

# THE MILITANT

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

**Top gov't official asserts president's power to spy on you**  
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**U.S. admits raids against Laos**  
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**Irish protests**



Militant/Marc Lichtman  
**NEW YORK**—Protesters pour into streets as two more Irish hunger strikers—O'Hara and McCreesh—die. In Northern Ireland, an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 attend O'Hara's funeral. So far, four Republican prisoners have died protesting British government treatment of prisoners.

## POLAND: Eyewitness report from U.S. coal miner

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Workers at Lenin shipyard, Gdansk

## Rally protests murders of Atlanta Blacks



Washington, D.C., May 25. See page 3.

Militant Lou Howort

## Unions targeted in NASSCO 3 frame-up

As we go to press, the bombing conspiracy trial against three union activists at San Diego's National Steel and Shipbuilding Company is nearing a close.

All working people have a stake in the outcome.

Testimony so far has revealed that there was indeed a conspiracy. Not by the unionists, but by NASSCO's top management, the FBI, and the San Diego "Red Squad."

The company, local, and federal police conspired to use an agent provocateur to crush two unions—the Iron Workers and the Machinists—fighting for better pay and an end to deadly working conditions in NASSCO's yard.

Under the rules of capitalist justice, however, the company and the cops are the accusers. The victims are on trial.

The frame-up is based on the testimony of a company fink, Ramon Barton. In the course of the legal proceedings, it has been revealed that Barton was also an informer for the San Diego police and had received \$5,000 in "expense money" from the FBI.

Preparations to use individuals like Barton against the unions were begun several years ago by NASSCO.

A former security officer for the company testified in court that in 1978 NASSCO officials instituted a policy of approaching workers who had just been fired. They were told they could have their jobs back, on condition that they become spies against the union.

Barton was one of those fired and "rehired," in April of last year. As outrage boiled over working conditions, including a gas leak that killed two persons, he began to meet his end of the bargain.

From the first protest he took part in on August 2, 1980, to the arrests he set up September 16, Barton carried on a relentless campaign to discredit the union by provoking violence against company officials and property.

When his repeated suggestions of sabotage, firebombings, vandalism, and beatings failed to produce the desired results, a bigger plan was hatched.

Wired for sound by the FBI, Barton provided the three union activists now on trial with a manual of instructions on how to make bombs. He purchased the main ingredients for the devices. He oversaw their construction. He supervised their testing in the desert.

In short, there never would have been any bombs without the tireless Barton. There never

would have been any funds to pay for the material without the "expense money" provided by the FBI.

Instead of a trial of union activists, there should be a trial of NASSCO officials for the deaths of shipyard workers killed because of the company's drive for profits.

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

If convicted, the three face possible prison sentences of up to forty years.

The fight against this company-FBI frame-up deserves the backing of the entire labor movement. As in the case of the Socialist Workers Party suit against similar use of FBI informers and provocateurs currently in court in New York, a victory for the NASSCO Three would advance the cause of all working people. It would be a victory against the real source of violence—profit-hungry corporations and the police agencies that exist to serve them.

## U.S.S. Nimitz and nuclear madmen

On May 27, a military aircraft crashed onto the deck of the nuclear-powered *U.S.S. Nimitz*, the world's biggest warship. As we go to press, at least 14 men have died and 45 have been injured, at least 20 of them seriously.

Navy officials refused to reveal whether nuclear weapons were present on the *Nimitz*. This is in line with the Pentagon policy of veiling in secrecy all matters relating to nuclear weapons.

The *Nimitz* disaster occurred just days after a Pentagon "study" admitted five previously unreported accidents involving nuclear weapons, going back as far as 1950. In the May 26 *New York Times*, Richard Halloran describes the incidents as follows:

- "In the spring of 1968 there was an incident in the Atlantic Ocean. The report did not elaborate, but informed officials said that the accident involved a submarine and the details were kept secret to prevent the Soviet Union or anyone else from knowing the location of the submarine's nuclear weapon, which was apparently not recovered.

- "In December 1965 an A-4 attack plane with one nuclear weapon aboard rolled off the elevator of an aircraft carrier and fell into the Pacific at an undisclosed location more than

500 miles from shore. The pilot and the plane were lost, and the nuclear weapon was not recovered.

- "In November 1963 about 123,000 pounds of nonnuclear highly explosive materials from nuclear weapons blew up in an Atomic Energy Commission storage facility at Medina Base, Tex. Three employees of the commission were injured, but there was little contamination from radioactive material stored elsewhere in the building. The nonnuclear materials, used to detonate a bomb's radioactive fuel, were from obsolete weapons being disassembled.

- "In September 1959 a Navy P-5M antisubmarine aircraft ditched in Puget Sound off Whidbey Island, Wash. The aircraft's unarmed nuclear antisubmarine weapon, containing no radioactive material, was not recovered.

- "In November 1950, because of an inflight emergency, a B-50 bomber, flying at 10,550 feet somewhere over water outside the United States, jettisoned a bomb that did not contain the nuclear material needed to trigger an atomic explosion. The nonnuclear high explosives in the bomb did detonate, apparently on impact with the water."

These are in addition to other accidents involving nuclear weapons. Among these were the ejection of a nuclear warhead from a missile silo in Arkansas last September as a result of an explosion. One person was killed and 21 injured.

Another incident involved the dropping of four nuclear bombs near Palomares, Spain, in January 1966. In two of the bombs the nonnuclear high explosives actually exploded, spewing radioactive material into the environment.

These are just the accidents the government has been forced to admit. How many unreported ones are there? Until the records of the Pentagon madmen are opened up there will be no way of knowing.

One thing is certain. The more these deadly time bombs accumulate, the greater is the danger of a major nuclear catastrophe.

This is why working people throughout the world are increasingly demanding that nuclear power and weapons be eliminated. From Europe, to Japan, to Three Mile Island, to Utah—they're telling the U.S. government they don't want these instruments of destruction.

Ultimately, the working people of this country will have to disarm the Pentagon madmen by taking the government out of their hands and running it ourselves.

The *Nimitz* disaster and the latest admissions of hidden nuclear accidents confirm once again that the struggle for socialism is a matter of life and death.

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### Reagan versus women



Reagan's gang is going after women's rights with a vengeance. But the women's movement has yet to organize an effective national response. A discussion on how to halt the attacks is urgently needed. In this month's 'International Socialist Review,' Margaret Jayko makes a contribution to this discussion. **Page 10.**

## The Militant

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# D.C. rally: stop racist terror in Atlanta

By Suzanne Haig

WASHINGTON—Anger at the failure of federal, state, and local officials to stop the racist murders of Black children in Atlanta brought 4,000-5,000 demonstrators to the Lincoln Memorial here May 25.

The rally, called by the Committee to Stop Children's Murders, coincided with yet another killing. On May 24 the body of Nathaniel Cater, the twenty-eighth victim, was found in the Chattahoochee River. Two other youths are still missing.

The mostly Black crowd included a large number of trade unionists from New York, visible with their union pins and hats. District 1199 of the Hospital Workers sent twenty buses. District 65 of the United Auto Workers sent three. International Ladies' Garment Workers Local 99 sent thirteen.

In addition, contingents of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 117 from Delaware and Virginia, United Auto Workers Local 980 from New Jersey, and several locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees were present.

There were also high school and college students at the rally and members of left political organizations.

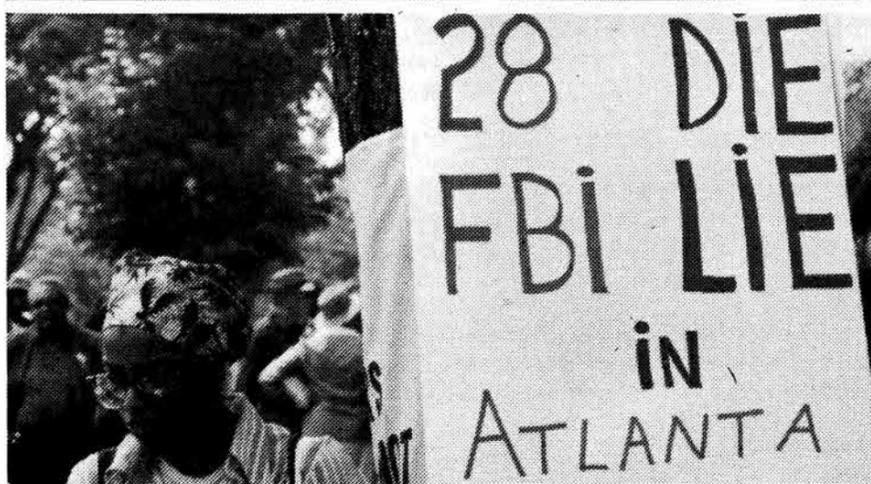
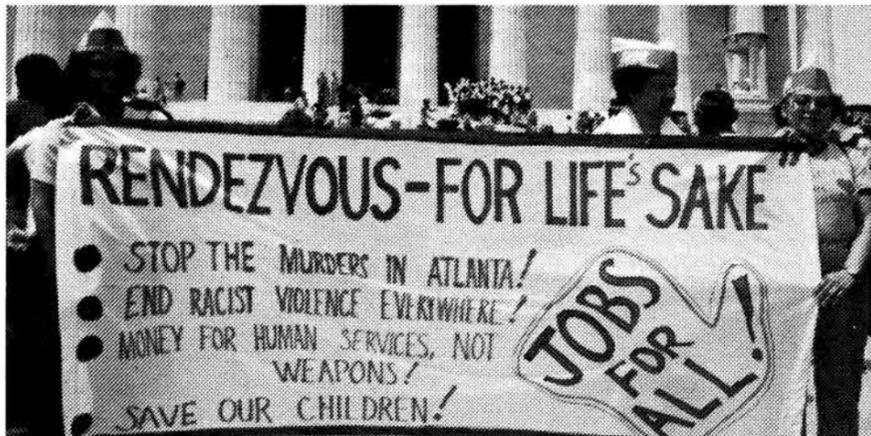
"Many of the workers in our union are minorities," James McCrae of ILGWU Local 99 told the *Militant*. "We are here today to show people that we are behind them and to get the government to go down to Atlanta and investigate."

## Mine Workers' support

The United Mine Workers of America was one of the international unions supporting the May 25 rally. Tom Twomey, head of UMWA's Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC), explained in an interview: "The unions stand for the people of this nation, stand for having good health, for the well-being of children, for basic decency and welfare. They put people above profits."

Before the rally, several of the mothers joined the UMWA in a wreath-laying ceremony for the slain youths in front of the miners' headquarters.

William Lucy, head of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, said at the rally, "We need to come together and redirect and reorient the priorities of this nation. We cannot have a system that makes us choose between food and fuel, choose be-



Large part of May 25 rally consisted of trade unionists. Top photo shows members of District 1199, Hospital Workers.

tween feeding our children and buying tanks, planes, bombs, and guns."

"Too long we've stood back," said Camille Bell, mother of slain Yusef Bell, "and allowed the people that we hire to run our country to allow these kinds of things to continue."

Ella Collins, sister of Malcolm X and president of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, received loud cheers and applause when she called on Blacks to "stop praying and start marching."

Dick Gregory attacked the FBI's role in Atlanta. "First they said those boys were involved in homosexuality, and when that didn't work, they said the parents were doing [the killings]."

Michael Amon-Ra of the National Black United Front called the killings in Atlanta "racist terrorism."

"This is not happening in any other community. Only in the Black community. We need to let this nation know that business will not go on as usual as long as these killings continue."

Many participants were clearly disappointed with the turnout.

Why wasn't the action larger? It was certainly not because Blacks are unconcerned about Atlanta. Thousands have marched in Harlem, Jersey City, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, and elsewhere this year.

But there has been a persistent campaign to discourage such outpourings, to silence the protests, and to confuse people about the nature of the murders and why they haven't been stopped.

Since the first youth was murdered almost two years ago, there has been a systematic cover-up by federal, state, and local officials, the Atlanta cops, and

the FBI.

Annie Rogers, mother of slain Patrick Rogers, told the *Militant* that "the police commissioner tells the mothers nothing. We hear about what is happening from the papers and news media. And then you can't believe all they say."

## Slander campaign

The cops and FBI refuse to investigate the Ku Klux Klan or other racist outfits but have investigated the mothers and even accused them of killing their own children.

The capitalist media has aided and abetted this slander campaign, featuring articles about how the slain youths had been out "selling their bodies," "hustling," and "running drugs."

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson has helped lead this cover-up and the effort to discredit the mothers and victims. He has denounced those who say the killings are racist.

At a news conference on March 17, two days after 1,500 marched in Atlanta protesting the killings, Jackson told residents to "lower their voices."

Not wanting to embarrass Atlanta's predominantly Black administration, most national Black leaders have joined this conspiracy of silence, refusing to criticize the role of the Atlanta cops and city administration and doing everything possible to keep the Black community, especially in Atlanta, from mobilizing.

This stance was reflected in the turnout of Atlanta Blacks at the May 25 rally.

Only five buses were organized to go to Washington from Atlanta. Four of

these came for the entire weekend at the prohibitive cost of eighty dollars per person with no prearranged housing. Only one bus was organized for the one day of the rally.

Except for Rev. Jesse Jackson, who chaired the rally, none of the major civil rights leaders and organizations helped to build the action or participate. Maynard Jackson; Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry; and Coretta Scott King did not appear, preferring instead to send written statements.

Mayor Barry could have mobilized the churches, schools, and labor movement in Washington.

Nor did the Black media give the rally the publicity it gave to the January 15 Martin Luther King action.

But despite this, the action took place. This, in itself, is a victory.

And the rally helped deepen the discussion over the roots of the problem in Atlanta.

Bernice Landon, a middle-aged woman currently studying at the University of the District of Columbia, told me at the rally that she was concerned because "the Black leaders aren't raising enough hell in Atlanta. That's the only way you are going to get something done. It seems like they are just sitting back and accepting this."

The reason? "A lot of people are behind Maynard Jackson," Landon explained, "and the question of the murders still going on zooms in on the mayor and his relationship with the cops."

"But it shouldn't matter whether he is white or Black, if he's not doing anything."

Virginia Horner of the United Food and Commercial Workers touched on the heart of the problem.

"Atlanta officials know something, but they won't let us know. But we have a right to know."

"They won't tell us because they fear a racial war. But these killings could spread to other states. If they can get away with it in Atlanta, they will get bold. We have to stop it now before that happens."

"Actions like this are needed," she continued. "If we are idle, the officials will think we don't care and will do nothing. We have to let them know where we are coming from."



Tom Twomey of UMWA, left, stands with Camille Bell, right, mother of slain youth Yusef Bell, at a wreath-laying ceremony in solidarity with Atlanta Blacks. Ceremony took place in front of miners' headquarters in Washington, D.C.

## Black socialist on radio

Tune in to your local Black radio station the weekend of May 30-31 for a special program featuring Malik Miah, national cochairperson of the Socialist Workers Party. Miah was interviewed by the National Black Network on the SWP's lawsuit against government spying and on issues facing the Black movement today. Radio stations subscribing to the network will be carrying the interview. Call your local station for the time.

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# A U.S. coal miner visits Poland

In mid-April, DeAnn Rathbun, a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1190 and the Young Socialist Alliance, went to Poland to gather information on the revolution unfolding in that country.

Rathbun is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Accompanying her on the trip was SWP member George Saunders, the editor of the book 'Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition'. Later, SWP member Bruce Lesnick, a former auto worker, joined them.

In the following interview, Rathbun relates her experiences and impressions on a wide range of subjects: how Poland's independent union, Solidarity, is organized; its role in the fight against bureaucracy and privilege in the Polish government; and the attitudes of Polish workers toward socialism, the Catholic Church and women's equality.

In the coming weeks, Rathbun will be speaking at meetings throughout the country, discussing with American workers the significance of the Polish workers' struggle.

*Q. What do people mean when they use the phrase "workers democracy"?*

A. First of all it means free and open elections. The Polish United Workers Party (Communist Party) dominates both the government and the political life of the country.

On another level it means deciding what is produced and overseeing the way production is going. There are great complaints against mismanagement. Working people in Poland have the attitude—which I think is a very correct one—that they can run things better than the bureaucrats.

But in order to do this they need freedom of information. Censorship makes it difficult for them to get correct information. There is a feeling that the country is in bad shape but the workers feel they need accurate information to know what to do about it.

*Q. In what way is Poland in bad shape?*

A. The economy is in real shambles. The most obvious thing is the problem with getting food. There are shortages of meat, milk, butter, cheese, sugar, and coffee. All these things and more are rationed now. We were told that rationing would be extended to other items as well, such as fish.

The problems are also reflected in the tremendous shortage of housing. You have to wait 15 years to get your own apartment. They are very small apartments. The new ones have no separate room for a living room.

## How bureaucrats live

*Q. Do government and party bureaucrats live better than the people do in general?*

A. It is very commonly known that the bureaucrats have certain privileges, and people talk about the social wealth of the country being exploited for private purposes. The one thing I was surprised about was the extent to which these bureaucrats abuse that social wealth.

*Q. Do they actually live like millionaires?*

A. The bureaucrats certainly try to mimic the life style of the superrich in this country. One story we were told was that Gierek's wife [this refers to former Communist Party chief Edward Gierek, who was forced to resign after the strikes last August] used to fly to Paris in the Central Committee's airplane once a week to have her hair done. And once a month to go on a shopping trip to buy clothes there.

There was one bureaucrat with a vacation house in Africa, an expensive flat in London, as well as several nice houses in Poland. They have special hunting rights in areas that nobody else can use.

*Q. Do they actually have foreign bank accounts?*

A. While we were there, a minor official was arrested on charges of corruption. This was an attempt to make it look as if the government is trying to rid itself of corrupt elements. But then they allowed the press to interview him in jail.

So this guy spilled the beans. He started talking about all the things he had arranged for the higher party and government bureaucrats. Things like setting up a separate, private bank account in an Austrian bank.

Also we were told that there is actually an act, a formal act that was passed in 1972 that guarantees certain privileges to top-level party officials that run the government. And not only does that act guarantee them certain privileges, but is also extended to their close relatives down to their grandchildren.

## Mansions turned into hospitals

*Q. Have people moved against some of these privi-*

*leges since last August?*

A. Yes. One of the things they have done is to take over these bureaucrats' mansions and turn them into things like hospitals.

*Q. Do people see themselves as defenders of socialism, or have thirty-six years of bureaucratic rule and Russian domination pretty much discredited the concept of socialism?*

A. People have different ideas about socialism, and the issue is certainly confused by the Communist Party's claim to be socialist. So some say that they are against socialism, some say they are for it. Some qualify their attitude by saying "if what we have been living under for the last thirty-six years is socialism, then I am anti-socialist." Some insisted that the most anti-socialist elements were the top party officials themselves. But whatever the opinion on socialism per se, everyone we talked to said they were for workers democracy.

*Q. How is the trade union, Solidarity, organized?*

A. Every factory has an elected leadership committee. These committees negotiate disputes with the management. When we were there, the committees were composed of those who came to the fore during the strikes.

Elections were coming up in May and June and July in different factories and in different parts of the country. Even the way it is now these committees are composed of people who are delegated by departments. Each department elects a delegate to serve on one broad body. On the broad body they elect the leadership committee; these are the people who usually negotiate with management.

There are regional bodies of Solidarity called MKZ, or Interfactory Committees. These in turn elect a presidium that functions as a steering committee. Each member of the presidium heads up a specific subcommittee.

*Q. What are the functions of these committees?*

A. To carry out the work of Solidarity, on a regional basis. One of the committees that Solidarity has in all big factories and on a regional basis is an intervention committee. These committees respond to problems outside of the workplace.

## Stamping out privilege

For example in a small town near Katowice, in Silesia, there was a store in a rather elite neighborhood. Silesia is in an area from where a lot of the party officials have come, Gierek and some others. And there is a neighborhood that is somewhat elite. There was a shop that served that neighborhood. People from all over the city would come there to shop because it was usually well stocked.

We were told how the day before the rationing began of a lot of goods like coffee and sugar, people were lined up to buy food items in the store. They noticed while they were standing in line that there were cars driving around to the back of the shop, people leaving with bags full of meat and other stuff, and then getting into the cars and driving away.

They discovered that this manager had only put 10 percent of the stock that was in the store out on the shelves, and had 90 percent of the stock in the back room—shelves full of sugar, coffee, bread and meat. People with connections were coming to the back door and getting their sacks full and leaving.

The manager claimed that she was saving the goods for the day of rationing. But nobody bought that line.

These people from the intervention committee demanded that all of the goods be brought out into the front. They also demanded that the store remain open until everything from that store had been sold and that the manager pay the shop workers, who were also members of Solidarity, overtime for all the hours they had to stay there that night. The funds for the overtime came, at Solidarity's insistence, from the local party committee.



Gdansk, August 30, 1980: Delegates to interfactory strike committee vote on agreement with government, legalizing Solidarity union. 'In general, the impression we got was that the leaders and office staffs were very open and responsive, there was an extremely democratic atmosphere.'

Q. But don't the police crack down on Solidarity for doing this sort of thing?

A. I got the impression that the cops keep a pretty low profile after the Bydgoszcz incident [when leaders of Solidarity were beaten by police, leading to a four-hour national strike].

Q. What actual gains have been made inside the factories?

A. The thing we heard about most often was that now any work-related proposal that management wanted to implement had to first be approved by the local Solidarity organization at the factory, or an agreeable compromise had to be reached.

Q. What happens if Solidarity and the plant management can't come to an agreement?

A. People sort of laughed at us when we asked them that question, as if the answer was only too obvious. If Solidarity didn't approve, the proposal simply did not go into effect.

Q. Have they taken any measures to prevent a new bureaucracy based on Solidarity from growing up?

A. We encountered some discussion about this question. One miner told us that if the workers concluded that their leaders in Solidarity were becoming corrupt, becoming bureaucrats, they would just vote them out and vote in new leaders. Apparently they're considering limits on the terms in office, especially of national leaders. Solidarity officers are paid by the factories, at the average wage, as I recall.

### Rank-and-file democracy

But key to keeping the movement democratic, of course, is for the ranks to participate constantly and actively in the movement. Democratic elections and procedures, such as the right of recall, rotation in office, and limits on how much officials are paid, wouldn't count for much if the ranks became inactive.

The workers, and people in general, bring all sorts of problems to the Solidarity offices. The phones are ringing all the time. And the leaders and staff are constantly responding and intervening, trying to solve the problems.

In general, the impression we got was that the leaders and office staffs were very open and responsive, there was an extremely democratic atmosphere, like you find in a movement headquarters here when a big protest action is coming up. But there it's going on all the time.

Q. Is there freedom of the press in Poland today?

A. That's one of the big things that has happened since August. Censorship has eased a lot, although it's still in effect. Every Solidarity unit, on a factory or regional level, puts out a paper. These are internal, "for members only," and therefore are uncensored. But anyone who comes to the office can read them.

In April national Solidarity began to issue a national weekly, which does have to undergo preliminary censorship. One of the biggest problems of Solidarity is the problem of information.

Related to this is the shortage of paper. The party never has a shortage of paper. They want to publish something, a Central Committee document, there is always plenty of paper. But for example the national newspaper of Solidarity, called *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Solidarity Weekly), can print only 500,000 copies. Solidarity itself has 11 million members and there are 35 million people in Poland. But they can only print 500,000 papers.

In both the factories and the university there are information bulletins that come out daily or once every few days. Then there may be a general paper that comes out once a week.

### Reorganizing economy

Q. Have people in Poland put forward any proposals of how the economy could be reorganized in the workers interest?

A. A lot of people think that each factory should be made accountable for its own gains and losses. That

# U.S. coal strike: the view from Poland

By DeAnn Rathbun

Although no one we spoke with in Poland had heard that the American coal miners' strike was going on, everywhere we went people were interested. Students in the universities, Communist Party members fighting for democracy, and especially industrial workers, wanted to know about the issues and the fight.

Over and over again, the Polish workers expressed solidarity with our strike, and often they urged us to emulate their example.

The miners we spoke with showed particular interest, wanting to know just what our demands were and what our working conditions were like. They wondered if other workers supported our struggle. They asked if miners support farmers.

I told them about the food caravan of Missouri farmers to aid striking miners in 1978, and explained that many miners were also small farmers. The same is true in Poland, they told me.

At the MKR-Jastrebie, the regional interfactory committee formed out of the Silesian miners' strike last September, we interviewed three people. They wanted to know all about the proposed contract. On hearing what the coal companies wanted to impose on us, they told us we should organize a Solidarity union in the United States.

They expressed their solidarity with our strike and asked, "Can we say that what's going on in Poland has made you better fighters?" I assured them that it had.

They wanted to write about our strike in their regional newspaper, so we left them a copy of "Coal Miners on Strike," the pamphlet that

reprints several articles from the *Militant*. They were going to get their translator to work on it right away, so they could reprint some of the articles.

We visited miner Solidarity leaders at the Kopalnia Niwka Modrzejow, a coal mine in Sosnowiec. Here, the tables got turned, and they interviewed me about coal mining in America: about wages, benefits, and working conditions, and about the issues in our strike.

I left them a copy of the proposed contract, the one we voted down, which they posted on their Solidarity bulletin board—not because anyone could read English, but because it featured the symbol of the United Mine Workers of America on the front cover.

After the interview, one of the miners took us home for dinner, quite an honor considering the food shortages. We spent two evenings in discussions, putting Polish vodka to its best use. We proposed many toasts—to the Polish workers, to their continuing fight to enforce free Saturdays, to the American workers, and to the U.S. coal miners' strike.

And in Gdansk, we talked with Anna Walenty-nowicz and two pipefitters from the Lenin Shipyard. Early in the conversation, she had noted that workers face the same situation all over the world. After I had explained some of the issues in our strike, she said, "The problems are similar, so we would like to greet striking miners in the states and we wish you success."

"Your workers," she said, "should take Solidarity as an example."

each factory should be made profitable and should be responsible for that, rather than have a broad national plan. Other people realize that when industry is nationalized there has to be an overall plan. The ranks of Solidarity are not in agreement on everything.

Some of the people we talked to think the extreme shortages are caused on purpose in an attempt to blame Solidarity for creating a worsening situation.

There is a shortage of tractors in Poland. Yet one miner told us there are 40,000 tractors out of use in the country because of lack of planning, lack of parts or machinery to repair them or finish manufacturing them. People complain that they don't have the supplies that will enable them to work.

We were told that two years ago the government had a group of university economists draw up proposals for economic reform. The government rejected these proposals and buried the report. Now Solidarity has presented its own program of economic reform.

Q. Do the people you spoke to think that there have been any positive accomplishments since the Communist Party came to power in Poland?

A. There are the gains that have been made over the last thirty-six years that are the result of nationalizing the economy.

Before World War II, Poland was a poor, mainly agricultural country. Much of its industry was destroyed during the war. But today it is one of the leading industrial countries in the world, and the people have made big gains. Things like free medical care, free education, that kind of thing.

People get a month off paid vacation every year. Usually they have a place set aside, a lodge in the mountains, a lodge on the sea shore at a very reduced rate. Almost every household has a stereo and a TV—at least in the cities. Records and books are cheap.

A student at Torun who is also a member of the

Communist Party summed up what many people felt about these gains by saying that "the activity undertaken by the government such as land reform and nationalization of industry, general education for everybody, medical care for everybody—these are of such importance that they cannot be abolished. And it was these achievements that convinced people that socialism should be accepted. It was a great step forward compared to the conditions that existed before the war."

But he paraphrased Lenin about the parties gaining power in the name of the interests of the nation and then acting only in their own interests. People talk a lot about the need for workers democracy.

Q. Is there any support for private ownership?

A. Whenever we asked this question—whether large industries, like mines and factories, should be returned to private owners—the notion was rejected out of hand. People said of course not. They want to control the factories themselves, to have workers control.

I met only one person who spoke in favor of private ownership of large scale industry. She was very young, just out of school, and really had no idea of what private ownership meant. For example, she thought that if someone owned a factory they would care about the welfare of their workers, and then asked me about my coal mine, Wasn't that so?

I told her that Rockefeller owned my mine, the same guy that owned all the oil, and he couldn't care less about what happened to us down there, that he couldn't see beyond the money that we made for him.

On the other hand, there is a small layer of people who own shops, both craftsmen and retailers. These businesses can employ up to six people. Not only was there support for these, but also talk about expanding

Continued on page 22

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DEANN RATHBUN

# Top gov't official testifies in socialist suit

By Nelson Blackstock

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

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

Keuch (pronounced "Keek") is currently Associate Deputy Attorney General. That makes him the number three ranking man in the Justice Department, a spot he shares with another official with the same title.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Case forced out

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

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

Additionally, there are a range of "thought control" laws that have pro-

vided in the past and continue today to provide a basis for the investigation. Beyond that, there are a series of presidential executive orders—including number 10450, which sets up the "loyalty program" for federal employees.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Thought-control laws

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

Among the other legislation is the Voorhis Act. Previously at the trial FBI burglars cited it as justification for regularly breaking into SWP headquarters in the 1950s and 1960s. This law restricts political associations on an international level.

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

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

Keuch cited a law that has previously received little attention in this case.

That is the Internal Security Act of 1950.

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

## Start with CP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Keuch turned over to the socialists some memos relating to implementing this aspect of the law. They indicated that sealed packets containing warrants and instructions had been placed around the country.

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

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

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

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

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

## Not illegal acts

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

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

"Yes, sir," Keuch interrupted.

"Even if you include the Smith Act as well as the other acts, you are saying that the basic, the real reason, the important reason for the investigation



ROBERT KEUCH

Militant/Diane Jacobs

was, over all these years, was not any of those acts?"

"I think that is correct," Keuch responded.

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

"Yes, sir," Keuch answered.

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

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

"Yes sir," Keuch replied.

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

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

## Keith case

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

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

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

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

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

Keuch also claimed that the Keith decision "discusses the difference between" a criminal investigation and "an Intelligence investigation which is to provide the president and the Executive with the power to take steps to protect

## Reagan cronies smear ACLU

Two of President Reagan's closest associates have openly stated his administration's contempt for civil liberties.

Top White House aide Edwin Meese branded the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) part of a "criminals' lobby."

William A. Wilson, West Coast businessman and longtime friend of Reagan, charged the ACLU "must, indeed, be supported by those whom they are helping, namely, organized crime."

Meese's statement came in a speech he made to a police organization May 11, in California. Wilson made his charge in a letter he sent last December to a supporter of the ACLU who has since made the letter public.

By aiming their attack at the country's oldest, most prestigious civil liberties organization, the two made clear any organization that fights for political rights is now under attack.

That includes, for example, the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating support for the Socialist

Workers Party's trial against government spying and harassment.

Wilson underscored this by singling out for particular fire ACLU efforts to curtail "intelligence-gathering and file-keeping."

"We do not like to lightly make charges of McCarthyism," ACLU National Executive Director Ira Glasser said in response to the charges.

"But what Meese and Wilson have done is a classic form of McCarthyism. Where Joe McCarthy equated dissent with disloyalty, Meese and Wilson now equate support for constitutional limits with crime."

The fact that Meese and Wilson were stating Reagan's own views is apparent from the president's refusal to dissociate himself from their remarks.

"The president hasn't taken a position one way or the other" on the charges, a White House press aide told the *Militant* May 26. "He hasn't said anything on it, and there are no plans to."

ourselves and protect our form of government. . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 'Subversive activities'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"They read the law books," he added.

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

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

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

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

The argument flies in the face of all reason. A republican government is distinguished by the fact that it is a repre-

# New York SWP offices ransacked

NEW YORK—Early on the morning of May 28, the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance here was broken into.

Files were scattered on the floors, desks were rummaged through, about \$100 in cash was taken, and expensive sound and calculating equipment was dragged into the hallway as if to remove it. Small fires were set in the bookstore area and four offices.

Apparently the burglars broke through a wire mesh window from the fire escape.

The headquarters provides office space for several committees, including:

- the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, which is running Black auto worker Wells Todd against Mayor Edward Koch.

- the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the socialist lawsuit against crimes of political harassment done by the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies. The case is currently being tried by Judge Thomas Griese in the Federal Court House in New York City.

- the Militant Labor Forum Committee, which is sponsoring a speak-out in this same headquarters against the New York Red Squad on May 29.

In a statement released by Wells



Intruders rifled desks and scattered files

Todd, he said, "We demand that the city police carry out immediate and full investigation to arrest those responsible.

"And we urge all supporters of democratic rights to join us in demanding this investigation."

sentative democracy, one based on law—in which no autocratic powers rest in the hands of an individual or groups of individuals.

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

Can the government conduct a non-ending investigation, which does not

even pretend to end in a criminal investigation? The Brietel report, issued earlier in this case, documented the role of government informers, an indispensable part of such "investigations," in disrupting the political life of the SWP and YSA.

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

## NEW YORK



## Rally to defend political rights!

Dick Gregory—Comedian, Black activist

**Jack Barnes**  
National Secretary  
Socialist Workers Party

**Ruth Gage-Colby**  
Anti-Vietnam-War leader, Women's  
International League for Peace  
and Freedom

**Jack Gilford**  
Entertainer, witch-hunt victim

**Ernesto Jofre**  
Representative ACTWU Local 169,  
Member, Hispanic Labor Committee

**Afeni Shakur**  
Black Panther Party 21 defendant,  
Black community organizer

**Morton Sobel**  
Witch-hunt victim, imprisoned  
for 15 years after Rosenberg trial

**William Kunstler**  
Lawyer, Center for Constitutional Rights

**Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh**  
Iranian student fighting deportation,  
member Young Socialist Alliance

**Tom Pontolillo**  
President, Brotherhood of Locomotive  
Engineers, Division 501\*

**John Trinkl**  
Writer, *Guardian*

\*Organization for identification only.

**Saturday June 6 7:30 pm**

Reception and entertainment at 6:30 pm. Party after program.  
Martin Luther King Labor Center 310 West 43rd Street,  
between 9th and 9th Avenues  
Donation: \$3.00. High school or unemployed: \$1.00

ATTEND THE TRIAL. Call 260-8424 or 533-2902 for schedule and directions.

# DAY BY DAY

## WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

### DAY 30: THURSDAY, MAY 21

Robert Keuch, associate deputy attorney general, testifies that, as high-ranking official in Justice Department, he has the power to officially reopen investigation of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Tells how FBI guidelines adopted in 1976 work; indicates substantial flexibility on local level in opening and renewing 'preliminary investigations' of socialists and others.

### DAY 31: FRIDAY, MAY 22

Keuch continues on stand. Says investigation of socialists has its basis in secret 1936 directive from Roosevelt to Hoover. Says that 'inherent' presidential power stemming directly from Constitution provides fundamental basis for investigation. Although legislation and executive orders also provide independent basis for investigation, they are secondary to this presidential power.

### DAY 32: TUESDAY, MAY 26

Trial resumes after break for Memorial Day. Clifton DeBerry, SWP 1964 candidate for president, testifies about FBI's attempt to sabotage campaign by having him arrested on charges of non-support to his ex-wife just prior to 1963 campaign rally.

DeBerry describes his participation in labor and civil rights movements since 1930s and his meetings with Malcolm X.

SWP attorney Shelley Davis presents evidence of several FBI attempts to disrupt relations between SWP and civil rights organizations.

### DAY 33: WEDNESDAY, MAY 27

Under cross-examination, DeBerry refutes FBI informants' garbled reports about SWP 1967 convention.

Héctor Marroquin, a Mexican-born member of SWP and YSA, testifies about government's refusal to grant him political asylum because of his socialist political views.

## June 19 rallies

NEW YORK—A "Day of Resistance" is being organized here and in other cities on June 19 by No More Witch Hunts, a broad coalition of groups standing up for political rights in face of the Reagan administration's attacks.

The Day of Resistance will feature a rally with Holly Near, Ann Braden, Michael Meeropol, and Dr. Helen Rodriguez at District 65 United Auto Workers, 13 Astor Place, in Manhattan, at 7:00 p.m.

Preceding the rally at 4:00 p.m. a Resistance Information Fair is being planned. Booths will be set up by sponsoring organizations.

Among the initial sponsors are Center for Constitutional Rights; Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc.; Harlem Fight Back; Political Rights Defense Fund; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; National Lawyers Guild; and Socialist Workers Party.

Simultaneous events for June 19 are being planned in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Detroit, Madison, San Francisco, Albuquerque, and Washington, D.C. For more information contact No More Witch Hunts, 339 Lafayette St., New York, New York 10012. Telephone: (212) 477-3188.

# Brooklyn rally protests INS deportation threats

By Robert Dees

**BROOKLYN**—On May 15 the Political Rights Defense Fund sponsored a rally here of more than 100 to protest threats to initiate deportation proceedings against foreign-born members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Cosponsors of the event included the Association of Haitian Workers; Elias Ayoub, Palestinian activist; Ernesto Jofre, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 169; New York Mobilization for Survival; Palestine Solidarity Committee; Legal Services Staff Association of United Auto Workers District 65; and Father Don Kenna of the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student who recently joined the YSA, was a keynote speaker. Three weeks after she joined the YSA, the Immigration and Naturalization Service started deportation proceedings against her. She faces a deportation hearing on June 9.

Threats to target SWP and YSA members for deportation were announced by immigration officials in the midst of the socialists' trial against the INS, FBI, and other secret police agencies. Hariri-Vijeh, a victim of this special treatment, explained her "crime" to the rally.

"I joined the Young Socialist Alliance because it stands for the things I believe in. The YSA supports the revolution in my country, in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador. I don't think young Americans such as my classmates at Morgan State should have to go to Iran or El Salvador to die for the profits and thefts of the oil companies."

Hariri-Vijeh explained that she is also a member of the Maryland Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

## Room for shah

"The INS says that people like me are not protected by the Bill of Rights because I was not born here," she continued. "But the United States government found room for the shah, a man who murdered and tortured thousands of my people for speaking up against oppression and exploitation."

Hariri-Vijeh asked rally participants to send telegrams to the INS demanding that all deportation proceedings against

her be stopped and that they renew her student visa.

## 'Average wetback'

Héctor Marroquín, a member of the SWP and YSA who was born in Mexico, described government attempts to deport him.

Marroquín has asked for political asylum in the United States because of a frame-up against him by the Mexican government. The INS ordered him deported in 1979 and his case is now in the appeals court.

"The first pretext which the INS used to try to deport me was to accuse me of being a terrorist, of having participated in a bank robbery in Mexico," Marroquín said.

"We proved this charge was false. At the time of the bank robbery, I was in a hospital in Texas with a broken leg and pelvis."

Marroquín told rally participants how the immigration judge, in an interview with the *Washington Star*, had said "Marroquín's case parallels that of the average wetback."

"But the heart of my case," Marroquín

added, "went beyond the judge's racist attitudes. It was my socialist politics. The prosecutor told the court that Marxists couldn't get political asylum in the United States, and the judge implied that I should seek asylum in Cuba."

"It is true that I am a Marxist and a member of the SWP and YSA," Marroquín told the rally. "It is true that I have been active in the trade union movement, and in defense of undocumented workers in this country like myself."

"And it is true that I like very much not only Cuba, but Nicaragua and Grenada today. And so what? This does not give the government the right to deport me or any immigrant."

Elias Ayoub, another victim of INS harassment, described his case at the rally.

"The immigration service has been trying to deport me for two-and-a-half years. If deported to Israel, I face up to three years in jail—not because I did anything wrong—but for speaking out on Palestinian rights in this country," Ayoub said.

"We have to go out and organize to

counter U.S. repression against activists in this country."

## Legalized repression

Father Don Kenna of the New York H-Block Committee pointed out that the INS move against the SWP was a step towards legalizing political repression in this country.

"This is what has happened already in South Africa with apartheid. It's legalized repression. In Northern Ireland, this goes on with the Diplock [no jury] courts," Kenna said. "In countless other societies, like the Philippines, it's carried on by martial law. This is what is being suggested in a limited way—limited for the moment—in the case of the SWP."

"The suggestion that the INS is making now will have far-reaching implications if we do not act."

Donna Cooper from the Mobilization for Survival, and John McCalla, coordinator of the Association of Haitian Workers, also spoke.

Participants at the gathering contributed several hundred dollars to the Political Rights Defense Fund.

## Around the country...

**DICK GREGORY** will be a featured speaker at New York's PRDF rally, scheduled for June 6 at Martin Luther King Labor Center. Morton Sobel, Jack Gilford, Ernesto Jofre, Jack Barnes, and Afeni Shakur will also be on hand. Call (212) 260-8424 or 533-2902 for more details.

**MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH**, Iranian student threatened with deportation because she joined YSA, explained her case on Baltimore TV's Black talk show "Sunday Live" May 25. Her news conference in Washington May 12 heard message of support from Ben Elliot, acting director, AFSCME Council 26.

**A BARBECUE** was Indianapolis PRDF's answer to raising funds for trial. More than fifty supporters at-

tended and several hundred dollars was contributed, Lee Martindale reports.

**HECTOR MARROQUIN**, SWP member under order of deportation to Mexico, was interviewed on New York's Channel 31 May 13.

**MORE LABOR** endorsements of PRDF. Two of most recent are Michael Reese, executive vice-president of Houston Federation of Teachers Local 2415; and Michael Linfield, former West Coast regional director, J.P. Stevens boycott.

**BIG RALLY** was hosted by Los Angeles PRDF May 16. "180 people attended," Becky Finch says. "Trade unionists. Activists from Labor Committee for Safe Energy. Militants from the Irish struggle. Members of left, liberal, and civil liberties groups." More next week...

## How you can help

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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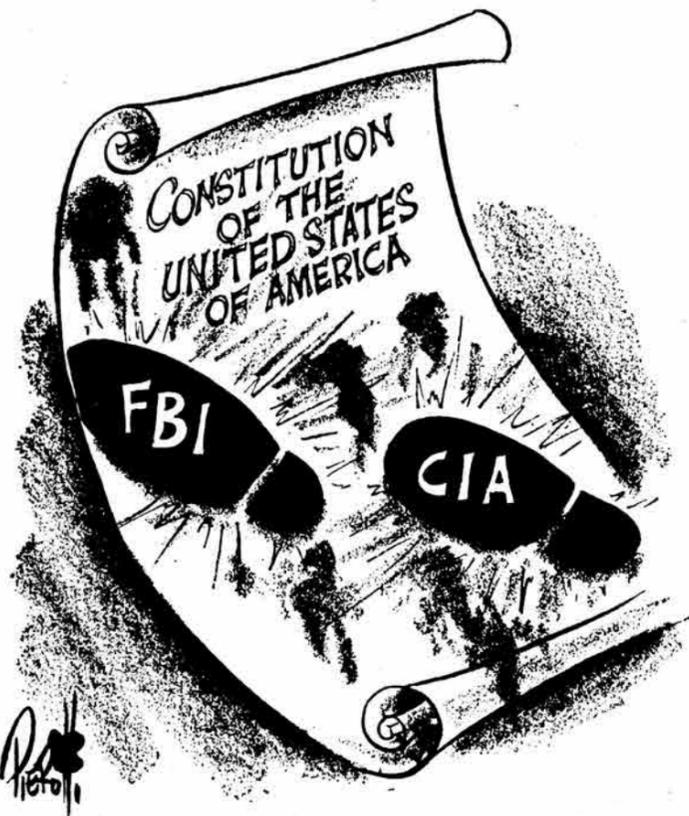
Send to **Political Rights Defense Fund**, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

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

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

May 30	Schenectady (518) 374-1494	June 10	Miami (305) 769-3478	June 19	Houston (713) 524-8761
May 30	Salt Lake City (801) 355-1124	June 12	Oakland (415) 763-3792	June 20	Atlanta (404) 872-7229
May 30	Twin Cities (612) 644-6325	June 13	Seattle (206) 723-5330	June 20	Birmingham (205) 323-3079
May 30	Charleston, W.V. (304) 345-3040	June 13	Piedmont (919) 723-3419	June 20	San Antonio (512) 222-8398
May 31	Detroit (313) 875-5322	June 13	Dallas (214) 826-4711	June 21	Cincinnati (513) 751-2636
June 6	Pittsburgh (412) 488-7000	June 13	Chicago (312) 939-0737	June 21	Newark (201) 643-3341
June 6	San Diego (714) 234-4630	June 13	Cleveland (216) 579-9369	June 27	Iron Range (218) 749-6327
June 6	New York (212) 533-2902	June 13	St. Louis (314) 725-1570	June 27	Tidewater (804) 380-0133
June 6	Philadelphia (215) 927-4747	June 13	San Francisco (415) 824-1992	June 27	Morgantown (304) 296-0055
June 6	Gary (219) 884-9509	June 14	Portland (503) 222-7225	June 28	Kansas City (816) 753-0404
June 7	Baltimore (301) 235-0013	June 14	San Jose (408) 998-4007	July 11	Washington, D.C. (202) 797-7699
June 7	Indianapolis (317) 283-6149	June 14	Louisville (502) 587-8418	July 11	Boston (617) 262-4621

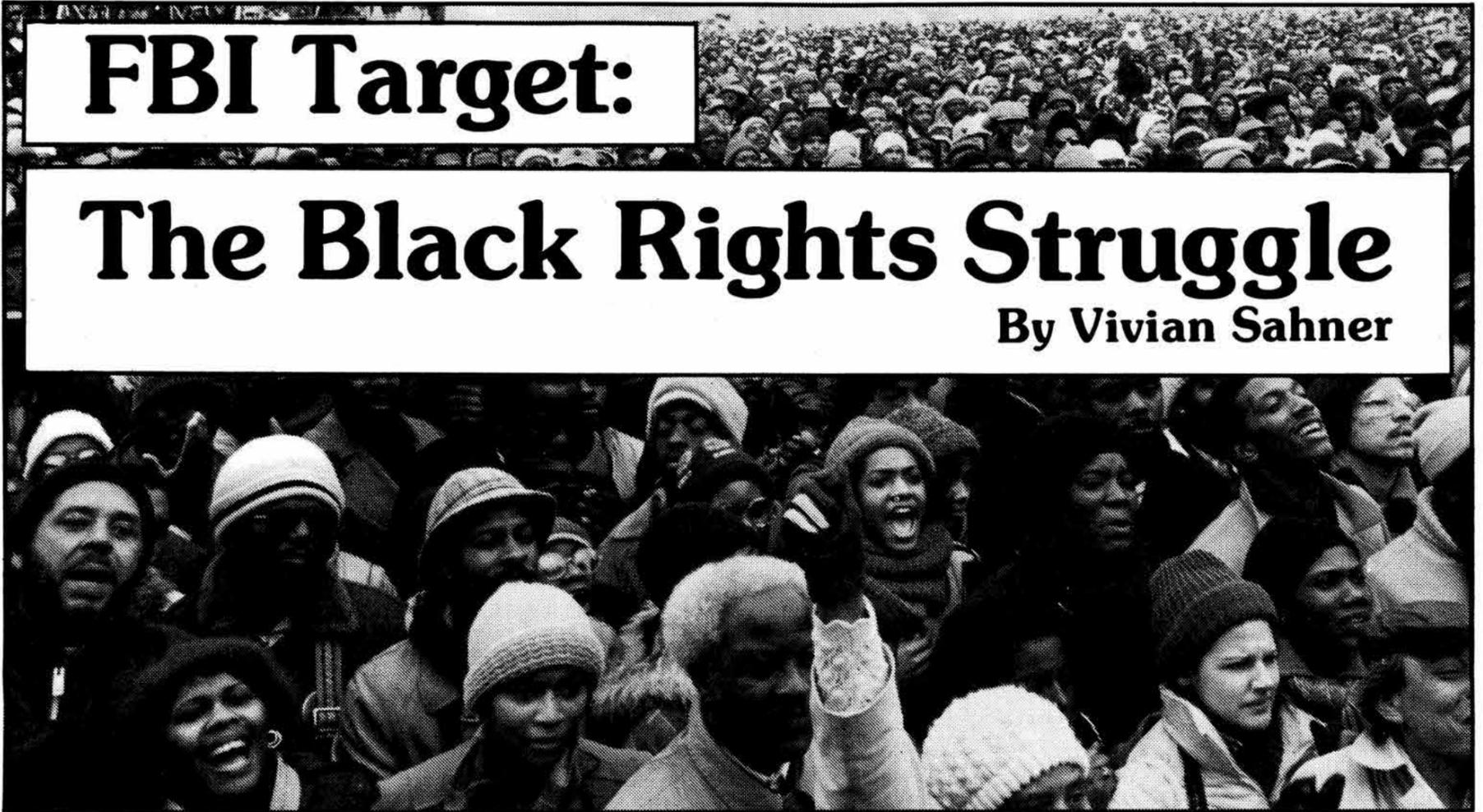


# international **Socialist** review

**FBI Target:**

## **The Black Rights Struggle**

By Vivian Sahner



**Moral  
Majority:**



Rev. Jerry Falwell

## **The Making of the Myth**

By Steve Bride

## **The Case of Max Eastman**

By Alan Wald

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Reagan vs. Women

This month's column is by 'Militant' editorial staff member Margaret Jayko.

The month of May saw a sharpening of the confrontation between the Reagan administration and supporters of women's rights.

Especially around the fundamental question of the right of women to control their own bodies—the right to abortion.

The May 10 *New York Times* carried an article entitled "Sisterhood is Braced for the Reaganauts."

In it, Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), explained how most women were "surprised by the degree of rollback—I don't think people ever thought by April they would be looking at such reactionary proposals."

The latest attack came on May 21, when the Senate voted to stop federal payments for abortions in cases of rape or incest. This would limit federally financed abortions for poor women to

*We apologize for the two-month suspension of the 'International Socialist Review' due to staff resources we have devoted to covering the trial of the U.S. government in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit. Beginning with this issue, the 'ISR' resumes its regular monthly appearance.*

cases where the woman's life is in danger.

Just the week before, on May 13, the House voted for an amendment to prohibit all federal financing of abortions for government employees.

Only nine states and the District of Columbia still provide Medicaid funds for abortions.

Congressional hearings were held in April and May on the proposed Human Life Statute. This bill, and the similar Human Life Amendment, would declare a fetus a person, thereby outlawing abortion once again.

And Congress just gave Reagan the green light to nominate Dr. C. Everett Koop, a leader of the anti-abortion movement from Philadelphia, as Surgeon General.

But it's not just abortion.

Every gain won by the women's movement, every social service that benefits women—the very concept of equality itself—is being threatened by Reagan and his gang.

The Equal Right Amendment (ERA) still must be ratified by three more states by June 30, 1982, for it to become the law of the land.

Layoffs in basic industries like auto and steel, and threatened cuts in Conrail, are beginning to seriously decrease the small numbers of women who had fought their way into higher-paying "non-traditional" jobs.

And some congressmen and senators are proposing legislation to wipe out affirmative-action programs.

Reagan's budget for 1982 includes massive increases for the military. Part of the drive to

beef up the military is the threat to draft women.

And the money for this war machine is being taken out of the hides of working people through drastic budget cuts in social services.

Many of the programs that are scheduled for the butcher block, like the Comprehensive Education and Training Act (CETA), Social Security, and Aid to Families With Dependent Children, have women as their main recipients.

All these actions are being accompanied by a propaganda campaign about the evils of women working, the need to "strengthen the family," and to return to "traditional values," that is, that women are inferior to men.

But Reagan's steamroller approach to women's rights has a formidable obstacle in its path—the majority of people in this country support the ERA, support the right of women to abortion, and don't like Reagan's budget cuts and war drive.

But just the existence of strong sentiment in support of women's rights will not be enough to stop the Reaganauts. They've thrown down the gauntlet to women and intend to go ahead in spite of the sentiment.

The women's movement is in urgent need of a discussion on how to deepen and galvanize this sentiment into a force powerful enough to defend ourselves.

Women have seen other sectors of the population begin to go into motion as they become victims of Reagan's right-wing programs. Washington, D.C., has seen tens of thousands of supporters of Black rights, antiwar activists, rail workers, and coal miners marching to say, "Enough!" to the bipartisan drive against human needs here and human rights abroad.

Many women are discussing why there is no similar response as our rights are cutback.

Some beginnings have been made.

Like the 300 women who picketed the anti-abortion hearings at the end of April. And the 4,000 ERA supporters who marched in North Carolina on May 2.

On May 16, 2,000 people marched in New York and 1,500 in Boston for reproductive rights.

These and other activities have mostly been organized by local groups and coalitions of women's rights supporters.

But there's been no visible fight-back on a national scale that reflects the anger and willingness to act that's out there.

To understand why, we have to take a sober look at the strategy being carried out by the leadership of the biggest national women's rights organization—NOW.

With Reagan's victory, NOW's membership has grown considerably.

Yet the May issue of the *National NOW Times* says nothing about what women should do to defend our right to abortion.

And the heart of the NOW leadership's strategy to win the ERA is outright capitulation to the Reagan war drive.

Without any discussion by the membership, the national NOW leadership filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the American Civil Liberties Union suit, which endorses the draft and demands that both women and men be subject to draft registration.

And NOW officials adamantly refuse to link the issue of the ERA with the fight to defend legalized abortion.

The national NOW leadership is looking in the wrong direction.

They are desperately looking to their "friends" in the Democratic Party to at least shield women from some of the worst blows, in exchange for keeping the women's movement quiet.

They are hoping against hope that by supporting the draft, NOW will convince the Democrats in state legislatures to push through the ERA.

But the problem is that women have no "friends" in either of the big-business-owned parties. The austerity drive and the war drive are *bipartisan* policies.

It's this reality that has prompted a layer of activists in the Black movement to begin the process of forming their own party—the National Black Independent Political Party. And in some sectors of the trade union movement, discussion about the idea of a labor party is under way.

The attacks by the Reaganauts are the biggest challenge to the women's movement since its inception.

NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the whole women's movement need to have a thoroughgoing political discussion on how we can defend our gains and win women's equality.

We need to organize a movement that can reach out to the millions of women who are affected, and especially to working women, who have so much at stake.

The women's movement should seek to win the unions as effective allies in the fight for equality.

Up to now, the unions have had little involvement in the struggle around abortion, even though this is a life-and-death issue for thousands of union members. There's no time like the present to begin a discussion in the trade unions about why defense of legal abortions is an integral part of the program the unions need to adopt in their fight against big business and the government.

That's exactly what happened in Britain, where the unions played a leading role in beating back right-wing efforts to restrict abortion.

And the recent victory in Italy, where the attempt to restrict the right to abortion was voted down by a 2-to-1 margin, should inspire us with what's possible here.

We need to organize demonstrations, forums, debates, teach-ins, and speakouts that can explain the stakes for women, unionists, and Black and Hispanic people in Reagan's anti-woman moves. We need to reach out to fighters like the Black mothers who are leading the struggle against the child murders in Atlanta.

Members of NOW and other women's groups should ask to speak at meetings of union women's committees, civil rights committees, and union meetings to explain why working people should support the right of women to choose abortion.

And every Democrat or Republican who dares to speak out against women should be answered with picket lines.

NOW has called for "High Noon Countdown Rallies" for June 30 to press for passage of the ERA.

These and other activities that will be occurring in the next few months will be important opportunities for supporters of women's rights to reach out to the majority and begin to put Reagan and his supporters on the defensive.

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Above, front man Jerry Falwell. Below, from left, right-wing politicos Edward McAteer, Paul Weyrich, and Howard Phillips; fundraiser Richard Viguerie.

Militant drawing/Diane Jacobs

# Moral Majority: The Making of the Myth

By Steve Bride

For about as long as there's been TV, there have been TV preachers. You know, the ones in the wax hair who yell at you from an altar that looks like the front end of a Cadillac. Those guys.

And it's pretty much agreed that one reason why there are always plenty of these types around—why every Sunday local stations are overrun by armies of Brother AIs and Reverend Jimmys—is that there is a quick buck to be turned in this sort of thing.

But if you've tuned in lately, you know something else is up. The TV preachers, some of them, are getting into politics. In fact, they say they're leading a big movement, a Moral Majority, that wants to make the Bible—at least, their version of it—the law of the land.

And not everybody agrees on that movement: what it is, how big it is, how bad it is.

So a good place to begin this story is with a look at who's in this Moral Majority.

## 1. Not Many People

Four people got things started:

- Edward McAteer, national field director of the Christian Freedom Foundation, a right-wing lobby financed by J. Howard Pew, founder of Sun Oil Company.

- Howard Phillips, director of the Conservative Caucus.

- Paul Weyrich, head of the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing "think tank" bankrolled by Joseph Coors (yes, the beer).

- Robert Billings, founder of over 400 fundamentalist schools.

It was these four who, in late 1978 in Washington, D.C., hit on the idea of recruiting the preachers to disseminate the right-wing views they held in common.

One early enlistee was Billings's friend, radio preacher William Pennell. Another was direct mail expert Richard Viguerie, who had once raised \$1.5 million for Sun Myung Moon (\$900,000 of which he had kept).

But it wasn't until a man Pennell had known for twenty years sat down with the group in January

1979 that Moral Majority was born. His name was Jerry Falwell.

### A Success Story

A native of Lynchburg, Virginia, Jerry Falwell founded the Thomas Road Baptist Church in 1956. His congregation then was thirty-five people.

Today, Falwell's flock numbers 17,000—about a quarter of the population of Lynchburg—and his church anchors a \$1 million-a-week operation that includes a children's academy, a seminary, a foreign mission, and Liberty Baptist College.

Of course, the road to such success is always filled with potholes, and Falwell has been over his share of them.

In 1973, for example, there was the matter of a Securities and Exchange Commission lawsuit for issuing allegedly fraudulent bonds. That one was settled after Falwell agreed to let five court-appointed overseers (since withdrawn) monitor his finances.

Then there was the \$60,000 he raised in 1978 for California's antigay Briggs initiative. Falwell's commitment to that losing cause moved the Federal Election Commission only to the extent of taking a second look at his tax-exempt status.

And, in later years, there were those who said Jerry's lifestyle tended to stray from the austere. This was no doubt a tactless reference to his private jet, twelve-room mansion (owned by a follower), and frequent presence at World Series games and other sporting events.

Still, Falwell came though it all with plenty left over, not the least of which was his "Old Time Gospel Hour," carried by 304 TV stations. In the coming political frays, the revenues from this show would consistently retrieve Moral Majority from the financial brink. As for the show itself, it was kept afloat by a \$1 million loan Falwell secured from Liberty Baptist College.

So the generals were all in place. But where—and who—was the army?

### Some Facts

One of the things that most impresses the media about Moral Majority is its supposed potential for mobilizing all the people in this country who consider themselves evangelicals, or born-again

Christians. This is a lot of people; a September 1980 Gallup poll put it at about thirty million.

But there are problems with this; one of which occurs when you say "evangelical" (the people in the poll) and "fundamentalist" (the TV preachers) to mean the same thing. They don't.

In an October 22, 1980, *New York Times* column, Timothy Smith, Johns Hopkins University professor and author of several books on evangelism, explains this:

"Most of [the Protestant evangelical movements] took root in Colonial or early national times. By contrast, the movement properly called Fundamentalist emerged only at the end of World War I, in independent congregations and a handful of tiny new Baptist and Presbyterian denominations. Its temper, style, and program were shaped in public battles against Darwinian evolution and historical criticism of Scripture."

Smith then lists the many Protestant denominations, comprising the overwhelming majority of the evangelical movement, that have nothing in common with Falwell's fundamentalism—in particular, with its claim that, on close inspection, biblical prophecy leaves no political question unanswered.

These denominations range from the more conservative Southern Baptist Convention, to the historic peace churches like the Quakers, to the Black evangelicals (who are 28 percent of evangelicals, as against 11 percent of the population).<sup>1</sup>

The point is, evangelicals cover a pretty big part of the political spectrum; about the same part that is covered by the American population.

It isn't surprising, then, that Gallup's September 1980 poll found evangelicals' political opinions to be not all that different from those of the American population. A majority (53 percent), for example, support the Equal Rights Amendment, which Moral Majority opposes; 54 percent favor government social programs that Falwell says have created "a generation of bums." And only 41 percent agree with his proscription on all abortions.

And since the poll, noted evangelicals have joined representatives of other churches in opposing U.S. policy in El Salvador; fifty-eight of them just signed a statement to that effect in *Sojourners* magazine.

So it just isn't true that these thirty million adults are all on Moral Majority's side.

### More Facts

Finding out who is on Moral Majority's side isn't easy. There are a lot of dishonest claims.

*Newsweek*, for instance, estimated "Old Time Gospel Hour's" audience at about 18 million. *Penthouse* bit for 50 million in their celebrated interview with Falwell, and they don't even like him.

A little closer to the truth is the figure Falwell gave Weyrich when they had their January 1979 meeting: about six million. That's people, not just adults. Rev. Robert Maddox, Carter's campaign advisor on this sort of thing, said "there are something like 10-14 million people who watch all these programs." And, he added, that includes people who watch preachers like Oral Roberts (the largest single audience) and Rex Humbard, who aren't in Moral Majority.

But even this is suspect. Asked by a *New York Times* reporter if he knew how many people watched his show, Falwell answered, "No, I sure don't."

The only scientific survey done on Falwell's audience was by Arbitron, the television research organization. Their figures showed that, as of November 1980, 1.6 million people watched "The Old Time Gospel Hour."

So what are we left with?

First, money from a section of the U.S. ruling class, but not a particularly weighty one.

Second, a handful of grizzled right-wing pols. The original four have moved on to other organizations, but they're still, in the words of Andrew Young, "the same old right-wing organizers trying once more to find a vehicle."

Third, a few hundred preachers whose total audience is a tiny fraction of the American people, and whose political following is less than that.

What about this political following? Well, it is certainly smaller than we were led to believe. But that doesn't mean it's a good idea to ignore it; it won't go away, and may even get bigger. That is

*continued on page ISR/14*

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1. Smith adds that, even among fundamentalists, there are big divisions. For example, followers of the late Charles Fuller, whom Falwell claims inspired him, stay away from Moral Majority.

## By Vivian Sahner

One of the most inspiring and promising events of the year occurred January 15.

Five days before Reagan's inauguration, more than 100,000 people—the overwhelming majority Black—marched on Washington, D.C., to demand a national holiday to honor Martin Luther King. It was the largest civil rights demonstration in almost twenty years.

On May 25 thousands rallied in the nation's capitol to protest the racist murders in Atlanta.

These demonstrations reflect growing anger over racist attacks in Buffalo, Miami, and Atlanta. They also reaffirm the determination of Black people in this country to protect the hard-won gains of the civil rights movement—from school desegregation, to affirmative action, to voting rights.

January 15, together with the May 3 protest against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, constitute the largest demonstrations in this country against Reagan's program of cutbacks on our standard of living.

The Black community—which bears the full brunt of these attacks—is showing a willingness to build a massive movement to stop them.

It has stepped forward as an example for the whole working class in its fight against unemployment and against cutbacks in education, hospital care, and other vital services.

Black Americans had few illusions about the presidential elections solving these problems. Only a minority bothered to vote. The overwhelming majority of those who did recognized Reagan as a racist and voted for Carter as a lesser evil.

Some Blacks openly opposed voting for either. Leaders of the National Black Political Assembly called on Black Americans to refuse to vote for any of the three major candidates who “represent and reflect the interests of those forces which control the American system of racial oppression and class exploitation.”

### Black Party Founded

Last November, more than 1,500 Black people attended the founding conference of the National Black Independent Political Party.

The preamble of the NBIPP charter says: “Our party will not be like the Democratic and Republican parties. . . . There are two kinds of mass parties, bourgeois and progressive.

“The bourgeois parties exist to serve a regime that is in power that represents the interests of the minority but claims a mass constituency, i.e., Republican and Democratic Parties.

“The progressive party exists to serve the interests of the working class and the poor, therefore our party will actively oppose racism, sexism, capitalism and imperialism.”

This move toward independent political action is an example for trade unionists who are discussing the need for a labor party.

Because of its potential, the NBIPP has already been the target of a government disruption attempt.

### FBI Frame-up

Elombe Brath, Muntu Matsimela, and Segundo Modibo, three NBIPP leaders, recently sent a letter to Black organizations and leaders, informing them of an attempt by an FBI informer to discredit and disrupt the New York State chapter.

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

“According to this FBI agent,” they continue, “the letter was meant as both a confession and a warning that Brothers ‘Muntu Matsimela, Elombe Brath,’ and ‘Segundo (sic) Modibo,’ along with the author, were all informers for the FBI, under some mysterious ‘orders to destroy the NBIPP’ by causing ‘DISRUPTION & CONFUSION.’

“The writer,” they say, “must also be ignorant of the lessons the masses of our people painfully learned as a result of similar activities initiated by the FBI ‘Counterintelligence Program’ (Cointelpro) during the late ‘60s against the ‘Black Nationalist’ movement.”

In the 1960s the movement for Black rights achieved truly massive proportions. In 1963 outrage swept the country after police turned dogs and fire hoses on civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham. From May to August, 1968, demonstra-

tions occurred in 209 cities. Some 200,000 marched in Detroit alone.

On August 28, 1963, 250,000 people marched on Washington, D.C.

This powerful movement inspired Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and other oppressed minorities to fight for their rights. The women's liberation movement, too, took its inspiration from Black rights fighters.

Those opposed to the war in Vietnam drew upon the example of the massive, public demonstrations of the civil rights movement as a guide for building a movement against the war.

### Black Workers Fight Back

Black workers began to lead a fight for better working conditions and affirmative-action programs in the workplace. Black auto workers in Detroit formed a caucus to defend their rights, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement. Similar caucuses spread to other cities. In response to the demands of Black workers, many unions organized civil rights committees.

The ruling rich, then as now, saw the struggle of Black people for human rights as a deadly threat to their profits and power.

The government launched a campaign to destroy the Black rights movement. One of the government's key weapons was its political police, particularly the FBI.

The FBI set up Cointelpro. Its stated purpose was to “expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations,” as well as anti-Vietnam War groups, socialists, women's organizations, and others.

If Cointelpro proved one thing without a doubt, it is that the FBI—not the Black movement—was the “hate-type” organization.

### FBI Exposed

None of these FBI documents were meant to be read by the American people. Rather, these were secret programs—“under no circumstances” to be “made known outside the Bureau.”

Hundreds of pages of Cointelpro documents

informant's role outweighed the individual killing!

The exposed FBI documents reveal the hatred and fear the rulers of this country have for the Black rights struggles and the ruthlessness with which they have tried to crush them.

### Black Unity

One Cointelpro memo lists as a key goal: “Prevent the rise of a ‘messiah’ who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement.” The names of both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King fit into spaces blanked out by the FBI censors.

King was under intense government surveillance prior to his assassination. In 1963 Robert

### January 15 Martin Luther King Day march in Wash



# FBI Target: The BI

have been forced to fight through lawsuits, including the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government. That case went to trial in New York City on April 2.

The socialists are demanding that the government stop its illegal acts—the wiretaps, the burglaries, the poison-pen letters, the informers. They are demanding that witch-hunt laws like the Smith Act not be used against them or anyone else. They are demanding that the government uphold the Bill of Rights and end its spying on so-called “subversives.”

### Frame-ups and Killings

At the heart of the disruption program was the use of hundreds of paid informers. They infiltrated Black organizations, attempting to discredit, frame up, or even assassinate their leaders. The poison-pen letter to supporters of the NBIPP is a current example of the tactics used by the FBI in the 1960s.

Informers worked in the Klan and other right-wing outfits that carried out attacks on the civil rights movement. A 1965 letter to the White House boasted, “At the present time, there are 14 Klan groups in existence. We have penetrated every one of them . . . and currently are operating informants in top-level positions of leadership in seven of them.”

The target of FBI infiltration and participation in the Klan is the Black struggle, not the racists.

During a December 4 news conference, FBI Director William Webster cited the example of Gary Rowe. Rowe, a former FBI plant in the Klan, admits to being involved in the 1965 slaying of Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights demonstrator killed in Alabama. (As an FBI informer, Rowe also helped engineer attacks on freedom riders protesting segregated lunch counters in the South.)

Asked if the new guidelines would have permitted Rowe to ride with Klansmen to commit murder, Webster said, “It's okay if he shoots to miss.”

Then he added that if Rowe shot to kill, the FBI would not necessarily have to report the murder to local authorities—it would depend on whether the

Kennedy, then the attorney general, had wiretaps installed on King's phone.

In 1964 the FBI sent King an anonymous letter along with a tape recording purporting to “expose” him. The letter's purpose was to press King to commit suicide: “King, there is only one thing left for you to do. . . . You are done. There is but one way out for you,” the note said.

Then the FBI tried to peddle the tape—claiming it recorded an affair of King's—to newspapers around the country. It was never published.

Arthur Murtaugh, a former FBI agent from Atlanta, told the *New York Times* in 1973 that J. Edgar Hoover had ordered a campaign to “get King.” Surveillance of the civil rights leader was so thorough that King “couldn't wiggle. They had him,” said Murtaugh.

On November 7, 1980, the *Daily News* printed an interview with an unidentified FBI informer who spied on King for six years. He was paid \$30,000 by the FBI to infiltrate the Southern Christian Leadership Conference staff.

The government's story is that James Earl Ray, a small-time stick-up and rackets man in Los Angeles, got into his car one day and drove across the country, murdered King, fled, and financed his travels across two continents for three months.

But as the picture of FBI harassment and surveillance of King comes out, this version seems less and less credible. (Ray himself says he was hired to play a part in the killing.)

### Malcolm X

Many questions remain about the murder of Malcolm X as well. When Malcolm X was shot at a New York City rally in February 1965, the crowd seized two of his assailants before they could escape. The police took the two men away. Only one later appeared in public.

All mention of the second man was dropped from the press without explanation, and the issue was never brought up in the trial by the court-appointed defense lawyers.

It was later revealed that one of Malcolm's bodyguards at the time he was murdered was an FBI agent.

Vivian Sahner is on the editorial staff of the *Militant*.

The FBI's files about its activities against Malcolm have never been made public.

But Cointelpro memos concerning later attempts to poison relations between the groups Malcolm X founded and the Socialist Workers Party have been turned over in the SWP lawsuit.

During his last year, after he left the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X set out to help develop a strategy and a leadership for the liberation of Black people.

He traveled through Africa and the Middle East, telling the truth about the conditions facing Black people in the United States. He made contacts with leaders of nationalist movements and governments, seeking to win allies for the freedom struggle.

D.C.



"A review is being conducted of Clifton DeBerry's file," wrote the FBI on October 17, 1963, "to determine if there is anything derogatory in his background which might cause embarrassment to the SWP if publicly exposed."

DeBerry was the SWP's 1964 presidential candidate. He was the first Black person to ever run for that office.

Of the nearly 1,200 pages of FBI Cointelpro documents released in the SWP lawsuit, more concern DeBerry than any other single individual.

They document how the FBI arranged to have DeBerry arrested in Chicago for nonsupport of his ex-wife just before he was to give a campaign speech. FBI records show that they spent two years trying to get the news media to cover the Chicago arrest and DeBerry's arrests on picket lines during the 1940s.

### Black Panther Party

Numerous FBI documents detail the hunt for alleged "communist influence" in SCLC, the Black Panther Party, and other civil rights groups.

One of the largest, most deadly FBI Cointelpro programs was carried out against the Black Panther Party.

During 1968 and 1969 twenty-eight members of the Panthers were murdered, killed by cops.

Hundreds of FBI informers infiltrated the Panthers during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Darthead Perry, an FBI informer for more than seven years, was interviewed by Gil Noble on television last fall.

When Noble asked the number of informants working in Los Angeles during the 1960s, Perry told him, "In a city like L.A., which was a large concentrated area of Blacks, we're talking about 300 to 400 people. San Francisco probably the same thing—wherever there was a large concentration of Blacks or large concentration of minorities."

What did the informers do once inside the Panthers?

Perry admitted to arson, illegal entries, stealing weapons, and the selling of explosives. The in-

In the court's opinion, FBI involvement in the case was "pure conjecture."

Another Panther leader still in jail is Richard Dhoruba Moore. Moore was one of the Panther Twenty-one, victims of one of the crudest frame-up attempts.

The twenty-one were indicted in New York on April 2, 1969, for alleged conspiracy to blow up several department stores, the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens, and several other places. Bail for the group amounted to more than \$2 million.

Two years later, when the case finally came to trial, it took less than an hour for the jury to throw out the charges.

But Moore, who had been chosen by the Panthers to organize a defense campaign, was already the victim of a second frame-up.

On May 28, 1971, the FBI had initiated operation "Newkill." The FBI stepped up its attacks against the Panthers under the guise of "criminal" investigations.

"Black Panther Party members recently released from prison," the "Newkill" proposal states, "should be considered suspects and their whereabouts accounted for."

One week later Moore was arrested and charged with shooting two policemen. Police couldn't link Moore with the shoot-out scene but claimed his fingerprint was on a note that said the Panthers were responsible, which was sent to radio station WLIB.

Because the evidence against Moore was so flimsy, his first trial ended in a hung jury. The majority of the jury voted for his acquittal.

But a 1973 trial resulted in a conviction. He was sentenced to twenty-five years in jail.

Moore has filed suit against the FBI, New York City Police Department, and the State of New York. More than 70,000 FBI and police documents have been turned over to Moore's attorneys in his case.

Another case to consider is that of Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli, leaders of the Black Liberation Army.

The BLA was branded a terrorist group by police and they launched a no-holds-barred attack on its members.

Acoli, Shakur, and Zayd Shakur were attacked by New Jersey State troopers on May 2, 1973, while traveling on the New Jersey Turnpike. Zayd Shakur and one state trooper were killed and Assata Shakur was wounded.

Shakur and Acoli were charged with the murders and both were sentenced to life imprisonment. Acoli is now in Marion Federal Prison.

On November 2, 1979, Shakur escaped from Clinton Correctional Institute.

The FBI launched a massive search for her. In the early hours of April 19, 1980, dozens of armed men cordoned off four blocks of Harlem.

FBI agents, armed to the teeth with shotguns and machineguns, marched into 92 Morningside Avenue, broke down doors, ransacked apartments, and brutally harassed the tenants.

They said they were responding to a "tip" that Shakur was hiding there.

The tenants have filed a \$92 million lawsuit against the FBI and the New York City Police.

The FBI's record shows that it is a deadly, racist enemy of the struggle for human rights.

But its crimes can and must be fought.

One way to fight back is to support the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government spy agencies. The trial of this suit poses fundamental issues of democratic rights and has exposed the government's claim to the unlimited right to harass, burglarize, spy on, and disrupt those who disagree with official policy.

There are other court actions that deserve support as well. In New York the National Lawyers Guild, Communist Party, SWP, former members of the Panther Twenty-one, and others are organizing opposition to the proposed settlement of a lawsuit against the city's "Red Squad." The proposed settlement would allow continued police spying and harassment.

And there is the fight against the frame-up of Black rights fighters like Geronimo Pratt and Dhoruba Moore.

The national effort to force the Atlanta police and FBI to apprehend the killers of twenty-eight Black youth in Atlanta is one of the most important ways of fighting back against government crimes against Black people. The FBI's attempt to pin some of the murders on the parents of the victims has shown that the government cops will still stoop to anything to isolate and break up the civil rights movement.

The government and its secret police are a powerful and sinister force. But united in a strong movement, Black people and their allies are much more powerful. In the end, justice will win out.

# Black Rights Struggle

He continued to speak out against the Vietnam War and to warn Blacks against voting for Democrats or Republicans. He explained that Blacks had to unify in their own independent movement in order to make progress.

He sought to become more involved in the struggle for voting rights and against white supremacy in the South.

His uncompromising stand on the side of the oppressed led him to become increasingly sharp in his denunciations of capitalism.

The Socialist Workers Party recognized Malcolm X as an outstanding revolutionary. The SWP did what it could to make his views more widely known.

Malcolm X spoke on three occasions at Militant Labor Forums, sponsored by the *Militant* newspaper. He encouraged people to read the *Militant*, which was one of the very few papers at that time that told the truth about him and his views.

After Malcolm was assassinated, J. Edgar Hoover instructed the New York FBI office to disrupt relations between the SWP and supporters of Malcolm.

On June 15, 1965, New York responded, "SWP influence on the followers of MALCOLM X would be disrupted by emphasizing the atheism of the SWP."

The FBI made numerous attempts to drive a wedge between the SWP and civil rights organizations. In 1964 the FBI tried to sabotage the defense of a group of civil rights workers facing prison in Monroe, North Carolina.

An anonymous poem, concocted by the FBI, accused George Weissman, then the managing editor of the *Militant*, of stealing money from a leader of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

FBI documents turned over in the SWP lawsuit outline this smear campaign. One memo openly states that its goal was to "cause the SWP and the CAMD to cease their efforts on behalf of the defendants."

### SWP Leaders Targeted

Black leaders of the SWP were also singled out for intensive FBI surveillance.

formers were used to set up and jail or murder Black liberation fighters.

There was direct FBI involvement in the 1969 raid on the Chicago apartment of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. Hampton and another Panther leader, Mark Clark, were killed in the attack.

The *Chicago Tribune* revealed March 22, 1974, that it was the FBI that initiated the idea of the raid. Details for the raid, including a floor plan of Hampton's apartment, were provided by an FBI informer.

A few days after Hampton and Clark were murdered, police in Los Angeles tried to storm the BPP headquarters there. Two Panthers were injured in a shoot-out that lasted for hours.

The following year, 1970, was marked by even more police attacks, in Birmingham, Toledo, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Detroit.

### Frame-up of Pratt

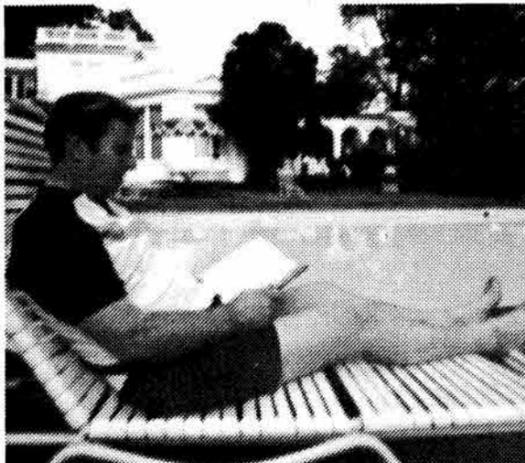
Consider the case of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, a Panther leader who was sent to jail on a murder charge nine years ago and is still there today. At the time of the frame-up Pratt was the head of the southern California Black Panthers.

"The murder happened in Los Angeles. Pratt was in Oakland," FBI informer Perry told Noble during the television interview. "Elmer Pratt was under twenty-four-hour surveillance, both physical and electronic. The bureau at any time . . . could have gone down there and said, hey look, you made a mistake. The guy was in Oakland. They didn't. They sat back and let it happen because they wanted the man out of the way."

"It's sick," Perry continued, "here's a man that got a bronze star and a silver star, who when he got out of the service joined the Black Panther Party because it was a cause that he thought was just . . . he was set up. He was railroaded from the git."

Pratt appealed his case up to the California Supreme Court. In his request for a new trial Pratt pointed out that the key witness against him and at least three members of his original defense team are now known to be FBI informants.

But on April 4, the court denied Pratt's request.



'And in later years there were those who said Jerry's lifestyle tended to stray from the austere.' Falwell poolside at his twelve-room mansion.

## ... The Myth

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because its existence has to do with more than just a division between fundamentalists and evangelicals.

### A 'Polarization' of Society

When capitalist countries go through economic crises, like this one is right now, the struggle between the two main classes of those countries—capitalists and workers—heats up. The pressure from this struggle usually leads people to seek solutions to the problems that do not fall within the established order.

Now, workers already know the capitalists don't have much to offer them. They are also aware, particularly if they are organized into unions, that they have some collective power of their own.

So workers tend toward solutions that make use of that social power. In doing so, they are drawn further from the ideas of the capitalists. They are drawn, in short, toward ideas that are associated with socialism.

That is what is happening now.

But something else is also happening. Caught between these two main classes is a middle class of small businessmen and professionals. They don't have the same power as workers, but are still in pretty bad economic shape.

Quite a few of these people can be drawn toward the working-class side.

But others see themselves as capitalists, albeit of a bygone day. Out of nostalgia for this "simpler, happier time," they are drawn toward the most backward and irrational ideas of the capitalists.

Often, these are ideas of an unchanging, "absolute" morality, a morality that stands above economic and social evolution, above what they see as the chaos that threatens to engulf them.

Groups like Moral Majority are one organized expression of this developing crisis of the middle class, caused by the "polarization" of society as a whole.

But that's not to say Moral Majority is a big movement. It isn't. Really, about the only thing that makes it look like one is the preachers.

Maybe they figured if they put enough of these guys on TV, all saying more-or-less the same thing at more-or-less the same time, they could fool people into thinking they really were a majority.

## 2. Not Much Influence

Besides having a lot of people, Moral Majority is also supposed to have a lot of power. To hear the media tell it, Moral Majority practically elected Ronald Reagan.

Basically, this is the old "the people are turning to the right" argument that the media, like a child with a new toy drum, have been banging away on since the day after the election. The argument, of course, is made easier if you can prove that a hardcore right-wing outfit helped turn the people that way.

So it's worth looking at what really happened.

### 'A Wash'

Most of Moral Majority's \$5 million campaign war chest was emptied into a voter registration drive. Lured by the prospect of thirty million evangelicals marching as one to the polls, the press dutifully recorded Falwell's claims to have assigned 70,000 clergy to the drive and signed up four million new voters.

"In many states," Falwell told the *New York Times*, "it is legally possible to register people

right in the church."

Well, a lot of them must have stayed in church on election day: the national turnout of 53.95 percent was the smallest since Truman beat Dewey in 1948.

Not faring so well here, Moral Majority next pointed to its role—with other "New Right" forces—in defeating several "liberal" senators, primarily in the Midwest, who had been "targeted" as part of a "Christian hit list."

But there is a problem with this, too. It is that everybody involved in the Senate elections—winners and losers—agrees Moral Majority had nothing to do with the outcome.

"We did not want their help," said Republican Congressman Dan Quayle, who defeated Birch Bayh in the Indiana senatorial race. "They have a potential to hurt the people they claim they're helping."

GOP Congressman Steven Symms, who beat Frank Church in Idaho, called the New Right vote "a wash."

"They had no impact at the wire," he said. "The bottom line is that the same thing that elected Reagan elected me."

That "bottom line," said the *Washington Post* in a November 19, 1980 article, is suggested by "poll results that show Reagan and the new conservative senators owe their victories more to concerns about the economy" than to issues dearer to the heart of Moral Majority.

Loser Bayh agreed: "With a couple of points off the inflation rate and a point off the unemployment rate, we'd have made [the New Right] look like the size of a pea."

On the whole, not very convincing proof that most people turned to the right, much less that a bunch of TV preachers held the steering wheel.

Moral Majority was about to find this out itself.

### Crash Landing

"Like all the New Right, I'm between five and ten feet off the ground," said fundraiser Richard Viguerie following the Reagan victory.

Events soon brought Viguerie and the others back to earth.

The Heritage Foundation (the Coors operation started by Weyrich) had submitted a detailed agenda for the new administration (more on that later) that included a list of names it considered suitable for cabinet positions. The list reflected what the *Post* called a New Right bias against "Wall Street internationalism."

But when, on December 11, 1980, Reagan paraded his first round choices before the TV cameras, not one of the Heritage Foundation choices was among them.

Here was a corporate lawyer for attorney general, and here the head of Scovill, Inc. for Commerce. Here was the chairman of Merrill Lynch for Treasury, and here an executive of the Bechtel Corporation for Defense.

And, five days later, here was the president of United Technologies (the nation's third largest defense contractor) for secretary of state.

Instead of the Heritage Foundation slate we got more "Wall Street internationalism," people from the mainstream of the class the government represents.

It's useful to remember this when we look at the proposals in the Heritage Foundation agenda, because the fact is the government is trying to implement most of them.

### The Agenda

This is a simply awful document. Its tone is set by the observation that, "It is axiomatic that individual liberties are secondary to the requirement of national security and internal civil order." Its many recommendations include:

- Abolish affirmative action.
- Strip all powers from the Office of Surface Mining, the Environmental Protection Agency, and Occupational Safety and Health Administration.
- Use U.S. food exports as a weapon in foreign policy.
- Revoke all guidelines on intelligence agencies, crack down on domestic radicals, and revive internal security committees in Congress.
- Add \$20 billion to the war budget in 1981, and \$35 billion more in each of the next five years.

Now these—and more—are all things the government is trying to do. That doesn't mean Moral Majority has some power over Reagan; it just means the mainstream of capitalists do. And this mainstream, in an effort to retrieve its economic position (profits is another word for it), clearly is turning to the right. How far the rulers

will go depends on what they think they need and hope they can get away with, not on any debt Reagan feels he owes Moral Majority.

But that still leaves one question: why all the free publicity for Moral Majority? After all, these mainstream capitalists own the media too. Why are their newspapers and TV stations pretending Moral Majority is a big movement that is right in the middle of things?

### Clearing a Path

Capitalists—especially in times of crisis—are always trying to convince people of backward ideas. Maybe not as retrograde as Moral Majority's ideas, but in that general direction. Things like nationalism, racism, anticommunism, and anti-unionism. They do this because, to the extent that people actually believe this stuff, it makes it easier for capitalists to do the things they need to do to increase their profits: invade other countries, make people work harder for less, discriminate more against Blacks and women, divide workers amongst themselves, and weaken the unions.

That's where small, but well-financed—and loud—groups like Moral Majority come in. If the capitalists can convince people they are big groups—that masses of people have been driven to the far right—then supporters of women's rights, Blacks, or unionists, for instance, are more apt to be intimidated and accede to the demands of the capitalists.

Furthermore, if the capitalists can persuade people that there's a big charge to the right going on, then some people will be more apt to accept right-wing ideas themselves.

In this way, groups like Moral Majority—or the John Birch Society, or whoever—help the rich minority and its two political parties push the whole framework of political discussion to the right. The issue becomes not whether to throw people out of work, off welfare, and into the street, but how many.

As we'll see, though, Moral Majority's own fortunes indicate most people aren't buying this.

## 3. Not Much Support

August 22, 1980, was the day it began to unravel for Moral Majority.

It didn't look that way when it started out. Close to 17,000 of them had gathered in Dallas. Ronald Reagan had spoken to them, then gone to a side room for a news conference. The 5,000 people left in the main arena were listening to Bailey Smith. Smith had recently been elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) in a bitter fight (which continues to this day) between the traditional and fundamentalist wings of that denomination.

Smith told the crowd that "God almighty does not hear the prayers of a Jew."

The story broke a few days later, causing, in the words of American Jewish Committee President Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, concern "to a great many American Jews."

Smith didn't care. He was just getting warm. A month later, he told his Del City, Oklahoma, parish, "I don't know why [God] chose the Jews. I think they got funny-looking noses myself."

This time the heavens broke. Statements denouncing Moral Majority poured in from fifteen of the nation's largest Protestant denominations. Former SBC President Jimmy Allen dissociated himself from Smith's remarks, and Baptist conventions in Virginia and D.C. did the same.

American Jewish organizations joined in, this time expressing a good deal more than concern.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, called for Jews to seek "allies in building coalitions" against Moral Majority, regardless of those allies' views on other issues.

It was "no coincidence," Schindler said, "that the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the outbreak of World War II."

### Falwell Retreats

In truth, Jewish leaders had always known that Moral Majority was anti-Semitic. Most, however, had been willing to overlook this because Moral Majority also supported Israel. Falwell, who had himself been quoted as saying "God does not hear the prayers of unredeemed gentiles or Jews," was even scheduled to receive an award from Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin "in recognition of my many years of service to Israel and to the Jewish people."

Now, Schindler reminded Jewish leaders of one reason for Moral Majority's support to the Zionist state. "They believe," he said, "Jesus cannot return for the second coming until the Jews are regrouped in their biblical homeland and then converted to Christianity."

The storm shook even the ranks of Moral Majority. Pat Robertson and Jim Bakker, two of the biggest of the TV preachers, severed their ties with the group.

Falwell was cornered. He signed a disclaimer released by the American Jewish Committee and beat a hasty retreat, pausing only to collect the award from Begin.

But the charge stayed with Moral Majority, right up to the day in February 1981 when the chairman of its New York chapter told the press, "Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money. They control the media, they control this city."

The incident also drew attention to some other positions Moral Majority held. Positions that had always been implicit in everything it stood for, but somehow hadn't attracted much notice from the press. Take racism, for instance.

**'Not a Minority Movement'**

"I'm not going to kid you that we have minorities running out our ears," Paul Weyrich had once said. "This is not a minority movement."

Remarks like that usually got buried in the story: back with the references to "prosecuting welfare deadbeats," or to the fact that Moral Majority itself was as white as a January sale at Macy's.

Back with the information that the founding of Moral Majority had been triggered by a 1978 attempt by the Internal Revenue Service to revoke the tax-exempt status of private schools that were suspected of practicing racism. For some time, the IRS had more than suspected fundamentalist schools of this.

This move, said Robert Billings, "ignited the dynamite that had been lying around for years." (The resulting puff of smoke, by the way, was too much for the IRS, which backed off the case.)

With the Smith incident, however, Black evangelicals—almost a third of that magic 30 million—started firing back. And that couldn't be ignored.

Rev. Tom Skinner counted "more than 300 verses in the Bible on the commitment to the poor, to justice and righteousness," but added, "they are silent on that."

African Methodist Episcopal Bishop Frank Madison Reid, Jr. was even more to the point: "[They] want prayer in schools . . . even if the schools are inadequate and segregated."

Following the elections, and its subsequent banishment from the seats of power, Moral Majority regrouped to launch a series of local campaigns on behalf of its favorite causes. Its tone became increasingly shrill:

**Sex education:** A 500,000-piece mailing to ban "Life and Health" claimed the book was being used in seventh and ninth grade public school classes. "Life and Health," it turned out, was the largest-selling college biology text in the country.

**Censorship:** George Zarris, chairman of Illinois Moral Majority, kicked this one off with the observation, "I would think that moral-minded people might object to books that are philosophically alien to what they believe. If they have the

books and feel like burning them, fine."

**Creationism:** Self-professed scientist Falwell claimed "there is not one shred of scientific fact to support . . . the evolution of man from a lower form of animal life."

**Gay rights:** Dean Wycoff, of Santa Clara Moral Majority, launched this assault on Gomorrah by proclaiming, "I agree with capital punishment, and I believe homosexuality is one of those that could be coupled with murder and other sins."

Well, none of these campaigns got much support. And the reasons they didn't say a lot about what Moral Majority really is.

**A Political Movement**

The general reaction among liberals to Moral Majority, aside from being scared<sup>2</sup> was to accuse it of violating the separation of church and state. And to be sure, its proposals to reinstitute prayer in the schools and junk the teaching of evolution would walk all over the First Amendment.

But some liberals went beyond this. The problem, as they saw it, was religious leaders inflicting their political views on the American people.

Falwell's reply was characteristically blunt: "What bothers our critics is that we don't agree with them."

For once, though, others agreed with him. Andrew Young, for example, wrote in October 1980, "The church has historically addressed itself to the important moral issues that find their way into the political arena. Questions of slavery, of voting rights, the rights of women and disarmament are but a few. . . ."

Had Young written later, he might well have added the question of an archbishop gunned down and four missionaries found buried in El Salvador.

No, if you're going to get at Moral Majority you have to look past the religion angle. You have to look at what its own leaders are saying:

Falwell to *Time*, when asked to choose between a Christian who did not agree with him and a non-believer who did: "I'd pick the non-believer every time."

Falwell to the *New York Times*: "We make no bones about it. It is a political-moral organization."

Falwell to "Meet the Press": "Moral Majority is not an organization of fundamentalists or evangelical people in America. [It is] a political organization."

Whether they believe in it or not, most people would agree that the Bible can be made to serve whatever ends you have in mind. It is that kind of book. As Falwell himself admits, "Interpretation of Scripture is very subject to change."

In the case of Moral Majority, religion is being used to serve definite, reactionary political ends. And, as they suggest themselves, if the two were to conflict, that would just mean the religion was due for an overhaul.

So if Falwell and the rest consider "any attempt

2. From an American Civil Liberties Union ad: "[Their] agenda is clear and frightening; they mean to capture the power of government and use it to establish a nightmare of religious and political orthodoxy."

to weaken our defense systems . . . an act of treason," it is because they are militarists. If they preach race hatred and anti-Semitism, it is because they are bigots and want to divide the working class against itself.

And if Moral Majority is a tiny fraction of society, that is because the majority doesn't like its political ideas.<sup>3</sup>

Which is a good place to wind up: with who the majority really is.

**Who Supports What**

With enough press clippings to anchor a boat, with a government moving more-or-less in its direction, you'd expect Moral Majority to be riding pretty high right now. But it's not. Truth is, it's been in something of an eclipse since the elections. The Moral Majority earthquake, promised by the media in the aftershock of the elections, hasn't materialized.

You don't see any great sentiment for Moral Majority causes. In fact, the sentiment mostly seems to be going the other way. When, for instance, Billie Jean King admitted to having had a female lover—where was the avalanche of letters calling gays sick and demanding an investigation of women's sports?

And polls continue to indicate solid majority support for the Equal Rights Amendment and legal abortion.

You don't see any big rallies for Moral Majority causes. Those are all being held by the other side too.

A hundred thousand for Martin Luther King's birthday. Millions wearing green ribbons for Atlanta's children. Twenty-five thousand to end nuclear power. Another hundred thousand to keep the U.S. out of El Salvador.

No thousands burning books. No mass kneel-ins to get prayer in the schools or creation in the textbooks. No visible display of support, for that matter, for any government—much less Moral Majority—proposal. Just opposition.

And, finally, you don't see Moral Majority doing the one thing it would surely do if it had any real support. What every right-wing group does when it starts feeling its oats: organize some sort of activity against the unions.

Instead, we have 9,000 miners demonstrating for black lung benefits, 30,000 rail workers protesting the proposed scrapping of Conrail and Amtrak, and a two-month-old coal strike.

One more thing: this stuff about these people being moral and having principles . . .

A while ago, a reporter asked Moral Majority fundraiser Richard Viguerie if he could spell out what his principles were.

"That's easy," Viguerie replied. "M-O-N-E-Y."

3. Falwell himself probably realizes this. In a recent interview, he told Bob Scheer of the *Los Angeles Times*, "I think what we have to do is come back to some reasonable middle-of-the-road positions on the issues." Soon after this, Moral Majority took out full-page ads in the major dailies that said, in effect, it wasn't trying to take away anybody's rights.

**... Eastman**

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him simply as a Bohemian playboy.

O'Neill deserves credit for the fact that—despite his personal friendship with Eastman—he unambiguously documents Eastman's degeneration into a simple-minded right-wing ideologue and unabashed backer of McCarthyism.

Still, readers who seek new details about Eastman's revolutionary communist phase will be disappointed by O'Neill's book, which has other priorities. The very title—*The Last Romantic*—underscores O'Neill's erroneous interpretation of the meaning of Eastman's life. Despite his obvious sincerity, Eastman didn't become the opposite of what he set out to be because he was a misplaced Lord Byron or Don Quixote who belonged to another era. The mechanism by which he rationalized his transformation from revolutionary to reactionary was his pragmatic view of politics and philosophy. In this he resembles his generation far more than he contradicts it.



Southern Baptist Convention President Bailey Smith: 'I don't know why he chose the Jews. I think they got funny-looking noses myself.'

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# The Case of Max Eastman



The Last Romantic: A Life of Max Eastman. By William L. O'Neill. New York, Oxford University Press, 1978. \$14.95 hardback. 339 pp.

## By Alan Wald

William L. O'Neill is a liberal historian who has performed several important services for radical historiography in the United States. The most notable was in 1966 when he published *Echoes of Revolt: The Masses, 1911 to 1917*, a collection of writings and drawings from the most celebrated socialist cultural journal in the United States.

Now, in *The Last Romantic*, O'Neill attempts to resurrect the American journalist Max Forrester Eastman (1883-1969) as an important figure in contemporary intellectual history.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Eastman was one of the foremost writers for American political and literary periodicals. He assumed editorship of the *Masses* in 1912; when it was suppressed by the government during World War I, he founded the *Liberator*—America's pre-eminent organ in defense of the Russian revolution.

In 1934 he joined the editorial board of V.G. Calverton's forum for independent Marxism, *Modern Monthly*. Then, turning sharply to the right at the start of World War II, he wrote for the *New Leader* and *Reader's Digest* in the next decade. In the 1950s he completed the final phase of his reactionary turn through his association with William F. Buckley's *National Review*. At the time of his death he had moved somewhat to the left again.

Eastman's plethora of books included two volumes of autobiography and five of poetry; two collections of essays on famous acquaintances; a biography of Trotsky's youth; five collections of literary criticism; a 400-page novel; five books of political commentary; three philosophical works; and two studies in the theory of laughter.

He also produced a film on the Russian revolution (*Tsar to Lenin*), published four major translations of Trotsky and Pushkin, and edited two popular anthologies—one of writings by Marx, and the other of his favorite poets.

### Early Defender of Trotsky

Students of the history of the American left should be familiar with Eastman's significant role and contributions to Trotskyism. He is discussed a number of times in pivotal works such as Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* (1942) and James P. Cannon's *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962).

The son of two ministers, Eastman broke sharply with religion and sexual repression to become a Bohemian iconoclast and political radical in Greenwich Village. He campaigned for women's suffrage, birth control, and sexual and artistic freedom. Along with his friend John Reed, he supported the left wing of the Socialist Party and the Russian revolution. During World War I he was threatened by lynch mobs for his antiwar agitation, and in 1918 he and the other editors of the *Masses* were twice tried under the Espionage Act.

In 1919 Eastman was catapulted to national fame as the outstanding agitator opposed to Allied operations against the newly founded Soviet state. This prominence came from his dramatic revelation of the contents of secret letters, purloined from the undersecretary of state, to an audience described by the *New York*

*Times* as "6,000 shouting Reds at Madison Square Garden."

*Times* as "6,000 shouting Reds at Madison Square Garden."

Six years later Eastman gained an international reputation as well. After a sojourn in the Soviet Union (1922-24), he released to the world press the contents of Lenin's last two letters to the Bolshevik Party (known as the "Suppressed Testament"). In this explosive statement, the dying leader of the Russian revolution called for Stalin's removal from his post as party secretary, and praised Leon Trotsky as the most able member of the central committee.

Thus Eastman became known as the Western world's foremost champion of Leon Trotsky in the crucial factional struggle then convulsing the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This reputation was reinforced by Eastman's publication of the political analysis *Since Lenin Died* (1925) and the biography *Leon Trotsky: Portrait of a Youth* (1926).

In 1928 the German-born Marxist Ludwig Lore introduced Eastman to a Russian member of the Left Opposition named Eleazer Solntsev, who was working for the Soviet Embassy in New York. Lore had already been expelled from the American Communist movement on charges of Trotskyism, based mainly on the fact that he had associated with Trotsky during Trotsky's brief stay in New York in 1917.

A circle was set up including Max and Eliena Eastman (his Russian-born wife, the sister of Justice Commissar Nikolai Krylenko), Solntsev, and Antoinette Konikow—a socialist doctor from Boston who formed the first Trotskyist group (the Independent Communist League).

Although Eastman was unwilling to take on organizational responsibilities, Solntsev persuaded him to translate and publish some documents of the Russian opposition. They appeared that same year as *The Real Situation in Russia*.

Only a short time later, the man known as the most famous radical in the United States was isolated by the Stalinists and transformed into a pariah. The American public saw Eastman as a dangerous revolutionary, and the Communists slandered him as a "Trotskyite disrupter." In the 1930s Stalin personally defamed him as a "Gangster of the Pen," and during the Moscow Trials the Communist newspaper *Daily Worker* published a story slandering him as a "British agent."

### Philosophical Pragmatist

From his rural home in Croton, New York, Eastman continued to support the cause of Trotskyism for several more years. He gave financial support (the proceeds from *The Real Situation in Russia* were used to launch the *Militant* newspaper), produced a magnificent translation of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* (1932), and published a searing indictment of Stalinist cultural policy called *Artists in Uniform* (1934). A son from an earlier marriage to Ida Rauh, Daniel Eastman, was for a while a member of the Trotskyist party.

However, in books and in the Trotskyist theoretical organ *New Internationalist*, Eastman argued that Marxism is an unscientific philosophy that must be purged of religious elements—especially the Hegelian dialectic. On several occasions Trotsky expressed dismay over Eastman's misrepresentation of dialectical and historical materialism; he suspected that it might be a precursor of a political break.

Consequently, Trotsky urged his American followers to undertake a thorough critique of American philosophy, especially in regard to the influence of John Dewey. Dewey, whose variety of pragmatist philosophy was known as "instrumentalism," was much admired by anti-Stalinist radicals in the 1930s. He had even served as director of Eastman's doctoral dissertation at

Columbia University. (Trotsky's request was not completely fulfilled until George Novack published *Pragmatism Versus Marxism* in 1975.)

Trotsky's predictions about Eastman came true in the late 1930s: he switched from left-wing anti-Stalinism to outright anticommunism with disconcerting ease. The student of pragmatism who could not recognize dialectical method in philosophical inquiry was unable to conceive of the Soviet Union as a contradictory social formation with progressive and reactionary features.

By 1950 Eastman was vehemently antisocialist as well, becoming an ideological spokesman for the antiradical witch-hunters.

### Anti-Stalinism versus Anticommunism

O'Neill's biography claims that Eastman's "best work has been neglected or undervalued"; I find his arguments unconvincing. The primary works praised by O'Neill are *Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism* (1940) and *Marxism: Is It a Science?* (1942). The thesis of the former is that Leninism leads to Stalinism; the latter attributes to Marxism a theory of "animistic materialism" that inevitably produces socialism in mechanical fashion.

Such misrepresentations were hardly originated by Eastman and today are veritable clichés of anticommunist propaganda. What makes Eastman's books more effective than other tracts of disillusionment is his indisputable genius as a literary craftsman and journalistic popularizer.

It is from this talent, along with the moral courage Eastman displayed during World War I and the early 1930s, that Eastman's importance derives; O'Neill's attempt to establish him as an original theorist of intellectual importance is a lost cause.

Many socialist intellectuals—including some critical of dialectical materialism—have been appalled at the elementary errors contained in Eastman's theoretical expositions.

George Lichtheim, an authority on the origins and evolution of Marxist thought, wrote in the *New York Review of Books* (January 14, 1965) that Eastman's "reflections on Marx, Lenin, Communism . . . are not merely trite: they are trite in a peculiarly amateurish sort of way. It is regrettably evident that in all the years when he preached the doctrine he later came to renounce, he really had no notion of what he was talking about."

O'Neill seems to give total endorsement to Eastman's views in the early 1940s, when the anti-Stalinism he once shared with the Trotskyists was replaced by anticommunism. His only criticism is that he wishes that Eastman hadn't moved so far to the right shortly afterwards, but had instead remained more liberal.

Here O'Neill displays political naiveté, for Eastman simply carried out the political logic of anticommunism. In contrast to revolutionary Marxists who fight both Stalinism and capitalism by building an alternative revolutionary leadership based on the working class, anticommunists—no matter how liberal—can only rely on imperialism for their struggle against Stalinism. The most cogent exposition of this distinction is contained in James P. Cannon's pamphlet "American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism" (reprinted in *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century,"* Pathfinder Press, 1978).

Sharp political and philosophical differences with O'Neill should not blind us to the merits of his biography, which is lucid, readable, generally accurate, and written with affection for the subject. Most important, O'Neill restores the centrality of Marxist politics to Eastman's career, definitively countering attempts (such as those by the Stalinists in the 1930s) to portray

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## MIA campaign gives pretext

# Raids against Laos admitted by Washington

By Fred Feldman

Reagan administration sources have acknowledged that the U.S. government has carried out military raids against Laos. The attacks were launched on the pretext that the Laotians may be holding hundreds of U.S. personnel (described as "missing in action" or MIAs) as prisoners.

The first attack was reportedly intercepted by Laotian troops and a fire-fight resulted, according to a *New York Post* quotation from an Associated Press dispatch. There was no confirmation of casualties on either side. There were no reports of fighting during a subsequent raid.

No evidence exists that the Laotians or Vietnamese are holding U.S. citizens—and the raids produced none. No trace of American prisoners was found in the Laotian base targeted by the invasion force. Even Deputy Secretary of Defense Henry Catto, Jr., conceded, "We have found absolutely no credible evidence . . . that there are any Americans being held."

The Laotian and Vietnamese governments say they released the prisoners of war in the aftermath of the 1973 peace agreements.

Their statements have gone unmentioned in the stepped-up media coverage following the raids about MIAs.

The invaders were mercenaries. Some were probably Laotian exiles, veterans of a mercenary army organized by the CIA during the Indochina war.

It was strongly hinted that American citizens also participated in the raids, which were financed, organized, and directed by the CIA.

U.S. military probes against Laos have nothing to do with the MIA issue. Washington is seeking to step up military, economic, and diplomatic pressure against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.

The violations of Laotian territory come when Washington is trying to forge a united front, based on the murderous army headed by ousted dictator Pol Pot, against the Heng



Devastation caused by U.S. bombs in Laos, 1970.

Samrin government in Kampuchea.

Simultaneous with the raids, Peking is stepping up military activity along the Vietnamese and Laotian borders.

Washington is also seeking to block food shipments to Vietnam, at a time when the country faces the danger of massive malnutrition.

U.S. officials are using the attacks to assert the right to launch military operations in Laos, supposedly to search for MIAs. Deputy Secretary of Defense Catto pledged to do "whatever is appropriate" to put "an end to any captivity" of Americans in Indochina.

Ann Griffiths, president of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Action, suggested that failure of the raid to turn up any evidence of prisoners showed the need for more such actions. After all, she asserted, it "didn't rule out the existence of American prisoners of war in other areas."

The National League of Families

works in tandem with the U.S. government's Interagency Task Force on POW-MIAs, "which includes members of the State Department, the White House staff, congressional staff, and the Department of Defense," according to the May 21 *Washington Post*.

Since the end of the war, this propaganda machine has ground out stories on 2,500 Americans whom the government claims are unaccounted for in Indochina. Cooperating closely with Washington, a few right-wing Vietnamese exiles have tried to give credibility to denunciations of Vietnam and Laos on this issue.

But even the Pentagon apparently gives little credence to the claims. All but twelve of the 2,500 have been officially classified as "presumed dead."

The aim of the propaganda is to turn the anger, bitterness, and sorrow caused by U.S. casualties in Indochina against the Vietnamese and Laotian

peoples, rather than against the U.S. government that compelled Americans to fight there.

Much is made of the fact that Laos has not accounted for the body of every pilot reportedly shot down over its forests, jungles, and mountains. The demand is unrealistic—and Washington knows it.

Laos, a nation of 3.2 million people, was the target of a secret war launched by the U.S. government through the Central Intelligence Agency. Up to 1973, more than 3 million tons of bombs were dropped on the country. Its subsistence agriculture was shattered. Untold thousands of people were killed, and hundreds of thousands were driven into overcrowded cities.

In addition, the CIA organized and led mercenary armies against Pathet Lao forces who were fighting for national independence. About 30,000 troops from neighboring Thailand helped Washington occupy Laos.

The undercover character of the U.S. war in Laos adds to the difficulties in accounting for each U.S. casualty.

Laos is extremely poor (average per capita income is less than ninety dollars per year). It has no railroad and few modern roads. Means of communication are primitive in many areas. It is divided into forty-two ethnic groups speaking at least five languages.

With the victory of the liberation forces, U.S. aid—on which most of the urban population had become dependent—was completely cut off, producing a virtual collapse of the economy in the cities.

The new government has had its hands full since then trying to rebuild agriculture, expand industry, slash illiteracy, and build a united nation. In the face of Washington's continued hostility, some progress has been made.

It is not Laos that owes an accounting to the U.S. government, but the U.S. government which owes reparations to Laos for its brutal war against a small, underdeveloped country.

## Reagan aide in infant formula scandal

# Why U.S. alone supports the baby-killers

By Janice Lynn

By a 118-to-one margin, the World Health Organization voted May 21 to adopt guidelines that are aimed at protecting children the world over from disease and malnutrition.

It was the U.S. government, in callous disregard for human lives, that cast the sole dissenting vote in the United Nations agency. The U.S. voted against a code to regulate the advertising and promotion of baby formula.

In order to keep their profit margins high, infant formula companies have been marketing their products heavily in underdeveloped countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. But conditions in these countries make it extremely difficult for these synthetic formulas to be used properly.

Large numbers of women do not have access to sterile water with which to mix the formula, no suitable pots for sterilizing bottles and nipples, no refrigeration. Not to mention the money to purchase the formula in the first place. Infant formula can cost from 47 to 62 percent of the daily wage of many of these countries.

Because of this expense, many women are forced to water the formula down to make it last longer—often with polluted water. The result is a staggering increase in infant malnutrition, diarrhea, and eventually death.

The Reagan administration ordered

a vote against the regulations, despite a U.S. government study showing that each year some 10 million infants and young children suffer from sometimes fatal malnutrition and other diseases associated with inadequate breastfeeding and the use of milk substitutes. As many as one million babies actually die each year from infant formula and similar baby foods prepared under unsanitary conditions.

The U.S. companies that produce baby formula—Abbott Laboratories, Bristol-Myers, and American Home Products—and the Geneva-based Nestlé Company have a \$1.4 billion world-wide market.

The Nestlé Company, the world's largest food conglomerate, is the largest distributor of baby formula in underdeveloped countries.

These companies have gone so far as to employ sales personnel who dress in nurse's uniforms when promoting the baby formula.

It was to protect women and their children from such deception that the World Health Organization voted for the voluntary code.

The very same day that the U.S. government voted against protecting the lives of millions of children, Reagan administration lawyers were defending an antiabortion bill to "protect unborn children."

Also the same day, in the name of

protecting life, the U.S. Senate voted to strike down federal funding for abortion in cases of rape or incest.

"I don't see how an administration that talks so much about 'right to life' can show so little concern about the right to life of these 1 million babies," declared a California pediatrician at a May 20 news conference denouncing the Reagan administration's position against the baby formula code.

Consumer organizations, religious groups, women's rights supporters, and others conducted a four-year boycott against Nestlé.

In retaliation, Nestlé launched a counter-boycott campaign. It circulated a red-baiting article from *Fortune* magazine, the big-business monthly, accusing proboycott religious groups of being "Marxists marching under the banner of Christ."

The *Fortune* article was widely reprinted and mailed at substantial expense to religious and community leaders by a right-wing think tank, the Ethics and Public Policy Center (EPPC). The EPPC was headed by Ernest Lefever, the right-wing opponent of human rights who is Reagan's nominee for assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs.

It turns out that Nestlé and other infant formula manufacturers donated at least \$25,000 to Lefever's group.



Ethiopian woman with malnourished child.

Shortly afterwards, the EPPC began a study of the infant formula issue, reprinted the *Fortune* article, and discussed the possibility of making a film that would be favorable to Nestlé's interests.

From Intercontinental Press



## Jamaica's struggle against U.S. domination—Part 3

This is the final installment of the three-part serialization of Ernest Harsch's article on Jamaica, reprinted from the April 27 'Intercontinental Press.'

In parts one and two Harsch reviewed the history of the anticolonial struggle in Jamaica and the origins of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP).

He traced the increasing role of U.S. imperialism on the island, especially from the 1940s on.

An upsurge in Jamaica in the 1960s led to the ouster of the JLP regime in 1972. The masses swept Michael Manley, head of the PNP, into office, with the expectation of fundamental social change.

The Manley regime's reforms and friendly stance toward Cuba led to retaliation from Washington. In 1977, the economy battered by a U.S. destabilization campaign, the PNP agreed to a severe austerity program in return for International Monetary Fund loans.

Part three of the article begins with the imposition of the IMF austerity.

The Jamaican masses were unwilling to accept sacrifices for U.S. imperialism. Pressure mounted on Manley until the PNP was finally forced to break with the IMF. U.S. imperialism then pulled out all the stops to drive Manley from power and install the JLP's Edward Seaga in his place. They succeeded in the 1980 elections.

This final part of Harsch's article concludes with some of the lessons being drawn by worker militants and anti-imperialist fighters in Jamaica today about what strategy and leadership is necessary to break from U.S. domination and achieve the goals of the island's workers and farmers.

### By Ernest Harsch

Under the pressures of imperialism and the PNP right wing, the Manley government agreed to make some concessions in exchange for international loans. In an April 1977 speech to parliament, Manley announced abandonment of the "people's plan" and revealed that his government would begin negotiations with the International Monetary Fund.

The agreement with the IMF, signed in July 1977, imposed extremely onerous conditions on Jamaica. Under it, Manley was forced to cut social services and government employment programs, impose wage controls, and devalue the Jamaican dollar, a move that accelerated inflation. In return, the IMF agreed to provide some sizable loans.

The turn toward the IMF brought a virtual end to any new reform measures. While thirty-six new public welfare programs were introduced between 1972 and 1976, only three were introduced between 1977 and 1980. Instead, for three years, the government tried to impose on Jamaicans the austerity policy demanded by the IMF.

As a result, the official unemployment rate climbed to 30 percent, while for young people it rose to 50 percent. Food subsidies were heavily cut, lead-

ing to increases in the prices of some food items by as much as 90 percent. In the sixteen-month period between June 1978 and October 1979, real incomes fell by a staggering 35 percent.

At the same time, the government put greater reliance on repression to control the opposition to these measures. Police and troops were sent against strikers and factory occupations. Within the PNP, a virtual purge was carried out against the left wing. Many of the most radical figures were forced to resign their positions, including D.K. Duncan, who stepped down as minister of national mobilization and PNP general secretary.

In a later interview, General Secretary Trevor Monroe of the Workers Party of Jamaica (WJP) stated that the Manley government had become "derailed" during this period, partly by "pressure from imperialism through the IMF" and partly "by the strength of the capitalist elements inside of the Party." He also noted the "insufficient confidence" of the Manley leadership "in the capacity of the masses of the Jamaican people to stand on their own feet economically and politically in what is admittedly an extremely grave and difficult economic situation."

D.K. Duncan called it "a three-year experience of severe trials and crosses which brought a halt to the PNP's democratic and progressive reforms."

### Example of Cuba

The Manley regime was frequently accused by the JLP and the imperialists of seeking to take Jamaica down the "Cuban road." But the contrasts between the situations in the two countries could hardly have been more striking.

While the Jamaican government bent under the pressures of imperialism, the Cuban government stood firm—in face of much greater and more sustained opposition—by mobilizing the masses of working people to defend their country and to advance the revolutionary process. While social services, education, health care, housing programs, and other reforms were being cut back in Jamaica, they were being expanded just 100 miles away to the north, in Cuba.

Because of the U.S. blockade of Cuba, few Jamaicans were able to learn about the example of the Cuban revolution during the 1960s. This began to change somewhat in the mid-1970s following the establishment of relations between the two countries, which made travel and communications much easier. But knowledge about Cuba was still limited.

### Castro's visit

In October 1977, however, tens of thousands of Jamaicans were able to hear from Fidel Castro himself about the benefits the Cuban revolution had brought to its people. During a six-day tour of Jamaica, Castro was able to speak on numerous occasions.

At one rally in Montego Bay on October 17, Castro was greeted by a crowd of more than 100,000. He explained to them:

"In 1959, the Revolution triumphed in Cuba and for the first time our country achieved total sovereignty. . . . We nationalized all the land, all the factories, all the mines, all



Cuba, July 26, 1980. Lessons of successful revolution there are important for Jamaican anti-imperialist fighters today.

the banks, all the ports, all transportation; we nationalized everything. All wealth and all natural resources became the property of the people. That is what we call the socialist revolution.

"In our country, there were many illiterates. We began the struggle against illiteracy. We did away with illiteracy. We sent teachers all over the country, and at present all children in our country attend school. . . . We began the struggle against disease. Today, the life expectancy is almost 70 years, and we have the lowest infant mortality rate in all of Latin America and the Caribbean. We fought against unemployment and we have eradicated unemployment. We have fought to develop our agriculture and our industry.

"Now, we have not been able to do these things in peace. The imperialists did not want a revolution in Cuba, the imperialists said and the imperialists believed that they were going to crush the Cuban Revolution. They established an economic blockade, they committed military acts of aggression, and they forced our country to make a lot of sacrifices, but our country, our people, a people like this one right in front of us, a people like you, fought and won."

The repeated applause that interrupted Castro's speech showed that the picture of revolutionary Cuba that he was providing was indeed an inspiring one.

Castro made it clear, however, that he was not in Jamaica to preach, to propose to Jamaicans how they should carry through social changes in their own country. "We won't tell the Jamaicans how to do it," he said, "you know how to do it."

Castro also reaffirmed Cuba's solidarity with the Jamaican people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. He offered buses for a Cuban-built school, tractors for a sugar cooperative, prefabricated housing plants for construction workers, and Cuban doctors, teachers, and technicians wherever they were needed.

As the enthusiastic response to Castro's visit to Jamaica demonstrated,

the Jamaican people were inspired by the vision of a better future. As such, they were not willing to passively accept the attacks against their standard of living that were part of the IMF-imposed austerity program.

As the impact of the austerity measures became felt, Jamaicans rebelled.

Workers in many different sectors mobilized against the wage controls. In defiance of the government, they went out on strike, and in some cases were successful in breaking the 15 percent wage ceiling.

While Jamaica's trade-union movement had long been dominated by the NWU and BITU, several smaller, independent unions started to win a greater following among workers.

The WPJ became more openly critical of the government and raised the possibility of running its own candidates in the next elections.

The mounting discontent among the urban youth erupted in January 1979 in a series of rebellions in Kingston, Spanish Town, and Montego Bay that resulted in the erection of some 500 barricades and clashes with the police that left several people dead.

As the PNP's popularity sagged, the JLP saw an opportunity to expand its own base. It took a demagogic stance against the IMF policies, while seeking to whip up an anticommunist hysteria against the Manley regime and its close ties with Cuba. JLP supporters were active in many of the strikes, as well as the January 1979 rebellions. They initiated a series of provocative demonstrations against the Cuban presence on the island.

Meanwhile, sensing that the Manley regime was weakening, the imperialists sought to wring even more concessions out of it. In September 1979, a consortium of mainly North American banks turned down a Jamaican request for \$650 million in loans. A few months later the IMF demanded that Manley introduce even more austerity measures in return for a continuation of funding.

### Resistance bolsters left wing

The strength of the workers' resistance to the IMF policies once again bolstered the left wing of the PNP. At a party congress in September 1979, it managed to recapture some important leadership posts, and under the pressure of the party rank and file D.K. Duncan was once again elected general secretary.

That same month, Manley spoke at the Sixth Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Movement in Havana, giving one of his most anti-imperialist speeches yet. He praised Fidel Castro, condemned the U.S. blockade of Cuba, greeted the overthrow of the shah of Iran, and demanded the independence of Puerto Rico from the United States.

On other occasions, Manley expressed the Jamaican government's solidarity with the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua.

The widespread sentiments against the IMF were also making themselves felt within the party. At a special PNP delegates conference in January 1980, the 2,500 participants called for an alternative economic policy to that of the IMF. Then, on March 22, the National Executive Council of the party decided by a 2 to 1 margin to

break with the fund. Although all but two of the cabinet ministers voted against that decision, the cabinet itself was forced to go along with the shift in policy a week later.

Pointing to some of the factors in the PNP's rejection of the IMF, Duncan declared in a speech in May 1980:

Under the IMF Agreements, we paid a severe economic price. We also paid a severe political price because IMF policy is at variance with democratic socialist principles and objectives. The IMF supports dependency on international capitalism—not national self-reliance and economic independence. . . .

Naturally, the people became confused and disheartened as the forces of reaction became more and more strident and demanding. The people could not see the connection between the 1976 mandate for democratic socialism and what was taking place under the IMF.

Consideration of the economic price and the political price under the IMF and the fact that we had gained nothing but bitter experience, led the People's National Party, supported by the entire Jamaican progressive movement, to say "No" to the IMF on March 22 of this year.

### Destabilization into full gear

This renewed defiance of imperialism's dictates set off alarm bells in Washington.

Although the Manley government did not announce any new radical economic or social policies, its break with the IMF; its growing solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada; and the likelihood of a further radicalization among the Jamaican workers and peasants convinced the U.S. ruling class that it was necessary to oust the PNP from power.

With elections called for later in 1980, the U.S. rulers initiated another major destabilization campaign designed to deny Jamaicans the right to freely choose their own government.

Citing sources within the State Department, a series of articles in May 1980 in the New York Black weekly, *Amsterdam News*, reported, "The destabilization plan appears to be two-fold, sources said. The National Security Council is pressing industry and investors to refrain from 'supplying assistance or capital' to the Manley government. Secondly, industrialists are being urged to support the election of Edward P.G. Seaga, who has promised to reinstitute relations with the IMF when he becomes prime minister."

The U.S. intervention against Jamaica was not limited to economic pressures, however.

The CIA bolstered its presence in Kingston. According to Louis Wolf, an editor of the Washington-based *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, there were at least fifteen CIA agents working out of the U.S. embassy there, making it the largest CIA station in the Caribbean. These agents maintained contacts with Seaga's JLP and with right-wing sectors of the military.

Seaga himself had close links with U.S. government circles. According to an official of the National Security Council, "Seaga is one of our best intelligence sources."

It was such ties that earned Seaga the popular nickname of "CIAga."

The right-wing *Gleaner* newspaper, which supports the JLP, initiated a systematic slander campaign against the government, and spread all sorts of disinformation.

As in 1976, gangs of armed thugs went into action. Loosely organized by the JLP and armed with sophisticated weapons, they attacked PNP supporters, working class activists, and almost anyone else in Kingston's large shantytowns. The aim was to terrorize and intimidate the Jamaican people.

This terror campaign reached massive proportions. From the beginning of the year until the elections in late October, nearly 900 persons were killed, many of them by gunmen or police.

In May, arsonists torched a nursing home in Kingston, killing 144 elderly women. The fire came almost four

years to the day after a similar one set during the 1976 terrorist campaign.

### Army, police behind JLP

As the tempo of the election campaign accelerated, more and more units of the army and police openly sided with the JLP. They either turned a blind eye to the JLP's armed attacks or brutalized PNP activists who began to defend their communities. Some former military officers were put forward as JLP candidates.

In June, a plot by some military officers to overthrow the government was uncovered at the last moment.

In early October, Roy McGann, a PNP leader and parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of National Security, was murdered in cold blood by a group of policemen.

There were several attempts to assassinate key leaders of the PNP left wing, including Dudley Thompson and Hugh Small. Manley himself was the target of an assassination attempt.

The government, however, was incapable of mounting an effective defense against the imperialist-JLP offensive.

Despite the clear danger of a rightist military coup and the connivance of the police and military with the JLP, Manley sought to rely on them to combat the terror.

Although the Workers Party of Jamaica and PNP left-wingers called on the government to strengthen local community self-defense groups to fight off the terrorist gangs, Manley did not do this.

Nor did the PNP put forward a program for confronting imperialist and local sabotage of the economy, a program of mobilizing the working class. The workers themselves did not have the kind of mass organizations that could do that.

As a result, a layer of workers and PNP supporters became intimidated, demoralized, and confused.

But the PNP was nevertheless able to mount a number of large and militant rallies. Wild applause greeted speakers who emphasized the PNP's stands against the IMF and imperialism, for "socialism," and against the "big man" (the capitalists).

### Elections

The main problem facing the Jamaican people was not the elections as such, but developing an effective defense against the imperialist and capitalist offensive. Although a PNP electoral victory would not have solved that problem, a PNP government would nevertheless have provided more favorable conditions for workers to develop a program of mass mobilization and class independence.

Consequently, class-conscious workers, the most militant youth, fighters for women's rights, revolutionary socialists, and other anti-imperialist forces supported the PNP campaign and the party's reelection.

But the PNP did not win.

On election day, JLP thugs invaded polling places in some traditional PNP strongholds and stole ballot boxes. Soldiers and police took others away to the counting stations, but prevented PNP poll watchers from accompanying them, as allowed by law. Unexplained last minute fluctuations in announced voting results threw apparently secure PNP seats to the JLP.

On top of these voting irregularities, there was the continued JLP terror campaign, which undoubtedly intimidated some voters. In the weeks immediately preceding the elections, the police and military stepped up their own attacks and threats against the population, particularly in areas of strong PNP support.

In addition, a layer of working people had become confused and demoralized by the PNP's vacillations, making them vulnerable to the JLP's demagogic claims that it would be able to lift Jamaica out of its economic crisis.

All of this helped to deny the PNP an electoral victory. The announced results gave the JLP 57 percent of the popular vote, which was translated into a lopsided fifty-one seats in the sixty-seat parliament.

With Washington's direct backing, the proimperialist Edward Seaga was ushered into office.

### Working class not defeated

This change of government was a setback to the people of Jamaica, and of the entire Caribbean.

The installation of the Seaga regime reflected a reassertion of Washington's grip over Jamaica, and one of the few significant successes it has had in the region in recent years. It gave a green light to Jamaica's ruling class to try to move against the gains the workers won during the decade of the 1970s.

But the election results did not register a decisive defeat. While Washington's destabilization campaign against the Manley regime bore many similarities to the one against Allende in Chile, it did not end in a coup and a massive bloodbath.

The vanguard of the Jamaican working class remains intact. The workers have strong unions, and have gained considerable experience in defending their class interests. They have the solidarity of class-conscious workers in the rest of the Caribbean, and in the United States itself.

Since Seaga came into power, there have been a number of strikes and

workers demonstrations in various parts of the country.

The government's attempts to denationalize some industries, revise the rent control laws, raise prices, and implement other unpopular measures have met with vocal protests. The regime's campaign to victimize radical activists in the news media and civil service has not silenced dissent. Socialist ideas can still be openly discussed.

Because of such opposition, Seaga has not been able to go as far and as fast as he would like in implementing his reactionary policies.

### Activists assess lessons

Working class activists and anti-imperialist fighters in Jamaica have also begun to examine the political lessons of the past decade. They are discussing how best to move forward.

In the process, they are looking more closely than before at the revolutions in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

What they see are three underdeveloped countries that have been able to break free of imperialist domination, initiate major social programs to benefit the working population, and defend themselves from foreign aggression.

They are learning what kind of government it takes to successfully carry through such measures—a government based on the workers and peasants.

They are learning what kind of strategy it takes to put such a government in power—a revolutionary strategy of independent working-class action and organization, a strategy of totally dismantling the pillars of capitalist rule (the army, police, courts, etc.) and replacing them with new institutions of workers' rule.

And they are learning what kind of leadership it takes to head such a process—a revolutionary party based among the workers and poor farmers. They are looking toward the examples set by the Castro leadership in Cuba, the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada.

In a speech in Cuba on July 26, 1980, several months before the Jamaican elections, Fidel Castro explained what it was that distinguished Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua from other countries in the region: popular revolutions. There were "other progressive governments . . . like that of our friend Manley, in Jamaica," Castro stated. "But three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all. . . ."

It is that revolutionary example that is becoming more and more attractive to fighters in Jamaica and throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

From *Intercontinental Press*

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



There was, for example, an article from Belfast by Gerry Foley on Britain's policy of provocation in Northern Ireland. Geoff Bell wrote from London on the growing debate within the British Labor Party on Ireland. And Fred Feldman wrote an in-depth analysis of the situation in Vietnam today. In short, there was a lot of international news and analysis that we at the *Militant*, frankly, didn't have room to print. And this week there'll be more. Subscribe now to *Intercontinental Press*.

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# U.S. rejects talks with Salvadoran rebels

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. State Department declared May 4 that it was opposed to any negotiations that would lead to the formation of a new government in El Salvador.

Such a development, Washington said, "would prevent the people of El Salvador from choosing their own leaders in open elections."

Víctor Guerrero, a leading spokesperson for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), immediately denounced the U.S. statement as "irresponsible and ridiculous." He pointed to El Salvador's fifty-year history of military rule punctuated by electoral frauds.

The army officers who wield power in El Salvador today are the heirs of Gen. Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, who butchered some 30,000 Salvadoran peasants in 1932. Martínez had seized power the previous year from President Arturo Araujo—the only ruler the Salvadoran people have ever voted into office in a democratic election.

With its May 4 statement the Reagan administration was publicly endorsing the stance taken by its puppets in El Salvador. The military/Christian Democratic junta there has repeatedly rejected efforts by the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) to open talks aimed at a political solution to the Salvadoran civil war.

## 'Prevent further bloodshed'

Nonetheless, the FMLN's Víctor Guerrero reaffirmed the rebels' position: "We are seeking to prevent further shedding of the blood of the people. Thus we are ready to propose various formulas for agreement, and to listen to other proposals."

Guerrero's statement was in the framework of the diplomatic offensive the Salvadoran opposition has been pursuing internationally since February. By publicizing the aims of their struggle and making clear their willingness to enter into talks with the junta or with Washington, the FMLN and FDR have been able to deepen the regime's isolation and put the onus for continuing bloodshed squarely on the military.

The rebels' stance has been particularly effective in neutralizing Reagan's propaganda campaign around the theme of "drawing the line against Communism" in Central America. Support for Reagan's policy has come only from the world's most reactionary regimes; Washington and the junta have found themselves increasingly isolated. The FMLN/FDR diplomatic offensive has helped accelerate this process.

Support for the opposition's call for a political solution in El Salvador has come from the governments of Mexico and Nicaragua and from leaders of the Socialist International. Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, vice-president of the Social Democratic Party of West Germany, toured Central American and Caribbean capitals in April to gain support for international mediation in El Salvador. President López Portillo of Mexico and Herrera Campins of Venezuela met in Mexico City in early April and offered their services as mediators; this put Herrera Campins at odds with the "no talks" stance of the government he supports in El Salvador.

## Conditions for talks

The FMLN and FDR have listed some conditions for opening talks with the junta. They called on the regime to lift the state of siege, halt repression, release political prisoners, restore press freedom, and reopen the national university.

The regime reacted to the opposition's initiatives in a contradictory way, reflecting its internal divisions.

In early March it was made known in San Salvador that President Napoleón Duarte would travel to West Germany for preliminary talks with the FDR. Extreme rightists with influence in the officer corps then openly called for a coup, and Duarte abruptly cancelled his trip. He then denied that it had ever been planned.

To further squelch any moves toward negotiations, the military published the names of 138 prominent Salvadorans whom it branded "traitors to the fatherland." Under current conditions, this amounted to a "hit list" for the death squads. Those singled out were not only persons identified with the FDR but also former government officials and other independent figures who might have played a role in seeking a political solution.

The junta's foreign minister, Fidel Chávez Mena, acknowledged in early April that the junta had a bad image in public opinion in the United States and Europe. It would therefore be disadvantageous, he said, to accept international mediation of the conflict.

## 'Elections in graveyards'

On April 24, Duarte held a news conference and flatly rejected the demands of the FMLN and FDR for lifting the state of siege and reopening the university. Duarte claimed that no political prisoners were being held. He further stated that there could be no dialogue with the rebels until the latter put down their arms.

Armed Forces commander Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez said a few days later that the junta would accept no outside mediation and would proceed with its own plans to hold elections in 1982.

Referring to this maneuver, FDR President Guillermo Ungo said May 2, "If we wait until then, we will have to hold the elections in the graveyards."

Ungo was speaking at the Socialist International's World Leaders Conference in Amsterdam. After that gathering, Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski announced that his organization would launch a new campaign for a political solution in El Salvador. Ed Broadbent, leader of Canada's New Democratic Party, was delegated to represent the Socialist International and was to visit El Salvador, Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Cuba beginning May 23.

The Salvadoran rebels' diplomatic offensive has enhanced the FDR's standing internationally and has focused the blame for bloodshed in El Salvador still more clearly on Washington and the military regime. "Those who seek excuses for not negotiating will be left with the blame," Wischniewski put it recently.

Along with their diplomatic efforts, the rebels have pressed their military resistance to the junta's tyranny. The FMLN's forces have successfully withstood repeated attempts by the army to dislodge them from their strongholds along the northern tier of the country.

Earlier this year, the U.S. capitalist press was gloating over the "failure" of the FMLN's January offensive and heralding the progress the Salvadoran army would make once U.S. aid and advisers were in place. Such reports have long since given way to more sober assessments. For example, this account from Morazán Province appeared in the May 25 issue of *Time* magazine under the headline, "The guerrillas are back":

Seven months ago, the Salvadoran army believed it had pushed the guerrillas in this rugged eastern department north, up to the Honduran border, and rendered them incapable of causing trouble for a long time to come. Now, however, the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Army of the People (E.R.P.)\*

\*The ERP is one of the five guerrilla organizations that united in late 1980 to form the FMLN.—IP

are back in large numbers, and the armed forces have also returned for a new offensive with some 2,000 infantrymen, backed by U.S.-made helicopters, trucks and armored vehicles. It is an indication of how well the guerrillas are dug in and how well they are fighting that this time the army's goal is to drive them north of the Torola River, leaving much of the department in E.R.P. control.

At the moment the offensive appears to be in trouble, and government forces are taking high casualties. . . .

Roads going north out of San Francisco Gotera [the provincial capital] are blocked. Red Cross drivers have not been able to get supplies to Torola, a town 20 miles to the north, for six months. E.R.P. forces occupied the town of Villa el Rosario (pop. 2,000) for two weeks until a large government force moved in and surrounded it early this month. Then the guerrillas slipped away in the dark, avoiding a fight. Early last week guerrilla ground fire for the first time forced down a U.S.-made Huey helicopter carrying troops over the battle area.

Likewise, Steve Frazier reported from El Salvador in the May 7 *Wall Street Journal* that "it's clear that Salvadoran armed forces are far from controlling the guerrilla threat. . . ." Frazier continued:

The guerrillas range freely across the nation's northern provinces and are entrenched on volcanoes and in rugged hills in the heart of the nation. The insurgents' hit-and-run tactics have crippled the economy and can tie up far-larger numbers of regular troops.

"If we go after them, we get ambushed," says an army commander in Chalatenango, a guerrilla stronghold near the Honduran border.

## Army demoralized

In March and April, a group of foreign journalists spent five weeks with the FMLN forces in Morazán Province. Their report was summarized as follows in a dispatch from San Salvador printed in the April 24 edition of the Mexico City daily *El Día*:

According to what the correspondents could determine from the statements and conduct of the guerrillas, the war in El Salvador is characterized by the following concrete facts:

- Demoralization inside the army.
- Difficulties for the military in taking positions and dislodging the guerrillas.
- High morale among the guerrilla ranks.
- Growing incorporation of the people into the guerrillas and an increase in their military capabilities.

This and other recent reports from behind FMLN lines indicate that the rebels have been able to maintain and extend the liberated zones established last year and are proceeding with literacy and health campaigns, establishment of elected people's power com-

mittees, agricultural production, and fabrication of weapons and explosives.

The *El Día* report concluded:

The correspondents affirm that "while the involvement of the U.S. government is certainly a determining factor, and while direct military intervention cannot be ruled out, the guerrillas are certain they will be able to defeat the national army. . . .

"Moreover," they conclude, "the guerrillas are confident that the people of the United States will prevent a massive, direct military intervention."

## U.S. out of El Salvador!

Opposition to Washington's role in El Salvador is indeed deep and widespread among U.S. working people. Reagan's attempt to whip up support for an anticommunist crusade in Central America has backfired. Fears of a new Vietnam brought tens of thousands of young people into the streets in March and April, and on May 3 nearly 100,000 persons demonstrated at the Pentagon. The latter was the biggest antiwar protest in the United States since Vietnam.

Since then, the administration has continued to lose ground. The massive antiwar sentiment has begun to create tactical divisions in Washington. The foreign affairs committees of both the House of Representatives and the Senate have voted overwhelmingly to place conditions on further military aid to El Salvador. In both committees, a majority of Republicans broke with Reagan's policy.

The amendments voted by the House committee would require Reagan to certify that the regime in El Salvador is "not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights," is achieving "substantial control" over its own security forces, and is willing to accept "an equitable political solution" and hold free elections "at an early date."

The Senate committee voted 11 to 1 for similar conditions on May 10, despite a letter from Secretary of State Alexander Haig charging that such an action "would encourage left-wing insurgents and other extremists. . . ."

Defenders of the Salvadoran people's right to self-determination must redouble their efforts to halt U.S. intervention in Central America. In the United States, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has called for further protest actions on July 19; these will also demand a halt to Washington's threats and pressures against Nicaragua. On June 24-25, CISPES plans activities aimed at broadening trade-union involvement in the anti-interventionist struggle.

From Intercontinental Press

## Actions set in solidarity with El Salvador, Nicaragua

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador has set aside several target dates in its ongoing campaign to educate the American people on the situation in El Salvador.

On June 24-25 CISPES plans a major labor outreach focusing on the trade unions to commemorate the first anniversary of the general strike in El Salvador last year.

On July 19, the anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, there are projected regional mobilizations in Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, and other cities called in solidarity with the Central American revolu-

tions and against U.S. intervention.

CISPES will work with the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People and the National Network in Solidarity with the Guatemalan People on these actions.

In New York, CISPES has initiated a coalition with Casa Nicaragua, the Guatemalan Support Committee, and the Center for Cuban Studies to build two weeks of activities July 12-26, the theme being U.S. out of Central America and the Caribbean. In addition, a march and rally is planned for July 19 to raise funds for badly needed medical supplies in El Salvador.

# National Picket Line



## Gov't stalls postal contract talks

The United States Postal Service continues to stall contract negotiations with the country's 580,000 postal workers. The current three-year contract is due to expire July 20.

Negotiations were scheduled to begin April 22. The National Association of Letter Carriers and the American Postal Workers Union, which represent 500,000 of the 580,000 workers, had agreed to hold joint bargaining sessions. The Independent Rural Letter Carriers and the Laborers International Union's Mail Handlers Division had separately agreed to coordinate their bargaining for the rest. A similar arrangement was made for the last contract.

Negotiations were shelved when Postmaster General William Bolger asked the National Labor Relations Board to order the four unions to form a single bargaining unit.

The NLRB ruled against the request on April 30. Bolger then filed an appeal. He wants the current contract extended until the appeal is heard.

In a letter to the membership, NALC President Vincent Sombrotto and AP-WU President Moe Biller write, "our response to 'UNION BUSTING BOLGER' is 'NUTS.' We want everybody to know that our combined membership of 500,000 postal workers is solidly together."

Ken Evenhuis, a member of NACL Branch 24 in Los Angeles, told the *Militant* about the mood of union members there. "If UPS isn't willing to negotiate," Evenhuis said, "we're not willing to extend the contract."

## Teachers: Get the KKK out of our schools

The National Education Association has announced plans to counter Ku Klux Klan recruitment of school children.

"The Ku Klux Klan is back," says the *NEA Reporter*, the organization's magazine. "In nearly every part of the country, Klansmen are burning crosses, hiding under sheets—and targeting youngsters as young as age ten for the new KKK Youth Corps."

"Your students could be among the next recruits."

The article cites as one example young students wearing Klan T-shirts in Decatur, Alabama, who set fire to a school bus during an anti-busing rally.

The NEA is preparing teaching guides for its 1.7 million teachers to promote classroom discussion about the racist group.

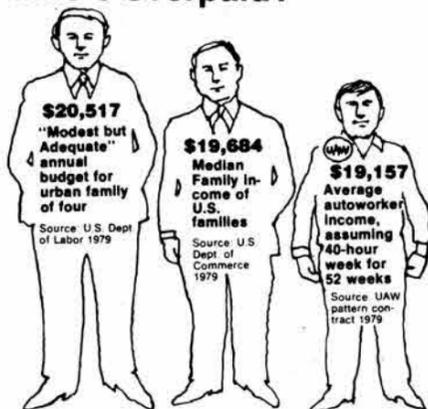
## How much is a worker's life worth?

New Occupational Safety and Health Administration head Thorne Aucher has announced plans to "restudy" restrictions on chlorine, benzene, asbestos, cotton dust, lead, and other deadly substances to see if the cost to business outweighs the benefits to workers' health.

One of Aucher's first acts in office was to destroy 100,000 OSHA cotton dust pamphlets because of a cover photo of a dying brown lung victim. He said the picture was "offensive" and "obviously favorable" to labor.

On May 4 hundreds of members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union held protest actions in thirty-six cities. More than 80,000 textile workers suffer from brown lung, a disabling respiratory disease caused by breathing cotton dust.

## Who's overpaid?



Ford and GM workers earned an average \$19,157 in 1979 before taxes. According to U.S. Department of Labor figures that's \$527 less than the median family income and \$1,360 less than the amount needed for a "modest but adequate" income for a family of four.

## Who's overpaid? Part II

The May 11 *Business Week* lists the income for 508 of the country's top execs. Here are a few samples.

Chairman, Exxon	\$3,060,000
Chairman, General Electric	1,000,000
Chairman, Union Pacific Rail	2,798,000
President, Hughes Tool	1,870,000
Chairman, U.S. Steel	609,000
Chairman, J. P. Stevens	350,000
Chairman, Chrysler	666,000

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

—Vivian Sahner

# Signalmen head tells why he didn't sign rail pact

On May 5, heads of twelve of the fourteen rail unions signed a pact with Conrail. The agreement capitulated to employer demands that the unions give up wages, benefits, and work-rule protection amounting to \$200 million a year.

The agreement came less than a week after more than 20,000 rail workers demonstrated in Washington and other cities April 29. The April 29 demonstrations were originally organized to oppose both the Reagan administration cuts in rail subsidies and the company takeback demands.

The heads of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers did not sign the pact.

The following statement by Tom Bates, president of the Signalmen's union, explains his opposition. It is reprinted from the May 1981 *Signalmen's Journal*.

\* \* \*

Has the standard of living for working Americans reached the highest level they should expect?

Everything we read or hear in news reports indicates that a great many people have been convinced that this is the case. The trend began about a year ago, as well as I can remember, when I first noticed that the employees of an airline company had agreed to take a reduction or deferral of wages. The next industry was steel, then an auto parts factory, and then auto manufacturing.

The first in the railroad industry was the Milwaukee, and now a number of other railroads have jumped on the bandwagon and are saying that the employees must show a willingness to sacrifice and reduce their standard of living or the railroads will not seek Federal funds to rehabilitate and continue operation of the railroads.

My reaction to these types of propositions simply question their integrity and the integrity of those who advance such notions. Each of the propositions say that the employees must make the sacrifice or the railroad will discontinue operation and the employee will be without employment. None of the propositions guarantee that the railroad will continue operation and that the employees will continue to be employed, regardless of how much the employee agrees to reduce his standard of living.

The latest proposition by Conrail, in a report to Congress, proposes that each employee should give up one

week's vacation, two paid holidays and other concessions, which will realize a \$200 million annual savings to Conrail in labor costs. Conrail's March 15, 1981 Congressional Report does not propose that the employees should be given absolute authority to require Conrail to adopt standards or other employee suggestions which would produce savings to Conrail. No mention is made of the \$100,000 consultant retainer promised former Chairman Jordan.

Conrail does not propose that the employees being asked to reduce their standard of living to keep Conrail in operation would have authority to dispense with the costly contracts to outside parties by Conrail for the maintenance and repair to rolling stock and track structure. Neither does the report propose to restore the installation, maintenance and repair of the communications system to Conrail employees, as required by Agreement and remove the contract from AT&T, as practiced by Conrail in the immediate past.

The March 15 Conrail report proposes that Congress make clear, in a formal and binding way, such as legislation or through administrative action, the amount of the contributions which labor must make.

I am surprised they stopped short of insisting that all rail workers not in total agreement with Conrail's suggestions, be placed in chains and reduced to slavery.

This same theory was advanced by the railroad industry, and accepted by the Railway Labor organizations during the depression in the 1930's. In that case, after the unions agreed to take a drastic cut in wages and the remaining employees accepted a reduced work week, the railroad managements reduced forces, even though they had assured the unions that would not occur.

It has never been my policy to refuse to listen to any proposition, as I believe my responsibility is to make the best judgment possible in representing the best interests of our membership, and that surely cannot be done if every facet of every problem is not considered.

At this point in time I am not convinced that our members can tolerate a reduced standard of living. Neither am I convinced that our country is in an economic condition that requires that kind of sacrifice by the working people, while the rich continue in the business as usual category.

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# ...Poland

Continued from page 5

the number of such small enterprises, the idea being to increase the availability and the quality of consumer goods. You should know that the craftsmen, too, have petitioned for registration of their own Solidarity, to work hand-in-hand with the workers and farmers.

And, of course, there is a lot of support for the independent farmers, who in fact produce the bulk of Poland's food.

## Attitudes on church

**Q.** *The press here gives a lot of emphasis to the role played by the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. How do the Polish people feel about the church?*

**A.** Poland has been divided so many different times by so many different countries, between Prussia and the Russian tsar, and they have always had to fight to keep themselves together. That is part of the element of Catholicism in this revolution. In my opinion, it's part of this Polish national identity. Almost as though the fact that 90 percent of the population is Catholic is a rebellion against the Stalinist attempt to eliminate religion through repression.

**Q.** *Do workers have a sense of solidarity with workers in other countries? Do they identify with the peoples of the semicolonial world who are fighting against western imperialism?*

**A.** They make a point of solidarizing with workers all over the world. Even if they don't know about third world liberation struggles or strikes in the West, they really do think the problems of the working class are the same the world over, whether you have a capitalist government or a bureaucratic, so-called socialist, government. Those were points made to us by Anna Walentynowicz, a Solidarity leader in Gdansk, and by a coal miner in Silesia.

However, most Poles lack information about events in the world as a whole. They get radio broadcasts from European countries. Information they get about events further away like El Salvador comes from one of two sources, one is Radio Free Europe and other Western government radios, like the BBC.

The other source is the official Polish or Soviet press. But they tend to distrust what the party or the Soviet Union say. To the extent that the Soviet government backs the Salvadoran rebels, the Poles don't know what to think, because they don't believe anything that the Soviet government is for is good. So the consciousness about international events on a broad scale and especially in the colonial world was generally not very high.

## Role of women

**Q.** *Except for the role of certain individuals like Walentynowicz, the press here has said virtually nothing about the role of women in Poland. Is there anything like a women's liberation movement over there? Are women playing a leading role?*

**A.** I didn't get a sense that there was a women's liberation movement there, but in the general drive for workers democracy women were coming forward as leaders.

In some regards, they have a long way to go. For example, women aren't allowed to do manual labor underground in the mines, and the Polish miners were surprised that I worked underground. They said that it was against international labor law for women to work underground and I explained to them that we had fought for the right, here in the United States, to

hold high-paying industrial jobs.

There is a lot of sexism in Poland, like there is here, and it is reflected in the kinds of jobs you can get. They have only one woman railroad engineer in all of Poland. And there are mixed attitudes, some pretty backward and chauvinistic, and some pretty forward looking.

On the other hand, I think it will be easier to achieve women's liberation there than here. Already, abortion is free and legal, and divorce is an option that is exercised. The respect that people have for the church doesn't seem to extend to social issues like these. And women have been very active in Solidarity. They called and led strikes in many factories last summer just as the men did.

Even in the mines, women can go underground to do nonmanual work, like a geologist making inspections, and women work hard above ground, like in the cleaning plants. And at the mine we visited, one of these women had been elected to the miners' strike committee.

During the strike, workers said, women were more radical and quicker to take action. At the same time they were seen as more practical in a tactical sense, in terms of how far to push and when to say, "OK, that is all we can get right now."

We interviewed a member of the presidium of Solidarity in the Mazowsze region in the central plains around Warsaw. He works in the Rosa Luxemburg textile mill, which was 80 percent women. One of the incidents he recalled was that Solidarity published a document that they got hold of dealing with the security police's plans to deal with striking workers. And they printed it. The printer, who was a member of Solidarity, got arrested.

So, this presidium member spoke to the workers at his mill. He didn't make any proposals but simply explained what happened to the women textile workers. They decided to go out on strike. They decided they just couldn't let the government officials get away with arresting anybody, because if they could arrest one, they could arrest others.

**Q.** *Did the women in Poland have any advice for the women of America?*

**A.** Bruce and George interviewed a woman in an auto plant near Warsaw. She was the head of Solidarity's women's committee there. She said that there were forty-two such committees in the factories around Warsaw, and that they met once a week to discuss issues of particular concern to women. Issues like child-care, housing, and women's health services.

And when she escorted these two men to the gate, her parting shot was: "Send our greetings to the women in America. Tell them to fight for their rights like our Polish women do."

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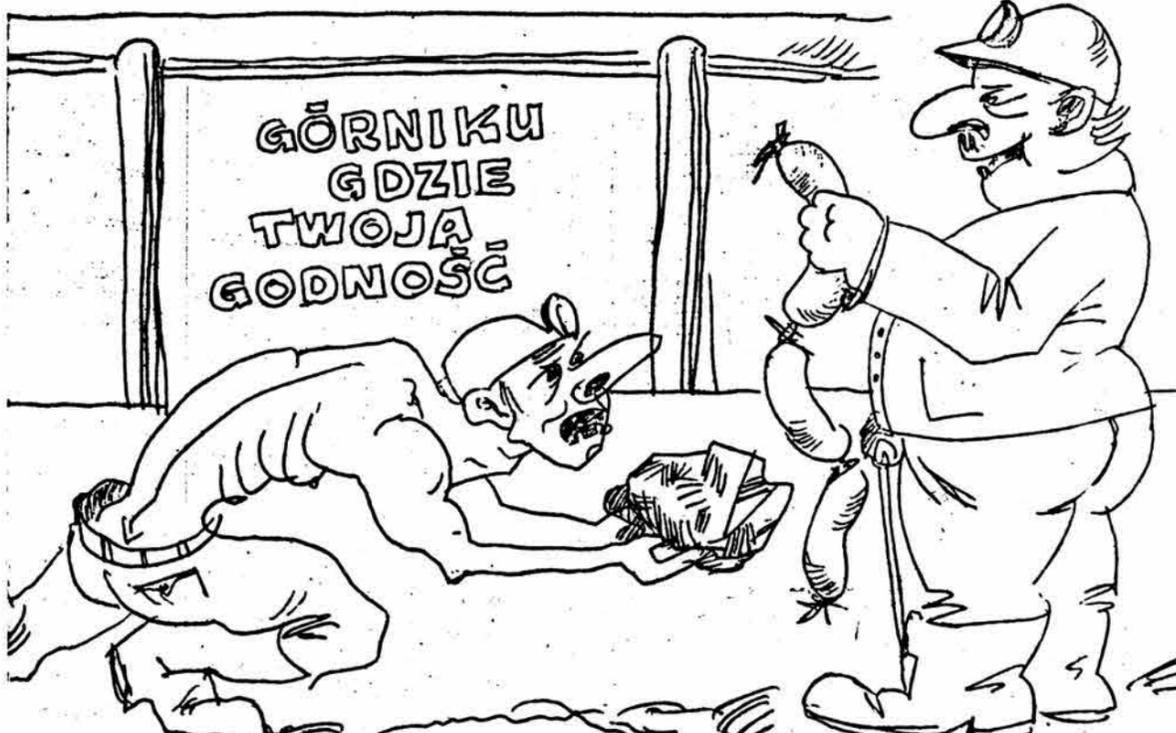
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'MINER WHERE IS YOUR DIGNITY?' Cartoon by Silesian miners urging co-workers to reject government appeal to return to Saturday work in exchange for extra meat rations, which were unavailable to other workers.

# What's Going On

## FLORIDA MIAMI

**RALLY FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; Eleanor Ginsberg, director, Florida Civil Liberties Union; John Ratliff, Latin America and Caribbean Solidarity Association; Janet Warren, Miami American Friends Service Committee; Pearl Shamin, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Wed., June 10, 7 p.m. Center for Dialogue, 2175 N.W. 26th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (305) 769-3486.

## ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**RALLY AGAINST GOVERNMENT SPYING.** Speakers: Alderman Danny Davis; Jay Miller, executive director, Illinois American Civil Liberties Union; Sheila Stoll Clark, president, Illinois National Organization for Women; Ed Sadlowski; Dr. Quentin Young; Bob Nicklas, associate publisher, *In These Times*; a witness from the Socialist Workers Party trial against government spying. (Organizations listed for identification only.) Sat., June 13, 7:30 p.m. Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**FREE IRELAND!** Speaker: Barney McClelland, member, Irish Northern Aid Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main St. (corner 2nd and Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

## MICHIGAN DETROIT

**STOP CHILD MURDERS: REPORT FROM ATLANTA MOTHERS' MARCH ON WASHINGTON.** Speakers: Phil Shannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit; Bob Kendrick, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., June 7, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

## MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

**WORKERS' UPSURGE IN EUROPE.** Speakers: Mark Severs, Socialist Workers Party; Woods Halley, Farmer-Labor Association. Fri., June 5, 8 p.m. 508 N.

Snelling. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**VIETNAM SIX YEARS LATER: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Slide show. Speaker: Prof. Alan Hooper, University of Minnesota. Fri., June 12, 8 p.m. 508 N. Snelling. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**IRELAND: PEOPLE STRUGGLING FOR FREEDOM.** Film showing: *Creegan*, prize-winning documentary on the struggle in Northern Ireland. Speakers: James Kelly, chair, Cahalane Unit of Irish Northern Aid (for identification only); Mike Finley, member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 124. Sun., May 31, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

**EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.** Two classes: 'Communist Manifesto Today,' by Susan LaMont, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, at 12 noon. 'What Is To Be Done,' by Rohima Miah, Young Socialist Alliance

National Committee, at 2:30 p.m. Sun., June 7, 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1.50 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

## PITTSBURGH

**RALLY IN DEFENSE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS.** Speakers: Malik Miah, national co-chairman, SWP; Jack Arnold, local chairman, UTU Local 1418; Molly Rush, Plowshares Eight; Jesse McDonnell, YSA, UMW Local 2874; Phil Carter, co-chairman, Pittsburgh 81. Sat., June 6, 7 p.m. refreshments; 8 p.m. rally. Tom Pecora Building (Laborers Hall), 12 Eighth Street. Donation: \$2.50, free for striking miners. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (412) 488-7755.

## WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

**THE MINERS' STRIKE: AUTO, STEEL, AND MINE WORKERS DISCUSS ITS IMPORTANCE.** Speakers: Gail Skidmore, member, United Steelworkers Local 1408 and Young Socialist Alliance; Al Duncan, former member, United Auto Workers; member of United Mine Workers. Fri., June 5, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Miners free. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

# Letters

## Small town radicalization

Recently the state university here hosted a forum on the U.S. role in El Salvador. Speakers included a State Department representative and a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The local weekly paper was much more interested, however, in what another participant had to say.

The other speaker was Mario Salgado of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Salgado told of the repression and murders of Salvadorans at the hands of the U.S.-backed junta.

He explained that the people of El Salvador are carrying out a just struggle for the right of self-determination and that the U.S. is ready to turn El Salvador into another Vietnam.

The newspaper, which normally carries only feature articles and tourist information, reported that "Salgado's speech was interrupted time and again by applause from the audience of nearly 300."

When there is so much interest in a small and anything-but-radical community, it becomes obvious that support for the Salvadoran struggle, as well as opposition to U.S. intervention, is widespread and growing rapidly.

Carole Coates  
Boone, North Carolina

## Reason to move

Recently three white men threw a pipe bomb through the window of the home of a Black woman. She lost three fingers on one hand and almost lost the entire hand.

She complained many times to the Detroit police, who did absolutely nothing.

Upon being interviewed concerning the sordid incident, Mayor Coleman Young said he didn't want to discuss it and that if they want to know anything they should call the *Detroit News*.

Mayor Young and the police are reason enough for moving out of Detroit.  
A *Detroit reader*

## El Salvador protest

On April 16, 1981, as part of three days of protest against the nuclear arms race and U.S. military intervention in El Salvador, several members of the Atlantic Life Community entered the State Department to issue a bold and nonviolent statement to Secretary Alexander Haig.

The three—Theresa Guista, forty-one, a former Sister of Mercy now living and working at the Mustard Seed Catholic Worker House in Worcester, Massachusetts; Macy Morse, sixty, a mother of thirteen and grandmother of fifteen from Nashua, New Hampshire; and Tom Reed, twenty-four, husband, father of two small children, and a member of Jonah House in Baltimore—



By Ohman for The Columbus Dispatch

were able to enter the offices of the secretary and pour blood (symbolizing the shed blood of the Salvadoran people) and ashes (symbolizing the burnt bodies of the victims of napalm and nuclear war).

At this time the three have been charged with destroying government property—valued at \$9,108—but were released on personal recognizance, despite the prosecutor's strong request for \$10,000 bond on each of them.

Since the charge is a felony,

punishable by a maximum of five years, a grand jury indictment will be sought. At that time, additional charges may be pressed.

The three have invited all people concerned about the bloodbath in El Salvador to be present outside the D.C. Superior Court at 500 Indiana Avenue, N.W., on the days of the trial to be a voice and presence for the Salvadoran people.

The defendants plan to present expert testimony by both Salvadorans and North Americans recently in El Salvador as to the effects of U.S. military involvement on the people.

It is very likely that their judge, Joseph Ryan, a general in the U.S. Army Reserve, will prohibit such testimony, so a strong presence outside the courtroom is needed.

If you have decided that the massacre of the Salvadoran people is a crime which must be stopped, if you believe that the nuclear arms race is headed toward the complete destruction of all life on the planet, join us in a nonviolent demonstration in front of the D.C. Superior Court during the days of the trial.

For more information and trial dates (not yet set), please call Tom Reed at (301) 669-6265 or Merrill Singer at (703) 820-7932.

Atlantic Life Community  
Baltimore, Maryland

## Geology vs. theology

T. Cullen Davis, a Texas millionaire who found religion after being acquitted on a murder charge, has been pressing the state legislature to adopt a bill requiring the teaching of the creationist theory. This puts the age of the earth at less than 10,000 years.

A letter-writer to the *Houston Post* notes that Davis's fortune came from oil "formed during the Permian age. According to the geological timetable in *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, that was about 230 million years ago." J.P.

Houston, Texas

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.  
**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 44 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.  
**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.  
**FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.  
**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.  
**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.  
**INDIANA:** Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.  
**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.  
**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.  
**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.  
**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.  
**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.  
**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.  
**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.  
**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.  
**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, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.  
**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.  
**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.  
**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, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, 52 Earle St., Central Falls. Zip: 02863.  
**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.  
**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.  
**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW, Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.  
**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainer Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.  
**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.  
**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# THE MILITANT

## Solidarity with miners: Their fight is our fight

By Chris Horner

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—On May 21, the fifty-sixth day of the United Mine Workers contract strike, formation of the Solidarity Committee for the Striking Miners was announced at a news conference here.

Organizers of the new committee said they will be working closely with officers of UMWA District 17 to raise funds and provide material support.

Present at the news conference were Rev. James Lewis of St. John's Episcopal Church; Tim Dent of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199; Katina Cummings of the West Virginia Citizens Action Group; and Faith Holsaert, a Charleston community activist.

In a statement of purpose, the committee said the existence of a strong UMWA "is in the best interest not only of the 168,000 working members, but also the citizens of this country." They characterized the miners' strike as "the first confrontation between the Reagan administration and a major labor union."

Rev. James Lewis stated, "The UMW's two-day strike [in March] in defense of black lung benefits represented one of the first organized efforts of working people to challenge the administration's antilabor economic policies."

Tim Dent of Local 1199 said the UMWA contract strike was being watched by other labor unions which are "being forced to accept the give-backs imposed by the companies."

The new committee has wasted no time in organizing its first activity, a benefit concert featuring country and

western singer Johnny Russell, May 29 at the Charleston Municipal Auditorium.

All proceeds are to go to the UMWA District Relief Fund.

Posters advertising the concert are up all over Charleston.

The solidarity committee can be contacted through Randy Lawrence at (304) 348-0240 or Katina Cummings, at 346-5891 in Charleston.

The office of United Mine Workers District 17 is at 1300 Kanawha Boulevard East, Charleston, West Virginia. Their phone number is (304) 346-0341.

\* \* \*

The May 26 *Charleston Gazette* reported the successful results thus far of the West Coast speaking tour of Mine Workers District 29 officials Fred Decker and Charles Ashley. Decker and Ashley announced they had raised between \$10,000 and \$12,000. They reported averaging about four speaking engagements a day as well as meeting with labor leaders.

Decker raised \$30,000 the same way during the 111-day strike in 1978.

The District 29 mine worker leaders reported getting support from the Auto Workers, teachers unions, the Maritime Harbor Coalition, Machinists, and Service Employees.

Decker and Ashley reported the response was "overwhelming, better than last time."

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In Pittsburgh on May 26 and 27, United Steelworkers Local 1397 came



Militant/Lisa Kannenburg  
U.S. Steel Homestead Works, Pittsburgh: plant gate collection for United Mine Workers Local 2400, Kirby mine.

through on their pledge to back the miners' strike in a big way.

At their union meeting the week before, the workers at the U.S. Steel Homestead Mill had invited striking miners from UMWA Local 2300 at the U.S. Steel Cumberland Mine in Kirby, Pennsylvania, south of Pittsburgh, to speak.

At the Steelworkers' local meeting it

was decided to put out a leaflet in support of the miners' strike, distribute it at the gates of the mill on May 26, and collect money the following day.

According to Local 1397 member Bill Kalman, that's just how it worked out.

Over \$1,200 was raised for the miners and UMWA stickers and buttons were all over the mill.

## Labor backs asylum for Salvador unionist

By Nelson González

Tulio Mendoza Figueroa is one of the more than 100,000 people who have fled the country of El Salvador.

Mendoza, a Salvadoran teacher and leading trade unionist, was marked for death by the "Escuadrón de la muerte" (right-wing death squad) for his opposition to the junta. He fled to the United States, where he is now engaged in a life-and-death struggle to win the right to political asylum.

His request was met with a deportation threat, which was then stayed to give his attorneys time to "prove that Mendoza's life would be threatened if he was returned to El Salvador." He is now waiting for a new hearing date to be set.

More than 22,000 people have been killed in El Salvador by paramilitary right-wing death squads and government security forces. In addition to more than 100,000 refugees, as many as half a million more people have been displaced

inside the country by this terror campaign.

Thousands of Salvadoran refugees enter the United States each year to escape the junta's carnage. According to a *New York Times* report, in the fiscal year ending last September, 11,792 Salvadorans were apprehended by the immigration service.

Despite the overwhelming evidence that if returned, refugees would face torture and even death at the hands of the junta, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is forcing thousands back to El Salvador. Threatening them with life imprisonment if they remain in the U.S., the INS coerces refugees into signing "voluntary departure" documents.

It's in this context that the case of Tulio Mendoza takes on such importance.

Mendoza has been on a nationwide speaking tour sponsored by the Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee in San Diego and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), in cooperation with the National Education Association and other organizations.

Mendoza's tour has made especially impressive gains in winning crucial labor support for his case.

On May 23 in San Francisco, Mendoza addressed the 550 delegates at the California Teachers Association State Council.

In the Federal Legislative and Civil Rights Committee of that body, he won support for House Resolution 126, "Extended Voluntary Departure." This would allow Salvadoran refugees asylum in the United States as long as the present conflict exists.

At the plenary session of the council the next day, a motion to support HR 126 was passed.

On May 25, Mendoza spoke before the 100 delegates of the Santa Clara Labor Council.

The widespread support that Mendoza is receiving has resulted in the endorsement of his appeal for asylum by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees.

Mendoza has been invited to be the keynote speaker at a June 15 rally on Minnesota's Iron Range in defense of Salvadoran refugees, sponsored by David Rowe, president of AFL-CIO in Minnesota; the Minnesota Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Joint Board; Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Bob Killen, sub-regional director of United Automobile Workers Region 10; and Ed Borstad, executive secretary of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers.

Mendoza's case must be supported. For more information contact: Salvadoran Refugee Defense Committee, 1546 Fifth Avenue, San Diego, California 92101; or USLA, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003.

### Brooklyn rally defends Grenadian revolution

NEW YORK—A June 19 rally at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn is planned to defend the Grenadian revolution. The date marks the anniversary of the rightist bombing on the island of Grenada last year, in which three people were killed.

The June 19 event will be an important part of answering stepped-up slanders against the Grenadian revolution, the most recent being a CBS-TV series depicting the island as a "police state" since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy.

On May 23, over 200 people attended a rally in Brooklyn in support of Grenada. Grenadian Attor-

ney General and Minister of Legal Affairs Kendrick Radix and Consul General Joseph Burke were the featured speakers. Solidarity greetings came from the Black United Front, Grenada Women's Organization, and others.

Earlier the same day a meeting at Medgar Evers discussed the need to build the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society in New York and decided to call the June 19 rally.

To help get out the truth about the Grenadian revolution, contact the Permanent Mission of Grenada, 141 East Forty-fourth Street, Suite 905, New York, New York 10017.