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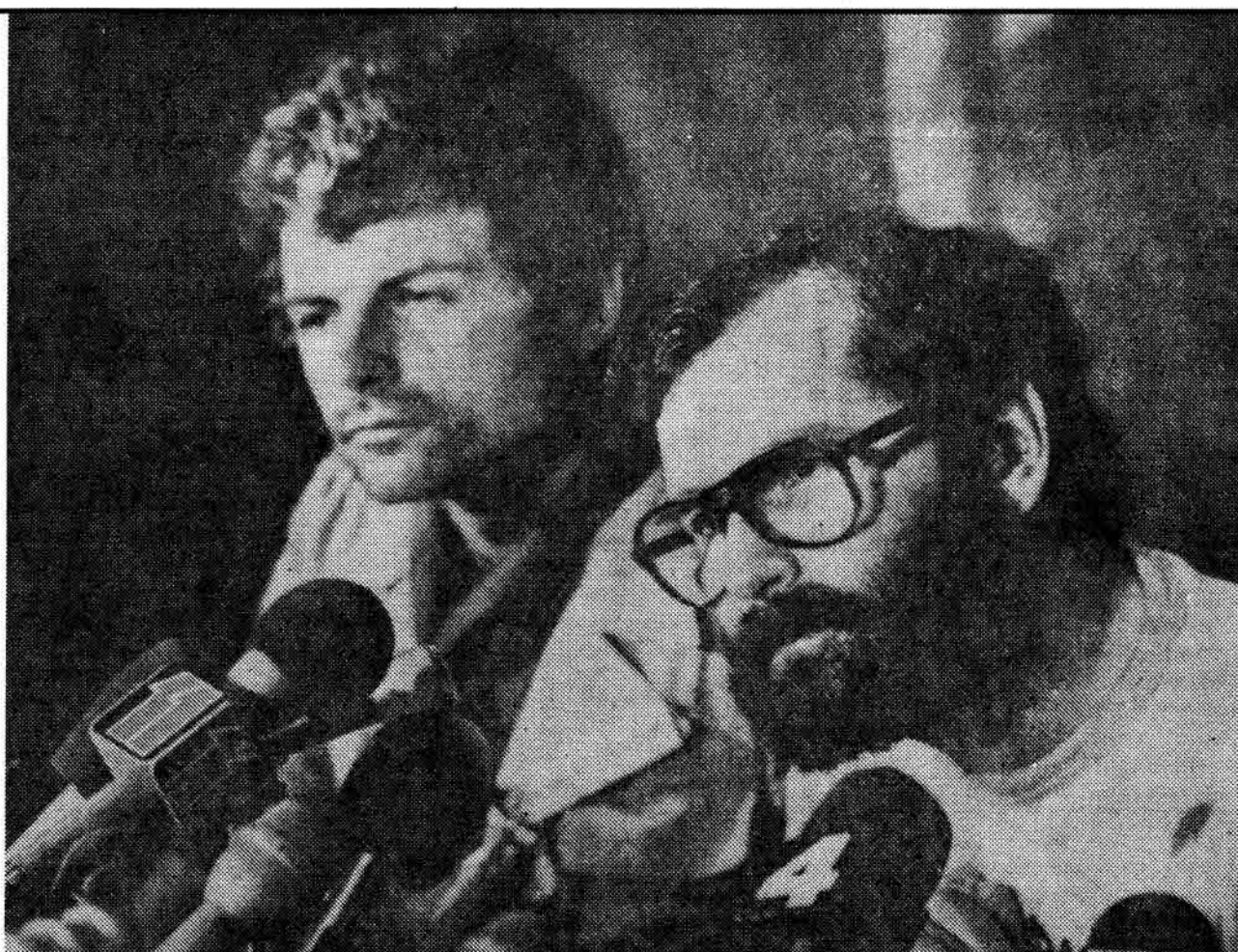
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Israeli bombing: threat to humanity

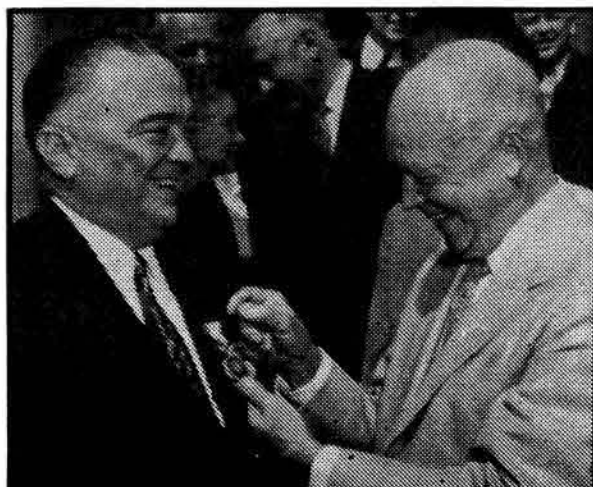
How Reagan backs permanent war on Arab peoples

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Vietnam vets continue protests



Richard Ogden, left, and Steve Suwalsky, two protesting veterans, talk to reporters. See page 5.



J. Edgar Hoover and President Eisenhower

'Top secret' 1956 FBI report: White House OKed Cointelpro

Communist Party first target of disruption program

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Israeli rulers drive toward war

On June 7 Israeli war planes bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad. One French technician was reported killed.

In carrying out this act of war against Iraq, the Israeli planes violated the territory of Saudi Arabia.

The latest attack is part of an escalating pattern of military adventures by the Israeli regime.

It has repeatedly bombed and shelled Lebanese towns and villages in recent months.

It has armed rightist forces in that country and incited them to step up their military operations.

It has provoked an increasingly tense confrontation with Syria, and issued new threats against that country after the attack on Iraq.

According to *Washington Post* correspondent William Claiborne, Lt. Gen. David Ivri of the Israeli Air Force "said the Iraqi operation is behind Israel, while the Syrian problem lies ahead."

The Israeli regime, armed with atomic weapons, is now proclaiming its intention of waging war against any government which it even suspects may develop a comparable military capability.

In a June 9 editorial, the *Boston Globe* stated that "the raid was, in effect, a statement that a perpetual state of war exists between Israel and its neighbors."

Where will it end?

Increasingly desperate and reckless, the Israeli rulers are driving toward a conflagration that could engulf the world.

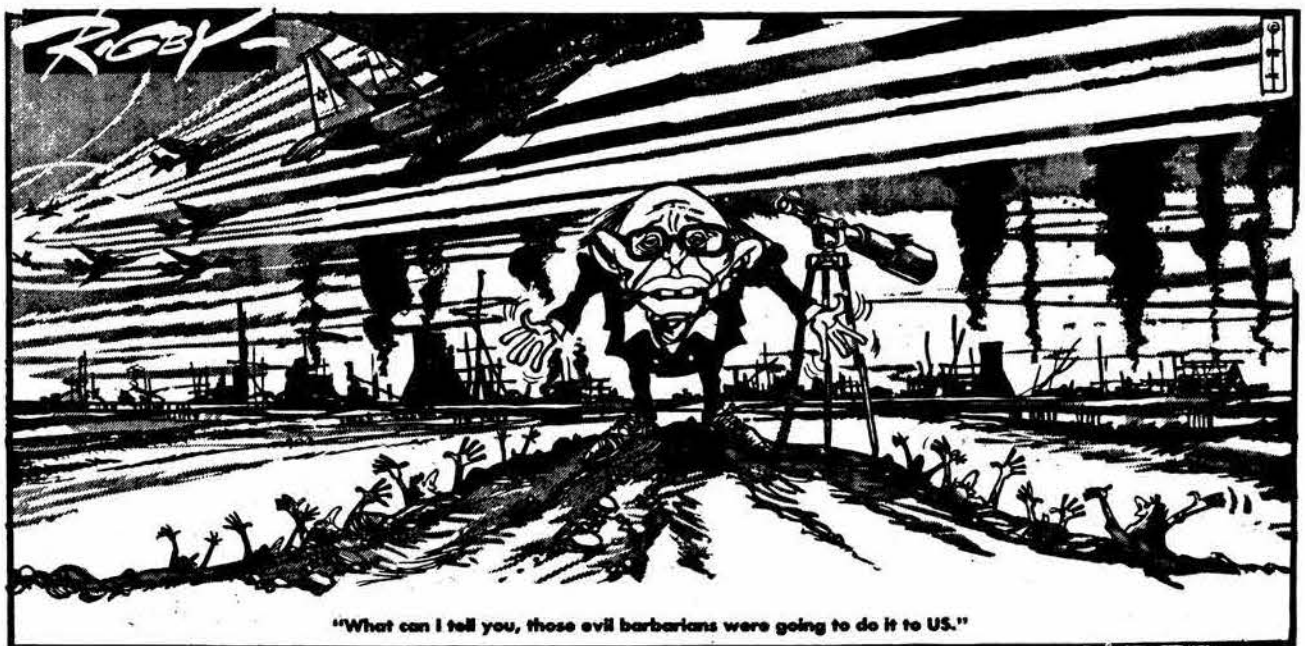
Why?

The Iraqi government pointed out that Israel "understands that one of the most decisive factors in determining the future of the conflict the Arab nation is waging against it is the continued presence of the technical and scientific gap between it and the Arab nation."

Israel cannot tolerate industrial or technological progress by its neighbors. Inevitably such progress would endanger Israel's grip on the territory it has ripped from the Arabs, beginning with the foundation of the Israeli state in 1948.

The Middle East has been the scene of four major wars since 1948. War has become the key—almost the only—instrument of the Israeli rulers in assuring their predominance in the region.

Condemnation of the Israeli bombing of Iraq was almost universal. From Peking to France, governments joined in denouncing the act. Iran, which is still attempting to beat back an



invasion by the Iraqi regime, issued one of the sharpest denunciations.

Even the pro-Israel *New York Times* called the "sneak attack" an "act of inexcusable and short-sighted aggression."

The permanent war between Israel and the peoples of the Middle East is built into the foundations of the Israeli state.

The Zionist organizations proposed to set up a Jewish state in Palestine, a country inhabited by another people. The only way to achieve this aim was to drive the Palestinians out of their homeland. Those who were allowed to remain in Israel became second-class citizens.

Surrounded by people it has expelled and oppressed, Israel is driven to expand its territory. Supposedly searching for secure and recognized boundaries, it has systematically and constantly violated the boundaries of its neighbors. In the end, Israel's expanding borders have simply meant expanding war fronts—with new refugees beyond its borders and new victims of discrimination and repression within.

The Israeli state was bound to come into conflict with all the other peoples of the Middle East—and, in fact, all the peoples of the world who are struggling for freedom.

The Israeli rulers' course has required a close military alliance with U.S. imperialism.

They were bound to establish close ties with the likes of racist South Africa, with which Israel has a joint nuclear development program.

Aside from South Africa, there are few countries in the world today as despised as Israel.

Decades before the founding of the state of Israel, socialist opponents of Zionism warned that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine could create a bloody death-trap for the Jewish people.

The escalating war drive of the Israeli regime threatens to turn this grim prophecy into a reality. No wonder growing opposition to the regime's warlike and expansionist course is being manifested in Israel itself.

One of the mildest censures of the latest Israeli aggression came from the Reagan administration.

Washington supplied the war planes that bombed the Iraqi reactor. If Washington was not arming the Zionist regime to the teeth, Israel could not long continue its permanent war.

While Washington may differ over tactics with the Israeli rulers from time to time, the Israeli state remains the only reliable defender of U.S. imperialist interests in the region. The U.S. needs Israel to prevent the spread of revolutions like the one in Iran. That alliance is deepening even as the Begin government plunges toward war.

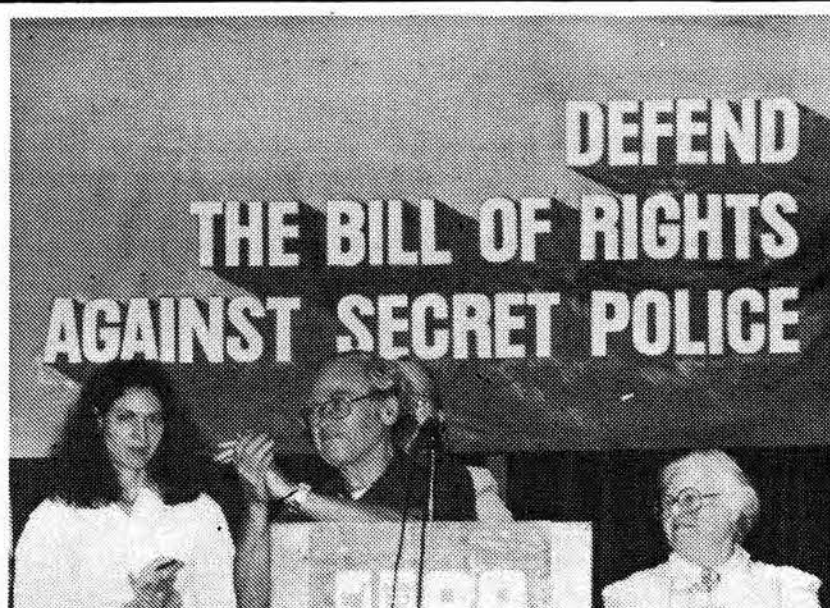
And Washington has no moral objections to actions like those of the Israeli state, however brutal and arrogant they may be—provided they advance U.S. imperialist interests. After all, the U.S. government attempted to pulverize Vietnam and crush Cuba—and it is looking for openings to strike blows to popular struggles in Africa and Latin America.

Washington's backing of Israel poses the threat of a Vietnam in the Middle East—one that could quickly escalate into a nuclear conflict.

Stop all military aid to Israel now!

Militant Highlights This Week

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700 rally in NY against FBI

Broad range of speakers at June 6 rally reflects important unity in face of government attacks on social movements. **Page 7.**

The Militant

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Reagan's El Salvador White Paper revealed as fraud

By Nelson González

The State Department White Paper on El Salvador has been exposed as a fake.

Entitled "Communist Interference in El Salvador," it was issued February 23. The document claimed to prove that the revolt in El Salvador was a "textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist power through Cuba."

The paper was used to justify sending fifty-nine U.S. military "advisers" to El Salvador. Arms shipments to the unpopular Salvadoran junta were stepped up.

Now the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and other publications—many of which readily accepted the document at first—have leveled devastating criticisms against it. The *Journal* now refers to it contemptuously as "a grab bag of captured guerrilla documents."

The June 3 *Wall Street Journal* published an interview with Reagan administration policy planner Jon Glassman, the man responsible for compiling the documents on which the White Paper was based.

One possibility not mentioned by Glassman is that the documents are forgeries. During the Vietnam War, the creation of "captured" rebel documents by the U.S. government and its Saigon allies was almost a daily event.

He now admits that parts of the White Paper are "misleading" and "over-embellished," and that there were "mistakes" and "guessing" by government analysts working with the alleged captured documents.

"Several of the most important documents," said the *Journal*, "it's obvious, were attributed to guerrilla leaders who didn't write them. And it's unknown who did."



Events like May 3 protest against U.S. intervention showed that people weren't buying White Paper's claims.

The centerpiece of the White Paper was a document allegedly written by Shafik Handal, secretary general of the Salvadoran Communist Party. It supposedly details a trip he made to Moscow, Hanoi, Havana, and other capitals last year. According to the White Paper, he received promises of massive arms shipments.

Glassman admits he doesn't know who wrote this report, either; but it almost certainly wasn't Handal.

Juan de Onis, the *New York Times* reporter who earlier leaked the story about Handal's trip, is now full of doubts. He now finds that Handal's trip to Moscow—which was portrayed, with Havana, as the center of the

plot—consisted only of low-level meetings. The alleged promises of Soviet aid are nowhere to be found.

"The only concrete instance of Soviet aid delivered to the Salvadoran rebels reported in the 19 documents was an airplane ticket from Moscow to Vietnam for one guerrilla, presumably Mr. Handal," reported the *Wall Street Journal*.

Glassman reveals that the White Paper's claim that 800 tons of Soviet arms had been delivered to El Salvador was obtained by multiplying the figure in a "captured" document by six.

The White Paper portrays Fidel Castro as seeking to organize the unification of the armed groups in El Salvador. But the "captured original" contains only a discussion about trade union unity.

Why the lies?

The *Journal* comments: "A close reading of the white paper indicates . . . that its authors probably were making a determined effort to create a 'selling' document, no matter how slim the background material." What they were trying to sell was U.S. military intervention in El Salvador.

But the American people aren't buying. Hundreds of thousands participated in protests demanding that the U.S. get out of El Salvador. Millions more agree with them.

But just as Washington has gone ahead with its intervention in El Salvador, top officials are trying to stand by the lies that were used to justify it.

James Cheek, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American affairs, stated: "I say throw the White Paper away, ignore it. The fact remains that all those weapons are there. You tell me how they got them?"

The Salvadoran freedom fighters who are opposing the junta have answered this question time and again. They say that they capture growing numbers of weapons from government forces, or buy them on the black market. And they add that they are ready to accept aid from any quarter in the struggle for liberation.

Almost all their arms are American-made. Reporters on the scene—friends and foes of the rebels—have provided eyewitness testimony that supports their statements.

To refute them, Washington had only one argument: the White Paper. And now it's gone.

Demonstrate for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

Friday, June 19, 1981
U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square
12 noon to 2 p.m.

Friday, June 19, 1953—twenty-eight years ago—the U.S. committed the Crime of the Century: the "legal" murder of innocents, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, disregarding worldwide pleas for clemency.

Mounting evidence—plus FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act—confirms their innocence.

We continue our protest until the Rosenbergs and codefendant Morton Sobell are officially exonerated.

National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, 853 Broadway, New York City 10003. Phone: (212) 228-4500.

Demand Dominican gov't drop move to arrest socialist

By María Terrero

SANTO DOMINGO—In the early morning of Saturday, June 6, a group of secret service agents and national police burst into the home of Claudio Tavárez, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT) of the Dominican Republic, seeking to arrest him.

The police gave no explanation to his companion as to why they wanted him.

The authorities may be out to frame up Tavárez because of the role the LRT has played in supporting demonstrations and strikes. The LRT backed protests in early April against the visit of U.S. warships to the Dominican Republic, during which police killed at least four people;

a municipal workers' strike; and a strike by more than 3,000 doctors in public hospitals.

Supporters of democratic rights in the Dominican Republic are mobilizing support for an end to the persecution of Tavárez.

International support is needed also. Protest telegrams should be sent, urging "hands off Claudio Tavárez." His only crime is having exercised his democratic right to support struggles of working people.

Messages should be sent to:
Mayor General José Paulino Reyes de León (chief of police)
c/o Periódico *El Sol*
Carretera Sánchez, Kilómetro 6½
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

Special offer to new readers

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Lies, distortion, and suppression of news. That's all you get from the establishment media on El Salvador. The *Militant* tells the truth about the struggle there, the role of the U.S. government, and how the movement against U.S. intervention is growing. You need the *Militant* each week.



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'Support helped get the contract'

Mine union leaders tour S. California

The following is from a news release sent out from Los Angeles under the letterhead of the United Mine Workers District 29, centered in Beckley, West Virginia.

LOS ANGELES—June 5—Two regional officials of the United Mine Workers of America completed a highly successful speaking tour of Southern California this week. The miners were here to explain the issues of the national UMW strike and to raise money for the "Miner's Hardship Fund" centered in UMW's District 29, in southern West Virginia.

"We spoke to thousands of unionists, in Los Angeles, in Long Beach, and in San Diego," District 29 organizer Fred Decker stated. "There's no doubt in my mind that the broad and enthusiastic support we received out here helped get the contract. The operators can't take a chance on this becoming a social issue," Decker also said. For the first two weeks of the three-week Southern California union tour Decker was joined by District 29 executive board member Charles Ashley.

The two UMW officials addressed dozens of lodge, executive board, and union leadership meetings. The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor set up a committee to support the miners and help them raise funds; Decker and Ashley were given an office to work out of by Service Employees International Union, Local 660. Jerry Whipple, Executive Director of the United Auto Workers Region 6, Jack Foley, President of District 1 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and Bob Petris, president of District 38 of the United Steelworkers were among union officials who promised mailings to their memberships urging support for the



UMWA District 29 organizer Fred Decker in Los Angeles.

Militant/Sally Rhett

Miners approve contract, construction workers still out

By Stu Singer

June 10—In balloting June 6, members of the United Mine Workers approved a new contract by about a two-to-one margin. Approval of the contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association ends a seventy-two-day strike.

On March 31 miners voted down the first contract offer. They were already on strike at the time. The previous contract expired March 27; UMW members do not work without a contract.

Voting on the second contract was uneven. It was voted down in three adjacent districts, 4 and 5 in south-

western Pennsylvania and 31 in northern West Virginia.

The second contract has important improvements over the first.

After the contract approval, miners returned to work for their first scheduled shift to qualify for a \$150 bonus. But at least 50,000 are back out of the mines two days later. They are respecting pickets from the mine construction workers who are also members of the UMW.

The contract between the 11,000 construction workers and the Association of Bituminous Contractors expired at the same time as the BCOA contract, but a new one has not been reached yet.

miners.

Decker and Ashley spoke to lodge meetings of the International Association of Machinists, United Teachers of Los Angeles, American Federation of Teachers, United Steelworkers of America, Social Service Employees International Union, as well as to the Coalition of Labor Union Women and to religious and student groups.

In San Diego they were greeted at a rally of the United Domestic Workers and promised support by the Central Labor Council.

"When I explained why we rejected the first contract," Decker said, "everyone understood what I was talking about."

"The energy conglomerates set out to destroy the union. When I explained this, people were nodding their heads in agreement."

In explaining the broad support the miners received in Southern California, Decker said, "The Reagan cutbacks are on everybody's mind. What many, many unionists told us is 'We're with you. We know what it's all about. They're going after all of us and if they get you they're going to get us too.'"

Decker said, "Labor should join together as one movement and take this message to Capitol Hill—and I don't think it's too far away that this could be done. All working people everywhere should get together to find the cutbacks, especially in Social Security."

Because the miners still face a 30-day period without a payday even after returning to work, contributions are urgently needed. Donations can be sent to the Miner's Hardship Fund, P.O. Box 511, Beckley, W. Va. 25801, or in care of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, 2130 W. 9th St., Los Angeles, CA 90006.

Women coal miners hold nat'l conference

By Kipp Dawson

CARBONDALE, Ill.—One hundred and forty people met here May 22-24 in the Third National Conference of Women Coal Miners.

Cars, vans, and pick-ups in the parking lot sported license plates from Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Maryland, and as far away as Utah and Wyoming. Sixty-four women miners from those states attended.

One van had painted on both sides in big black letters, "Lady Coal Miners from Utah." (The nine women miners who attended from Utah also wore T-shirts with the same inscription.)

Among the women miners, a majority were members of the United Mine Workers of America. But two Tennessee women were members of the Southern Labor Union, and a number of the western miners were nonunion. Several Black women miners attended, as did one Chicana and a Navajo from Utah.

Coal Employment Project

The Coal Employment Project (CEP), the sponsoring organization, describes itself in a new brochure as, "a non-profit public interest group willing to help women get and keep coal mining jobs."

In the conference call the CEP noted: "Since the last conference, women miners and their supporters have . . . been on the front lines of struggles to improve health and safety for all miners; have worked to strengthen their union locals and to form support groups; have documented the problem of sexual harassment in the coal mines; have sponsored training programs for potential women miners and have begun to document the experiences of women working in the mines while pregnant. . . ."

The Coal Employment Project was formed in 1977 to help women get jobs in the mines. At that time, 99.8 percent of coal miners were men. The first woman was hired underground in 1973, in West Virginia. She was the only woman hired underground all that year.

The CEP has filed and won important affirmative-action decisions that open the door to more women getting into the mines. They have established requirements that companies doing business with the Tennessee Valley Authority must have affirmative-action plans for Blacks and other minorities.

As of 1980 women made up about 2 percent of the underground work force in coal mines. There were about 3,000 women employed underground.

Workshop topics were similar to previous CEP-sponsored conferences:

Mine health and safety; organizing support groups; coal miners' rights—workers compensation and black lung; sex and race discrimination; special health concerns of women miners; job bidding, advancement and training in union, company, and federal jobs; sexual harassment; union organizing and building the UMW; child care in the coalfields.

UMWA strike

This gathering of rank-and-file coal miners took place in the midst of the UMW contract strike. Miners arrived hungry for information on how the strike was going around the country. This was the most widely discussed topic. It ran through most workshops, plenaries, and informal discussions that went way into the night.

Addie Wyatt gave the keynote address Saturday morning. She is executive vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and a vice-presi-

dent of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

She urged the women to put their best efforts into building their union, as she has done over the years.

"Even though I have disagreed sometimes with the direction, thought it was going too slow, I've never disagreed to the extent that I've wanted to desert the union."

"Because I realized then, and I realize it now more than ever, it's the best that we have."

This theme was expanded in Charlotte Walters's remarks to the closing session. She spoke on behalf of Coal Power, an Ohio-based organization "comprised of United Mine Workers pensioners, their wives, and their widows and the active miner" that fights for improvements in pensions and defends black lung benefits.

Walters told the women, "You've got a tough battle ahead of you. They're going to try to turn you against one another. They're going to try to bust your union. But your children's future, and my grandchildren's future, depends on how strong the UMW is, and remains."

False rumors

The women miners spent most of the time learning what miners are doing around the country. The discussions dispelled a few rumors.

Illinois miners had heard that Pennsylvania and West Virginia strikers were receiving unemployment benefits. They thought that explained why miners in those states voted so heavily against the first contract.

West Virginia and Pennsylvania miners explained they receive no benefits.

One of the most important exchanges was between UMW miners and women who are not in a union or are in other

unions. We all shared an appreciation that people work in nonunion mines because those are the only jobs they can get. We learned from sisters in Tennessee and Wyoming that many miners would welcome the opportunity to sign UMW organizing cards if there was an aggressive campaign in their areas.

It was obvious they are not scabs because they aren't lucky enough to work in mines organized by the UMW. As one miner put it, no one is a scab until they cross a picket line or refuse to sign a UMW card.

UMWA and NOW

From its inception the CEP has had a close relationship with both the United Mine Workers of America and with the National Organization for Women. Both groups sent representatives to greet the conference: Everett Acord, head of the UMW safety division, brought greetings from Sam Church. Mary Rich, vice-president of Illinois NOW, spoke also.

Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund held an informal reception for Marian Bustin.

Bustin, a UMW miner and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is fighting government threats to deport her back to Scotland.

The twenty miners who heard Bustin's report left with handfuls of literature, some subscriptions to the *Militant*, and strong wishes of support to their sister.

One got the feeling, leaving this conference, that women miners will play a role disproportionate to their numbers in the new leadership that is emerging in the United Mine Workers of America.

Kipp Dawson is a member of United Mine Workers Local 1197 at Cokeburg, Pennsylvania.

Hunger strike enters fourth week

Vietnam vets hold firm on VA demands

June 9—At 6 a.m. today, police ordered Vietnam veteran protesters and their supporters off the grounds of Wadsworth Veterans Administration hospital. The move followed the June 8 breakdown in negotiations with the VA. The veterans on hunger strike left voluntarily. Participants supporting the sit-in were escorted off the grounds.

Tents have been set up in the parking lot of St. John's Episcopal Church.

Vietnam vets leader Ron Kovic announced that the protest is continuing and will soon move to Washington.

Dick Gregory visited with the protesters June 8 to express support. Congressman George E. Brown (D-Cal.) has sent a letter of support.

One hunger striker, Max Inglett, is in critical condition after being without food for seventeen days.

By Hayden Perry

LOS ANGELES—Vietnam veterans holding a hunger strike and sit-in protest at Wadsworth Veterans Administration hospital are firm in demands for fair treatment by the government. The number of veterans encamped on the hospital's grounds is growing daily. Some take part in the day and night sit-in in the hospital lobby. Others join the hunger strikers outside. By June 3, nineteen tents had been set up.

The protest, which began May 20, demands a probe of the Veterans Administration by an independent committee; an end to the coverup of the deadly effects of Agent Orange; recognition of delayed-stress syndrome as a service-connected disability; and revision of the GI bill in the light of veterans' needs today.

(Agent Orange is a toxic herbicide that the U.S. government sprayed across Vietnam to defoliate the country's rice fields and forests. It poisoned many American GIs and Vietnamese peasants. The U.S. government has refused to accept responsibility for the health problems of veterans suffering from the effects of Agent Orange poisoning.)

(Delayed-stress syndrome refers to the surfacing of war-related emotional difficulties, sometimes years after combat duty.)



Vietnam vets leader Ron Kovic

Militant/David Warren

The spark that set off the veterans' protest was the death of Vietnam veteran James Hopkins. Two months earlier, Hopkins had driven his jeep through the glass doors of the Wadsworth VA hospital after being denied treatment for a nervous disorder. On May 17, he was found dead in his home. His death is thought to have been a suicide.

Three days later, the hunger strike began. On May 25, more than 300 mourners drove to the Westwood Veterans Cemetery for a service in honor of Hopkins.

After ignoring the hunger strike for more than a week, the VA tried to pacify the angry veterans by sending a letter making vague promises of improvements. The letter does not promise a probe into the VA, or offer to aid victims of Agent Orange, or promise action on delayed-stress syndrome.

Five of the thirteen hunger strikers, members of the Vietnam Veterans Association, accepted the letter and called off

their fast May 20. Robert L. Miller, VVA executive secretary, said that the Reagan administration had acted in a "commendable manner."

But the other eight hunger strikers condemned the VA letter as meaningless. "The VA is offering nothing more than the same empty promises that they have been making for years," said Ron Kovic, a paraplegic veteran who has waged a struggle for veterans' rights ever since he was shipped home—crippled for life—from Vietnam.

The number of hunger strikers as of June 3 has risen to fourteen.

Mack Inglett, a paraplegic, collapsed June 3 after fasting for fourteen days. Another hunger striker, Chuck Bass, also collapsed after thirteen days without food. They were taken into the hospital. Veterans among the group supporting the hunger strikers prepared to take the place of their stricken comrades.

The protesters have been heartened by displays of support from individuals

and groups throughout Southern California. An Irish group concluded its weekly picket at the British consulate with a car caravan to the hunger strikers. A delegation of the Alliance for Survival, an antinuclear-power group, also brought a message of support.

Kenneth Hahn, a member of the county Board of Supervisors, said he supported the veterans "whose cause has long been ignored."

A group of clergy conducted a service at the hospital in support of the veterans' protest. Among them was Rev. Gene Boutillier, director of the Southern California Council of Churches. At the prayer services, veterans called for a nationwide noon-hour fast June 9 in support of the hunger strikers. "We hope to see lots of empty places at the nation's lunch counters on that day," Ron Kovic declared.

Caravans of supporters are arriving from San Diego, San Jose, and San Francisco, prepared to stay until the demands are met.

Support is being sought from organized labor. On June 3, the veterans had a table at an all-day conference on Reagan's welfare cuts, sponsored by the county Federation of Labor.

Strikers and many of their supporters are wearing orange ribbons, symbolizing the deadly Agent Orange.

The hunger strike is national and international news. Television cameras and newspaper reporters swarm about.

The Veterans Administration has dispatched a delegation of four high-ranking officials to negotiate with the strikers. The VA negotiators promised that outside doctors will be asked to investigate patient care at VA hospitals and educate VA personnel on delayed-stress syndrome.

The hunger strikers want all their main demands granted. They note that their protest has already forced the House of Representatives to unanimously endorse the idea that the government must provide treatment for Agent Orange victims.

And VA official Nick Longworth admitted that the hunger-striking Vietnam veterans are causing "consternation" in Washington.

Right-wing Vietnamese exiles attack meetings

By Fred Feldman

Professor Ngo Vinh Long, Vietnamese-born historian, has issued an open letter protesting attacks on him by right-wing Vietnamese exiles. He is calling for letters of protest to be sent to Harvard University, where Long was the target of an April 23 firebomb attack.

The attack on Long is part of a series of assaults carried out against Vietnamese in this country who express sympathy for the Vietnamese revolution or oppose the U.S. policy of stepping up pressure against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

In March, rightist exiles broke up a lecture by Long at the University of Michigan. On April 9, they disrupted a slide presentation he was giving at Harvard.

The April 23 confrontation was the most serious.

Long had been invited to a panel discussion on Vietnam. When he arrived, he found that all the other panelists were well-known opponents of the revolution and supporters of the ousted Saigon regime.

Among them was Doan Van Toai, the author of *Vietnam Gulag*. Toai was the source of most of the false, unsupported, or wildly exaggerated charges of human rights violations published in newspaper advertisements sponsored by Joan Baez in 1979.

Ninety percent of the audience was composed of right-wing exiles, drawn to the meeting by leaflets claiming that Long was an agent of the Hanoi

government. The other speakers echoed this charge. Doan Van Toai openly collaborated with leaders of the disruption.

Police were called to escort Long from the meeting as right-wing Vietnamese shouted death threats at him. As he was leaving, a molotov cocktail was thrown at him. Another firebomb was found later in the same vicinity. The assailant said he is a former junior officer in the U.S.-backed and organized Saigon army. The would-be assassin has since been freed on bail.

Three days later, Long reports, refugees told him that "the attempt on my life had been discussed and organized for several weeks. . . . Goons were also brought in from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and elsewhere."

Long was profiled in the May 7 *Boston Globe*: "Long, 37, has been in the United States since 1964, when he came to Harvard as a freshman. He now holds a doctorate degree in Sino-Vietnamese studies from the university. As a teenager in Vietnam, Long worked for three years as a map-maker for the U.S. military attache assigned to Saigon."

"At Harvard, he became a vocal figure in the antiwar left and has published extensively on the history of revolution in Vietnam. . . .

"Recently, Long returned from seven months in Vietnam, a trip financed by an advance from Pantheon books, a division of Random House, for a work about life in a Vietnamese Communist

village."

Acts such as the attacks on Long rarely occur unless the right-wing exiles feel assured of at least the tacit sympathy of the U.S. government.

One possible source of such confidence is the role of Stephen Young, one of the panelists at the meeting where Long was attacked. Long states, "Stephen Young began to incite the crowd of Vietnamese in the audience, speaking to them now in Vietnamese, now in English."

The *Boston Globe* reported:

"Young's father, Kenneth Young, was once US ambassador to Thailand and was an architect of what came to be known as the village pacification program in Southeast Asia. Young himself was an official in the Agency for International Development (AID) village development program in Vietnam from 1968 to 1971. . . . Young is a fierce ideological opponent of Long, as well as of all US intellectuals associated with the antiwar movement. He admits that 'in my more romantic moments' he dreams of the Communist government in Vietnam crumbling and a nationalist government being restored. . . .

"Young has close ties with the Vietnamese refugee community. . . . In fact, Young volunteered to act as interpreter for the Cambridge police in dealing with the defendant. Since then, Young has helped negotiate bail for the defendant. . . .

"Young said his wife was acting as treasurer of the defense fund the refu-

gee groups organized to pay legal expenses for the alleged attacker."

Young admits that he commonly provides the right-wing refugees with information about meetings on Vietnam. And it was Young who initially suggested inviting Long to the meeting—thus setting him up for the attack.

In the open letter, Long cites three basic purposes for the attacks on him:

"1. To make it difficult, if not to say impossible, for me to ply my trade as a scholar on Vietnam and China. . . .

"2. To try to intimidate all those who had been against the Vietnam war and those who are still concerned about Vietnam. . . .

"3. To try to intimidate all those Vietnamese residents and refugees who have come to understand the problems confronting Vietnam and who may want to speak out their minds about the Vietnamese realities. Since the end of the war, there has been a concerted effort to get the refugees to tell exaggerated stories about Vietnam in the attempt to justify the war. . . . For this reason, anyone who provides the American public and the refugee community with reliable and factual information, alternative perspectives and well-reasoned analyses on Vietnam should not be tolerated and should be silenced one way or another."

Historian John Womack, Jr., is among those who have protested the attack on Long.

Court frame-up of Chicano exposed

By Rose Peery

DENVER—Cops, judges, and the FBI have been exposed in efforts to engineer a new frame-up against Francisco "Kiko" Martínez, a Chicano rights activist and lawyer.

Martínez faces charges of having mailed three letter bombs in 1973. The evidence against him has proved so flimsy that the first trial, held in January in Pueblo, ended in a mistrial when the judge and prosecutor decided that no conviction would be obtained.

On April 7 Martínez appeared for a state court hearing here and was arrested by federal marshals. They charged him with violating his bail by attending the National Chicano Student Conference in Tempe, Arizona.

An affidavit filed by the Arizona State Police has revealed that five members of its Criminal Intelligence Unit tailed Martínez, taping and photographing conference sessions, in order to make a case against him. The move to revoke Martínez's bail was dismissed.

'Terrorist' scare tactic

Documents obtained from the government by Martínez's defense reveal that the cops have also been spying on meetings of the Francisco "Kiko" Martínez Defense Committee.

The justification is to proclaim anyone who opposes the frame-up of Martínez as a potential terrorist. One FBI document notes that the defense committee was planning a demonstration last September 26 and a rally the next day. "U.S. Attorney's Office, U.S. Secret Service, U.S. Postal Inspection Service, U.S. Marshal's Service, Federal Protection Service and Denver PD Bomb Squad and Intelligence Unit, are aware of the above facts [the protest plans] and appropriate security measures have been instituted locally and federally. Round-the-clock liaison is being maintained between the above-noted agencies," the document says. "The above is being furnished for informational purposes in the event that any actual bombings occur."

Of course no bombings occurred, but government harassment of Martínez and his defenders goes on.

The documents also reveal that Judge Fred Winner, who presided over Martínez's trial, was determined to have Martínez convicted by any means. Although federal judges are supposed to be picked at random for such cases, an FBI document stated that Winner "opted to personally handle the arraignment and will in all likelihood preside over the subject's trial" when he was informed (by the FBI?) that a committee had been formed to win Martínez's release.

Judge joins smear effort

In a February 3 letter to the Justice Department, following the mistrial, he protested the department's refusal to permit the FBI to place a concealed camera in the courtroom. His aim, he said, was to gather evidence for a "jury intimidation" case against Martínez.

The judge went on to claim that "attempted jury intimidation was apparent to everyone. . . . A juror doesn't have to be very perceptive to understand having a group of spectators glare at him and having one or more of them run a finger across his throat to threaten a slashed juror's throat. Yet, to prove that conduct in a future trial is less than easy."

Especially so when it is concocted, as in this case.

What really outraged Judge Winner was the fact that Martínez's supporters filled the courtroom.

The judge's letter joins the government effort to smear any defender of Martínez as a terrorist. "Mr. Martínez is the catalyst for bringing together four terrorist groups which have never before acted jointly," the judge wrote. "Persons of national notoriety attended the trial, and it is evident that the defense is well financed. . . . I think that if there is an acquittal in this case without ability to prosecute for threatened obstruction of justice, you are inviting



FRANCISCO 'KIKO' MARTÍNEZ

bombings, killings and riots. . . . You, the Colorado United States Attorney and his staff must accept responsibility for that which may in the future result from your decision with which the FBI and I disagree."

'FBI was interested'

The judge has nothing but praise for the FBI, which, it appears from the text, may have joined him in such frame-up efforts in the past: "As always, the FBI was cooperative. The FBI was interested."

The documents give a flavor for the kind of justice Chicanos can expect in a court system presided over by the likes of Judge Winner.

In order to protect the "integrity" of his court, Judge Winner, utilizing his own "intelligence" sources, brands Martínez a terrorist well before the trial is over and sets out to make a case against his supporters, apparently for the crime of successfully organizing and financing his defense.

From the beginning of his trial, Martínez has contended that the whole case against him is nothing but a frame-up in which the cops, courts, media, and FBI have played a part. The latest revelations confirm that assertion.

Indications are that the government is still determined to press its frame-up attempt.

Media intimidation

A Denver television station carried a report by newsman Pete Webb, known as a former FBI employee, supporting the claim of jury intimidation. The report was accompanied by a drawing—supposedly an "artist's conception of the scene"—which not only had the layout of the courtroom all wrong but portrayed Martínez's Chicano supporters in a racist manner.

Racist elements may be turning to violence to intimidate any who oppose the frame-up. A blaze set by an arsonist gutted the home of Sylvia Gallegos, a reporter for the *Valley Courier* in Alamosa, Colorado. Gallegos, who personally believes Martínez is innocent, has come under attack because of her objective reporting of the trial. Before the fire, she was the target of racist threats and harassing phone calls.

In an effort to proceed with the frame-up despite the exposure of Judge Winner's misconduct, another judge will be selected to hear the case. Once again, the rule favoring random selection of judges is being waived.

The Kiko Martínez Defense Committee will be continuing its efforts to expose the attempt to jail this fighter for Chicano rights. For more information, contact Francisco "Kiko" Martínez Defense Committee, P.O. 753, Alamosa, Colorado 81101.

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Subscribe today.**

The Militant, 14 Charles Lane,
New York, N.Y. 10014.

Judge Winner's Letter:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF COLORADO
UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
DENVER, COLORADO 80294

FRED M. WINNER
CHIEF JUDGE

February 3, 1981

Mr. Phillip Eilens
Director Enforcement Operations
Department of Justice
Room 2229 E
10th at Constitution
Washington, D.C.

Re: United States v. Martínez
Criminal Case No. 73-CR-414

Dear Mr. Wilens:

Last Friday the trial of three counts of an indictment returned against Mr. Martínez in 1973, aborted. This indictment accuses the defendant of three separate mailings of bombs, and he has been a fugitive for more than seven years. He was apprehended entering the country under a false Mexican passport, although he is a native citizen of the United States and he is a member of the Colorado bar. The trial (which had to do with only one bomb) ended when without warning the assistant United States Attorney asked to come to chambers and there he surprised opposing counsel and me by "confessing" a mistrial motion made by the defendant the day before. I had denied that motion, although I had two others under advisement.

I refused to permit the motion to be "confessed", because I was sure that on the record made the defendant would have strong probability of supporting a claim of double jeopardy. However, after a consultation among defendant and his lawyers, they stipulated to the mistrial, and the case is scheduled to start again next week.

The aborted trial was a disaster. Attempted jury intimidation was apparent to everyone. [Indeed, I was interviewed today by a television reporter, and, although I declined comment, I suspect that there will be public announcement of the intimidation efforts.] The marshals, the local police, the witnesses, the media and I were quite aware of the efforts to intimidate the jury. A juror doesn't have to be very perceptive to understand having a group of spectators glare at him and having one or more of them run a finger across his throat to threaten a slashed juror's throat. Yet, to prove that conduct in a future trial is less than easy.

My concern was not lessened by intelligence that Mr. Martínez is the catalyst for bringing together four terrorist groups which have never before acted jointly. Persons of national notoriety attended the trial, and it is evident that the defense is well financed. If there is an acquittal, efforts to intimidate future juries throughout the United States will accelerate. I believe that this case poses a real threat to our system of justice, and I believe that I have a duty to try to protect the integrity of trials I conduct against interference by outsiders. I saw what was going on, and I talked to the marshals who saw it and who were worried. I notified the FBI and I authorized the FBI to install a concealed camera which would provide the evidence to convict in a future obstruction of justice case. The defendant and his attorneys couldn't have been intimidated because they wouldn't have known it was there. I thought that I had a duty to do exactly this if the federal courts are to survive. See, *Osborn v. United States*, 385 U.S. 323.

As always, the FBI was cooperative. The FBI was interested. The FBI thought it important to try to stop jury intimidation. That being so, arrangements were made to install the camera. Where it was to be installed I know not and how it was to be operated I know not. All I know is that the FBI thought that there was reasonable chance of proving an important obstruction of justice case against reputed members of terrorist organizations.

My efforts and the efforts of the FBI to try to insure trials to impartial juries have been frustrated by our United States Attorney and by you. Behind my back, Colorado's United States Attorney, Joe Dolan, somehow persuaded you to order the Federal Bureau of Investigation not to install the camera. I can understand that they must obey orders from the Department of Justice, but I can't understand the orders. It has been suggested that the problem will be solved by having more observers in the courtroom. That won't work. All the prosecution will have in a later case is a one-on-one situation with the defendant saying that his conduct was misunderstood. Then, too, already we have defense complaints that there are too many marshals in the courtroom, and more people are going to give rise to cries of coercion.

To me, you are tacitly approving egregious obstruction of justice and you are hamstringing my efforts and the efforts of the FBI to try to bring to the bar persons who seem to be attempting to wreck our way of handling criminal cases. I don't know what you have been

told, but I write this letter to say to you that I think that if there is an acquittal in this case without ability to prosecute for threatened obstruction of justice, you are inviting bombings, killings and riots. I write this letter to complain about your interference with my attempt to protect the integrity of trials I preside over. The power of the Justice Department is great, but I owe a duty to the public as well as to the defendant. You, the Colorado United States Attorney and his staff must accept responsibility for that which may in the future result from your decision with which the FBI and I disagree. You are inviting endless future troubles. These groups think they have beaten the federal courts and I tend to agree with them.

Yours truly,

FMW:mls

cc: Joe Dolan
William Webster
Jack Egnor
Judge Arraj
Judge Chilson
Judge Finesilver
Judge Matsch
Judge Kane
Judge Carrigan
Judge Weinshienk
Jim Manspeaker

Fred M. Winner

New York rally hails suit against FBI

By Michael Baumann

NEW YORK—"Defend the Bill of Rights Against Secret Police!" was the theme of a rally here June 6 that drew close to 700 participants and one of the broadest range of speakers seen in recent memory at such a gathering.

The rally was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is supporting the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance trial against government spying.

Held at the headquarters of the Hospital Workers Union, the rally heard speakers ranging from Dick Gregory, to union officials, to leaders of the Irish, El Salvador, Black rights, and antinuclear movements. Three Black weeklies covered the event, which was also filmed by a local cable-TV station.

'Not like the '50s'

The first speaker introduced by chairperson Annette Rubenstein, was Morton Sobell, the codefendant who served fifteen years in federal prison following the witch-hunt trial that resulted in the execution of the Rosenbergs.

Sobell received a standing ovation, in tribute to both himself and the Rosenbergs.

He stressed the important differences between the McCarthy period and today. "Reagan is trying to roll back hard-won gains in almost every area," Sobell said, "but today is not like the fifties."

Today, "capitalism is fighting for survival"; the government's campaign to brand everything it doesn't like "terrorism" is going over like a lead balloon.

"We'll have time to organize against what lies ahead," he predicted. "The important thing for us is to begin to organize now."

"No matter who in the left is attacked, unite behind them."

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, addressed the significance of the issues raised by the trial.

"The American government has been forced to admit, under oath, an extremely important thing," he said. "That is that there is no such thing as 'subversion.' It is not defined under any statute; there is no such thing as a 'subversive act' that is different from a criminal act."

Blacks, CP hit hardest

What the SWP has shown in court is that "when the government cannot indict you and make it stick under law, they call you a 'subversive' as the only other way to deny you your democratic rights."

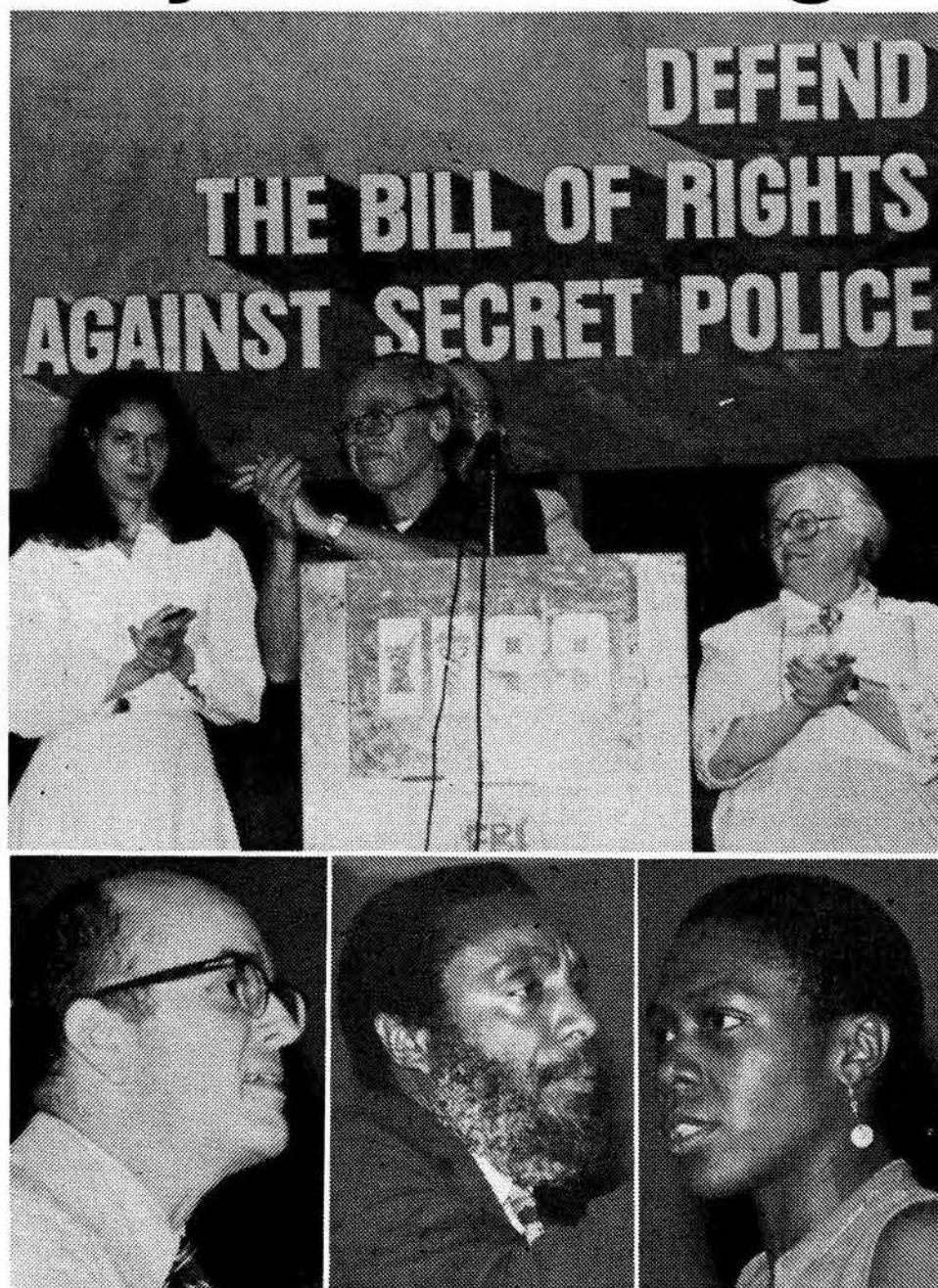
Barnes explained why the SWP had rejected a government offer to settle the suit for monetary damages only. Referring to one of the documents released by the government in court a few days earlier, which admits that the program to disrupt the left was approved by then-president Eisenhower, Barnes said:

"This we believe no amount of money on earth could buy. This is proof positive that what we have is not a runaway FBI but a conscious decision by the president of the United States to instruct the federal police to carry out these activities."

And we must all remember, he said, that the "most vicious of these blows were struck against Blacks and members of the Communist Party."

Tom Pontolillo, chairman of Division 501 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and a leader of the fightback against Reagan's attempt to gut Conrail, spoke next.

"This is the most important civil liberties case to come down the pike in a long while," he said. It comes at a "crucial moment, when the Reagan administration and far too many



Rally gave standing ovation to witch-hunt victim Morton Sobell, (at podium in top photo, with socialists' attorney Margaret Winter on left and Annette Rubenstein on right). Below from left, speakers Jack Barnes, Dick Gregory, and Afeni Shakur.

members of Congress want to turn the clock on civil rights back to at least the post-World War II days.

"It is for this reason that I feel that every trade unionist and every trade union official has a vital stake in the outcome of this suit. Regardless of one's personal view of the SWP and YSA, I think a statement by another rail worker, Eugene Debs, still applies. Within the labor movement, an injury to one is an injury to all!"

NASSCO Three

The fight against the frame-up on bombing conspiracy charges of the NASSCO Three, San Diego unionists convicted the night before on the testimony of an FBI provocateur, was brought to the rally by Gwen Ferguson. Ferguson is president-elect of Ironworkers Local 627, one of the locals targeted by this joint company-police union-busting campaign.

Ferguson urged support for a nationwide effort against the frame-up, pointing out that the NASSCO workers had been victimized because of their political views. It was "their beliefs versus the FBI," she said, "just as in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, and the SWP."

The gathering unanimously approved a message of support to the NASSCO Three, backing their demand for an overturn of the conviction on appeal.

Margaret Winter, lead attorney for the socialists, spoke on the legal issues raised by the case and introduced two other members of the legal team, attorneys Donna Gilligan and Shelley Davis.

Another group that has come under government attack as "subversive," the antinuclear, antiwar group Mobilization for Survival, was represented by spokesperson Donna Cooper.

"This meeting is one of the best

things I've ever seen happen," Cooper said. "It demonstrates how we can't let political lines divide us. The government doesn't make any distinctions. They consider us all 'subversives' and 'terrorists.'"

Proud veteran of Panthers

A speaker who drew a particularly warm response from the audience was Afeni Shakur, one of the Panther Twenty-One defendants jailed in 1971 on frame-up bomb conspiracy charges.

She received sustained applause when she said, "I am very proud to have been a struggling member of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and early '70s. I want you to know I feel good about that, despite the fact that the New York City Police Department would like you to believe this in itself was a criminal action."

Detailing from her own experience the New York City Police Department's use of informers and provocateurs, she noted that one police agent the Red Squad used against the Panther Twenty-One was also on the scene the night Malcolm X was assassinated.

Turning to the socialists' suit, she said, "In the name of all Black people who are struggling against repression, I commend your tenacity. For it has taken nothing less than tenacity to continue this case in court all these years. Today, we all see how important this suit is."

Shakur urged the audience to join with the SWP and the many other forces who are involved in a local lawsuit initiated by the Panther Twenty-One against the New York Red Squad, and to oppose a sell-out settlement being put forward by some of the attorneys.

"I think we should fight that settlement for the same reason the SWP has fought this suit," she concluded.

Dick Gregory, who had just been released from jail in Washington following a protest at the White House, was also warmly received.

He asked for a moment of silence for the murdered children of Atlanta. Condemning the role of the FBI in Atlanta, he also read from files indicating the bureau's special hatred for Blacks, including himself.

One of the things we've found out through the SWP suit, he said, is that "this mess has been going on for more than forty years. LBJ, Reagan, Carter, they're all the same."

He continued: "I want to thank the SWP for not compromising in this struggle, for not taking that \$40 million in chump change. You've got a whole lot of people's attention."

El Salvador struggle

Chants of "El Salvador vencera! El Salvador will win!" greeted the Rev. Phil Wheaton, a longtime leader of the movement in solidarity with freedom fighters in Latin America.

Wheaton stressed the connection between the socialists' case and the El Salvador solidarity movement. At stake in the court battle, he said, is the right, "in terms of the Constitution, to stand up and defend the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, the four nuns, and the other leaders who have been murdered."

"We are winning the battle," he said, "and it has been an honor and a privilege to work with the people who are in this hall today."

Two victims of government harassment were saluted next: Elias Ayoub, a Palestinian activist who is fighting deportation from the United States; and James Kutcher, the legless World War II veteran who successfully fought a government attempt to take away his \$39-a-week job because of his socialist views. Howard Petrick, who has just made a film on Kutcher's battle, was also introduced.

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student, then spoke briefly. She explained her fight against deportation, threatened within weeks after she joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Ernesto Jofre, president of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 169 and chairperson of the Labor Committee for Human Rights in Chile, called attention to the case of another activist facing the threat of deportation, Tulio Mendoza. Mendoza, a school teacher who fled El Salvador when his name appeared on a death list, is now seeking political asylum in the United States.

Irish solidarity

George McGlaughlin of the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee spoke of the links between the Irish solidarity struggle, currently under government attack, and the socialist suit. "I'm here to tell you that we are all comrades," he said. "Because you will not submit, we stand with you. Victory to the hunger strikers; victory to the SWP!"

John Trinkl, who has been covering the trial for the New York radical weekly *Guardian*, brought greetings to the meeting, as did Anne Marie Vitrago, speaking on behalf of No More Witch Hunts. This umbrella organization is sponsoring meetings across the country June 19, the anniversary of the execution of the Rosenbergs.

A total of more than \$8,700 was contributed in pledges and donations to help further the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund. This, combined with the collection at the door, brought the evening's proceeds to more than \$10,000.

Chairperson Annette Rubenstein, summing up the response, put it quite simply. "This case is today what the Rosenberg-Sobell case was in the fifties."

DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

DAY 39: THURSDAY, JUNE 4

Cross-examination of Robert Keuch, of Justice Department, concluded.

Professor J. Gregory Oswald, of University of Arizona, appears as government expert on Russian revolution. Claims that by 'dictatorship of proletariat' Lenin meant 'proletariat had to be dictated to.'

DAY 40: FRIDAY, JUNE 5

Under questioning by Judge Griesa, Oswald acknowledges popular support for Russian revolution.

Dr. Charles A. Santos-Busch claims Cuban government paid most of cost of 1959 'New York Times' ad in support of revolution. Under cross-examination, admits having contradicted this in previous sworn testimony, and that he never saw alleged Cuban check.

Milorad Popov, government expert witness, tries to link Leon Trotsky with support of terrorism.

DAY 41: MONDAY, JUNE 8

Popov tries to link Fourth International members in Europe with support for terrorism. Claims SWP explanation of policy in 1941 Smith Act trial proves party conceals views on violence in 'bourgeois court.' Under cross-examination concedes he is still unable to cite quotes showing Trotsky advocated terrorism. Judge Griesa voices his concern that SWP opposition to terrorism does not appear to be based on 'moral' grounds.

Dr. William E. Ratliff, affiliated with Hoover Institution, takes stand as expert on Latin American 'Marxist-Leninists.' Claims Fourth International turn to strategy of rural guerrilla warfare in Latin America in 1969, which SWP opposed, drew its original impetus from SWP's embracing Cuban revolution in 1959.

DAY 42: TUESDAY, JUNE 9

Ratliff continues testimony, claims 1969 turn led Fourth International groups in Latin America to engage in terrorism.

Socialist attorneys introduce documents on FBI disruption of YSA, and files on socialists from military intelligence and CIA.

Ratliff comes back to stand to bring list he claimed he could produce of terrorist acts by Bolivian Trotskyists, but is unable to cite any.

Secret Service Special Agent Wayne Dean takes stand to testify secret taping and photographing of 1971 YSA convention was done legitimately. Under cross-examination, admits he was working 'undercover' and avoided asking permission.

DAY 43: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10

Robert Kyanko, of Secret Service, testifies agency keeps tabs on any 'festival, parade, or demonstration' that might 'impede free movement' of any individuals they protect. Says they can't tell what cities these individuals might visit, so this means every demonstration everywhere in country.

Joseph Knazik, chief of investigative branch of Office of Personnel Management (formerly Civil Service Commission) testifies membership in SWP or YSA is no longer considered relevant to 'loyalty' or suitability for any government employment whatsoever.

Thomas Filkins, counterintelligence analyst for U.S. Army, testifies Army never used ultrarightist Legion of Justice to disrupt SWP, YSA, or antiwar movement.

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Former attorney general admits White House OK'd 'Cointelpro'

By Harry Ring

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

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

A former attorney general now admits such disruption activities were fully discussed with President Eisenhower and his National Security Council in March 1956. The first Cointelpro operation, directed against the Communist Party, formally opened in August of that same year.

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

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

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

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

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

Top secret document

The government acted to buttress Brownell's testimony by introducing a previously "top secret" document (see facing page).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Perhaps most notorious are the files on the Black struggle. In 1967 Hoover wrote a memo stating that the purpose of the Cointelpro operation against the Black movement was "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters."

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

Herbert Brownell's testimony, along with the 1956 Hoover report, now con-



Militant/Diane Jacobs

HERBERT BROWNELL

firms this disruption was carried out with full presidential authority.

Hoover's style

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brownell agreed the Cointelpro operation was not limited to the Communist Party.

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

Begun under FDR

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

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

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

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

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

Amplifying on the authority delegat-

ed to the FBI ever since Roosevelt, Brownell testified, "there never was any definition of the methods that were to be used in carrying out the directive. The methods were left to the discretion of the FBI."

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

No due process

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

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

For instance, during his term of office he issued a memo that breaking into someone's home and planting a secret microphone was OK in "intelligence" cases. However, he added, "Obviously the installation of a microphone in a bedroom or some comparably intimate location should be avoided wherever possible." But if "national security" demands it...

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

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

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

'Loyalty' program

Brownell's predecessor, Tom Clark, had arbitrarily established in 1948 a list of more than 300 "subversive" organizations to implement a "loyalty" witch-hunting program ordered by Truman. In 1974, the list was officially abolished by Nixon. But evidence in the SWP suit confirms that the "nonexistent" list is still a basis for hounding dissidents.

Brownell couldn't remember exactly why he had reclassified the SWP as "subversive." Except perhaps, he said, for "attending the Fourth International secret meetings."

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

Winters asked Brownell for a definition.

No legal definition

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

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

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

There you have it. There is no legal definition of subversion. Yet groups and individuals can be so branded by a government agency or official, on the basis of "personal opinion" or "consensus." Such a group can then be targeted for illegal surveillance, infiltration, and victimization, with no regard for constitutional rights.

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

1956 report on disruption of Communist Party

The following is a never-before-published document revealing that the FBI's program to 'infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt' the left—known as Cointelpro—was implemented with full White House knowledge.

The document was released in federal district court June 2, as part of the FBI's defense of more than forty years of harassment of the Socialist Workers Party.

It is the text of a report by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to a March 8, 1956, meeting of the National Security Council. In attendance were President Eisenhower, Vice-president Nixon, Attorney General Brownell, CIA Director Allen Dulles, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and numerous other top-level officials.

In the report Hoover outlines FBI disruption of the Communist Party. The Cointelpro operation against the CP formally began six months later, in August 1956.

The report openly acknowledges that greater reliance on secret disruption was decided upon because of the changed political atmosphere in the country. By 1956 it had become too unpopular to continue prosecuting Communists and other so-called subversives.

A number of indications that the tide had turned against the witch-hunters are cited in the document itself. These include:

- Rising opposition to the cold

war ('a world weary of growing tension').

- Growing demands for release of jailed Communist Party members, including by such 'prominent persons' as Eleanor Roosevelt.

- Mounting criticism of 'loyalty and security procedures.'

- The rise of the civil rights movement ('the current tense situation involving integration').

- Numerous unfavorable 'judicial decisions.'

Not mentioned but obviously also weighed were the recent censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the worldwide revulsion over the execution of the Rosenbergs.

An accompanying memo by Hoover indicated Eisenhower praised the report. According to Hoover, 'the president commented upon the fact that he did not believe the Council had ever had such a complete and thorough briefing upon this subject.'

The report has two parts, the first titled 'The Domestic Menace of Communism'; the second, 'The Soviet Espionage Pattern.' Part two, which is highly deleted, outlines alleged Soviet intelligence targets and techniques. The document as a whole is poorly photocopied and difficult to decipher in places.

Printed below is part one of the reports. The 'Militant' has inserted asterisks to indicate deletions made by the government. Bracketed explanations of deletions were inserted by the government censors themselves.

the United States similar to the role of Burgess and MacLean in aiding the Soviets in their diplomatic moves against the West.

3. The Communist Underground

*** the Communist Party *** Communist underground apparatus which is maintained at all times as part of the Communist revolutionary movement.

B. The Communist Party Program

The party is returning to its united front approach and its members are intensifying their activities by joining a wide variety of respectable organizations such as churches, Parent Teacher Associations, civic and fraternal groups and particularly right wing labor unions. (Exhibit 7)

1. Colonization Program

The party is now vigorously implementing its colonization program whereby party members, who are not well known, are shifted to new localities where they are under instructions to secure jobs in basic industries. The colonizers are being infiltrated into steel, steel fabrication and petroleum industries where the purpose is to move them into positions where they can effectively commit sabotage in the event of a national emergency. In addition, Communists are moving industrial workers from New England into the textile industry in the South. We now have listed for apprehension in the event of a real emergency a total of 587 persons employed in vital facilities in addition to other persons whose freedom would endanger our security.

2. Increasing Boldness of the Party

Since the Geneva conference, the Communist Party has vigorously increased its program of infiltration and propaganda.

(A) Underground—The Party has gradually brought its leaders out of the underground in order that their efforts can be devoted to open agitational work.

(B) Registration—This was required last fall for the first time in four years on a nationwide basis. With the stringent security measures party leaders have lost considerable contact with the membership which they are now re-establishing. The reactionary and dictatorial policies of the Communist Party have never been better illustrated than in their present census taking. They have designed a personnel security questionnaire of several pages. This questionnaire delves into every phase of a member's personal life, business, finances, how he spends his money, his leisure time, what he reads, the habits of

spouses-relatives, what his thoughts are on religion-politics.

(C) The size of membership has never been important to the Communists. They would rather have a few members in the right places than masses such as when 350 British hard core Communists were able to shut down all British ports in 1954. The current estimated membership of the Communist Party in the U.S. is 20,289.

(D) The Communists are also seeking to stir up the current tense situation involving integration and civil rights matters. The national Negro Commission of the party has disclosed more vigor than it has for years. Its skilled techniques of propaganda and agitation are being translated into other non-Communist organizations such as the NAACP which they are pushing ahead for tactical reasons. It has seized upon any racial incident such as the murder of Emmett Till in Mississippi and the University of Alabama incident involving Miss Lucy to exploit as propaganda against the United States.

(E) Attacks on government security measures have received even more vigorous support from Communist leaders. The former Communist who has exposed his former associates, and informants of the FBI have been singled out for sustained vicious attack as a retaliatory measure and to discourage others from making disclosures.

3. Reasons for the Present Party Boldness

The Communists are masters in the use of advances and retreats to heighten and then lessen tension. A number of factors motivate the present Communist brazenness. (A) The Communist peace propaganda is being directed at a world weary of growing tension and many well-meaning but ill-informed or innocent individuals fall for the Communist peace propaganda line which does not mean what it says. (B) The Government security programs, after having been the target of persistent attack by the Communist Party, aided by its stooges, have now been moved into the political arena where a well-organized, highly articulate group has exerted influence and pressure beyond all justification. (C) Ignorance of the security problem and a lack of knowledge of the Communist conspiracy have caused persons to lend their names to causes which have been exploited by the expert Communist propagandists. For years we have witnessed Communist tactics taught in the Lenin Institute. The American Communists are taught to infiltrate and secure control of peace, humane, religious and similar organizations.

To illustrate, 42 prominent persons including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Henry Steele Commager and many others who should know better, recently signed a petition calling for amnesty for persons now serving prison terms for Smith Act convictions and a cessation of further prosecutions. This was accomplished by efforts of known Communists utilizing, through trickery and deceit, the assistance of non-Communists. (D) Judicial decisions such as the Judge Youngdahl decision in the passport case of Leonard Boudin on November 22, 1953, and the action of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, San Francisco, California, ruling out the Coast Guard screening program on October 26, 1955, have also been used for propaganda against security measures and have immeasurably heartened the Communist Party to intensify its attacks. (Judge McAllister who concurred in opinion appointed to court in 1941.) (E) Propaganda from tax exempt foundations has also confused the public and given a distorted idea of the forces which menace our security as well as our security procedures. The Fund for the Republic, with its tax exempt fifteen million dollars from the Ford Foundation, has been particularly persistent in distributing propaganda which is one-sided, distorted and often false. The president of the Fund, Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, has denounced the Supreme Court for upholding the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders, called for recognition of Red China, denounced loyalty and security procedures, and admitted under oath, a few years ago, that he knew very little about the Communist Party. The vice president of the Fund, W. H. Ferry, who is reported to be the real administrator of the Fund, was publicity director of the CIO-PAC in 1945, at the height of its left wing control. Perry has contended that the menace of Communism was a myth created by former Communists who have testified as witnesses and that to destroy the myth, it was first necessary to destroy the witnesses. (At a luncheon with *** in New York City who reported this to L.B. Nichols.)

C. Countermeasures Against the Communist Party

In order to know the program and activities of the Communist Party, so that our national security may be protected in case of real emergency, we have sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt the party.

1. Methods

We have sought to use every means available to secure information and evidence. The techniques are numerous. Former Communists have rendered a most worthwhile service, have made a real contribution to our security by disclosing their knowledge of Communists. (B) Informants have been the key to penetration of the party *** then into the real depths of the Communist underground. While key informants have been exposed to date, through testimony required in court proceedings, we currently have 921 active informants operating in the security field, providing hourly intelligence reflecting the innermost plans and policies of the Communist Party. (C) Confidential sources also include telephone surveillances, each approved by the Attorney General, of which there were only 90 as of March 1, 1956, microphones 20 of March 1, 1956, trash covers 110 as of March 1, 1956 and mail covers as of March 1, 1956. To penetrate clandestine operations, clandestine methods are necessary and sometimes provide the only means of securing needed information. For example, we *** intercepted a telephone call which led us to a secret meeting of top Communist leaders at an out of the way place *** from a *** [Deleted words describe a particular use of a microphone. The microphone was productive—Government nota-

'We have sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt the party.'

tion.] Sometimes it is necessary to make a surreptitious entry where on occasions we have photographed secret Communist records and other data of great value to our security. *** we learned that documents of great value were kept in a safe. It could not be opened by ordinary techniques. *** [Deleted words describe a technique for opening a CPUSA office in the United States—Government notation.]

*** safe was opened and yielded some 400 photographs of documents disclosed many secret phases of the party's operations which did [Deleted words describe significant information concerning the CPUSA—Government notation.]

I make specific mention of these techniques because in many instances derogatory information will be attributed to a confidential source in our investigative reports. The identity of these sources cannot be disclosed outside the Bureau and in many instances, these are the sources which are publicly condemned as gossipers and faceless informers. Communist lawyers will use any possible means to force their disclosure.

2. Detention Plans in Event of War

Should an extreme emergency develop, we have carefully catalogued members of the Communist Party who would be called on to commit sabotage and espionage, each of the 12,920 persons listed for apprehension has been investigated and their records thoroughly documented.

3. Prosecutive Actions (Exhibit 9)

There can be no question but that the Communist Party has suffered severe setbacks in this country through prosecutive action and public exposure. The party has been deprived of its top leadership, its defense has placed a real drain on party funds, with more than a million dollars tied up in bail bonds alone. But most important, we have proved through our judicial process that the Communist Party is a criminal conspiracy dedicated to the overthrow of our government by force and violence. To date 136 Communist leaders have been indicted and 95 convicted, with many awaiting trial for violation of the Smith Act.

The Present Menace of Communist Espionage and Subversion National Security Council Briefing 9:00 A.M., March 8, 1956

1. The Domestic Menace of Communism

From the time of its inception 37 years ago, the Communist Party in the United States has always sought to advance Soviet interests.

When the foreign ministers conference failed after Geneva, the American Communists directed a new campaign of invective against the present Administration.

The role of the Communist Party today is to break down resistance to Communist aggression by neutralization wherever possible and by building support for world-wide Communism.

A. The Communist Party Setup

At the present time the Communist Party is in the process of launching an offensive after years of being on the defensive as a result of prosecutions instituted by the Attorney General.

1. Soviet Control of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The Communist parties around the world, including the United States party, *** Communist Party of the Soviet Union *** 1955, *** sent word to *** that the Communist Program in our country was creating the illusion that socialism could be brought about by parliamentary methods which was an incorrect approach as revolutionary means were necessary. ***

*** agreed that the Communist Program would be switched but the Communists have not yet been able to implement *** without inviting further prosecution.

2. Soviet Methods of Liaison (Exhibit 1)

Both *** and *** the Communist Party, after serving their 5-year prison sentences for violating the Smith Act, left the United States last spring. *** was deported to *** and *** went to *** Both were summoned to Moscow last *** and both were received as representatives of the Communist Party, U.S.A. *** designated *** to serve as *** U.S. Communist. *** as kept behind the Iron Curtain *** against

Why gov't wants to deport Iran-born socialist

The following is an interview with Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, a nineteen-year-old Iranian woman who is threatened with deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) because of her political views. 'Militant' staff member Nelson González obtained the interview on May 23.

Hariri-Vijeh came to this country, like many other young people from underdeveloped countries, in order to attend school. While a full-time student at Morgan State University, she decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Two weeks later, she was visited by two agents of the INS. Shortly thereafter, she was told to appear for a June 9 deportation hearing.

The scheduled hearing has now been postponed to July 7.

Q: What were your initial impressions of the situation in Iran in the few years before you left?

A: I wasn't really aware too much of what was going on, partly because I was really concentrating on my studies and also because of my family background; as a young woman in Iran, politics was not something that your family allowed you to be exposed to very much.

I knew poverty existed, it was right there in front of my eyes. I didn't know why it existed. I just knew something was wrong, and I had a lot of questions.

Q: When did you begin to come to political conclusions about Iran or other questions?

A: I came to the United States when I was fifteen years old. It was at that time I started discussing some of the questions I had with friends of mine here. One of them took me to an Iranian Students Association (ISA) meeting, and I began attending them.

It was during the time that I was attending high school here that many things began happening in Iran. The media was full of Iranian coverage.

There was news about a fire in a movie house in the city of Abadan, where people had gathered to see a political film banned by the shah's regime. Seven hundred people died in that fire which everyone knew had been set by SAVAK—the shah's secret police. I asked myself, why did these 700 people die?

This made me go to the ISA meetings more often to receive news of events in Iran regularly. Shortly after that, the insurrection that overthrew the shah took place.

I told myself, I had left Iran a year ago and hadn't seen any indication that such a thing would take place. I

knew people were angry, but I had no idea that this anger would burst forth in such a way in such a short period of time.

After assimilating what had happened and after seeing the tremendous gains with regard to democratic rights—such as the right to demonstrate, increased rights for women and others—it was clear to me that this was a revolution based on a mass movement of the Iranian people. It had to be defended from the imperialist slanders against the Khomeini regime.

Q: How did the Iranian revolution affect your life here in the United States?

A: As a result of the hysterically racist campaign that took place right after the Iranian revolution—but especially during the hostage crisis—I did not dare tell people that I was Iranian. For a while it seemed that everyone hated Iranians.

Q: Did you perceive this anti-Iranian feeling as being the same everywhere you went?

A: Even though I still had not been able to obtain a student visa, Morgan State University in Maryland accepted me as a student. As a result of this, I moved there and immediately noticed an incredible difference. Over sixty percent of the population of Baltimore is Black. People were extremely nice to me there.

Even though several of the hostages were Black, it didn't matter. The attitude of the Blacks that I knew was that the Iranian people had the right to defend their revolution from its enemies, Black or white.

It was at this time that I finally began to adjust to being in the United States. I was going to school, people liked me, and I finally felt comfortable.

Q: How did you come into contact with the Young Socialist Alliance?

A: I was still attending ISA meetings pretty regularly. While the ISA was good with regard to the Iranian revolution and its defense, I didn't feel that they took up what I thought were related questions—like defense of the Cuban revolution.

At that time I was also beginning to become convinced that socialism was the only viable alternative to the rottenness that I could see all around as a result of the capitalist system. However there was one obstacle. That was the question of Stalinism. For a while I identified socialism with Stalinism. I didn't know anything about Trotsky or the Young Socialist Alliance. I was aware of socialism only from the point of view of the ISA, in which a Maoist current predominated. This view of socialism presented problems for me.

Then someone took me to a Militant Labor Forum on Iran.

After hearing the speakers I remember thinking, I really like their positions. I kept on going to other forums and around September I started working with the Baltimore YSA and Socialist Workers Party.

Q: Around what kinds of issues did you work with the party and the YSA?

A: I worked on building the January 11 demonstration in solidarity with the people of El Salvador. Also the January 15 demonstration around Martin Luther King's birthday. It was enjoyable working with people that thought the way I did about politics.

The previous December, I had been invited to attend the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Seeing hundreds of young socialists like myself at the convention—as well as meeting and hearing speeches by young socialists from Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and other parts of the world was truly inspiring.

The YSA's support to the revolution in my country, their solidarity with the



MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH

Militant/Lou Howort

revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador, their opposition to the draft, their support to women's rights and Black rights—all these issues were raised and discussed at the convention. I was very impressed by the YSA's consistent internationalist positions. It was this that made it easy for me to feel that the YSA was my organization. When I got back to Baltimore after the convention, I asked to join.

A little more than two weeks after I joined, two INS agents gave me a visit.

Q: What was your reaction?

A: I joined the YSA on February 5. At 8:30 in the morning on February 23, two INS officials came to my door. They had my name and asked me if I was that person. I replied yes and asked them what was the problem. They answered that there was no problem that they just wanted to ask me some questions.

I was really scared and didn't know what to do. When they asked me for my passport, I again asked them why, and they replied that if something were wrong, they would have brought handcuffs and arrested me. They then took my passport and told me to report to their office at one o'clock the next day.

As soon as they left I started to tremble. I remembered stories from other Iranian students about how the FBI searched their houses and similar incidents, but when it actually happens to you it's very unnerving.

The next day, during the interview, they were all smiles—saying that there wasn't anything serious about my case, just a routine checkup. After they took pictures and fingerprints, they said, "You'll be hearing from us." Ten days later I received notice of a deportation hearing that was to take place on April 7.

Q: What did you decide to do once you received the notice?

A: After thinking about the various alternatives, I decided, in consultation with the YSA, to go on a political campaign to fight the deportation. We recognized this action as an obvious attempt by the government not only to deport me, but to intimidate thousands of foreign-born students and citizens who exercise the right to disagree with government policy and to join organizations that hold such disagreements.

Proof of this can be found in the recent document filed by the INS in Federal District Court in New York, indicating that membership in the YSA and SWP may be grounds for exclusion or deportation.

Q: What can people do to support your case?

A: I have been traveling to many different cities telling my story on campuses, at rallies, and to different organizations. So far the reception has been wonderful.

At the recent convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in Philadelphia, Michael Harrington, the national chairperson of DSOC, and Tony Benn, left-wing leader of the British Labor Party, endorsed a petition on my behalf.

People can help by circulating copies of this petition; by inviting me to speak before their union, campus, or other organizations; and by donating funds to cover the different expenses involved in this effort.

Telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to Wallace Gray, district director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, E. A. Garmatz Federal Building, 100 S. Hoover Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

Socialists put FBI, CIA, INS ON TRIAL!
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Foley Square, New York City

The FBI, CIA, INS, and other government agencies are on trial. To find out more about the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit, come to the trial in New York City. Or contact the socialist office nearest you, see directory on page 27.

Top official identified in burglary cover-up

By Cindy Jaquith

NEW YORK—When the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance filed their suit against the government in 1973, they charged the FBI with burglarizing their offices and homes.

The government flatly denied the charge in sworn statements.

Then in 1976 the FBI was forced to admit that yes, there were burglaries—ninety-two at the New York SWP offices alone!

It took four more years for the government to comply with an order from Judge Thomas Griesa to investigate the cover-up of the break-ins and determine who was responsible for hiding them from the court.

The report—issued in June 1980—was delicately titled "Summary of Inquiry into the Nondisclosure of FBI Bag Jobs in the Socialist Workers Party Civil Litigation."

It describes in detail how FBI and Justice Department officials conspired to keep information about the burglaries from coming out, including by lying in sworn statements in the SWP lawsuit.

The report mentions few names and avoids pinning responsibility. But it makes quite clear that the "problem" of whether and how to disclose the burglaries provoked a major discussion in Washington, including at the White House.

One startling section of the report describes discussions with J. Fred Buzhardt, Nixon's White House counsel. Buzhardt apparently had information on bag jobs against the SWP after 1969. But, the report states, "approximately 48 hours before Buzhardt was to have been interviewed in this inquiry, he died suddenly."

Buzhardt is one of the few named officials in the report.

But to the surprise of those attending the trial in the socialist suit on June 3, 1981, the identity of an unnamed official who figures prominently in the report suddenly came out on the witness stand.

The figure was none other than the Associate Deputy Attorney General of the United States, Robert Keuch.

Keuch has been a major witness in the trial, put forward by the government as an authority on its right to

spy.

Under cross-examination Margaret Winter, the socialists' lead counsel, asked Keuch if he was the official described in the report as knowing about the burglaries in 1974 and participating in a meeting to discuss what to do about them in 1975.

Defense attorney Peter Salerno had initially objected to this line of questioning, but he then withdrew his objection, apparently assuming Keuch would say no.

But Keuch answered, "Yes, I am."

Judge Griesa then demanded to know the names of the other officials listed in the report as involved in the cover-up. "Since when do we investigate things without names?" he asked angrily.

Griesa recessed court for the day, ordering the government to have the names in court the following morning.

The government came in empty-handed the next day. Attorney Salerno said releasing such information would have to be cleared with the Deputy Attorney General first, and he was not available.

"The Attorney General never in-

tended that further information . . . be disclosed" about the bag jobs, Salerno said, "including the names of the personnel involved."

Judge Griesa said he had reconsidered his request overnight and had decided to withdraw his demand for the names.

Attorney Winter explained to the judge why further disclosure about the report and cover-up was very relevant to the trial.

" . . . that there was a cover-up at the highest levels, that is a serious accusation," Griesa responded. "It could have meaning for this case."

But he told Winter she would have to prepare more materials through discovery proceedings outside the courtroom before she could pursue the matter.

"I am not preventing you from going into it, and I am not saying it is irrelevant," he explained. " . . . my direction is to desist from this line of inquiry for the time being, give you the opportunity to prepare it, and the government the opportunity to prepare it, and me the opportunity to have some preparation."

Rallies, raffles and party raise \$ for PRDF



This button, designed by Jules Feiffer, is free with donation of \$10 or more to PRDF.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$_____ to help defray legal and publicity costs of socialist suit.
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of PRDF's 8-page tabloid.
- ☐ Add my name to list of sponsors of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit.

Name _____
Signature _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____
Union/Organization _____

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

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is sponsoring rallies across the country to raise money for the costs of the socialists' suit, has now collected \$74,268 toward its goal of \$125,000.

An additional \$29,259 has been pledged, bringing the total to \$103,527. This leaves a little more than \$20,000 still to be raised.

Supporters of the suit in Philadelphia hit on an idea to collect funds and involve friends on the job in the case at the same time. They organized a raffle where half the proceeds went to the person with the lucky ticket and the other half went to PRDF.

The tickets were \$1 each and some \$230 worth were sold.

The winner of the raffle works at the Budd Red Lion plant, organized by United Auto Workers Local 92. Fifty tickets were sold at the plant—most to older Black workers. Buying a ticket often led to a discussion about what the

FBI did to the Black movement, especially the Panthers and Dr. Martin Luther King.

A Philadelphia teacher sold twenty tickets to fellow unionists.

Cocktail parties are also bringing in funds. Two longtime New Jersey supporters of PRDF recently hosted such a party at their home. Thirty people came, including members of the National Organization for Women, SANE, and ACLU. They contributed \$579 after hearing a talk on the issues at stake in the trial.

* * *

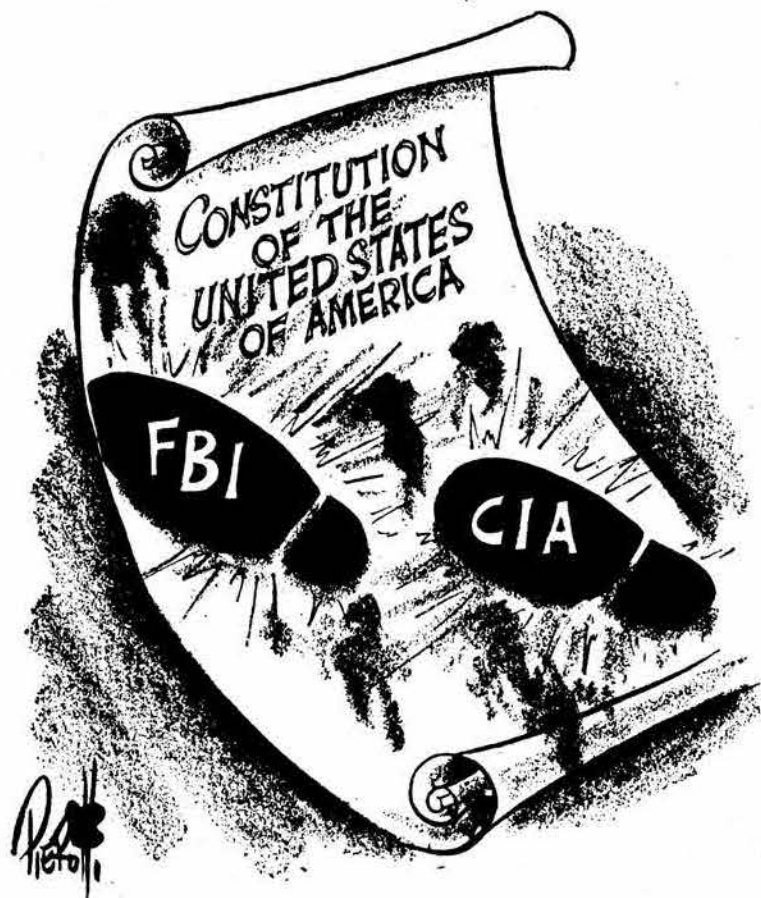
A New York attorney who has supported PRDF for several years commented recently when telephoned about the trial: "I don't remember how I first decided to make a contribution to this case, but my contributions have been the most important and effective of any I have ever made in my life."

Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund are planning rallies across the country during June and July. 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.

June 12	Oakland (415) 763-3792	June 20	Birmingham (205) 323-3079	July 11	Boston (617) 262-4621
June 13	San Francisco (415) 824-1992	June 20	San Antonio (512) 222-8398	July 11	Atlanta (404) 872-7229
June 13	Seattle (206) 723-5330	June 21	Cincinnati (513) 751-2636	July 11	Washington, D.C. (202) 797-7699
June 13	Dallas (214) 826-4711	June 25	Lincoln, Neb. (402) 797-7699	July 11	Kansas City (816) 753-0404
June 13	Chicago (312) 939-0737	June 27	Newark (201) 643-3341	July 11	Virginia, Minn. (218) 749-6327
June 13	Cleveland (216) 579-9369	June 27	Morgantown (304) 296-0055		
June 13	St. Louis (314) 725-1570	June 27	Phoenix (602) 255-0450		
June 13	Winston-Salem (919) 723-3419	June 27	Newport News, Va. (804) 380-0133		
June 14	San Jose (408) 998-4007	June 28	Milwaukee (414) 445-2076		
June 14	Portland (503) 222-7225	June 28	Louisville (502) 587-8418		
June 19	Houston (713) 524-8761	July 1	Albuquerque (505) 842-0954		



FBI war on Blacks: Clifton DeBerry

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—One of the last witnesses called by the Socialist Workers Party at the trial of the government was Clifton DeBerry, a leader of the SWP for close to thirty years. He testified on May 26 and 27.

DeBerry has been an active participant in the civil rights and trade union movements for decades. In 1964, he was the Socialist Workers candidate for president, the first Black person to run for that office.

For all of these reasons, he was singled out by the FBI for intensive surveillance and harassment. Out of the 1,200 COINTELPRO documents released in the SWP lawsuit, more concern DeBerry than any other individual.

In answer to questions by SWP attorney Shelley Davis, DeBerry first testified about his experiences in the trade union movement.

During the late 1930s and 1940s he was a union organizer. In 1944, he went to work at International Harvester, where he became the chief steward for his section and an executive board member of the United Farm Equipment and Metalworkers of America.

DeBerry testified that during the 1940s strike waves he was arrested many times on picket lines.

FBI visited regularly

The first time he was told the FBI was spying on him, DeBerry told the court, was in 1954.

"I was employed in the stockyards of Chicago, Wilson Packing Company," he said. "I was laid off for a period of almost five months. When I was called back to work . . . the personnel director told me . . . the FBI had visited regularly, asking about me."

His experiences in the union movement convinced DeBerry about the need for a socialist revolution in this country.

"When I went to work for International Harvester," he said, "the majority of the stewards and the people that I respected belonged to the Communist Party, so I joined."

He said he later developed political differences with the CP and joined the SWP in 1952.

Today DeBerry is a member of the Machinists union; he works as a maintenance painter in an aircraft plant.

The bulk of DeBerry's testimony zeroed in on the government's attempts to undercut support for the Black rights movement, and on FBI programs aimed at driving a wedge between the SWP and civil rights groups.

One set of FBI documents outlines an attempt to get the NAACP to withdraw its support for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants—a committee organized to defend three Black rights fighters in North Carolina framed on a kidnapping charge in the early 1960s.

'Anonymous' FBI letters

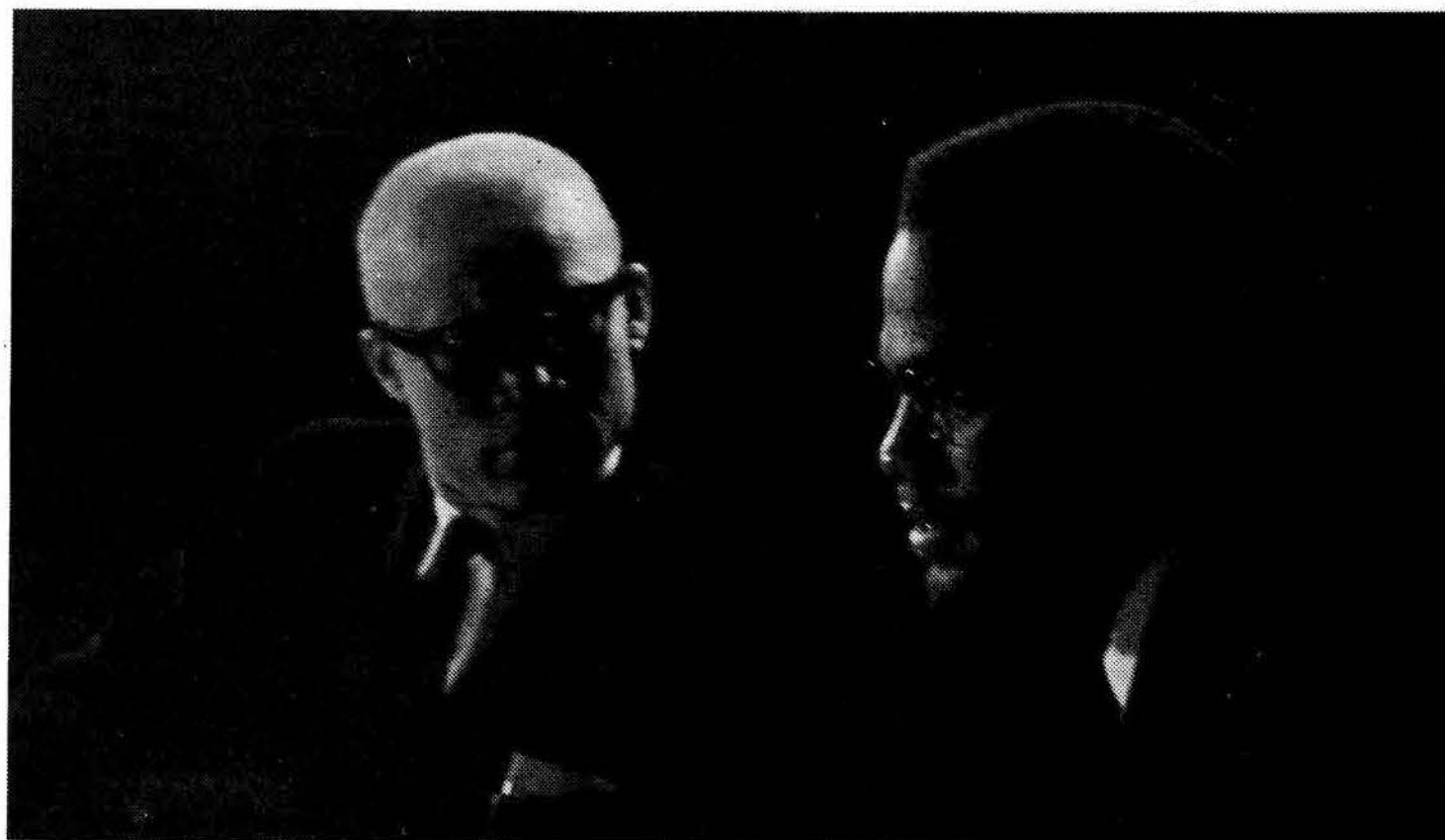
An anonymous FBI letter sent to the NAACP said, "It won't do the work of the NAACP in the South a bit of good if it is known its funds and good name are backing a group in the pocket of the SWP."

DeBerry said that after the letter—and a similar phone call—the NAACP withdrew financial support, but continued to provide legal counsel for the CAMD.

Similar methods were used in an attempt to disrupt the campaign of Sam Jordan, a Black man running as the Freedom Now Party candidate for mayor of San Francisco in 1963.

The FBI sent a letter to Jordan that purported to be from a longshore worker. The letter said Jordan was "committing political suicide" by accepting the support of the SWP.

In another set of documents, the FBI



Clifton DeBerry with Malcolm X

takes great satisfaction in an article which criticizes the SWP. The article was published in the May-June 1964 issue of *Liberator* magazine.

The article, "Marxism and the Negro—Freedom Now Party vs. Socialist Workers Party" was written by Harold Cruse, a prominent Black writer who authored "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual."

"Coming on the heels of the NYO [New York FBI office] anonymous mailing claiming that the SWP used Negro Rights causes for its own purposes," the FBI speculates, "it is believed very possible that this disruptive tactic was the impetus for the Cruse article warning against infiltration of the FNP by the SWP."

Malcolm X

In 1965, soon after the assassination of Malcolm X, the FBI set out to disrupt relations between the SWP and Malcolm's followers.

DeBerry described meeting Malcolm X in 1963, while running for president on the SWP ticket. In 1964, DeBerry joined the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which was led by Malcolm X.

"We had fraternal relations with Malcolm X. He respected the Socialist Workers Party, he respected the *Militant* newspaper," DeBerry told the court.

A June 1965 FBI memo states "It is believed that SWP influence on the followers of Malcolm X would be disrupted by emphasizing the atheism of the SWP. . . ."

'Drive out Blacks'

DeBerry concluded with testimony about attempts by the FBI to drive Black members out of the SWP. Anonymous letters sent to Paul Boutelle (Kwame Somburu), the Socialist Workers 1968 candidate for vice-president, reflect the blatantly racist character of the FBI.

One starts, "Some of us within the party are fed up with the subversive effect you are having on the party, but since a few see your presence as an asset (because of your color only) not much can be said openly."

The third paragraph reads, "Why don't you and the rest of our regular fellow party monkeys hook up with the Panthers where you would feel at home."

Somburu read the letter to SWP members in New York at their next meeting. An FBI informant at the

meeting reported that "Boutelle was visible agitated and upset . . . SWP members at the branch meeting were obviously stunned by the letter."

The FBI quickly sent a second anonymous letter, again attributed to an anonymous member of the SWP.

"Dear Paul," it says, "though I rejected the racist tone of the letter sent you recently by party comrades, and I know who they are, I confess that I believe it contains an element of truth. You have hindered the work of the party."

"It is time we stopped playing up to you and your color and let you know openly how we really feel."

In his cross examination Edward Williams, the government's attorney, tried to sidestep DeBerry's testimony. Instead, Williams asked him a series of questions about the 1967 SWP national convention.

Didn't SWP leader Tom Kerry say he looked "forward to an October revolution in this country" and that he wanted to build a "combat Trotskyist Party" in the United States?

Didn't Joseph Hansen, another leader of the SWP, urge party members to travel to Cuba even though it was illegal to do so then?

SWP attorneys asked Williams for the source of his quotes. With quite a

flourish, Williams announced that it was all part of an FBI yearly report on the SWP—the convention quotes "taken from a number of informant reports, I think seven in all."

Courtroom tricks

The government pulled one of its dirtier courtroom tricks after DeBerry finished testifying and left the courtroom to return to his home in California.

After a lunch break, Williams popped up with a "backup" document for the 1967 convention quotes—another informer's report.

This stooge really got carried away with himself. His report claims that DeBerry said "This is no time for the establishment of an electoral party. It may be a time for bullets."

Then it says "It may be a time for bullets and the SWP should be ready to fight on every front like a true Leninist Party."

These slanders are not going to remain unchallenged on the court record. Judge Griesa agreed to a conference call hook up with DeBerry, stating the witness had the right to deny the statements. The government's cheap trick only served to illustrate how weak their defense in the SWP case really is.

Bustin meets the media in coal country tour

By Chris Horner

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—In mid-May members of the newly formed Socialist Workers Party branch here organized a media tour for Marian Bustin in southern West Virginia.

Bustin is a coal miner from the northern part of the state who is being threatened with deportation by the U.S. government for the "crimes" of being a socialist and being foreign-born. Bustin, a permanent legal resident, was born in Scotland. She is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095.

In her three days here Bustin and I put in several long days and covered hundreds of miles crossing the southern coalfields. When it was over, prominent interviews had appeared in four of the region's principal newspapers, one TV station had broadcast the story, and Bustin had spent a full hour and a half on a popular call-in radio show in Huntington, an hour west of Charleston, near

the Ohio and Kentucky coalfields.

Bustin answered questions from callers ranging from what kind of society exists in Cuba, to how a socialist America would be run. She talked about the role of immigrants in building U.S. industry and leading the struggles of working people.

In Logan County, the *Logan Banner* ran a photograph and article that told readers how they could write the Attorney General in Washington, D.C., to protest the government's harassment of Bustin.

Prominent articles also appeared in the Huntington *Herald-Dispatch* and *Charleston Gazette*. Charleston and Huntington are the two largest cities in the state and their newspapers have a statewide circulation.

Bustin was also interviewed by the *Raleigh Register* in Beckley. Beckley, a small city in the heart of the southern coalfields, is the headquarters of United Mine Workers District 29.

Massive actions mark Women's Day in Iran

By Miriyam Daoudi

The following is from an article that appeared in the April 28 issue of 'Hemmat,' weekly newspaper of the Hezb-e Vahdat-e Kargaran (HVK—Workers Unity Party). The HVK, one of the three organizations in Iran affiliated with the Fourth International, was founded at a January 22-24 convention.

The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

On April 25, hundreds of thousands of women in several cities all over the country demonstrated for Women's Day and the birth of Hazrat Fatima [daughter of Mohammed]. Women's Day is celebrated on her birthday in Iran.

Demonstrations took place in Tehran, Shiraz, Mashhad, Ahwaz, Abadan, Khuninshahr [Khorramshahr], and Tabriz. In the war-stricken cities, the participation of women in these demonstrations was remarkable.

According to a report in the April 26 *Jomhuri-e-Eslami* (Islamic Republic), while women were demonstrating in Ahwaz, the city was hit by several long-range shells fired from the Iraqi invaders' artillery. Despite this, the women resolutely continued their march and chanted slogans against the Iraqi regime.

Tens of thousands march

In Tehran, tens of thousands of women participated in a broad march for Women's Day, responding to a call issued by a committee composed of representatives of the Martyred Motahhari Higher Seminary, a unit of the Mobilization of the Revolutionary Guards, the Jihad for Reconstruction, the Islamic Republican Party, the Muslim Women's Renaissance, the Organization of Mujahideen of the Islamic Revolution, the Office for Fortifying Unity, and the League of Islamic Teachers.

Most of the women who participated were from the working classes and from working-class neighborhoods of Tehran. The demonstration converged on Tehran University from several different paths. There were units of young sisters from the resistance mobilization groups and from the Revolutionary Guards. They were enthusiastically received by the people in the streets. The participation of older women and housewives was also remarkable, and young students also took part.

Throughout the length of the march demonstrators chanted their own slogans with great fervor, like "Death to America, death to Saddam" [referring to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein].

At Tehran University, the Imam's message on the occasion of Women's Day and a message from the families of martyrs of the south and west of the country was read.

At the end of the proceedings, a statement was read announcing the support of the brothers of the Revolutionary Guards and soldiers at the front, and condemning any form of compromise in the war. This statement called for implementing explicit rights for women in the constitution.

Anti-imperialist spirit

The prominent anti-imperialist spirit of the women's day demonstration is a sign that working women are ready to advance the revolution against the war

imposed by the Iraqi regime.

In fact, since the beginning of the war, women have provided food, clothing, and other necessities for the front, sent aid to the wounded, received military training, participated in resistance groups in the factories and schools for the formation of the Army of 20 Million and the Jihad for Reconstruction, and played an important role in organizing the resistance movement. In these broad demonstrations throughout the country, women showed that they want an expansion of these activities and for this reason, want to gain their rights.

But the organizers of the demonstrations, especially the Society of Tehran University, did not give the necessary answers to the women's demands and needs and was not in tune with the anti-imperialist sentiments of the women.

First of all, the government did not call an official holiday for this day. As a result, broad masses of working women were unable to participate in this demonstration. In fact, factory managers did not give permission for participation in these marches, thus striking a blow at them.

Secondly, the political forces who organized this demonstration tried to orient the demonstration toward their own goals of monopolizing political power, instead of raising anti-imperialist slogans and the specific needs and demands of women.

Slogans against women who do not wear the veil and against other political forces were put forward, damaging the unity of women against imperialism and capitalism. This is a loss for the revolution.

Women need equal rights

In the two years since the victory of the February insurrection, women in our society still don't have equal rights and opportunities. Because of discrimination in education and employment, women's participation in industry, social services, and professional occupations is still very limited. The vast masses of women in our society are still prisoners of the cramped confines of the four walls of their home and of family matters. Working women generally lack necessary services like child-care centers.

In family affairs, politics, and economics the trend in this country is still toward severe discrimination against women. These are all serious obstacles in the path of total liberation of the toiling women in our society.

Women are half the fundamental forces of the revolution in this dangerous situation of the Iraqi-imposed war and imperialist aggression. In order to mobilize women as widely as possible, at every social level, militarily and politically, the revolution must eliminate every form of discrimination against women and give them complete equal rights. Everything possible must be done so women can participate actively in the war and in the revolution.

But the experience of the last two years shows that women ought not look to the capitalist parties or the government to achieve their demands. In order to achieve the above rights, women must be organized independently in the factories, neighborhoods, and villages, and must be organized in a nationwide, independent organization to advance the revolution.

Countdown Rallies for ERA

The National Organization for Women has called for rallies across the country on Tuesday, June 30, in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

These "High Noon Countdown Rallies" will mark the beginning of the last year before the final deadline—June 30, 1982—to make the ERA the Twenty-seventh Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

In New York City, the rally will take place on the steps of the New York Public Library on Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street.

Among those scheduled to appear are Betty Friedan, Governor Hugh Carey, Bella Abzug, and Herman Badillo.

For information on activities in your area, call the National NOW Action Center at (202) 347-2279.

National Picket Line



CBTU convention held

More than 1,000 people attended the Tenth Annual National Convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in Washington, D.C., May 22-25.

Discussion at the convention reflected a growing mood of anger over the attacks on labor and Black people in this country. The racist murders in Atlanta were a constant thread in the proceedings.

CBTU President William Lucey and First Vice-president Cleveland Robinson encouraged convention participants to join the May 25 protest rally in Washington and buses were organized from the convention site. Two Atlanta mothers, Camille Bell and Venus Taylor, addressed the Awards Dinner.

In other resolutions, the CBTU endorsed the AFL-CIO's plans for a national demonstration against the budget cuts and voted to support the miners' strike. Resolutions opposing Reagan's foreign policy in South Africa and El Salvador were passed.

Several South African trade union leaders, who were in Washington to attend the International Metalworkers Federation meeting, addressed the CBTU convention.

A panel discussion was held on Black women and the labor movement, and the CBTU voted to establish a women's committee.

Keep the Davis-Bacon Act

Claiming that it's costing the government too much money, Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan wants to abolish the Davis-Bacon Act, the law that requires employers on federally-funded construction projects to pay prevailing wage rates.

If the act is repealed, contractors would be free to hire workers at low wages. It would be a crippling blow to the building and construction unions.

Unionized construction workers do earn relatively high hourly wage rates. And they deserve them. Construction work is often seasonal. Unemployment in the construction industry is usually much higher than for other manufacturing jobs—10.8 percent in 1979, for example, compared to a 5.5 percent unemployment rate for all manufacturing workers.

And union wages are not what's pushing up the costs of construction. Studies by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and from the National Association of Home Builders show that, between 1942 and 1977, the main increases in housing costs have been in financing charges (rich bankers) and land costs. Labor costs as a percentage of housing costs have declined from 31 percent to 17 percent.



Nothing to sneeze at

Their 1980 salaries didn't come close to the big bucks raked in by corporate execs, but top union presidents did okay for themselves.

AFL-CIO	
Lane Kirkland	\$102,307
UNITED AUTO WORKERS	
Douglas Fraser	68,694
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS	
Sol Chaikin	72,925
MACHINISTS	
William Winpisinger	71,410
UNITED MINE WORKERS	
Sam Church	48,285
RAILWAY & AIRLINE CLERKS	
Fred Kroll	120,000
STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES	
Jerry Wurf	97,500
STEELWORKERS	
Lloyd McBride	82,038
UNITED TRANSPORTATION UNION	
Fred Hardin	73,617

The top 1980 earner was Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons, who died recently. He pulled in \$156,250.

Delegates at the Teamsters convention earlier this month elected Roy Williams as the new president and gave him a raise—\$225,000 a year.

Let us know what's happening in your area—strike news, union resolutions, local press clippings, whatever—drop us a line at the 'Militant', 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

—Vivian Sahner

By Malik Miah and Stu Singer

On May 28 there were elections for district directors and international officers of the United Steelworkers of America.

The contests reflected two currents in the union leadership. One is the "official family," headed by union President Lloyd McBride. Their policy is, what's good for the companies is good for the union.

The other current was led by reform candidates. They are union officials who call for a more militant posture against the employers. They advocate more democracy in the ranks and generally speak out more in favor of progressive social issues.

Two of the reform candidates won. They were Dave Patterson in District 6 Ontario, and Dave Wilson, in District 8 Maryland. The other four reform candidates lost. They included the main opposition leader, Jim Balanoff, who was the incumbent director of the union's largest District, 31 in the Chicago-Gary area.

These elections were notable because many of the big political questions facing workers in the United States and Canada were at issue. These were not the popularity contests or simple "ins" versus "outs" races that often characterize union elections.

These six districts have about 400,000 of the 1.3 million members of the United Steelworkers of America. The Steelworkers are one of the largest and most powerful industrial unions in North America.

The referendum method of electing officers, which is unusual in American unions, provides an opening for participation of the union ranks. In most other unions, international officers are chosen by delegates at a convention.

In the Steelworkers, the district and international officers elections have reflected opposed political approaches for several years.

Unlike the last election in 1977, the reformers did not present candidates for the five international officers. But the international officers intervened heavily in the district races where the reform candidates ran.

This was especially true in District 31. Money and the influence of the union apparatus were heavily utilized to break the reform leadership, which had wrested control of the district away from the official family in 1974.

Defeat in Chicago-Gary

Balanoff's loss is a setback for the whole Steelworkers Union. The industry is interpreting it to mean the union will put up even less resistance to the drive against jobs, wages and benefits.

The defeat emphasizes the need to put forward a strategy against these attacks. How can the union be mobilized to defend jobs and working conditions?

Steelworkers need a perspective on this to stand up to the companies. From contracts to political action, the union is in retreat.

Balanoff's weakness was in not clearly pointing the way forward. His campaign did not convince enough steelworkers that it would make much difference whether Balanoff or Parton were in office to save jobs.

Some steps forward

The victories for Wilson and Patterson put two local leaders on the International Executive Board who actively oppose company takeback drives. Both of them are supporters of union democracy and have played important parts in labor solidarity efforts.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported uneasiness among steel industry officials in Canada at Peterson's big win.

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* warned that Patterson's election "promised a tougher line by locals in bargaining with employers."

Malik Miah and Stu Singer are both former members of the Steelworkers union. Miah was a member of Local 15271 in Chicago and Singer was in Local 6115 on the Iron Range.

In fact, two of the most important steel mills in Canada, where Patterson won overwhelming majorities, are in the midst of negotiations now. The contracts for steelworkers at Stelco in Hamilton and Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie expire at the end of July.

Thirty-two-year-old Dave Patterson worked in Inco's Frood mine in Sudbury before being elected president of Local 6500. He is a supporter of women's rights and of the national rights of the Quebecois. He put out campaign literature in several languages to reach immigrant workers. He is an active supporter of Canada's Labor party, the NDP.

... and in Maryland

Dave Wilson, elected director of District 8 in Maryland, is President of Local 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore. He did not

chance. Weinstock is a longtime union reform leader from Youngstown, Ohio. He was a candidate on Ed Sadlowski's opposition slate for international union leadership in 1977.

But he ran in District 27, based in Canton, Ohio, because the last union convention dissolved the Youngstown district, 26, his base for over thirty years.

Weinstock's defeat is one more blow against the steelworkers in Youngstown. They have suffered severely under the company shutdowns and the do-nothing attitude of the top union officials.

Reaganomics

Since the Reagan victory in particular, the labor tops have come under increasing pressure to fight back. Growing numbers of workers want an effective counteroffensive to the attacks by go-

upsurge in Poland, and the dangers of nuclear power.

Although these union elections were not a clear-cut referendum on these questions, candidates in some of the races were clearly polarized on different sides of such political, social, and economic issues.

Under the impact of the austerity drive, some workers feared the reform candidates. They were susceptible to appeals that a more militant attitude toward the companies could lead to loss of jobs and setbacks.

In a number of areas, the reform candidates and their supporters were red-baited. While these charges did not carry the weight they have in the past, they had an impact.

But overall, these were close races. Some reform candidates won. Others came in very close.

What happened in the Steelworkers' elections?



Above, April 27 news conference in Chicago by five reform candidates running for district directors of the Steel workers. From left: Ron Weinstock, Dave Patterson, Jim Balanoff, and Joe Samargia. Below, Dave Wilson, also at the Chicago news conference, is in the next picture, taken during the eight-and-a-half-month strike against INCO. Top right, A. J. Parton.

formally run as part of the current around Balanoff, but he campaigned for many of the same ideas, including the right of steelworkers to vote on their contract.

Local 2609 has played a big part in strike support activities, such as with the coal miners, and in backing the successful Steelworkers organizing effort at the Newport News shipyard. Local 2609 was one of the first in the union to have a women's committee and has been involved in civil rights and women's rights actions.

In the campaigns in District 15 Pittsburgh, and District 33 on the Iron Range, reform candidates Ron Weinstock and Joe Samargia made gains, even though they did not win the director posts. With the new activists attracted around these campaigns, steelworkers in these districts are in a better position to move forward, regardless of who sits in the district director offices.

In District 27, union staffman Marvin Weinstock did not have much of a

chance.

They want a way to fight the planned cutbacks in Social Security, other social programs, and in health and safety rights. Past gains of Blacks and of women workers are under attack. Jobs, wages and benefits are being cut.

In the past, the union leaders relied on their "friends" in Congress. But these "friends" are helping carry out the attacks.

The drive to increase profits in the name of "reindustrialization" means that management is not willing to grant even the modest contract improvements union leaders could usually deliver in the past. The drive to increase profits means cutting wages, not raising them. In the steel industry, an increasing amount of steel is being produced in nonunion mills. This threatens the union's fundamental strength.

Union members are increasingly concerned over issues like the racist killings in Atlanta, revolutions in Central America, war threats, the workers'

District 31

Incumbent Jim Balanoff lost by about six percentage points to Local 1014 President Jack Parton in this district of over 100,000 steelworkers. The turnout was about 41 percent, with 22 percent of the membership voting for Parton.

Parton spent at least \$100,000 to Balanoff's \$40,000. Much of Parton's money came from contributions of hundreds of dollars each from the union's international staff representatives. The international also supplied him with campaign organizers.

Parton had recently built a \$3 million union hall and named it for union international President Lloyd McBride. McBride's most important contribution to Parton was in helping him try to clean up his image.

As president of the 10,000-member Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, Parton's reputation is for leading one of the most undemocratic locals in the area.

le has refused to allow the formation of women's committee, blocked solidarity activities with other strikes, and created an atmosphere in the local where it is difficult or impossible to reach disagreements.

Parton projected a very different image in the election campaign. He made a special appeal to Black, Latino and women workers. He wore a green ribbon to protest the racist killings in Atlanta. He promised to hold district women's conferences. He attacked Balanoff for failure of the Equal Rights Amendment to be passed in Illinois. He accused Balanoff of sabotaging affirmative action in his home local, 1010, Inland and of failing to have Blacks on union staff.

These charges are false. And the lies of affirmative action and staff appointments are frame-ups. It was former International President I. W. Abel who

progressive positions in his campaign, even if only on paper, it is a gain for the union.

Jobs

The key issues in the race were jobs and the effects of the austerity drive on steelworkers. Balanoff, the incumbent, was vulnerable to Parton's charge that he failed to preserve jobs in District 31.

U.S. Steel blackmailed American Bridge workers in 1979 to accept a wage freeze or the plants would be closed. Workers at the Gary plant voted against the wage freeze. U.S. Steel shut the plant.

Parton suggested he would have urged acceptance of the wage freeze to save the jobs. Balanoff made no recommendation, saying it was up to the workers.

Neither one broke out of the blackmail framework.

aged by publicly-elected boards.

Steelworkers have no friends in the Democratic and Republican Parties or in the corporate board rooms. We need our own political party to represent us, a labor party.

Unfortunately, none of the District 31 candidates raised such proposals. On the most important question concerning steelworkers in District 31, Balanoff did not come across as having more of a strategy to save jobs than Parton.

Wishful thinking

Parton's mentor, Lloyd McBride, gloated over Balanoff's defeat. He was quoted as saying, "Jim Balanoff has stood pretty much alone against the majority of the union. Now, not only has he been repudiated by the members of the Executive Board, he has been repudiated by the membership of District 31."

But Parton's vote from 22 percent of the membership is no repudiation of Balanoff or the issues reflected in his campaign.

Parton's pro-company stance means that steelworkers in District 31 will need to get the ranks more involved in union activities and develop a program that offers more hope for beating back the bosses' drive.

District 33

There were four candidates in this district, which stretches from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan through Montana.

A right-wing union staffman named Eldon Kirsch came in first, 800 votes ahead of Local 1938 President Joe Samargia. Paul Gravedoni, a local president from northern Michigan, came in third, and incumbent director Linus Wampler came in fourth.

The real contest was between Kirsch and Samargia, but the other candidates had a big effect on the outcome. All except Kirsch were seen to some extent as reform candidates, favoring union democracy. The reform vote was divided among them. Kirsch won with only 35 percent of the vote.

The differences represented by Samargia and Kirsch were sharper than in any of the other contests in the union.

Kirsch was McBride's candidate as much as Parton was. Money was poured into the race, supplemented by arm-twisting by the union staff. Kirsch's image was not cleaned up the way Parton's was.

Kirsch attacked Samargia not only for positions he supported, but also for allowing democratic discussions to take place in Local 1938.

Samargia was attacked for picketing Minnesota's labor-hating Republican Governor and supporting local and district women's rights meetings. Kirsch dredged up four-year-old charges that Ed Sadlowski's 1977 campaign had gotten money from outside the union. This claim had nothing to do with Samargia's campaign in 1981.

It was Kirsch's campaign that received heavy funding from non-steelworkers. Like Parton, Kirsch was financed by the "voluntary" contributions of the staff.

Kirsch attacked Samargia for supporting the right of steelworkers to vote on contracts and for organizing support activities to back up unions on strike.

Some of the officers from Local 6115 put an ad for Kirsch in the *Mesabi Daily News*, claiming, "Iron Range labor has had enough of street corner unionism." This was meant as an attack, but it probably won votes for Samargia.

On the Iron Range, where the union was built on the blood of miners and their families, the street corners have been battlegrounds as much as the mine gates. Kirsch and his supporters were campaigning on short memories.

One of the most impressive things about Samargia's campaign was its success in inspiring steelworkers to have a broader view of their interests and what the union can do.

Samargia would point to the examples of the coal miners and the Polish workers as models of how to organize and fight to win. In the midst of the campaign, Samargia spoke at an Iron Range rally sponsored by Local 1938 protesting

U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Samargia's stands won him support. As long as he and the activists around him continue to fight for their vision of unionism, the companies and Eldon Kirsch won't get much opportunity to enjoy their win.

District 15

Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 at the U.S. Steel Homestead Mill, came within 1,700 votes of upsetting incumbent Paul Lewis in this Pittsburgh area district.

The differences between the candidates were posed very sharply. The main issue was jobs.

One of Paul Lewis's red, white and blue campaign fliers said: "It is the opinion of many informed unionists throughout District 15 that United States Steel is watching our election for Director closely. That's why they're delaying the decision on the Continuous Caster at Edgar Thompson Works, the Electric Furnace to replace the outdated open hearth at the Homestead Works, and the big seamless pipe mill. If Weisen is elected these projects will definitely be relocated to areas with a more, (to quote USS) 'favorable labor climate.'"

Lewis may as well have proposed that management be given ballots so they could vote.

One positive thing about the District 15 election was that both Weisen and Lewis made clear their support for women's rights and civil rights. Both of them supported a steelworker-backed rally against the Ku Klux Klan last fall.

Weisen and his supporters have been a thorn in the side of the McBride leadership for a number of years. They actively supported the steelworkers in Youngstown who fought against the shutdowns of the mills there.

Weisen's campaign threw a scare into the international leadership in their home district. And there is nothing in the election results suggesting that Weisen and his supporters will fade away.

Steelworkers Fight Back

The reform candidates in 1981 were a continuation to some extent of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign in 1977. Ed Sadlowski, Marvin Weinstock and three others challenged the union international leadership.

Supporters of the Fight Back campaign led two of the most important strikes in the USWA in years. Joe Samargia led the three-and-a-half-month miners' strike in Minnesota and Michigan in 1977, and Dave Patterson led 12,000 nickel miners on strike against INCO for eight-and-a-half months in 1978-79.

* * *

Future articles will look back at the Sadlowski campaign, where it came from, and what happened to Steelworkers Fight Back. They will take up where the labor movement stands now in face of the employers' "reindustrialization" offensive.



isen, Marvin Weinstock, Jim Balanoff, and Joe Samargia. Dave Patterson, who was in antinuclear march in northern Indiana led by steelworkers, including Jim Balanoff,

excluded Inland from the affirmative action consent decree, and McBride has vetoed Balanoff's proposals for staff positions, including Blacks.

Parton decided to keep quiet during the campaign about nuclear power. In the past he has spoken in favor of it. McBride was on Carter's commission to cover-up the Three Mile Island accident. But Balanoff was one of the leaders of an anti-nuclear power demonstration in northern Indiana during the campaign which many steelworkers participated in. Parton would have lost votes by admitting to be in favor of nuclear power.

Parton's progressive image was created only for the consumption of steelworkers who did not know him. In his own local, his machine did poorly. Although he carried it by about 1,000 votes, there was a very low turnout.

In the white suburbs around Gary, Parton campaigners attacked Balanoff's endorsement by the Black mayor of Gary, Richard Hatcher.

But to the extent Parton took more

The bosses' offensive requires mass mobilizations and a political direction.

How can jobs and wages be protected?

Balanoff is on record supporting a shorter work week with no cut in pay to create more jobs. This proposal needs to get a wide hearing. A campaign has to be laid out to fight for it. Steelworkers and other unions and their allies have to mobilize throughout the country. It is a challenge to the capitalist political parties as well as to the capitalists.

Organizing such a campaign is no small thing. But it has to begin with explaining it, convincing people it is an alternative to wage concessions.

Campaigning around such an issue would have inspired tens of thousands of steelworkers who did not even bother to vote in this election.

When U.S. Steel claims it cannot operate American Bridge profitably, they should be forced to open their books. If they won't operate the plants, nationalize them. The steelworkers at American Bridge could run it and it could be man-

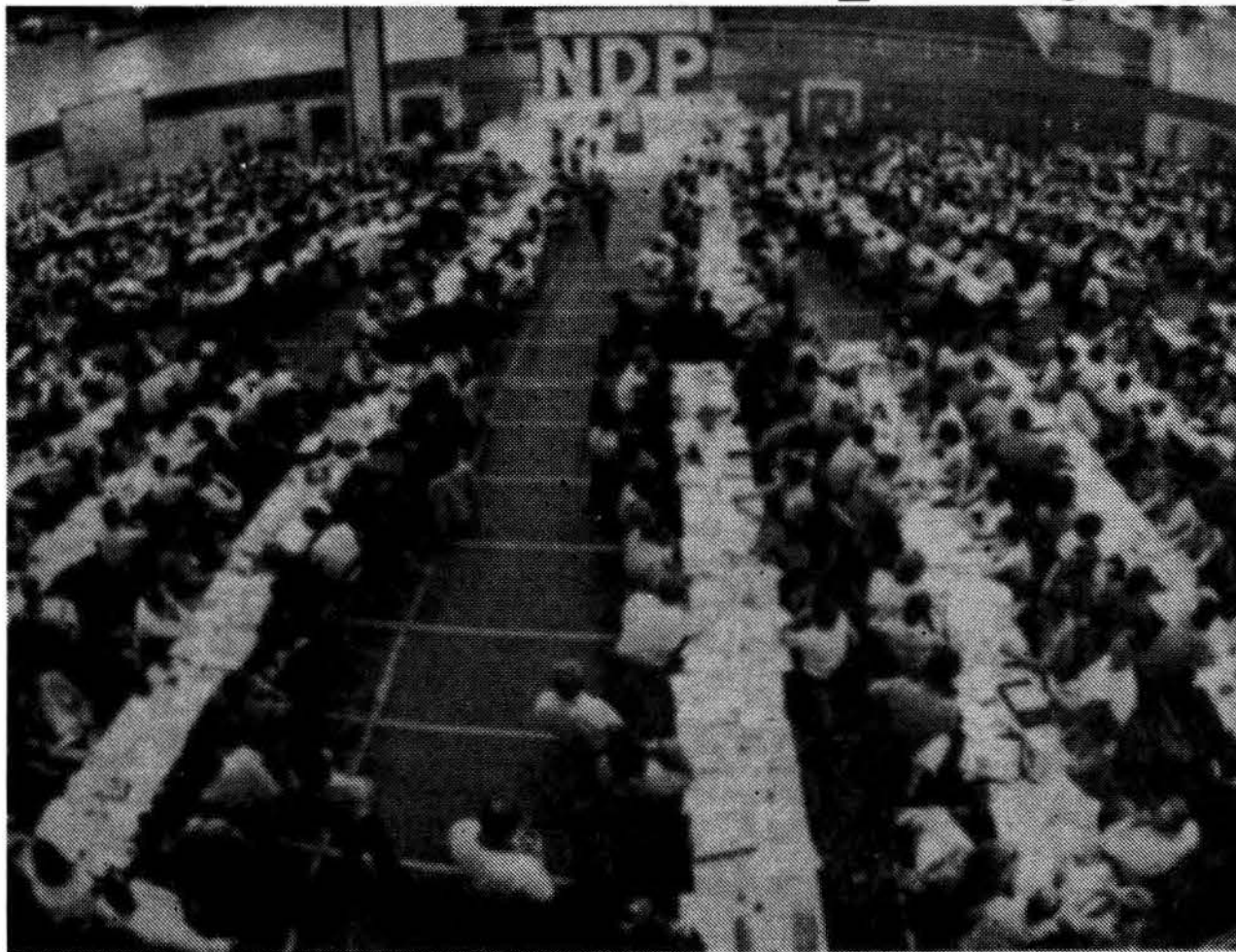
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Machinists, Oil Workers discuss labor party



'The IAM plays a key role in NDP Conventions and has a seat on the ruling NDP's Federal Council,' writes the 'Machinist' about Canada's labor party.

By Frank Lovell

Sentiment for a labor party continues to grow in the ranks of the union movement. The reason is bipartisan domestic politics in Washington that are systematically stealing back social gains won by the working class and handing over government guarantees of higher profits to the employing class.

The problem for the labor movement is what can be done about this all-out employer attack. The April issue of the *Machinist*, the paper of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, features a comparison of the present political scene here with that in Canada, where the unions have their own party, the New Democratic Party (NDP).

Sentiment for new party

The editors say, "Since the 1980 elections, a swell of sentiment has been surfacing around the country to establish a third political party. Some labor leaders and members see the nearly 55% of the eligible voters who either refused to vote in the last presidential election or who voted for a third candidate as a base for building such a progressive or labor party.

"Others," they say, "including AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, oppose such an idea, seeking instead to try and bring the Democratic Party back to its founding principles. IAM [International Association of Machinists] President William W. Winpisinger has pledged to work with the AFL-CIO and other coalitions to try and refurbish the party. But he is also leaving open other options should that attempt fail."

The lead article, titled "Can Canada's political success . . . be an ALL American dream come true?" by Mike Rygus, IAM general vice-president (Canada), tells how the Canadian unions embarked on an independent political course and helped found the NDP in 1961. Twenty years later, he says, "The job is still not a bed of roses." But he concludes that "it is one we must accomplish if Canadian workers are ever going to play our full role as an integral part of society." The implication is that workers in the U.S. may need to eventually take the same course.

Two capitalist parties

The two biggest political parties in Canada are similar to those here. The Conservatives, called "Progressive Conservative" or PC, are like the Republicans here—staunchly pro-big business free enterprise, laissez-faire, non-government involvement in the economy (except to bail-out bankrupt corporations). The Liberals (with a capital L) are like the Democrats.

"In our view," say Canadian Machinists, "they are Conservatives who, every once in a while for the sake of political expediency, steal a few NDP ideas, water them down to soothe objections from their friends in Big Business, and then claim them for their own."

These are the major parties of the employing class. In Canada the unions have their own party. And that

makes a big difference. The NDP does not accept corporate contributions. "Its biggest single source of funding comes from local unions which affiliate on the basis of 10 cents per member per month and individual contributions," says the IAM.

The NDP, at the federal level, won 20 percent of the vote and elected thirty-two members to Parliament in 1980. However, it recently suffered a severe loss in the Ontario provincial elections on March 19. The setback was attributable largely to failure of the union officialdom and the NDP leadership to step up their attack on the pro-big business policies of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who heads the Liberal government. They tended to forget some recently learned lessons.

Fighting Trudeau

Past experience with the earlier Trudeau government had forced the NDP to exert a more independent policy. Dennis McDermott, head of the Canadian Labour Congress (Canadian counterpart of the AFL-CIO here) and onetime vice-president of the United Auto Workers in charge of its Canadian District, explained in the *Machinist* what happened. "Thanksgiving Day, 1975, marked the beginning of a new emphasis on politics by Canadian labor," he says. "On that day, the Liberal Prime Minister [Trudeau] imposed wage controls."

One year later, to mark the first anniversary of Trudeau's wage controls, the CLC staged a National Day of Protest. One million workers left their jobs to demonstrate. The Liberals did not change their policy. They prepared the 1979 electoral victory of the Conservatives, just as Carter paved the way for Reagan's march to the White House.

McDermott says that the experience in Canada caused labor to relearn a number of tough lessons. "First, politics is not just concerned with the nonbargainable items such as education, housing and clean water but also with collective bargaining itself. Second, briefs to governments, lobbying of Ministers and meetings with civil service will not produce the desired results if the government's philosophy is against workers to start with. Third, even large demonstrations will not move some governments. Last but not least, political action is needed to help solve some basic labor problems."

Some of these are lessons that have yet to be learned by most present union officials in this country, especially the urgent need for a mass labor party based on the union movement.

How will such a party be organized? This is one of the questions that always comes up in any labor party discussion.

Mazzocchi's campaign

Tony Mazzocchi, an official of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) and a candidate for president of that union, favors the formation of a

labor party and has been explaining the need for it at union meetings across the country during the past year or more. At a two-day conference of more than 500 union activists in Detroit, April 11-12, Mazzocchi was the featured speaker. He spoke at the conference banquet about the need for a labor party.

In an interview with reporters for a New York weekly, the *Village Voice*, he was asked how much support the labor party idea has and how will the party be organized. "I think there is wide support among the ranks of labor," he said. "I think there is wide support in the secondary leadership and among international union presidents. The presidents are not going to get out in front. The main support will come from people on a local level who are extremely frustrated by their inability to effect any change."

On the problem of forming a labor party, Mazzocchi speaks in practical terms. "I'm not talking about the platform where we develop a document," he says. "I'm talking about an actual formal mechanism. You may run some local candidates." This is his way of beginning, a proposal to others.

"I don't think it's necessary to run a presidential candidate," he says. "But if we could demonstrate some strength as labor, we could be the difference in elections in this country and we could change the nature of the political debate."

View of Democrats

What about the Democratic Party?

"I think the Democratic Party is going to remain there, but I don't think it's going to attract American workers," Mazzocchi says. "I think we have to accept the fact that many American workers rejected the Democratic Party in the last election. And I think it was more a vote against those who were in than for those who were out."

But despite this judgment, Mazzocchi hasn't completely given up on the Democrats: "I think it's possible to support candidates within the Democratic Party, but have a platform that coherently expresses labor's point of view so that the entire political debate generally takes place in a wholly different context."

Very often labor party talk turns to speculation about what such a party will be like in this country. Will it be like the NDP in Canada? Or like the British Labour Party? Or will it have a distinctive character of its own, marked by the turbulent class battles that are beginning right now?

These are questions that will be answered by historic events of the next few years. But one feature of the labor party is already known, demonstrated by the history of labor parties in all capitalist nations of the Western world. The labor party is a different kind of party from the parties of the capitalist class.

Workers have a choice

Workers cannot influence or change in any way the fundamental antilabor policies of the capitalist parties. In this country workers who support the Democratic Party have no more influence upon it than they have on company unions in open-shop industries.

The labor party is different in this most basic respect.

It is subject to control by the working class. It can be changed by the workers who support it and who are members of it, just as the most bureaucratic unions can be transformed by an aroused rank and file.

This is the process that is under way at the present time in the British Labour Party, which recently brought to heel its pro-capitalist representatives in Parliament. This is a sign of the times, another indication of the rising political consciousness of the working class in all countries. It promises well for the future of an American labor party.

Further reading...

Labor's Giant Step. Twenty Years of the CIO. By Art Preis. 538 pp. \$7.95.

The History of the Labor Movement in the U.S. By Philip S. Foner. 5 volumes. \$4.95 per volume.

By Farrell Dobbs:

Teamster Rebellion. \$4.95.

Teamster Power. \$4.95.

Teamster Politics. \$4.95.

Teamster Bureaucracy. \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

Poll favors abortion, Congress attacks it

By Margaret Jayko

On May 21, the Senate voted to concur with the House of Representatives on banning federal funding for abortions which result from rape or incest.

This is the most far-reaching ban on abortion funding ever enacted by Congress.

The Hyde amendment, which Congress passed in 1976, limited Medicaid funds for abortions to cases of rape, incest, or when the life of the woman is in danger. Only the last category now remains.

Right-wing Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), the chief Senate sponsor of the measure, cynically dismissed the plight of the estimated 15,000 women who were pregnant as a result of rapes, as a "red herring."

Senator Bob Packwood (R-Ore), said the measure would discriminate against the poor, making abortions legal only for those who can afford them.

"It's back to the butchers in the back room, all in the spirit of religious moralism, narrow and unforgivable," Packwood said.

Dr. Hugh Anwyll, head of the Los Angeles branch of Planned Parenthood, said, "I can't see the senators are doing anything but joining the rapists when they say women are not to receive help."

An editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* pointed to the hypocrisy of the vote: "Consider: If the wife or daughter of one of those members of Congress who voted for the drastic limit on Medicaid-financed abortions

were to become pregnant because of rape or incest, is it to be seriously believed that she would be prevailed upon bravely to let her pregnancy run its natural course?"

And the May 24 *New York Times* pointed out that, "... it's safe to assume that there will soon be attempts to abridge the reproductive freedom of women who live above the poverty line."

These new restrictions were tacked onto a supplemental government appropriations bill that will expire on September 30.

An amendment to deny funds for abortions for federal workers under any newly-negotiated health insurance plan was defeated.

The results of a poll on abortion which appeared on the front page of the June 8 *Washington Post* show how out of step Congress is with the American people.

Forty percent of those polled approved of a woman's right to abortion on demand and an additional 34 percent approved of it in most circumstances.

Of those interviewed who had abortions, 79 percent felt they were better off today because of it.

Forty percent of those surveyed supported federal financing of abortions for the poor, with 54 percent opposed.

The poll also indicated that 67 percent of the participants said birth control devices should be made available to teen-agers.



N.C. socialist hits Klan harassment

By Greg McCartan

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—In a well-attended press conference here on May 21, Betsey Soares, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, blasted threats against her campaign, the Black community, and civil rights supporters by Joe Grady, the Ku Klux Klan leader who is running for mayor on the Republican ticket.

Soares received three letters and a phone call from Warren Brooks, Grady's campaign manager, including an announcement of a Klan rally where the city's three Black aldermen will be burned in effigy.

Soares stated, "We take these letters seriously. On November 3, 1979, five civil rights activists were murdered by the Klan and Nazis. Although it's been proven that FBI agents helped plan the attack, all walked away scot-free."

"This shows very clearly how the government and its two parties support and encourage violent acts by the Klan and other right-wing outfits.

"The letters I have received are an attempt to harass and intimidate my campaign supporters."

"I demand that the Republican Party stop its candidate from continuing this harassment and I call on Mayor Wayne Corpening to publicly speak out against the threats made against the Black elected officials in this city."

The June 6 edition of the *Winston-Salem Chronicle*, a Black weekly, had a front page article about other people who had received similar threats.

Kay Vives, of the Human Relations Commission, in response to letters she received from Brooks, charged the Klan with being terrorists who use fear and intimidation to get results.

She said, "As a human being, I am appalled; as a white person, I am ashamed."

In response to Vives's charges, Brooks told the *Chronicle*, "The announcements were warnings to people that would find themselves in situations that they might not want to be in."

Protests force INS to halt deportation of Haitians

June 11—Despite claims to be protecting the rights of Haitian immigrants, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has scheduled seventy-six for immediate deportation.

According to the June 11 *New York Times*, a federal judge stayed the deportations after hearing reports that "attorneys seeking to assist the Haitians have been shouted down by Immigration and Naturalization Service guards when they have tried to talk to the refugees" before deportation hearings.

By Caryn Swann

MIAMI, June 9—A victory for Haitian refugees and their supporters came yesterday when the Immigration and Naturalization Service issued a new policy statement in response to protests against the deportation of eleven Haitians last week.

The statement by INS officials says that all hearings and deportation proceedings must stop immediately to allow the INS to review its procedures.

All cases where refugees were found excludable and deportable will be reviewed.

This applies to the approximately ninety Haitians that were judged excludable and deportable last week after illegal hearings.

The INS decision went one step further than an order given to the agency by U.S. Attorney General William French Smith June 5 that stated, "From this time on, all exclusion hearings should be held in open court and each hearing should involve only one person and each person should be clearly advised that he can consult counsel."

In addition, the order said that the hearings should be postponed if a refugee asks for an attorney.

Smith acted only after receiving numerous complaints from lawyers for the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., in Miami and others that mass hearings were being held behind closed doors. Lawyers were denied access to the hearings and the right to talk to and represent Haitians.

The INS had developed a new get-tough policy toward Haitians who arrived in the United States after last October 10, when special legal status permitting them to remain here was revoked.

The policy called for deten-



Haitian refugee collapses on beach after boat lands near Miami.

tion of immigrants in camps and their quick deportation.

INS officials in Miami initiated what they called "advisory hearings" against at least 140 newly arrived Haitians last week.

A news conference yesterday heard Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, a leader in the Haitian community, and Vera Weise and Ira Kurtzbaum, attorneys for the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. They explained the situation that led to the deportation of eleven Haitian refugees last week.

Kurtzbaum explained how the INS began holding illegal hearings for some ninety to 140 Haitians. The hearings involved thirty-five Haitians at a time. Lawyers for the HRC, Inc., who agreed to represent the Haitians without fee, were denied the right to enter the Krome Avenue refugee camp where the Haitians were being kept before the hearings. They were not allowed to talk to the Haitians to ask them if they wanted to be represented.

No one was allowed into the hearings. The courtroom doors were locked and the Haitians were taken up the back stairs.

These Haitians speak very little English and did not understand they were involved in deportation hearings.

Neither did they understand that they had the right to individual public hearings; the right to counsel; and the right to claim political asylum from the Duvalier dictatorship.

Vera Weise told of a woman who has been held in solitary

confinement at the Krome Avenue Detention Center since June 5.

She was to have been one of those deported. When she got on the plane with the eleven Haitian men, they informed her that they were all being sent back to Haiti. She became extremely emotionally upset. The airline refused to carry her in that condition.

Now she is being represented by the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., attorneys. She told them she had thought she was on her way to get working papers and a job.

She said one of the eleven deportees had been told he was being flown to Chicago for a job.

When HRC, Inc., attorneys accused the INS of herding the Haitians into mass hearings and preventing lawyers from advising them of their rights, they were answered by Verne Jervis, INS spokesperson in Washington. "What we are doing is preventing attorneys from soliciting business from the Haitians," he said. "The Haitians are being treated like anyone else. We return more Mexicans in half an hour than Haitians in two years."

Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste summed up the driving force behind the Haitian immigration: "Let us not forget that the problem lies with the political persecution and terrible conditions in Haiti. We continue to concern ourselves with the beatings, jailings, torture, and death that refugees face on return to Haiti."

Judge orders 3,000 bused to desegregate Buffalo schools

Federal Judge John T. Curtin ordered the busing of 3,000 pupils to desegregate schools in Buffalo, New York, beginning in September.

The order was handed down May 19 as a result of a suit filed in 1972 by the Buffalo chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Citizens' Council on Human Relations, against the Buffalo Board of Education.

In 1976, the court found that the school board had operated a segregated school system. Since then, the board has been trying

to work out a "solution" that wouldn't include mandatory busing.

As of last June, 25,000 of Buffalo's 47,000 public-school pupils had been bused, some voluntarily and others because of the court-approved closing of eight nearly all-Black schools.

Two months later, the judge instructed the school board to hire one minority teacher for each white teacher hired.

But these measures left segregation basically untouched.

So, on May 19, Judge Curtin rejected a request by the school board that it be given yet another

year to come up with a "plan."

The judge's order explained that the voluntary aspects of desegregation had gone about as far as they ever would.

"Time is of the essence in finding a final remedy," he stated.

Especially since the suit was filed nine years ago.

Daniel R. Acker, president of the Buffalo chapter of the NAACP, said he was pleased by the decision.

The court order also warned the Buffalo Common Council to "do its duty and provide adequately for the board's integration efforts."



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Anna Walentynowicz: interview with a leader of Poland's workers

The following are excerpts from an interview with Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing precipitated the Gdansk strike of August 1980 and who is now a national leader of the independent trade union Solidarity. Contrary to earlier reports in the international press, Walentynowicz was still a member of the Presidium of the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) based in Gdansk.

The interview was obtained for 'Intercontinental Press' at the end of April by DeAnn Rathbun and George Saunders. Two of Walentynowicz's coworkers, Jerzy and Maciej, pipefitters from her department of the Gdansk shipyard, took part in the interview. The translation was made at the time by a Polish student, a member of the Independent Student Union (NZS), who acted as interpreter.

Question. Could you tell us your experiences working with the committee trying to establish the "Free Trade Unions of the Coast" in the years before the August 1980 strike?

Walentynowicz. With pleasure. The organization we called the Free Trade Unions of the Coast was formed on April 30, 1978. I heard about it on Radio Free Europe. (Laughter) It's unfortunate that I had to learn from so far away what was going on close by.

I didn't know the organizers of this group, and they didn't know me. But I kept trying to contact them. People didn't trust each other. It took me until June to get in touch with them.

The committee was founded by three persons: Andrzej Gwiazda and two others. [Gwiazda is now national vice-president of Solidarity.] One of the others was a secret police agent, but we didn't know that then. How this group survived we still wonder today. Of course there were some members of our group, and workers who collaborated with us, whose names were not made public. But we did publish many of our names and addresses and tried to assert our right to exist openly and legally.

Harassment . . .

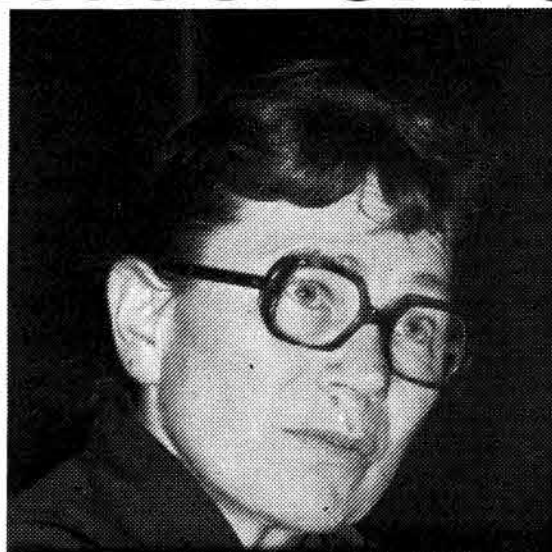
We had constant difficulties, were constantly harassed by the authorities. Over the course of two years we were able to put out only eight issues of our paper *Robotnik Wybrzeza* [Coastal Worker].¹

The police would search our homes and confiscate not only published issues but also typewriters, typing paper, even ballpoint pens. In their reports they listed these as "criminal evidence." And they used other methods to harass us, such as temporary arrest for forty-eight hours.²

Also they used to spread gossip about us. For example, that I was an alcoholic. And they tried to turn us against one another. They told me that Gwiazda was an intellectual—he was an engineer—who only wanted to use me, a simple worker, to do his dirty work for him.

1. The Baltic Coast has had a tradition of workers' struggles since the revolts of 1970 in the port cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin and Elblag.

2. Under Polish law, people can be detained for up to forty-eight hours without charges being filed. The police have used this to interfere with oppositional activity, while avoiding the publicity and embarrassment of public trials.



Militant/DeAnn Rathbun

Anna Walentynowicz, left, during interview; right, with Lech Walesa in negotiations with government.



Later they began to have people fired from their jobs. But we continued with our activities, and our influence began to grow. So the authorities transferred me out of the shipyard to another factory, illegally, and kept me there for three months. There was a difference between what I had been earning and what I was paid at the new place. The shipyard was supposed to make up the difference, but they wouldn't let me into the yard to collect my pay.

Finally they had to let me come back to the shipyard. When I came back, I tried to give every worker in the yard a leaflet telling about my case. They began searching me at the entrance to prevent me bringing in literature. The pretext for searching me was that supposedly I was "bringing alcohol" into the shipyard.

One day I managed to smuggle through some copies of *Robotnik Wybrzeza*, with our explanation of some changes in the work and payment system. I was fined for "disrupting work." My co-worker will tell how it happened:

Jerzy. First of all, she didn't hand out leaflets during work time. It was during the breakfast break. In every department of the shipyard there is a room where soup is served to the workers. We were all in this room when "Pani Anna" ["Mrs. Anna," as her fellow workers affectionately call her] came in and gave us leaflets. Then the manager of the department and the party first secretary of the department came in, and people started to hide the leaflets.

But Pani Anna stood up and said, "It's not a secret." She gave copies to the manager and the first secretary. After a while they left, and the rest of us took leaflets back to our work areas with us, because not everyone had come to breakfast.

Walentynowicz. After I was fired I appealed to the workers for support, but they didn't act because they were afraid. They thought that if someone is punished, there is nothing you can do about it. But I knew it was against the law, because our Free Trade Unions group had a legal adviser, a doctor of labor law, who is a great man; he is still our adviser. He helped me write an appeal. And everybody was very surprised, because I won in court. I was paid damages. The court document stating this was put up on the wall of every department of the shipyard by my friends.

We did this for a simple reason, to encourage people not to surrender their rights. The only reason the bosses were able to frighten and punish us was be-

cause we resigned ourselves, wouldn't fight back or appeal our cases. We were afraid and didn't see any possibility of winning. This democracy takes such a long time, and the workers didn't want to waste so much time. They would just resign themselves.

. . . and more harassment

Still they continued with their reprisals against me. Sometimes they would lock me in the cloakroom at the main entrance to the shipyard for two or three hours. So that they could say I was late for work and punish me. This happened several times.

When they did this I started to shout as loud as I could to tell the manager of my department that I was being held there, that I was not late. This shouting was our mass media. When we had no leaflets, that was our mass media. (Laughter)

So they parked a truck next to the window, so that when I would yell no one could tell where the voice was coming from.

Another way they harassed me was to turn off the crane that I was operating. I had to stop work and climb down from the crane to find out what was wrong, and they used that as a pretext for charging me with leaving my work station. This happened many times. Such reprisals were intensified especially before each anniversary of the December 1970 events, which we always commemorated.

But every time I was fired, I fought in court and was reinstated. I had six trials. The judge was surprised that these cases kept coming to court, because the management had no legal basis for its actions. Later I learned that the judge was also surprised to see so many people coming to the trial, and so many police as well.

At one trial we appealed to the judge to guarantee our right to return to our homes from the court without interference, because the police used to arrest us as we left the court building. That was when the judge learned why there were so many police at the trial.

At the end of July 1980 I came to the shipyard with the judge's ruling in my hands, against the manager. Still they wouldn't let me return to work. And for a whole week it was the same situation as before. After talks with the manager of the department and officials in the personnel and shipyard security offices I went to the general manager of the shipyard. After a two-hour discussion, he declared he did not have to honor the judge's ruling. I said I would then file

suit against him.

But I felt so tired, mentally and physically, that I took a six-day medical leave with a doctor's permission. The manager tried to fire me for disciplinary reasons while I was on medical leave, although that was against the law.

The only way out of this constant harassment was to appeal to the workers at the yard. I had a meeting with the other members of the Free Trade Unions group, and we decided to issue a leaflet telling who I am, how long I had been working, how many trials I had won, why I had been fired, and what the manager was now saying. The leaflet also stated that the only thing I could count on was the support of my fellow workers. Bogdan Borusewicz, the only representative of the KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] on the coast, managed to hide himself from the police—I don't know where; I think in some cellar—and printed several thousand leaflets. Our friends handed out these leaflets on August 14, and that was the day the Gdansk shipyard strike began.

Jerzy. When we got these leaflets we started a lot of noise and commotion right away. A number of people gathered . . .

Walentynowicz. These were people who collaborated with the Free Trade Unions committee.

Jerzy. This first group, of about a hundred people, marched through the shipyard to the department, then to the main gate, where we demanded that Pani Anna be brought to the yard. It was a really beautiful action on the part of the workers. Just before she was brought to the yard, there was a meeting with the general manager and the first secretary of the party organization of the shipyard. There was an excavator which was used for people to stand on and speak.

Maciej. When the general manager got up on this excavator to speak—it was about nine o'clock in the morning; work starts at six—Walesa appeared on the excavator. Just the moment before, the manager had asked, "Who is leading this strike?" And Walesa appeared on the excavator and announced: "I will lead this strike." (Laughter) And he went into the manager's office to begin negotiations.

About this time there was great noise and cheering because Mrs. Walentynowicz was brought into the yard. The manager had sent a car for her, and greeted her with flowers . . .

Walentynowicz. I didn't know about

all this, because I wasn't in the shipyard.

But I would like to tell about one other thing. That is, the first strike my friends organized in my defense. On January 31, 1980. It was during one of the times when I was removed from the shipyard. This was a purely "political" strike. The only demand was that I be left alone. It was a very short strike, about three hours, involving eighty persons from one department.

Now about my experience of returning to the shipyard. When I learned that the manager had sent a car for me . . .

Q. You were at home?

Secret police

Walentynowicz. No. I was hiding. To avoid arrest by the secret police, who kept me under surveillance. I was at the medical clinic of the shipyard, which is outside the gates, when I heard that the strike had begun. I went to the window in the third floor hallway and saw that the cranes were not moving. Alina Pienkowska [a nurse at the clinic and a leading activist of the Free Trade Unions group] and I locked ourselves in the ladies' room; we thought probably a strike had started and the secret police would try to seize us.

After a while—because it was very quiet, and there was no one in the clinic corridors—I tried to call my department in the yard to find out what was going on, but it was impossible; telephone communications had been cut off.

I ran downstairs to try to use the clinic switchboard, but the operator was afraid of trouble and asked where I wanted to call. I said "Warsaw." And she said, "I can't. They're watching all phone calls. They'll fire me. You know, there's a strike on."

I went outside, to try to make a call to Warsaw, and there I saw two familiar men from the secret police getting out of a car. I understood that I couldn't make any phone call, because they were coming for me. I hopped onto a streetcar and went to the part of Gdansk where I live. By now there were four secret policemen following me. I went into a shop, as though to do some shopping, but really hoping to be able to call Warsaw from the store. But they were too close behind me. So I ran across the street against traffic and rushed into a friend's house. From there I could see there were now six plainclothesmen standing outside the house, looking around nervously.

When the car from the shipyard arrived at my home, my friends there—who knew my usual hiding places—after they had made sure that it wasn't a trick, sent the car to where I was. And of course I went to the shipyard.

Why was I hiding? I was not afraid of being arrested for forty-eight hours. That was not a new thing for me. This kind of arrest had a good side to it as well; it gave us a chance to catch up on our sleep. (Laughter)

But this time I couldn't let them take me. Because the manager could say, "Well, you are striking for her to come back, but she doesn't come."

And that was the beginning of the Gdansk shipyard revolution of August 14, 1980.

I would like to say one other thing. When I was fired for disciplinary reasons, under Article 52, I had worked at the shipyard for nearly thirty years, and I had been given medals for exemplary work in the shipyard. And when I was given notice of being fired, the official from the personnel office said, "Do you know why you were fired? They were afraid you would make a revolution." And I said, "There will be a revolution." But I didn't know how it would come about.

Gdansk strike

Now about the strike itself. After I returned to the shipyard and joined the negotiating committee, it turned out that the manager really didn't want to come to an agreement with us. The first day there were two demands: return Walentynowicz to work and increase the

pay of all workers at the yard one thousand zlotys a month. The next day our demands grew: return Walentynowicz to work; return Walesa to work; and raise the monthly pay by two thousand zlotys.

The manager tried to impose certain conditions. He would agree to our demands if I would state in writing that I would retire on pension at my own request in January 1981. And he would give me a higher salary. But the shipyard said no.

On the third day of the strike there was a very short talk. "Manager, without any conditions, will you fulfill our demands or not?" He said, "But yesterday we made an agreement." And we said, "Yesterday was yesterday. Now we are tired and hungry. Our demands are within your power to grant. It is a question of your goodwill." My friends made sure I was put back to work in my regular department without any conditions. The manager made an agreement with the first secretary of the party at the shipyard. He said he had nothing against the "very nice and very pleasant Mrs. Walentynowicz."

Walesa was also allowed to come back, and the agreement was signed. This was on Saturday, August 16. The manager won one concession. The monthly raise was reduced from 2,000 to 1,500 zlotys. So the strike was over. The Polish national anthem was sung. The manager went to his office.

But as we were leaving the hall a large group of my fellow workers were waiting for me, and one of them said, "What have you done? You have fulfilled your private demands, that's all. Do you know why the manager agreed to your demands? Because the other factories of the seacoast are on strike." But we hadn't known.

Solidarity strike

Alina Pienkowska and I went running back to the hall to declare a solidarity strike, but the microphones were off. The shipyard loudspeakers were announcing that the strike was over and that everyone had to leave the shipyard by six p.m. The gates were open and people were leaving.

So Alina and I went running to the main gate. And I began appealing to them to declare a solidarity strike, because the only reason the manager had met our demands was that the other factories were on strike. I said that if the workers at these other factories were defeated, we would not be safe either. And the other strikers wouldn't forgive us for treating them that way. But somebody challenged me. "On whose authority are you declaring a strike? I'm tired. I want to go home."

I too was tired. And I started to cry, like a woman.

Now Alina is very small, a tiny person, but full of initiative. She stood up

on a barrel and began to appeal to those who were leaving. "We have to help the others with their strikes, because they have helped us. We have to defend them. We have to guarantee their security and ours." Somebody from the crowd said, "She's right!" The gate was closed. Success. Happiness.

We went running to the next gate. There are three. The same thing happened at the second gate. Some young people organized a microphone and an amplifier. Then Walesa joined us. It had not been appropriate for him to call for a solidarity strike, because five or ten minutes before, he had announced that our strike was over. Now that the first two gates were closed, we went together and closed the third.

But out of 16,000 workers, maybe only 6,000 remained. We tried to make contact with other shipyards. About the time we did, I saw the general manager leaving in a motorboat. I made an announcement on one microphone near the gate. I told the workers' defense guard that the manager had left and that now we were the masters of the shipyard. We were responsible for it and had to keep the yard and its equipment in good order. A young woman began organizing the security service, signing people up.

A group of us then went to the neighboring shipyard. The workers there had welded their gates shut. They had heard that our strike was called off. They said, "We won't join with you because you are strikebreakers." We explained to them what had happened, but the local television was telling the public in the Gdansk region that the strike was over.

Shipyard mass

The only way to inform people about the situation was to hold a mass in the shipyard area. On Sunday morning, August 17, at nine o'clock, the mass was held. Many workers came with their families from all over the three-city region—Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot—so that the information was spread very quickly over the whole area.

And on Monday, the next day, we already had our twenty-one demands.³ Representatives of striking plants from all three cities came to the shipyard with statements that the workforces at their plants had declared solidarity strikes and were sending their demands to us. And people started collecting money.

Even on Saturday the 16th the demand for a monument to the workers killed in 1970 was added. On Saturday evening when the decision to hold a mass at the

3. The twenty-one demands were presented to the government by the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) representing plants of the whole region. The MKS was based at the Gdansk shipyard. The text of the twenty-one demands was published in *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1980, p. 909.

shipyard was made, a former navy officer arranged to have a big wooden cross made. It was put on the gate. After the mass, it was carried as part of a demonstration to an already prepared foundation. We considered it a step toward the future monument to the murdered workers [which was erected in December 1980].

The monument was made entirely by shipyard workers, from the original design through to the end. There were many difficulties, and they worked under very bad conditions, but the monument was erected exactly on the tenth anniversary of the 1970 events.

Q. Could you tell about the strike's further development and what the conditions have been since the strike?

Walentynowicz. Well, I was in the middle of events all the time. And I was the starting point. People would say to me, "You are a real revolutionary." Others would say, "You are a true proletarian." But the truth is that I was just the drop that filled the cup of national bitterness to overflowing. I was the spark that set off the explosion.

Because probably there wouldn't have been a strike if it was simply a question of economic problems. The main cause of the strike was the struggle for human dignity, which was being trampled on. There was no air to breathe. It was impossible to live.

During the long eighteen days of the strike we heard many reports—that Russian tanks were about to invade Poland, that Russian navy ships were approaching, and so on. And in fact there were about six Soviet ships nearby. Before the government agreed to send a commission to negotiate, we got information that there would be a paratroop landing in the shipyard. We have proof that it was being planned, because local prisons were evacuated and a special surgical hospital was evacuated.

But we kept one thing in mind: It is better to die standing than to live on our knees.

Gov't caves in

We sent two messages calling on the government to negotiate. A government representative came and suggested we send a delegation to the provincial offices to negotiate. But we didn't agree with that idea. We sent delegations there, but not for real negotiations, just to find out what the government's attitude was. Finally, as you know, [Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw] Jagielski came to the shipyard and real negotiations started.

My friends here would like me to emphasize that during the strike there was great order in the yard. People were very disciplined. Despite the fact that we could not communicate with the outside world. And did not know what tomorrow would bring. Every one of our representatives who went out of the shipyard was arrested.

Continued on next page

You missed a lot last week if you missed . . . Intercontinental Press



There was, for example, the full text of a speech by Fidel Castro on the fight against world poverty, delivered to the Association of Third World Economists meeting in Havana. *IP* continued its in-depth coverage of the Mideast war threat, with a report on recent Israeli air strikes. Nine republican prisoners, including four hunger strikers, will run in the June 11 elections for the Irish parliament, and *IP* had a report on that too. And, beginning last week, all this was presented in an attractive new format. Subscribe now to *Intercontinental Press*.

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Washington steps up anti-Libya campaign

By Suzanne Haig

The Reagan administration announced June 2 that it would support all African nations that want to resist Libyan "interventionism."

The State Department expressed concern over Libya's role in anti-imperialist struggles, and particularly the presence of Libyan troops in Chad since December 1980.

The administration is asking Congress for major increases in military assistance to pro-imperialist governments that neighbor Libya, including Egypt, Tunisia, and the Sudan.

Sharp border fighting took place in 1977 between the regime of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Libya. Sadat has frequently threatened to launch a war against Libya to bring down the government of Muammar el-Qaddafi.

The June 2 statement was only the latest move by Washington against the Qaddafi government. On May 6, the State Department ordered Libya's mission in Washington closed and its staff expelled.

Libyans visiting this country will now be screened by the State Department, police, and intelligence agencies. The FBI is now spying on student leaders regarded as pro-Qaddafi.

Also in May, a secret White House plan to engineer the overthrow of the Libyan president was reported by the New York Daily News. Qaddafi was described by one official as "a menace that we would like to see disappear."

Why the stepped-up attacks against Libya and what borders on an open call for Qaddafi's assassination?

The Reagan administration claims Libya's supposed support for "international terrorism" as the reason.

Qaddafi is "a patron saint of terrorism," trumpeted Anthony Quainton, director of the State Department's working group on terrorism.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig has publicly connected Libya to "Soviet-backed terrorism" and claims that Libya's oil revenues "are almost exclusively diverted to the purchase of armaments [and] the training of international terrorists."

Defense Secretary Caspar Wein-



Libyan President Qaddafi with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yassir Arafat.

berger on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press," May 17, portrayed the ouster of Libyan diplomats as "increasing the safety of people in the United States."

"The Libyan embassies, or People's Bureaus, are really almost assassination headquarters, and what we need to do is get people of that kind . . . out of the country," he said.

Weinberger was referring to claims that Qaddafi was responsible for the shooting in Colorado last October of the leader of an anti-Qaddafi student group by a former Green Beret.

The Libyan government has denied all the charges.

Major Abdussalam Jalloud, a top aide to Qaddafi, pointed out that it was the United States that was engaged in forms of terrorism when it sent aircraft carriers to "frighten people," denied wheat to the hungry, or used the CIA to assassinate its foes.

But Qaddafi's supposed terrorism is not the reason for the stepped-up attacks on Libya. The charge of terrorism

is being used by Washington as a pretext to step up aggression against people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who rebel against oppressive dictatorships or foreign domination. And the charge is also being leveled against those—like Qaddafi—who lend aid to some of these struggles.

The Reagan administration is hoping to mesh together into a fantastic network of world terrorism all opponents of its policies.

Washington is particularly concerned about Libya's political and military support for the Chad government of President Goukouni Oueddei.

That government is composed of forces based on Frolinat (National Liberation Front), which has fought against French imperialist domination of Chad since the mid-1960's.

Oueddei asked Libya last year to send troops to help fight off French- and Egyptian-backed rebels who unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow his government.

Oueddei's victory over French imperialism was an important blow to imperialist domination on the continent. That's why it upset Washington.

In April, Libya also decided to provide Nicaragua with a \$100 million loan. The action came after Reagan cut off all aid to Nicaragua in an attempt to starve the revolution.

Qaddafi is a strong supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and an opponent of the Israeli-Egypt accords. His was the first government to publicly back Iran after the Iraqi invasion.

Libya has asked the Arab world to send volunteers to Lebanon to fight against the Israeli-backed Christian rightists in the current battle there. And he has lined up with Syria in its confrontation with the Zionist regime in Israel.

Like the governments in Iran and Syria, Qaddafi is seen in Washington as an obstacle to plans for a counterrevolutionary alliance in the Middle East.

The Libyan government has also refused to join in the imperialist propaganda campaign around the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Qaddafi recently visited Soviet Presi-

dent Brezhnev in Moscow.

Washington has responded to Qaddafi's friendship with Moscow by painting a lurid picture of Libya as a Soviet "proxy" in Africa, "being built into a staging base for future Soviet military adventures," as the U.S. News and World Report described it.

Washington intends for its terrorist smears against Libya to spill over and tarnish those countries and movements that Libya supports in a gigantic guilt by association frame-up.

So, it's not surprising that, in addition to its friendship with the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, and the PLO, Libya has been accused of supporting "terrorists" in El Salvador and the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland.

Qaddafi came to power in a popularly supported 1969 coup that overthrew the feudal monarchy of King Idris, one of the Arab world's most backward and pro-imperialist rulers.

The new regime carried out a number of nationalizations, including some major oil companies and imperialist banks.

British and U.S. military bases were shut down.

The regime has used some of its oil revenues for literacy campaigns and to raise the standard of living of the 3 million people who make up the population.

Libya is one of the OPEC nations favoring more independence from the oil cartels.

At the same time that Washington has stepped up its campaign against "terrorists" like Qaddafi, those who commit brutal acts for the benefit of the U.S. multinational corporations and banks are treated by the U.S. government as liberators.

New York Mayor Koch declared May 20 to 27 "Cuban Lover of Freedom Week" and presented his proclamation to a delegation including representatives of at least two notorious counter-revolutionary murder squads, Omega 7 and Alpha 66.

Currently, terrorist training camps of Cuban exiles and followers of the late Nicaraguan dictator, Somoza, are openly operating in Miami in preparation for an invasion of these countries.

These—along with their backers in Washington—are the real terrorists.

...Poland

Continued from preceding page

ed; even first aid cars were searched. But we didn't let ourselves be provoked. The activity of the workers' security guard was one of the key things making it possible for the strike to end as a success.

I do want to say, though, that during the negotiations we lost some things. Certain demands were dropped. And since then certain gains have been eroded. Or some demands agreed to have not been honored. In spite of the fact that we are registered, we are not yet accepted.

Maciej. One thing you should understand, that made the people join together, was the church services, because most Poles are Roman Catholic. It made us united.

Q. Were services held every day?

Maciej. Every day at five o'clock prayers were held, and masses on Sundays. Of course the prayers always ended with the national anthem and a song that we might translate as "God Bless Poland," a national-religious song from the seventeenth century, which every Pole knows.

Another thing. When the government commission arrived in their bus at the gate, they didn't want to get out of the bus. Because they had to walk through two lines of workers. So the next time they came by way of the second gate.

Monument to workers

Walenty nowicz. Now I would like to say something about the official cheat-

ing that has gone on since the August strike. Every year since the workers were murdered in December 1970 there were people who tried to honor their memory, to put flowers on their graves, and we were always arrested. And on the tenth anniversary our group wanted to put flowers and light candles now that a monument had finally been erected. But we were not allowed to do that. The head of the province and the first secretary of the local party committee placed flowers and lit candles. There were flowers from Solidarity in general and from the families of the victims, but not from the group that had always honored their memory.

Maciej. They wanted to change the name of the monument. Mrs. Anna was the first person to oppose that, supported by others.

Walenty nowicz. They wanted to call it monument of unification. We didn't know what that would mean. Who was to be united with whom? You have to know that in Gdansk three shipyard workers were killed near the gate, and in Gdynia there was a general massacre. And no one has been punished for that.

December 1970

Jerzy. I'll tell you one thing that is important. You should know how they tried to cover up the killings in 1970. The families of the workers who were killed were paid to try to keep them quiet. If someone was killed, 20,000 zlotys; wounded, 3,000; beaten, 1,000.

We still don't know exactly how many were killed. We are still trying to find out. They were buried secretly during the night. I myself saw the indiscriminate shooting that was going on in Gdynia. Our strike in Gdansk ended at about 4 a.m. I was on my way home. I live near the Gdynia shipyard, and I saw the first shootings.

I was on a pedestrian overpass over the railroad tracks, and down below were police and soldiers. Over a loudspeaker someone, probably the officer in charge, told people to come down off the overpass. Immediately there was a shot and the woman right in front of me fell. There were more shots, so I ran down off the overpass and away from the shooting along the railroad tracks. I must have run for two kilometers. And all the time there were bullets flying around me and ricocheting from the cement buttresses.

Walenty nowicz. To this day we don't know how many people were killed in December 1970. It was between 200 and 900. Officially it was stated that only twenty-eight people were killed, including one policeman. The government wanted to put twenty-eight names on a black plaque on the monument. Including the policeman. But the shipyard workers didn't want the policeman's name on this plaque. So there was a compromise. No names at all.

In December 1970 people were buried at night, after curfew. We know drivers whose trucks carried the bodies. They were not allowed to drive into the Gdynia cemetery frontwards, with their headlights on. They were told to back in,

and weren't allowed to get out of their cabs. They could tell there were several coffins in the back of the truck, but they couldn't tell exactly how many.

There were secret mass graves. We have checked the hospital archives, and we often find the note "NN," meaning "unknown." Another surprising thing is that many deaths in December are listed as caused by "drowning."

To cover up these crimes, they not only paid money to the families of the victims. They also provided widows with well-paid jobs and allowances for the children. And if necessary, they would provide them with a new place to live. The only condition was that they agree to list a different time of death and cause of death. That is why we still don't have an accurate list of the victims. Some people were afraid, and accepted these terms, and are still afraid to tell about it.

Q. Are the three crosses of the monument for the three workers who were killed near the gate of the Gdansk shipyard?

Walenty nowicz. No. They symbolize the three workers' rebellions, the three crucified and unfulfilled hopes. 1956, 1970, 1976. The anchor on each cross symbolizes hope. Because everybody knows that strikes do not always end with success. The monument is very tall because it is a cry to heaven of the people's bitterness. And at the base of the three crosses, in the middle, is a fire symbolizing life.

From Intercontinental Press

'Soviet arms' claim: cover for anti-Nicaragua moves

"Soviet said to ship tanks to Nicaragua," read the headline in the June 3 *New York Times*.

Once you got past the headlines, though, there was no evidence to back the assertions.

As the *Times* put it: "Administration officials said later that while there was no hard evidence that the tanks had been shipped, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. was convinced that the reports were accurate." Other State Department officials were admittedly skeptical.

Less than a week later, the *Times* demoted the planes and tanks described in earlier issues to "howitzers and armored personnel carriers."

State Department spokesmen used the alleged arms shipments to justify denying aid to Nicaragua. Nicaragua is trying to recover from the devastation inflicted on it by the Somoza dictatorship, which used arms obtained from the United States and its allies.

Washington's talk about Soviet tanks is a smokescreen for its role in helping maintain camps in Florida,

where right-wing Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles prepare for "zero hour"—their term for a possible invasion of Nicaragua and Cuba.

Washington is trying to justify its largescale arms shipments to the junta in El Salvador, which used U.S. weapons to butcher thousands of Salvadorans. And to the Guatemalan military, which will funnel them to its semi-official murder squads. And to the military government in Honduras, which is loudly threatening Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega dismissed the assertions. He stressed that Nicaragua's armaments are strictly for the purposes of defense against counterrevolutionary units operating out of Honduras and Miami and against the possibility of an invasion.

"We do not have to render accounts to anyone, much less to those who are campaigning against us," Ortega said.

"We have the sovereign right and the revolutionary and patriotic duty to arm our people and to defend the country and the revolution."

Iranian socialist urges defense of revolution

By Janice Lynn

Fatima Fallahi, an Iranian socialist and feminist, toured some dozen cities in the United States and Canada during April and May. Fallahi gained international attention when she and thirteen other socialists were jailed for their political views in June 1979. A ten-month international defense campaign succeeded in winning the fourteen socialists' release.

On her tour, Fallahi—a member of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE)—gave a firsthand account of the progress won by Iranian workers during the first two years of the Iranian revolution.

About 150 people came to hear her speak at Southern Illinois University (SIU) in Edwardsville, Illinois. And more than 100 attended her meeting at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee.

The SIU meeting was sponsored by a broad spectrum of groups: the Black Student Association, Women for Women, Young Socialist Alliance, Iranian Revolutionary Solidarity Committee, and others. Speaking along with Fallahi was Dr. Samuel Grant, SIU professor of Middle Eastern History, who told how the U.S. media has consistently misrepresented the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian Revolutionary Solidarity Committee has been formed to help get out the truth about the Iranian revolution, oppose any U.S. military intervention in Iran, and carry out solidarity activities in defense of the Iranian revolution.

Fallahi also spoke to meetings of fifty to seventy-five people at Webster College and Washington University in St. Louis; the University of Massachusetts at Amherst; the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia; Portland State University in Oregon; and Oregon State University in Corvallis.

Many of those in attendance at these



FATIMA FALLAHI

campus meetings were international students—Iranians, Palestinians, and Latin Americans.

More than seventy people attended a Vancouver, British Columbia, meeting.

At a women's studies class in Amherst, Fallahi explained how women's participation in the mass struggles of the Iranian revolution changed their consciousness and gave them tremendous self-confidence. She told how women were continuing to participate in the economic and political struggles and in the anti-imperialist mobilizations.

At meetings sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in a number of other cities, Fallahi appealed to American workers to pressure the U.S. government to pull its warships out of the Persian Gulf region.

She explained that Iranian workers and peasants were fighting for the same things as U.S. workers—a better standard of living, better working conditions, and an end to exploitation and oppression.

Fallahi condemned the Iraqi military invasion of Iran, explaining it was aimed at destabilizing the revolution. The U.S. government, she said, is using this war as a pretext to expand its military presence in the Middle East.

Several Iranian and Black Muslim students attended Fallahi's meetings and expressed their solidarity with her defense of the Iranian revolution.

"Our fight is the fight of working people throughout the world," Fallahi told the audiences on her tour. "The Iranian revolution is a revolution that is continuing and has only begun. The people of Iran rose together to overthrow an oppressive government. If it can be done in Iran, it can be done everywhere."

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

2,500 professors support El Salvador

The *Nicaragua Network Newsletter* reports: "At a press conference in Washington, DC on May 18th, a group of senior faculty members including five Nobel Laureates and representing more than 2,500 professors from across the country presented their petition condemning US military aid to El Salvador. The petition calls for an immediate end to US military aid to El Salvador and the immediate withdrawal of US military personnel from that country."

"The professors also urged the Reagan Administration to open a dialogue with the Frente Democratico Revolucionario (FDR), affirming that the FDR has consolidated moderate, democratic and progressive forces and has the broadest popular support in El Salvador. They stated '... the FDR is the only group which might now be able to establish a democratic government that would reflect the broad aspirations of the greatest majority of Salvadorans.'"

Salvador supporters march in Chicago

1,200 people marched in Chicago May 30 to oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The action was initiated by the Latin America Solidarity Network, the Chicago Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft. Some forty organizations endorsed the protest.

Speakers included representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Religious Task Force on El Salvador.

New El Salvador pamphlet just out

Pathfinder Press has just come out with a new pamphlet on El Salvador by Fred Murphy. A staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*, Murphy was its correspondent in Nicaragua for over a year.

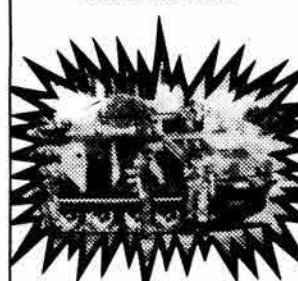
The pamphlet traces Washington's use of the infamous "white paper" technique as the preparatory phase for previous United States military intervention in Guatemala and Santo Domingo.

It exposes the current State Department "white paper" on El Salvador. Valuable information is provided on the history of the struggle in El Salvador and its leadership, the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

To order send \$.95, plus \$.75 for postage, to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EL SALVADOR

Why the U.S. government hides the truth



by Fred Murphy

'Fresno Bee' prints ad

The following release was received from the Latin American Support Committee in Fresno, California.

"A full page ad condemning U.S. intervention in El Salvador was printed May 31 in the *Fresno Bee*, circulation over 100,000.

"... Many Fresnoans, along with their political, church, and religious leaders have come out firmly against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

"Endorsing the ad, which cost local organizers over \$3,000 to print, were U.S. Congressman Tony Cohelo, members of the Fresno County Board of Supervisors & City Council, and many prominent citizens.

"The idea for the ad came from similar ads in the *New York Times* and *San Jose Mercury*. The campaign to place the ad was so successful that the organizers made enough money to not only pay for the ad but open up a new office as well. In Fresno the additional money will be used to organize a march for jobs & peace September 26. . . ."

Venezuelans solidarize with El Salvador

The following appeared in the May 29 *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

"The Venezuelan Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador organized a massive demonstration in Caracas to celebrate May Day and dedicated the rally to the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

"One of the slogans was 'Venezuela: Country of Liberators not of Interventionists.' The Committee published a newsletter dedicated to El Salvador which contained much information about this Central American country, and presents the unfavorable opinion of the Venezuelan people toward their government's support to the interventionists politics of the United States government in El Salvador."

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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Socialist mayor of Burlington under attack

BURLINGTON, Vt.—Before a highly charged crowd in City Hall auditorium June 1, the Democratic Party-controlled board of aldermen voted down six of socialist Mayor Bernard Sanders' nominations for administrative posts. None were even allowed to speak on their credentials or political views.

Nineteen appointments are to be filled by July 1. Sanders was elected mayor as an independent March 3.

Democratic Alderwoman Joyce Desautel declared, "Sanders' appointments were a method of expanding the base of the socialist party in Burlington." She followed this red-baiting with a bit of veiled anti-Semitism, stating that she, unlike Sanders, was elected "as a woman, a Christian, and a Democrat, so help me God."

The city council action adds to the atmosphere of growing tension in this city of 40,000. The June 7 *Vermont* *Van-*

guard Press, an alternative weekly published here, revealed the existence of an anonymous newsletter, circulated in Democratic and Republican circles, that slanders Sanders, his supporters, and sympathetic reporters in the news media.

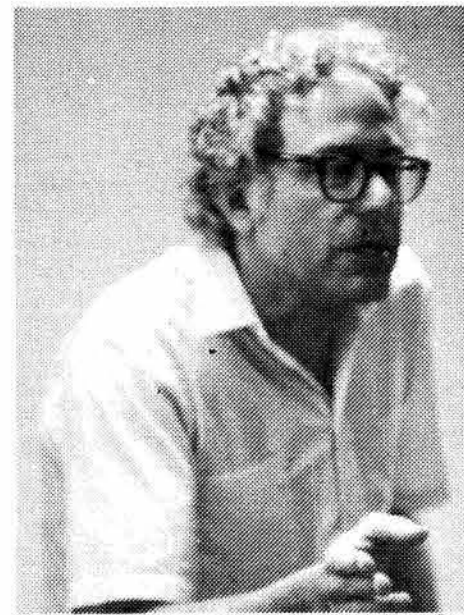
Sanders plans court action to fight the rejection of his appointments. Seventy-five supporters met June 2 to map out a strategy for fighting back. His supporters decided to go on a campaign to mobilize the working-class and low-income voters who put Sanders in office. A Citizens Committee for Fair Play was formed.

"The issue is whether a new Mayor, regardless of his political party or philosophy, can exercise the appointments right outlined in the city charter. . . . If he cannot, no new Mayor will be able to change the way the City is run," reads an open letter from the committee.

On two days notice, some 300 people turned out for a June 8 public forum built by the Citizens Committee. The forum, held at City Hall auditorium, heard from Mayor Sanders, his nominees, and many angry voters.

Sanders quoted from a piece of his campaign literature: "In the midst of the current economic crisis, when the standard of living of the average Burlington working person is rapidly declining because of inflation and low wages, we need leadership in City Hall that will stand up and fight for the ordinary working person—and not just the real estate developers and the downtown merchants, as is presently the case."

Now, Sanders declared, "I'm in the weird position of having to fight for the right to live up to my campaign promises."



Militant/Harry Ring

MAYOR SANDERS

SWP blasts cops, defends Atlanta mothers



Militant/Jon Hillson

ANDREE KAHLMORGAN

By Dick McBride

One of those in Atlanta who has refused to be silent about the murders of Black youth is Andree Kahlmorgan. She is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta.

In a June 3 news conference, she called for an end to harassment and threats against those of the victims' mothers who have organized the Committee to Stop Children's Murders.

Now, the Georgia Department of Consumer Affairs is threatening to send two of the mothers, Camille Bell and Venus Taylor, to prison unless the committee details how the money donated has been spent.

One newspaper stated that the mothers should close down the committee, stop marching and stay home to care for their children.

A Channel 2 editorial proclaimed that all Atlanta is troubled by the mothers not opening their books to the state. "This is continuously on our minds," it said.

"The attacks on the mothers," Kahl-

morgan declared June 3, "are just an attempt to take our minds off of what really troubles us here."

"That is the fact that Nathaniel Carter's body has just been found and there are no clues, no real suspects, and no arrests."

"The murders would still be Atlanta's secret if it weren't for the mothers speaking out. It took one year of demands by them to force the police to create a special task force."

"But what have the police done since then? Nothing."

"They have arbitrarily decided who they will consider a suspect and who they won't. The racists on the police force, as well as the KKK and other right-wing groups, have, without a word of explanation, been placed outside the realm of possible suspects by the police."

"We want the focus off attacking the victims of these murders, such as the mothers of the murdered youth, and on to finding the criminals."

On May 29, Kahlmorgan spoke to 1,800 students, parents, and the media

at the Ralph Bunche Middle School, a Black school on the southwest side of Atlanta, the area where some of the bodies have been found.

All of the mayoral candidates were there, including Andrew Young. He remained silent about the issue of the murders. But not Kahlmorgan. Afterward, one teacher told her, "I'm so glad someone has told the truth about Atlanta. It's got to be said."

Kahlmorgan has criticized the police treatment of Wayne B. Williams, a twenty-three-year-old Black man who was picked up and questioned about the killings. For the past week the police and media have acted as though it was all but certain he was the murderer, even though not a shred of evidence has been presented against him.

"I think the only way to guarantee a real investigation of these killings, and not a coverup," Kahlmorgan said, "is to open up the files of the police and FBI investigation. Let the people of Atlanta know the facts."

...Atlanta cover-up continues

Continued from back page
of days later cautioned that more than fiber evidence was needed.

One police source said the fibers were worthless, "How many blankets of this type have been made—ten thousand?"

Williams blasted the police and media in a press conference he called immediately after his release. The press, he said, had "ruined my reputation."

Denying that he had anything to do with the murders, he announced plans to sue the police, the FBI, and media for the release of his name, the slanderous coverage, and the violation of his rights.

"He has been tried and convicted by the media," said his attorney, Mary Welcome.

But the lack of any evidence, and Williams's refusal to be bullied into a confession, caused the case against him to unravel. So officials gradually backed away from their charges.

On June 8, District Attorney Slaton was forced to admit that they needed to "shore up" the evidence.

On June 9, police announced they were no longer "carrying out a surveillance on Williams"—only "protecting him."

Among all the police agencies involved in the Atlanta killings, the FBI was the one that pressed hardest for pinning the crimes on Williams, regardless

of the lack of evidence. The decision to search Williams's home and interrogate him came after pressure from the Washington office of the FBI.

After the FBI tried to force Williams to make a confession, it pressed for an arrest. The local cops decided against it.

The cops' eagerness to get Williams is in striking contrast to their refusal to even consider the possibility of a racist motive in the slayings of twenty-eight Black youth.

The seizure and questioning of Williams was timed to take the pressure off the cops. Only a few days earlier, a poll was released showing that 70 percent of Blacks in Atlanta believe the killer is a "person in uniform" (that is, a cop), and that 45 percent of Blacks and 36 percent of whites in Atlanta believe "the police have been ineffective."

The questioning of Williams, moreover, occurred just a week and a half after the national rally of 5,000 people in Washington, D.C., on May 25, sponsored by the Committee to Stop Children's Murders.

The frame-up of Wayne Williams is part of a pattern of actions by the FBI, cops, and federal, state, and local officials to try to divert attention from their failure to stop the killings and catch the

perpetrator or perpetrators.

In April, the FBI took the initiative in framing-up the mothers, claiming some had killed their own children.

Officials have shown far more energy harassing leaders of the Committee to Stop Children's Murders—threatening to jail them unless they account for how donations to the organization have been spent—than in tracking down the killer or killers.

The cops are publicizing that several of the mothers have police records.

The FBI and government officials want to frighten into silence those individuals who are speaking out against police inaction. They want to confuse and turn back public criticism of the government's role, and defuse public demands for action to stop the murders.

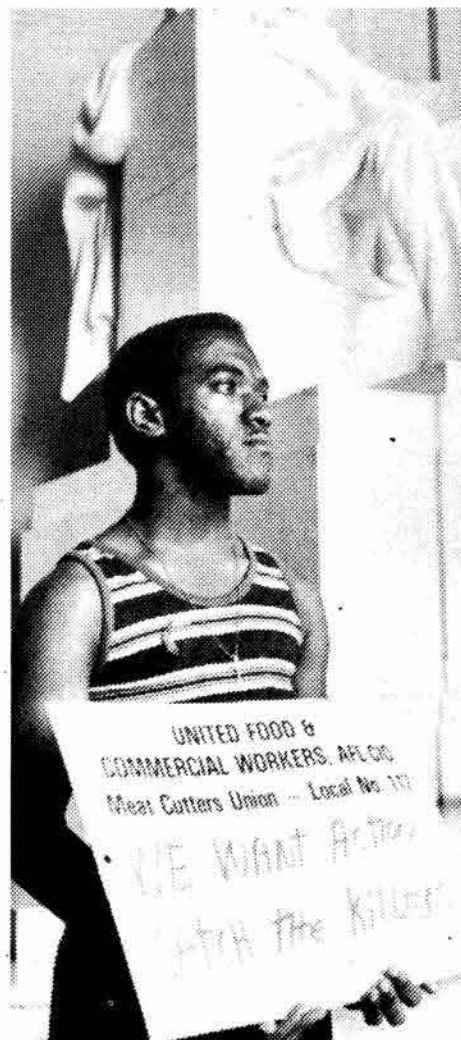
And they have no qualms about framing up someone for the murders if that will get the heat off.

Working people need to know the truth about this investigation.

End the secrecy around the murder investigation!

Open the files of the cops, the FBI, and all other agencies involved in the investigation!

Stop the harassment of the Black community!



Militant/Joe Ryan

Mass transit: another capitalist mess

By William Gottlieb

It is no news to working people that public transit in the United States is in deep and growing crisis. Commuters are being forced to wait longer and longer for buses and trains. When they do arrive they are often more crowded than a can of sardines and as hot as an oven. The cars are often filthy.

What is worse than being in an overcrowded, hot, screechy subway car that is stalled between stations?

Meanwhile, fares keep rising in direct proportion to the worsening of service.

Transit workers are being forced to work with deteriorating and unsafe equipment. Wage freezes, layoffs, and speedup are being imposed.

Recently, the pace of decay has been increasing. In Chicago, the state-financed Regional Transportation Authority, claiming lack of funds, suspended subsidies for commuter lines.

As a result, four commuter bus lines have suspended service. The Chicago Transit Authority, which runs the city's elevated railroads and buses, is threatening a shutdown. The Milwaukee Road and the highly profitable Chicago and North Western Railroad threaten to follow suit. The availability of transportation for tens of thousands and the income of thousands of transit workers are in danger.

In Birmingham, Alabama, the Bir-

mingham-Jefferson County Transit Authority actually shut down the transit system. When it reopened June 1, service was slashed by 40 percent.

New York commuters face a rise in the fare to at least 75 cents on July 2, with further fare increases promised in following months. The Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority, which oversees the commuter transit system of Philadelphia, has closed down most commuter rail lines to the suburbs and is considering hiking fares to 70 cents. In Detroit, fares are being jacked up to 75 cents. Chicago's transit bosses are also pushing for fare increases.

The root of this nationwide crisis is the capitalist system's unwillingness to run any service that does not further increase the bloated fortunes of the capitalists. That is why the budget cutters in Washington and in the statehouses consider public transportation to be fair game. In addition to raising fares and cutting the wages of transit workers, they are pushing for new taxes on working people to finance the transit systems.

Typical of these reactionary policies are the proposals of New York state's Democratic Governor Hugh Carey to increase the regional sales tax by one-quarter percent and introduce a tax on oil that would be passed along to consumers. This regressive tax scheme,

coupled with fare hikes, declining service, and attacks on transit workers, is the capitalist "solution" to the transit crisis.

However much the bosses cut back on mass transit, they cannot permanently shut it down without cutting their own throats. Without public transportation, many workers would not be able to get to work. Nor would consumers be able to get to stores to buy the commodities the bosses must sell in order to make profits.

In fact, the bosses benefit most from public transportation under the current set up.

So it is only fair that they should pay for it. As many transit unions demand, fares should be eliminated. Taxes should be levied on big business to pay for modernization and expansion of the transit system. Besides making life more bearable for transit users, this would provide jobs for many thousands of unemployed workers.

Paul Chelstrom: militant trade unionist, socialist

By David Riehle

ST. PAUL—Paul Chelstrom, a veteran Twin Cities socialist and trade unionist, died here May 5 at age seventy. Chelstrom was a member of the Socialist Workers Party for forty-three years, joining the St. Paul branch in 1938.

Speaking at a memorial meeting held May 16, Chelstrom's life-long comrade, Charles Scheer, recalled how he and Paul met for the first time as participants in a militant strike at Montgomery Ward's warehouse in St. Paul in 1937. The union was aided by Teamsters Local 544, led by revolutionary socialists like Ray Dunne and Carl Skoglund. Chelstrom and Scheer met them for the first time during the strike.

Shortly afterward, in early 1938, they both joined the SWP. Although no victory was won at the time, the union hung on. Chelstrom was elected secretary of the union, in recognition of his role in the strike.

At that time, Minnesota workers and farmers had their own party, the Farmer Labor Party. Chelstrom was a delegate from his union to the Ramsey County Central Committee of the Farmer Labor Party.

After the start of World War II, most of the young union activists at Ward's were drafted. Chelstrom went to work as a pipefitter at the Como shops of the Northern Pacific Railroad, where he stayed until he retired in the 1970s.

Chelstrom was a leader in his local of the Sheetmetal Workers there for decades and a participant in many attempts by rail workers to overcome the divisions imposed by the craft union set-up in the rail industry.

Chelstrom was always a pacesetter in the party's campaigns. Speakers at the memorial meeting recalled how Chelstrom would always bring in petitions signed by his fellow workers at the Como shops, to help get the party on the ballot. Chelstrom and his companion Wini were outstanding in maintaining the circulation of the *Militant* throughout the isolation suffered by the party during the cold war atmosphere of the 1950s. One year Chelstrom was national champion in obtaining subscriptions

to the *Militant*.

Chelstrom's most important contribution to the socialist movement, speakers at the memorial meeting emphasized, was his role as an educator and central branch leader for many years. He helped guide a new generation of young rebels in the 1960s and '70s through their revolutionary apprenticeship, as they found their way to the Twin Cities branch of the SWP.

Chelstrom and other worker Bolsheviks of the Twin Cities branch passed their rich experience in the ranks of labor and their unshakable confidence in the working class on to the new recruits.

As a socialist and working-class fighter, Chelstrom was held in high esteem by his fellow workers. In 1966, when the railroad shop craft workers were fighting company-imposed cutbacks, they turned to Chelstrom for advice. He helped organize a mass demonstration of shop workers at the state capitol in St. Paul.

Chelstrom and Wini for many years maintained a professional and attractive bookstore in the party headquarters. They cheerfully helped tear it down and reconstruct it each time the branch had to move to a new address.

Chelstrom's years of retirement were spent under the burden of a debilitating and degenerative disease of the central nervous system. Like many workers under capitalism, he and Wini were rewarded for years of productive labor by having to petition, negotiate, and fill out innumerable forms to obtain a portion of the benefits supposedly available to sick and retired workers.

This only reinforced Chelstrom's life-long conviction that the working class must fight for a humane and just social system, socialism. His life stands as an example of the most effective way to do that.

Socialists put FBI, CIA, INS ON TRIAL!

Read about it in the *Militant*.

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Union seeks managers' firing in assault on woman

By Chris Gauvreau

LYNN, Mass.—On May 19, both morning and afternoon membership meetings of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201 voted unanimously to pursue the firing of two unit managers who sexually assaulted a secretary from the General Electric Riverworks plant in Lynn, Massachusetts.

A special subcommittee of stewards and other volunteers are meeting regularly to organize a press conference and a demonstration at GE's gates on Wednesday, June 24.

It all began on National Secretaries Day when two unit managers from GE took their secretary out to lunch. In the course of the afternoon, she was assaulted verbally and physically by the two and threatened with the loss of her job if she told anyone.

General Electric refused to respond to this incident and 150 of her co-workers—machinists—walked off the job to demand the managers' firing.

Stewards in two nearby buildings

served notice that they, too, would walk if the managers were not fired.

General Electric's response has been to downgrade the managers one or two management levels and place them in different buildings.

While just giving its managers a slap on the wrist, GE forced protesting workers to accept disciplinary "blue letters" to save the job of a probationary employee who was fired as a result of the walkout.

IUE 201 is an 8,000-member local representing workers at the GE Riverworks and three smaller plants. Stewards and other union activists are planning several mass plant-gate leafletings to publicize the facts of the case, the grievances involved, and to build the June 24 demonstration.

Local 201's women's committee members are drafting proposals to set up a liaison system between the union and a rape crisis center and to begin training stewards and special women's advocates to deal effectively with sexual harassment cases that may arise on the shop floor.

A pioneer of American Trotskyism dies

By Harry Ring

The *Militant* recently learned of the death of a founding member of the American Trotskyist movement.

After years of incapacitating illness, Bernard Morgenstern died in Miami April 28, at age seventy-four. Morgenstern had been part of an important chapter in socialist history.

On October 27, 1928, three leaders of the Communist Party—James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern—were expelled for "Trotskyism." One week later, on November 4, Morgenstern and two of his comrades were expelled from the Philadelphia branch of the Young Workers League, then the youth organization of the Communist Party. They had protested the expulsion of Cannon and the others.

In the YWL, Morgenstern had been a member of a group led by Cannon which sought to break through the sectarian practices of the early Communist Party and to develop it as a more viable force within the broader workers movement.

Then, in 1928, came the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern for supporting Trotsky in his fight against the Stalinist degeneration in the Soviet Union.

Founding member

Despite a scandalous campaign of slander and physical violence by the Stalinized leadership of the CP, Cannon, Shachtman, and Abern set out to win the initial cadres for what became, a decade later, the Socialist Workers Party.

Morgenstern was among their first recruits.

Like the other founding members of our movement, he was won over by a suppressed anti-Stalinist programmatic document by Trotsky. Cannon had received the document while in Moscow and smuggled it out. Entitled "A Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International," it is available today as the book *The Third International After Lenin*.

In his book, *The History of American Trotskyism*, Cannon describes how Morgenstern enlisted.

He writes:

"I will never forget the day we got

our first recruit in Philadelphia. Soon after we were expelled, while the hue and cry was raging against us in the party, there came a knock on my door one day and there was Morgenstern of Philadelphia, a young man but an old 'Cannonite.' . . . He said, 'We heard about your expulsion for Trotskyism, but we didn't believe it. What is the real low-down? . . .

"I can remember to this day going into the back room, getting out the precious Trotsky document . . . and handing it to Morgie. He sat down on the bed and read the long 'criticism' . . . from beginning to end without stopping once, without looking up.

"When he finished, he had made up his mind and we began to work out plans to build a nucleus in Philadelphia."

Morgenstern quickly won over two other Philadelphia YWL members, Leon Goodman and Sol Lankin.

Goodman and Morgenstern were close personal friends from high school until Morgenstern's death.

In an interview, Goodman told about Morgenstern's life.

Just before their expulsion from the YWL, he said, Morgenstern and Lankin had accepted an assignment to go to Washington to participate in a party-organized demonstration. Even though expelled, they carried out their assignment. In Washington, along with others, they were arrested and jailed for thirty days.

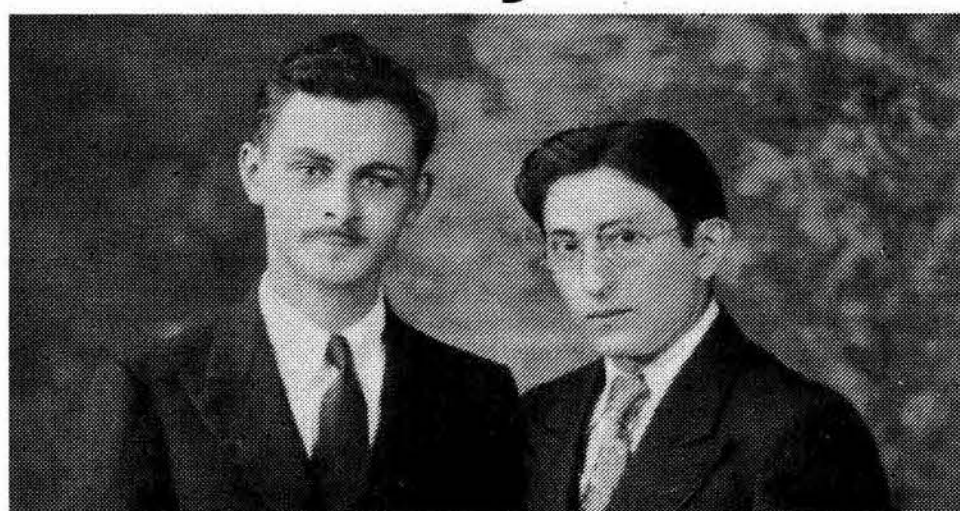
Jailed for leafleting

In 1931, Morgenstern went to jail again, this time with Goodman.

They were arrested while distributing a leaflet at a "shelter" for homeless men. The leaflet presented a program for fighting unemployment and asserted the need for abolishing capitalism to end the problem.

Initially they were booked for "blocking a highway" and "disorderly conduct." The next morning the charges were escalated. They were indicted for violation of Pennsylvania's Flynn Act, an antiseditation statute.

Released on bail, they sought the help of the International Labor Defense. The ILD had been formed in 1925 by the Communist Party and



Bernard Morgenstern, right, and Leon Goodman at time of 1931 Pennsylvania jailing for 'sedition.'

other radicals. Until his expulsion from the CP, Cannon was executive secretary of the ILD. As a matter of principle, the organization defended all victims of capitalist repression, without regard to their political belief or affiliation.

Under the CP's Stalinist leadership, the nonpartisan policy of the ILD was junked.

One initial expression of this was the ILD's refusal to defend Morgenstern and Goodman. This policy was pursued even though a number of Pennsylvania CPers were also being prosecuted under the reactionary antiseditation act.

Defense committee formed

The Trotskyists insistently demanded that the ILD defend Goodman and Morgenstern. This created enough pressure within the CP ranks that the ILD reluctantly agreed to provide "legal" defense. But even this was never done. A Goodman-Morgenstern defense committee was established and the American Civil Liberties Union provided legal counsel.

The two were convicted, with the leaflet they had distributed as the sole evidence against them. Fortunately, they drew a minimum sentence of ninety days.

During 1931-32, Morgenstern was an alternate member of the national committee of the Communist League of America, forerunner of the SWP.

In the mid-1930s, Morgenstern and Goodman moved to New York. There Morgenstern, who came from a lower middle-class family, decided it was necessary that he become a factory worker. He broke into the garment-pressing trade.

But in his childhood, Morgenstern had suffered a permanent injury to his left arm. That, coupled with a diminutive stature, made the work more than he could handle. After a stubborn two-year stint, he had to quit.

From then on, he earned his living by whatever way was open—as a salesman, operating a newsstand.

His health deteriorated and he suffered additional heavy personal problems, including a seriously ill son. He left party membership.

But he never gave up his ideas.

Goodman, who later also left the party, emphasized this. To his last days, he said, Morgenstern was a loyal supporter of the party.

While in Miami, Morgenstern was delighted when the SWP established a branch there.

Goodman said, "The comrades and friends in the Miami area did wonders for him. I don't know if they realized it. By their visits, and by taking him to a branch meeting or a forum, they buoyed his spirits and made him feel that he was still wanted. It was a good thing for him."

And, it should be added, for them too.

UNESCO: reshuffling the press cards

You may have read that the capitalist media have been catching hell lately from, of all people, the United Nations.

The occasion for this has been a proposal by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to create what it calls a new world information order. In other words,

As I see it

give the underdeveloped countries a more equitable cut of the production and distribution of news.

This would take the form of building up news services in the former colonial countries, and adopting a code that admonishes the big capitalist press to "promote the just cause of people struggling for freedom and independence and their right to live in peace and equality without foreign interference."

In an interview with the *New York Times*, Guyana's Information Minister Frank Campbell explained why the underdeveloped countries think they need these things:

"The four big Western news agencies—Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse—account for

approximately nine-tenths of the foreign news transmitted. So the third world's voice is not heard outside our own countries, or only in distorted form."

This can be a particular problem when one of these poorer countries tries to do something to improve its lot. Whatever it is, the rulers of the industrialized capitalist countries are usually against it. They already profit considerably from the existing misery, and they are the people who control the big four wire services.

That's when possession really becomes nine-tenths of the news.

Iran trying to throw out a U.S.-backed tyrant suddenly becomes a nation of raving Moslem fanatics. Grenada trying to build an airport for its tourist industry becomes a staging ground for Cuban operations in Africa. The expulsion of a Kampuchean government that exterminates its people becomes an obstacle to international efforts to feed those people.

Well, you can see the difficulty these countries face. One move against imperialist interests and up goes the wall of disinformation.

Predictably, the mere mention of this situation by UNESCO was enough to make the capitalist media chiefs jump up and down in their chairs and shout "freedom of the press."

The UNESCO proposal, they said, would permit governments—or UNESCO—to grant or revoke press cards depending on whether they like what a reporter writes or says. It would also open the wires to all sorts of propaganda from

the government-controlled media of these countries.

Now, before getting to the UNESCO proposal, it should be noted that there is more than a little hypocrisy in all this.

First, reporters in every city in the U.S. get press cards from the cops. There are a lot of stories you can't cover without a police pass, and there are rules to decide who gets one. These rules tend, pretty systematically, to exclude the left-wing press.

Second, however unappetizing a steady diet of government-censored news may be, that's no recommendation for class-censored news. And it's no secret that all these capitalists who are howling at UNESCO censor their news pretty regularly.

As for UNESCO's proposal, its main problem is that it seeks to somehow legislate class censorship out of existence. Ownership of the news media is a basic institution of imperialist rule in this world. Imperialist rule is founded on many things, one of which is not the equal time principle. So the former colonial countries won't be getting a bigger piece of the news until they start getting a bigger piece of everything else imperialism owns. There will, in short, be no new world information order without a new world economic and social order.

But then that's the direction in which events seem headed. Kampuchea has, after all, started eating again; Grenada is completing its airport; and Iran did throw out that tyrant.

—Steve Bride

'We will remember the fire of his songs'

After a long bout with brain and lung cancer Bob Marley died on May 11 at the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Miami. He performed his last concert at Madison Square Garden, billed with the Commodores, in September of last year.

The media announced his death with grand superlatives, "Reggae's Shining Prince," "a charismatic stage personality," "Rastafarian Prophet."

Indeed all of these descriptions of Marley are deserved. His concerts were never mere performances, they were experiences. On stage he was a captivating personality. His long dreadlocks slicing the air amid the sounds of electric guitars and flashing lights added a touch of naturalness to his concerts.

In an interview with Don Rojas, formerly with the *Amsterdam News* and now editor of revolutionary Grenada's *Free West Indian*, Marley commented, "Me no love feel like me on a stage. I would love to break down a performance to a backyard situation. . . . It must be an easy situation where everybody just relax up themselves and chat."

In his reggae Marley expressed the richness of culture and history of struggle of African peoples spread by the slave trade across the continents of the New World. Reggae evolved in Jamaica under the influence of Afro-American rhythm and blues, and the African-influenced Calypso of the Caribbean, first known as a music called "ska," then bluebeat, rocksteady, and finally reggae.

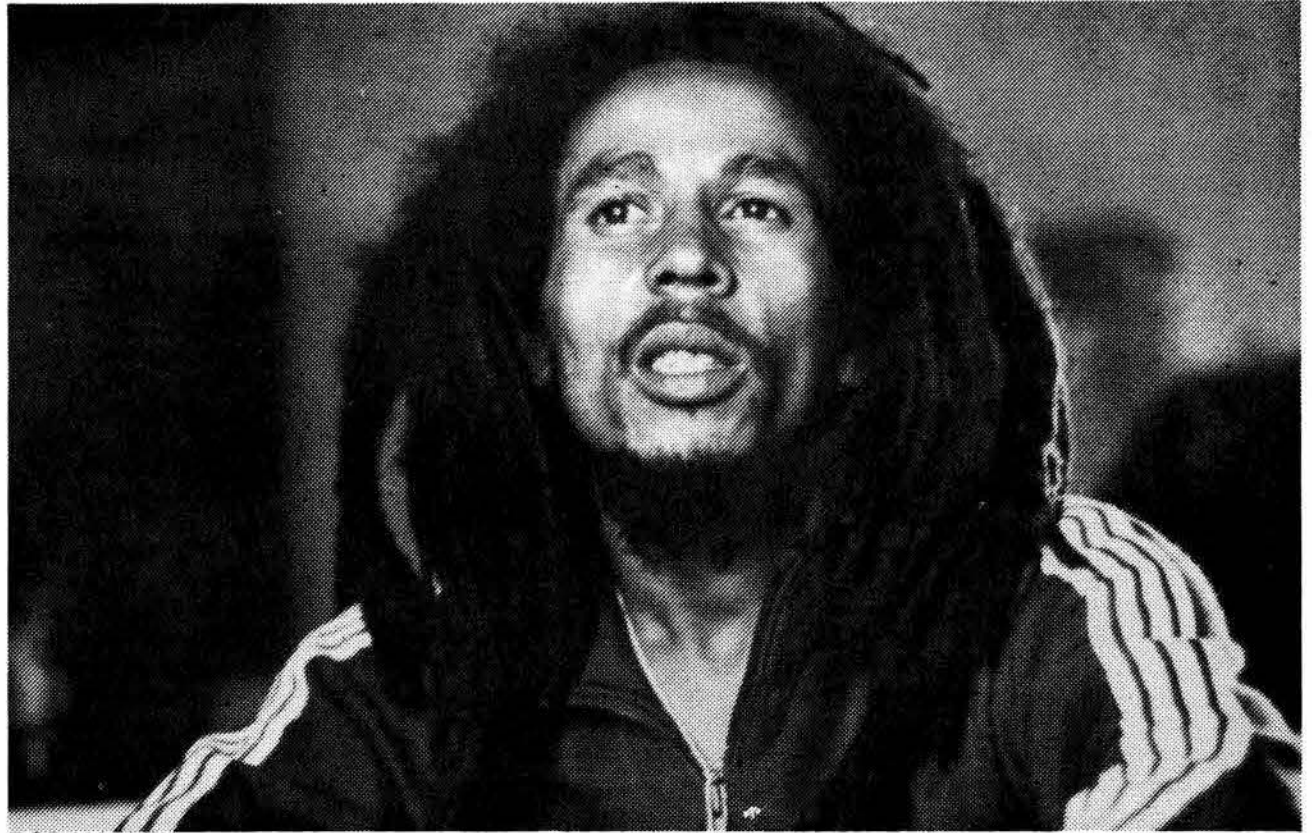
Much of what has been written by the music industry about Marley's adherence to the Rastafari religious movement has simply been part of the image-making hype designed to sell records. They emphasize the long matted locks of hair known as dreadlocks, the smoking of marijuana as a sacrament, and the belief of the Rastafari that the late Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was God's representative on earth.

But beneath these religious trappings lie the explosive revolt of Black youth in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean against colonial oppression.

In his music, Marley utilized Rastafari philosophy giving an apocalyptic force to his message, foretelling the destruction of Babylon, that is, the world of white capitalist oppression.

There is nothing mystical in Marley's appeal. Both he and his music are products of the exploitation and the struggles against it of the people of Jamaica. It is this that gives Marley his universal appeal in working-class ghettos throughout the English-speaking countries.

Marley identified with this struggle, and not only in song. In 1976 he supported former Prime Minister Michael Manley and the People's National Party (PNP) against the U.S.-backed Jamaica Labor Party. During a rehearsal two days before a concert in support of the PNP, Marley and members of his band



BOB MARLEY

were shot. Nonetheless, Marley appeared at the concert, which drew 80,000.

Marley was born to a Black Jamaican mother and a white British Army captain in the village of Rhoden Hall in the parish of St. Ann. He grew up in the West Kingston ghetto of Trenchtown—a Caribbean Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and Watts all rolled into one.

Marley soon dropped out of school and tried his hand at becoming a welder. Later he was introduced to Jamaica's budding reggae music industry by a friend, Jimmy Cliff (star of the film *The Harder They Come*).

His music was a slice of the bitter reality of life under colonial and racial exploitation. Like Afro-American Gospel, rhythm and blues, and jazz, Marley expressed the experience of his people. One of his earlier albums, "Natty Dread," dedicated to the Rasta brethren, introduces you to the life of the Jamaican people. It tells of their loves in "No Woman, No Cry," of the good times in "Lively up Yourself," and of the pain of unrelieved hunger in "Dem Belly Full but We Hungry."

Marley was greatly influenced by the Black Power revolts that swept the Caribbean in the early '70s.

His albums "Exodus" and "Survival" burn with indignation against the plight of African descendants around the world. It includes such sides as "Africa Unite" and "Zimbabwe." Because of his identification with the African liberation movements he was invited to perform at the independence celebrations in Zimbabwe in 1980.

As the popularity of Marley and reggae increased, some hoped that he would sheath the blade of his piercing social commentary and mellow his appeal to the oppressed to "Stand up for Your Rights." In the music industry this is called broadening the appeal of the artist.

In 1980 Marley released "Uprising." It is more melodic than its title would suggest. Its themes are about deliverance from Babylon. It includes, "Coming in from the Cold," "Zion Train," "Could You be Loved," and "Redemption Song." On the release of his album "Kaya" Marley commented, "It doesn't burn with the intensity of 'Rastaman Vibrations' or 'Exodus.' It's a balanced slice of music." Its dominant themes are love and unity.

But when millions of oppressed people around the world remember Bob Marley, we will remember the fire of his songs.

—Sam Manuel

Grenada pamphlets answer U.S. media lies

The Grenada Revolution at Work, by W. Richard Jacobs. 16 pp. Pathfinder. \$.50;

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean, by Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley. 36 pp. Pathfinder. \$.95.

CBS News in New York City recently ran a series on Grenada entitled "The Prisoner and the Police State." Through selective interviews, "artist's conception" sketches, and crude innuendos, the series portrayed Grenada as a police state where the citizenry lives in terror.

Two pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press will help respond to such charges. "Grenada, Revolution at Work" is by W. Richard Jacobs, the Grenada ambassador to Cuba. It tells the story of how the New Jewel Movement won popular support and came to power. Written shortly after the March 13, 1979, overturn of dictator Eric Gairy, Jacobs's comments give the lie to the police state myth.

"The character of the revolution has been displayed from the earliest stages. Power . . . was seized with precious little blood spilled. Within the first six weeks of the revolution, 160 of the 210 persons who had been put in protective custody had been released. . . . All those who have been released, as well as those who remain in protective custody, testify to the humane manner in which they were treated. This is in marked contrast to the gross brutality meted out to political prisoners under the Gairy regime, and international human rights organizations have marveled at the liberal policies pursued by the authorities, including daily visits from relatives, home-cooked food, the wearing of civilian clothes, and the availability of a wide range of reading and writing material upon request."

"Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean" is an interview with Andrew Pulley and Sam Manuel, members of the Socialist Workers Party national committee who vi-

sited Grenada in 1980.

Pulley explains the educational advances in Grenada since March 1979. Before that, "the educational system in Grenada was structured to keep a majority of the population illiterate and semilliterate. . . .

"Under the revolutionary government all this is being changed. The government budget has tripled to provide more funds for social services and education. This was accomplished by changing the tax structure. They lifted the taxes from the lower-paid workers—30 percent of the work force—and slapped heavier taxes on the businesses. . . ."

A goal of no tuitions has been set, and free milk and inexpensive lunches have begun. A new secondary school has been opened.

"The most ambitious effort has been the campaign to wipe out illiteracy. Hundreds of volunteers, mostly young people, are teaching the population to read and write."

Manuel notes that, at the time of the revolution, unemployment was 50 percent. It has now been reduced to 35 percent, and the government hopes to end unemployment by developing agriculture, fishing, manufacturing and the raising of small livestock. Almost no development of industry or agriculture was done prior to the revolution.

Unions have grown rapidly since the revolution, Pulley says. Membership has already increased from 30 to 85 percent of the employed urban work force. The new Trade Union Recognition Act compels employers to recognize any union that can demonstrate support from at least 50 percent of the workers at a given shop. The unions are independent of the government and run democratically by the workers.

On the rare occasions when Grenada breaks into the U.S. media, it is common to see charges that Grenada is a Cuban puppet. Pulley replies:

"If it is true that Cuba is dominating Grenada, how is that manifested? They don't own any plantations. They don't own any hotels there. It is Americans, Canadians, and British who own hotels there. They also own banks and insurance companies. No Cubans own anything in Grenada."

Pulley explained that the reason for the attacks on Grenada are due to the fact that it has a working people's government, one that doesn't take its orders from Washington. That's something Uncle Sam isn't used to.

"The U.S. capitalists not only run the show economically in Latin America and the Caribbean, but they also run the show politically," Pulley adds.

But let a Black nation like Grenada, as small and poor as it may be, stand up to the racist power of the U.S. rulers and they are called puppets!

—Helen Meyers

Rally for Grenada!

On June 19 at 7:30 p.m. there will be a rally to defend Free Grenada at Medgar Evers College Gymnasium in Brooklyn. A representative of Grenada's New Jewel Movement will speak, along with Samori Marksman of the Caribbean People's Alliance. In addition to a slide show on Grenada, there will be cultural presentations and greetings from supporters of the revolution.

The rally will mark the first anniversary of a bomb attack in Grenada. A bomb placed near the stage at a rally there last June 19 was meant to wipe out the New Jewel Movement leadership. Two young women were killed and many persons injured.

The rally will answer a stepped-up propaganda campaign against Grenada in this country, as well as Washington's efforts to block funding for a new airport and other aid to Grenada.



Far out—A *New York Times* profile of Alexander ("I'm in control here") Haig says: "He is a steadfast conservative who was pushed for his post by conservative Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina—but he is clearly to the left of most of President Reagan's top aides."

Here we go again—Occidental Petroleum is plunking down \$795 million to buy Iowa Beef processors, the nation's biggest. The president of Occidental explained: "We think food will be in the 1990s what energy has been to the 1970s and the 1980s." He said Occidental intended to "get further

into the food business and make money at it."

Role model—Reagan lauded Calvin Coolidge, whose presidency ended seven months before the '29 stock market crash. "He cut taxes four times," Reagan said. "We had probably the greatest growth and prosperity that we've ever seen. I take heed of that because he did it by doing nothing. Maybe that's the answer."

Sounds reasonable—"City's air cleaner than 1960s, but pollution level is unknown"—Headline in the *New York Times*.

Like where there's no water?—A reactor at the Brown's Ferry nuclear plant was shut down when 10,000 gallons of radioactive water gushed from a cooling system. According to UPI, a spokesperson explained that the leak would have been minor, "if it had been in a different part of the reactor."

Cultural representative—New York's Governor Carey invested some \$200,000 in state dollars to spruce up the state mansion, including a screen with oriental figures. He pointed the

screen out to a visiting Japanese delegation, saying, "In case you get homesick." They paused to look at it. "Chinese," one whispered.

Thought for the week—"It is being assumed that messages will be received, interpreted, understood and believed by the various audiences within the population and that, faced with imminent danger, they will respond as directed. This is a naive, and... very dangerous assumption."—Don Smith, a University of Iowa researcher on the efficacy of warnings of a nuclear attack.

Union Talk

'Who will decontaminate the painters?'

On April 27, my union, Local 28 of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades in Brooklyn, New York, held a special meeting on the subject of nuclear power.

We invited two engineers to speak. In support of nukes was David H. Vories, representing Con Edison, the New York utility. On the other side of the question was Linsey Auden, who works for a private energy consulting firm in New York City and has been active in the antinuclear movement for many years.

The Painters union along with other building trades unions, signed a pronuclear ad, which appeared in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania *Patriot* March 27. It was directed against the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg called by the Mine Workers, Auto Workers, Machinists, and others to keep the Three Mile Island nuclear plant shut down.

At its last international convention, in one of those quick motions that get little notice and no discussion, the Painters union took a stand in support of nukes.

The forum in my local attracted more than 100 painters, several times the number who attend regular local meetings. It was, in fact, one of the best-attended meetings we have had since the local was formed in a reorganization of Painters District Council 9 several years ago.

If anyone came into the meeting with questions about whether we need nuclear power plants to meet our energy needs or to create jobs, Auden

provided plenty of information to dispel such ideas. He pointed out that there is enough excess coal generating capacity to more than take care of the demand for electricity, as well as other available technologies to increase production and eliminate waste.

He explained that new coal-burning power plants cost significantly less per unit of energy than do nuclear plants, particularly if the tax subsidies for the nuclear industry, which come out of the pockets of working people, are taken into account.

On the question of safety, Auden pointed out that the emergency plans devised by Con Edison in the event of an accident at its Indian Point nuclear plant were a joke.

"When we had a hearing on this, the civil defense chief in Ossining got up and said, 'What are we going to do with all the people in Sing Sing prison? Are we going to let them die or let them out?'"

And later Auden continued, "There was no plan to take care of the people in the old folks home, no plan to take care of kids in the day-care center. They even depended on the MTA trains working on time."

In responding to these points, the speaker from Con Ed could only repeat the usual arguments of the nuclear industry. He asserted that nuclear plants were needed to solve our energy problems, and that they were safe.

At one point he even contended that the systems

at Three Mile Island had "worked like a charm," so well in fact that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission should "slack off" on its regulations.

In response to a question about the recent leak at the Indian Point II nuclear plant, which forced it to shut down, Vories blamed the problem on Westinghouse, the contractor that built the facility. He explained that there have been fifty-five previous leaks, and Con Ed had been forced to plug the pipes with epoxy. Since the recent flood was caused by a new leak, and not by the failure of one of their repairs, Con Ed should not be held responsible. I doubt if this information made anyone feel better about the possibility of Indian Point II starting operations again.

At another point in the discussion, Vories, appealing to the desire of building trade unionists for jobs, pointed out that specifications for decommissioning old nuclear power plants call for the use of painters to apply coatings to decontaminate some surfaces. At that point a voice from the audience called out, "And who will decontaminate the painters?"

The interest generated by the meeting is indicated by the fact that many came up afterward to get literature being given out by both speakers. I was able to sell seven copies of Fred Halstead's pamphlet, *What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power*.

The discussion that did not take place at the last convention of our International has begun.

—Steve Bloom

What's Going On

ARIZONA PHOENIX

ISRAELI WAR MOVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speaker: Seth Galinsky, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

LABOR VS. NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Jane Perkins, secretary-treasurer, Pennsylvania Social Services Union; Charles Ashley, member, executive board, United Mine Workers District 29, West Virginia; Fred Decker, district organizer, District 29, UMWA. Sat., June 13, reception 7:30 p.m., program 8 p.m. 2724 W. 8th St. (SEIU Local 99). Ausp: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. For more information call (213) 385-5555.

VIETNAM VETS CONFRONT WASHINGTON. Speakers: Steve Suwalsky, one of the "inside six" protesters at VA hospital and spokesperson for veterans' demonstration; Richard Ogden, a hunger striker; Dennis Miller, Vietnam veteran and member United Auto Workers Local 148 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

RALLY TO SUPPORT CIVIL LIBERTIES. Speaker: Fred Halstead, witness at Socialist Workers Party

trial against the government; Lyman T. Johnson; Geneva Perry, legal counsel, Kentucky Civil Liberties Union. Sun., June 28, 6:30 p.m. reception; 7:30 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. social. Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge, 100 E. Jefferson St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

H-BLOCK AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Speakers: Rich Cahalane, member of Socialist Workers Party and longtime activist around the issues in Northern Ireland; others. Sun., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

CAMPAIGN AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS. Speaker: Michael Ross, solar engineer and participant in Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain. Sun., June 21, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

OHIO CINCINNATI

POLAND IN REVOLT. Speaker: Rachel Knapik, Socialist Workers Party and United Steelworkers

union. Sun., June 14, 7 p.m. Militant Labor Bookstore, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND PRESENTS RALLY FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Sarah Gardner, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Ron Hooks, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, director of Justice for J.P. Stevens Workers; Fred Halstead, witness in Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government; Margie Robertson, executive director, Cincinnati American Civil Liberties Union; others. Sun., June 21, 7:30 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 536 Linton Road. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (513) 321-5503.

OREGON PORTLAND

PLANT CLOSURES IN OREGON: HOW TO FIGHT THEM. Discussion led by representative of Plant Closure Organizing Committee. Sun., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

'MEXICO: THE FROZEN REVOLUTION.' Tricontinental film in Spanish with English subtitles. Sun., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

POLAND: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker:

DeAnn Rathbun, member, United Mine Workers Local 1190 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Fri., June 19, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

WHY IS HECTOR MARROQUIN SUING THE FBI? A rally for political rights. Speakers: Hector Marroquin, member of Socialist Workers Party under deportation order; Rubén Sandoval, Civil Rights Litigation Center; Adela Navarro, La Raza Unida Party; Antonio Cabral, *El Pueblo* newspaper; Leo Johnson, Black student activist; Ramón Valdez, University of Texas Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Sat., June 20, 8 p.m. Fiesta Room, El Mercado. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

POLAND: EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: DeAnn Rathbun, member, United Mine Workers Local 1190 and Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Poland. Mon., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant N.W. (near 16th and Columbia). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

'HARLAN COUNTY USA.' Come celebrate the miners' victory and see this academy award winning documentary film. Fri., June 19, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant N.W. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Letters

The Polish way

About a week ago I was selling *Militants* to coal miners in West Virginia. One afternoon, I ran into an older man who had been on disability for two years but hoped to be going back to the mines soon.

He looked at the front page advertising the interview with the U.S. coal miner who went to Poland. "I've been following the situation in Poland real close," he said. "We ought to do what they do there and just shut the whole country down when we go on strike."

He added later that he thought Polish workers have more economic equality than here, but both Polish and American workers needed to be in control of their countries.

On the question of FBI crimes: "Yeah, they gotta stop FBI crimes. I'm a union man all the way, and I know what they do."

As I left he told me he'd look at the paper. He used some rather strong words to describe what he thought of scabs and workers who didn't join the union, and said that after the strike the UMWA should get out and organize all the miners in Virginia, Kentucky, and everywhere there wasn't a union.

"We should all be union, we have to stick together. If you are on the union's side, I'm with you."

John Wesley
Newport News, Virginia

Fresh perspective

You folks provide a fresh

Feiffer

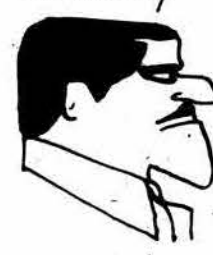
WHEN THE U.S. SENDS ARMS AND ADVISORS INTO EL SALVADOR, YOU SEE THIS AS TURNING BACK A SOVIET THREAT TO OUR HEMISPHERE.



BUT IN THE EYES OF LATIN AMERICANS, YOUR INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR APPEARS TO BE NO DIFFERENT FROM...



PREVIOUS U.S. INCURSIONS INTO CUBA, HAITI, NICARAGUA, MEXICO, GUATEMALA AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.



SO WHAT YOU DESCRIBE AS A RED MENACE, WE DESCRIBE AS YANKEE IMPERIALISM.



HOW DO YOU RESPOND TO SUCH A CHARGE?



CHAAARGE!



perspective on events that I don't get from the other news media. I appreciate your extensive coverage of the SWP and YSA trial. Keep up the good work.

Glenn Furrer
Corvallis, Oregon

Supports SWP suit

I am a Black gay anarchist-pacifist and a third-year law student at North Carolina Central University. I am using some of the funds I received from the sale of my law books to (1) receive six more months of the *Militant* (I want to follow

coverage of the suit—I hope to do a paper on government repression and legal responses to it); and (2) to donate \$5 to the fund which is supporting the suit against the government.

I hope to make my small contribution to an eventual victory over this system of madness. Please add my name to your list of endorsers.

I am active in the War Resisters League, Movement for a New Society, the Lawyers Guild, and the Southern Activist Network.

I am glad that the SWP is carrying forth this important struggle in the legal arena.

Si se puede,
Molokane W. Robert Shultz III
Durham, North Carolina

Not newsworthy?

My subscription ran out with the May 22 issue. Can I get back issues to that date? I want to follow the lawsuit closely.

This seems to be the only medium that finds the case newsworthy. Strange, isn't it?
H.S.
Bountiful, Utah

willing to testify, surely lower-level snitches who are easier to come by and can't do as much harm as their superiors, have less to fear from a politically astute organization than Keuch and his ilk.

The fact that Keuch and company testify without a hint of concern for their personal safety is another big hole in their none-too-strong case for keeping their informers behind the curtain.

Keep up the good work. I'm enjoying this trial immensely.
David Segal
New York, New York

Unveiling the informers

The recent course of the trial seems to reopen the issue of getting informers' names and files from the FBI, et al.

The government is now saying more or less that they really aren't too concerned about criminal activities on the part of the SWP; that the investigation isn't essentially about crimes; and that the SWP is, in fact, a pretty sophisticated organization. I'm thinking specifically of the remark by Keuch, the Justice Department official, that "they read the law books." And that remark referred back forty years to 1941.

So it seems that if people like Mandigo and Keuch (and the INS official who testified) are

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.
CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 44 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.
COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.
FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Don Mackle, 1208 S.W. First Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.
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ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.
INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-

6149.
IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.
KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.
LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.
MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.
MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.
MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.
NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.
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tral Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.
NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.
NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.
OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.
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TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.
UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.
VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.
WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.
WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.
WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Atlanta cover-up continues

Open FBI, police files on murder investigation

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—The attempt to create a case against Wayne B. Williams, a twenty-three-year-old Black man, for the murders of Black youth here appears to be failing.

After nearly one week of publicly smearing Williams, Atlanta police have admitted that they have no case against him.

The pursuit of Williams, like the threats to prosecute some of the mothers of the victims, is further evidence of the failure of the police and FBI to conduct a serious investigation into the murders.

On June 3, the FBI and police picked up Williams, a free-lance photographer, and grilled him for twelve hours. He was released without arrest for lack of evidence, after having been given three lie detector tests.

During the interrogation, Williams was not allowed a lawyer or a phone call. He was not read his rights.

FBI agents repeatedly accused him of some of the murders, warning, "It's just a matter of time before we get you."

"You killed Nathaniel Cater [the twenty-eighth and latest victim] and you know it. And you know you're lying to us," they said. They even tried to get him to sign a statement confessing to twenty-some deaths.

Williams had been under surveillance since May 22. His car and house had been electronically bugged and he was followed by unmarked cars.

According to police, he became a suspect when they stopped him at a bridge over the Chattahoochee River, where six of the bodies have been found.

Police claim they heard a big splash and found Williams, who supposedly

told them he had just thrown garbage into the river.

They dragged the river, finding nothing.

Three days later, the body of Cater was found in the Chattahoochee.

The cops' story, broadcast throughout the country, was designed to make people believe that Williams had really thrown the body of Cater over the bridge.

Williams, who is five feet, seven inches and weighs 150 pounds, denied telling the police he had dumped anything. Cater weighed 200 pounds.

At the same time that the cops admitted the evidence was flimsy, high-ranking police task force officials said that the investigation of Williams was going forward anyway because, "he's the best possibility we have at this time."

The FBI, the police, and the media cooperated to cast suspicion on Williams.

The June 4 *New York Post* carried a giant headline, "ATLANTA MONSTER SEIZED."

Newspapers in Atlanta released Williams's name and address, even though he was never an official suspect.

Television networks showed pictures of his house, where he and his family live. It was surrounded by police, who were there maintaining constant surveillance, and reporters.

A local television station showed investigators hauling bags of "evidence" from Williams's house.

What was the evidence?

Some dog hairs, carpet fibers, and pieces of clothing.

Although initially called "promising," District Attorney Lewis Slaton, a couple

Continued on page 22



March 15 demonstration demands that cops find killers of Black youth.

Militant

Unionists convicted in cop-company frame-up

By Michael Boys

SAN DIEGO—Three militant unionists were convicted here June 5 by a federal grand jury of conspiring to bomb National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO). It is part of a union busting campaign jointly carried out by the company and the government in the West Coast's largest shipyard.

David Boyd, thirty-three, and Rodney Johnson, twenty-three, both members of Ironworkers Local 627; and Mark Loo, twenty-nine, a member of Machinist Local 389, were convicted on one count of conspiracy to blow up the main power transformer at NASSCO, and on three counts of possession of destructive devices. They could be sentenced to up to forty years in jail.

The government's main evidence against the three during a five-week trial was the testimony of Ramon Barton, a company spy and agent provocateur who was paid \$5,000 by the FBI and San Diego cops.

Barton was wired for sound by the FBI and local cops to make about thirty hours of conversations between himself and the defendants. In tapes heard at the trial, Barton continually instigated the idea of bombing NASSCO facilities.

The tapes of conversations in which

the three tried to talk Barton out of the scheme contain mysterious gaps. An expert witness testified that in his opinion the tape was tampered with.

Most jurors would not comment on why they voted to convict the three. But Carl Vaughn, seventy, of San Diego, told the *Los Angeles Times* that at one point the jury had been split ten-to-two for a conviction.

'Old-time bounty hunter'

Vaughn said Barton was "an opportunist who saw his chance to get recognition and took advantage of it. He was an old-time bounty hunter and he didn't give a damn who he stepped on."

Vaughn told the *Times* he thought the defendants should be put on probation and not sent to jail.

Sentencing is scheduled for July 14. Defense attorney Daniel Siegle said the lawyers will again argue for a dismissal of the charges on the grounds that the government entrapped the three workers.

The verdict will be appealed if the judge rejects the motion to dismiss the case. Siegle, however, said chances of success on an appeal are "very limited."

At a June 6 news conference protesting the verdict, Mark Loo explained

that the case clearly showed what side the government is on.

"We can see that the government is going in, interfering in union struggles, and taking the side of the company," he said.

'We intend to fight'

"We intend to continue to fight. This is just stage one. We can't allow ourselves to be intimidated, we just have to push out harder."

David Boyd explained the stakes in this case are for all working people. "We can face what's happened, but it can happen to anybody out there—they can do to anybody what they did to us."

Héctor Marroquín of the Socialist Workers Party told the 125 people at the news conference, "The Socialist Workers Party gives its unconditional solidarity to the NASSCO Three."

"We unconditionally oppose this frame-up," Marroquín said. "The FBI, NASSCO, and the San Diego police should be prosecuted, not trade unionists."

Allen Yee, a member of the defense team, explained that the cover-up of the NASSCO Three was still going on.

"The FBI, Criminal Intelligence Unit

[of the San Diego Police Department], and Barton have not come out with what really happened," he said.

Yee said it could take years to bring out all the facts and that "support still has to be built and the committee will keep working."

Support needed

NASSCO Three Defense Committee chairperson Rhonda Levine urged supporters to write letters in support of a congressional investigation into the role of the FBI at NASSCO and in this frame-up.

She said the legal expenses of the trial have been \$50,000 so far, and they will be at least \$100,000 with an appeal. She said \$8,000 has been raised so far and the committee is in need of financial contributions.

The committee would also urge supporters to send letters supporting probation for the three and no jail if the conviction is upheld.

Letters protesting the conviction can be sent to U.S. District Judge Edward Schwartz, U.S. District Court, 940 Front Street, San Diego, California 92101. Send a copy to the NASSCO Three Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8383, San Diego, California 92102.

What happened in Steelworkers' election?

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