name?

A: No, I have never seen one.

Q: I would like you to look at the last sentence of that paragraph. Is there any error or inaccuracy there,

not the FBI number but, 'His life featured numerous other arrests and short jail terms.'

A: Well, yes. It depends on what is meant by numerous, I suppose, but I tried to determine what other arrests had occurred. I was able to discover only three—one in 1913, one in 1919, and one in 1934.

All three of these cases involved strikes in which Cannon was active. In the first two cases there were indictments brought against him, but they were dropped or withdrawn after the strike was over.

In the third case, the charge against him was vagrancy, which the judge did not act on after the strike was over.

So I don't think it is correct to say that there were numerous arrests. I want to emphasize that in no case was he convicted of anything.

Q: Look at the very next sentence: 'In 1940 Cannon was considered head of the FI.' Is there any error or inaccuracy there?

A: That is not true. In 1940 Cannon was not considered to be the head of the FI.

Q: Did anyone in the SWP or the Fourth International, to your knowledge, ever say that Cannon was the head of the FI or was considered to be the head of the FI?

A: No, never.

Q: Who was considered the head of the Fourth International at that time?

A: In 1940 Trotsky was undoubtedly the head of the Fourth International, up until his death in 1940.

After that no one was considered the head of the Fourth International. I had to know that kind of information as the editor of the *Militant* and I am quite certain about this. Neither the SWP or any of its press ever referred to him in that way, nor did I ever think of him in that way. Nor did anyone else in any other newspaper or magazine of that period

refer to him in this way. So by whom he was considered to be the head of the FI, I don't know.

Frame-up

Q: Looking at the next sentence: 'In 1942 Cannon was interviewed as a possible suspect in a sabotage of a train.'

Do you recall that the 'Militant' published an open letter to Attorney General Biddle from James P. Cannon on this subject?

A: Yes, I recall it very well.

Q: Were you the editor of the 'Militant' at the time this was printed?

A: Yes.

Q: I am going to hand you Plaintiffs' Exhibit 250 for identification, which is the November 21, 1942, issue of the 'Militant.' Is the open letter on that page?

A: Yes, under the title:

"Is the FBI concocting a frame-up against the SWP? An open letter to Attorney Biddle by James P. Cannon."

Q: Did you have any discussions with Cannon on the running of this letter in the 'Militant'?

A: Yes, I did. If you look at the top of the page, the article is cut off. It says there "hold up two issues of the *Militant*."

That is referring to the fact that the United States PostOffice had held up the previous two issues of the *Militant*. This was, in my opinion, the most important issue that the *Militant* faced at that point.

I was in favor of making a big campaign in order to protest this interference with the circulation of our newspaper. I told Cannon that I thought it was a mistake to get involved at the same time in a story about supposed sabotage—that everybody who was at all informed about the SWP would regard it as preposterous, and it would merely get in the way of the main thing that had to be done.

I recall the discussion quite well because he explained to me that if there was a frame-up, a new frame-up being prepared, it was important to publicize it as soon and as widely as possible. That if we did not do so we would regret it very much, because it would come back again and again.

I concluded eventually that he was correct. Now I think more correct than ever since it has come up again.

Alleged Cannon 'quotes'

Q: Mr. Breitman, could you turn to page 13 of the affidavit of Charles Mandigo, Plaintiffs' Exhibit 130 in evidence. At the bottom of the page:

'In 1950 Cannon stated that he believed that in the event of a world conflict the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America.'

Are there any errors or inaccuracies in that statement?

A: Well, I tried to find the source of this statement in the published writings of Cannon. I went through his books, his pamphlets, his speeches, internal bulletins, the *Militant*, the magazine *Fourth International* for the year 1950—as I did with other statements in this affidavit which do not have a precise source given. I tried to find the statement. It wasn't there. I have the conviction this is not in print anywhere. It may, therefore, be a verbal statement attributed to Cannon by some unknown person, unstated person.

Q: Did you ever hear Cannon say anything like that?

A: No.

Q: What about the next sentence at the top of page 14:

'In 1946 at the SWP National Convention Cannon stated that the SWP stood for a revolution in America, it was the only way to establish socialism and the SWP would be the one to start the revolution?'

A: I read the speeches of Cannon at the 1946 national convention and did not find any such statement. I don't think that it will be possible to find any such statement made by Cannon, be-

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page
cause neither he nor the SWP ever thought or said that the SWP would be the one to start the revolution. Their idea is that the working class is going to start the revolution.

Wrong anniversary

Q: Looking at the next sentence: 'Cannon has also made the following statement'—and then there is a long quote.

A: It is attributed to the 'Militant' of November 16, 1946. Apart from the text of the quotation itself, is there any inaccuracy in that attribution?

A: Apart from the text?

Q: Yes, the attribution of the 'Militant,' November 16, 1946, remarks from Cannon's speech on the occasion of the thirty-ninth anniversary of the Russian revolution.

A: The text itself corresponds to the one in the *Militant* which I checked, except for one minor change in one word.

But the description of the speech is wrong. In 1946, the twenty-ninth anniversary of the Russian revolution was being celebrated, not the thirty-ninth. And this is not the error of the *Militant*, because the *Militant* said the twenty-ninth anniversary in print around an inch high.

Farrell Dobbs

Q: The next section is on Farrell Dobbs, who testified previously. Do you have any independent knowledge relating to the incidents that are referred to in the section on Dobbs?

A: Yes, independent in the sense that I participated in some events that are mentioned. Also because in the last ten years I have been doing research on the history of the Socialist Workers Party, and have had the occasion to read a great many documents out of its history.

Q: Now, could you look at the very first sentence in paragraph 32 on page 14 on Dobbs that says: 'Dobbs joined the Workers Party in March 1934.' Is there any inaccuracy there?

A: The Workers Party did not come into existence until December 1934. What Dobbs joined was the Communist League of America.

Griesa: In March?

Breitman: In March 1934.

Wrong local

Q: I would like you to look at the very next sentence, Mr. Breitman: 'From 1934 to 1939 with the exception of a ten-month period he was secretary of Local 554 of the Drivers Union in Minneapolis, Minnesota.'

Is there any error or inaccuracy in that sentence?

A: Yes. There was no Local 554 of the Drivers Union in Minneapolis. The only Local 554 of the Drivers Union was in Omaha.

Q: And was Dobbs secretary of Local 554 in Omaha?

A: No, Dobbs was secretary of what was first called Local 574, which later became Local 544 of the Drivers Union in Minneapolis.

Q: Now, I would like you to look at the very next sentence, the third sentence. In 1938 he, that is Dobbs, visited Leon Trotsky in Mexico. Is there any inaccuracy there, to your knowledge?

A: Yes. Dobbs did not visit Trotsky in 1938. He visited him in Mexico in 1940 on two different occasions.

Q: How do you know that?

A: There is a letter about the first visit in a volume of the writings of Leon Trotsky for the year 1939-1940, in which Trotsky reports the arrival of Dobbs. Later in the same volume, five or six months later, there is a transcript of a discussion between Trotsky, Dobbs, and some other people who were visiting Trotsky a few months before his death.

Q: Now, I would like you to look at the very next sentence.

A: In 1940 he resigned his post as general organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and became National Labor Secre-



Farrell Dobbs during 1948 presidential campaign. Opposition to just-enacted Taft-Hartley antilabor law was important focus of his campaign.

tary of the SWP.'

Do you have any personal knowledge as to the accuracy of that statement?

A key decision

A: Yes. It is inaccurate because he did not resign his post in 1940. He resigned in 1939. I remember this independently, because I had just been elected to the political committee, and it was subject of discussion there.

This was a rather big event at the time and an important decision was being made about whether the leading trade unionist of the Socialist Workers Party should leave that union. So it was the subject of consultation and discussion which went on for some time before the decision was made. But it was made in 1939.

Q: I would like you to turn the page, page 15, and look at the first full paragraph.

The first sentence, 'He was reelected to the National Committee of the SWP at the November 1945 convention,' et cetera.

To your knowledge, is there any error in that statement?

A: Yes, there was no convention in November, 1945, or at any other time in 1945.

NATO

Q: What about the very next sentence, or skipping a sentence and going to 'he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee against the North Atlantic Pact on May 5, 1959.'

Is there any error there?

A: Yes, there is an error. It is an error of date. It is off by ten years. That is in May, 1949. The NATO Treaty came up in 1949, and Dobbs went to Washington to testify on it before the Senate committee. There would be no sense in doing such a thing ten years later.

Q: How do you know that it was in 1949 and not in 1959? How do you recall that?

A: I was editor of the *Militant* at the time. I remember it. I remember the occasion, and I checked the dates in the *Militant* after I read this in order to see whether it was accurate.

Q: I am handing you Plaintiffs' Exhibit 248 for identification, a May 16, 1949, issue of the 'Militant' with

the headline 'Atlantic Pact Aimed Against Socialism, Dobbs Tells Senate.'

Is this a copy of the issue that you are referring to?

A: Yes, this is the issue referred to, and I notice that there is another article on the same page by Dobbs, telling about his impressions about the hearing. There is a small box just above that saying, 'The full text of Dobbs's statement is printed on page 2.'

More confusion

Q: I would like you to look at the very next sentence, the beginning of the next paragraph.

'In an article by Dobbs in the Pioneer pamphlet, 'The Coming American Revolution,' Dobbs states,' et cetera.

Is there any error in this statement?

A: Yes there is. The pamphlet 'The Coming American Revolution' does not contain any article by Dobbs. It does not contain any introduction or anything by Dobbs whatever.

Q: I am handing you a copy of what has been marked Plaintiffs' Exhibit 236 for identification, 'The Coming American Revolution.' Is this the pamphlet that you referred to?

A: Yes, this is the pamphlet.

Q: And its entire contents is a resolution adopted by the convention in a speech by James Cannon. Is that correct?

A: Yes, that is correct.

Q: I would like you to look at the very next sentence in that same paragraph: 'Dobbs has stated that when one joins the SWP he is not necessarily a Trotskyist but rather a member of the revolutionary vanguard and one thing is certain, we are the party that is going to lead the American revolution.'

Do you know if Dobbs said this?

A: This is another undated and unattributed quotation that I looked for without success. I never heard him say anything like this. And I do not know whether it can exist in perhaps some less garbled form elsewhere.

Winter: Your Honor, I would like to direct your attention to the next paragraph, the third sentence: 'Based on testimony by Dobbs on December 16, 1959, at a deportation hearing, the New York

field office was instructed to determine if he committed perjury, and an investigation was conducted, but no prosecutive action was taken.' I would like to supply your Honor with a copy of what has been marked Plaintiffs' Exhibit 244 for identification.

This is a June 30, 1960, report—FBI report—on Farrell Dobbs.

Dobbs testimony

I would like you to look at the synopsis under the caption 'Internal Security, SWP.' The synopsis says that it is a summary of the testimony of Dobbs at an INS hearing 12/16/59, which is evidently the deportation hearing testimony that is referred to in the Mandigo affidavit. The reason I would like to draw your Honor's attention to this is that the document discusses the basis for the contemplated perjury prosecution.

It states that 'During the hearing Dobbs testified that the SWP had at no time advocated use of force and violence to bring about the change from capitalism to socialism and further testified that he had not personally from 1938 to the date of the hearing ever advocated or taught the overthrow of the government by force or violence.'

I would like you to turn back to the second page of the document, and it says here that 'Will continue to seek witnesses who may testify that Dobbs or the SWP taught or advocated the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force or violence or other unconstitutional means in order that a perjury citation may be presented based on the testimony set out in the details of this report.'

So that establishes what the basis for the contemplated perjury prosecution was.

Loyalty oaths

Q: Mr. Breitman, I would like you to look at the last sentence in that paragraph, 'Dobbs has counseled SWP members not to sign loyalty oaths, but to deny membership in a subversive group so that they would not lose contacts in the unions, an act which would be violative of the Taft-Hartley Act.'

To your knowledge, are there any errors or inaccuracies in this sentence?

A: Yes. This is one of the most difficult statements in the affidavit to understand, but it is very typical in its inaccuracy and in its distortion of fact.

I would like to have a few minutes in which to explain adequately what was involved in this.

Silak: May I interject here for a moment? I had understood the testimony of Mr. Breitman was being offered at this time because there were four persons whose names are mentioned in the affidavit who were dead.

Winter: That is a misstatement. It is three people, three are living and three are no longer living.

Silak: I meant the persons unavailable to testify. Mr. Dobbs was here and I believe he did testify.

Griesa: That does not mean he is the only one who can testify. Objection overruled.

Q: Would you go ahead, Mr. Breitman?

Response to Taft-Hartley

A: This refers to a period in 1947 at the time when the Taft-Hartley labor law was passed by Congress. It resulted in a big uproar in the labor movement—a great deal of protest against this bill, which President Truman vetoed and which the Congress then overrode and put into law.

At this time the labor movement was divided into the separate bodies of the AFL-CIO and the Railroad Brotherhood. And all of them initially were very much opposed to a great many of the provisions in the law, into which I will not go.

But there was one provision in the law which is relevant to this sentence. That provided for the signing of an affidavit popularly known as the anti-Communist

nist affidavit, which members of unions had to sign if they wanted to make use of the services of the National Labor Relations Board.

Initially, for about three months, there was a big dispute inside the labor movement and a large number of unions were opposed to signing the affidavit—not because they were pro-Communist, but because they felt this was an invasion of their rights, of their dignity, or whatever. There was a big struggle which began to take place inside the union.

The Socialist Workers Party's position on this was that the unions should refuse to sign the affidavit. There was nothing illegal about refusing to sign the affidavit. All it meant was that you would not be able to use the NLRB services in an election.

But after some disputes, the leaders of several of the unions began to waver on this question.

Several of the biggest unions continued to hold out for about three or four months, including the United Mine Workers, the United Steelworkers, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen—and my own union, the International Typographical Union.

Some of them held out for more than two years. But after three, four months, they began to give in on this, because it placed in the hands of the unions that were willing to sign this a tremendous tactical advantage over those that would not sign it. It enabled them to win representation in elections which the other unions that had not signed could not even participate in.

Opposed signing

Q: What was the SWP position at that point?

A: The SWP position up to that point was and continued to be that the unions should not sign. They should hold out, and this would be followed by an eventual change in the law.

But when after three months the national CIO began to waiver on this, and the United Auto Workers, a very key union in the CIO, voted by a narrow margin to sign the oath—then the SWP was confronted with a problem of advising its members on what they should do.

The political committee took this question up and adopted a position on it. Farrell Dobbs wrote a letter to all the branches of the Socialist Workers Party giving them the political committee's recommendation on what to do.

Winter: Your Honor, I would like at this time to have you look at Plaintiff's Exhibit 67-A for identification, which is an FBI memo. It is dated August 9, 1948, covering the period beginning June, 1947.

I would like first to direct your attention to page 1, the synopsis of facts. This memo is entitled Farrell Dobbs, and the character of cases is Internal Security, SWP.

The reason why I would like you to look at this is because this is a report, and appears to be a document that the Mandigo statement is based on, which I think will become apparent.

The synopsis says that:

"Informant reports that Dobbs continues to be active in directing SWP trade union activities, and is reported to have issued instructions that SWP comrades holding positions in unions were not to sign affidavits required by Taft-Hartley unless they were placed in a position of fighting alone or being exposed."

The Mandigo affidavit makes a slightly different reference to losing contacts in the union.

There is more on this question and on the third page of this document at the bottom, the next to last paragraph, there is a big deletion and then it says:

"The informant stated that a letter dated November 20, 1947, written by Farrell Dobbs of the National Committee of the SWP is brought to the attention of the comrades. Grace Carlson cautioned that the letter better not fall into the hands of the FBI.

"According to the informant the letter

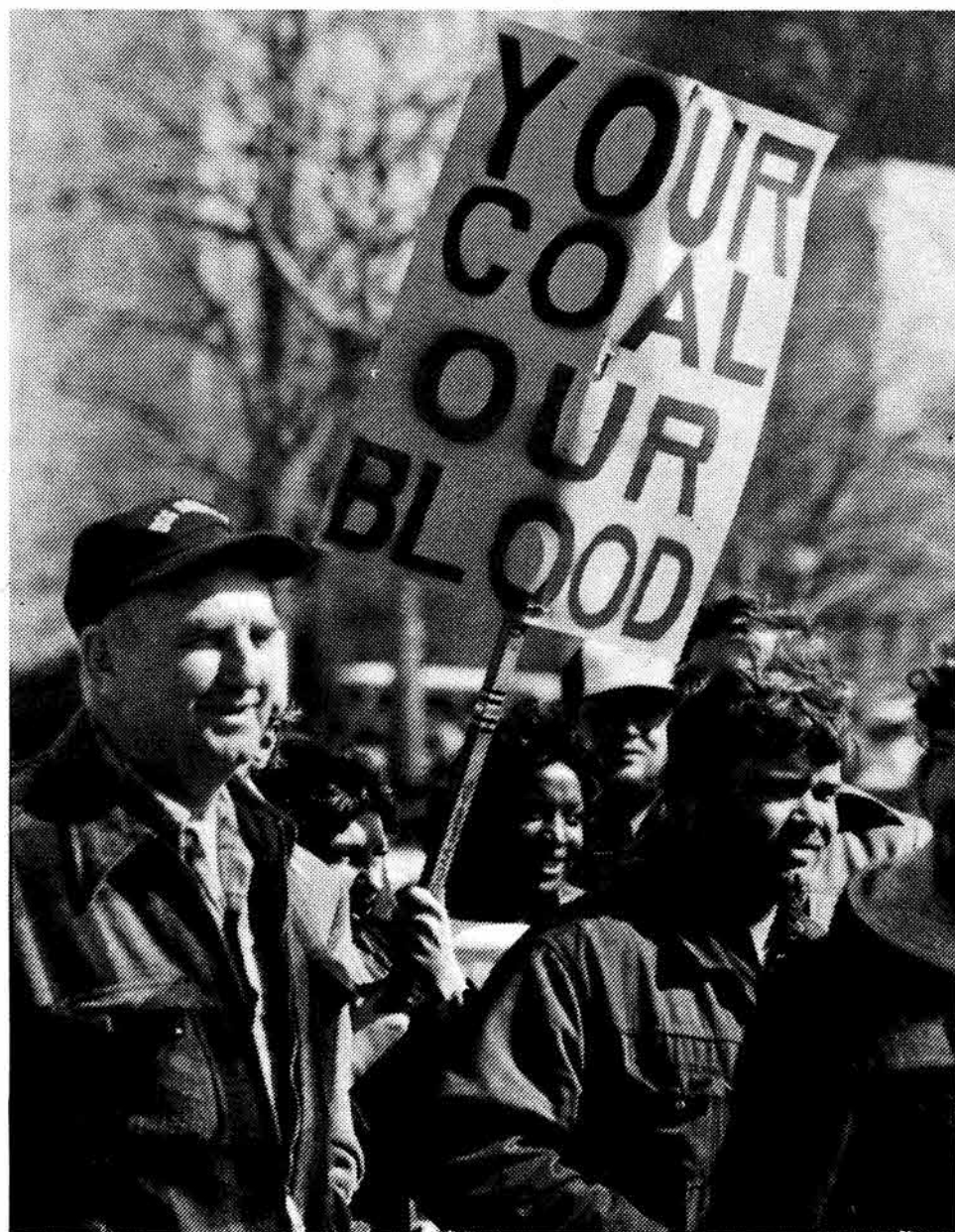
from Dobbs stressed that SWP members holding union positions were to refuse to sign affidavits in connection with the Taft-Hartley law unless they were placed in a position where they would be fighting alone and their identities as members of SWP might be revealed."

I would particularly call your attention to that characterization of the letter. The letter also instructed that any party member signing the affidavit as a union official must advise the party and

marizes the decision of the political committee:

"Our people should refuse to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit wherever they have a realistic chance to fight it but we advise them to sign the affidavit under protest where they have become isolated in the fight against it by general capitulation of the national and local officers in the union."

Then it goes on to say cases of excep-



Militant Nancy Cole

United Mine Workers played leading role in initial fight against Taft-Hartley, defied back-to-work decrees issued under law and for a period refused to sign "anti-communist" affidavits.

discuss the matter with the executive board.

SWP position

Q: Mr. Breitman, I am handing you what has been marked Plaintiffs' Exhibit 255 for identification, a November 20, 1947, letter from Farrell Dobbs to all locals and branches.

Is this the letter that reflects the position of the SWP on Taft-Hartley that you just described?

A: Yes, it is.

Winter: I would like to point out that this is obviously the letter referred to in the FBI report. . . .

I would like to point out that the description of the letter in the FBI report is at odds with the letter itself, that is Plaintiffs' Exhibit 255.

Griesa: In what way?

Winter: I think actually every single paragraph is relevant but I will focus in starting on the second paragraph:

"The law provides that each union officer must file an affidavit that he is not a member of the Communist Party and does not believe in and is not a member or supports any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force," et cetera.

Then it says:

"Our Party is not named in this provision and it obviously does not apply to the SWP. Therefore our comrades need have no hesitation about signing the affidavit where it has become impossible to resist signing any longer without risking removal from union office."

Immediately underneath Dobbs sum-

marizes the decision of the political committee directly with the PC.

Fabrication

I would like to point out that the FBI document that the Mandigo affidavit was based on talks about the SWP telling members to refuse to sign the affidavit unless they were placed in a position where they would be fighting alone and their identities as members of the SWP would be revealed.

This is totally not in this letter and contrary to what this letter says.

Griesa: What about this identification? Mr. Mandigo's affidavit did not embody all of what is said in this FBI report of 1948.

Winter: The difficulty with Mr. Mandigo's affidavit, your Honor, is that no matter how many times one reads that sentence, it is not clear what is being said. The final phrase:

"An act which would be violative of the Taft-Hartley Act."

It is totally ambiguous, it seems to me, from what the reference is there, which act would be violative of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Is it not signing the loyalty oath—or denying membership in a subversive organization?

Griesa: The implication, at least I assume the implication, is that Dobbs has advised these people to falsely deny membership in a subversive group. What Dobbs has really said in his letter is we are not a subversive group, can truthfully deny membership in a subversive group. We should fight the affidavit as a matter of conscience unless the fellow union members are no longer

joining that fight.

So I think if this is the letter it is certainly not characterized fairly in the Mandigo affidavit.

Winter: The only thing I want to draw out, and I don't believe this is too attenuated, is that the Mandigo affidavit appears to be based on this document, this FBI document. The document itself does not fairly characterize the letter that it refers to—and the Mandigo affidavit introduces, in my opinion, further unclarity into the original FBI report.

Griesa: Let's go to the next one.

Silak: Your Honor, as far as Miss Winter's statement that the FBI report unfairly characterizes the letter, I would point out that the letter does mention twice the circumstances of comrades making a last-ditch individual stand. That's in the first paragraph of the letter.

Then in the paragraph which is numbered one, second from the end paragraph, is a reference to people becoming isolated in the fight against it.

'Just argument'?

So I submit it is just argument on Miss Winter's part to say that the letter is unfairly characterized.

Griesa: Where?

Silak: The paragraph on page 0016.

Griesa: I am not really concerned with that. I am concerned with the accuracy of the Mandigo affidavit.

Silak: The Mandigo affidavit itself does not characterize the letter. It appears to be, if indeed it is, based on the FBI report. The FBI report is based on an informant's report. The letter itself is not contained in the FBI report.

Griesa: Look, Mr. Mandigo says flatly Dobbs has counseled SWP members not to sign loyalty oaths, but to deny membership in a subversive group so that they would not lose contacts in the union—an act which would be violative of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Like everything else, most everything else in the Mandigo affidavit, it is not intended to put these people in a good light. It is intended to put them in a bad light. So everything is slanted in that direction, and so this sentence is the same way.

I don't know what Mr. Mandigo's sources were. We haven't explored that yet with him. I assume he had some basis for making these statements. What that basis was I don't know.

If the basis was simply some informant's report, maybe that is not much of a basis. If he didn't bother to find out, get the letter or the document, maybe he didn't have much of a basis.

Let's go on. We'll go through this and see what it all shapes up to be.

Winter: Just one final thing on the section on Dobbs. It is in the last paragraph, the first sentence that is really all there is to Mr. Dobbs:

"In the early 1960s, when a split developed in the FI, Dobbs worked towards its reunification."

To your knowledge, are there any errors here?

A: There was no split in the Fourth International in the early 1960s that Dobbs worked, or the SWP worked, to heal—none.

Joseph Hansen

Q: Now, I would like you to look at the next section immediately after on Joseph Hansen, still on page 15—

Griesa: You say there was no split in the FI in 1960s?

Breitman: There was no split in the early 1960s that Dobbs tried to do anything about is what I am saying. This may be a reference to an earlier split in 1953, when he did try to do something about it.

Q: So there was a split a decade earlier stated here that Dobbs did try to work to heal?

A: Yes.

Q: On Joseph Hansen, did you know Hansen?

A: Yes, I knew Hansen since 1939.

Q: Mr. Hansen died in 1979, is that right?

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

A: Yes.

Griesa: When did Cannon die?

Breitman: In 1974. I worked together with Hansen as a member of the national committee in the same city for around thirty-five years.

Q: Did you become members of the national committee at the same time?

A: I became a member a year before he did. As editor of the *Militant*, I edited many of the articles that he wrote for the paper and collaborated with him in the writing of other articles.

Q: Have you read any of his published writings?

A: Yes, I think I have read everything by him that has been published.

Q: Have you read any of his unpublished writings?

A: I have read some of the correspondence that his wife was collecting after his death. I helped her to collect part of it.

At Harvard University in the Trotsky archives, there were a couple of dozen letters between Trotsky and Hansen, which I helped her to get copies of.

She let me read some of this material. I also found some of his correspondence at the Tamiment Library in New York University.

Q: Now, looking under the first sentence in the section on Hansen, he was recruited into the Workers Party in Salt Lake City, Utah in 1934. Is there any inaccuracy here?

A: Well, he was not recruited into the Workers Party in 1934, because at the time he was recruited, the Workers Party had not yet come into existence.

He was recruited into the Communist League of America in 1934.

Q: Would you turn the page and look at the next paragraph, the very first sentence.

'In 1948 Hansen stated that "Every comrade in the SWP will some day be expected to lead an army in the overthrow of the capitalism in America."

Is there any error or inaccuracy in this sentence?

A: Yes. This is another one of the undated attributions which I tried to find. I read everything for the year 1948 by Hansen that was in print and did not find anything like this.

'Rather absurd'

It does not sound like Hansen, who wrote and spoke good English, and the idea is rather absurd.

At this time there were around 1,200 members of the SWP. The idea that they were all expected to lead an army would have meant 1,200 armies marching up and down. The whole idea is out of character for Hansen.

Q: Now, looking at the next sentence, 'In 1951 he stated that "In the event of war between Russia and the United States, the SWP would be forced to fight on the side of Russia."

Is there anything inaccurate or erroneous here?

A: This is another statement I tried to find in print and could not find. It does not sound correct. It does not sound right because I don't understand what the meaning of force would be in this particular case—who or what would force the SWP, or why Hansen would make such a statement in this form.

So it may be something that somebody claims to have overheard, but which I could not find in print.

Q: In the very next sentence, 'In the late 1960s Hansen edited "World Outlook," an official international organ of the FI.'

Is there any error here?

A: Late 1960s is inaccurate because Hansen began editing *World Outlook* in 1963 when he was in France. He edited it for five years until 1968, when they were compelled to change the name because some other periodical had rights to that name ahead of them.

It became *Intercontinental Press*, which Hansen continued to edit until his death in 1979.



Joseph Hansen, left, with Harry DeBoer, who played important role in 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes.

And, secondly, *World Outlook* never was and never was described as an official organ of the Fourth International. It did not describe itself that way and there was nobody in the Fourth International, to my knowledge, that described it that way.

French events

Q: The next sentence, 'On June 15, 1968, Hansen was arrested in Paris, France, and was expelled from France.'

Do you know why he was arrested?

A: He was arrested because the articles that he was writing about the big events of that period—the student and labor upsurge of May-June 1968—his articles about that were very unpopular with the French Government, and they told him to leave.

Q: Was he charged with any particular crime?

A: No, he was not charged with any crime.

Q: That is the end of the section on Hansen essentially, with the exception of the reference to classified information and—

Griesa: I didn't get the point. What was the problem about this statement about 'World Outlook'?

Breitman: First, that the date is not accurate and, secondly —

Griesa: What is wrong with the date?

Breitman: 1963 to 1968 is not the late 1960s. Do you have the second point?

Griesa: What is the second point?

Breitman: The second point is that it was not an official international organ of the Fourth International.

Griesa: All right.

Carl Skoglund

Q: We are going to skip the section on Andrew Pulley, who testified after Mr. Mandigo, and move on to page 17 on Carl Skoglund.

Did you know Mr. Skoglund?

A: Yes. I met him in 1936, but I did not know him personally as well as I did the other people I have spoken about, because we did not live in the same city. He lived in Minnesota. But at the end of the 1940s he moved to New Jersey. I used to see him on weekends for a while, and I spent a couple of summers at the camp where he was employed.

Q: Are you currently writing a book on Skoglund's life?

A: Yes. In 1984 it will be the 100th anniversary of his birth. For the last year or so I have been collecting information about his life and activities, with the intention of having a book ready in time for the centennial celebrations which I expect will take place at that time.

Q: What have been the sources

you have examined so far?

A: Well, we found taped interviews by him about his youth, and typed interviews about his activities in the American labor movement. I have written to over one hundred people who knew him and are still alive. I am collecting information, impressions, pictures, and so on with a very good response so far.

Q: Are you collaborating with anyone in your research?

A: Yes. A very fortunate circumstance made it possible to get the collaboration of a teacher and researcher in labor history in Sweden, who has been able to examine a great many official Swedish records. The Swedes apparently save such things more carefully than we do. He has been allowed access to various government files and archives, and has found a wealth of information about the first third of Skoglund's life—which was lived in Sweden before he came here.

Correcting record

Q: Mr. Breitman, I would like you to look at the first paragraph on Carl Skoglund, page 17, the whole thing up until the last sentence—everything but the last sentence.

Do you recognize this paragraph from some other source?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: What source is that?

A: It is essentially, with a few more changes, something that appeared in an old issue of the *Militant* many years ago.

Q: When you say 'an old issue,' how old do you mean?

A: I mean one from the year 1929, fifty-two years ago.

Q: I am handing you Plaintiffs' Exhibit 248 for identification, which is a February 1, 1929, edition of the 'Militant.' I would ask you to turn to the second page of the document and look at the middle column where it says, 'The expelled' in bold headline. Then look down a whole paragraph to where it says, in much smaller bold type, 'who were the expelled Communists' and then it says 'Carl Skoglund.'

Do you see that?

A: Yes.

Q: Is this the part of the 'Militant' that you recalled on Skoglund, as being what the Mandigo affidavit is based on?

A: Yes, just by coincidence I happened to have looked at this recently as part of my collection of material about Skoglund. That is why it was easy for me to recognize it when I saw it in the Mandigo affidavit.

Q: In preparing your materials on the Skoglund book, did you rely on this article in the 'Militant'?

A: My experience as an editor has taught me that every source has to be double-checked or more. As a former ed-

itor of the *Militant*, I know that the *Militant* tries to be accurate about facts. But even the *Militant* makes mistakes, like everyone else—and these mistakes have all been repeated and incorporated into the Mandigo document.

Griesa: I am just glancing at this quickly. I don't know whether the substance of statements in the Mandigo affidavit are contained in the *Militant* item, but certainly it is not a quote.

The witness said it appeared. This did not appear.

Winter: The second sentence under Skoglund, where it says "participated in military strike of 4,000 soldiers, and" —

Griesa: Where is there anything about this?

Winter: Look at the beginning of the Mandigo paragraph 35, and starting with the first sentence or the second sentence under Carl Skoglund.

Griesa: This does not help us. I assume that some of the things in the Mandigo affidavit appear in this *Militant* item. Where does that get us?

Winter: I will tell you where we are headed and we can cut out a lot and perhaps just point to one thing.

It is that there are a number of errors here. The Mandigo affidavit repeats those errors, plus adds interesting information.

Mistakes pile up

Griesa: Let's find out what the errors are. What are the errors?

Winter: Should we go through the whole thing, or go through the new stuff that Mandigo adds to this?

Griesa: I am not interested in a critique of the 1929 *Militant*. The question is whether the Mandigo affidavit is accurate or not.

Q: Would you please look at the first sentence, Mr. Breitman?

A: Yes.

Q: Are there any errors there?

A: Yes, there are two errors there. What Skoglund participated in, in 1906, was not a military strike but a soldier's demonstration. As a result, he was restricted to company barracks, not punished by solitary confinement.

Blacklisted

Q: I would like you to look at the next sentence, Mr. Breitman. 'He was blacklisted by labor in Sweden and came to the United States in 1912.'

Are there any errors here?

A: Yes. There are two errors in that sentence too. He came to the United States in 1911, not 1912. ... as the Mandigo affidavit and the *Militant* said. And he was not blacklisted by labor in Sweden. Such a thing was impossible because the places where he worked were not unionized at that time. Even if they had been, those unions that did exist in Sweden in 1911 or before, did not engage in blacklisting of their own members.

Q: Is this error from the 'Militant'?

A: This error is not from the *Militant*. The *Militant* says "blacklisted in Sweden." The words "by labor" have been added in the Mandigo affidavit. That changes the meaning somewhat, since Skoglund was the object of blacklisting by employers in the United States later—as well as in Sweden in his youth.

Q: I believe we were on the third sentence in the section under Skoglund on page 17:

'He was a member of the International Workers of the World from 1917 to 1921 and traveled throughout the United States organizing and aiding this movement.'

Do you know if there are any errors or inaccuracies here?

A: The name of this organization is the Industrial Workers of the World, and Skoglund did not travel throughout the United States organizing and aiding in this movement.

He was a member of it, but his primary political loyalty was to the Socialist Party. Whatever traveling he did was in the state of Minnesota and was on behalf of the Socialist Party.

Q: Mr. Breitman, are these errors

that you just mentioned from the edition of the 'Militant' that we have been looking at, the passage in the 'Militant'?

A: No. It is not called the International Workers of the World in the *Militant*. It is called the IWW, and the *Militant* has nothing about his traveling and aiding this movement.

Q: I would like you to look at the last sentence in this paragraph, which is not reflected in the 1929 'Militant' article. Are there any errors or —

Griesa: What sentence are you speaking of?

Q: The sentence is: 'He was president of General Drivers Union 544 until removed by a Federal District Court because of his alien status.'

A: Well, this is a partial truth, perhaps misleading. There was no reason why anyone would be removed from a local office in a union because of his alien status, since at that time in 1945 there were probably thousands of aliens who were local officers in unions throughout the United States.

What happened was that there was a suit by some members of this union against the union which went to the district court in Minneapolis. The judge ordered Skoglund removed because the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had an undemocratic clause prohibiting aliens from holding local union office.

Griesa: I don't understand. The district court did what? The district court enforced the clause?

Breitbart: In the union constitution.

Griesa: You said it was unconstitutional. The judge didn't hold that, did he?

Breitbart: He said the union constitution should be complied with but that the local union —

Griesa: You said in your answer a minute ago that was an unconstitutional provision.

Breitbart: That it was an undemocratic provision.

Griesa: Undemocratic. That was not anything that the judge said?

Breitbart: No.

Griesa: That is your characterization?

Breitbart: Yes.

Q: Would you look at the very next sentence in paragraph 2:

'He was a charter member of the SWP and openly advocated and preached the overthrow of the United States Government by force and armed revolution.'

Any error there?

A: To my knowledge he never openly or otherwise advocated the overthrow



Socialist Workers Party leader Carl Skoglund, right, with other initial leaders of movement. From left, Arne Swabeck, James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Sam Gordon, Oscar Coover, Sr.

by force and armed revolution.

Q: The next sentence: 'On July 15, 1941, with several others he was indicted at St. Paul, Minnesota, in an indictment charging the overthrow of the Government of the United States,' et cetera.

Is there any inaccuracy in this sentence?

A: Well, obviously the indictment could not have charged overthrow of the Government, since the Government had not been overthrown.

Q: You say the indictment did not say that?

Griesa: We will assume that the indictment didn't say that. We don't know.

Q: In the next paragraph the second sentence:

'On May 25, 1954, the Immigration & Naturalization Service obtained a deportation order but never acted on the order.'

Is there any inaccuracy here?

A: Yes. The INS obtained a deportation order and acted very vigorously on it.

In May they had Skoglund arrested and taken to Ellis Island. He was interned for five months and then placed on a ship that was heading for Sweden. He was removed from the ship only at the last moment by a court order.

So I think that this statement is very wrong, and I can't understand how anyone familiar with this case could have made such a statement.

Jack Barnes

Q: Mr. Breitbart, would you just turn back for a moment to page 12? I would like you to look at the section on Jack Barnes and I just have a couple of questions relating to your personal knowledge of things that are stated here.

I would like you to look at the first sentence and tell me if to your knowledge there are any inaccuracies or errors here?

A: There is one inaccuracy in the third line. Barnes was an organizer of the New York branch in 1965, not 1964.

And then on the fifth and sixth lines he was national organizational secretary from 1969 to 1972, not 1976.

Griesa: New York branch organizer should be 1965 instead of 1964, right?

Breitbart: Right.

Griesa: What was the other item?

Breitbart: From 1968 to 1972, national organizational secretary—1972 instead of 1976.

Q: Now, the very next sentence: 'Barnes commenced close association with the FI in approximately 1971 which was still ongoing at the date the investigation was terminated September 7, 1976.'

Are there any errors here?

A: Well, I would say that his association with the FI commenced in 1969. He was a delegate to the World Congress of the Fourth International, gave a report at that congress, and was elected to the International Executive Committee.

That was two years before the approximate 1971 date given here.

(To be continued)

Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police



Can the Federal Bureau of Investigation feed information from political files to employers to get unionists fired from their jobs? Can the Immigration and Naturalization Service deport foreign-born workers for their political views? Can police agencies legally plant stool pigeons in unions and other organizations, even if no one involved is suspected of a crime?

According to the government, the answer is yes.

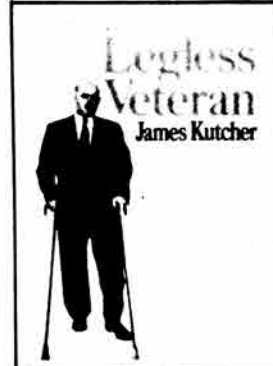
The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are putting the U.S. government and its police agencies on trial to challenge these practices.

"Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police" tells the story of the socialists' lawsuit and traces the fight for labor's rights beginning with Marx and Engels. 46 pp. \$1.00.

Socialism on Trial, by James P. Cannon, is a clear and simple explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism. It comes from Cannon's testimony at the 1941 frame-up trial of members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union for their antiwar and pro-union activities. 184 pp. \$3.45



The Case of the Legless Veteran, by James Kutcher, is the story of a man who fought and defeated the witch-hunters during the Joe McCarthy era. Kutcher lost both legs fighting in World War II, but the government fired him from his job at the Veterans Administration and took away his disability pension because of his socialist beliefs. After an eight-year fight—Kutcher won. 225 pp. \$4.45



Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 (include \$.75 for postage and handling).

Vote SWP? FBI did its best to stop you

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—When Andrew Pulley took the witness stand in the Socialist Workers Party trial against government spying April 24, the government tried to show why the FBI should follow socialists around.

The government claims it must trail the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance because they are "subversive." They claim that past and current leaders of the SWP have committed illegal acts—that it's all in a secret affidavit. But only the FBI and Judge Griesa have been allowed to see it.

In Pulley's case, the government sought to discredit SWP election campaigns, implying socialists run for office for nefarious reasons.

Pulley has been a candidate on the SWP ticket five times. In 1980 he was the Socialist Workers candidate for president.

Pulley explained that his campaigns discussed the rights of working people, opposed racism, supported women's rights, and outlined the socialist perspective.

What interested the government most was the international issues raised by the SWP campaigns. They implied that such issues have nothing to do with American people or elections here.

SWP attorney Shelley Davis asked Pulley if he made any trips abroad as a congressional candidate in 1970.

"My party and I totally opposed the Vietnam war and played a big role in the antiwar movement," Pulley told her.

"One thing I wanted to do was get a sense of people in other countries, hear their views on the question of the war, and also be able to report to them that there was not majority support for the war in this country. . . ."

Pulley told the court that he traveled to Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Japan, and North Vietnam. He said he tried to visit South Vietnam: "I got into the airport there—that's as far as I got."

Barred from South Vietnam

Davis asked Pulley what happened.

"... the South Vietnamese customs officials told me that the U.S. Embassy in Saigon had instructed them not to permit me to enter the country," Pulley said.

"They took me back into a little room, questioning me as to whether I was an agent of the Vietnamese freedom fighters ... they said 'Viet Cong.'"

"... they put me back on a plane and flew me out of the country to Bangkok, Thailand, and of course I was not heading in that direction."

The government shadowed Pulley on his entire trip. Documents turned over in the socialists' lawsuit even include details like Pulley's airline flight numbers.

Davis also introduced as evidence an FBI report on Pulley's campaign activities in the United States. She pointed out to Judge Griesa that the 1975 Privacy Act bars the government from maintaining files on citizens' lawful activities.

Judge Griesa wasn't so sure.

"The government has a right, you know, some free speech rights, too, don't they? Can't they write about Mr. Pulley?" he asked Davis.

"... just imagine, during the Second World War when the United States was fighting the Nazis—let's suppose somebody was going around the country advocating or urging servicemen that the war was improper and that they should oppose fighting the Nazis."

"... I think the United States Army would be derelict in not making notes to see how successful he is."

Davis pointed out that running for office and speaking out against a war are rights that are supposed to be



Above, Andrew Pulley discusses socialist campaign with Brooklyn shipyard workers. Below, Pulley in meeting with Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

protected by the First Amendment.

Griesa was not convinced. "A person goes over to South Vietnam and the surrounding nearby nations and urges the people and the GIs there against the war," he said, "and to argue that the government should not even make notes of that is just preposterous. Now, let's just drop that."

Davis continued by questioning Pulley about his 1972 campaign for vice-president.

The Vietnam War was the burning issue in 1972, Pulley told the court. He described a trip to West Germany where he spoke with hundreds of soldiers who opposed the war.

Pulley was a leader of GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina, in 1969. Army officials at Ft. Jackson arrested him and seven others and threatened them with a court-martial, but quickly backed down under public pressure.

Support Irish freedom fighters

Pulley also described his 1971 trip to Ireland in court.

"I went there to learn more about the Irish freedom struggle ... and to indicate my support for their fight for such freedom."

"I wanted to convey to them what I felt was common interest between their fight for self-determination and the endless struggle of Blacks and Chicanos in this country," Pulley added.

Government harassment of Pulley increased during the 1972 campaign.

Davis introduced part of the Church Committee report—a 1976 congressional investigation of the FBI—into the court record.

A section called "Internal Revenue

Service Programs/Misuse by FBI and CIA," describes how "in 1969 the IRS established a Special Service Staff to gather intelligence on a category of taxpayers defined essentially by political criteria."

"... This included the returns of forty-six new left activists and seventy-four black extremists as part of the Bureau COINTELPRO operations to neutralize these individuals."

Davis asked Pulley if he was ever the target of an IRS investigation. Pulley said yes—the IRS came to his campaign headquarters in 1971.

"To your knowledge," Davis asked, "did the IRS determine if there was a tax deficiency?"

"Yes," Pulley admitted. "I had to pay the amount." Davis asked Pulley how much he owed.

"It was \$3.00 and some cents," he told her. Pulley also had to come up with a nickel for interest and penalty.

FBI 'Index'

Immediately afterwards, Davis took up the question of the FBI's "Security Index"—a secret list of people the FBI brands as subversive and spies on.

Documents turned over in the SWP lawsuit prove that Pulley was listed on the FBI's Index at least from March 1971 to August 1975.

Another way the FBI kept track of Pulley and other leaders of the SWP and YSA was by spying on the 1971 YSA national convention in Houston. FBI documents on this were also introduced into the court record.

Pulley's testimony continued on April 28. Davis concluded her questions by asking Pulley about his travels as the Socialist Workers 1980 presi-

dential candidate.

Pulley described his trip to Grenada, and countered the lies by the Reagan administration and the capitalist news media about the gains of that revolution.

"That country is, of course, a Black country and I wanted to see what had been achieved."

"The great drive against unemployment, free medical care in a country that is poor—the whole direction of things is one of providing more services to the people, more education, more jobs," Pulley said.

"I felt that was important to grasp because my campaign approach and the policies we ran on ... was similar. That is, we didn't and don't think that the living conditions and social services and education and medical care should be cut back."

"So we were interested in looking at a small, poor, new country ostensibly being able to apply in their own situation some of the things we think are urgently needed in the United States."

The government attorneys had a tough task during cross examination—how could they make running for a public office sound un-American, underhanded, and sneaky?

'Strict political control'

"When you campaigned for the presidency and the vice-presidency," government attorney Edward Williams asked Pulley, "did you advise your prospective voters that if elected to office, you would at all times be under the strict political control of the Socialist Workers Party in office?"

Pulley told him, "I think the question of democratic centralism came up at one meeting, oddly enough ..."

"And I used this instance to compare how democratic the Socialist Workers Party was compared to how totally undemocratic the Democratic and Republican parties were."

"That is, they adopted a policy and adopted a platform and basically it does not mean anything, especially when it comes to the great promises they make to the American people."

Pulley compared the Democratic and Republican conventions, where "what the party decides at the convention means zero," to SWP conventions.

"The only way to have democracy is to have majority rule," he said. "Our party ... has a convention where delegates are elected to come and decide policies and perspectives and candidates from our party ... to seek office and present the party's point of view."

To illustrate this point, Pulley spoke about Mel Mason, who was elected last year as a city councilman in Seaside, California. Mason recently joined the SWP.

The government asked if Mason was now under the "strict political control" of the SWP.

"Mel Mason agrees with the Socialist Workers Party, which is why he joined, and we are glad to have him," Pulley told the court.

"Democratic centralism is not a problem at all when one is a political person who agrees with the views of the party, as Mel Mason and others do."

"The policies he agrees with are also apparently the views—on certain questions—that the people who elected him favor and support."

"I think the people who voted for him voted consciously knowing that his were socialist views," Pulley added. "They were all over the press."

"And he represents the interests of the people out there in California, marching on every picket line, supporting the miners' struggles. So much so that he just had to have a press conference, because the FBI began harassing him and spying on him, precisely because he was doing such a wonderful job out there."

Karl Marx on the Irish struggle

In the 1840s Marx and Engels began a study of the history, economy, and political situation of Ireland. Back as far as the twelfth century Ireland has suffered from exploitation by England.

Marx and Engels explained that Ireland was the first colony of England. The colonial plunder of this country was a major factor in enriching the English bourgeoisie and hastening the growth of its capitalist economy.

Deeply impressed by the revolutionary energy of the Irish, Marx and Engels fully supported their fight for freedom from the British monarchy. They campaigned in defense of Irish political prisoners. Many of their letters, documents, speeches, and reports are collected into a book called 'Ireland and the Irish Question. A Collection of Writings by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' (distributed by Pathfinder Press, \$3.25).

Below are excerpts from a document Marx wrote to all organizations in the First International, the International Workingmen's Association. Written in 1870, it is a reply to an attack by the anarchist leader Bakunin. Bakunin was opposed to the attention the International Association was giving to the Irish question. He felt it distracted the workers from social problems.

Marx explains how central the Irish national liberation struggle is for the emancipation of workers the world over.

Today, while the British capitalist class no longer has a substantial landlord sector, Britain's domination of Ireland continues to play the role Marx described.

—Priscilla Schenk

If England is the bulwark of landlordism and European capitalism, the only point where one can hit official England really hard is Ireland.

In the first place, Ireland is the bulwark of English landlordism. If it fell in Ireland it would fall in England. In Ireland this is a hundred times easier since the economic struggle there is concentrated exclusively on landed property, since this struggle is at the time national, and since the people there are more revolutionary and exasperated than in England.

Landlordism in Ireland is maintained solely by the English army. The moment the forced union between the two countries ends, a social revolution will immediately break out in Ireland, though in outmoded forms. English landlordism would not only lose a great source of wealth, but also its greatest moral force, i.e., that of representing the domination of England over Ireland. On the other hand, by maintaining the power of their landlords in Ireland, the English proletariat makes them invulnerable in England itself.

In the second place, the English bourgeoisie has not only exploited the Irish poverty to keep down the working class in England by forced immigration of poor Irishmen, but it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps.

The revolutionary fire of the Celtic worker does not go well with the nature of the Anglo-Saxon worker, solid, but slow. On the contrary, in all the big industrial centers in England there is profound antagonism between the Irish proletariat and the English proletariat. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the standard of life. He feels national and religious antipathies for him. He regards him somewhat like the

poor whites of the Southern States of North America regard their black slaves. This antagonism among the proletarians of England is artificially nourished and supported by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this scission is the true secret of maintaining its power.

This antagonism is reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, chased from their native soil by the bulls and the sheep, reassemble in North America where they constitute a huge, ever-growing section of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred for England. The English and American governments (or the classes they represent) play on these feelings in order to perpetuate the covert struggle between the United States and England. They thereby prevent a sincere and lasting alliance between the workers on both sides of the Atlantic, and consequently, their emancipation.

Furthermore, Ireland is the only pretext the English government has for retaining a big standing army, which, if need be, as has happened before, can be used against the English workers after having done its military training in Ireland.

Lastly, England today is seeing a repetition of what happened on a monstrous scale in Ancient Rome. Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains.

Thus, the attitude of the International Association to the Irish question is very clear. Its first need is to encourage the social revolution in England. To this end a great blow must be struck in Ireland.

Quite apart from international justice, it is a precondition to the emancipation of the English working class to transform the present forced union (i.e. the enslavement of Ireland) into equal and free confederation if possible, into complete separation if need be.

... Ireland

Continued from back page

masse to join the demonstration.

In Cork city, the mayor and the president of the local council of trade unions knelt together in a memorial mass for Bobby Sands, attended by some 4,000 persons. In the nearby town of Cobh, 90 percent of the workers at the Irish Steel-mill Development Site, the major employer, walked off the job.

In the town of Waterford, the other major industrial center in the south, about 3,000 persons marched in a demonstration called jointly by the Council of Trade Unions and the H-Block Committee. Waterford has a total population of less than 30,000.

In Clara, County Offaly, the two local factories closed. The mining center of Mavan was entirely shut down. The giant Arigna mines in County Leitrim closed. In the towns of Sligo and Tralee there were demonstrations of about 10,000 persons.

The extent of industrial and business shutdowns was thus substantially larger than on the December 10 National Day of Action, when the first H-Block hunger strike was going into its critical phase. It remained far short of a general strike, but the protests are mounting.

In Drogheda, for example, a rally of 5,000 persons on May 7 adopted by acclamation a resolution calling for a general strike. A motion for an official strike in the city had been only narrowly defeated in the local trades council.

Hunger strikers seriously ill

The condition of two other hunger strikers—Raymond McCreesh and Patrick O'Hara—continues to deteriorate. And it has been announced that another prisoner—Joseph McDonnell, the father of two children—began a hunger strike on May 9.

Pressure against the British colonialists and the conciliationist Irish politicians is building up in the South. Since the eve of Sands's death, the edge of editorial opinion in all the major national dailies has been turned against the British government. There have been sharp

editorials in the *Irish Press*, the daily associated with the ruling Fianna Fáil party, historically the more nationalist of the two bourgeois parties. And the criticisms it raised against the British government have been broadened.

The May 8 *Irish Press* gave greater solemnity to its statement on the Sands funeral by running an editorial in Irish under the one in English. Interestingly the editorial in Irish was more directly aimed against Britain. It said:

"Because of Bobby Sands's death and the merciless face that Thatcher has shown to the world, more young people will join movements such as the IRA. . . . It is not just the H-Block problem that has to be solved, although that should be gotten out of the way quickly. The problem of the system that drives thousands of Bobby Sands's into the IRA and into throwing stones in the streets must be solved.

"There comes a time in the life of a people when patience and discipline are exhausted. And since 1969 the Catholic people of the north have never been so close to that point. The British government has made another big mistake in Ireland. . . ."

Building a mass movement

In the North, all the authority of the H-Block movement and the Republican movement, as well as the moral authority of the Sands family, is being brought to bear to prevent any outbreak of violence that would impede the growth and broadening of mass protests.

The extent of the demonstration on May 7 shows how widespread the anger was at the British government's intransigence and callousness. But this anger is being contained. There is only scattered violence.

The efforts of the republicans to stop futile outbursts of rage did not, however, prevent the hypocritical British press from portraying the essential quiet of the Catholic ghettos as a defeat for the militant nationalists.

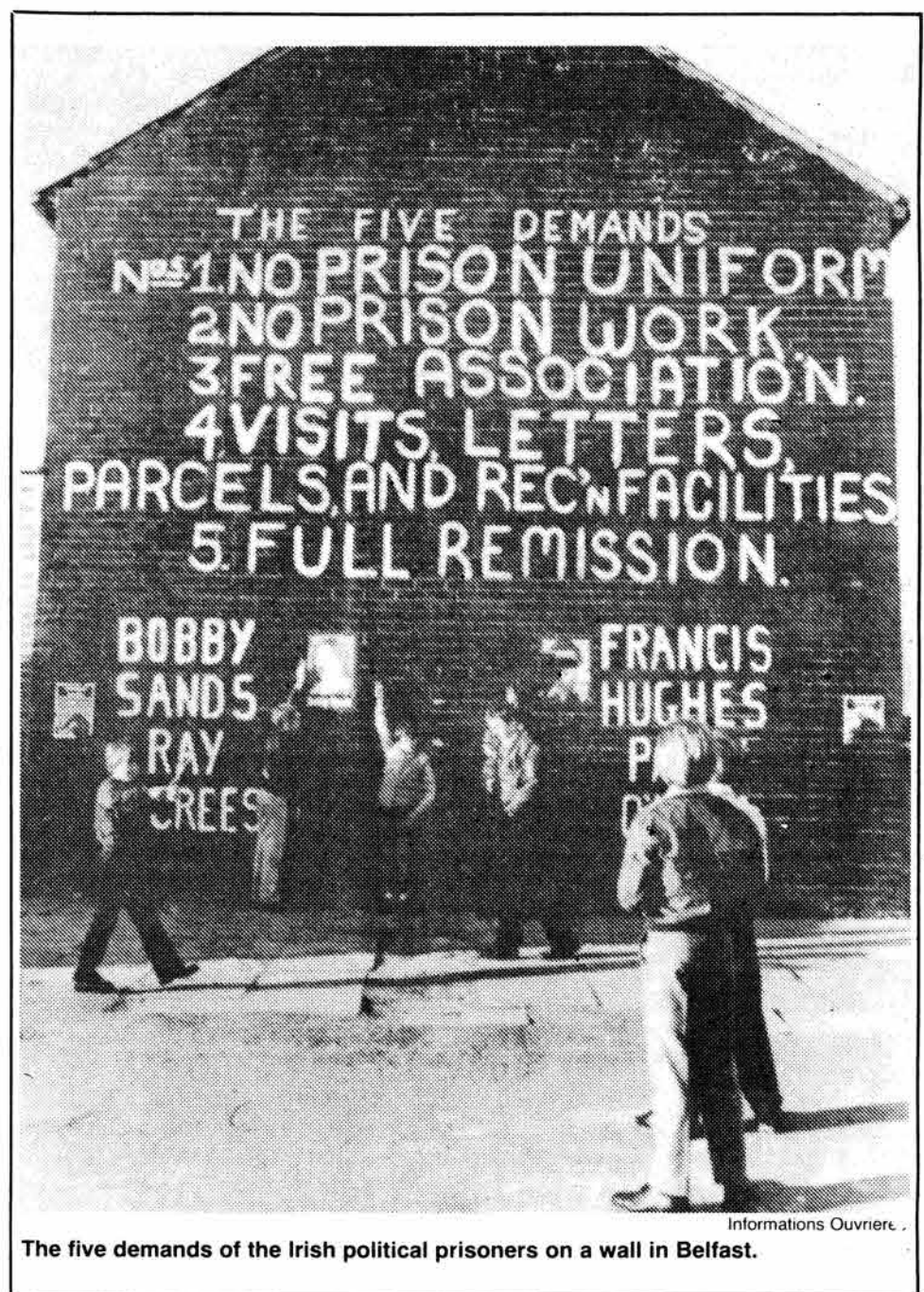
The extent of international sympathy for the Irish hunger strikers is beginning to come through, even in the British press—which is devoting a lot of space to arguments that the growth of

protests in the United States, in particular, does not really mean anything.

Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's praise for Sands was noted with considerable interest in Ireland. Also much commented on is the Iranian govern-

ment's gesture of renaming the street in Tehran where the British embassy stands. From now on every letter to the British embassy in Tehran will have to be addressed to Bobby Sands Street.

From Intercontinental Press



The five demands of the Irish political prisoners on a wall in Belfast.



By Reagan?—Former attorney general Richard Kleindienst, indicted on 14 perjury counts, declared: "I am not a liar. I am a Christian. . . . That doesn't mean I have never committed a sin, but when I commit a sin, I'm going to be forgiven for it."

Especially if they're union—A team of researchers told a gathering of psychologists that what people expect to be paid can affect what they're paid.

George Orwell, president?—The Nuclear Engineering Company, which operates disposal sites for radioactive

and chemical wastes, has changed its name to "more accurately reflect its business operations." The new name? "Ecology, Inc."

Ain't felt nothing yet—FMC, the San Jose military vehicle maker, now struck by members of the IAM, has changed the name of its in-house newsletter. Instead of the weekly *Tank Talk*, there's now a daily bulletin, *Labor Pains*.

The march of science—One researcher says chickens and turkeys may be fitted with contact lenses. His

findings indicate this will make them more "docile." He said they will "spend more time producing eggs rather than fighting."

Eh?—A New York "noise abatement" team asserts the city subway system is a bit more quiet than it used to be. However, they conceded, it's still twice as noisy as the Paris and London systems which are of comparable age.

Don't leave home without them—An Arizona man whose Mexican vacation was ruined when it took

four days to replace lost travelers checks, is suing Karl Malden and American Express. Contrary to Malden's commercials, the suit says, the company knew it could not, or would not, replace the lost checks immediately.

Guardians of law—A criminal investigator for the Dallas D.A. faced dismissal for allegedly biting off part of a man's ear in a bus brawl. It was a charter taking a load of lawyers to a ballgame. Four passengers were hospitalized. "The main ingredient was too much alcohol," a cop explained.

The American Way of Life

'I'm not an anti-nuclear nut, but . . .'

The American people know more about nuclear power now than they did five years ago. In the interim there have been antinuclear demonstrations, the accident at Three Mile Island, and the massive antinuke actions that followed. A growing section of organized labor has joined the fight. Much has been written and spoken on the subject.

Public opinion was reflected recently on the "Letters" page of the *Seattle Times*. On March 25 the *Times* had run an article by Marcia Terry in support of nuclear power.

The paper was deluged with letters in response. Some people were not in favor of shutting down existing plants; others had wanted to be convinced of the feasibility of nuclear power. *But not one agreed with the article or favored the construction of more plants.* Most were bitterly opposed to nuclear-generated energy, and suggested alternatives.

Below are excerpts from the letters.

—Diane Jacobs

We need only one nuclear accident to destroy an area for possibly a thousand years or more. We can clean up after a hydroelectric dam failure and be certain that no one was exposed to radioactivity. Would Ms. Terry like to live in the vicinity of a nuclear accident and be pregnant at the time?

Yes, a radiation leak can wipe out an entire city and thank you, but I like to choose my source of radiation. I prefer it from my microwave or my dentist, not from a nuclear accident.

Does botulism or diphtheria have the half-life of plutonium? Have you ever tried to cook out plutonium by boiling it? Can you get vaccinated against it?

She also failed to mention how much electricity will cost from nuclear plants. Well, just ask your friends or relatives from back east, because that's what we will be paying, folks. Your \$30 per month could easily be \$300 per month. Isn't conservation, insulation, and a solar water heater a better buy? —*Georgene Ranney*

I read Marcia Terry's article concerning nuclear power carefully, hoping that I, too, might become a convert.

Alas. Nowhere did she tell us that the industry has at last found a foolproof, safe method of disposal of waste from nuclear plants—or from anywhere else.

Until this has been done, I consider it reckless and irresponsible to build and operate yet more nuclear plants. —*Doris Vinnege*

I am not an anti-nuclear nut. I don't think it would be feasible to shut down existing plants and I am not in favor of ending nuclear research, especially research on the fusion process.

But I do think that a small group of greedy people is trying to ram nuclear power down our throats and is unconcerned about the long term (in thousands of years) impact of this ultimate pollution to our planet. Until we have better safeguards and a feasible way to dispose of nuclear waste, simple prudence would dictate that we not waste any more money on this form of energy production. —*Lawrence E. Gourley*

Nuclear power plants cost more to build (each WPPSS nuclear plant costs more than \$3 billion), have the shortest operating life (30 to 35 years), and cost more to shut down (\$100 million) than any other power-generation method. In short, nuclear-power generation is not economically feasible. —*John M. Pryor*

Anyone reading [Terry's] article has been grossly misled about the dangers of nuclear technology. Perhaps she got her information, as she suggests we should, from such an objective source as our friends at the Trojan nuclear plant. Or perhaps the Nuclear Regulatory Commission or General Electric.

There is no safe amount of radiation; radiation produced throughout the nuclear fuel cycles does contaminate our air, water and food chains, increases the rate of genetic mutation, and causes cancers in uranium miners, nuclear-power-plant workers, and the general population.

The public deserves to be given honest information concerning not only the scientific aspects of nuclear power, but also the economic and political issues so conveniently ignored by Ms. Terry. If nuclear energy is so safe, why won't insurance companies provide coverage for nuclear accidents to either the power companies or the American public?

We are ill-served by a recitation of "facts" about an industry more concerned with its own image and economic security than its potentially deadly effects on life on our planet. —*Gary Pouick*

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

ATTACK ON ABORTION RIGHTS: 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. Socialist Bookstore, 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

GRENADA: TWO YEARS OF REVOLUTION: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Adrienne Kaplan, United Steelworkers Local 1010, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 29, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL: RALLY SPONSORED BY POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND. Speakers: Hector Marroquin, member of Socialist

Workers Party under deportation order; Richard Sobel, attorney; Bokiba Enjenti, National Black Independent Political Party. Sun., May 31, 7 p.m. St. Andrew's Hall, 431 E. Congress. Donation: \$2. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

THE NEW YORK POLITICAL POLICE: SHOULD THE SUIT AGAINST THEM BE SETTLED? Victims and lawyers speak out on the proposed settlement ending the ten-year-old suit against the "Red Squad." Fri., May 29, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

STOPPING THE WAR AGAINST BLACK AMERICA. A film: "Tribute to Malcolm X." Panel discussion to follow. Sun., May 17, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

ROOTS OF IRISH CRISIS. Speakers to be announced. Sun., May 31, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

WEST VIRGINIA CHARLESTON

A RALLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential candidate; Marian Bustin, United Mine Workers Local 2095 and member of SWP and Young Socialist Alliance; Rev. James Lewis, activist in movements against the draft, U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and Klan violence. Sat., May 30, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. St. John's Episcopal Church, 1105 Quarrier St.

Donation: \$2, miners free. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: TWO CLASSES ON THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF SLAVERY. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 12 noon: "Slavery in Ancient World." 2:30 p.m.: "Slavery in the United States." Sun., May 31, Central Charleston Community Center, 314 Donnelly St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.



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Letters

Class-based, informed reporting

A few Fridays ago I heard a short piece on National Public Radio's "Morning Edition." The reporter interviewed Jack Barnes. That is the only non-Militant coverage [of the trial] I've heard or read.

It was concise, and Barnes made some excellent points, but like 99 percent of such news from NPR or other sources, it could have been a weather report. Background and context just do not stand out.

In any case, I appreciate the positions of the SWP and coverage provided by the Militant more and more with each issue after comparing other sources to the party's sources. I am thinking here of the people's progress in Poland.

A couple of people at work and I have discussed the Polish economy and debt. It was pleasant, for a change, when discussing the world, to see a way out that wasn't repression, war, or workers caving in.

I suggested the economy was strong and the debt could be reorganized. My fellow workers, I believe, saw that capitalist debt wasn't necessarily life's top priority.

Without the class-based, informed reporting of the Militant, the discussion would have been less useful.

One other thing, since I am writing. My concern in this trial is not whether the party wins. My concern is: when the SWP wins, how long can the capitalist government and its courts delay through appeals?

Of course I do not question a defendant's right to appeal, but as this defendant appeals, it

also appoints the judges. Can supporters of the SWP anticipate a Morton Halperin decision? (I believe he won a case against the government and Kissinger only to have the victory gutted on appeal.)

Just call me cynical, yet still supportive.

J.S.

Erie, Pennsylvania

Utah and nuclear weapons

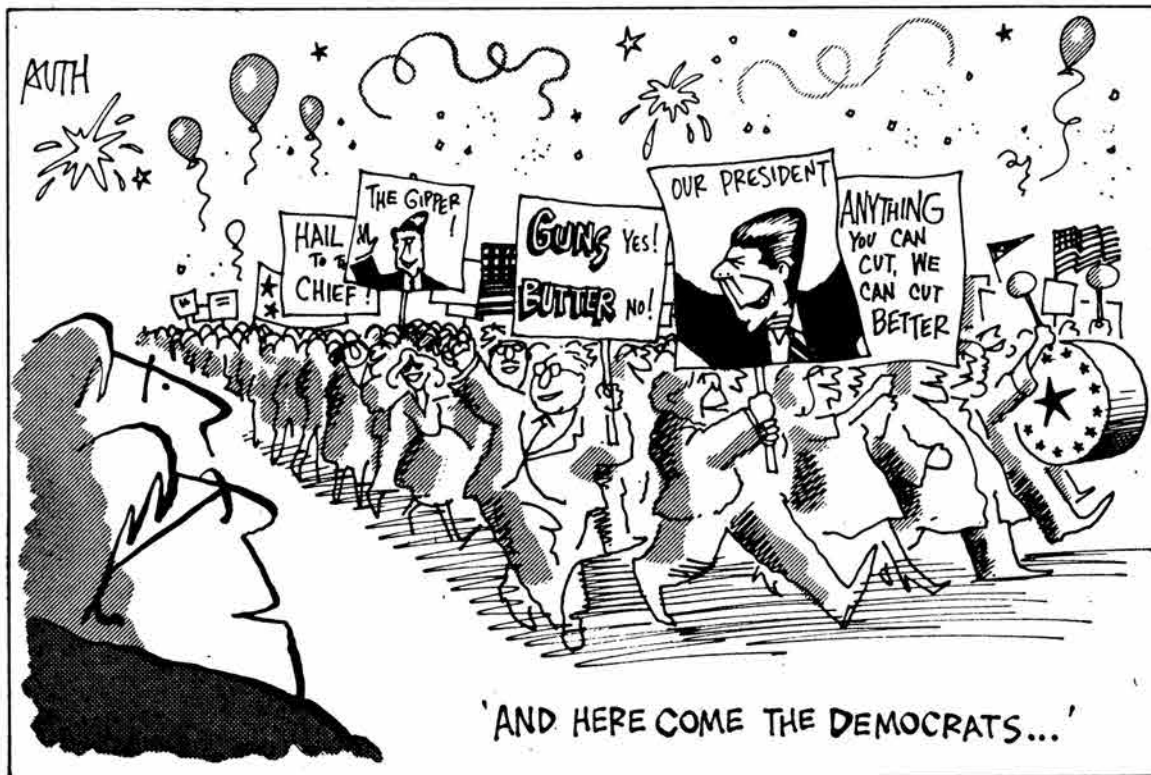
An important point was brought home to me by a "downwind" Utahn, a woman who grew up downwind of the Nevada Nuclear Testing Site. Her editorial was featured in the Salt Lake Tribune.

Ms. Catalan points out that the fight against nuclear weapons does not spring from hindsight or foresight, but from clear sight—the fight is for human survival today.

The entire Uintah Basin is "hot" with radioactive areas. All of northern Utah has been contaminated by the aboveground nuclear testing of the 1950s.

The government admits forty leaks of radioactive material since the testing went underground. Ms. Catalan's organization, Citizens' Call, suspects many more.

After a detonation in October 1980, there was a series of small earthquakes in southern California, followed by a series around Cedar City, Utah. A 20 kiloton blast, unannounced, occurred February 25, 1981. It was followed by small quakes around Los Angeles February 27 and the 4.1 Richter Scale quake in San Francisco March 3.



'AND HERE COME THE DEMOCRATS...'

Ms. Catalan states that if one flies over the test site, one can see fissures in the earth that were not there a few years ago. These nuclear testings are rocking the fault lines of the West and contaminating underground water sources needed for our survival.

These tests are killing us now, just as surely as downwind people are dying from cancers induced by the testing of the 1950s.

Utahns are conservative people in many ways, but I haven't seen a stronger distrust of the government than that which is flourishing here. These people have watched their parents die of radiation-induced cancer in long, agonizing, and costly ways.

Basing the MX missile in Utah would be throwing a

match into a tinderbox of public rage.

Stopping the MX needs to be a national movement. That's where the power is. And there are no safe zones where nuclear blasts are involved. The MX cannot be allowed to be built or based anywhere. The nuclear-weapons industry must be stopped in its tracks.

A government that would end passenger rail service and gut freight rail service, yet build a new railroad to whiz the MX upon, is a government that deserves to be replaced.

Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah

'Scientific creationism'

On April 27 the Sylvania, Ohio, School Board rejected a motion that would have granted proponents of "scientific creationism" equal time in science classes with the teaching of evolution.

The motion, brought by the Committee for Scientific Creationism in the Schools, was opposed by the overwhelming majority of the more than 150 people present at the meeting. The "scientific creationist" adherents could only muster about twenty supporters.

The issue of "creationism" in the school system here has become an important one in recent weeks. Washington Township, another suburb of Toledo, recently passed a motion at their school board meeting that science teachers had to teach evolution only as

a theory—not as a scientific fact.

On April 26 the Toledo Blade devoted an entire page to comments for and against creationist theory.

At the Sylvania School Board meeting itself, Dr. William Bischoff of the University of Toledo biology department and Dr. Earl Freimer from the Medical College of Ohio argued strongly for the scientific irrefutability of evolution.

"It is just as established in biology," commented Freimer, "as is the law of gravity in physics."

Bischoff called scientific creationism a "self-contradictory nonsense phrase."

One of the most effective speakers in favor of evolution at the meeting was Craig Kuhn, a sophomore at Sylvania's Northview High School.

Carolyn Marlen, speaking for the creationist group, could only feebly contend that science can prove the validity of neither evolution nor creation. Why that makes her brand of creationism "scientific," she declined to say.

John Bartleby
Toledo, Ohio

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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Protests shake Ireland

Francis Hughes died May 12, on the fifty-ninth day of a hunger strike to demand political status for Irish republican prisoners at Maze Prison.

Within minutes of the announcement of Hughes's death, hundreds of men, women, and children poured into the streets of Belfast's working-class Catholic neighborhoods.

People banged garbage can lids on the sidewalks to signal Hughes's death and crowds shouted "Frankie, Frankie," "Bobby, Bobby."

In Dublin, some 1,500 demonstrators broke down the garden walls of the British embassy.

The death of Hughes, one week after Bobby Sands, prompted Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey to say that "Northern Ireland, as at present constituted, is no longer a viable political entity."

Hughes, who was twenty-five, came from a staunchly republican family of ten in south Derry. He was a committed fighter for a free Ireland from his youth.

Outside Maze prison, his brother Oliver declared that British Prime Minister Thatcher "has murdered another IRA man—and has created another IRA hero."

The following article was written shortly before Hughes died.

By Gerry Foley

BELFAST—One-fifth of the entire nationalist population of Northern Ireland—100,000 people—attended Bobby Sands's funeral in Belfast on May 7, according to the most conservative press estimates here. It was the biggest nationalist demonstration in Northern Ireland's sixty-year history.

Sands died May 5 on the sixty-sixth day of a hunger strike demanding political status for republican prisoners in Northern Ireland's jails.

There were extensive shutdowns of businesses and factories in the nationalist areas of the north. In Derry, the second city of the north, a march of thousands was held at the same time as the funeral in Belfast.

In the south, an estimated 150,000 people took part in actions mourning

Sands's death. On the southern side of the border, the counties of Cavan and Monaghan, and the largest frontier town, Dundalk, were shut down. The major industrial center in the region north of Dublin, Drogheda, was also stilled.

The largest border county, Donegal, was shut down from one end to the other. About 5,000 people marched in the small town of Letterkenny in central Donegal.

In Dublin, most building workers walked off the job and bus service was disrupted.

About thirty factories and some shopping centers closed down in the Irish capital. In the Janelle clothing factory, all 300 young women workers walked out and joined the demonstration. The shop stewards committee presented a



Photo from Bilalian News

Black activist Dick Gregory and Irish leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey at April 29 Belfast news conference on Bobby Sands.

poem in honor of Bobby Sands at the rally.

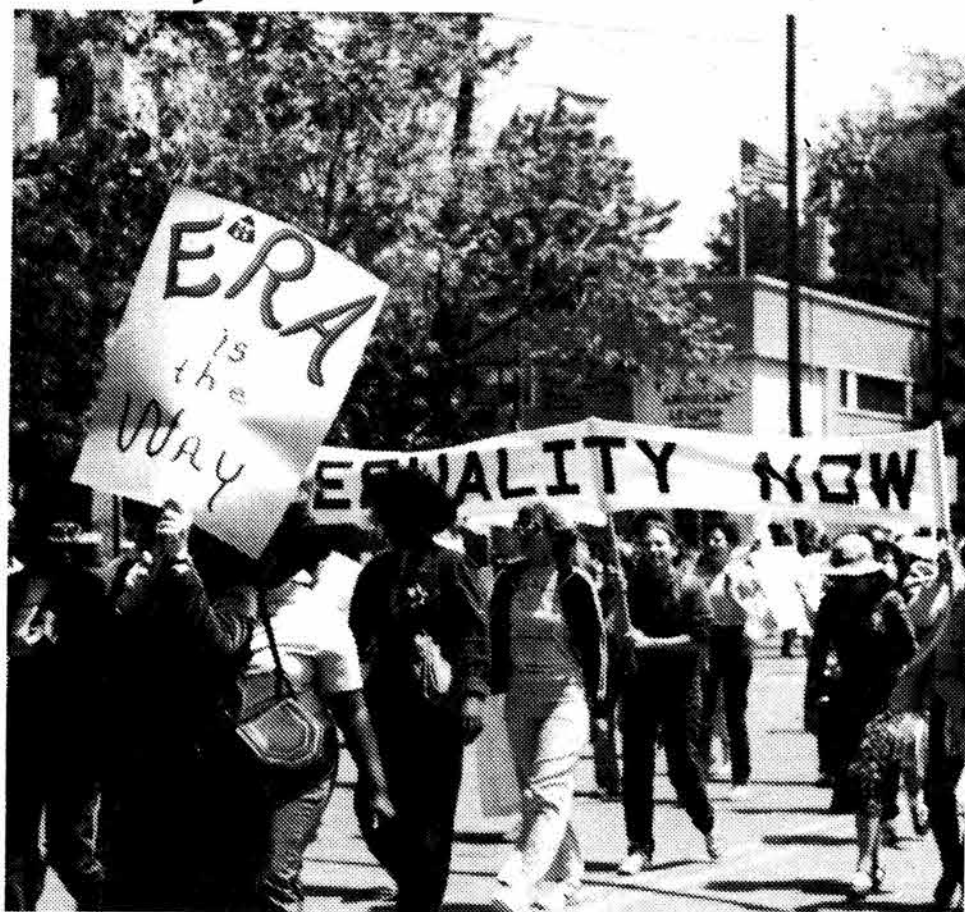
Many center-city shops also closed. About 10,000 persons marched silently through downtown Dublin in heavy rain. Their route led them from the General Post Office, the site of the 1916 insurrection, to the premier's office and

back to the Garden of Remembrance, a park commemorating the dead of 1916.

In Limerick, a town of some 60,000 inhabitants, about 4,000 people marched. Their numbers were swelled by the workers from Alcan, the largest plant in Ireland. They walked off the job en

Continued on page 29

4,000 march for ERA in N. Carolina



Part of crowd at North Carolina march.

Militant Kelly Lawrence

By Valerie Eckhert

RALEIGH, N.C.—"There will never be another season of silence," stated Beth McAllister, president of North Carolinians United for the ERA (NCU-ERA). And that was exactly the mood of nearly 4,000 participants gathered in this city May 2, in a march and rally demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The action was called by NCUERA, a coalition of over fifty civil rights groups, churches, students, the National Organization for Women, the state AFL-CIO, and the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

The ERA must be ratified by three more state legislatures by June 1982 in order to become law. The fight to win ratification in North Carolina is important for the national battle for the ERA.

"There is no way they can say ERA isn't wanted," remarked a marcher from CWA Local 3616 in Winston-Salem. "This march is what was needed."

The Central Labor Union, made up of all affiliates of the AFL-CIO in Winston-Salem, endorsed the march and sent a busload of trade unionists—including members of the International Association of Machinists, CWA

Locals 3616 and 3060, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Teamsters.

Other signs at the march showed the support of the Tobacco Workers International Union, United Food and Commercial Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Speaking at the rally, Rev. Joan Campbell described the ERA as part of a broader struggle for human justice, tying it to the oppressive apartheid regime in South Africa, the plight of farm workers, the killing of the Maryknoll nuns in El Salvador, and the racist murders of children in Atlanta. She commented that the "violence unleashed on the children in Atlanta should disturb the sleep of every one of us."

Jackie Kaalund, a staff member of NCUERA and organizer of Women of Color, blasted Reagan's budget cuts, attacks on affirmative action, cutbacks in the EEOC, and attacks on abortion rights. She denounced the failure to pass the ERA.

Also speaking were North Carolina Gov. James Hunt and Sen. Rachael Gray.

Poland: ranks of Communist Party fight for sweeping reforms

—PAGE 20