

## Nicaraguans rally to beat back U.S.-organized invasion force

### Honduran Army openly aids new assault on Nicaragua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A new invasion of Nicaragua, with open aid from the Honduran army, is under way in the north, Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto announced here May 2. New attacks have also been carried out in the south, on the border with Costa Rica, where a counter-revolutionary task force numbering 200 to 300 troops has been infiltrated into the country.

"There are now two fronts in the war, one in the north from Honduras and one in the south from Costa Rica," Commander Juan José Ubeda, second in command of State Security, told a news conference here May 4.

Twelve hundred counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) entered Nicaragua's northern Nueva Segovia Province April 30, backed by artillery and mortar fire by an estimated 1,000 Honduran troops.

Another 1,000 *contras* are massed just across the border, in the same area, awaiting orders to join the attack.

A number of Honduran troops are directly involved in the invasion, the foreign ministry reported May 3. They were detected more than half a mile inside Nicaraguan territory, where they are providing the invaders with logistical support and aid in evacuating the wounded.

The escalating involvement of Honduran troops in the *contras'* attacks on Nicaragua is an ominous sign. The U.S. government, which finances and organizes the Nicaraguan exile attacks, has been trying to provoke a situation where a full-scale war between Honduras and Nicaragua would break out, opening up the possibility of a nationwide Central America war where U.S. troops could be sent. Washington has been steadily building up the Honduran military with this goal in mind.

Meanwhile, in the south, counter-

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### 150,000 march in Managua to protest Reagan speech

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In an immediate response to President Reagan's April 27 speech threatening further escalation of attacks on Nicaragua, 150,000 people marched here April 28 to declare their determination to defend their revolutionary arms in hand.

The night of Reagan's speech, Sandinista leader Dora María Téllez had called for an outpouring the next day.

"Come with your rifles, your machetes,"  
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Militant/Michael Baumann

Nicaraguan workers and peasants have won big social and economic gains through revolution. That's why they're determined to resist U.S.-backed invaders.

## Black-Latino-labor coalition is discussed for '84 elections

BY MAC WARREN

The potential political power of Blacks, Latinos, and the labor movement, expressed in the recent Chicago elections, has sparked a major discussion on which way forward for political action that can advance the interests of working people and the oppressed.

Two views are being expressed in the wake of the election victory of Democrat Harold Washington, the first Black to become Chicago mayor. Jesse Jackson, leader of Operation PUSH, calls for running a Black in the Democratic presidential primaries, and links this to a massive voter registration drive among Blacks.

Jackson says now is the time to "re-negotiate our relationship with the Democratic Party. We're not arguing a Black agenda; we're arguing a national agenda from the perspective of Blacks."

Jackson has held several meetings with Tony Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC),

to discuss this perspective with him. LULAC is assessing the massive (over 75 percent) vote for Harold Washington by Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other Latinos and what that means for a Black-Latino alliance in the Democratic Party for the 1984 elections. The recent gathering of the National Conference for Puerto Rican Rights, held in Newark, took up the same question.

A second point of view in this discussion is articulated by Andrew Young, the mayor of Atlanta and a prominent Black Democrat. He argues it's wrong to run a Black in the Democratic primaries. This would divide Black leaders, he says, and possibly create a racial polarization that could jeopardize a Democratic victory in 1984. In other words, it would shake things up.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, has talked of a labor-Black coalition, but he shares Young's approach and opposes Jackson's.

This discussion has received prominent

coverage in the major dailies, the Black press, and on television. The question is being discussed at political meetings across the country.

"Building a political alliance of the labor movement and the oppressed is a major question for workers today," comments Ed Warren, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the recent Chicago mayoral election. "This discussion is a very important one for Blacks, Latinos, trade unionists, and socialists."

A laid-off garment worker, Warren is a member of the SWP and the National Black Independent Political Party. He actively participated in meetings in the Chicago Black community about how to mobilize Black political power prior to the decision of Harold Washington to run for mayor.

In those meetings Warren explained that the events in Chicago reflected the real pressure that has built over the last decade among workers for solutions to the crisis of the capitalist system. He pointed to the crumbling of the Chicago Democratic machine as a sign of the growing incapacity of the two-party system to contain the push by Blacks and other working people for a political solution to the problems they face.

Warren said the logic of this push is toward breaking with the Democrats and Republicans, and running independent Black, Latino, and labor candidates. He pointed to the potential for building a mass independent Black party, and the impact this would have on unionists seeing the need for a labor party.

The perspective of the SWP was a significant factor in the Chicago discussion. While all socialist groups in the country are small today, what they do and the stands they adopt are important, especially at a time like this when workers are thinking about the idea of an alliance between Blacks, Latinos, and labor. Historically socialists — even when a small minority — have been an important factor in big turning points in the class struggle, from the rise of the CIO, to the civil rights movement, to the formation of labor parties in

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## FBI exposed in murder of anti-Klan activists

BY STEVE CRAINE

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — After a 13-month investigation, a federal grand jury handed down indictments April 21 against nine members of the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party for their role in the Nov. 3, 1979, murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro.

The events of November 3 have never been a mystery. Millions have seen TV films of the racist thugs methodically firing into the crowd of anti-Klan demonstrators. But six of the assailants were acquitted in 1980 and state charges against the others were dropped.

All nine charged in the federal indictment are accused of conspiring to interfere with federally protected rights of demonstrators. Three are additionally charged with causing bodily injury, and four face maximum sentences of life imprisonment for "interfering with federally protected activities resulting in death."

The 20-page indictment points out the critical role played by former FBI informer

Edward Dawson, who was at that time in frequent contact with the Greensboro Police Department. Dawson was responsible for bringing Klanners and Nazis from other parts of the state to the anti-Klan rally which was sponsored by the Communist Workers Party (CWP).

According to the indictment, Dawson spoke at KKK rallies in Lincolnton, North Carolina, exhorting Klansmen, "that if they loved their children, they would go out and kill 'niggers'." A few days before November 3, Dawson posted notices in Greensboro saying, "Notice! to the Traitors, Communists, Race-mixers and Black Rioters; Traitors Beware, Even now the crosshairs are on the back of your necks — KKK: It's time for old-fashioned American Justice."

Dawson also arranged a Greensboro rendezvous for the out-of-town racists and led their nine-car caravan to the housing project where anti-Klan demonstrators were assembling.

The Greensboro Justice Fund has filed a

civil lawsuit on behalf of the victims and their survivors. Justice Fund lawyer Gayle Korotkin stated that "while we welcome the indictments, they are also clearly inadequate."

Just days before the indictments were issued and the grand jury dismissed, the Greensboro Justice Fund and the CWP had attempted to present new evidence to the jury exposing FBI knowledge of the murderous plans of the Nazis and Klanners. U.S. Justice Department attorneys, who direct the federal grand jury, refused to allow them to present this information.

One document acquired by the Justice Fund and CWP is from FBI files. It records a Nov. 2, 1979 phone call from Mordecai Levy of the Jewish Defense Organization warning of information he had received that the North Carolina Nazi Party planned to kill people on November 3.

The other document kept from the jurors is from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF). Entitled, "Briefing

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# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MALIK MIAH

Over the last few weeks we've received some interesting stories on regularizing our plant-gate sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and getting more readers involved in sales teams, especially to the large and important plants in our areas.

For example, in Los Angeles two sales teams are now selling weekly at the pay lines of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 13.

On average they sell five or six papers per week. But with issue number 13, they sold 17 *Militants* in one sale. They also sold \$25 worth of socialist literature at a table that was set up; passed out *Militant* Forum leaflets; and had some good discussions on the war in El Salvador.

Why the sudden jump in sales?

Two reasons were given. First, a socialist is now an active member of the local. Many of his co-workers know him and his paper. And, he is now a regular participant on the sales team at the pay line.

Second, and the most significant reason for the success, reports Ed Berger, the Socialist Workers Party's sales coordinator in Los Angeles, is the fact that many workers now have gotten to know the people on the sales team. Why? "Because the teams have been selling at the pay line for several months."

Berger also noted that Local 13 has a militant history. For example, he said, members of the local

once donated a day's pay in solidarity with the revolution in El Salvador. They also organized a boycott of cargoes destined for the U.S.-backed Salvadoran dictatorship.

Los Angeles socialists have also had some good sales to garment workers. Recently a sales team that included Virginia Garza, the SWP's candidate for city council in the recent elections, sold eight *Perspectiva Mundials* and distributed socialist campaign literature outside a garment shop. Normally the sales team sells one or two papers.

The most interesting thing about that sale was the discussions that took place inside the shop, where several socialists work, on the articles in *PM* and on the Garza campaign. The *PMs* were passed around and a lot of discussion occurred on such topics as how to fight the deportation of undocumented workers — a big part of the Los Angeles garment work force — and how to organize against the U.S.-backed wars in Central America.

Finally, Berger reports that for the first time over 50 percent of the Socialist Workers Party members in Los Angeles participated in plant-gate sales of the recent issue. That modest increase, he said, allowed more teams to be formed and more plants to be reached with our press.

Socialists in Portland are also beginning to show some progress in their plant-gate sales after a bit of a difficult start. Although the gains are modest, socialists report,

it is beginning to boost the confidence of sales people.

That's been our experience in other cities as well.

We've also received an evaluation report from the sales coordinator in Toledo, Ohio. This is what the report said:

"Every week since we launched the plant-gate sales we have gone to from six to ten plant gates per week. Most of us sell every week at a plant gate.

"We have sold 99 *Militants* to industrial workers at their plant gates in the past six weeks."

The evaluation emphasized the importance of the regular week-by-week team sale. "It's true that it is usually difficult to stop workers for extended discussions. That is why we have to return week after week and make progress little by little."

They continue, "A worker who has bought the *Militant* once and stops again to get a second issue needs to be given more information about who publishes the paper and socialist activists in the area.

"Also, with the slight increase in employment and call backs at some of the plants, we will be meeting new workers as they return from the experience of a long lay off."

The present upturn in the business cycle has led to a modest increase of employment even with the high unemployment rates. This is true in steel and auto, for example, in some places.

The Toledo report concludes with a suggestion on how to advance their gains:



Militant/Don Mackle

## Selling the *Militant* in Philadelphia

"We propose that we focus on a few plants that we definitely go to every week and then expand to others during the week if there are additional sales scheduled. This

will make the *Militant* present at these few major sites every single week without fail so that we will be better able to get to know individual workers there."

# Woman oil worker wins back her job in Louisiana

BY TERRY HARDY

NEW ORLEANS — After a year-long fight, Louisiana refinery worker Laura Carnes won her job back April 29.

In March 1982 supervisors at the Tenneco Oil Refinery in Chalmette fired Carnes for "insubordination." Local 4-522 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union went to bat for her. The result was the arbitration ruling ordering her reinstated.

It is a special victory for the right of women to work in industrial jobs historically not open to them.

"I was regarded as an uppity woman," Carnes was quoted in OCAW's national paper *Union News*. The paper was reporting on Carnes' remarks at the first national OCAW women's conference last May. She continued, "Women are often the strongest defenders of our union. The company finds excuses to get rid of union builders."

Only 15 out of a union work force of nearly 400 were women when Carnes was hired.

In addition to being a union builder and defender of women's rights, Carnes is chairperson of the New Orleans Young Socialist Alliance and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Carnes was fired after two years at the plant. In that time, she was consistently harassed by her supervisors. During the incident used as the excuse to fire her, she was denied union representation. That contract violation is the basis of the arbitrator's reinstatement order.

During a hearing on her case, the company quizzed her about her college education and demanded to know if she had taken a course called "Sex, Freedom, and Equality," a philosophy course on women's rights. In the company's eyes, this was supposed to prove that Carnes is a troublemaker.

The arbitrator's order to reinstate her does not include back pay for her more than 13 months off the job. Tenneco also con-

tested her unemployment benefits, which she is still fighting.

Tenneco even went so far as to order her off the premises when she was hired by the Painters Union as a contracted-out painter at the refinery.

Carnes' case has been quite a subject of discussion at the refinery. At the national OCAW women's conference in Pittsburgh last year, where Carnes got a sympathetic response to her case, a collection raised more than \$400 for her.

Here in New Orleans she was a featured speaker at a meeting organized by the local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women on women in nontraditional jobs. She was also invited to attend an AFL-CIO seminar on women in unions in San Antonio, Texas.

Terry Hardy works at the Tenneco Oil Refinery in Chalmette, Louisiana, and is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 4-522.

## JOBS NOT WAR!

NEW ORLEANS  
Socialist Workers Campaign Rally  
Saturday, May 14

Speakers: Michele Smith, SWP candidate for Louisiana governor on "Why We Need a Workers and Farmers Government"; Nels J'Anthony, SWP candidate for State Senate District 7 on "El Salvador: Another Vietnam."

Also: Rev. Jerome Owens, Mid-City Area Council; Joey Romano, Lavender Left; Kamau Odinga, Black activist from St. Charles Parish; and Laura Carnes, recently won her job back at Tenneco refinery.

Reception at 7 p.m., rally at 8 p.m. Donation \$1.50. 3207 Dublin St. For more information, call (504) 486-8048.

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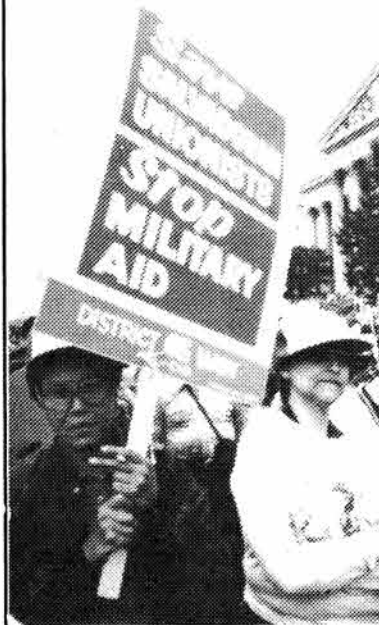
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# Vietnam solidarity meeting held in N.Y.

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — Vietnam's victory against U.S. aggression would have been impossible without "the solidarity of millions of people around the world," Nguyen An told a meeting of more than 250 people here April 30, the eighth anniversary of the fall of the U.S.-backed Saigon regime.

An, who is first secretary of Vietnam's mission to the United Nations, addressed a rally sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. The meeting was organized to answer Washington's renewed propaganda attacks against Vietnam and to protest new Vietnam-style wars in Central America and the Caribbean.

The successful event marked an important victory over a large and well-organized group of rightist Vietnamese exiles, whose attempt to physically break up the gathering failed (see accompanying article).

Nguyen An told the audience that during the eight years since the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, "our people have had almost no days of peace." Right after the 1975 victory, he explained, Vietnam faced border attacks by Pol Pot's reactionary forces in Kampuchea, which continued until that regime was overthrown in 1979.

Following Pol Pot's ouster, however, the Peking regime mounted a large-scale invasion of Vietnam to punish the Vietnamese people for aiding the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship in Kampuchea.

## Imperialist economic blockade

Today, An added, Vietnam must still contend with an imperialist economic blockade and with a smear campaign aimed at isolating his country internationally.

Despite all these attacks, An stated, "we have reunified our country and have laid the basis for moving toward prosperity."

Vietnam's people, he said, stand with all the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are struggling against oppression and exploitation.

"If Reagan is crazy enough to launch another Vietnam in Central America, there will also be another April 30 victory," An concluded to sustained applause and cheers from the audience.

Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean who is active in the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, told the gathering that he looks forward to celebrating the victory of the Salvadoran revolution. "Vietnam won and El Salvador will win," Han stressed.

He pointed to the similarities between the counterrevolutionary attacks against Nicaragua mounted from bases in Honduras, and the actions of Pol Pot's forces from bases along Kampuchea's border with Thailand. Han noted that four years



Nguyen An (left), first secretary, Vietnam mission to UN. Tod Ensign (right, speaking), other participants in forum panel.

after Pol Pot's overthrow, he still retains Kampuchea's UN seat. "The Kampuchean people want nothing to do with Pol Pot," Han stressed.

Josefina Ellizander of Casa Nicaragua expressed her pleasure at "celebrating the anniversary of the glorious Vietnamese people, who fought imperialism as we are doing in Nicaragua today."

Vietnam, she explained, showed the people of Nicaragua that "when a people want to be free, they can be."

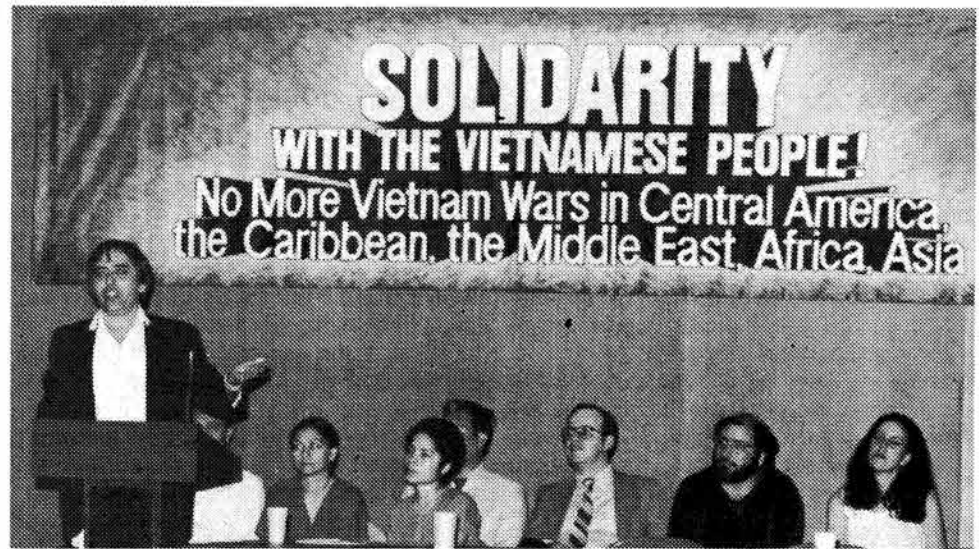
## Reagan's speech

Reagan's April 27 speech to the joint session of the U.S. Congress, Ellizander stated, confirmed the interventionist character of U.S. policy in Central America. The CIA is working directly against the Nicaraguan revolution, as well as through governments in neighboring countries, she added.

But, she pointed out, "Cuba won, Vietnam won, Grenada won, Nicaragua won, and El Salvador will be the next country to free itself in Central America."

Rally chairperson Nan Bailey, who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, called on participants to stand for a minute's silence to honor Salvadoran revolutionary commanders Ana María and Marcial, and the more than 40,000 other Salvadorans who have fallen in the struggle against the U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador.

Guadalupe González, a representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), told the audience that the task of mobilizing opposition in the United States to Washington's intervention in Central America has been made easier because "we have inherited the education that the American people received from Vietnam's struggle."



"We know that the heroic Vietnamese people were willing to sacrifice and die for other peoples around the world and we are willing to do the same for the people of Central America. We know that Nicaragua will fight. We know that the people in Honduras don't want the U.S. bases. We know the people of Guatemala will struggle. And we are encouraged that even in South Africa there are committees in solidarity with the people of El Salvador," González stated.

"Psychologists say that intelligence can be measured by the ability to learn from past experience," Wilma Reverón of the International Information Office for the Independence of Puerto Rico, told the crowd. "If it is true, the U.S. government must be suffering from mental retardation, because we are witnessing a repetition of the Vietnam experience."

Reverón reminded the rally that proportionally more men from Puerto Rico died in the U.S. forces in Vietnam than from any U.S. state.

Winning independence for Puerto Rico, she stressed, is of strategic importance to all progressive people, because Washington wants to use Puerto Rico as a springboard for interventions in Latin America.

Reverón urged rally participants to attend a September 23 demonstration at the UN, when there will be a vote on whether the UN will discuss Puerto Rico's colonial status.

Trade unionist Bill Henning, second vice president of Local 1180 of the Communications Workers of America, reminded the audience that this "victory celebration was brought to you by three components" — the indomitable will of the Vietnamese people; the action of hundreds of thousands in the United States who took

to the streets to protest the war; and the fact that as U.S. intervention in Vietnam deepened, most GIs did not want to fight.

While drawing parallels between U.S. intervention in Vietnam and Central America, Henning also stressed some differences.

## U.S. labor movement

Today, he explained, the organized U.S. labor movement is no longer monolithically lined up behind U.S. foreign policy aims.

Henning called on participants to work to bring the power of the American working class into the struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America.

"People must be inside the unions raising this issue," Henning asserted. Even if they begin timidly, they find they get a good response, he added.

Steve Clark, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and editor of *Intercontinental Press*, told the crowd that "what happened in Vietnam eight years ago was a victory for all of humanity" and inspired fighters for self-determination and socialism throughout the world.

"But," he added, "the American working class owes the biggest debt to the Vietnamese revolution," because the experience of Vietnam helped "transform the thinking of U.S. working people, and transformed U.S. politics."

Clark warned that the U.S. rulers are not willing to accept the victory of the Vietnamese people, or the existence of a free Cuba, free Grenada, or free Nicaragua. Washington is determined to stop the extension of these socialist revolutions.

The internationalism exhibited by the rally, Clark said, in a reminder that working people worldwide are fighting a common enemy and marching toward a common goal — governments of workers and farmers that can put an end to capitalist exploitation and oppression and open the road to socialism.

The people of Central America, the Caribbean, and Indochina have stood at the head of that international struggle, he said. And efforts today to mobilize opposition to U.S. military intervention abroad is key to advancing the U.S. working class and its allies along the road to a government that represents their class interests, instead of those of the capitalist class and its war machine.

Vietnam has been subjected to constant economic and military pressure by Washington since 1975, Clark said. The American people should demand that recognition and aid to Pol Pot's forces stop. We must call, he added, for reconstruction aid to Indochina and for full U.S. recognition of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean governments.

Tod Ensign of Citizen Soldier told of the results of a large scientific conference held in Vietnam in January on the chemical defoliant Agent Orange, 54 million pounds of which were dropped on Vietnam. Agent Orange contains dioxin, one of the most toxic substances known.

Vietnamese researchers, Ensign reported, have found that women in north Vietnam who were never exposed to Agent Orange but later married men exposed to it in the south, have shown elevated rates of miscarriage and genetic damage in their off-spring.

# Right-wing thugs fail to break up forum

BY VICTOR CASS

NEW YORK — The highly successful "Evening in Solidarity With the People of Vietnam" here April 30 struck an important blow for the right to free speech and specifically the right of supporters of the Vietnamese revolution to speak out.

Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries carried out a well-planned, violent attack on the forum aimed at disrupting it and preventing it from taking place. This attack

was repelled by efforts of a disciplined group of ushers.

Forum organizers had taken defense of the meeting very seriously, since counterrevolutionary Vietnamese organizations, often led by ex-South Vietnamese military officers and politicians, have a history of violent acts aimed at intimidating supporters of the Vietnamese revolution.

Last year, too, Vietnamese rightists had failed in their attempt to prevent an anniversary celebration. Nonetheless, the counterrevolutionaries prevented the scheduled speakers from the Vietnamese and Laotian UN missions from attending, and injured several people.

On April 23, 1981, rightists hurled a firebomb at Vietnamese scholar Ngo Vinh Long as he approached his car just after a Harvard symposium. Fortunately the bomb shattered on the windshield and did not explode.

A few months later, on July 21, 1981, a group calling itself the "Anti-Communist Viets Organization" (ACVO) took credit for the murder of Duong Trong Lam, a young Vietnamese in San Francisco.

On the day of the April 30 Militant forum here, some 200 right-wing Vietnamese — vowing "we shall return to our homeland" — held a rally outside the United Nations. The rally was conducted in Vietnamese, with the exception of one speaker, a Lithuanian anticommunist, who spoke in English.

Within hours of the end of the UN rally, it was clear that this was not the only activity that many of the Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries intended to engage in that day.

Almost three hours before the Vietnam solidarity forum was scheduled to start, the right-wingers began gathering near the

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Part of right-wing gang that tried to disrupt Vietnam solidarity meeting



# Upturn in U.S. business cycle

## What it means for working people

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The current upturn in the capitalist business cycle presents a seeming paradox.

President Reagan, the mass media, and the capitalist economists point out that the upturn began around Christmas.

At the same time, even official government figures, which understate the real extent of joblessness, indicate the unemployment rate remained above 10 percent in March. Among Blacks the situation is much worse. According to the official government statistics, joblessness among Black workers was 19.9 percent in March. This represents an actual increase over the February figures.

Farmers, too, see scant signs of recovery. They face another year of low selling prices combined with high production costs and interest rates.

Yet things are looking up for the capitalists. A sure sign of this is the fact that the stock market's Dow Jones Industrial Average is setting new records almost daily. As profits rise, dividends paid on stocks are increased by corporations. This makes ownership of stocks more attractive. Capitalist investors are motivated to bid up the price of stocks.

### Meaning of upturn

What is the meaning of an upturn in the business cycle?

First let's take a look at what happens in the course of this cycle.

After a certain period of upswing a point is reached where the production of commodities begins to outpace the ability of the market to absorb them at prices that are profitable to the capitalists. The corporations cut back production and lay off workers. This marks the beginning of the downturn. As the downturn unfolds unemployment increases rapidly. This continues until production is reduced so much that inventories of unsold commodities are more or less liquidated.

At this point the corporations begin once more to increase production. This is the beginning of the cyclical upturn. But production is not at once restored to its old level.

Demand for commodities, even if it is beginning to increase, is still low. Many workers have been laid off or are working part time. Farmers are hard pressed. Unemployed workers and impoverished farmers don't buy many commodities. Thus it is months, frequently years, before the old levels of production are equalled and finally exceeded.

### Employment lags

Industrial employment recovers even more slowly. As production is increased bosses speed up the pace of work and accelerate automation. Consequently the level of industrial production increases at a

much faster rate than the level of employment. Since the number of workers who need jobs continues to grow, unemployment declines slowly. As a result during the phase of the business cycle when production is increasing but has not yet reached its old peak, unemployment is higher than it was during the phase of actual declining production.

What is the concrete evidence that the current business cycle has begun to turn upward?

The most basic indication is industrial production. Since the end of last year industrial production has been increasing. For example, U.S. steel mills used almost 60 percent of their capacity during the last half of April. Though still a depressed level, it is markedly above the less than 30 percent of capacity that was utilized by the steel corporations at the lowest point of the slump.

Spurred by more plentiful credit, housing starts are now running at a rate of above 1.6 million per year. While this is still below boom levels, it represents a considerable rise compared to the less than 900,000 starts per year that prevailed during the worst of the credit squeeze.

Overall, 69.4 percent of U.S. industrial capacity was utilized in March according to the Federal Reserve Board. This means that more than 30 percent of U.S. industrial capacity is lying idle. Still this is a slight improvement compared to the 68.4 percent of U.S. industrial capacity that was utilized last January.

As is to be expected at the beginning of an upturn in the business cycle, unemployment remains very high. Yet there are indications that layoffs are becoming less frequent and job openings are increasing.

According to a survey of manufacturers conducted by the U.S. Labor Department in March, industrial employment increased by 39,000 compared to the preceding month. The Labor Department reports the number of manufacturing workers on layoff fell from 2.5 million in December to 1.9 million in March. Unemployment among industrial workers, they say, fell from 14.8 percent in December to 12.8 percent in March.

At the same time the bosses are increasing the length of the workweek. The average factory workweek rose 0.7 percent between December and March. Overtime rose to an average of 2.6 hours per week, the highest since October 1981.

### A new downturn?

Is it possible that the current initial months of upturn will soon give way to a renewed decline? In the latter part of 1980 industrial production turned up, only to level off and then fall to new lows in 1981 and 1982. Will this happen again?

On balance a new downturn in the near future seems unlikely, though the anarchy of capitalist production means that nothing is 100 percent certain.

Unlike the situation in late 1980 interest rates are relatively stable today. The rate of interest rose sharply in the latter part of 1980 and such sharp rises in the rate of interest are the most reliable indicator of an approaching downturn in industrial production. The dollar remains relatively strong, and inflation, though continuing, remains low by the standards of recent years. This means that the Federal Reserve Board is not under much pressure to tighten credit and drive up interest rates like it was in late 1980.

From the standpoint of the working class, to call the current period one of "recovery" seems like a cruel joke. Unemployment remains well over the 10 million mark, workers are weekly losing their unemployment insurance, farmers are continuing to lose their farms, the attack on Social Security is escalating. For tens of millions of working people the economic crisis is far from over.

### Profits are up

But there is a reason why the bosses call a period like the current one a recovery and even the beginning of real prosperity. Profits are recovering. Indeed, during this phase of the capitalist business cycle, the

rate of profit begins to increase very sharply. And profit is what prosperity means to the owners of the mines, mills, and factories.

For example the Chrysler Corp., after years of reporting losses, had a net income of \$172.1 million in the first quarter of this year. General Motors' earnings came to a cool \$653.1 million in the first quarter. This is the highest profit reported by the giant auto monopoly in four years. As sales pick up, the profit rate of the auto corporations could have an explosive rate of increase.

What is causing profits to increase so rapidly when production is still low?

Profits increase quickly because, as the bosses say, costs are sharply cut. And among the costs slashed are labor costs. Exactly what is meant by cutting labor costs is illustrated by the reopening of the Crucible Steel plant in Midland, Pennsylvania.

Last October, as the economic slump was reaching its lowest point, Colt Industries closed the plant — throwing 4,500 workers onto the streets. Colt then sold the plant to Jones & Laughlin Steel.

Jones & Laughlin has since reopened it. However only 250 out of 4,500 employees have been called back. Most work rules have been abolished, the bosses now have to pay overtime only after 10 hours four days a week, and a wage cut of \$1.45 per hour has been wrung from the workers. The remaining 4,250 workers can only hope that they will be recalled as production is increased, since all seniority rights have been abolished. Commenting on this the April 18 *New York Times* said, "Many American companies are using the recession and the changes occurring in the United States economy to win work-rule concessions. Such changes in labor contracts are frequently more important to companies than reductions in wages or benefits."

In other words, speed-up and long hours for a few, continued unemployment for many Midland workers, all for the sake of a higher rate of profit for the stockholders of Jones & Laughlin. This is what capitalist economic recovery means so far for the workers of the Midland plant. And this is what it means for many millions of other industrial workers across the United States and indeed throughout the capitalist world.

The capitalist press has noted that the recovery process has been even slower than it usually is in the "normal" business cycle. And it seems that the bosses and their government are in many ways actually happy about it. "Administration officials," wrote the *Wall Street Journal* April 22, "consider a sustained recovery with low inflation is a prerequisite for a Reagan reelection effort, a boom fizzling after a few quarters would be politically disastrous. But a slow recovery makes continued high unemployment ever more likely. Reagan economists predict 9 percent joblessness in the fall of 1984."

The Reagan administration expects that there will be little reduction in the unemployment rate in the next year and a half. And they are actually happy about it! Why is this?

The reason is that the factors that have led to the growing financial instability, reduced growth rate, and higher unemployment for the world capitalist economy over the last decade are continuing. Some are even worsening. For example, many of the colonial and semicolonial countries are facing severe financial problems; some are almost bankrupt. This important part of the world market has been actually contracting as commercial banks have reduced their loans to these countries.

Competition between the imperialist powers for mastery over world markets remains fierce. Protectionist tendencies are increasing. Interest rates, which are usually low during this phase of the business cycle, remain extremely high by normal capitalist standards.

For example, the prime rate, that is, the rate that commercial banks charge the biggest corporations for short term loans, is now 10.5 percent. This is low compared



Stock market is setting new records almost daily as corporate profits rise.

with the more than 20 percent that was reached in 1980. But this is a far cry from the 2.5 percent or 3 percent prime rate that used to prevail during the recovery phase of earlier business cycles. But those were days when the future seemed much more secure for the profit system. The capitalist investor didn't have to worry about the bankruptcy of whole countries and the threat of runaway inflation.

For all its "supply side" rhetoric, even the Reagan administration realizes that a rapid increase of production would simply flood the world market and bring on a new, more serious downturn within a short time. That is why they want a slow recovery. Barely has this business cycle bottomed out and the administration is already looking nervously forward to the next crisis. That cyclical crisis of overproduction may very well be far worse than the slump we have been passing through.

One hundred thirty-five years ago Karl Marx and Frederick Engels explained how economic recovery under capitalism prepares the way for future crises. "And how does the bourgeoisie (that is, the capitalist class) get over these crises?" Marx and Engels asked. "On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by conquests of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

### Effect on class struggle

While the next crisis will come soon enough, and may well be much worse than the last downturn, for now we are in a period of upturn in the capitalist business cycle. What does this mean for the class struggle?

Potentially the workers find themselves in a stronger position versus the bosses. The commodity the workers sell — labor power — is again in increased demand. As profits soar, the bosses hate to lose production due to strikes.

At the same time, soaring profits and stock market prices make the cries of poverty by the corporations less convincing. The workers wonder, if the rich are doing so well, why can't we share in the prosperity? Historically the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class has intensified in times like these. The struggle that led to the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) did not occur during the collapse of industrial production in the early 1930s but during the mid-1930s when production, employment, and profits picked up.

While the pace cannot be predicted, we can expect an increase in struggles by workers, not in spite of the upturn, but because of it. Already last year a rise in the profits of the Chrysler Corp. encouraged workers to reject a giveback agreement negotiated by Chrysler and the union officials. This led to a strike by the Canadian Chrysler workers that won some gains for the union. There will be more such struggles down the road as the current upturn in the business cycle unfolds.



Filing for unemployment benefits in Youngstown, Ohio. Over 10 million remain unemployed while work day is increasing for those who hold jobs.



# St. Louis unionists hear FDR speaker



Militant/Lou Howort  
FDR representative Guadalupe González

BY HARRIS FREEMAN  
AND JIM GARRISON

ST. LOUIS — Guadalupe González, an official representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR), received a warm reception from unionists, high school and college students, and church officials during a visit here April

14-18. More than 500 people attended forums and meetings at which González spoke about the history of the Salvadoran people's struggle and about the FDR's efforts to win freedom and democracy there.

The tour was sponsored by the Latin America Solidarity Committee (LASC). González, who staffs the FDR Information Office in New York City, is one of five representatives of the FDR in this country.

One important stop on the tour was at the monthly local meeting of United Mine Workers of America Local 2295 in nearby Albers, Illinois. González had been invited to the meeting by the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC).

González opened her presentation to the 40 miners in attendance by observing that the repression in El Salvador makes it impossible for most unions to hold such meetings there.

She explained some of the recent history of the Salvadoran labor movement. She told the miners that in the 1970s El Salvador experienced an economic expansion but that workers continued to receive extremely low wages. Workers started to leave the company unions and began to form unions allied with organizations that now belong to the FDR. The harsh repression these unions faced from the government gave the Salvadoran people no alternative but to fight back militarily.

In response to a question from one miner

about what they could do to help, González responded that the union could pass a resolution opposing U.S. aid to the Salvadoran regime. This is important, she said, because many members of Congress justify their votes for such aid with the argument that their constituents support such a policy.

At the end of the discussion period a union committeeman wished González the best of luck and she received an enthusiastic round of applause.

Her tour in the union movement here also took González to the monthly meeting of the St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and to a meeting of a local group of union officials.

In her talk at the CLUW meeting González noted the leading role that women workers have played in recent years in El Salvador. She explained that in the late 1970s a sit-down strike at the Coca-Cola subsidiary, the Tropicana plant in San Salvador, marked the opening of the current struggle against the Salvadoran oligarchy. The work force at Tropicana is predominantly female.

She described the broad support for the strikers and the repression that was directed against them by the military.

A government assault ended this strike, killing many workers.

"By 1981," González told the union women, "we had entered a war situation.

This was the only alternative open to the Salvadoran people." However, she went on to explain, "We want a political solution to the situation in El Salvador. This has always been at the center of our work."

González also described some of the international solidarity that the Salvadoran people consider so important. She told the CLUW chapter that committees exist in Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Asia, including some as far away as Australia, Japan, and Vietnam. Solidarity activities are being coordinated by the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, said González.

She urged unionists to issue statements against Reagan's proposals for more military aid, to demonstrate opposition to U.S. intervention. She said unionists could work with the National Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador (a group of prominent union officials opposed to U.S. military aid) as well as the FDR Information Office and local solidarity committees.

In addition to these tour stops and several media interviews, González also spoke to staff representatives of the Human Rights Office of the Catholic archdiocese and to audiences at Washington University, St. Louis University and a school-wide assembly at Metro High School.

Anne Kiske, a freshman at Metro and a member of LASC introduced González to the assembly of 250 students. All the students received a fact sheet about El Salvador and a lively discussion followed González's presentation.

At the end of the meeting one student read a letter prepared by a school Spanish class opposing U.S. government policy in Central America.

The FDR Information Office has been set up to publicize the views of the Salvadoran opposition as well as get out the truth about the civil war and the activity of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, which is fighting the U.S.-backed regime. The Information Office can be reached at: P.O. Box 2793, New York, N.Y. 10163.

## St. Paul rally backs Marroquín fight

BY CINDY BURKE

MINNEAPOLIS — "We are here today for two purposes — to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and to support Héctor Marroquín," Frank Guzmán of the National Chicano Alliance told 60 people at a meeting in St. Paul's Chicano community April 24.

Guzmán, who chaired the rally in support of Marroquín's fight against deportation, told the audience that the Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill before Congress would mean millions of dollars going to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for its use in deporting victims like Marroquín.

Marroquín, born in Mexico, is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. His appeal of an INS deportation order is awaiting a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court as to whether the court will review it. He could be deported if the court rejects his case.

Marroquín is now on national tour to win support for his fight.

René Hurtado, a former member of the Salvadoran military, told the April 24 meeting, "They prepared me to carry out clandestine activities against anyone with dissident ideas." Hurtado scored the "unjust policies of the North American government," explaining that "those fleeing political persecution are considered enemies of this government."

Guillermo de Paz, a member of the steering committee of the Twin Cities El Salvador Solidarity Committee and a member of Comité El Salvador Libre, called for unity with all organizations to denounce the policies of the Reagan administration and the INS.

Janice Dorlaie, a leader of the Twin Cities chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), compared Marroquín's case to that of Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet and human rights activist whose fight against deportation has been aided by the efforts of the NBIPP chapter here.

"The American Indian Movement stands with Héctor Marroquín as he stands with the people and our struggle for liberation," declared Ronald Leith, director of the St. Paul AIM.

Marroquín and Lynn Henderson, representing the Political Rights Defense Fund, also spoke.

The rally capped Marroquín's tour of Minnesota, which included two interviews on TV news in Duluth and a public meeting on the Iron Range in the northern part of the state.

Marroquín met with Dick Blin, editor of *Labor World*, newspaper of the Duluth

Central Labor Body. Blin endorsed his defense case.

In Minneapolis, Marroquín won the support of Bob Killeen, director of United Auto Workers Sub-region 10; spoke before the Political Action Committee of United Electrical Workers 1139; and met with International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers members from Gould Battery and with postal workers.

The Political Rights Defense fund is urg-

ing supporters of Marroquín's fight across the country to send protests to: Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies of protest messages, requests for more information, and urgently needed funds can be sent to: PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made out to PRDF and earmarked for Marroquín defense.

## Right-wing thugs fail in disruption attempt

Continued from Page 3

meeting hall. As more of their gang began to arrive, they became bolder and more provocative. They set up a "command post" on a traffic island in the middle of the street, from which one older right-winger began directing the disruption operation. One young thug was observed still sitting in a car, tapping a long thin blade against the window.

The previous day, organizers of the forum had informed the local police station of the meeting and of the danger of a disruption attempt. They reminded the cops of the incident the previous year and explained that speakers at the forum again included Vietnamese diplomats.

The forum organizers made it clear that they held the cops responsible for guaranteeing all the participants their democratic right to attend the forum in safety.

The cops replied that the duty rosters had already been made up and no extra cops could be assigned to the meeting site.

When several cops finally arrived on the scene April 30, one of the chief ushers pointed to the counterrevolutionaries who were continuing to form up across the street and said, "They're here to disrupt the meeting."

"We see them," the cops responded, and drove off. As a result, no cops were on the scene, although it was obvious that the right-wingers were just about to launch an attack.

Shortly after the cops left, 40 or more of the rightist thugs charged the entrance of the building. Some, who appeared well trained in martial arts, used karate kicks. They threw sand and gravel (which they had brought in a duffel bag) in the ushers' eyes. The thugs also used poles and sticks, including some that had been sharpened to a point.

One thug beat an usher with a chain that had a weight attached to the end. Another usher was struck by a long metal cane that cut her head. From across the street other thugs began throwing bottles.

Despite the severity of the assault, it was beaten back by the disciplined response of the ushers, who were quickly reinforced by others stationed inside.

Some of the attackers themselves were injured, and some began to hesitate and pull back.

At that point, two police cars reappeared. At first the cops used their clubs to push the ushers back, only turning on the right-wingers when some of the cops were themselves hit by the counter-revolutionaries' sticks.

Ultimately the police forced the attackers back across the street. By 7:30 the assault had been repelled, and the forum took place uninterrupted with all of the speakers on hand participating.

For more than four hours, however, the counterrevolutionaries conducted a hit-and-run operation, attempting to force their way through other doors, which the ushers kept locked and secure. The thugs also continued to hurl eggs and other objects.

Despite the fact that the counter-revolutionaries had weapons and had clearly demonstrated that their only purpose was to break up the meeting and inflict injuries, the police did little or nothing to stop their attacks, or to disperse them.

A young Asian man wearing a tuxedo and carrying a musical instrument walked past the right-wingers. Although he was not associated with the forum, he was grabbed by the thugs, shoved around, and then pelted with eggs. The cops did not respond.

Late in the evening an Asian woman left the building after attending another event. She was jumped by six or seven of the goons and badly beaten.

As the forum drew to a close, the organizers were faced with the problem of getting participants out of the building safely, since the right-wing gang was still on the scene carrying out violent assaults.

The forum audience decided to leave the building as a group in order to prevent the counterrevolutionaries from picking off

and attacking individuals. Under pressure from the forum organizers, the cops agreed to escort participants out a back entrance on the next block and to a subway station. The evacuation was carried out successfully, due, once again, to the discipline of the ushers and the audience.

The April 30 forum was clearly a blow to the right-wing Vietnamese and their U.S. government backers. The successful effort in holding the meeting and repelling the assault was a step forward for supporters of the Vietnamese revolution, and for all supporters of the right of the workers movement to hold public meetings free of physical attacks.

## Boston antiwar protest May 14

BOSTON — In response to the growing escalation of the U.S. war against Central America, a number of organizations in the Boston area have joined together to call an emergency march and rally for Saturday, May 14. The call for the demonstration is "stop the U.S. war against Central America; U.S. out of El Salvador; stop all aggression against Nicaragua."

Sponsors of the action include the Central American Solidarity Association (CASA); Oxfam; Mobilization for Survival; Maryknoll Sisters; Peace & Justice Commission of the Sisters of Notre Dame; and the American Friends Service Committee. Among the many endorsers are student groups, Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, District 65 of the United Auto Workers, South Middlesex chapter of NOW, Latino organizations, Socialist Party U.S.A., Communist Party, and Socialist Workers Party.

The march will begin at Copley Square in downtown Boston at 12:00 noon and march to Government Center for a rally. For more information call CASA at (617) 492-8699.



# Right-wingers break up Miami antiwar action

MIAMI — A protest action here April 30 against Reagan's war in Central America was broken up by a gang of right-wing Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles.

The attack followed a mass right-wing rally April 27 of at least 2,000, sponsored by the Dade County Republican Party and exile groups, to cheer Reagan's war speech to Congress on Central America.

The April 30 antiwar protest action had originally been called as a picket line in downtown Miami at the Torch of Friendship monument. The sponsor was the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association (LACASA), a local antiwar group.

For several days, Spanish-language radio stations broadcast calls for Reagan supporters to mobilize against the picket line. On April 29, the terrorist Cuban exile group Omega 7 issued a statement, broadcast by several Spanish-language radio stations, threatening to kill the pickets.

LACASA was forced to call off the April 30 picket line, but tried to hold a news conference at the same time and place. The news conference, covered by a TV camera crew and other reporters, was attacked by the right-wingers, who numbered about 60 at that time.

When LACASA spokesperson John Ratliff started reading a statement, the rightists ripped the pages from his hands and started pushing people. The approximately 25

antiwar supporters had to run from the area.

As the right-wingers occupied the area in front of the monument, one of them fired a high-powered rifle in the air. By this time, there were about 200 of them.

Miami police were present throughout, as was Assistant City Manager César Odio and members of the city's Crisis Response Team.

None of them took any action to allow the news conference to proceed.

The attack was part of a series of mobilizations in Miami by right-wing Cubans and Nicaraguans, emboldened and encouraged by the Reagan administration and city officials.

The April 27 right-wing rally was not only called jointly by the terrorist groups and the Republican Party; Reagan himself sent a telegram of thanks to the rally.

The recent right-wing mobilizations here have included marches in support of Orlando Bosch, the Cuban right-wing terrorist held in jail in Venezuela. Bosch boasts of his responsibility for the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner that killed 73 people.

The mayor and entire Miami City Commission passed a resolution calling for "justice" for Bosch. Several of its members recently met in Caracas with the president of Venezuela, also to demand "justice" for Bosch.

The day after Reagan's speech to Congress on Central America, the City Commission voted, again unanimously, to back Reagan's Central American war policies.

During the disrupted news conference, LACASA announced plans for another antiwar meeting May 20 at the North Campus of Florida International University.

Assistant City Manager Odio was quoted in the *Miami Herald* as saying that since May 20 is Cuban Independence Day, holding an antiwar meeting then would be "like waving a red flag at a bull."

He called the meeting "another provocation against the Latin community." His statement, as intended, was a message that the city will continue to close its eyes to violent right-wing assaults on democratic rights.

On April 30, the day the antiwar news conference was attacked, U.S. senators Jesse Helms, Jeremiah Denton, and Paula Hawkins sponsored hearings in Miami about slanderous allegations of Cuban government involvement in illegal drug traffic.

This frame-up of Cuba, which is part of Reagan's war drive, is particularly ironic in Miami. Right-wing Cuban terrorist groups here are widely known to be heavily involved in the drug trade.

## 150,000 march in Managua against Reagan

Continued from front page

and your sticks, to show Reagan you are ready to die defending your homeland, your revolution, and your future," she said.

In response, a fifth of the city's population flooded in from all directions to Managua's downtown plaza. Thousands more marched in local actions in the other 15

provinces across the country.

They came with their rifles, their machetes, clubs, sticks, shovels, baseball bats, and hammers — whatever weapons they had — held high in the air. Factory workers, office workers, postal workers, students, market vendors, and a scattering of farmers from the countryside poured out for the Managua march, many of them in militia uniforms.

"No pasarán!" — they shall not pass — was the chant on everybody's lips. Another slogan that could be heard was "Capitalism is counterrevolutionary."

Facing the sea of demonstrators was a giant billboard whose message summed up the current stage of the war: "All arms to the people to defend the revolution."

"We are calling on the workers of the world and especially the Americans to stop Reagan's new intervention plans," said Lucio Jiménez, general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST).

Jiménez, the first speaker, denounced Reagan's claim that the newly requested U.S. aid for the Salvadoran dictatorship would go toward feeding the Salvadoran people. Jiménez reminded the crowd of the funds that had already been used for chemical warfare, for the murder of the 40,000 Salvadorans, for the assassinations of Archbishop Romero and the four Maryknoll nuns, and more recently for the assassination of Marianella García, president of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission.

Fifteen-year-old Brenda Rocha, a heroine of the war, addressed the crowd on behalf of the Sandinista People's Militia (MPS) and the Sandinista Youth. Rocha became a symbol of Nicaragua's determination to resist the invaders following her participation in combat in the northeast of Zelaya Province.

Following the battle, of which she was the sole MPS survivor, her shattered right arm had to be amputated. In the recovery

room, Rocha said she would go back to the militia as soon as possible and urged everybody else to join.

At the rally here she held up her left arm, declaring, "Here is my other arm to give for my homeland."

Lombardo Martínez, a leader of the Independent Liberal Party (PLI) spoke on behalf of the Revolutionary Patriotic Front (FPR), the bloc of political parties that support the revolution. Nicaragua's history, he said, is one of "struggle against invaders, whether they are called English, Spanish, or gringos."

The Revolutionary Patriotic Front includes, apart from the Liberals, the People's Social Christian Party (PPSC), the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The rally's featured speaker was Monsignor José Arias Caldera, known as the "monsignor of the poor."

Caldera said that the Reagan administration "has lived in the blood, the sorrow, and the deaths of the world's people." As the crowd roared thunderous approval, he called Reagan even worse than Hitler, but warned that "the people of Latin America are prepared to fight back."

"Now is the time for saints," Caldera said, "but now saintliness means readiness for defense."

The crowd was solidly in agreement. Only three days prior to the march Government of National Reconstruction Coordinator Daniel Ortega had warned them that a new escalation of U.S. aggression was imminent.

Nicaraguans are appealing to workers and farmers in the United States to help end these attacks. They want peace so that they can rebuild their country. But as the demonstrations here and throughout the country showed, they are prepared to defend their revolution arms in hand.

From Intercontinental Press

## Honduran army aids invasion

Continued from front page

revolutionaries based in Costa Rica began infiltrating Nicaragua in early April. They are now located in southern Zelaya Province, on the Atlantic Coast, where they have carried out a number of terrorist actions.

Additional contras, based in Costa Rica, have carried out attacks timed to coincide with the invasion from the north.

On May 2, 40 contras, backed by mortar fire, carried out a five-hour attack on the La Esperanza border post before they were driven back across the border.

The combined attacks from the north and south, plus the direct participation of Honduran troops, represent a dangerous escalation of the U.S.-backed war.

In the new invasion from the north, D'Escoto reported, the Honduran army opened up mortar and artillery attacks on Sandinista positions to enable the contras to cross the border in two large units — one of 500, the other of 700.

They were intercepted immediately by Sandinista armed forces, but still remain inside the country. Heavy fighting continued as of the evening of May 3.

The other contra force in the area, 1,000-strong, is massed near the Honduran border town of Siuce. They are accompanied by Honduran troops equipped to provide artillery support for an invasion.

Two thousand more contras are based north of Nicaragua's sparsely populated Zelaya Province, on the Caribbean coast.

The invasion confirms the charge made April 25 by Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction, that a large-scale attack was imminent.

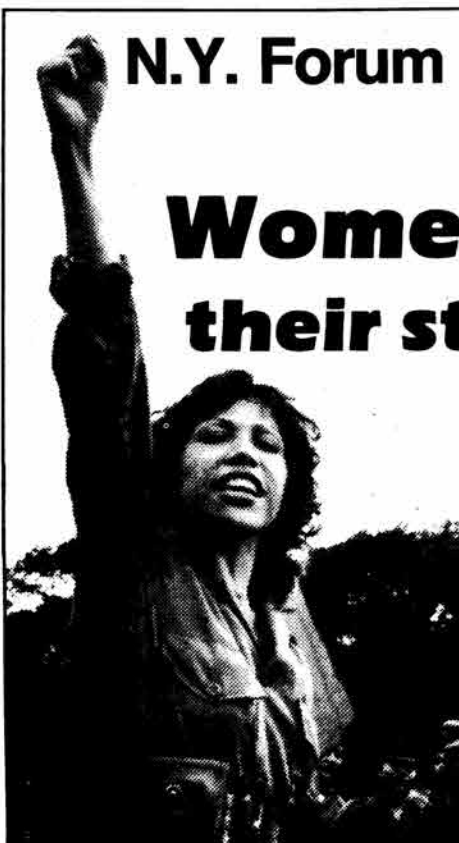
Nicaragua has issued a formal protest to the U.S. government, charging the Reagan administration with organizing and financing the invasion.

The foreign ministry also sent a message to the Costa Rican government, urging it to take steps to maintain "existing cordial relations."

The Costa Rican government has routinely denied any knowledge of the more than a dozen counterrevolutionary camps located in its territory.

The new invasion comes in support of one by 2,000 contras that began in early February. Sandinista defense officials estimate that nearly a quarter of the original invading force had been wiped out. But the rest remain based in Nicaragua, with the capability to carry out extensive terrorist actions.

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**N.Y. Forum**

**Friday, May 6 7:30 p.m.**

## Women of the Americas— their struggle for liberation

**Speakers:**  
**Leonora Argüello de Hüper** Consul-General of Nicaragua  
 Also, **María Meneses** Nicaraguan Women's Association — **Luisa Amanda Espinoza**; **Lourdes García** National Council of Churches (for identification only); **Mary-Alice Waters** Socialist Workers Party; Representative, Women's Section, National Black United Front; **Geraldine Miller** Bronx NOW, Bronx Household Technicians; **Marilyn Meyers** mother of draft resister.

272 West 10th St., Village Community School (between Washington and Greenwich St.)  
 Auspices: Militant Labor Forum. Co-sponsor: Nicaraguan Women's Association — **Luisa Amanda Espinoza**  
 Donation: \$2.00. Habrá traducción al español  
 For more information: (212) 852-7922; (212) 226-8445; (201) 643-3341



# Nicaragua hails Marx anniversary

## Speech by Sandinista leader

The 100th anniversary of Karl Marx's death was commemorated in Nicaragua with several weeks of educational presentations and discussions on the life and work of the founder of scientific socialism. The closing ceremony was held March 14 in Managua's Rubén Darío National Theater.

The 2,000 invited guests included representatives of the four political parties that support the revolution (the Sandinista National Liberation Front [FSLN], Nicaraguan Socialist Party [PSN], Independent Liberal Party [PLI], and People's Social Christian Party [PPSC]), workers selected by their unions; leaders of mass organizations; and representatives from workers states and national liberation organizations.

The main speech of the evening was given by Commander Víctor Tirado, member of the FSLN National Directorate responsible for labor affairs. The following is the text of his speech, taken from the March 16 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

One hundred years ago today Karl Marx ceased to exist. "He went to sleep forever in his armchair — softly and without regrets," according to what his biographer Franz Mehring wrote. He had applied the materialist conception of history to the study of philosophy, economy, and politics — enabling him to discover the laws of capitalist production.

On that day, the international workers movement lost its greatest fighter and thinker — its most notable scholar and teacher. But he and [Frederick] Engels left a solidly based theoretical and practical work that served as a guide for future generations of revolutionaries the world over.

With his profound scientific analysis of capitalism, he demonstrated that this social system had within it elements, contradictions, and great antagonisms that would destroy it.

Capitalism will be replaced by a new regime in which there will be no more exploitation of man by man, he concluded, after having examined with great thoroughness and in great detail the economic, social, historical, and philosophical basis for the structure of the regime he called wage slavery.

### A historic necessity

Differing with other thinkers — contemporaries or those who came before him — he did not see the advent of a society without exploiters as a utopia; as an ideal that humanity had to make happen independently of classes and levels of economic, political, and social development.

He foresaw the arrival of socialism and communism because it is a historic necessity. Because social forces interested in attaining this ideal exist. Because it is the radical and definitive solution to the great and serious structural problems capitalism brings with it. It is the way out of poverty; economic crisis; national, regional, world, and social imbalances. It is the response to the arms race and to war.

He left behind a great intellectual heritage and a powerful workers movement in a historic offensive — an offensive that he helped build and guide in its incipient stages. This workers movement housed various tendencies, but at the time of Marx's death the majority of these tendencies had grown weaker or disappeared because they couldn't stand up to the tests of life. Marxism stood out as the predominant current among the organized proletariat from that time on.

When Marx died the [First] International of which he was one of the founders and principal leaders had already ceased to exist, but it left a seed that flourished. It had

left workers organizations, a sense of class consciousness, an internationalist consciousness that no one could contain or destroy. It left the most advanced proletariat a clear conception that they must be the first to rise up in struggle against capital and that in this battle they must unite around them all workers and exploited peoples.

When Marx died, there were already workers parties in Belgium, Denmark, Germany, England, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Hungary, and the United States. In Russia, Marxist groups and proletarian organizations existed that were the precursors of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. In Latin America, the revolutionary workers movement took its first steps. Parties or socialist currents existed in Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and in other nations.

### Center of gravity

One hundred years ago, the center of gravity of the revolutionary struggle was in Europe. And the responsibility for this battle fell almost exclusively on the shoulders of the industrial workers.

One century later, the situation has changed completely. Eastern Europe now lives under a socialist regime and, in the western part of that continent, capitalism still dominates. The impetus of the working classes in Western Europe has been weakened, but it has not been extinguished nor eliminated. It can reappear at any moment, because the last word has not been said. The workers of these countries will also arrive at socialism, as Marx promised, by roads that differ perhaps from those that others have followed up to this time and in much better circumstances. This will be a big help for us, the countries of what is called the Third World.

### Great emancipating movement

Peoples have risen up on the world political scene who 100 years ago were considered inferior by the ruling classes of the metropolitan centers. They were colonized or about to be colonized. Now, the great emancipating movement is continuing in Asia, Africa, the Near and Middle East, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

We are reviewing 100 years of Marxism, and in this period capitalism ceased to be able to monopolize and dominate the entire world. Next to it, a socialist system arose in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the lands of America — a vast and powerful anti-imperialist movement and national liberator.

One hundred years later in Central America, the peoples of the region do not want to be banana republics, nor imperialism's backyard. They want to forge their own destiny. They have said "Enough!" and have begun marching in this direction, come what may — military threats, diplomatic threats, or blockades.

Capitalism has been weakened. Undoubtedly it is less powerful than it was 100 years ago or than it was 50 or 30 years ago.

As revolutions triumph and the anti-imperialist movement grows stronger, capitalism withers away — it wears out.

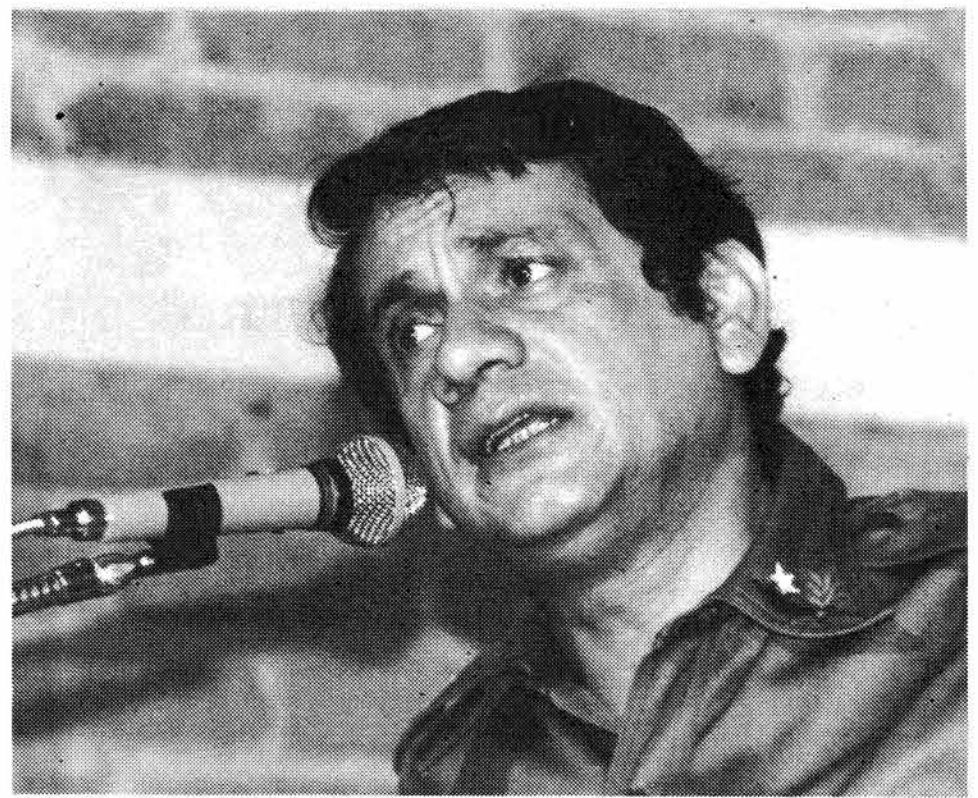
What hasn't changed is its aggressive nature. It has not ceased to be the source of armed conflicts. All wars that have broken out — since Marx's death up to the present time — have been provoked by imperialism, be they world, regional, or local wars.

But in the course of a century, the conditions in which these wars can take place have changed. Imperialism can provoke wars of varying scale. But forces exist in the world that are capable of putting the brakes on imperialism and avoiding war.

If up until now regional warfare has not broken out in Central America, it's because U.S. imperialism has very little support for the undertaking — inside its own country as well as abroad.

### U.S. imperialism weakened

Besides this, another factor has appeared in the last 25 or 30 years. The United States is no longer that great power that emerged victorious from World War II. It has been weakened as an economic and political



Commander Víctor Tirado

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

power. In its own camp, the capitalist camp, it no longer exercises absolute hegemony. The decision-making centers of capitalism have been subdivided.

Washington's orders — which until recently were respected, have encountered opposition on various occasions in Western Europe and Japan, and also by medium-size powers such as Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Mexico.

Reagan has overestimated the United States. For him, time hasn't passed by or taken its toll. The dream has not faded in his eyes. He firmly believes his country still maintains the strength and supremacy it had in the cold war years, when it pulled its allies into all the adventures it carried out.

The policies of the current president of the United States are outside of reality. That's why he hasn't been successful. However, he is not conscious of this situation and therefore insists on seeking forceful solutions, which have little chance of succeeding.

However, so long as they continue, his persistent efforts are dangerous. We cannot rule out that in his stubbornness, despite world public opinion and that of his own country, he may unleash an armed conflict of incalculable consequences.

We listened with amazement and concern to the speech the U.S. president delivered last week. Besides the aggressive tone that is his custom, we found that he justifies his intervention in the area with the shameless thesis that U.S. national security is in danger because Central America is the fourth border of the United States.

### We define our borders

Perhaps, in the past — 100 or 50 years ago — imperialism drew our borders. Today, however, the situation is different. It is the peoples of Central America who define them, who draw their own borders with a firm and powerful hand.

We are fighting for the strengthening of independence, sovereignty, and self-determination because this helps construct the basis for socialism. We want to change our relationship with the United States. We are not — nor do we wish to be — a border or a link to imperialism. We want to have normal relations, on an equal footing, with the United States.

However, Reagan won't give up the old framework and, consistent with this view, has taken a dangerous step in El Salvador. He is asking Congress for \$110 million to reinforce the armed forces of that country and \$20 million to prop up his allies in the region.

Millions of dollars so that the massacre in El Salvador will not be stopped — so that counterrevolutionaries can continue killing on the northern border of Nicaragua. Millions of dollars so that the problems of our economies can be aggravated, so that democratic development and a solution to the problems of our peoples can be delayed, so that the possibility of a negotiated way out of the crisis of the isthmus

becomes further removed.

Right now, given the new military escalation of the White House in El Salvador, who can take it seriously when Reagan says he's in favor of a political solution?

And, if the war — which is hardly a secret — continues against us, how can he ask us to lower our guard? How can he ask us to disarm? Not to strengthen the army, militias, and reserve battalions?

Under such circumstances, the state of economic, national, and military emergency must continue because the dangers and threats surrounding us remain serious and ever-growing.

And we must reinforce our defense.

A hundred years after Marx's death, we are turning our eyes toward the past, the present, and the future. It becomes clear that history has followed the course the author of *Capital* [Marx] foresaw. It didn't come, as we have said on another occasion, in a straight line, but rather in a zig-zag. At times the march has been accelerated and on other occasions it has been slow. There are retrogressions and rapid progress. In one day, as Marx said, 20 years can be condensed.

As Marx demonstrated scientifically, socialism is the future of humanity because, in spite of its errors and imperfections, it is the best answer to the big problems facing mankind today. It is the best solution to the sharp conflicts that capitalism poses.

### Began in 1917

We live in an era of transition from capitalism to socialism that began in 1917 with the triumph of the October Revolution. We don't know when this era will come to a close. However, what we are sure of is that all peoples will arrive at socialism — at different moments, with different rhythm, each in their own way — using more original resources that right now we can't even begin to imagine.

In these days of homage to Marx we have said, and we want to repeat, at the risk of becoming boring, that Marxism for the Sandinistas was a complete revelation — the discovery of a new world. And the first thing we learned from it was to know ourselves, to look inside our country, into our people's revolutionary heritage — toward Sandino. Through Marxism, we came to know Sandino, our history, and our roots. This is, among other things, the great teaching we received from Marx — reading him, as [FSLN founder Carlos] Fonseca said, with Nicaraguan eyes.

From Marx, we have much to learn. We never intend to apply — nor will we in the future — his doctrine as a dogma. It was he who said that this is not a sacred scripture, nor is it the key to open all doors.

We value his writings as we do Lenin's, as a guide for action as a creative instrument that must be continually re-created. We have worked in this direction and so have revolutionaries the world over. That is the first and great requirement of Marxism.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.



# Record of abusive lawsuit to disrupt Socialist Workers Party

## Legal brief filed in campaign against harassment of SWP

(Starting March 1 the Socialist Workers Party was forced to stand trial for five days in federal court in Los Angeles. At stake was the right of the SWP — and all voluntary political organizations — to exist and function free of government and court interference.)

(On April 28 David Epstein, attorney for the SWP, filed a legal brief for costs and attorneys' fees. The brief is the latest step in the ongoing fight to beat back the attempt to disrupt the SWP and violate its constitutional rights. We are printing below major excerpts from Epstein's brief.)

(The trial of the SWP came about because of a lawsuit filed against the party by Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for Los Angeles County. Gelfand, who had been expelled from the SWP, demanded the court reinstate him into membership and remove the party's elected leadership. He charged that the party leadership was made up of government agents.)

(Gelfand, his lawyers, the government and the judge had worked together to keep the case in court for four years. The trial ended when Judge Mariana Pfalzer ruled that Gelfand and his attorneys had failed to produce a single shred of evidence to support their charges and announced that she was going to rule for the SWP.)

(The brief argues that the party, having been vindicated in court, is entitled to be repaid all its substantial costs and attorneys' fees. The party was forced to expend hundreds of thousands of dollars to defend itself.)

(The brief asks that Gelfand and his lawyers be forced to pay \$34,362.54 in costs and \$357,256.25 in attorneys' fees to the SWP. It demonstrates how Gelfand's suit was brought solely for the purpose of harassing and attempting to destroy the SWP. It documents the role of the U.S. Workers League and its parent organization, the British Workers Revolutionary Party, in this disruption operation.)

(In addition to recovering costs and fees, Epstein argues that the party is entitled to a "multiplier" on any attorneys' fees award. Such a "multiplier" is deserved because of the conscious efforts of Gelfand and his attorneys to use a groundless lawsuit to slander and victimize the SWP. It could increase the amount of the award two or three times.)

(The brief documents how the lawsuit was designed and used at every stage to harass and financially drain the party. It explains how Gelfand's attorneys used the "discovery" permitted by the judge to question party leaders about irrelevant political and personal matters at length in order to produce material for publication to further slander the party. It cites numerous exam-

ples from recent publications of the Workers League.

(The fight for a substantial judgment against both Gelfand and his lawyers, the Los Angeles law firm of Fisher & Moest, would serve as a powerful deterrent to any further legal attacks like Gelfand's lawsuit being brought against either the SWP or any other group opposed to U.S. government policy.)

(By quoting extensively from the voluminous record of pretrial proceedings and depositions, and from the trial transcript itself, the brief presents the true character of the attack by Gelfand and his attorneys. It documents the importance of rallying the broadest possible support behind continuing efforts to defeat that attack and protect the constitutional right to freedom of political association.)

(Those efforts are being organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund [PRDF], which is waging an ongoing campaign to publicize the facts of this case, press for the court costs and attorneys fees, and complete a fund drive launched to help defray the enormous costs of this case.)

(The text of the brief follows.)

### Introduction

On January 11, 1979, plaintiff Alan Gelfand was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (hereafter "SWP"). He was expelled for submitting, without advice to or consent from the SWP, an application for leave to file an amicus brief before the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *Socialist Workers Party, et al. vs. Attorney General*. In that application, plaintiff Gelfand, who is also an attorney, injected into that court record a series of rhetorical questions and other materials inferring that the leadership of the SWP, past and present, were agents of the United States Government. The filing of this application was a "highpoint" for plaintiff because it concluded the first stage in his concerted program of vilification, provocation and disruption of defendant SWP.

Mr. Gelfand then moved on to the second stage by escalating his disruptive activities in the form of this lawsuit. Under the ostensible claim that he had in fact been expelled by agents of the United States Government, Mr. Gelfand claimed violation of his civil rights under the First Amendment and, under a pendant jurisdiction claim, violation of his rights under the organizational principles of the SWP.

Plaintiff did not then present, nor has he since presented, a single shred of competent, credible evidence in support of either claim. After over 7,000 pages of depositions, countless interrogatories, and five days of trial, this court found that not only had plaintiff failed entirely in his proof, but also that "the trier of fact in this courtroom, right here, questions Mr. Gelfand's motives."

In the course of the litigation, plaintiff and his counsel carried out their program of abuse and harassment of defendants for the purpose of aiding in a political attack upon defendant SWP and its leaders by the Workers League, an antagonistic political organization. The Workers League provided Gelfand with the rhetorical "questions" calculated to provoke his expulsion, the funds to pay for his attorney's fees and expenses, the staff for investigation and planning of the litigation, and the media for the publication of the fruits of discovery. These resources, placed at the service of an anxious plaintiff and a willing counsel, have produced a record of the most vexatious, harassing and burdensome litigation imaginable.

1. The term "highpoint" is Mr. Gelfand's.

Having suffered the time, expense and energy of defending this action, defendant Socialist Workers Party now brings this motion for fees and costs as reimbursement for the expense of defending a litigation initiated and prosecuted in bad faith.

### Plaintiff and his counsel conducted the instant litigation in bad faith, recklessly, and with intent to oppress defendants and abuse the judicial process

#### A. Abuse of the discovery process

Perhaps no aspect of this case better demonstrates the abuse of judicial process than the 43 days of depositions taken by plaintiff which constitute the bulk of the discovery record. The examination conducted at these depositions by plaintiff's counsel (and, on occasion, by plaintiff) admit no rational explanation consistent with a good faith effort to discover admissible evidence which would substantiate the allegations contained in the pleadings. To the contrary, the record reveals a conscious effort to misuse the judicial process as an instrument of unstated but transparently obvious political motives. Plaintiff's conduct at these depositions merely confirms the court's own conclusions concerning his motives.<sup>2</sup> The conduct of plaintiff's counsel, reveals an utter disregard for his professional responsibilities as an officer of the court and for the integrity of the judicial system which provided the forum that he and his client so willingly abused.

#### 1. The record on pre-trial hearings discloses a conscious effort by plaintiff and his counsel to exceed the bounds of proper discovery and to misuse the discovery process for their ulterior political motives.

A review of the pre-trial proceedings in this case compared with the schedule of depositions taken demonstrate convincingly the opportunistic and abusive use of discovery engaged in by plaintiff and his counsel. Commencing at the first hearing on defendant SWP's Motion for Summary Judgment on December 1, 1980, plaintiff's counsel there represented that "the theory of this case is that the expulsion [of plaintiff from the SWP] was engineered by a coterie of agents within the leadership ranks of the SWP." Upon review of the record to date, the court observed "there isn't one shred of evidence whatsoever that the person who engineered, as you say, all of this were government agents. There isn't any evidence."

It is critical here to note that at the time of this hearing, the only depositions that had been taken were those of Sylvia Doxsee, and two days of deposition of Mr. [Ed-

2. At the pre-trial hearing on August 12, 1982, the Court observed: "Defendants have been absolutely right. The purpose of this litigation was to place the plaintiff's party in a position where there could be publication of this material."

"I have doubted for a long time the bona fide nature of the lawsuit."

3. The court also made the following observations with respect to the Motion for Summary Judgment:

"Now I advise you of the following: you are that close to being out of court with respect to them [the SWP defendants]. I do not want to minimize the danger you are in because you have not got that nexus between the persons who made these decisions and the infiltration. You just don't have it yet."

"Now if Mr. Heisler does not tell you anything that will add to what you have, then the Motion is going to be granted."



Attorney David Epstein cross-examines

ward] Heisler, a confessed government agent. Plaintiff's counsel then requested and was granted leave to proceed with further deposition of Mr. Heisler.<sup>3</sup>

Following the third session of the Heisler deposition, the parties were again in court on the Motion for Summary Judgment on July 27, 1981. The court reiterated that the record as submitted by plaintiff did not present any factual basis upon which liability could be based.<sup>4</sup>

Plaintiff's counsel then requested leave for further discovery "to just question and to raise the circumstantial evidence and to confront witnesses and go behind the categorical denials of the affidavits." The court again extended to plaintiff the right to proceed with "some discovery."

At the next court appearance, on February 1, 1982, the court had been provided with the Heisler depositions that it had permitted plaintiff to take and observed "I don't see that you got a single thing out of that deposition."<sup>5</sup> The court again removed the Motion for Summary Judgment from the calendar in order to permit plaintiff 90 days for additional discovery.

At the same February 1, 1982 hearing, the Court's concern that the request by plaintiff's counsel for further discovery was not in good faith became evident. The court warned plaintiff's counsel:

"THE COURT: Alright. Now, then, I want to remind you of something. There is a tort for a cause of action for malicious prosecution. You are building a record, which, if this case is taken away from you — you are going to try it to a jury aren't you?"

"MR. FISHER [Barry Fisher, a Gelfand attorney]: Yes, your Honor."

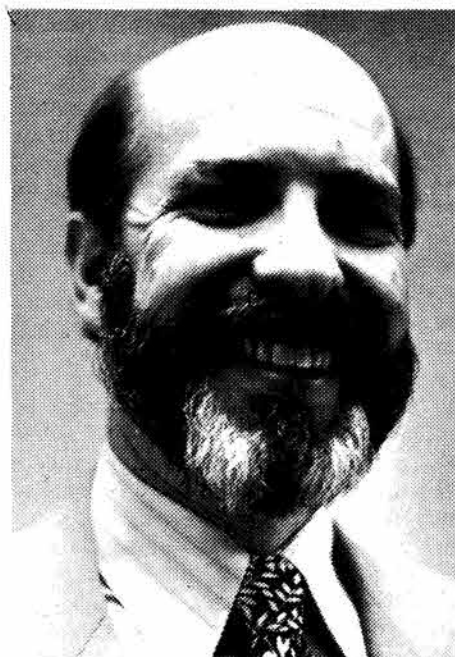
"THE COURT: Well, if it is taken away from the jury on the ground that there is no evidence that it can go to the jury on, they are going to have an excellent opportunity to bring a malicious prosecution action, the defendants. And they, in my opinion, on

4. "THE COURT: Well, we have finally come to the point where I must tell you that the Motion for Summary Judgment is going to be granted. I have many, many doubts about this case as we have gone along, but I still do not see any connection here."

"There are all kinds of suspicions. There is conjecture. There are accusations, some of which are real and some of which may be real."

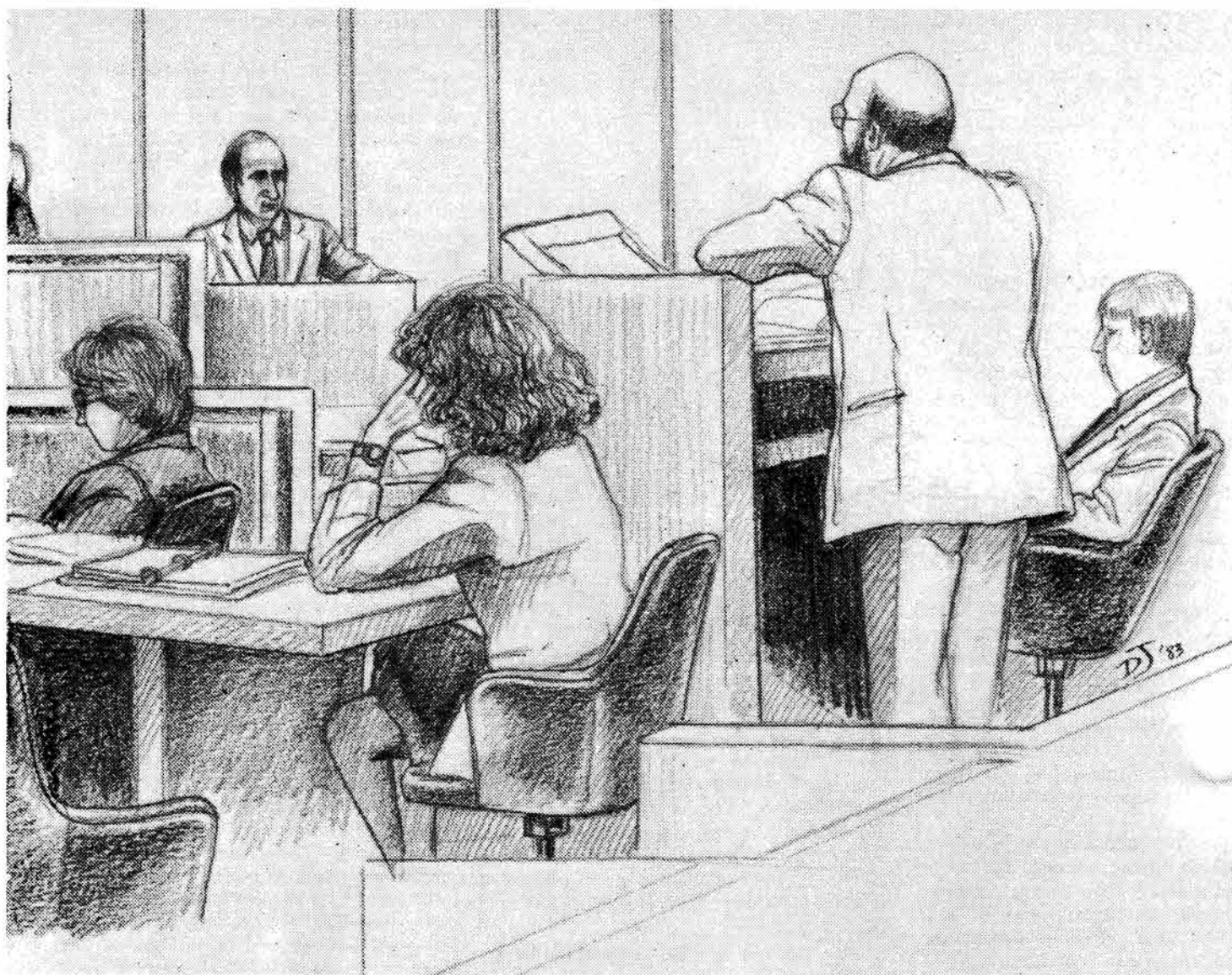
"But there is no significant connection between the defendants here such that I can find that there is any ground for liability."

5. The court again observed, "I have nothing whatsoever in this record of an evidentiary nature that will keep this plaintiff in court; nothing. I have been careful to look each time."



Militant/Della Rossa  
Attorney for SWP, David Epstein.





in Gelfand during trial. At far right is Gelfand's attorney, Robert Moest. Judge Mariana Pfaelzer is at bench.

Militant

this state of the record, they'd have a good case.

"Also, don't forget that you are multiplying the costs as you take this discovery. If this matter is taken away from the jury or if the motion for summary judgment is granted, your client is going to be paying all the costs.

"MR. FISHER: Yes, your Honor."

As the schedule of depositions reveals, the plaintiffs took advantage of the court's order permitting additional discovery to unleash a program of harassment and abuse which, over the next eight months, took the form of 38 days of deposition and resulted in 36 volumes of transcript numbering approximately 6,000 pages.

This flood of depositions and discovery was such that, approximately two and one-half months later, at a further hearing held on April 19, 1982, the court observed: "I have never seen anything more extensive than what the plaintiff has done, in a case of this kind."

Approximately three months later, at a further hearing on July 12, 1982, any remaining doubt concerning the true objectives of plaintiff and his counsel were laid to rest. Plaintiff's counsel there admitted to the Court that the lawsuit was being paid for by funds raised by the Workers League organization and that copies of the depositions were being provided to the Workers League as well.

## 2. The depositions taken by plaintiff's counsel and by plaintiff conclusively establish the abuse of the discovery process.

A review of the depositions taken by plaintiff's counsel disclose that the Court's observations concerning the bona fide nature of the lawsuit were well-founded. While limitations of space prohibit discussion of every deposition, the following excerpts demonstrate amply the abusive course followed by the plaintiff and his counsel.

### a. Deposition of Doug Jenness

Mr. Jenness, one of the named SWP defendants, was deposed by Mr. [Gelfand attorney John] Burton over a two-day period, March 30 and April 1, 1982. These 14 hours of examination resulted in a transcript of 412 pages.

His deposition is typical of the pattern established by Mr. Burton in that less than 40 pages, or 10 percent of the transcript can be identified as containing questions concerning plaintiff Alan Gelfand.

The vast majority of the examination focused on Mr. Jenness' attendance at Carle-

ton College, (approximately 250 pages) his boyhood and adolescent beliefs and activities, his family's political views and his own political and philosophical views.

There are eight pages of examination on Mr. Jenness' father's employment as a professor of biochemistry, 19 pages on Mr. Jenness' adolescent years including his views on politics, religion, etc., and three pages of inquiry into Mr. Jenness' highest rank achieved in the Boy Scouts.

Finally, there is Mr. Burton's inquiry of Mr. Jenness: "Did your parents, during this period of time believe in God as a supreme being, do you know?" and culminating into further inquiry as to whether Mr. Jenness himself did "... still believe in God as a supreme being?"

Mr. Burton's examination of Mr. Jenness concerning dialectical materialism exemplifies perfectly the limitless abuse of the discovery process which he was willing to employ to invade (and attack) the political and philosophical views of this defendant. Thus, despite objection by defen-

dant's counsel that the examination was a wasting of time, Mr. Burton's examination included the following questions:

"Q: What are the laws of development of matter as expressed by the preeminent philosophers of dialectical materialism?"

"Q: Can you explain how these principles [Hegel's Three Laws of Dialectics] apply to the class struggle?"

"Q: How does it [The Three Laws of Dialectics] apply to that glass of water?"

"Q: Is thought matter?"

"Q: What is the opposite of matter?"

"Q: If something isn't matter, what is it?"

"Q: Is thought space?"

"Q: I will make it more precise. Why did Lenin spend so much of his time in writing on the study of philosophy?"

"Q: Who is the foremost Marxist philosopher active in the world today, to your knowledge and your opinion?"

The subject of Carleton College covered approximately 250 pages, more than half of Mr. Burton's examination of Mr. Jenness. This included 14 pages of examina-

tion concerning a 1962 letter to the Dean of the college giving formal notice of a demonstration to be held off campus.

The examination then moved on to Mr. Jenness' religious beliefs while in college, inquiring first whether he went to church while at Carleton and extending to a probing examination on whether the Carleton College student government minutes would reflect Mr. Jenness' opposition to a mandatory religious program.

Mr. Burton finally reached the question he considered pertinent to his attempted proof that the "Carleton connection" establishes that the defendants are all government agents:

"Q: How can you state positively that one of your classmates at Carleton wasn't recruited by the CIA to be a spy in the World Trotsky Movement?"

Finally, Mr. Burton's passion revealed that he sees himself not just as counsel, but as a participant with Alan Gelfand in a conscious political attack upon the defendants.

"Q: We know these people who came from Carleton, just the way you have described the place, required church, and we know the people weren't allowed to have cars and had to live in dormitories in real middle-class sort of student body, not much contact with the working class, isolated, and you have 13 of these people like yourself, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Seigle, Ms. Jaquith, Mr. Styron, etc., etc., and you wind up being about a third of the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party controlling its publications, many, many members on the National Committee and there seems to be some sort of cover-up going on of contacts between Hansen and the government covering up for agents like Sylvia Dorse; that is what makes us suspicious. How do you explain these circumstances?"

Mr. Burton's lapse into the first person is most revealing and tempts one to ask how he would explain those circumstances.

### b. Deposition of Larry Seigle

Mr. Seigle is a named defendant. He was deposed over a three-day period, March 17, 18 and 19, 1982 in a deposition

Continued on Page 10

## Fund tops initial \$75,000 goal by May 1 deadline

### BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund scored an impressive political victory in surpassing the initial goal in the committee's \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund. As of May 1, the closing date, \$84,000 had been collected.

This gratifying achievement came three days after PRDF's important legal move in seeking to reclaim court costs in the Gelfand suit against the Socialist Workers Party.

The committee considered it essential to press the cost claim to discourage such provocative disruption suits in the future.

The continuing political and financial support to the committee was key in making this move in defense of democratic rights possible.

According to PRDF national coordinator Holbrook Mahn, there is still over \$15,000 in outstanding pledges to the fund. Supporters are being urged to make a final, systematic effort in the next several weeks to collect this amount as well.

The fund was initiated March 1 to meet the most immediate and pressing expenses of the trial. The \$75,000 goal was clearly a bottom-line figure.

Some indication of the heavy cost involved in beating back the legal disruption

by Gelfand and his backers is the fact cited in the new brief. Those summoned by Gelfand for pretrial testimony had to submit to more than 300 hours of abusive questioning about their personal lives and political views. The transcript of these pretrial depositions totalled 7,000 pages.

And, of course, the resources allocated to meeting this legal challenge were necessarily diverted from other defense cases being conducted by PRDF.

It was an important victory for demo-

cratic rights when the judge was compelled to terminate testimony in the trial after five days. Now the move to reclaim defense costs represents a further step forward in this fight — a fight that is not yet over.

The generous response to PRDF's financial needs played a big role in carrying the fight this far. Now, collecting the outstanding pledges will aid the committee in taking further important strides forward.

If you missed out so far on sending PRDF a fund contribution, clip and mail the coupon on this page. Thanks.

## PRDF \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund

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Send contributions to PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Continued from Page 9

extending over nearly 20 hours and producing a 506-page transcript. The deposition continued in the style and direction established by Mr. Burton in earlier depositions and with the same disregard for relevance.

"Q: I am not under oath so I can say whatever I want."

"We're trying to prove you are a police agent and one of the ways we can do that is to see whether or not you understand Marxist theories, so that it is relevant to this line of questioning. I will try not to drag it on unnecessarily."

"What are the objective laws of nature which Engels described in *Dialectics of Nature*?"

"Q: Do you agree with the political position of the Cuban Communist leadership?"

"A: In general."

"Q: Do you agree with their position on Poland and Solidarity?"

"A: No."

"Q: How do you explain the divergence?"

#### c. Deposition of Bruce Marcus

Mr. Marcus is a named defendant in this action. He was deposed on April 30, 1982 by Mr. Burton. While Mr. Marcus' deposition was considerably shorter than that of the other principal defendants (six hours of examination, 176 pages of transcript), Mr. Burton persisted in his mission to utilize the court's processes to force the defendant to engage in political debate. Thus, we find defendant Marcus cross-examined concerning the Workers League. By example, the following excerpts from the Marcus deposition are particularly revealing:

"Q: Are they [the Workers League] working class oriented?"

"Q: Does the *Militant* [the newspaper identified with the SWP] print in color like the *Bulletin* [the Workers League newspaper] does?"

Mr. Burton's persistent argumentative and abusive questioning of Mr. Marcus is typified in a rather remarkable passage wherein he read verbatim from a purported interview appearing in the *Bulletin* in which the person interviewed praised the journalistic style of certain coverage. This excerpt is then followed by Mr. Burton's question:

"Q: Do you think that indicates that the Workers League is making headway in the working class?"

"Q: You think this is pretty funny, Mr. Marcus, is that why you're laughing? Why are you laughing?"

This, then is followed with Mr. Burton's argument:

"Q: Isn't it a fact that the Workers League is advancing much more quickly as a working-class party than is the Socialist Workers Party?"

#### d. Deposition of Peter Camejo

Mr. Camejo's name appeared prominently in the trial as the individual who met with plaintiff Gelfand on January 27 and April 4, 1978 to caution him concerning his persistency in activities which the SWP considered disruptive. Mr. Camejo was examined for two days, March 11 and 12, 1982 over approximately 14 hours and his testimony is reported in a transcript numbering 528 pages.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this deposition is the fact that throughout the entire seven-hour session of the first day, not a single question was asked concerning Mr. Camejo's meetings with Mr.

Gelfand or any aspect whatsoever of the Gelfand expulsion. Instead, counsel spent that first day questioning Mr. Camejo on his political and educational background.

As the first day's session came to a close, Mr. Burton announced, "It is now ten minutes after 5:00. Tomorrow I intend to commence questioning with the conversations you had with Mr. Gelfand."

#### e. Deposition of Farrell Dobbs

Mr. Dobbs is a gentleman of over 70 years and a former National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. He is retired and has had no administrative or executive responsibilities in the SWP for nearly a decade. Mr. Dobbs was examined on Easter weekend, 1982, with deposition sessions on Saturday, Easter Sunday, and Monday; April 10, 11 and 12, 1982.

The ostensible purpose was to question the National Secretary of the SWP at the time that Jack Barnes and the other defendants joined the SWP about their backgrounds and credentials. Yet, the entire first day of examination, comprising 144 pages were spent on such topics as Leon Trotsky's activities in Mexico and the activities of Joseph Hansen in pre-World War II years.

In his examination of Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Burton repeated his practice of quoting from writings (here, Trotsky's) for the purpose of asking the witness if he was aware of Trotsky's attitudes as reflected in those writings.

In fact, it was not until the second day of the deposition, Easter morning, that plaintiff Alan Gelfand's name was even mentioned. There, six pages pertain to Mr. Gelfand, the only questions concerning plaintiff in a three-day deposition. The remainder of the two days time was spent on such subjects as Carleton College, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the history of the SWP in the 1950's, and the SWP's position on such questions as gay rights. Samples of Mr. Burton's questions include the following:

"Q: Did Mr. Hansen have a firm grasp of the method of dialectical materialism, in your opinion?"

"Q: Are you a dialectical materialist?"

"Q: Could you in narrative form, Mr. Dobbs — and I'll break it down if it's easier for you — describe the evolution of the SWP while you were a founding member in reference to what generations of individuals joined, what the age group and the composition and the size of the party was, in general terms over the time you were a member?"

"MS. WINTER [Margaret Winter, attorney for the SWP]: 'I'll instruct the witness not to answer that question. It's hopelessly broad and vague.'"

In one portion, Mr. Burton questioned Mr. Dobbs extensively concerning a 1959 trip that Mr. Dobbs made to Cuba while he was a presidential candidate. Mr. Burton questioned Mr. Dobbs as to whether the Cuban leadership was Trotskyist or Marxist.

After over 200 pages of examination, Mr. Burton finally turned to Mr. Dobbs' knowledge of the named individual SWP members with the following line of questions:

"Q: With which of these individuals and [SWP member defendants] have you had the most extensive discussions about dialectical materialism?"

"Q: Well, has each of these individuals absorbed Marxism?"

"Q: Well, how did they absorb Marxism?"

"Q: These individuals that we are discussing, are they Trotskyists, in your opinion?"

"A: Which individuals?"

"Q: The Carleton group, which consists of Barnes, Stone, Waters, Seigle, Jenness, Benson, Lund, Jaquith, Styron, Wolk, Matson, Brundy and Eidsvik, along with Mr. Camejo."

"Q: What does it mean to consider yourself a Trotskyist?"

Confirming that there was no limit to counsel's excess, we find on the third day of the Dobbs deposition the following series of questions:

"Q: Over the last ten years, do you know what the SWP's attitude has been toward issues of gay liberation and homosexuality?"

"Q: Do you know [what] the attitude of workers tends to be toward the issue of gay rights and homosexuality?"



Alan Gelfand

Militant

"Q: What do you think Trotsky would have thought of the SWP promoting gay rights and homosexual rights?"

#### f. Deposition of Jack Barnes

Mr. Barnes also is a named defendant. He was deposed over a four-day period, March 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1982 and subjected to approximately 38 hours of examination by Mr. Burton resulting in a transcript of over 1,000 pages. He was questioned extensively on his understanding of Marxist philosophy with probing inquiry including the following:

"Q: Can you be a Marxist and not be a Trotskyist?"

"Q: Is there anybody in the world today who you consider a Marxist?"

#### Abusive trial conduct

Plaintiff's counsel abused the trial process by repeatedly introducing evidentiary matter which was patently irrelevant to the underlying litigation. Such conduct warrants imposition of liability on the part of the attorney for legal fees and costs.

In this context, the fact that plaintiff and his counsel persisted through five days of trial with full knowledge that they had no additional facts beyond those which the court had already advised them at pre-trial were insufficient is itself a compelling basis upon which to award attorney fees and costs to defendants.

In addition, counsel's persistence in offering evidence which he could not in good faith have believed was either competent or probative of any material issue to the case removes any doubt of counsel's complicity in this blatant attack on the integrity of the judicial process.

#### The evidence offered and argument advanced by plaintiff's counsel at trial were offered in bad faith.

At the pre-trial conference, and in response to the court's observation that plaintiff had no direct evidence to prove his case, plaintiff's counsel assured the court that he had and would produce circumstantial evidence sufficient to overcome the apparent deficiency.

As revealed in the course of the trial, the assurances of counsel that persuasive circumstantial evidence would be forthcoming was merely a thinly veiled subterfuge to burden the record with yet another presentation of the same materials that had already been presented over and over.

#### a. Despite repeated warnings by the court and objection by defendants, plaintiff's counsel persisted to offer evidence and to elicit testimony which he could not in good faith have believed was either competent or probative of the issues in this case.

Contrary to counsel's pre-trial representations, the evidence offered at trial hardly proved to be "of the most persuasive kind." Rather, counsel merely persisted in offering material into the record which he knew to be inadmissible, improper, and lacking in any probative value. As the court later observed:

"75 percent of the evidence that I let in at this trial is, in my opinion, irrelevant, immaterial and inadmissible. I let it all in for the purpose of permitting Mr. Gelfand to establish on this record anything and everything that he possibly could. I have got

a record which is replete with conclusions and innuendo, rumor, hearsay, multiple hearsay, and multiple hearsay upon multiple hearsay.

"I wouldn't blame you [the SWP defendants] for being upset about the rulings on the evidence in this case. But my motivation here is to be sure that Mr. Gelfand has his day in court. Considering that all this inadmissible evidence has come in, and it still doesn't establish anything, we have something which I regard as quite unusual and in some respects outrageous."

Prior to trial plaintiff's counsel prepared, identified and submitted those exhibits which he intended to offer into evidence at trial. The submission of these exhibits, bound in four volumes and numbering over 1600 pages, was consistent with plaintiff's pattern of burdening the record in this case with irrelevant and unsubstantiated materials.

The fact that only one-half of the exhibits were actually offered into evidence itself raises considerable question as to the bona fides with which they were initially submitted.

A review of the actual exhibits removes all doubt. Simply stated, it is inconceivable that competent counsel could have entertained for even a moment the thought that the bulk of these exhibits had any proper place in the record of this trial.

Counsel's persistent effort to inundate the record with political texts, articles and periodicals was a constant theme throughout the pre-trial motions which persisted through trial. Thus, one finds in the exhibits submitted on plaintiff's behalf the entire text of a 138-page book entitled *Security And The Fourth International*, a 110-page text entitled "How The GPU Murdered Trotsky," a 27-page text entitled "Accomplices of the GPU," portions of a text entitled "Trotsky's Assassin At Large," a publication entitled "Sylvia Franklin Dossier," a booklet entitled "The Lies of Joseph Hansen," and a 30-page booklet entitled "Why Leon Trotsky Was Murdered."

These publications alone occupy approximately 340 exhibit pages. By reference to a promotional page from the publisher, Labor Publications Inc., it is apparent that each of these exhibits is part of a series of political publications focusing on the same Hansen-Doxsee allegations that plaintiff derived from the Workers League.

The connection among these publications and the rationale for their submission is evident from the next exhibit, which is a 58-page pamphlet entitled "The Carleton Twelve."

This document in fact is a reproduction of articles appearing in the Workers League Newspaper, the *Bulletin*. It sets forth the basis for the argument which plaintiff's counsel attempted to introduce at trial — that the attendance of twelve SWP members (albeit at different times) at the same college somehow establishes that they are in fact government agents.

This last exhibit and previously identified other exhibits were all published by Labor Publications Inc., which also publishes the *Bulletin*, the official twice-weekly publication of the Workers League. Together, these documents comprise approximately 400 pages of exhibits and are consistent only with the persistent effort by counsel to transform this Court, and usurp this legal proceeding into an instrument for their political attack on defendants.

Of a different quality but equally without legal evidentiary basis, are exhibits which constitute, respectively, a 13-page excerpt from the SWP Discussion of June 1981, a 62-page issue (April 1982) of the SWP publication "Party Organizer," the entire text of a 160-page publication by the Socialist Workers Party entitled "Internal Informational Bulletin," dated September 1982. 45 pages of transcripts of reports and discussions by members of the National Committee from Feb. through Aug. of 1982, 78 pages of transcript of reports and discussion by National Committee members Nov. 1981 through March 1982, and 18 pages of transcript of remarks of the National Committee Feb. through March of 1982.

It would constitute a legal challenge of the highest order to derive from these 220 pages even the thinnest thread of relevancy to the issues in this case, to say nothing of questions of foundation and hearsay. Each of these is an internal organizational document of the SWP and does not have the slightest connection, either in time or substance

Continued on next page

## HEALY'S BIG LIE

The Slander Campaign  
Against Joseph Hansen,  
George Novack, and the  
Fourth International

Education for Socialists Bulletin  
86 pp. \$2.95

Also  
On Healy's break with  
Trotskyism: Marxism vs.  
Ultraleftism  
255 pp. \$3.95

(Include \$.75 for shipping)  
Order from Pathfinder Press  
14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014



Continued from preceding page

ject matter to the expulsion of Alan Gelfand or indeed even to plaintiff's allegations concerning Joseph Hansen and other persons active in the SWP decades ago.

Particularly offensive in this series of exhibits is the submission of [an] exhibit which includes information concerning the pledges, sustainers and other financial information concerning each branch of the defendant SWP.<sup>6</sup>

Incredibly, the foregoing documents constitute close to 800 pages of exhibits submitted by plaintiff's counsel as documents which he ostensibly intended to offer into evidence at trial.

Indeed, the fact that not a single page of these 800 pages of documents was formally offered into evidence at trial is perhaps the strongest indication that counsel himself recognized that they had no proper place whatsoever in the court record.

Of course, there were documents which plaintiff's counsel offered into evidence and which similarly he could not conceivably have believed to be properly admissible as evidence in this case. Again, the sheer volume of the record precludes a review of each occasion. However, two particular instances do stand out and deserve mention here.

In the first instance, Mr. Burton offered into evidence [an] exhibit which consists of a five-page excerpt from a book *Men Without Faces*, written by Louis Budenz in 1948. In this excerpt, Mr. Budenz, an admitted government informant, identified a woman named Helen, who Mr. Budenz alleges was an informant for the Stalinist GPU operating within the SWP.

Plaintiff's counsel, Mr. Burton, offered this excerpt from the Budenz book as evidence that Sylvia Doxsee, who had been secretary to a former National Secretary of the SWP, was a GPU agent. When queried by the Court concerning the obvious discrepancy between the names Helen and Sylvia (no last name was given), Mr. Burton swept aside all concern for foundation and responded simply with the bold assertion that Helen "obviously was Sylvia."

The second instance concerns [an] exhibit which was a letter written February 13, 1962 by defendant Douglas Jenness while a student at Carleton College to Dean Gilman. The letter concerned a peace vigil which was then to be held in Northfield [Minnesota] and recites that it was written pursuant to the responsibility of students to advise the administration of off-campus demonstrations. This letter was offered by Mr. Burton as direct evidence that Mr. Jenness was an agent — of someone.

#### b. Counsel's arguments were made in bad faith and with full knowledge of their impropriety and utter lack of evidentiary basis.

The most telling indication of counsel's bad faith lies in the argument which he espoused in the context of the evidentiary record.

While counsel certainly is entitled to wide latitude in arguing his client's cause, that latitude does not extend to representations which have no basis in competent evidence before the court. Nor does it permit counsel to assert his duty of advocacy as a shield for misrepresentation of fact or abuse of the judicial process.

In this context, the closing argument by plaintiff's counsel was remarkable in its persistent repetition of unproved allegations and immaterial commentary and innuendo. From a few examples drawn from closing argument, it is evident that counsel's disregard of the rules of evidence as discussed in the preceding section was equaled only by his total lack of concern for fact.

The first example concerns plaintiff's application for leave to file an amicus brief with the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in the SWP's lawsuit against the government under the Freedom of Information Act. This application was the specific act for which plaintiff was expelled from the SWP. The posture of that case at the time was that the government was seeking review by writ of a contempt order issued against the Attorney General for his refusal to disclose the identity of government in-

formants within the SWP. The government argued that disclosure would jeopardize the safety of the informants.

The materials which Mr. Gelfand filed with the Second Circuit included a letter dated October 1, 1940, from J. Edgar Hoover to the FBI's Special Agent In Charge, New York City, reciting information that Joseph Hansen had killed a man named George Mink by tying him up and throwing him into a crater.

When questioned by the court during his closing argument concerning the contention that this document was filed in the interest of the SWP, plaintiff's counsel was, understandably, evasive. However, when pressed by the court for an answer, Mr. Burton replied:

"MR. BURTON: Everything in that document was in the government's possession and everything in there appears to be true."

This response was known to Mr. Burton to be false. From a later FBI report of December 9, 1940, it is evident that George Mink was not killed by Mr. Hansen nor anyone else but in fact was then alive and well. While Mr. Gelfand was equivocal about whether he had seen [the] exhibit at the time he filed his amicus application, no such excuse is available to counsel since he had submitted [the] exhibit prior to trial.

#### 1. The alleged FBI-GPU-SWP connection

The record of the pre-trial hearings in this case is marked with repeated advice from the court that the evidence developed in discovery was completely lacking in proof that the defendant SWP members were connected in any way with the FBI, CIA or any other agency of the United States government. This same advice was repeated during trial in two exchanges on March 4, 1983 (one at the end of the day after court had been cleared), and in a third exchange in chambers on March 7, 1983.

By the close of plaintiff's case the absence of evidence on that critical element had not been cured. Thus, by closing arguments, the court again observed:

"I have asked you during this trial on three or four different occasions to please tell me how you have proved that these defendants are agents or employees in any way of the FBI, the CIA, or any agency of the United States Government. You have not shown that at all.

"You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing.

"The thing that you must prove is that the reason they covered it up is that they worked for the government."

"You never established that [the connection] and, consequently — and I believe now that you never had any evidence of that. Indeed, here we are, after spending all of this time and money."

The trial record provided no evidentiary basis whatsoever upon which Mr. Burton could respond to the court's questions. He then attempted to provide what the evidence lacked. His total disregard for the limits upon proper advocacy are evident from the following irrational passage:

"There is a conscious coverup going on, a conscious coverup, a conscious coverup of Mr. Hansen and his relationship with the GPU and the FBI.

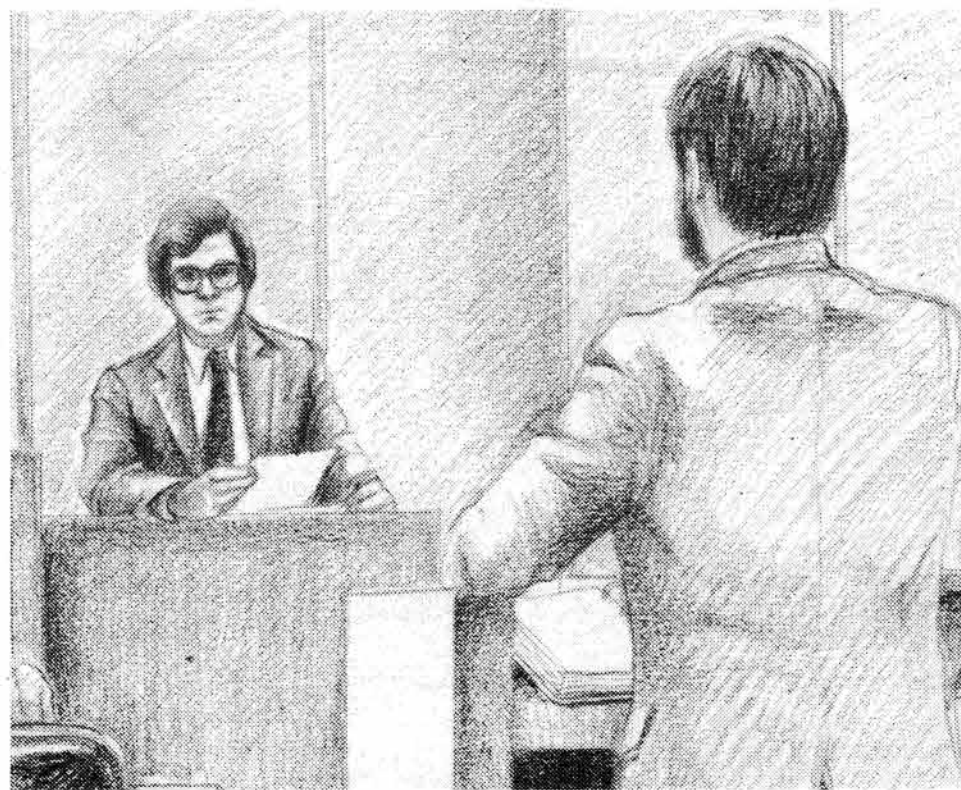
"Now they tried to poo-poo this. Well, Mr. Gelfand didn't know. What is the story? Was he FBI or GPU? But they know what the story is. They know that these GPU operatives were turned to the United States. They know that.

"Why do they know? Because Hansen was one. That is where Sylvia Doxsee comes in so importantly, and that is why you have Mr. Hansen going to the GPU first and then the FBI. He was an agent from the beginning.

"But he wasn't sent in by the FBI. It was by the GPU. But he was turned around. The FBI knew he was GPU. I mean, what are we talking about this amicus brief or something. The FBI knew back in 1947, 1950, when Mr. Budenz went over that he was an agent of the GPU. They knew exactly what to do with that.

"They now had their man in the Socialist Workers Party. He rose to prominence in the fifties and sixties, just in time for a flood of new recruits who came into the movement — not traditionally out of the working class and out of the struggles of the working class, but conveniently off the campus of Carleton College in far away Northfield, Minnesota.

"THE COURT: My goodness, Mr. Bur-



Militant

Gelfand's lawyer Burton questioning SWP leader Larry Seigle

ton. Go on about Carleton College."

Thus, we now come full circle to a totally unfounded claim of a worldwide FBI-GPU-SWP conspiracy to suppress plaintiff Alan Gelfand from raising questions about events are claimed to have occurred within the SWP over forty years ago.

#### 2. The alleged Carleton College connection

Perhaps no single aspect of plaintiff's case was more irresponsible on its face than the so-called Carleton College connection. Up to the date of the trial, the first element of plaintiff's "proof" of this theory appeared in [the] exhibit, "The Carleton Twelve" publication by the Workers League. In addition to the fact that the Carleton Twelve had each graduated from the same college at different times, this document disclosed such "suspicious" elements in their background as their membership in glee clubs, Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts, the YMCA, and the fact that they were above average intelligence, emotionally well-balanced, and good leaders.

Plaintiff's evidence of the Carleton connection at trial consisted of the testimony of Miss Brust, a former member of the SWP and now an active member of the Workers League. In substance, Miss Brust's testimony was that the St. Paul-Minneapolis Branch of the SWP was not a strong chapter.

This testimony, according to Mr. Burton, "demonstrated that their [the defendant's] story of how they got into the SWP is completely without credibility." Mr. Burton's argument was that the individual defendants must have been government agents since there would be no other explanation of how they became members of the SWP at a college where the nearest branch was "in shambles."

The Court's own response to this argument is all that need be said:

"THE COURT: Mr. Burton, I want the Appellate Court to have this comment right now in your argument that you are making now. That is the most outrageous and ridiculous thing that has almost ever been argued in this courtroom, that you are now arguing. You want me to assume that the testimony about college is very persuasive in this lawsuit. Is that what you want me to do?"

#### c. This lawsuit has been brought by plaintiff and prosecuted by counsel for the purpose in aiding a political attack upon defendant SWP.

It is apparent that plaintiff and his counsel stand before the court as agents of an antagonistic political party whose sole purpose has been to utilize the discovery process to disrupt and to attack the defendant Socialist Workers Party. The litigation has been paid for by the Workers League, the staff assisting plaintiff's counsel has been provided by the Workers League, and the fruits of discovery have also been provided to and published by the Workers League.

This has resulted in a record which now stands as a shameful example of the extent to which the judicial process can be distorted and misused when placed at the service of an unprincipled plaintiff and willing counsel.

Initially, it should be noted that virtually every claim presented concerning the allegations of government agents within the SWP is based upon publications by the Workers League. Plaintiff testified that he was first exposed to these allegations in his reading of Workers League literature.

Commencing in 1977 and then again in 1978 and 1980 plaintiff traveled to England, the home of the Workers League parent organization, the Workers Revolutionary Party. He admits having met on the last two occasions with representatives of the Workers Revolutionary Party concerning this lawsuit. By August of 1978 he was meeting with David North, the Workers League representative in the United States. By November of 1980 Mr. North was designated as "investigator/consultant" on behalf of Mr. Gelfand. Thereafter, according to plaintiff's trial testimony, two additional members of the Workers League had been designated as an investigative staff on behalf of plaintiff's counsel. Their services have been paid for entirely by the Workers League.

At plaintiff's deposition, his counsel, Mr. Burton, represented that the Workers League was raising a significant amount of the costs of the litigation. At that time, plaintiff conceded that there had been at least fifteen conferences including his counsel and the representatives of the Workers League. Finally, by March of 1982, one year before trial, the Workers League had raised \$40,000.00 for legal expenses and had paid for Mr. Gelfand's lodging throughout the depositions.

By July 12, 1982, plaintiff's and counsel's ulterior motives became evident to the court. Despite its length, the following exchange between the court and plaintiff's counsel is the best exposition of the deception and abuse that had been carried out:

"THE COURT: All right. Now, Mr. Burton, let's discuss how many depositions you have taken since I permitted you to do that.

"MR. BURTON: About 30 days of deposition, your Honor.

"THE COURT: Thirty to thirty-three?

"MR. BURTON: Yes.

"THE COURT: Who paid for those depositions? Now, just so that the record is clear, I am asking you: Who put up the money for the costs of the deposition?

"MR. BURTON: The funds that were used to finance any discovery were raised by David North from supporters and sympathizers of this litigation.

"THE COURT: You mean from the other political party?

"MR. BURTON: I am not aware of the identity of any of the ultimate donors. But they were raised by the general secretary of the Workers League.

"THE COURT: Ask your client where the money came from. Just go over and ask him.

"MR. BURTON: Well, he has the same knowledge that I do, your Honor.

"THE COURT: He has the same no knowledge; is that right?

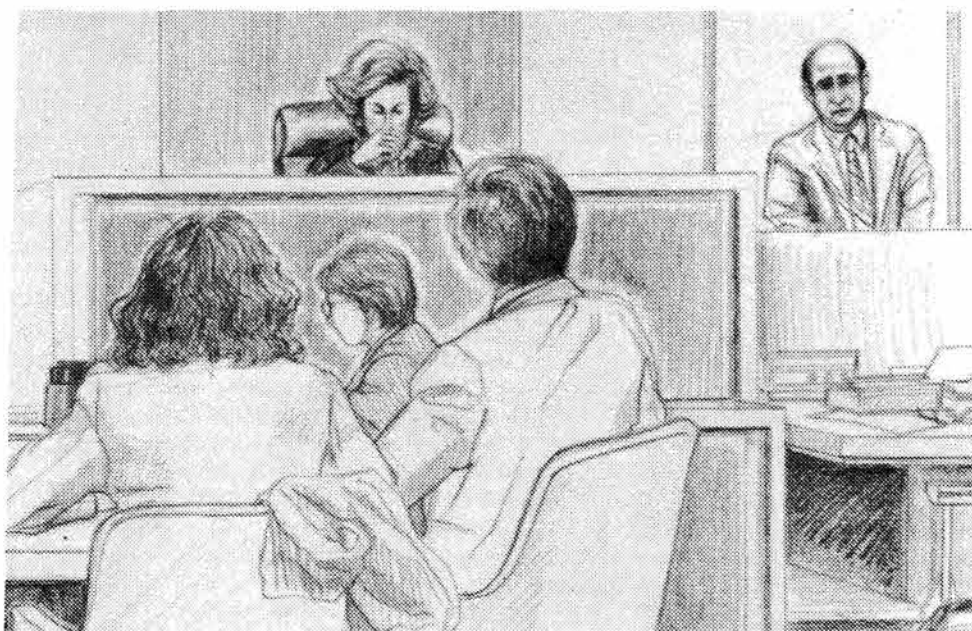
"MR. BURTON: Mr. North did not tell me the identity of the ultimate donors to this litigation, but he did raise the money.

"THE COURT: Did you ask him?

Continued on Page 12

6. Despite its total lack of relevancy to plaintiff's allegations, there is one respect in which this exhibit is pertinent to this motion. Specifically, the figures contained in appendices I through IV of [this] exhibit removes any doubt that a litigation of this magnitude would impose a severe burden upon the SWP.





Judge Mariana Pfaelzer (left); Alan Gelfand on stand.

Continued from Page 11

"MR. BURTON: No, I did not.  
"THE COURT: What do you say about what Miss Winter says about where the money came from?

"MR. BURTON: I don't think it is any secret. It never has been a secret. The identity of the donors are being protected under the authority of *NAACP v. Alabama*. There was no game-playing or anything going on during discovery.

"THE COURT: You may think there wasn't, but the Court certainly thinks there was. If I have ever seen an abuse of the discovery process, it is in this case.

"I let you take depositions, but I certainly never contemplated anything like what occurred. Never did I ever think that you would exceed the bounds of legitimate discovery in the manner in which you have.

"MR. BURTON: I don't believe that's correct, your Honor. Each of the depositions we took was used in the brief, in its proper place as part of the argument that is being proposed by plaintiff to show circumstantially that the SWP defendants are government agents. The discovery wasn't frivolous and it was clearly calculated to lead to the discovery of admissible evidence.

"THE COURT: In that regard you and I have a difference of opinion. I want to make it very clear to you that we have a very severe difference of opinion."

And later in the same hearing:

"THE COURT: May I ask you a much more direct question.

"MR. BURTON: Certainly.

"THE COURT: Have you delivered materials to Mr. North so that those materials could be published in any publication that he has control over?

"MR. BURTON: Mr. North has access to the discovery materials in this case.

"THE COURT: I asked you a question. Answer it.

"MR. BURTON: The answer to that question is no, because you are asking about my intent when I delivered the material to him. It is available for his publication but he has served as a consultant on this case.

"THE COURT: Now I am asking you — now just a minute. Answer this question: Have you ever delivered all those depositions to Mr. North for review?

"MR. BURTON: Yes.

"THE COURT: Have you put any restraint on him as to what he could do with them?

"MR. BURTON: Not after the magistrate ruled on the motion for the protective order.

"THE COURT: Just answer the question yes or no.

"MR. BURTON: Yes, I did, at the time when we had stipulated to not publish any of the material pending the magistrate's review of a protective order that was not exactly this issue.

"THE COURT: Then after that you said, 'You can go ahead and publish them as much as you want.'

"MR. BURTON: Right, correct."

This was followed by a further exchange at the next appearance on August 12, 1982:

"THE COURT: What is it that you want to do with the deposition transcripts?

"MR. BURTON: We want to have the freedom to either publish them or have them published, or to provide them to the Workers League or any entity that we'd like for the purpose of publication.

"THE COURT: That is just what the litigation has been about all the time. Defendants have been absolutely right. The purpose of this litigation was to place the plaintiff's party in a position where there could be publication of this material.

"I have doubted for a long time the bona fide nature of the lawsuit. But I have no reason to criticize your taking an appeal. You do it, if you want to, but I will not stay it. I wouldn't think of it.

"MR. BURTON: If I might, your Honor, I disagree. The purpose of this litigation is exactly as the complaint states. It is to prove that the SWP defendants are government agents.

"THE COURT: Yes.

"MR. BURTON: There is no ulterior motive.

"THE COURT: That is what you say." At closing argument, the Court again raised the question of plaintiff's motives in this litigation:

"The trier of fact in this courtroom, right here, questions Mr. Gelfand's motives. Now, I believe from listening to the testimony that not only can you not establish that the Socialist Workers Party is dominated by agents of the CIA and the FBI, I think that there is a question as to why he brought the lawsuit and how it's been financed all along. Now, that is worse yet, isn't it?"

Then, later:

"I have read pages and pages and pages of depositions that don't lead to anything, nothing. I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party. I don't know how much the rival political party paid for your attorney's fees. I suppose that in another forum that will come up as an issue. But I do tell you that I know that what's been happening in here has been published. That's been brought to my attention."

In response to the Court's comments, Mr. Burton protested his innocence:

"There were no ulterior motives. There were no ulterior purposes. There has been no evidence of any. We haven't hidden anything that we didn't have a legal privilege to protect. The record will bear me out on this."

And then, the following final exchange:

"THE COURT: Well, Mr. Burton, are you sure that the case is not all about getting the discovery?

"MR. BURTON: I am an officer of the court, your Honor, and I am absolutely certain. . . . I assure you as an officer of the court, that this was not a case of getting information. There haven't been any depositions published. There haven't been slander sheets. . . . but there's been no appearance, other than within legal briefs of deposition transcripts in any publication at all, to my knowledge, or other discovery fruits.

"THE COURT: Good. I hope there hasn't been."

Throughout this litigation, plaintiff's counsel responded evasively and, when pressed, narrowly and to the letter to each inquiry by the Court. This final exchange was no exception.

For while Mr. Burton responded that there had been "no appearance other than within legal briefs of deposition transcripts," he did so while knowing that his legal memoranda and trial brief, which contained extensive excerpts from depositions, had been provided to the Workers League for reproduction and publication in its newspaper on a mass-distribution basis.

In fact, it was Mr. Burton himself who had provided the documents through his "consultant/investigator" David North to the Workers League for publication.

Thus, in the February 25, 1983 issue of the *Bulletin* we find a "Special Pullout" in that issue which constitutes a verbatim reproduction of the entire Plaintiff's Closing Brief in Opposition to Motion of SWP Defendants for Summary Judgment. Furthermore, as was brought to the Court's attention during closing argument, copies of this same brief were reprinted separately on a mass basis and for the purpose of mass public distribution.

The publication of plaintiff's brief in opposition to the motion of summary judgment was followed one week later with a second insert in the *Bulletin* reproducing plaintiff's trial brief in its entirety.

This second serialization of plaintiff's pleadings bears the date February 28, 1983, four days prior to the commencement of the trial. This is consistent with the studied effort by plaintiff and his counsel to pursue this case for the purpose of creating headlines.

Indeed, the text of these pleadings make it evident that these documents were written, not as legal arguments to persuade the court, but rather as a political attack which, when published and reproduced by the thousands, could be foisted upon an innocent public readership as bearing the stamp of approval of this court.

It is part of a series of abuses no less transparent than the "innocent questions" raised by Mr. Gelfand or the amicus application which both plaintiff and his counsel argued was submitted in good faith and in the interest of the SWP.

The progress of the trial was followed closely in each issue of the Workers League newspaper, the *Bulletin*, and the London publication *News Line* of the parent organization, the Workers Revolutionary Party. While clearly there is nothing improper in legitimate media coverage of a trial, examples of that coverage are pertinent here in that they evidence further the channeling of discovery materials from counsel through his "investigator-consultant" Mr. North to the Workers League organization.

Thus, in the March 1983 issue of the *Bulletin*, the headline reads "AGENTS EXPOSED IN GELFAND TRIAL." The subject of this article is the release by the Court to counsel on March 9, 1983, of the Sylvia Doxsee Grand Jury transcripts, and discusses the contents of those transcripts with respect to plaintiff's allegations.

The interesting aspect of this article is the fact that the contents of the Doxsee Grand Jury transcript had not yet been discussed or otherwise disclosed in open court. Accordingly, it is apparent that counsel's persistence in obtaining this document was motivated by his intent to provide it immediately via "investigator/consultant" Mr. North to the Workers League organization for publication in its newspaper.

This must be viewed in the context of the fact that plaintiff never submitted any evidence connecting the claim that Doxsee was a GPU agent to his claim that the SWP leaders who expelled him were United States Government agents. Plaintiff never established the materiality of the Doxsee or Hansen charges to his allegations in this litigation and therefore had no good faith purpose in discovery of these documents in the first place.

At the close of argument, the Court inquired of Mr. Burton, one last time:

"THE COURT: Well, Mr. Burton, are you sure the case is not all about getting the discovery?

"MR. BURTON: I am an officer of the Court, your Honor and I am absolutely certain."

At the same time the plaintiff's counsel was giving his assurance, as an officer of the court, that this was not a case of getting information and that "there haven't been slander sheets," the Workers League was circulating a four-page leaflet entitled "Government Agents on Trial — The Facts Behind the Gelfand Case."

In abbreviated form, this leaflet repeats the charges made in this lawsuit and, complete with photographs, reiterates the allegations against Jack Barnes and Larry Seigle as well as the tired claim concerning Joseph Hansen and Sylvia Doxsee. The closing paragraph of the leaflet at last provides the "smoking gun" answering the Court's inquiry concerning the purpose of this litigation:

"The Workers League entirely supports the struggle being waged by Alan Gelfand. We emphatically uphold the rights of socialists to utilize the bourgeois legal system when necessary to defend the democratic rights of the working class. This has always been the policy of Marxists.

"Moreover, the evidence assembled by Gelfand and his attorneys in the course of the three and one half years struggle in the courts has totally vindicated the independent findings of the International Committee, which as far back as 1979 exposed how agents were recruited off the campus of Carleton College, in Northfield, Minnesota, and infiltrated into the SWP where they were groomed for leadership by Joseph Hansen.

"Whatever the outcome of the trial, the Workers League pledges that the evidence so far uncovered will be carried into the furthest reaches of the international worker's movement. — March 6, 1983."

The credit for this article reads as follows:

#### ISSUED BY THE WORKERS LEAGUE

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*Bulletin*, Twice-weekly newspaper  
of the Workers League  
New York: (212) 729-4522;  
Detroit: (313) 875-4745

**Where both the party and his/her attorney have acted in bad faith, or have litigated frivolous claims the court may assess liability for costs and legal fees against the party and the attorney separately or jointly and severally**

In the instant action, the record discloses an utterly inseparable degree of culpability as between plaintiff and his counsel. As to plaintiff, the fact that he is a practicing attorney precludes any argument that he did not have an understanding of the American judicial system.

At the same time, the record of abuse, of vexatiousness and harassment could not possibly been carried out without the assistance and willful participation by plaintiff's counsel. It was plaintiff's counsel who carried out the bulk of the abusive and outrageous examinations of witnesses in depositions. It was the plaintiff's counsel who made the representations to the Court that, despite the deficiency of evidence produced in discovery, the plaintiff's case at trial would be established by "circumstantial evidence of the most persuasive kind."

It was plaintiff's counsel who assured the Court in closing argument that there was no ulterior motive and that the case had not been conducted for the purpose of obtaining information. And, at the very moment that counsel was making these last representations upon his word as an officer of the court, the March 6, 1983 leaflet to which counsel subscribed was being circulated by the Workers League.

#### Undesirability of the case

The fact that defendants' counsel were required to sit through hundreds of hours of depositions, consisting primarily of examination in areas completely irrelevant to the subject matter of this litigation, only to experience the same frustrating waste of professional time and energies in the repetition of the same examination at trial, certainly creates a significant undesirable element in this litigation. An adjustment for this element seems clearly warranted.

In summary, the unusual nature of this litigation and the utter absence of a precedent to the extraordinary abusive manner in which it was conducted, make it difficult to submit to the court a precise multiplier to be applied to the base hourly rates which would be appropriate. Accordingly, counsel submits this matter to the court's discretion and requests only that it be considered in light of the record in this case and the preceding arguments and authorities cited.

#### Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, defendant Socialist Workers Party requests that the court award fees and costs to defendant as specified herein.



# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Spreading it around** — Somewhat embarrassed, Congress is looking into charges that the United States Information

while the agency has asked that its budget for wining and dining foreign VIPs be upped from \$10,000 to \$40,000.

formed at those marijuana sites by the Beach Boys and other hard rockers?

workers showed up, but it was a black-tie affair aboard the *S.S. Intrepid*, a mothballed battleship. There was valet parking at the dock and tables of 10 were available at \$2,500.

**No more of that nonsense** — Noting that it's becoming "increasingly business oriented," a New Jersey bank adopted the name, Eastern National Bank. The old, unbusinesslike name, Friendly National Bank.



Harry Ring

Agency, cultural counterpart of the CIA, is providing a soft berth for relatives of congressmembers and other federal hacks. Mean-

**March of technology** — According to Interior Secretary Watt, the department is using military satellites and high altitude planes to spot marijuana growing on public land. We had assumed the gardening was simply part of the department's program for leasing resources to private enterprise.

**P.S.** — Do those satellites and planes tape any music being per-

**Slim is in** — If you happen to be waiting on a federal cheese line, you may find it comforting to know that government scientists have reaffirmed that it's healthier to be on the slim side.

**Missed the boat** — We received the invite second-hand so we missed "a salute to the transportation industry." We don't know how many transportation

**Act now** — That \$10 million penthouse condo at New York's Trump Tower (next door to Tiffany's) has apparently been snapped up. But they still have a vacancy on the 65th floor. While it doesn't offer the same commanding view of New York's tenelements, it does feature a private elevator, plus a swimming pool in the apartment. \$6 million.

**Buy now, die later** — Funeral industry shares are among the most lucrative on Wall Street. One of the burial biggies, Service Corp. International, is doing particularly nicely with an advanced-sale plan. Pay for your funeral now and inflation is no longer a worry. Especially, we assume, when you're dead.

## —CALENDAR—

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Speakout Against the Death Penalty.** Speakers: Dianne Mathiowetz, Committee to Defend Imani (Harris) and Stop the Death Penalty; Watt Epsy, Capital Punishment Research Project; Dr. Abraham Woods, president of Birmingham chapter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Martin Boyers, 1982 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Alabama. Sat., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**In Pursuit of Refuge.** A slide show and presen-

**New York Rally for Justice Protest racist attacks and murder of Willie Turks.**

**Sat., May 7, 12 noon Harlem State Office Bldg., Adam Clayton Powell Blvd. and 125th St.**

Speakers: **Cleveland Robinson** secretary-treasurer, United Auto Workers District 65; **Rev. Ben Chavis** deputy director, United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice; **Dennis Dixon** transit worker and victim of racist attack; **Elombe Brath** Patrice Lumumba Coalition; **Muntu Matsimela** National Black Independent Political Party; **Gil Noble** "Like It Is" TV program; others. Ausp: Committee for Justice for Willie Turks.

tation. Speakers: Representative of Committee of Central American Refugees — Santana Chirina Amaya; Pat Nixon, speaking on the Héctor Marroquín case. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. (nr. Vermont). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### San Diego

**Women In Revolution.** Slide show, "Women in Nicaragua" and tribute to Commander Ana María of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

**Fund Raising Dinner for the Families of Imprisoned Electrical Workers in El Salvador.** Speaker: Alejandro Molina Lara, organizational secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS). Sat., May 14. Dinner, 5 p.m.; presentation, 7 p.m. Wesley Methodist Church, 54th St. and El Cajon Blvd. Ausp: San Diego Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and Committee in Solidarity With Nicaragua. For more information call (619) 584-8074.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Struggle in Chile Today.** Speaker: Representative of Chile en Lucha. Translation into Spanish. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 555 W Adams. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 559-9046.

### INDIANA

#### Gary

**The Anti-import Campaign: Why It Won't Bring Jobs.** Speakers: Rick Young, member, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 76; Mitchell Rosenberg, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 1014. Fri., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forums. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Jobs Not War!** Socialist Workers Campaign

Rally. Speakers: Eloise Linger, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston; Ed Warren, recent SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago speaking on "The Fight Against Racism — From Chicago to Boston." Sat., May 7; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl. (Kenmore Sq.). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1983 Mayoral Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Defend Affirmative Action!** A panel discussion. Speakers: Marcia Scott, member, Socialist Workers Party and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 110; others to be announced. Sun., May 15, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Racist Terror — American Justice?** Speakers: Alvin Sykes, former chairman Steve Harvey Justice Committee; Representative of National Black Independent Political Party. Sun., May 15, 8 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW YORK

#### Schenectady

**The Continuing U.S. War Against Vietnam and Kampuchea.** Speakers: Chan Bun Han, Committee in Solidarity With Viet Nam, Kampuchea, and Laos; Jay Johnson, member, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 301. Sat., May 7, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**Is Unemployment Built Into Our Economy?** Walt Snyder, member, Public Employees Federation. Sat., May 14, 8 p.m. 323 State St. donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**Nicaragua Today: An Eyewitness Report.** Speakers: Charles Tisdale, associate professor of English, Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., May 7, 7 p.m. 1400 Glenwood Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**The Palestinian Struggle Today.** Speaker: Faiz Mohamad, General Union of Palestinian Students. Sun., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**The Fight Against a Sales Tax in Oregon.** Speakers: Wally Priestley, Oregon House of Representatives; Ed Blackburn, state cochairperson, Citizens Party; others. Sun., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**Defend Planned Parenthood!** Speakers: Karrie Galloway, Planned Parenthood Association of Utah; Bill Hoyle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City. Fri., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**Struggle For Freedom** A film and presentation on Malcolm X. Fri., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Stop the Deportations — Defend Héctor Marroquín!** Speakers: Representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF); Kevin Jones, activist in Tidewater National Black Independent Political Party; others to be announced. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

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, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. 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:** Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. 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, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63116. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

**NEBRASKA:** Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central 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, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1026, 1400 Glenwood Ave., Greensboro. Zip: 27403. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823.

Tel: (814) 238-3296.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

**UTAH:** Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. 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.



# Central America debate widens

In the wake of President Reagan's April 27 speech vowing to expand U.S. intervention in Central America, the revolutionary forces of El Salvador and Nicaragua have demonstrated once again that they will not be intimidated.

The day after Reagan's ominous attack on the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, 150,000 people marched through the center of that country's capital, arms in hand, to show their determination and support for the revolution.

Meanwhile, in El Salvador, guerrilla fighters destroyed six key bridges in a coordinated campaign that gravely weakened the dictatorship's hold on the northeastern section of the country. A broadcast on the guerrillas' Radio Venceremos said the attacks were "only the beginning of our response to the escalation of intervention declared by Reagan" in his speech to Congress.

"We will deepen the war against the ruling army, deepen sabotage of the dictatorship's war economy, and defeat imperialist intervention," the radio declared.

It is this determined advance of the workers and peasants in Central America that is at the heart of the widening debate within the U.S. ruling class. The strength of the revolutionary forces in Central America is such that the Salvadoran government is no longer able to hold its own, despite huge infusions of U.S. military aid. Similarly, the counterrevolutionary army organized by Washington along the Nicaraguan border has no hope of overthrowing the government in Nicaragua.

In light of this situation, Reagan's critics within the ruling class have been complaining that his policy cannot win. As Robert White, the former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, explained in the May 2 *New York Times*, "the brutal and corrupt Salvadoran Government is falling apart and . . . no amount of military assistance will enable it to contain the revolutionaries. Yet the White House firmly rejects any direct parleys with guerrillas. Instead, Washington is determined to create an ill-starred region-wide military battle — hoping in the end to negotiate a region-wide solution on its own terms."

The repeated invasions of Nicaragua by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, White explained, are "part of a systematic plan to provoke the Sandinists to cross the Honduran border and attack the counter-revolutionaries' base camps."

But, White warned, Reagan's course may well lead to revolution in Honduras instead of counterrevolution in Nicaragua. "In the face of widespread misery and despair, many Hondurans oppose their government's militaristic policies, demanding deep political, economic and social changes. These dissidents are now treated as subversives, and, for the first time in its history, the Honduran military has begun to abduct and kill labor union leaders, intellectuals and others who dissent from official policy. This is the way revolution took hold in El Salvador."

Former CIA director Stansfield Turner also takes a dim view of the CIA-organized invasion of Nicaragua, characterizing it as "a bad mistake."

Writing in the *Washington Post* April 24, Turner hastened to assure, "As a former CIA director, I do not say this because of the common contention that it is not our province to decide what is best for other nations."

No, the principle of self-determination is not one that carries much weight in the U.S. ruling class. But, Turner warns, "We are not likely to get away with toppling the Nicaraguan government by covert means."

Rep. Michael Barnes, a Maryland Democrat, sought sponsors for a bill to cut off funds for the CIA operation against Nicaragua. "Our policy," he mourned, "has strengthened the Sandinistas and rallied the country around them in the face of the external threat."

Rep. Clarence Long, also a Maryland Democrat, quizzed a Reagan official at a House committee hearing. Describing the brutality directed against Guatemala's Indians by government troops, Long asked:

"What on earth are we doing giving military aid to a country responsible for these monstrosities?"

"I know of no redeeming features in Guatemala to justify our putting money in to continue the murder and torture, the burning of villages. . . ."

Long has another consideration. "I got a thousand letters in a one-month period," he said. "Only seven were supportive of the president's policies."

This is the other side of the ruling-class dilemma. There is massive opposition among working people in the United States to Washington's escalating war in Central America.

Whatever their tactical differences, all sections of the ruling class know that nothing short of the use of U.S. combat troops has any chance of halting the revolutions in Central America.

But because of the strength of the revolutionary forces, such an intervention would not be a quick one. The massive antiwar sentiment that already exists in this country would soon be expressed in action. Thus, Reagan felt it necessary to explicitly deny any intention of using U.S. combat troops in his April 27 speech, even as he maneuvers to escalate and regionalize the war to that point.

An indication of the pressures bearing down on the ruling class was Jeane Kirkpatrick's enraged response to Sen. Christopher Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat who had given the official Democratic Party reply to Reagan's speech.

While explaining he agreed with the goal of preventing the consolidation of new Marxist governments in the Western Hemisphere, Dodd complained that Reagan was going about it the wrong way. Dodd said Reagan should negotiate with the revolutionary forces in Central America. And he warned that Washington could not prevail by setting loose "the dogs of war."

Kirkpatrick, the chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, and one of the most outspoken defenders of U.S. aggression in Central America, assailed Dodd. His comments, she declared, were "weirdly, almost surrealistically inappropriate."

But Kirkpatrick herself has become a hated symbol of Reagan's policies of aggression abroad and reaction at home. Her public appearances have become the signal for protest actions. And when administrations at two prestigious colleges — Barnard and Smith — nominated her to receive awards at their graduation exercises, students and faculty members spoke out. On May 2 Kirkpatrick, having assessed the sentiment against her, and knowing that she would be booed off the stage at any such appearance, announced that she was rejecting the offered awards.

Another telling indication of the problem facing the U.S. rulers was the May 3 vote in the House Select Committee on Intelligence to cut off funds for the CIA operation against Nicaragua. To take effect, this measure would have to be approved by the full Congress.

While threatening to cut off money for one operation, the congressional liberals voted to open a new one. They approved \$80 million in military aid for "any friendly country in Central America" trying "to prevent use of its territory, or the use of international territory" for the transfer of military equipment from or through Cuba or Nicaragua. (Emphasis added.)

Preventing the supposed flow of arms from Cuba and Nicaragua has been Reagan's justification for his war moves against those countries all along. The essence of the vote in the House committee was for the continuation of the war in Central America, but with an added attempt to get other governments to play a bigger role.

"What this committee has done is in the interests of our own Government," explained Rep. Edward Boland. "What we were doing in that area was counterproductive."

Such twisting and turning in Congress is the result of the deepgoing antiwar sentiment of the American people coupled with the determined struggles of the peoples of Central America. This powerful combination is creating significant rifts among the rulers of this country. And that is all to the good.

It makes it harder for them to carry out their war plans, it promotes debate and encourages dissent, and it offers greater opportunities for building effective opposition to the war. The thing to do now is to take maximum advantage of those opportunities.

# 1975 victory of Vietnam over U.S. imperialism

The following are excerpts from an article in the April 11, 1975, *Militant*, which appeared shortly before the final triumph of the Vietnamese liberation forces and the fall of the U.S.-backed Saigon regime.

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Ten years ago this month Lyndon Johnson began the massive military escalation that ended with 540,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam.

As Johnson crudely put it, Washington was going to "nail the coonskin to the wall."

One U.S. official in Saigon at the time, reacting to the first manifestation of international condemnation of the U.S. aggression, boasted: "We have shown that we are

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

strong enough to do what we want without having to take international opinion into account."

A decade later, it is precisely the deeply felt opposition to U.S. intervention in Indochina — shared by Americans and people throughout the world — that is blocking Washington from taking military action to crush the advancing rebel forces in Vietnam.

As the years of napalm, antipersonnel bombs, defoliation, strategic hamlet concentration camps, and B-52 saturation bombing went on, the whole world recoiled in horror against Washington's bloody war and sided with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination. Vietnam became the central issue of world politics, the burning question for a whole generation.

"A rout beyond our wildest fears" was the way one military analyst in Saigon summed up events in South Vietnam over the past three weeks.

It is estimated that half of the 1.1 million-man Saigon army has either deserted, been captured by the liberation forces, or disintegrated as a fighting force.

Malcolm Browne described in the March 31 *New York Times* how "the commander of the whole northern region, Lieut. Gen. Ngo Quang Truong, spent his final day on a boat off the Da Nang coast, watching helplessly as his renegade army roared through the dying city, waiting for the North Vietnamese to come in and restore order."

In the meantime, *Nhan Dan*, the Communist Party newspaper in Hanoi, published a page of pictures from Hue showing soldiers and civilians casually strolling in the streets. At a March 29 news conference, representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) told reporters that peace and calm have returned to the liberated areas, in sharp contrast to the pandemonium elsewhere. Shops have reopened, and thousands of refugees have returned to their homes.

With the regime on which Washington had lavished so much blood and money in its death throes, President Gerald Ford's administration found itself with its hands tied. An airlift of military supplies to Saigon was initiated, but as one retired general said, reflecting on the recent performance of Thieu's legions, "We may find out that all we have done is to provide the North Vietnamese with some expensive military hardware."

Equally futile was the dispatch of U.S. ships to Da Nang. Hanoi denounced the operation, saying that Washington's real concern was to try to save government troops along the coast as a means of bolstering Saigon's forces.

The fear of how the American people would react to the renewed use of U.S. military might in Vietnam has forced Ford and Henry Kissinger to stand by while the imperialist base in Indochina breaks up. On March 25 Kissinger lamented, "We have gone through the experience of Vietnam, through the anguish of Watergate. And I think the cumulative effect of nearly a decade of domestic upheaval is beginning . . . to take its toll."

Kissinger's reference to "nearly a decade of domestic upheaval" is a grudging admission of the power of the American antiwar movement. The gains currently being made by the Vietnamese revolution are due first of all to the heroism of the Vietnamese people, who have persevered in their struggle for decades in the face of Washington's hellish intervention.

But the fact that the U.S. rulers no longer feel able to use B-52s and napalm, let alone combat troops, to prop up their Vietnamese puppet is also a victory for those millions who marched in antiwar protests in the United States and around the world.

The frustration in ruling circles was indicated by the former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Gen. William Westmoreland, when he said March 28:

"I never recommended it when I was involved, but who knows, when the total history is written it just might show that the use of several small-yield nuclear weapons at some early point conceivably could have put an end to the whole thing and caused less suffering. . . ."



Militant/Lou Howort



## Not renewing

I have read your newspaper with patience.

But the article by Malik Miah in the April Fool's (April 1, 1983) *Militant* is just too ultra-left to be stomachable. He claims one should not support Harold Washington, but rather Ed Warren, who is "for building a labor party."

But Warren, like every Socialist Workers Party candidate, has absolutely no chance of winning. We are supposed to go out and vote SWP, although "reforms . . . are not won at the ballot box" — a nice Marxist contradiction.

I will not be renewing my subscription to the *Militant*.

Robert Rardin  
Oxford, Ohio

## NBIPP election forum

On March 24 the Los Angeles Chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party sponsored a forum for those seeking election to the Los Angeles city council and school board.

Six city council and two school board candidates attended. None of the incumbents were present. Except for Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, all the candidates were Democrats or Republicans.

In their opening remarks most of the candidates stressed their personal qualifications and family backgrounds as to why they should be elected.

The school board candidate of the right-wing Lyndon LaRouche Democrats called for maintaining a strong national defense.

In her comments Garza attacked the cuts in social services in Los Angeles, U.S. support to the gov-

ernment of El Salvador and CIA activities in Nicaragua, and L.A. police brutality and spying.

Recently a *Los Angeles Times* article revealed that L.A.'s mayor, Tom Bradley, gave the keys to the city to a representative of the South African consulate in a secret ceremony. Bradley is Black.

In the question-and-answer period the candidates were asked how they would have responded to this action if they had been in office.

A number of the candidates said that the mayor's office was "ceremonial" and that as part of his job the mayor must welcome various governments to the city.

Virginia Garza said that giving the keys to the city to a representative of the apartheid regime was like giving them to "a Hitler."

All of the candidates said they supported the concept of an independent Black party and independent political action. Garza challenged them to join the NBIPP and run as candidates for office under its sponsorship.

Although NBIPP did not endorse any candidates the audience agreed that the forum was valuable in that the party had the opportunity to question the candidates on key issues confronting the city and nation.

Ollie Bivins  
Los Angeles, California

## Impeach Reagan

People must pressure Congress to start impeachment proceedings against President Reagan for his policy of covert operations, and military intervention in Central America, which is embroiling the region in a Vietnam-type war.

There is overwhelming evidence disclosed by members of the House Intelligence Committee, fact-finding commissions and by many press reports that Reagan authorized \$30 million for an illegal covert operation to finance, train, arm, and direct fascist counterrevolutionaries from bases in Honduras to invade, destabilize, and overthrow the Nicaraguan government with the assistance of the Honduran U.S.-backed forces.

Reagan must be held directly responsible for this. CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionaries have reportedly killed hundreds of Nicaraguan citizens and committed millions of dollars in property damage. This is a criminal violation of Nicaragua's sovereignty, independence, and of the international Geneva Convention, U.N. Charter, Rio Treaty, U.S. Constitution, Boland Amendment, and Neutrality Act.

Congress must be pressured to impeach Reagan for these high crimes and human rights violations on a massive scale; end all CIA covert operations and military intervention against Nicaragua; dismantle the U.S. command base in Honduras that is used for covert operations, military intervention in Central America; and end all military and economic assistance to the Salvadoran and Guatemalan dictatorships.

A prisoner  
Illinois

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.

## Violence against Indiana prisoners

In recent months Indiana State Prison officials have released a fury of vicious and brutalizing violence upon prisoners restricted to isolation units, i.e., X-row and the numerous detention units. They have attacked these units armed with three feet long riot clubs, vicious dogs, and various firearms. They have nearly kicked one prisoner's eye out, broken the same prisoner's hand, and brutally beaten others. Primarily, these acts of raw violence were official responses to legitimate grievances aired by prisoners. They have created an atmosphere of "social dynamite."

The . . . acts of violence did not happen in isolation. They were and are not divorced from, or unattached to, the permanent atmosphere of violence that has long characterized day-to-day existence on detention units, not to mention the prison in general. One has to often create an atmosphere of violence to receive medical attention. Numerous prisoners, such as Ricky Macon, a young Black man murdered at the Indiana State Farm, have died in the detention units calling out in vain for medical attention.

Other acts of gross, deadly negligence, harassment, and intimidation, outside the detention units, have also contributed to the current atmosphere of "social dynamite." During the past several months numerous repressive policies have been

implemented; guards have become more arrogant and openly hostile; prisoners have been subject to a dehumanizing 10-day lockdown; one prisoner has died from a lack of timely and adequate medical attention; and another, Achebe Lateef, a "suspected" organizer of resistance against the official violence, was removed from the prison the evening of Feb. 16, 1983, and taken to unknown whereabouts.

Many prisoners, recognizing the deadly explosive situation, have initiated efforts to educate prisoners and those on the outside; file legitimate complaints and seek meaningful dialogue with prison officials.

In response, prisonrats threaten our leadership with years on detention units, and/or transfers to other prisons, and refuse to recognize the legitimacy of our complaints.

The violent nature of the prisonrats is more clearly exemplified in a statement made by Assistant Warden Cohn at a meeting Feb. 22, 1983, "Prisoners have no legitimate complaint about violence because violence has not been released on the detention units. If it had been, someone would be dead — when we release violence, death is the result." A vicious, deadly, extremist point of view!

Omari Vaden  
Indiana Black Prisoner  
Organization

# Black-Latino-labor coalition discussed for '84

Continued from front page

countries like Britain and Canada.

This is why it's important to call attention to the fact that every other major group that identifies itself as socialist endorsed the Democratic Party candidate, Washington, in the Chicago elections. This includes the Democratic Socialists of America, Communist Party, Workers World Party, Communist Workers Party, and the newspapers *In These Times* and the *Guardian*.

These groups capitulated to the pressure to support a capitalist candidate instead of recognizing the big opportunities for gaining a hearing from working people for a different course, a break with the Democrats and Republicans. Instead of advancing the fight for independent political action on the part of Blacks, Latinos, and the labor movement as an underlying strategy, these groups bolstered the idea that workers should give the capitalist parties another chance.

They put forward similar arguments to cover up their wholesale collapse in the face of the Democratic Party campaign of Washington. Perhaps the best example of this is the Workers World Party (WWP), which called the election a "referendum on racism."

In a departure from previous practice, the WWP campaigned openly for the Democratic Party candidate. To overcome resistance in their ranks to this crossing of class lines, the WWP defended its endorsement of Washington and attacked the socialist campaign of Ed Warren in an article in the April 15 *Workers World*.

"The Chicago race was not analogous to an election between a liberal Democrat and a conservative Republican as such," *Workers World* said. "That is an election campaign where political program is key, where the responsibility of a working-class party is to expose the false policies of the capitalist parties."

"The Chicago election," it explained, "was an election in form. It was, in reality, a referendum on racism."

Warren's campaign against the capitalist parties was a "surrender to racism," the article proclaims. He should have withdrawn in favor of Washington.

The idea that capitalist elections are in reality just referendums on one or two issues is not new. In 1964, workers were told the race between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater was a referendum on the Vietnam war. Most voted "against the war" and elected Johnson, who proceeded to escalate U.S. involvement.

Similarly, the 1984 elections are already being portrayed as a referendum on Reaganomics. To defeat Reagan's social and war policies you have to vote for the Democrat.

And races between a Democratic candidate who is female and a Republican who is male can easily be described as a referendum on sexism.

This is the logic of the course the Workers World Party has embarked on. The class character of the Democratic Party — the fact that it represents the interests of the employers — is dissolved into an abstract struggle "against racism." Exposing the nature of the Democratic or Republican parties becomes irrelevant, political program is no longer "key," and the candidate of a genuine working-class party, Ed Warren, becomes an agent of reaction.

The Workers World Party relies heavily on moralism to push its retreat from Marxism and presents an utterly patronizing view of both Black and white workers.

*Workers World* claimed that Warren's campaign would be viewed as racist by workers in Chicago. "Blacks and whites will perceive a call to vote against Washington as giving aid to the racist forces," the paper said.

But the SWP did not call for a vote against Washington, but rather a vote for a socialist perspective and against the two capitalist parties that monopolize political power today. And this is what won Warren a good hearing among workers, contrary to the *Workers World* predictions. Blacks, whites, and Latinos responded in a friendly

way to the socialist campaign. Over 800 copies of the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, were sold in the last week before the election, a significant number of them at plant gates.

The many thousands of workers who met SWP campaigners were politically much more sophisticated than the WWP and other socialists gave them credit for.

Close to 4,000 people voted for Ed Warren. Fourteen thousand voted for Nicolee Brorsen, SWP candidate for city clerk, and 20,000 for Craig Landberg, SWP candidate for city treasurer, indicating that thousands who voted Washington for mayor also registered their support for the socialist perspective. These Blacks, Latinos, and whites who voted SWP were the vanguard of the many thousands more who listened, discussed, and learned from the SWP campaign.

What the Workers World Party really expresses is its own lack of confidence in the political capacities of Blacks and all working people.

They have decided that it's not possible to talk about socialism with the American working class, especially with Blacks, who are apparently incapable of thinking in class terms.

By the same token, white workers, in the WWP view, are incapable of grasping that racism is against their class interests.

The WWP fell totally for the frame-up of white workers orchestrated by the capitalist media. Accepting the lie that the core of reactionary opposition to a Black for mayor was in the white working class, they talked to white workers on a moral level. "White workers need to be educated on racism, need to see that racism is a deadly poison that divides them," *Workers World* preached.

They went on to say that "under the existing circumstances, it was the first duty for a working class party truly interested in building unity to come out strongly and unequivocally for Washington."

In other words, white workers are racist and to help them overcome this racism, working-class parties should tell them to vote for the racist, antilabor Democratic Party.

The entire framework of the WWP and other socialist groups who caved in to the Democrats is false. Their inability to look at politics in class terms leads them to miss what is actually happening in U.S. politics.

The real lesson from the Chicago elections is that it is easier today than ever before to get a hearing for a strategy of independent Black, Latino, and working-class political action. Socialists, class-struggle fighters in the labor movement, members of the National Black Independent Political Party, and other political activists should join in the discussions going on today about how to build an alliance of Blacks, Latinos, and the unions. They should participate and help advance the perspective of breaking with the racist, antilabor capitalist parties and charting a course of independent working-class political action.

## FBI exposed in N.C. murders

Continued from front page

Paper," it reviews the activities of BATF undercover agent Bernard Butkovich, who participated in the Winston-Salem Nazi Party chapter up to November 3.

The paper states that, "in order for the agent to be effective in his undercover role, he did act out a part and participate in conversations relative to violations of the law." It also explains that Butkovich's actions were reviewed "on a case by case basis" by BATF and FBI officials. Winston-Salem Nazis have charged that it was Butkovich who actively encouraged them to bring arms to Greensboro on November 3. The agent himself did not attend the rally.

The FBI has denied any advance knowledge of violence. This new evidence directly refutes that denial.

Justice Fund attorney Korotkin says everything that is known about the role of the FBI and local cops in this case points to a "Cointelpro-type operation, whether they use that name or not. This case exposes the absurdity of the FBI claim that it infiltrates organizations in order to prevent violence."

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## Government pushes racist attack on rights of undocumented workers

BY HARRY RING

The stream of illegal aliens pouring into the United States has become a torrent.

Each day, thousands of Mexican men, women and children wade in full view across the skimpy Rio Grande or walk across the dusty plains and sandy desert hills to the American side.

Increasingly, they acquire fraudulent documents and become part of the permanent illegal population . . . they avail themselves of medical care, unemployment compensation, welfare and public education. . . . — New York Times, March 19.

A contingent of Immigration and Naturalization Service agents yesterday arrested some 42 presumed undocumented in a Queens factory, in what one eyewitness described as a "military type operation."

About 35 armed agents took part in the raid. . . . The witness said that various detainees "were physically mistreated" by the agents, who entered the factory using force.

"The lamentable thing," said an employee who asked that his name not be revealed, "is that they asked only Hispanics for their residence cards." — El Diario-La Prensa, New York, March 25.

There's been a big stepup in the attack on immigrant workers by the capitalist rulers of this country.

They want to make these workers more vulnerable to superexploitation; they want to scapegoat them for the unemployment in this country; they want to whip up hostility against them to help promote the war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

The media is joining in with a racist smear campaign against undocumented immigrants. The *New York Times* article quoted here is just a sample.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) — *la migra*, as the hated cop outfit is known to Latinos — is stepping up its raids in the factories and the fields.

Along the border there's been a clampdown by the INS Border Patrol, with record numbers of immigrants being arrested and turned back on the claim they don't have proper documentation to enter. In February, 80,310 people were arrested and turned back at the Mexican border, a 46 percent increase over February 1982.

On April 25, the Supreme Court agreed to rule on whether *la migra* has the right to swoop down on factories, seal the exits, and question every one of the workers they want, taking off those who can't satisfactorily prove they're here legally.

Meanwhile, there is a push in Congress to pass the Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill. If passed it will add to the victimization of undocumented workers, intensify discrimination against all Latinos, and be a weapon against the entire labor movement.

Targeting "aliens" of Latin origin is clearly intended today to promote Washington's war drive.

For one thing, an increasing number of those coming here in the past several years have fled brutal dictatorships and terrible poverty in such countries as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. There are an estimated 300,000 Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees alone.

And Reagan and his associates now regularly emphasize that San Salvador is closer to Washington than San Francisco. This contains the poisonous seeds of the racist propaganda of World War II against the Japanese "Yellow Peril."

The *New York Times* article cited above repeats all the old falsehoods about undocumented workers — they're making all

kinds of money and sending it back to Mexico; they're packing the welfare rolls; they're collecting unemployment insurance. And the article repeats the racist stereotype about undocumented job seekers being "criminals."

The whole thing, of course, is a total lie. A series of surveys has established that undocumented workers are forced to take the lowest-paying jobs. Studies in Los Angeles and elsewhere confirm that only the tiniest percentage risk applying for welfare, no matter how desperately they may need it.

And relatively few get to qualify for unemployment compensation.

But it would not be surprising if there's a move to make it illegal for the undocumented to collect unemployment benefits. After all, the Senate did vote last March 18 to exclude undocumented residents from collecting Social Security benefits, even when they are fully qualified.

And the propaganda about the undocumented being "criminals" is a smoke-screen to hide the real criminals — the sweatshop operators who pay them starvation wages, the slumlords who prey on them, the *la migra* agents who have extorted, raped, and murdered at the border, and more.

Introduced into Congress last year by Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.) and Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.), the anti-immigrant bill was approved by the Senate but died in the House. It was reintroduced in the present session.

The bill would make it illegal for employers to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. Besides the "knowingly" loophole, penalties against employers are minimal — fines and possible jail terms for the most persistent of offenders.

But that would be sufficient justification for employers to take an even closer look at people applying for jobs who look "illegal" — that is, Latino.

The Senate version would require that all workers — native-born and immigrant — carry "counterfeit-proof" government ID cards. This would be a ready-made basis for a nationwide, computerized blacklist of militant unionists and political dissidents.

Amnesty would be granted to those undocumented workers who are ready to step forward, identify themselves, and prove to the satisfaction of *la migra* that they have lived here continuously since before January 1, 1980. All the rest would face deportation.

The law would beef up the Border Patrol and give *la migra* cops even greater legal authority to exclude people at the border.

Appeals on deportation orders as well as applications for political asylum would be substantially restricted beyond what they already are.

Local and state cops would, for the first time, be authorized to enforce immigration laws. That means they could arrest and turn over to *la migra* anyone they decided looked "illegal" — especially strike pickets, antiwar and antiracist demonstrators and similar "troublemakers." The law would make unions vulnerable to attack but, at the same time, strengthen the hand of union bureaucrats looking to preserve white job trusts.

Union hiring halls would be legally liable for dispatching undocumented workers for jobs.

At the same time, hiring hall dispatchers would be authorized to refuse to dispatch people they believed to have no papers.

Numerous Latino organizations, immigration groups, and church bodies have expressed opposition to the Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

So have several union locals and officials, but not enough. More should be en-



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Supreme Court is to rule on *la migra* factory sweeps. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union brought suit to end these racist raids.

couraged to speak out against this reactionary measure.

Some capitalists — ranchers, hotel and restaurant operators, garment bosses, others who especially exploit the undocumented — are not too happy about Simpson-Mazzoli. They apparently don't like even the minimal restrictions it puts on them.

But there are strong forces pushing for passage.

One voice of big business strongly favoring Simpson-Mazzoli is the *New York Times*.

It ran an angry editorial April 28 pointing out that passage had been slowed down because senators Alan Cranston of California and Gary Hart of Colorado had asked for more debate on it. The *Times* editorial assumed they did this because they both aspire to the Democratic presidential nomination.

But if either wants to be president, the paper argued, they have to have "a national perspective on the immigration issue," adding with an angry snarl, otherwise "let them get out of the way."

Meanwhile, an important issue is before the Supreme Court with its decision to consider what limits — if any — should be imposed on warrantless factory raids, or sweeps, by *la migra*.

The issue stems from court action taken in 1977 by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Los Angeles in defense of undocumented workers.

Many garment workers in Los Angeles are undocumented. The union found that if it wanted to organize, it had to look to these undocumented workers, many of whom quickly proved to be militant union builders and strike leaders.

But the union also learned that the garment bosses enjoy the cooperation of *la migra* in trying to keep these workers down.

In strikes, they found *migra* cops showing up and grabbing unionists from the picket line. Shops slated for union certification elections would suddenly be raided.

And in general, *la migra* kept sweeping down on shops, sealing the exits, and

scooping up those they decided were "illegal."

In one year in Los Angeles, they arrested 20,000 workers in this way.

These raids (with a straight face, *la migra* calls them "surveys") were either conducted without warrants or with warrants that failed to name specific suspects. Either way it's a violation of the constitutional ban on illegal search and seizure.

Citing three such illegal raids, the ILGWU went to court in 1977 seeking a permanent injunction against them. The union presented it as a class-action suit, that is, on behalf of all the workers, documented and undocumented, victimized by such raids.

This was denied, but on appeal by the union, the district court of appeals ruled that the way the raids were carried out was in fact unconstitutional.

This was appealed by the Justice Department and this is what the Supreme Court will now rule on.

In a telephone interview, an attorney for the Los Angeles ILGWU said the union will be represented at the Supreme Court hearing and will argue against the Justice Department motion to reverse the appeals court.

But the union attorney added that the appeals court decision now up for reconsideration also was not adequate, since it simply indicated its view of how such sweeps should be conducted.

"It was not what we wanted," he said. "They were surrounding factories, grabbing everyone who looked Mexican, looked Latino. We thought that should be stopped."

Indeed it should. And if more unions follow the lead of the Los Angeles garment unionists, we'll be moving in the direction of effectively resisting such illegal, anti-labor practices.

The employers, the politicians, and media are trying to use the issue of the undocumented to divide and weaken the entire working class. That has to be turned around. Solidarity with the undocumented will greatly strengthen the working class at a time when it needs all the strength it can muster.