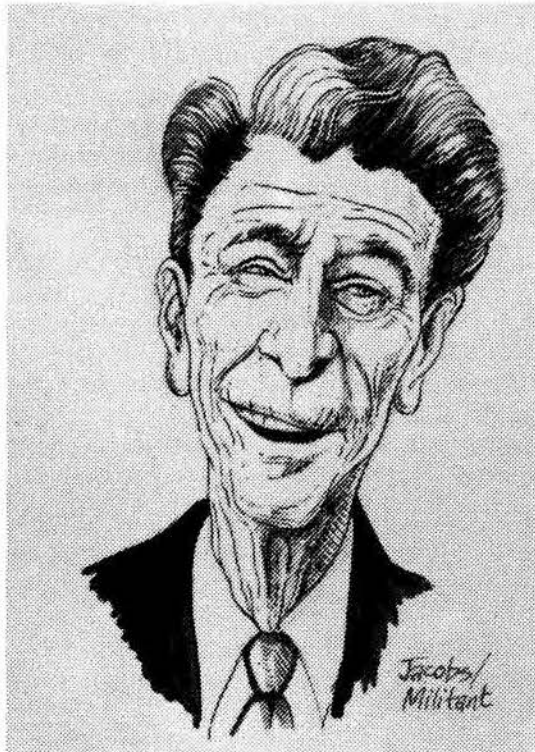


# THE MILITANT

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

## TAX RIPOFF



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we pay more  
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Detroit tax hike  
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## El Salvador: junta's offensive falters, freedom fighters gain

—PAGE 3



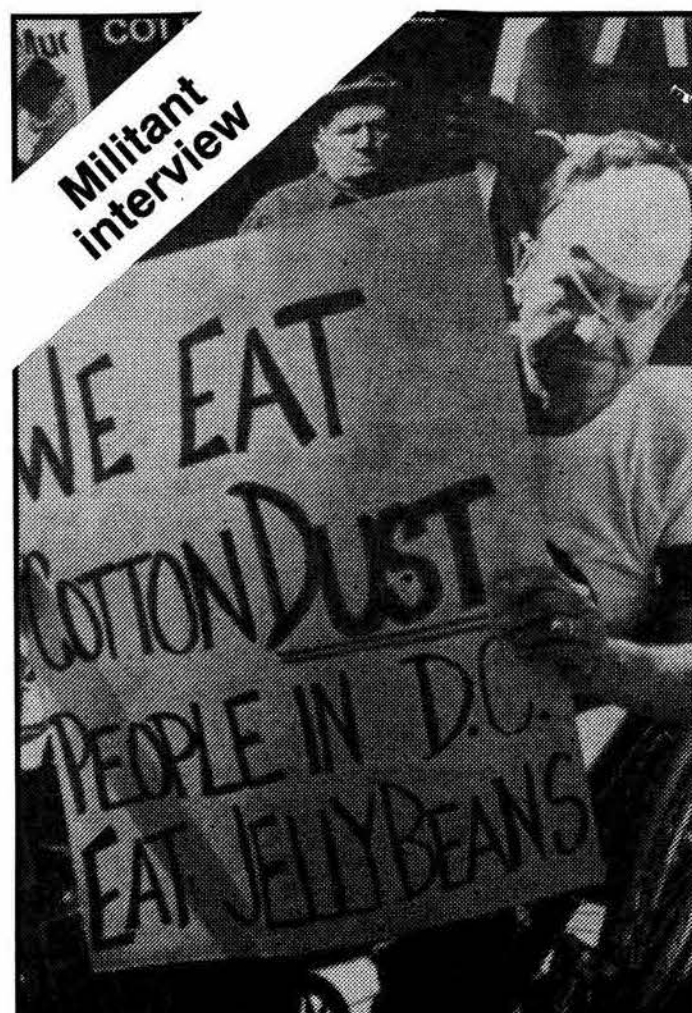
On June 1, brutal Salvadoran junta launched what it called its largest anti-guerrilla action yet. But it was unsuccessful in driving freedom fighters from two liberated villages targeted. On June 8, guerrillas launched a counteroffensive. Meanwhile, Catholic Church announced that government forces had killed more than 500 civilians in May.

## Poland: Kremlin demands crackdown

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## Ex-SWP member testifies for FBI

—PAGE 7



## BROWN LUNG KILLS

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## No U.S. arms to Israel!

Condemnation of the Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear power plant continues to mount. Even the governments of Britain and France have joined in.

Speaking at a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, Kuwait Foreign Minister and Arab League spokesman Sabeh al-Ahmed al-Jaber al-Sabah asked, "For how long will the United States continue to supply Israel with advanced weapons?"

Cuban United Nations Ambassador Raul Roa-Kouri raised the question, "Who is the power behind this aggression? Who is the ventriloquist working this dummy?"

The demand to cut off U.S. arms aid to Israel makes sense.

The permanent war that Israel has been waging against the Arab people would not be possible without U.S. military aid. It was U.S. imperialism that created Israel in the first place, as a bulwark against Arab struggles against imperialist domination of oil resources. And it is U.S. military aid which fuels each new escalation in the Israeli rulers' war drive.

Further evidence of this came from the June 15 edition of the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*. It reports that Israeli and American officials exchanged information on Iraq's nuclear program. According to *Maariv*, "The Americans shared the Israeli assessment that the Iraqis were striving to produce a nuclear bomb as soon as possible"—a claim denied by French, Iraqi, and other sources.

Continued aid to Israel is not in the interests of the working people of the United States or anywhere else. End all military aid to Israel now!

## Terrorist smear against Timerman

Jacobo Timerman is the target of a well-orchestrated smear campaign.

Timerman is an Argentinian Jew. He was publisher of *La Opinión*, a liberal Buenos Aires daily. In 1977, he was jailed without charges by the military regime and held for two-and-a-half years. During that time he was vilified as a Jew and physically tortured.

In 1979, he was stripped of his citizenship and expelled from the country.

He wrote a book about his experience, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*. It is generally agreed to be a powerful indictment of the reactionary Argentine regime. This book, coupled with Timerman's public statements, have evoked the campaign against him.

Timerman denounces the military regime which rules his country. He points to the thousands who have "disappeared" since it seized power.

In the midst of this general repression, he reports, Jews are the target of special victimization. Anti-Semitism is promoted by the regime. At military academies, anti-Semitic literature is studied.

Timerman has blasted the leadership of the Argentine Jewish community for its failure to speak out.

And he has assailed the Reagan administration for its double-talking policy of "quiet diplomacy" in relation to the suppression of human rights by regimes aligned with Washington.

Timerman is no revolutionary. He now describes himself as a left-Zionist, and is an ardent supporter of what he perceived as a genuine human rights policy by the Carter administration. He endorsed the military regime in Argentina when it first took power in 1976.

Because he has refused to be silent about Washington's complicity with the crimes of the Argentine regime, Timerman has drawn the fire of supporters of Reagan's foreign policy.

William F. Buckley wrote a column questioning Timerman's "stability." He asserted Timerman had supported "terrorism" and was a leftist not concerned with the truth.

He attributed much of this to Simon Wiesenthal, who became known for his efforts in tracking down surviving German Nazis.

Buckley's quotes attributed to Wiesenthal were taken from an interview that had appeared in the Uruguayan paper, *El País*.

The June 14 *New York Times* revealed that Wiesenthal said the *El País* interview included statements he had not made. He said he had not made the terrorism charge against Timerman, and had not discussed Argentine politics.

How did Buckley obtain the *El País* interview?

An English translation was passed on to him by Carl Gershman, an aide to Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the UN.

Kirkpatrick was tapped for the UN job by Reagan on the basis of a 1979 article she wrote for *Commentary* magazine, explaining why "authoritarian" regimes were better than "totalitarian" ones.

Carl Gershman is former executive director of Social Democrats USA.

Another participant in the gutter attack on Timerman is Prof. Irving Kristol.

Kristol has difficulty dealing with Timerman's indictment. He is compelled to concede that anti-Semitism is "endemic" in Argentina, especially "in some army circles which can accurately be labeled 'fascist.'"

However, Kristol assures, "Though anti-Semitism may be rife in certain segments of Argentinian society, the government has been doing—and is doing—its best to render it ineffectual."

But he doesn't offer an iota of evidence to buttress the assertion.

Instead, Kristol levels a red-baiting attack on those opposed to the Reaganite "rights" policy.

Some of the opponents of this policy, Kristol charitably advises, are "simply human rights purists."

But, he adds, "the driving force behind this campaign is supplied by those who have more sophisticated political intentions."

If the Reaganite "human rights" policy were defeated, he continues, the extreme right wing of the Argentine military would take total control.

"One strongly suspects," he adds, "that there are many on the American left who would like to see this happen. . . . One might almost say it is their secret agenda."

Kristol drew a blistering response from *New York Times* writer Anthony Lewis.

In a June 14 column, Lewis responds to the "secret agenda" argument.

"Why would an intellectual write such absurdities?" he asks.

Lewis offers an answer: "The intellectual right," he declares, "has shown itself so insecure, so defensive that it will smear a victim of persecution rather than face a challenge to its doctrines. It has shown itself morally bankrupt."

At a June 14 Washington press conference sponsored by Amnesty International, Timerman responded to his attackers.

"They try to induce the public within the United States to have double standards in human rights," he declared. "Not only in human rights, but also in journalism."

## Blanco badly beaten

LIMA, Peru—Hugo Blanco, an elected member of the Peruvian congress and a veteran leader of workers' and peasants' struggles, was badly beaten by civil guards June 11. The attack came during a demonstration by street vendors here, when police sought to attack the general secretary of the vendors' union and Blanco intervened to stop them.

Blanco is a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) of Peru.

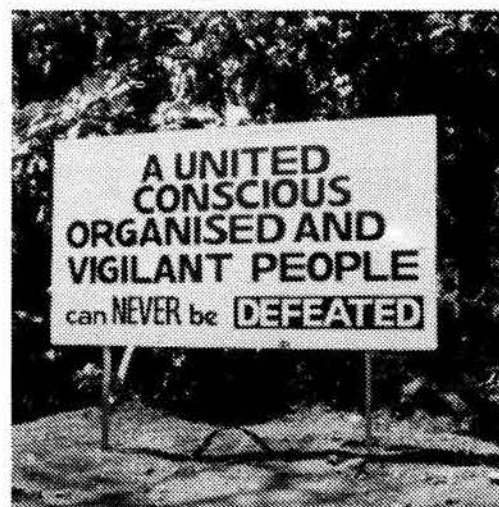
He suffered contusions, a minor skull fracture, and injuries to one arm. He was released from the hospital June 17.

Víctor Ríos, municipal council member for Villa María del Triunfo and a PRT member, was also beaten.

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## Grenada fights oil blackmail



The People's Revolutionary Government has taken majority control of the electric power company, owned in part by Esso Standard Oil. The company threatened to cut off the island's electricity unless Grenada paid \$184,000 for fuel. Page 6.

## The Militant

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# El Salvador guerrillas make gains

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—A major antiguerrilla offensive by El Salvador's military, Christian Democratic government in early June failed to achieve its goal. The army was attempting to drive units of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) from long-held positions around the San Vicente volcano, sixty kilometers from the capital, San Salvador.

Begun June 1 with 1,500 troops, the offensive included the use of U.S.-provided UH1H "Huey" helicopters and 105-millimeter howitzers. Armed forces spokesmen described the attack as the largest antiguerrilla action yet.

The guerrillas were driven from the village of Tehuacán on the first day of the attack, but were able to hold their positions in nearby Los Laureles and Colima. Government losses for the first day were put at forty by the FMLN, which announced fifteen losses of its own.

The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina reported June 9 that the army had suffered fifty-three casualties in the previous forty-eight hours alone. And the FMLN said June 8 that the army had already suffered eighty casualties.

The revolutionaries also reported that the army was killing peasants and counting the bodies as guerrillas in order to "prove" it was "winning the war." Hundreds of civilians—many of them children and old people—were reported to have fled the area the government attacked. Many were without food or water.

The FMLN warned of the possibility of another government massacre of refugees—recalling the March 1981 slaughter of refugees by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies.

Far from having been "cleaned out" of the area, as the government had announced they would be, the guerrillas were able to launch a counter at-



Salvadoran revolutionaries armed with U.S.-made M-16s captured from government forces. Junta has been unable to win major victory over guerrillas, despite massive U.S. arms shipments and military advisers.

tack on June 8. Fighting was continuing June 11.

The FMLN also announced June 9 that it had opened new fronts in the Guazapa-Suchitoto zone in Chalatenango province, long a guerrilla stronghold; and in the Aguilares-Quezaltepeque area in the provinces of La Libertad and San Salvador, north of the capital.

Thirteen hundred guerrillas were reported May 29 to have taken up positions in the hills around the Fifth of November hydro-electric plant, El Salvador's largest. Another 500 rebels were said to have encircled the Cerrón-

Grande power plant. The guerrillas were described by an ACAN-EFE news agency dispatch as "digging in" against attacks.

Also on May 29, guerrillas attacked the National Police barracks in the center of San Salvador. This raid resulted in an intense forty-minute shoot-out.

The San Salvador daily *El Diario del Mundo* reported May 28 on "heavy fighting" in Tecoluca, Verapaz, Guadalupe, San Cayetano, Istepeque, and Apastepeque. However, the progovernment paper assured its readers, "the army is in full control of the situation."

Meanwhile, the junta's bloody repression of El Salvador's civilian population continues. The legal aid office of the Catholic archdiocese of San Salvador announced June 5 that government forces had killed 536 civilians in May and 8,236 in 1981, the majority of them after curfew. It said that 18,800 civilians had been killed by security forces in the previous nineteen months.

In a sharp increase in government bloodletting, 200 bodies—most of them decapitated, mutilated, or completely unrecognizable—were found during the week ending June 9. Among them were six young people, all under twenty years old, grabbed from their homes in the San Salvador suburb of Mejicanos on the night of June 8 and found headless the next day.

Also included in the toll were two leaders of the high school student movement. Their mutilated bodies were discovered June 5 in a village thirty kilometers northeast of San Salvador. Rogelio Sierra, twenty, and Parsina Teresa Vasquez, seventeen, had been kidnapped on a downtown capital street May 14.

A one-day strike by bus owner-operators paralyzed service in San Salvador June 1, forcing the government to declare a state of emergency. The owners were seeking changes in the government subsidies they receive for diesel fuel. Their organization, the Asociación de Empresas de Autobuses Salvadoreños (AEAS), insisted that only a labor issue was involved. But the government charged they were really revolutionaries.

Nonetheless, the regime gave in to the AEAS demands almost at once. "The failure of the government's economic programs is forcing workers and small and medium entrepreneurs into struggle to defend their interests," the Revolutionary Democratic Front explained in a statement urging support for the strike.

## Tax plan: workers pay more, rich rake it in

By William Gottlieb

The Reagan administration has been arguing that it has a formula for controlling inflation and reducing unemployment.

The trick, they claim, is an across-the-board reduction in income taxes. Five percent this year, and 10 percent each in 1982 and 1983.

Initially, they wanted 10 percent for each of the three years. But Congress balked, so Reagan said he would compromise on the first year.

Nobody who works for a living will argue against cutting income taxes. Or reducing inflation and creating more jobs.

Will Reagan's program mean less taxes for working people? Will it really slow down inflation? Create more jobs?

The answer to all three questions is no.

By simply insisting that the percentage of tax reduction be the same for all

income levels, Reagan assures that the lion's share of the benefit goes to the rich. The smaller your income, the smaller your share of the tax reduction.

Meanwhile, it looks like Congress will give Reagan most of what he wants on allowing corporations accelerated depreciation in writing off the cost of such fixed assets as plants and equipment. Such "depreciation" is simply sleight-of-hand to make profits look smaller than they really are for tax payment purposes.

In 1980, corporations paid only 21 percent of total income taxes. Under the Reagan depreciation plan, by 1986 the corporate share of income taxes will drop to 14 percent.

At the same time that the income tax package is being engineered, it's already been decided that social security taxes—paid mainly by working people—will rise 22 percent over the next three years. That will pretty much take

care of any tax reduction for working people.

This particular soak-the-workers swindle has been dubbed "supply-side economics."

The supply-siders argue we've had economic stagnation and inflation over the past decade because business hasn't been able to invest enough. Cutting taxes will increase profits. And, they argue, increased profits will mean increased investments. That, in turn, will mean more jobs and lower prices. Everybody benefits, right?

Wrong. Even some major spokespeople for big business are skeptical about the logic of the Reagan argument.

An article in the June 15 *Wall Street Journal* notes that the key to the success of the Reagan program is dependent on whether the reduction in taxes on corporate profits really does lead to a big upsurge in capital investment.

The article explains that, according to

administration projections, under its program, investment in new production would increase from the 11.2 percent of the gross national product it was last year, to a whopping 15 percent in 1986.

The *Journal* comments, "To many economists, however, this projection smacks of fantasy."

The article explains that while the administration and big business agree that a huge investment incentive is needed to spur the rate of economic growth, whether there will in fact be an investment boom depends on whether the administration can actually lower inflation and interest rates.

High prices and high interest rates limit the ability of people to buy what's produced. The increasingly limited buying power of the population is the real source of the present stagnation of the U.S. economy. This is true for the world market as well as the domestic one.

To this problem, the Reagan proposals are no solution at all.

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# Can tax hike save Detroit?

By Bill Arth

DETROIT—For the past few weeks, people here have witnessed a bipartisan farce in the state legislature. This farce took place in the guise of debate around a bill to "save Detroit" from bankruptcy.

Detroit is to be "saved" by allowing its residents to vote themselves a hefty increase in the city income tax—from the current 2 percent to 3 percent for residents; and from 0.5 percent to 1.5 percent for non-residents.

The tax referendum, to be held on June 23, is backed by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and local business leaders. A recent editorial in the *Detroit Free Press* stated, "leaders in Detroit...pleaded with the Legislature to simply give the city a chance to get its finances straight. They are not asking for a bailout but for a chance to let Detroit voters and city employees bite the bullet."

## Business-stacked panel

The referendum is just one part of a three-part "bite the bullet" package designed for Detroit by a special panel of business executives appointed by Mayor Young. This panel includes Felix Rohatyn, one of the people who helped "save" New York through massive layoffs and cutbacks; former General Motors chairman Thomas Murphy; and retired Ford executive Fred Secrest.

For window dressing, the panel also includes a number of union representatives such as Tom Turner, of the Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO, and a representative of the United Auto Workers.

Not surprisingly, the panel's program calls for some serious bullet-biting on the part of working people, while the corporations in Detroit are to dine on tax abatements and other more palatable items.

According to the bill just passed by the state legislature, the income tax increase can only be implemented if the other parts of the panel's program are as well. They include a pay freeze and other concessions totaling \$76 million by city workers, and the sale of \$100 million in bonds by the city (to be financed by an increase in the city property tax.)

The state senate is threatening that if Detroit can't balance its budget, they'll appoint an outside administrator who would have veto power to rip up city workers' contracts.

## AFSCME for 'no' vote

Leaders of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees have come out against this blackmail of city workers and are calling for a "no" vote on the tax hike referendum. AFSCME represents 9,000 of the city's 20,000 city workers.

Lloyd Simpson, executive vice-president of Council 25 of AFSCME, said that passage of the bill was "like, having a guillotine over our necks."

Bob Johnson, Council 25 president, said, "We were not originally opposed to the tax plan, but the legislature included the wage rollback and we can't buy that approach. Based on that we have to attack the whole situation."

The Metropolitan-Detroit AFL-CIO was also expected to come out for a vote against the tax increase.

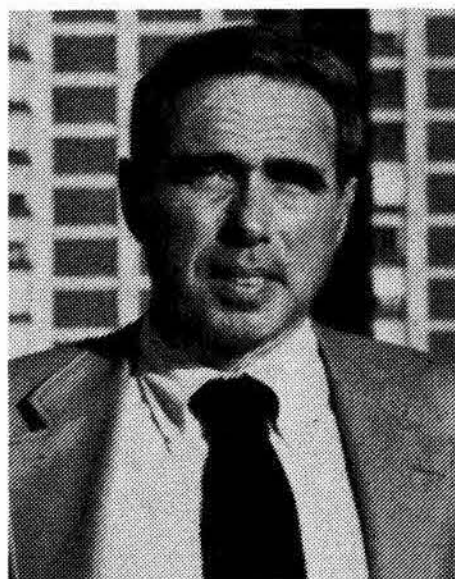
Tom Turner refused to endorse his own panel's package because of the demand for wage concessions. Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, lobbied for passage of the tax bill, but withdrew his support when it was linked to the wage concessions. Other pro-Democratic Party labor leaders have followed a similar course.

While the tax increase proposal has passed the legislature, it must now be voted on by Detroit residents. And it's not easy to convince voters that it is in their interest to have their taxes go up.

In order to put this over, Mayor Young is attempting to label opposition to the tax hike as racist and anti-Detroit. He has touched a sensitive nerve on this question.



Left, Mayor Coleman Young. Right, Felix Rohatyn. Young says opposing tax hike is 'racist.' Yet his panel to 'save' Detroit includes Rohatyn, who 'solved' New York City crisis by massive cutbacks and layoffs, which hit Blacks and Latinos hardest.



Detroit is a majority Black city surrounded by white suburbs. Opposition to the tax increase in the legislature was led by representatives from the suburban areas and focused only on the increase for non-residents. Funds are being raised to oppose the increase in suburban areas, with special emphasis on white voters.

But the fact is that most of those who would be affected by the non-resident tax are auto workers and other working people. The increase is part of a plan to make all working people pick up the tab for a financial crisis made by the banks and corporations.

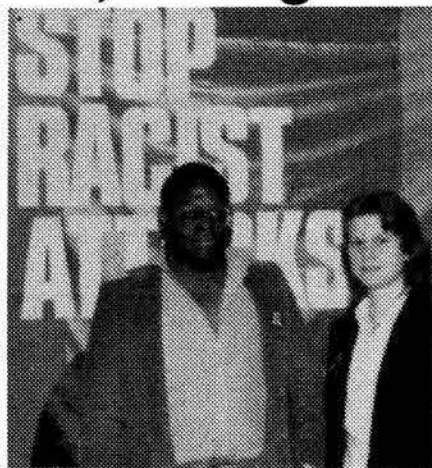
An income tax increase will not benefit Black or white workers. The charge of

racism is an attempt to convince Detroit's Black majority to vote for something that is obviously not in its interest. The call by unionists for a "no" vote can help undercut the mayor's take-back campaign.

Phil Shannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, is using his campaign to offer an alternative solution to the city financial crisis.

According to Shannon, "The tax increase proposal is just one more part of the pro-capitalist program carried out by the Young administration, just like the wage cuts. While we are being asked to pay higher taxes, the city government has granted tax abatements and other

## 1,500 signatures in one day



Phil Shannon, Elizabeth Ziers

Supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates Phil Shannon and Elizabeth Ziers have been petitioning to put their candidates on the ballot in the September primary.

Shannon, a twenty-three-year-old oil worker, is running for mayor. Ziers, a twenty-seven-year-old auto worker at Ford's Dearborn Assembly Plant and a member of United Auto Workers Local 600, is running for Detroit City Council.

By the end of the first day of petitioning, supporters had already col-

lected more than the minimum of 927 signatures for Shannon and 688 for Ziers.

"Many people we met were completely fed up with Mayor Coleman Young and ready to consider an alternative," said socialist campaign director Jim Burfeind. "A second group, while generally supporting Young, was very excited to see that there was an alternative to the tax increases and other sacrifices demanded by the city administration. Many of these people signed our petitions."

The response to the socialist campaign was not entirely favorable, however. "A minority of those we approached, primarily older people, were staunch Young supporters. They didn't appreciate the competition for their man, although many were willing to hear our proposals," said Burfeind.

One campaign supporter, Meg Hayes, who works at Ford's River Rouge complex, reported that she had gotten thirty signatures for Shannon and Ziers at work. "One worker, who bought a subscription to the *Militant* last fall at an unemployment office, walked down the line with me and relieved people so that they could take time to sign the petitions," said Hayes.

aid to General Motors for bulldozing houses in Poletown.

"What most people don't know about this rip-off," says Shannon, "is that the Poletown plant will replace two other plants at a net loss of 3,000 jobs."

## Give-aways to big business

"But Poletown is just the tip of the iceberg. An even more disgusting example is the Riverfront West project. The Downtown Development Authority has announced that it will sell \$50-million in tax-free bonds to finance this private venture for financiers Al Taubman and Max Fisher.

"But that's just the start. It is also proposing a 100 percent property tax break for this \$90 million project. And who will the project benefit? The apartments in the complex will rent for \$460 a month and up. And the condominiums will sell for from \$120,000 to \$200,000.

"I call the program of the Young administration ADC—Aid to Dependent Capitalists," says Shannon. "My campaign calls for an end to this welfare for the rich. No more tax abatements. The corporations should pay the taxes—not working people."

"That's why I am campaigning for a 'no' vote on June 23."

Shannon also expresses skepticism about the real state of city finances. "We demand that the city open its books for public inspection. How many more Riverfront West boondoggles are there? We know somebody is getting rich and we have a right to know who."

"Last year, more than \$936 million in Detroit tax money went to the Pentagon. This is eight times the city's supposed deficit. We could use this money to raise not freeze city workers' wages and make sure they can keep up with inflation. We could use it to expand social services and give decent jobs at union wages to the tens of thousands of unemployed Black youth whom Young has nothing to offer."

Shannon says that while campaigning he has met with a good response to these proposals. "People have been bombarded with propaganda that we have no choice but to raise our taxes. They are delighted to hear a proposal that offers an alternative to biting the bullet."

"But to make that alternative a reality we must develop a new political strategy. The pro-capitalist policies of Coleman Young and the Democratic Party are a dead end for Blacks and all working people. Young himself has said that the Democratic Party is racist. So why does he stay in it?"

## Labor political action

"We need a party of our own," says Shannon. "We can't be in the same party with those who are trying to keep us down. Detroit's unions back Young and the Democrats in the elections, and then we get these giveback demands as our reward. Calling for a 'no' vote on this tax referendum is an important first step in having our unions fight for us in the political arena as well as at the bargaining table. In short, we need a labor party."

Shannon calls on Detroit's unions to unite and run an independent candidate on a program against the cuts. He predicts: "They could win the election. In the absence of such a candidate, my campaign offers the only real alternative."

## International Political Prisoners Solidarity Forum

**Speakers:** Representatives of African National Congress of South Africa, Casa El Salvador, Civic Committee for Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, H-Block/Armagh Committee; and Afeni Shakur, former Panther 21 defendant  
**Chair:** Paul O'Dwyer

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# Anti-busing bill passes in House

By Suzanne Haig

Antibusing forces have stepped up their offensive against the right of Black and Latino youth to have an equal education. Their ultimate aim is a de facto rollback of the twenty-seven-year-old U.S. Supreme Court decision, outlawing segregation in public schools.

On June 9, the House of Representatives voted 265 to 122 to prohibit the Justice Department from pursuing court cases that could lead to the busing of school children to achieve desegregation. The measure is expected to pass in the Senate.

The Justice Department is currently the only federal agency that has the legal right to pursue such cases.

Federal education officials are already banned by the Reagan administration from using government pressure to achieve desegregation by busing. They cannot, for example, withdraw federal aid from school districts refusing to comply with the law.

The Collins Amendment, as the bill is named (after its sponsor, Rep. James Collins), does not prohibit private individuals or groups like the NAACP from bringing desegregation cases to court. Nor does it affect existing busing programs or prevent federal courts from ordering racist school boards to implement desegregation plans.

But it is aimed at denying the money, legal services, and political pressure needed to take on a powerful school board and win.

Passage of the bill will certainly encourage racist forces fighting to ban all busing.

There is currently considerable support in Congress for a constitutional amendment to ban busing. Reagan campaigned for this last year. Opponents of busing are gathering signatures on a petition that could bring such an amendment to the House for a vote.

Racist foes of busing are also operating on a local level.

In California, the State Supreme Court ruled in favor of dismantling the three-year busing program in Los Angeles, the second-largest school district in the country, with at least 300,000 students attending segregated schools.

The racist majority on the L.A. school board plans to totally resegregate the schools. The ruling, moreover, will affect the entire state.

In St. Louis, the U.S. Justice Depart-



Chicago busing program, 1977  
Militant/Suzanne Haig

ment, in an attempt to get around "forced" busing, came up with a plan whereby the state would pay a portion of college tuition costs for St. Louis students who agreed to attend high schools outside their immediate area.

This plan is nothing but an attempt to get around busing and therefore around desegregation.

It sidesteps the issue of ending segregation, while giving the illusion that something is being done.

In Chicago, which has the most segregated school system in the country, an ineffectual voluntary busing program has been in effect. Antibusing forces now have a majority on the school board, thanks to Mayor Jane Byrne, and they are dead set against implementing any major busing plan.

In Dallas, a busing plan was implemented in 1976 that left a whole sub-district totally Black.

That section of the plan was contested in court and a ruling is expected by next month.

The school board, the Dallas rulers, and a coalition of former and current Black school administrators are for keeping the subdistrict Black, claiming that this is benefiting the youth.

If such a plan is upheld, it can be used in other areas, bringing back the old argument of separate, but equal.

## Labor Safe Energy meeting set for New York City

The Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment is holding a national meeting Sunday, June 28, in New York City.

The Labor Committee organized the antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, March 28. That demonstration, which was sponsored by the United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, United Auto Workers, and other unions, marked an important step in the fight against nuclear power.

It was also a demonstration of solidarity with the United Mine Workers, whose contract expired the previous day.

The main point on the agenda of the June 28 meeting will be a discussion of plans for the Second National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment, to be held in Gary, Indiana, November 20-22.

According to a June 8 mailing from the Labor Committee's coordinator, Jerry Gordon, the national conference

is already cosponsored by the Mine Workers, Machinists, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), Graphic Arts, Furniture Workers, and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Speakers at the June 28 meeting include Matt Miller from the Coal Miners Political Action Committee and Don Sweitzer, legislative representative of BRAC.

The mailing also points out that the Labor Committee is updating its list of union resolutions concerning nuclear power and would like to receive copies of such resolutions.

The address of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment is 1536 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 265-7190.

The national meeting on June 28 will be held from 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. at the Fourth Wall Theater, 79 East Fourth Street (between Second and Third Avenues), New York City.

# Black party to send commission to Atlanta

By Malik Miah

PITTSBURGH—A fact-finding commission is going to Atlanta, Georgia, in early July to investigate the murders of twenty-eight Black youth. The commission was established at a June 12-14 joint meeting of the National Black Independent Political Party's National Organizing Committee (NPOC) and Charter Review Commission (CRC).

The commission to Atlanta will be composed of seven people—Black party leaders and prominent individuals active in independent Black politics. They will include a youth leader of the party.

The recommendation for the fact-finding commission came from the party's development committee.

Brother Hulbert James, a member of the committee and a leader of the Washington, D.C., chapter, explained to the meeting that the purpose of the commission is threefold: to look into the over one-year investigation conducted by the cops, city hall, and FBI that has failed to find the killers; to look at the role the news media have played in reporting the racist murders; and to meet with members of the Atlanta chapter of the party, mothers of the slain youth, and other community organizations.

After the trip is made a report will be prepared. This report will be circulated to all party chapters and local organizing committees prior to the next joint meeting of the NPOC/CRC on July 31-

Aug. 2 in Akron, Ohio.

Once the report is discussed and approved, national and local press conferences are projected to release the commission's findings. Chapters and local organizing committees are being urged to organize activities around Atlanta and against the general rise of racist and cop terror directed at the Black community.

The June meeting of NPOC and CRC was the third since the launching of the NBIPP after its Philadelphia convention of 1,500 last November. Since that time, the party has steadily grown and developed around the country.

The first party congress is set for August 21-23, in Chicago. It will be held at Tabernacle Baptist Church and Wendell Phillips High School.

Prior to the party congress, chapters and local organizing committees will discuss the proposed charter. A new draft was adopted by the CRC at this meeting.

The convention will have elected delegates from both chapters and local organizing committees. All Black people—members and observers—are welcome to attend the congress.

Registration fee will be \$10 for observers and \$15 for certified delegates. For more information or to preregister, contact NBIPP Planning Committee, P.O. Box 5717, Chicago, Illinois 60607. Telephone: (312) 493-0546.

## N.Y. transit crisis: socialists say 'open books'

By Mark Friedman

NEW YORK—A series of public hearings are being held in the metropolitan New York area as a prelude to increasing transit fares and possibly instituting new taxes.

Proposals discussed by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority include: increasing bus and subway fares as much as forty cents, eliminating senior citizen and handicapped reduced fares, increasing in-city railroad fares 50 percent, and eliminating all free transfers.

The hearings are held at times when most people are working—and it takes hours of waiting to be able to testify.

In addition, transit workers, who are in the best position to testify about the need for better conditions and service, and to expose poor management, are not legally permitted to speak out publicly against the MTA. The official position of the 34,000-member Transportation Workers Union is against a fare increase—or any fare at all.

People from different community and service groups came to a June 8 hearing to oppose the increases. What was striking was that most all the Democrats and Republicans favored increasing the fare one way or another, either through

some new tax or "only" a fifteen-cent increase.

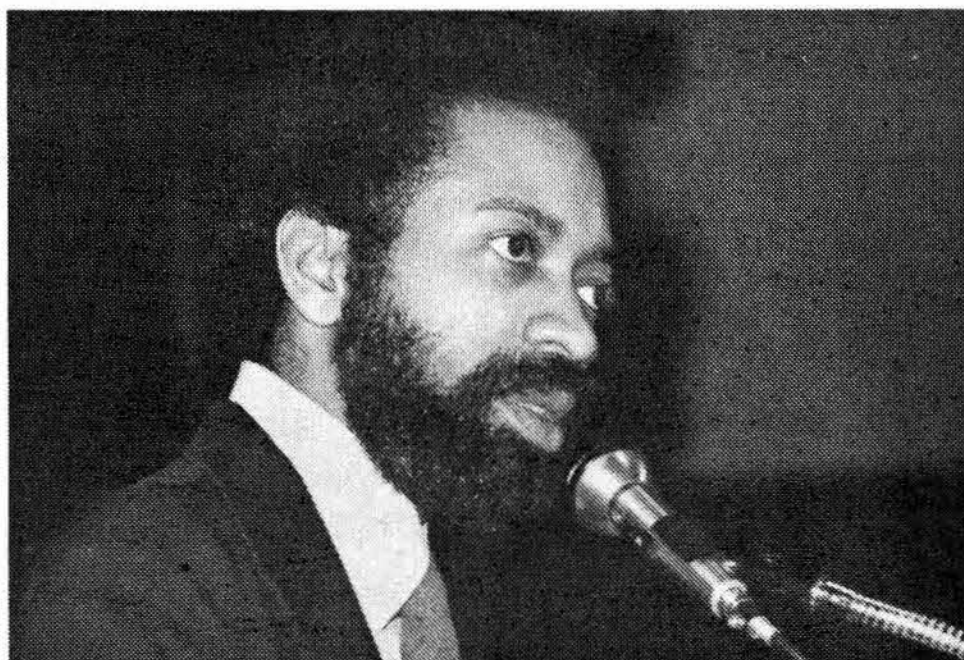
Socialist Workers Party candidates Raúl Gonzalez and Wells Todd were the only candidates to call for taxing the corporations and not working people to pay for the transit system.

"The MTA board is run and controlled by the Democrats and Republicans, who in turn are told what to do by the rich of this city," said mayoral candidate Todd.

"I propose that we eliminate the war budget and fund mass transit, thus creating more jobs and revamping the city system. All the interest payments that go to the banks for this dilapidated transit system should be stopped," said Todd.

Raúl Gonzalez, SWP candidate for comptroller, introduced himself as a transit worker and denounced the gag law which keeps transit workers from telling the public the truth.

"This law should be stricken from the books," he said. "The MTA board should be replaced by a publicly-elected board responsible to the people. The transit workers themselves should determine the working conditions on the job. All the financial books of the Transit Authority [currently secret] should be opened for public scrutiny."



WELLS TODD

Militant/Lou Howort



# Grenada gov't blocks imperialist blackmail



Prime Minister Maurice Bishop referring to Standard Oil maneuver, 'This is the most classical example of what we mean by imperialism . . . times are changing and the people will no longer take orders from imperialists.'

By Diane Wang

Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government took over majority control and management of the island's electrical power company, Grenlec, on May 24. The move thwarted an attempt by the British Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) and Esso Standard Oil Company to cut off electricity to the island, sabotage equipment, and plunge the government into a financial crisis.

On May 21, an Esso ship pulled into Grenada's harbor to fill the island's near-empty tanks. Grenada had only enough oil left to continue electricity until 8:00 p.m. that night. But before it would deliver the fuel, Esso demanded payment of \$478,000 (EC dollars—about US\$184,000) by 4 p.m. that day. Moreover, Esso threatened, all future deliveries would have to be paid for in advance and even those deliveries would not be guaranteed.

Why had Grenlec fallen behind in its fuel payments? Because customers had not been billed for a month, creating a debt of some half-million EC dollars. Grenlec claimed it simply could not get its bill-collecting equipment to work.

The majority of Grenlec's stock was held by the British CDC. That parent company refused to advance money for the Esso bill and would not even help negotiate a bank loan.

The PRG's solution to the crisis was People's Law No. 13, enabling the go-

vernment to assume majority control and management of the company.

The May 21 provocation was only the most recent of the CDC's hostile acts against Grenada. In 1960, the utilities company passed from local control to the CDC. The company was given tax-free and duty-free status. Not only did the CDC extract the highest possible dividends; it paid itself large fees for "technical assistance." At the same time, the CDC froze all investment in the utilities after 1974, cut off credit to the company, and let equipment run down unrepaired.

Last August, the CDC demanded a rate hike. The PRG refused the increase and set up a commission to investigate and document the CDC's mismanagement.

Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop announced the take-over of the electrical company at a May 24 African Liberation Day rally. "This is the most classic example of what we mean by imperialism," declared Bishop.

"But what they are not realizing is that times are changing and the people will no longer take orders from imperialist countries. As long as the government, party, people and the Revolution exist," said Bishop, "we will always stand up against such companies trying to put us down."

"We are sure that we can stand up to CDC and any transnational and win."

## Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



### Klan target: Grenada

The following appeared in the June 1 *Socialist Voice*, newspaper of the Canadian Revolutionary Workers League.

"Further investigation into the abortive April 27 attempt of a group of U.S. and Canadian Ku Klux Klan members to invade the Black Caribbean island of Dominica has revealed that the group's original target was the neighboring island of Grenada.

"Grenada was selected after its dictator, Eric Gairy, was ousted by a March 1979 popular revolution.

"Backing these plots were the leaders of Canada's main racist organizations: James Alexander McQuirter, Grand Wizard of the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Donald Andrews, former head of the Western Guard. . . .

"Andrews discussed the Grenada venture with ex-dictator Gairy and flew to Dominica to try to set up a business front there for the Grenada attack. 'We would have been very interested in toppling a Marxist government,' said Andrews in a recent Toronto interview.

"The group later decided to overthrow Dominica's government and exploit that predominantly Black island in the name of the white 'master race.'"

### Catholic youth hear Nicaraguan priest

Over 700 Catholic youths from every parish in Grenada, and guests from Puerto Rico and Dominica, attended the sixth annual convention of the Catholic Youth Congress (CYC) in Grenada, reports the May 23 issue of the *Free West Indian*.

A highlight of the congress was a talk given by special guest Father Fernando Oliva, a Nicaraguan priest and coordinator of the Revolutionary Christian Youth in Nicaragua. He is also a member of the People's Militia.

"The construction of a new society is part of a Christian obligation," he declared.

Referring to the poverty of the masses in Latin America as a result of the exploitation by the rich, he said, "People were obliged to live as slaves for the benefit of the few. Certainly, priests and other Christians did not pass by the wounded . . . we took up arms to struggle."

According to the *Free West Indian*, Oliva "explained that unless one was involved in the revolutionary struggle and the process of reconstruction, one cannot consider himself to be a real Christian, since the Church, like the Revolution is for the poor and oppressed."

Lengthy cheering and applause followed Father Oliva's speech.

### Record shops make junta's hit list

The *Washington Post* reports that, "The Salvadoran military put a new spin on its propaganda war against guerrillas recently when the national police fanned out to record shops and seized hundreds of what they considered communist-inspired albums."

"International communism in its zeal for massive infiltration at all levels," said an armed forces statement in the local papers, "is making use of music as its best vehicle, mainly through protest songs."

"The statement added that record shops, knowingly or not, have been aiding the guerrillas by 'propagating doctrines contrary to democracy,' because some of these protest records contain 'coded messages, which have been interpreted by militants of the clandestine organizations.' The statement did not indicate what those messages might be."

During the record raids, Joan Baez's albums escaped; but the British group "Traffic" was "almost snatched from the shelves when a young police officer caught sight of the long-haired subversive types on the dust jacket, an employee said.

"The records consistently confiscated were by such artists as Nicaragua's cultural hero Carlos Mejia Gody . . . and Chile's Victor Jara, who was killed in the military coup of 1973."

Over 100 such records have been confiscated.

"They gave us a receipt for the records they took," said a young woman, "but we're a little afraid that if we go down to claim compensation they'll think we're with the [guerrillas] or something . . ."

### Electrical workers on El Salvador

Kip Hedges reports a rally in solidarity with the people of El Salvador will take place in Lynn, Massachusetts on June 27 at St. Mary's Church.

Speakers at the rally will include Américo Duran, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Reverend John McAward of the Unitarian Universalist Church; Jack Clements, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2321; a representative from the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201; and others.

The rally is sponsored by St. Joseph's Church of Lynn, Lynn Fair Share, IUE Local 201, and many other civic and church organizations.

Recently IUE Local 201, the third largest local in the international, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"IUE Local 201 stands in solidarity with our fellow workers and trade unionists in El Salvador by opposing any U.S. funds, military advisors, or armed intervention on behalf of the Salvadoran junta."

—Nelson González

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# Ex-SWP member testifies for FBI

By Michael Baumann

NEW YORK—In the eleventh week of the socialist trial against government spying, attorneys for the FBI reverted to a classic move, used in past frame-ups of the labor movement.

They produced as a star witness a former member of the Socialist Workers Party, in this case Hedda Garza, who they revealed had collaborated with them.

At two secret meetings held off the record, without counsel for the plaintiffs present, she discussed her cooked-up story with Edward Williams, the head attorney for the government.

The story, told on the witness stand June 12 by Garza, is part of government efforts to frame a Bolivian revolutionary and SWP leaders as participants in an illegal transfer of funds to aid the Bolivian guerrilla movement.

This false charge of illegal activity—although never clearly and openly stated—has been central to the FBI's attempts to justify in court more than four decades of spying on the SWP. (The government has been unable to come up with any real evidence of a single illegal act, or a single incident since 1941, despite the years of spying.)

Through Garza's testimony, the government hoped to directly link the socialists to the illegal funding of a foreign guerrilla movement. And to undermine the credibility of SWP leaders who had consistently denied the charge, on the stand and off.

However, the government's only witness on this destroyed her own credibility when she was revealed during the testimony itself to have perjured herself on the witness stand.

## Secret meetings

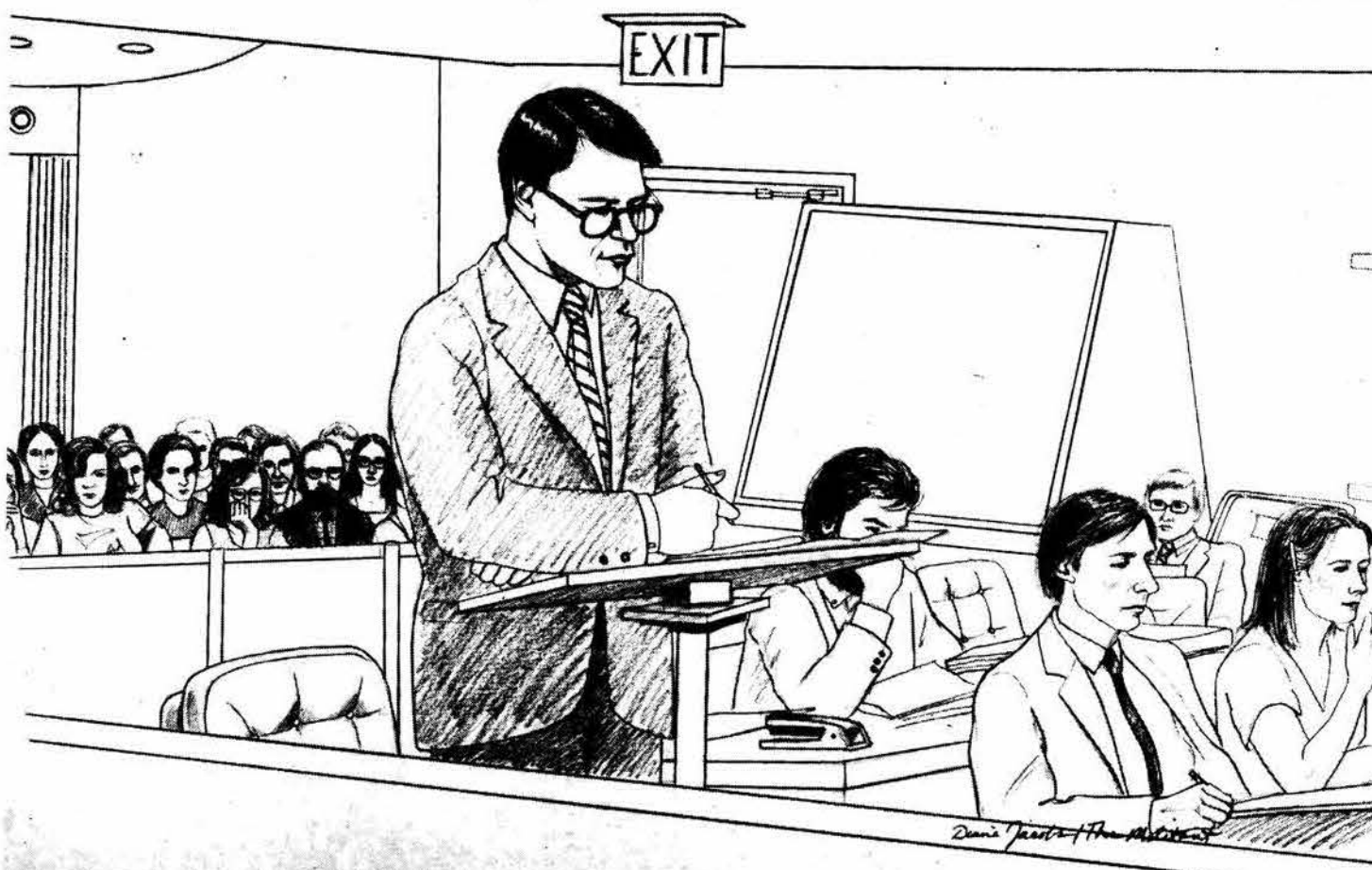
It was only with Garza's appearance on the stand that her role in manufacturing these charges became clear.

Hints of the charges suddenly appeared, for the first time, in FBI lawyers' questioning of SWP leaders in March pretrial depositions. This came after years of depositions, during which there was no mention of the charges.

The accusations first emerged in the trial shortly after it opened, when Assistant U.S. Attorney Williams cross-examined Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary.

It is now established that Garza met secretly with FBI lawyers February 23, following pretrial testimony she gave at government request. Another secret meeting occurred "in a nearby restaurant" April 1, the day before the trial opened.

Her allegations against the Bolivian revolutionary leader were not in her pretrial deposition. The topic wasn't even raised. (At pretrial depositions the



Chief government attorney Edward Williams

witness is under oath, a public transcript is made, and both sides can have their lawyers present.)

Instead, the allegations were discussed with the FBI lawyer off the record, depriving the socialists of the opportunity of answering them until she appeared on the stand.

Following the first secret meeting with Garza, government lawyers began to ask SWP leaders an unusual and almost bizarre series of questions during pretrial testimony.

The questions focused on a visit to the United States in the late 1960s by Hugo González Moscoso, a leader of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

González Moscoso was in poor health at the time, the result of treatment at the hands of the Bolivian dictatorship. He had come to the United States in 1967 to seek medical care.

In pretrial testimony March 5, SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters was asked if she had met González Moscoso when he came to the United States "in 1968."

The following day, Jack Barnes was asked the same question, as well as whether he had gone to see the movie *Battle of Algiers* with González Moscoso "in 1968."

## Confusion over dates

To be noted is the date. Williams kept insisting that González Moscoso's visit must have occurred "in 1968." He did so even though Barnes said González Moscoso had come to the U.S. only one time, in 1967, and was a guest observing the SWP convention that was held that year. Thus, his visit was public knowledge.

During cross-examination of Barnes at the trial, Williams asked:

Did González Moscoso attend the SWP's 1967 convention? Did Barnes, González Moscoso, and others go to see the *Battle of Algiers* at this time? Did they see it at a theater in Manhattan? Did the SWP ever give "financial support to guerrilla warfare activities in Latin America?"

The series of questions seemed clearly to imply an allegation that at the movie Barnes slipped González Moscoso a substantial sum of money.

Barnes answered that most of this was true. Except for one thing: The SWP gave no money to González Moscoso.

In an interview with the *Militant*, published April 24, Barnes denounced Williams's innuendos as a lie.

"In pre-trial testimony I told the government lawyers that when González Moscoso came to this country there was deep repression in Bolivia," Barnes said. "It was not long after the murder of Che Guevara in that country."

"The left wing of the labor movement was hit hard. Many miners were in jail."

"In a poor country like that, when the breadwinner goes to jail, a family of five or six find it difficult to even survive," Barnes said.

"So it's entirely possible that people in this country would have raised money to help their families. González Moscoso may have gotten money from some of them. . . ."

"But the SWP did not give him any money, and he did not ask us for any," Barnes said.

When Hedda Garza took the witness stand, she gave a much different version of the purpose of González Moscoso's visit. In a series of carefully prepared leading questions, based on what they had already worked out—on matters that were never touched on in Garza's February deposition—Williams asked:

"Isn't it true, Ms. Garza, that Hugo González Moscoso stayed at your home at 252 West 85th Street for a number of days?"

Isn't it true he "only briefly left the apartment? . . ."

"And isn't it true, Ms. Garza, that you had a conversation with Hugo González Moscoso about the situation in Bolivia and what he planned there?"

Garza answered yes each time.

## Source of confusion

"When was it that Mr. Moscoso stayed in your apartment with you and your husband?"

"I don't recall the exact date on that," Garza replied.

Her next statement explained the government's confusion on the dates since their first meeting with her in February:

"I believe it was in the spring of 1968. . . ."

"And didn't Hugo González Moscoso tell you that he had gotten what he wanted during his visit—and that was financing to carry out revolutionary activities in Bolivia?"

"He didn't use those words," Garza said. "He said that he had come to get aid for his struggle there, yes, and that he had also come for medical attention."

Williams continued: "And did he say to you or indicate that he had obtained the aid that he sought?"

"Yes, he said that he had gotten what he came for."

"Did he indicate what the aid was?"

"Presumably financial. He said he had come for financial aid."

"Did he indicate to you that it was obtained from the SWP?" Williams asked. "No, he didn't say he obtained anything from the SWP," Garza replied.

"Did you understand it to mean that he had obtained it from the SWP?"

"Well, that would be conjecture on my part. I don't know what he did after he left my home, I don't know where he went or who he saw in the street or what he did. I didn't go with him to see people or anything like that, so I don't know."

"Did Mr. Moscoso indicate to you in these words or words to this effect, 'Everything is fine, I got what we wanted,' meaning the money?"

"Well, he didn't speak like a street

Continued on next page



Militant/Michael Baumann  
HEDDA GARZA: Collaborated with FBI attempt to frame-up SWP.

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## ... Garza

Continued from preceding page

person, no. . . . He just said, 'My trip was successful. I did what I came for. I got what I came for.'"

### Cross-examination

Under cross-examination, SWP attorney Margaret Winter began by offering Garza the opportunity to alter the impression she had left that the SWP had given González Moscoso money for guerrilla activities:

"Ms. Garza, do you believe that Moscoso could have been talking about medical aid or help rather than money, in this conversation? Is that possible?"

"He could have been," Garza replied. "Is it possible that he was talking about political support rather than money in this conversation?"

"No, he was talking about money."

"But it could have been about something to do with the medical problems that you referred to?"

"No, I don't think it was his own personal medical problem. . . ."

"Are you positive he was talking about money?"

"Yes," Garza said.

She then denied under oath that she had discussed González Moscoso's visit with the FBI attorneys, or anyone else, at any time.

She first tried, however, to give the impression that her husband, Catarino Garza, knew about the matter. Catarino Garza, who has been separated from Hedda Garza for several years, is today a member of the SWP National Committee and a leader of the party in Northern California.

Winter asked: Was Catarino Garza "present at the conversation with González Moscoso you have referred to?"

"No. . . ."

"Did you ever tell him about that conversation?"

"Yes," Garza said at first. Then she said, "Or it may have been—I don't know whether he was ever present when it was mentioned or anything. I don't recall."

"But you do recall telling him about it?" Winter asked.

"Well, I recall that he knew about it, he knew what went on in the house. I

don't recall how he knew about it."

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Catarino Garza branded Hedda Garza's statement as a complete fabrication.

### Hedda Garza's view of FBI

"She was lying on the stand," he said after reviewing a copy of the transcript.

"I spent hours with González Moscoso when he stayed at our apartment, and he never mentioned or implied getting money for anything from the SWP."

González Moscoso was a veteran of the revolutionary movement, Catarino Garza said. "He knew how irresponsible it would be even to joke about such a thing."

Garza said Hedda Garza had spoken to him by phone around the time she gave government lawyers her pretrial testimony.

"I warned her not to collaborate with these people," he told the *Militant*. "I reminded her it was the FBI who had murdered the Rosenbergs."

"Her bitter response was that she 'knew the party' but that she did 'not know the FBI.'"

### Gov't admits meetings

In the courtroom, as Williams began questioning Garza, an obvious question arose: How was the government able to ask such detailed, leading questions about conversations that never occurred?

Attorney Winter repeatedly asked Garza if she had discussed the matter with Williams or any other government lawyer. Garza denied this. Williams then stood, ash-faced, and asked permission to approach the bench. He did so, and was joined by Winter and the court reporter.

The conference with the judge was not audible to others in the courtroom. But the following is the official court transcript of what Williams said:

"Your Honor, I do wish to advise the court that on February 23rd immediately following the deposition of Miss Garza I did have a conversation with her for about an hour, and I have detailed notes of that conversation."

"I also further met personally with her on April 1 in a nearby restaurant, as she testified, to deliver the transcript."

But I also had another conversation with her about that, which included in part some of the testimony she gave here today."

On pain of placing himself in the position of knowingly allowing perjured testimony to enter the record—for which he could be found in contempt of court—Williams was forced to disavow the FBI's own star witness of the day.

Following this conference with the judge, Winter again gave Garza the opportunity to correct her answers. She asked if there was anything Garza wished to add about meeting with the government lawyer.

At this point Garza plunged deeper: "I already said that I did not. You asked me that and I did not. The only thing I might add is that I know the Socialist Workers Party has been spreading rumors that I have because the rumors were deliberately filtered back to me, and I think I would like to put that into the record."

### Hedda Garza's view of SWP

Hedda Garza split from the SWP in 1974, along with other members of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) grouping. A number of former members of the IT have since rejoined the SWP. Garza, however, has remained bitterly hostile to the party.

Once it became clear that she intended to stand by false allegations that could damage the workers movement, Winter asked her a series of questions attempting to shed light on her objectivity as a witness.

In response, Garza stated that she viewed her separation from the Socialist Workers Party as an "unjust," "illegal," and "unfair," expulsion, providing "further evidence that the democratic rights question in the SWP had eroded very severely."

### Repeats FBI slanders

Garza also rehearsed a slander, made the day before in court by an FBI witness. FBI agent Joseph McMahon had said in reference to the IT, "I was suspicious that the party might be trying to rid itself of some of its more radical members to enhance its position in the lawsuit."

Garza echoed this view. "My own feeling," she said, "is that we were thrown out of the party precisely so the SWP would not be tainted with terrorism. . . ."

The truth is that the SWP has consistently defended the IT, explaining that its separate status was recognized not because of its *ideas*, but because it had broken party discipline in organizational matters.

Testifying in court April 7, Jack Barnes stated that the IT not only "never advocated terrorism," but also did not "urge the SWP to advocate terrorism," did not "urge the SWP to break any law," "never broke a law themselves," and "never planned to break one either."

person Martha Pettit rejected the police claim and demanded that the police take immediate action to find the attackers.

Socialists arriving at the Oakland headquarters of the SWP on May 29 found that a lock on a window in the back had been broken and a small amount of money had been stolen. A fire set in a trash can in the bookstore had damaged books on one of the shelves.

When police arrived they claimed a member of the party must have done it. They said they would file a report. But later, when socialists found crowbar marks on two of the windows, they notified the burglary and arson division of the police department. They were then told that no report had been filed and, furthermore, there were "no suspects."

The SWP has demanded that the police open a full investigation.

# DAY BY DAY

## WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

### DAY 44: THURSDAY, JUNE 11

Thomas Filkins, army counterintelligence analyst, tells how GIs were pressured to inform in antiwar movement. Kim J. Allen, formerly of army intelligence, testifies that army photographed antiwar demonstrators.

Government lawyers read into record historical FBI documents on SWP. Earliest is 1929 memo by J. Edgar Hoover.

Retired FBI agent Joseph A. Sizoo testifies that 'surreptitious entries' have been used against 'subversives' at least since 1942.

Joseph McMahon, FBI specialist on Internationalist Tendency, a grouping that left SWP in 1974, charges that SWP engineered their exit 'to enhance its position in lawsuit.'

### DAY 45: FRIDAY, JUNE 12

Former SWP member Hedda Garza takes stand. Despite her denial under oath, she is revealed to have collaborated with FBI lawyers to back up FBI frame-up of SWP on charges that it funneled money to a Bolivian revolutionary.

FBI agent McMahon admits that after SWP investigation supposedly ended, informers could remain inside SWP. Andrew O'Neil, formerly of army intelligence, claims he was told by socialists in 1943 that SWP wants to run world through a central committee. FBI agent Willis Smith testifies on interrogation of SWP leader José Pérez eleven years ago.

### DAY 46: MONDAY, JUNE 15

Nancy Cole, former 'Militant' reporter, testifies about a 1975 interview with SWP member Evelyn Sell.

FBI agent Dirck Merrill tells of use of informers in YSA and SWP in San Francisco from the late 1950s to 1976. Admits no illegal activities were found. George Litzenberg, from FBI headquarters, testifies on microphone and wiretap policies.

Retired FBI agent George Baxtrum says break-ins at SWP headquarters uncovered SWP's support of 1952 Bolivian revolution. SWP attorney Margaret Winter points out that SWP-sponsored solidarity meetings were reported in the 'Militant.'

### DAY 47: TUESDAY, JUNE 16

FBI agent Tim Dorch testifies that a review of FBI files reveals 105 break-ins of SWP headquarters. Patricia Lewis testifies that a deceased friend, Father McLaughlin, found a briefcase and turned it over to the FBI. She admits that McLaughlin never mentioned Fred Halstead's name, the SWP 1968 presidential candidate whose briefcase was stolen during the campaign.

George Breitman, a longtime leader of the SWP, is questioned on defense policy in the 1942 Smith Act trial. SWP leader Larry Seigle testifies that the party destroyed financial records to keep members' and contributors' names out of secret police hands.

### DAY 48: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17

FBI informant Edward Heisler tells court he was an informant from 1966 to 1971 to 'infiltrate the FBI' and help the SWP. Admits he turned over names of party members, antiwar activists, and others to FBI. During the night, he said, he entered the Chicago SWP offices to copy documents. Says he used illegal drugs, in violation of SWP policy, while working as an FBI informant.

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# Klan harasses San Jose socialists

By Priscilla Schenk

The Ku Klux Klan reared its ugly head in San Jose again June 10. This time at the offices of the Socialist Workers Party.

As socialists met inside, copies of the Klan newspaper were shoved into the mailbox, put on windshields of cars, and hung on posts on the block. When the socialists discovered this, they immediately filed a complaint with the police.

Just two months ago, on April 11, the Klan attempted to hold a "recruitment rally" in downtown San Jose. A counter-demonstration was called in protest. Nearly 2,000 people came to the counter-action, including many auto workers who had leafleted at nearby plants to build the antiracist protest. The SWP was among those who supported the counter-demonstration.

The Klan rally was shut down in thir-

teen minutes, as robed Klan members fled under police escort. In the newspapers displayed around the socialists' headquarters was an article with the Klan's response to the April 11 event.

On June 9 the offices of the SWP in Kansas City were burglarized during the night. When socialists arrived, they found a brick had been thrown through a front window. The back door was standing open and a screen was cut. The back room had been ransacked. Newspapers and political literature were strewn around, and about fifty dollars worth of *Militant* newspapers were destroyed. A small calculator was missing, but other equipment, an air conditioner, and money were left untouched.

When police arrived, they declared it "an inside job."

At a news conference, SWP spokes-



# N.Y. Red Squad deal blasted in 'Village Voice'

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Opposition continues to grow to the proposed out-of-court settlement of a lawsuit against the New York City Police Red Squad.

Nat Hentoff, a widely-known civil libertarian, critic, and writer for the *Village Voice*, blasted the settlement in a page-long article, "NYPD Red Squad goes legit," in the newsweekly's June 3-9 issue.

"This is the story of a crucial Constitutional lawsuit that directly affects most readers of the *Voice*—even though you are not likely to have ever heard of it," Hentoff began.

"... This settlement, whose details are going to be rather dismaying news to you, sets up 'guidelines' for this city's secret police—a group that has 'habitually and contemptuously acted as if the Constitution itself were the subversive product of foreign agitators.'"

The suit, *Handschu, et al. v. Special Service Division, et al.*, was filed in 1971, shortly after a police frame-up against the New York Black Panther Party fell apart in court. It is a class action suit, representing all New Yorkers, that was filed in the name of Barbara Handschu, then president of the National Lawyers Guild.

The settlement was agreed to by the police, and unfortunately, several lawyers in the New York Civil Liberties

Union. The National Lawyers Guild opposes the proposal.

Hentoff describes how the Red Squad operates: "During the 1960s and early 1970s, for instance, the Red Squad surveilled and kept dossiers on all kinds of lawful individuals and organizations. It also used a lot of undercover infiltrators."

Calling the settlement in the Handschu case "a dangerous hoax," Hentoff zeros in on one of its key stipulations. The "guidelines" claim to "articulate a balance between political expression and police responsibility for investigation of criminal conduct."

"Remember," Hentoff says, "the plaintiffs—and the huge class they represent—were all engaged in lawful First Amendment-protected activities. The unlawful actions charged in this suit were all committed by the police, who, in the settlement, admit to no wrongdoing at all."

He quotes from objections filed in court by the National Lawyers Guild:

"Any 'balancing' would be inappropriate in this case. It is bad enough that the police balance lawful political activities against their own misconduct. It is bizarre that class members should be asked to negotiate away their liberties and those of future generations by sanctioning such a balancing act."

The settlement contains a host of



Suit against New York police Red Squad was filed in wake of 1970 attempt to frame up twenty-one members of Black Panther Party.

loopholes for the police. For example, it says the police have to get "specific information" of "criminal" activity before unleashing spies on a political group.

Hentoff says he read that part of the settlement to a Chicago lawyer who replied, "Let me give you an example of 'specific information.' An anonymous caller tells the Red Squad: 'This peace group on West Street is also running guns on the side.' Now that's specific information... it may be the worst-quality information, but it sure is specific."

"When the winds of dissent run strong—as they surely will under Reagan and Haig—lots of folks make all kinds of bellicose noises. Which of those roars constitutes an actionable threat?" Hentoff asks. "When in doubt, which is always, the Red Squad can infiltrate..."

"Here's another example of the plums handed to the police spies in the Handschu settlement," he adds later in the article. "Undercover agents can be used against political 'criminal' suspects if

there is 'good cause' for an investigation. . . .

"When," he asks, "has a cop ever denied having good cause for something he wanted to do?"

Hentoff also takes up the settlement's proposal for an "Authority" to oversee Red Squad operations—a review board to be composed of two cops and a civilian chosen by the mayor with the approval of the cops.

One lawyer, said Hentoff, told him, "Looks like you people in New York are going to have Dracula watching the blood bank."

"No wonder that Barbara Handschu herself is quite disturbed at what has been wrought in her name," Hentoff concludes.

"She's afraid these guidelines could legitimize unconstitutional police practices. 'And,' she told me, 'I don't have much hope in that one civilian on The Authority.'"

"Do you?"



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

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

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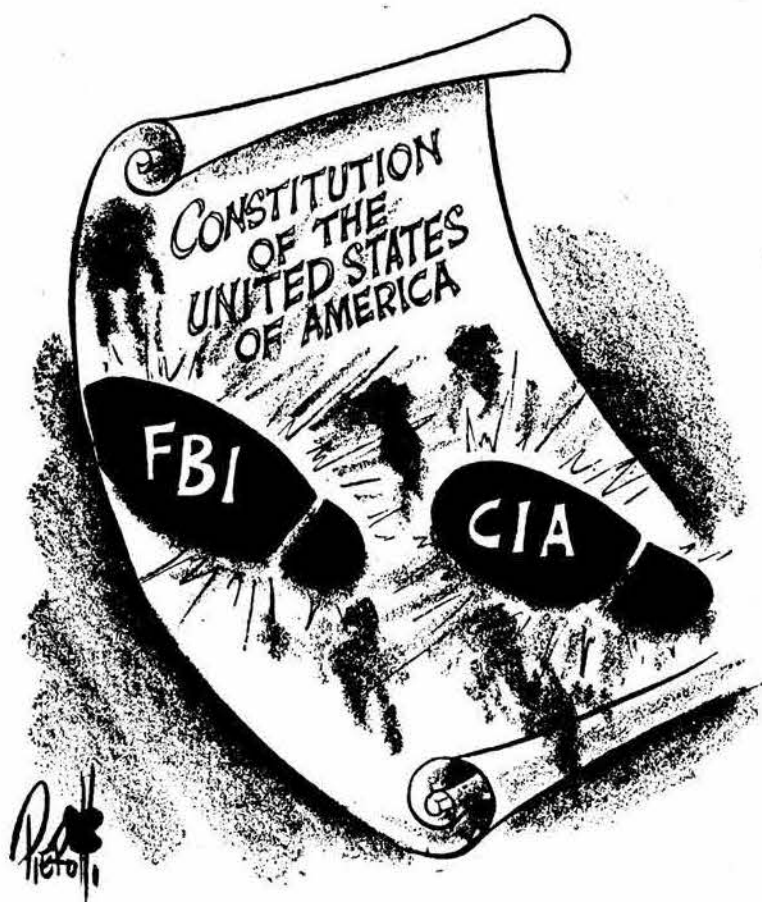
Send to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

## Political Rights Defense Fund rallies planned

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

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

June 20	Birmingham (205) 323-3079	June 28	Milwaukee (414) 445-2076
June 20	San Antonio (512) 222-8398	June 28	Louisville (502) 587-8418
June 21	Cincinnati (513) 751-2636	July 1	Albuquerque (505) 842-0954
June 25	Lincoln, Neb.	July 11	Boston (617) 262-4621
June 26	Bloomington, Ind. (812) 333-5507	July 11	Atlanta (404) 872-7229
June 27	Newark (201) 643-3341	July 11	Washington, D.C. (202) 797-7699
June 27	Morgantown (304) 296-0055	July 11	Kansas City (816) 753-0404
June 27	Phoenix (602) 255-0450	July 11	Virginia, Minn. (218) 749-6327
June 27	Newport News, Va. (804) 380-0133		





By Chris Horner

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—On the evening of May 30 forty people gathered in the auditorium of St. John's Episcopal Church here for "A Rally for Democratic Rights." A significant portion of those in attendance were miners entering the third month of their contract strike.

A panel of speakers discussed the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance \$40 million lawsuit against government spying and their own experiences at the hands of the government's secret police.

The speakers' list was led off by Marian Bustin, a twenty-six-year-old Scottish-born coal miner and member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 in Phillippi, West Virginia. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has attempted to deport Bustin because of her membership in the SWP and YSA.

Bustin pointed out that the socialists' lawsuit has received broad backing from the labor movement. "Organized labor has every reason to support the case because in the past they have been the target of secret police crimes," Bustin said.

She cited the long history of government and employer attempts to crush union organizing and the history of FBI operations against the Miners for Democracy and Black Lung Association in West Virginia.

She also pointed to AFL-CIO studies that report there are more than 1,000 "labor relations" firms selling their services to big business today. They offer everything from trained informers to electronic eavesdropping equipment for bugging union meetings.

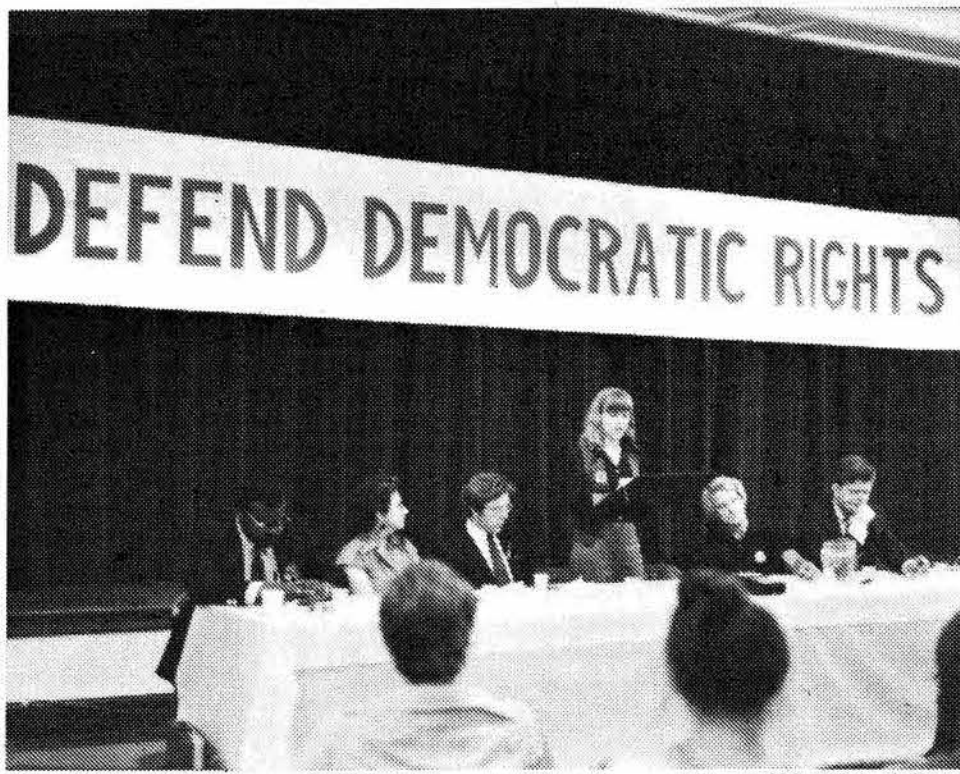
"I think if the government can succeed in deporting me it will be a blow to everyone in the United States,"

## Special guests from Cabin Creek

Two special guests at the Charleston rally were Cliff and Louise Bryant. Both in their sixties, they traveled from a mining community outside Charleston, Cabin Creek, to attend the rally.

The Bryants, who subscribe to the *Militant*, tried to register SWP in 1956 in order to vote for then-presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs. But they were told by local election officials that they could not.

# West Virginia rally salutes socialist suit



Coal miner Marian Bustin speaks to Charleston rally. Others are, from left, Andrew Pulley, Faith Holsaert, Chris Horner, Rev. Jim Lewis, Rev. John Price.

Bustin said. "If people like me have no Bill of Rights then it naturally follows that citizens could be denied these rights too."

## Target of KKK

The next speaker was Rev. Jim Lewis, a widely respected figure in the Charleston area. He was a central figure in the struggle here six years ago when right-wing, racist forces attempted to ban books in the public schools and libraries of the Kanawha valley region. He was the target of several Ku Klux Klan death threats and bombing attempts.

Lewis told the rally that he was also subject to a naval intelligence investigation because of his draft counselling activities in the early period of the Vietnam War.

Lewis described his recent visit with eleven Puerto Rican nationalists, who are now serving lengthy sentences in Chicago on "seditious conspiracy" charges. They are accused of being in the FALN.

He related what one of the five

women prisoners told him as they talked about the administration's new "anti-terrorism" campaign: "How can this man Bush stand up and talk about terrorism? This man has been the head of the CIA... an agency the likes of which is the epitome of terrorism around the world."

Lewis told the audience that one of the eleven, Alfredo Mendez, had been taken from his cell by FBI agents a month earlier and even his lawyer has not been able to find out where he is, or whether he is alive.

Lewis told the rally, "I'm here tonight to share the story because if it can happen to Alfredo—and it has—it can happen to you and it can happen to me. And I personally don't want to sit around and wait for them to come for me."

Bettijane Burger, president of the Charleston National Organization for Women, spoke about a lawsuit that she and two other officers of NOW are fighting. They are being sued for \$90,000 for slander by a radio station because they documented evidence of

sex discrimination in the station's hiring policies.

"When I think about the FBI," Burger said, "I think about how they spied on Earth Day. I think about what they did to the Black Panthers. I think about what they did to Jean Seberg. I think about the LSD experiments on army people. And I think—is this the 1950s?"

## Remember Eugene Debs

Burger also talked about labor figures victimized by the government: "Eugene Debs, who served prison time in Moundsville, West Virginia" and "Mother Jones... I think I went through school in West Virginia for sixteen years and I had never heard of her."

Rev. John Price, executive director of the West Virginia Council of Churches, told the rally, "I can remember my father being questioned because of his involvement in the 1920s and 1930s with the United Mine Workers, and I can remember attacks being made on his life."

"I also remember the total shock that I experienced when I realized my phone was tapped in the 1960s," Price said, "and I wondered what it said about any government that thought I was a threat."

Faith Holsaert was the speaker for People Against War Preparations, an endorser of the SWP-YSA lawsuit.

## Spying in 1960s

Holsaert had a story of her own to tell about FBI spying against the civil rights movement in the early 1960s, when she was a nineteen-year-old member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Albany, Georgia.

"People should look at the civil rights movement in particular, if you want to see how Cointelpro destroyed movements, put people in jail, and more particularly turned people against one another," Holsaert said.

Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers 1980 presidential candidate, gave an eyewitness account of the socialists' trial in New York City. Pulley was a key witness in the case.

In addition to the panelists, statements of support were read from the West Virginia chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and W.E. Chilton, publisher of the *Charleston Gazette*, one of the main newspapers in the state.

Television station WCHS carried highlights of the rally on the eleven o'clock news the same evening.

# Detroit: victims of Red Squad, Cointelpro speak out

By Meg Hayes

DETROIT—Red Squad spying, Cointelpro against the Black movement, and the Socialist Workers Party trial of the U.S. government were themes of a Political Rights Defense Fund rally here May 31.

Héctor Marroquín, who has waged a four-year battle to gain political asylum in the United States, brought the gathering a firsthand report on the trial. He is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the SWP.

Richard Soble of the National Lawyers Guild Political Surveillance Project spoke on *Benkert v. Michigan State Police*, better known as the Michigan Red Squad case. After illegally spying on citizens for decades, the Michigan state police were ordered last fall to find 38,000 individuals and 400 organizations and give them free copies of their "subversive" files.

The Detroit police, also defendants in this suit, have yet to establish a timetable for the release of their files, which they admit may exceed 100,000.

Bokeba Enjuenti of the Detroit National Black Independent Political Party pointed out that Cointelpro spying and disruption has not stopped.

Referring to a poison-pen letter sent

out slandering three leaders of the NBIPP as FBI informers, Enjuenti said, "Indeed before the NBIPP was 100 days old certain things let us know that in fact these intelligence programs were and are still operating."

"The 1980s holds a critical choice for the national Black community... we will not tolerate the kinds of cuts that have been thrown across our backs by

the Reagan administration.

"I don't see a distinction between the kinds of struggles that took place in organizing the Black community and your struggles," Enjuenti added. "They are one and the same, and we are fighting the same enemy."

Cathy Callahan of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 25 and a

participant in the El Salvador solidarity movement, echoed this idea. "It is apparent to me that we are all facing the same fight," she said.

Detroit City Councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey also gave greetings to the rally.

Rally participants contributed \$1,000 to the Political Rights Defense Fund to help cover expenses of the SWP trial.

# Schenectady: witch-hunt victims honored

By Mike Fitzsimmons

SCHENECTADY—Sixty-five people attended a May 30 rally here organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund and dedicated to all the victims of the McCarthy era.

Schenectady was a base for organizing the United Electrical Workers in the 1930s at the giant General Electric plant here. The union membership was hit hard by the witch-hunt in the 1950s.

Bob Cohen, of the Capital District Anti-Nuclear Alliance, reminded listeners of the frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Cohen urged everyone to support the Socialist Workers Party suit

as a way of fighting against similar repression today.

Vicki Bachmann-Willig, on behalf of the Saratoga National Organization for Women chapter, endorsed the suit and explained the importance of democratic rights in the struggle for legal, safe abortion.

Expressing the sentiment of all the speakers, Leon Van Dyke, a leader of the Capital District Anti-Klan Network, called for unity in the fight against the secret police. He ended his remarks with the slogan made famous by Joe Hill, "Don't mourn, organize."

Cindy Jaquith, editor of the *Militant*,

was a featured speaker of the evening. She described the history of the suit against the federal government, and she told everyone of the most recent events of the trial.

Gene Damm, of the Capital District Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, expressed solidarity with the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Greetings were read from the Schenectady NAACP, the Albany Citizens Party, and the Albany Infant Formula Action Coalition, among others.

The rally raised \$622 for PRDF, and several people signed up for a car caravan to the trial in New York City.



# Iran-born socialist: 'Shah wasn't deported, why me?'

By Linda Mohrbacher

BALTIMORE—The battle against the deportation of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh took a big stride forward last week. The Iran-born socialist faces a deportation hearing July 7.

A nineteen-year-old Morgan State student, Hariri-Vijeh was visited by the Immigration and Naturalization Service shortly after she joined the Young Socialist Alliance here. The INS denies it wants to deport her for political reasons, claiming her "crime" is failure to file papers in time.

More than 100 people attended a June 7 rally in her support, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Classmates and teachers of Hariri-Vijeh, activists from Maryland Committee Against Registration and the Draft and Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, steelworkers and shipyard workers turned out.

Defenders of political rights were invited to the event by a letter from Philip Berrigan; Sister Mary Louise Lynch, the director of the Alliance for Justice; J. Bobbe Frasier of the Maryland National Black Independent Political Party; Dean Pappas of New American Movement; David Fontaine, education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Les Bayless, secretary-treasurer of District 1199E Hospital Workers; and others.

The rally was chaired by Alfred Kutzik, Coppin State University professor and a longtime activist for progressive causes. "I want to express our gratitude to the Socialist Workers Party for their courageous year-by-year fight on this case of importance to us all . . . which has put the government of the United States in such a defensive posture that they not only offered to settle out of court but are viciously threatening and taking steps to deport members of the SWP and YSA."

"Through the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party lawsuit," Hariri-Vijeh declared, "we know that the INS looks for technical reasons

to deport people whose politics they don't like. Otherwise, why was the shah, who murdered tens of thousands of people in Iran, welcomed with open arms? Why, with all the American people's opposition to his coming here, didn't he face a deportation hearing?"

Rev. Chester Wickwire, Johns Hopkins University chaplain, insisted that "the issue is whether citizens or non-citizens have First Amendment rights."

"I along with the American Civil Liberties Union believe that this kind of severe punishment for belief and expression is precisely what the First Amendment was designed to prevent."

Other speakers included Joe Stewart of the National Lawyers Guild; Lisa Fieldman of Baltimore Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Rob Duncan, East Coast spokesperson for the Committee to Defend the NASSCO Workers; and Malik Miah, SWP national co-chairperson.

The socialist suit and the case of Hariri-Vijeh are becoming widely known in the Baltimore area. All three major Baltimore television stations covered the rally. Nine radio stations, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Baltimore Afro-American*, and the *City Paper* have carried news stories and features.

According to Joe Kleidon, an active supporter of PRDF who works at Sparrows Point mill, "Everyone seems to be interested in Mojgan's situation. Even workers who believe the INS is deporting her because of expired papers think that she should have the right to remain in the country."

Support for Hariri-Vijeh and the socialist lawsuit against the government is growing. People contributed \$1,650 at the rally. Steelworkers and shipyard workers are collecting signatures on petitions demanding a stop to deportation hearings against Hariri-Vijeh. They are selling raffle tickets to raise funds for her defense. PRDF is organizing a picket line for July 7, the day of her deportation hearing.

## Indianapolis: SWP suit champions rights of all

By Kevin Dwire

INDIANAPOLIS, In.—"The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the federal government is being fought on behalf of millions," SWP 1980 presidential candidate Andrew Pulley told the more than fifty people gathered for a Political Rights Defense Fund rally here June 7.

"This suit defends the rights of trade unionists, antiwar activists, participants in the Black rights movement and the women's movement—in truth the vast majority of people in the country," he said.

"The fundamental question in the case is whether or not the people of the country, not just socialists, have the right to dissent and question government policies."

Greg Gooch, vice-president of the National Organization of Legal Service Workers, District 65 United Auto Workers, praised the SWP suit and denounced Reagan's proposed cuts in legal aid.

The secretary-treasurer of the Bloomington chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, Howard Balshem, told the rally that the lawsuit will have an effect on Congress and the repressive laws it is trying to pass.

He gave as examples the Secrets Act, which would make it illegal to identify government agents, and President Reagan's Draft Presidential Order, which would authorize domestic spying by the CIA and do away with the "reasonable

proof" requirement for police agencies to spy on people.

Balshem said the law makes it legal to use Cointelpro type activities against journalists, lobbyists, and members of political organizations.

Other speakers included Rev. Garnett Day of the Disciples of Christ; Indiana Civil Liberties Union director Henry Price; Tim Quigley of the Indianapolis Committee for Democracy in Latin America; and the Bloomington coordinator of the Citizens Party, Jim Simons.

Greetings were read from the Bloomington Committee for Democracy in Latin America; Hal Pepinsky, president of American Federation of Teachers Local 2254 at Indiana University; and Carson Bennet, professor at Ball State University and a member of the Indiana Federation of Teachers.

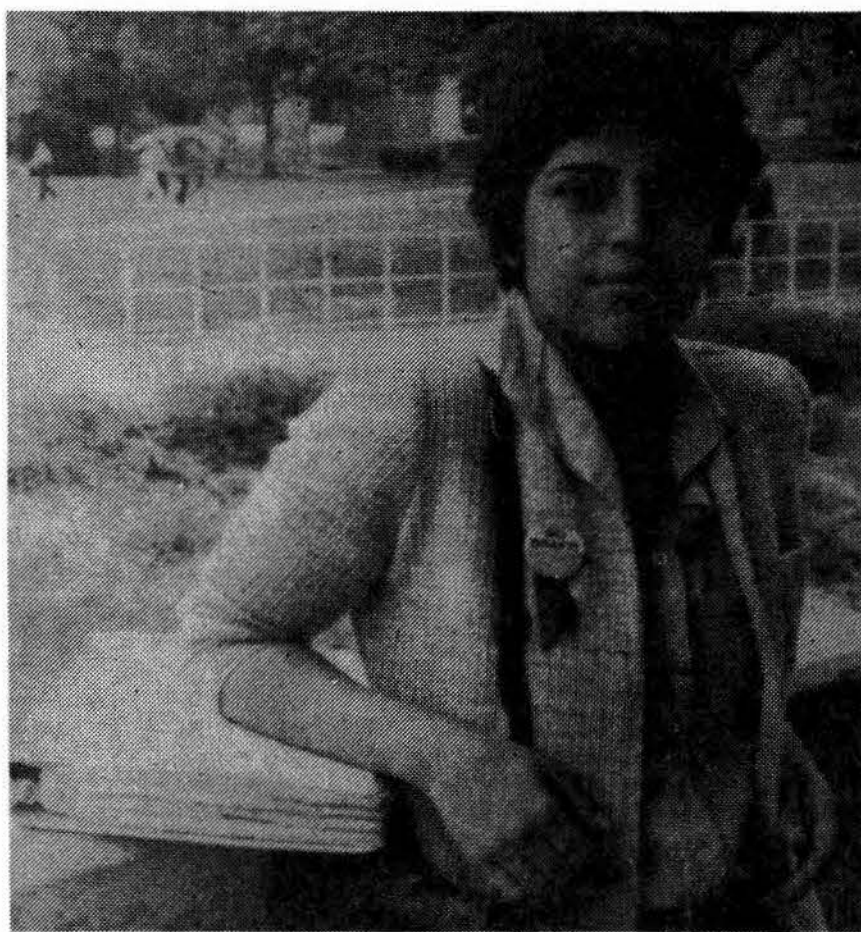
The rally raised more than \$1,000 in pledges to the Political Rights Defense Fund. It was covered by the *Indianapolis Star* and several local radio stations.

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## Journal & Guide

"Dedicated to the cause of the people—no good cause shall lack a champion and evil shall not thrive unopposed"



Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh

## Iranian Student Gains Support

NEW YORK—Support is steadily building for an Iranian student currently facing deportation. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); Labour Member of the British Parliament, Tony Benn; and Camille Bell, a founder of the Committee to Stop the Child Murders in Atlanta, have all given their support to a fight against what the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has termed "political victimization by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)."

The aforementioned and hundreds of others have signed a statement calling for an end to the deportation proceedings against Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh. Hariri-Vijeh, a 19-year-old Iranian student at Morgan State University in Baltimore, is facing a deportation hearing on July 7th. The originally scheduled date of the hearing was June 9th, but due to the struggles of Hariri-Vijeh's supporters, it was postponed.

The INS has stated that the moves to deport her are because she failed to renew her student visa. Her visa expired in 1978 because she failed the English exam for foreign students. About a year later, she passed the exam. Because of the expiration of her visa, and because she was fearful of the anti-Iranian climate during the 1979 "round-up" of Iranian students, she did not report to the INS.

However, it was not until two years later, just three weeks after she joined the Young Socialist Alliance, that the INS began deportation moves.

The current lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and INS, underway in New York, has brought to light an INS program reportedly aimed at deporting foreign born persons because of their political ideas, while using other technical grounds as a pretext.

In the 1950s, the INS formally proscribed the SWP as a "subversive" organization, and conducted a program to deport SWP members. In April of this year, in the midst of the trial, the INS declared that it is considering a new proscription making membership or affiliation with the SWP grounds for deportation and exclusion.

Hariri-Vijeh wishes to continue her education here. Her only "crime" is her political views. She explained, "I joined YSA because it stands for the things I believe in. The YSA supports the revolutions in my country, in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador. We oppose the draft and support black and women's rights."

"Although these views may not be popular with the government, the Bill of Rights protects our right to put these views forward..."

"If Ronald Reagan can pardon convicted criminals like FBI burglars Felt and Miller, why can't the INS renew my visa and let me complete my education?"

Front-page article on case of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh from the 'Journal and Guide,' a weekly Black newspaper in Norfolk.



By Lisa Potash

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—Brown lung, known in medical circles as byssinosis, is crippling. There is no cure. Unless a victim leaves the textile mill completely while the disease is at a very early stage, he or she dies from it.

It begins with breathing difficulties and a tightness of the chest, particularly the first day on the job after some time away from work. The illness progresses to a point where not only work is impossible, but even carrying out the most basic daily activity, such as washing dishes playing with a grandchild, or climbing a flight of stairs is prohibited by a total lack of energy.

In its worst stage, the disease requires the individual to remain on oxygen for almost all waking hours.

An in-depth study printed in February 1980 by a major North Carolina daily, the *Charlotte Observer*, documented that an estimated 250,000 people work in North Carolina's textile industry; 70,000 are routinely exposed to cotton dust, the cause of brown lung, on the job.

Experts, according to the *Charlotte Observer*, say that approximately 18,000 active and retired textile workers in North and South Carolina are disabled by brown lung; their disease is now at an irreversible stage.

### No gov't compensation

There is no government-funded compensation for brown lung victims. In North Carolina, state law provides that a worker can receive compensation from the employer and its insurance carrier—in theory. But in practice, very few receive any compensation at all.

The study done by the *Charlotte Observer* revealed that of a total of 1,136 brown lung claims filed, the North and South Carolina Industrial Commissions together approved only 320. Even those claims that are paid often don't cover lost wages and medical expenses. Companies have contested 80 percent of the claims in North Carolina.

The North Carolina Industrial Commission has even violated its own rules by approving company-written agreements in which workers have forfeited all future legal claims. Many of the doctors called upon to advise the industrial commissions also do consulting work for the textile industry. Fewer than half of the North and South Carolina cotton-processing plants have ever been visited by state labor inspectors responsible for enforcing the Cotton Dust Standard, which limits worker exposure to dust in the mill.

Traditional charity organizations, their boards predominately composed of corporate executives, have turned their backs on this killer disease and the conditions that cause it. United Way in North Carolina has twice rejected requests for funds by the Brown Lung Association.

### Brown Lung Association

The Brown Lung Association was formed six years ago to aid brown lung victims. Its membership is primarily re-

# BROWN LUNG

## Interview with leaders of North Carolina

tired textile workers. The association aids victims in their individual battles to win compensation, pushes for legislation to make that process easier, administers breathing tests to those exposed to cotton dust who are experiencing difficulties, and works for the Cotton Dust Standard.

Perhaps most important, the association has been key in helping to undercut the isolation felt by a lone worker, without funds, who is dealing with this health problem and trying to figure out what to do about it. Many active workers never file claims for fear of being fired; retired workers often don't file, afraid their relatives still working in the mills will lose their jobs.

The Brown Lung Association has helped give courage and an increased sense of strength to the many bitterly awaiting favorable outcomes of their claims, some for many years.

The February 1980 study by the *Charlotte Observer* was met with cheers by many, and protests by the textile corporate executives and their state government supporters. In April, the newspaper was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for blowing the lid off the true situation of industry stalling and lies, and state government complicity.

On May 19, I had the opportunity to interview Florence Sandlin, president of the Greensboro, North Carolina, chapter of the Brown Lung Association, and her husband, Vernon, permanently disabled by brown lung. Florence participated in the May 4 Washington, D.C., rally held to oppose proposed weakening of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) Cotton Dust Standard. The Sandlins have been active in the chapter for about six years. Florence's experience in textile was at a pajama and overall factory. Vernon worked for a total of thirty-three years in various textile mills.

### Symptoms of brown lung

The Sandlins met with me in the Greensboro chapter office of the Brown Lung Association. While we talked a middle-aged Black woman came in for a breathing test. Although she had worked in a mill for only a couple of years some time back, she was already having problems breathing. Her test revealed that her breathing capacity was indeed below normal range.

The interview with the Sandlins follows.

*Militant:* Please describe the disease.

*Florence:* It usually starts as a dry, hacking cough. You think maybe sometimes that you've got a cold and can't get rid of it. In fact my husband went to a throat specialist many times, thinking maybe that he had cold. But the antibio-

tics didn't help. It was just a cough, a dry cough, and of course, in the mill it was worse than it would be at home.

It went from a cough to a wheeze. I could hear him wheezing when he breathed. It was just hard for him to breathe; his breath was very short.

Your lungs are kind of like a sponge, with little holes in it, and when you use a sponge on a piece of rough wood, it tears the little fibers in two.

This happens to your lungs when a foreign body gets in them. Cotton dust is a foreign body. It breaks down the lung fibers, and the elastic in your lungs doesn't give, and doesn't send that oxygen back into your body like it did at one time.

You feel a loss of energy. You're just tired all the time. So, if you've worked in a mill, and these are your symptoms, nine times out of ten, you do have brown lung.

*Vernon:* Well, in one job I had, I worked for seven years, seven days a week. So I didn't have this so-called "Monday morning chest tightness." I was sick all seven days, with a cough I couldn't get rid of.

But it didn't interfere with my work until one day—a Sunday—I became violently sick, and I've never been the same since.

That was in 1972. I can remember the very day, the 16th of January, and I was watching the Superbowl football game. I was out of work for six weeks after that day.

A year and a half later, I was put in a less dusty work area. The pay was about the same, but the work was so heavy—I had to move by hand about 1,000 pounds on wheels—that I would have been better off staying where I was.

*Militant:* How did the Brown Lung Association begin?

*Florence:* It started in 1975. Some of the retired people out of the mills began to have coffee with one another and they'd remember so and so passed away. They could remember then back in the mill when they had a hard time breathing. They got together then and began to talk about organizing, to help the people who had a breathing problem.

The first chapter was started in Greensboro, about the same time that one was started in Columbia, South Carolina. It was started mainly for the purpose of helping the sick textile workers who had damaged lungs to file for compensation and to seek laws to clean up the mills.

### Black lung

*Militant:* Are there similarities between black lung and brown lung?

*Florence:* It's almost the same problem. It's a lung problem. Black lung is caused by coal dust, and brown lung is caused by cotton dust. But the symptoms are very much the same.

Awards of compensation to the miners are paid by the government. We want the mills to pay for damages. We will not tax our children for something that the mills and textile industry have done. That's the reason we are fighting so hard, because it's something that these people have given their lives for, and they're crippled for the rest of their lives.

*Militant:* Tell us about the May 4 rally in Washington, D.C.

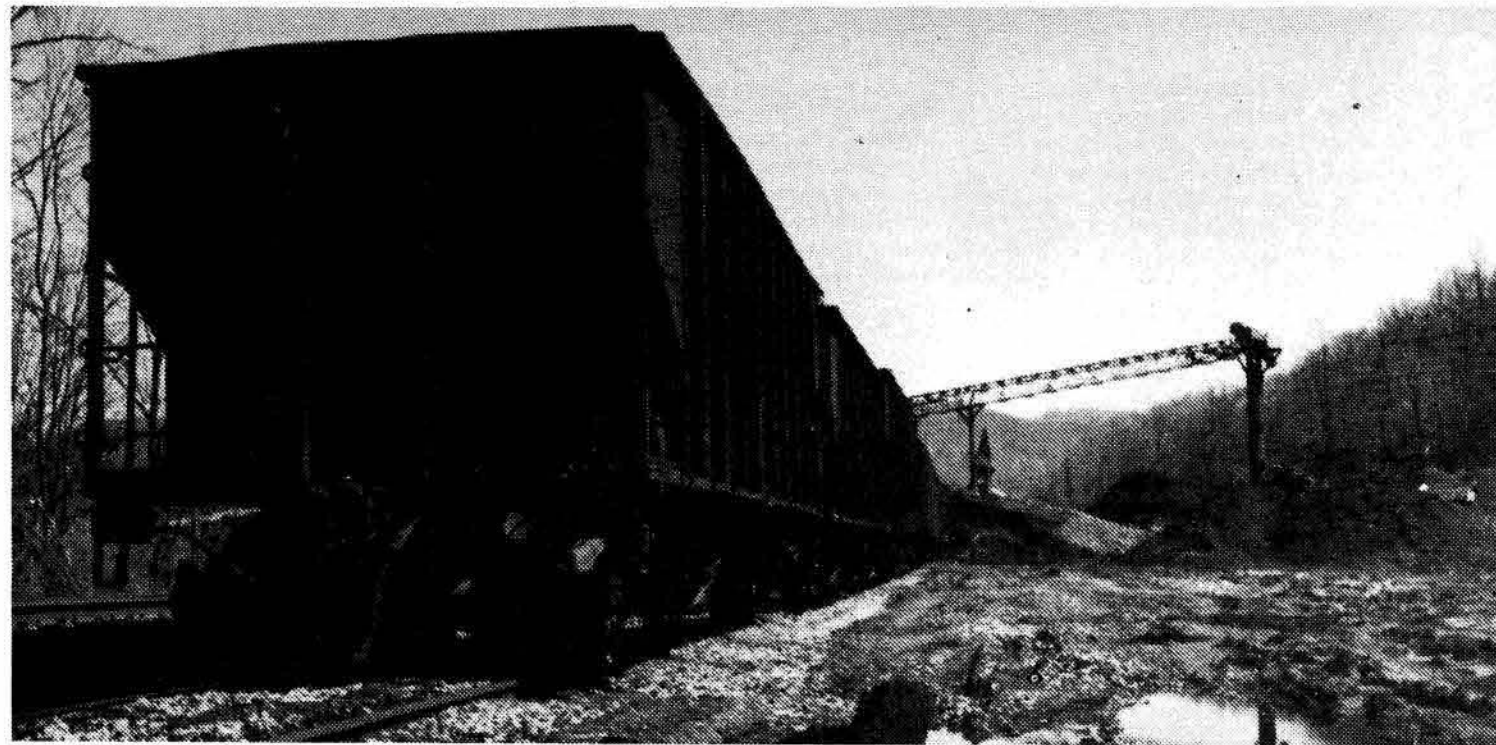
*Florence:* There were 300 people there, all the way from Georgia, to Danville, Virginia. We also had a service on May 3 in Washington, D.C., for the victims of brown lung. That was wonderful. We each lit a candle and that was a very impressive sight.

We don't know whether the Cotton Dust Standard will be weakened or lifted. The government hasn't said. They want to send it back to committee for further study. So that's where we are now. And that's the reason we went to Washington, for the purpose of letting them know that we need guidelines, for the working-class people.

*Militant:* I noticed that the television coverage of the May 4 rally showed the participation of a number of younger



Cartoon appearing in *Charlotte Observer* of Hermitage mill, responded to the series the news media siding with those few cry for a handout from the very hand that fed with guts and patriotism had best support United States, or socialism with all its inh



Militant: Joe Ryan

## Mining c

During the coal strike, "Militant" subscription teams traveled throughout the coal fields, talking to miners and others who live in mining communities. Hundreds of subscriptions to the "Militant" were sold.

In addition to learning about the contract issues, these teams found out about many of the conditions faced by people in those areas.

The following notes by Deborah Liatos were written when she was on a team in southern West Virginia.

### By Deborah Liatos

Miners, for the most part, live in the hollows near the mines in which they work. So not only do they have to contend with the coal companies' disregard for health and safety at work, but also their disregard for the environment and the day-to-day lives of miners and their families.



# ILLS

## Brown Lung Association

on textile workers. What is the role of  
ive workers in your struggle?

**Florence:** Their role is to clean up the  
ills for their benefit. But it's mostly re-  
ed workers involved in our struggle.  
st of the young ones on the inside  
ven't been there long enough yet to  
velop the disease. In some people it  
s shown up in two or three years,  
netimes five or ten years. Under the  
tton Dust Standard, we would have  
nothing to keep the mills cleaning up,  
d have a guideline for the industry to  
by.

**Militant:** Do you think Reagan's cut-  
cks in social services will have any ef-  
t on your struggle?

**Florence:** It might lengthen or stretch  
t some of the things we want to do.  
it we're not giving up.

### Cotton Dust Standard

**Militant:** Could you go into a little de-  
l about the Cotton Dust Standard?

**Florence:** When it went into effect,  
e mill owners were supposed to have  
e cotton dust measured in the mills in  
e different departments. The Cotton  
ust Standard said that the dust could  
t go above a certain degree of milli-  
ams in the dusty areas. And that the  
ills would have to put in sufficient ma-  
inery—vaporizers and such—to take  
it this air, in order to meet the Cotton  
ust Standard.



is on brown lung. W.B. Pitts, president  
sickening to see the gutless minions of  
Americans who obviously are looking  
lothed their families. . . . Decent folks  
harried industrialists of our beloved  
evils will engulf us all.'

The first phase was four years. The  
last phase was to test people's breathing  
and tell them if they were abnormal.  
This went into effect, I believe, last fall.  
Right now, this is what the workers are  
working under. This is administered un-  
der OSHA.

**Militant:** What is the relationship be-  
tween the Brown Lung Association and  
the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile  
Workers Union?

**Florence:** Well, up until this trip for  
the Washington May 4 rally we had not  
worked together. But the thing we did  
work together on was the Cotton Dust  
Standard.

The union is working inside the  
plants to see that these regulations are  
carried out, while we on the outside are  
working for compensation for those who  
have gone out of the mills. And that was  
the reason we combined with them in  
the May 4 rally, because we are both  
working for the Cotton Dust Standard.  
As I said, their work is mostly in the  
mills and ours has been on the outside  
with the retired.

**Militant:** What are the future plans of  
the Brown Lung association?

**Florence:** Well, we're still working  
mightily hard to get laws into effect in  
Raleigh, the state capital of North Car-  
olina, pertaining to workers who came  
out of the mills before 1963. These peo-  
ple are not covered by compensation. We  
pushed and pushed in Raleigh and last  
year we got a bill through, but it passed  
for just one year. Now it's back in on the  
floor of the state assembly.

### Compensation fights

**Militant:** What happens now when a  
brown lung victim who left the mills be-  
fore 1963 files a claim today for compen-  
sation?

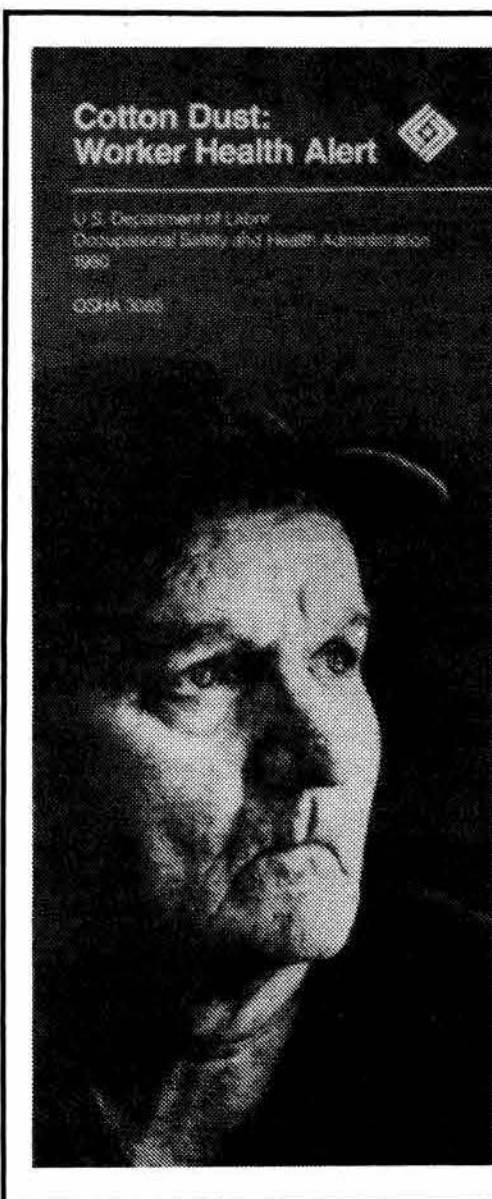
**Florence:** He could file, but that's as  
far as he could go. That's why we have a  
bill in for these people again.

We also did go to Raleigh last month  
and got cleared through committee that  
when a person is given an award that  
the industry and insurance carrier pay  
interest on that award from the day that  
it is given until it is paid. It passed last  
month and is now law.

We asked for this because when a per-  
son is given an award naturally the in-  
dustry and their lawyers appeal it  
—there's not a case that goes to court  
that they don't appeal.

**Militant:** How do workers fight these  
appeals?

**Florence:** We have lawyers who will  
take these cases, and they do not charge



100,000 copies of booklet shown  
at the left were recalled and de-  
stroyed by new assistant Secretary  
of Labor. It was Thorne Auchter's  
first act in his new job. Auchter said  
cover picture 'makes a clearly bi-  
ased statement' in favor of workers  
and against employers.

Picture is of Louis Harrell, who  
died of brown lung disease in 1978  
after working in a textile mill for for-  
ty-four years.

anything until you get a settlement or  
an award. Of course they fight the ap-  
peal for you. And that's kind of hard to  
put across to an ordinary working per-  
son, because we don't deal with lawyers.  
We're just kind of skeptical.

But you know, the lawyers are wond-  
erful in fighting these cases. Sometimes  
an out-of-court settlement is not accept-  
able, and the lawyer has to go back and  
say it's not acceptable and we want a  
higher settlement, and sometimes the  
companies won't back down and give a  
higher settlement. Most of the time, if  
it's left up to the company, it's very lit-  
tle.

**Militant:** Is there anything you'd like  
to add?

**Vernon:** Things are worse in the  
mills now, for two reasons. One, there  
used to be windows you could open and  
some of the cotton dust could escape.  
Two, they used to pick cotton by hand,  
and now they pick it by machine, and  
they clean everything, including the  
stems and the leaves. The air condition-  
ing blows all this dust around even  
more. I've seen workers carried out on a  
stretcher and never seen them again.

**Florence:** We're going to keep on  
fighting.

## Pathfinder pamphlet on class battles in the South

Nelson Blackstock  
Workers in the  
Changing South



Nelson Blackstock, a native  
southerner, takes a look at the  
changing South. The fight against  
Jim Crow segregation. The gains  
won by the civil rights movement.  
The growing radicalization of  
southern workers today.

30 pp., \$95  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410  
West St., New York, N.Y. 10014  
Please include \$.75 for postage.

# Companies destroy forests, poison water

The water system which serves the  
community in Ragland, West Virginia,  
comes from an abandoned Island Creek  
coal company mine. People have to use  
the water to wash clothes and bathe, but  
no one drinks it.

One family told us, "The water looks  
dirty with little bits of black in it. You  
have to use a Brillo pad to clean the tub  
every time you take a bath, and your  
skin has a film on it after you bathe."

"I don't know, it may be cleaner to  
wash in the creek than to use that wa-  
ter. We don't drink it, we take bottles  
down to get spring water from the hills.  
The companies told us it's safe to drink,  
but they don't really know. It's like Love  
anal."

The community has had meetings try-  
ing to get clean water. They elected com-  
missioners to find some solution.

An article in the *Charleston Gazette*

May 16 stated that local health officials  
declared the water in Ragland unfit for  
human consumption. Don St. Clair,  
chairman of the Ragland Public Service  
District, said high levels of polyacry-  
lamide, a chemical used in the coal  
cleaning process, have been present in  
the Ragland water system for several  
months. It has now turned up in well  
water in the community.

St. Clair said a New York chemist  
who analyzed the water told him polyac-  
rylamide is a suspected carcinogen. He  
said it showed up in a well serving Chaf-  
in Grade School.

The Governor's Office of Emergency  
Services finally responded by moving in  
a 5,000-gallon portable water tanker to  
serve approximately 1,000 families.

\* \* \*

In the past, young people and old en-

joyed going up to the head of the hollow  
to enjoy the beautiful forests. You could  
hunt and fish, and children would ride  
their bikes.

Now, one of the local landowners has  
fenced off the public road. The state po-  
lice are called if children play there.  
They are going to strip mine the area.

Strip mining is done without regard  
for the people who live in the area.

There are many instances where trees  
are cleared away and there is nothing to  
keep the earth down. The roots that once  
held the layers of dirt are gone.

In Delbarton, West Virginia, this led  
to the hills sliding down onto people's  
homes. Walls are built to try to stop the  
dirt from falling against the houses. But  
the dirt slowly and continuously rolls  
down the mountains. The walls do little  
good.

Down the road, on the outskirts of  
Delbarton, a retired miner had a "Jay"  
Rockefeller (the governor) poster on his  
house. He said his electric bills have  
tripled over the past six years, in spite of  
John D. Rockefeller IV's promises in the  
1976 and 1980 elections to keep down  
the price of electricity.

Miners remember it was another  
Rockefeller, John Jr., who massacred  
miners and their families in Ludlow,  
Colorado, in 1914.

\* \* \*

In most areas of southern West Virgi-  
nia, there is no choice but to be a coal  
miner to make your living. That is part  
of the reason coal miners understand  
the importance of a strong union. This,  
along with their militant history and  
tradition, is why a strong, united union  
is a life-and-death question for coal min-  
ers in America.



# National Picket Line



## OSHA: a life-and-death question

In 1970, American workers won an historic victory when Congress enacted the Occupational Safety and Health Act. For the first time, millions of workers won the right to a minimum standard of safety and health on the job.

The deaths of seventy-eight miners on November 20, 1968 in the Farmington, West Virginia, coal mine explosion was the final outrage that united public pressure behind the bill.

It was long overdue.

OSHA is still vitally needed. It's estimated that twenty to twenty-five million workers are directly exposed to chemicals and other hazardous substances that are regulated by OSHA standards.

We need stronger OSHA protection. In 1979, almost 5,000 workers lost their lives in on-the-job accidents or illnesses. Another 6.1 million were injured or taken ill.

Those figures will go higher if the government has its way. OSHA's funding would be sharply cut under the proposed budget.

Under Reagan's new appointees, OSHA is considering dropping or reducing regulations on cotton dust, lead, asbestos, and cadmium; noise standards, labeling of toxic substances; and standards for cancer-causing agents.

They have revoked OSHA's "walkaround pay" rule—the rule requiring employers to compensate workers for the time they spend accompanying OSHA officers during inspections.

The story below tells how one union local is fighting for safety in their plant. They deserve our support. Saving OSHA is a life-and-death issue for all of us.

## OCAW local on strike

"I don't care if they offer us \$20 an hour," said John Bettis, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union on strike against TNS Corporation in Jonesboro, Tennessee. "We're not going back until they clean that place up."

The 100 workers at TNS have been on strike since their contract ran out on April 21.

TNS makes armor-piercing artillery shells out of uranium. Union officials report that analysis of workers' urine has found relatively high levels of uranium. Union doctors told them that the uranium was collecting in the workers' kidneys causing renal deterioration.

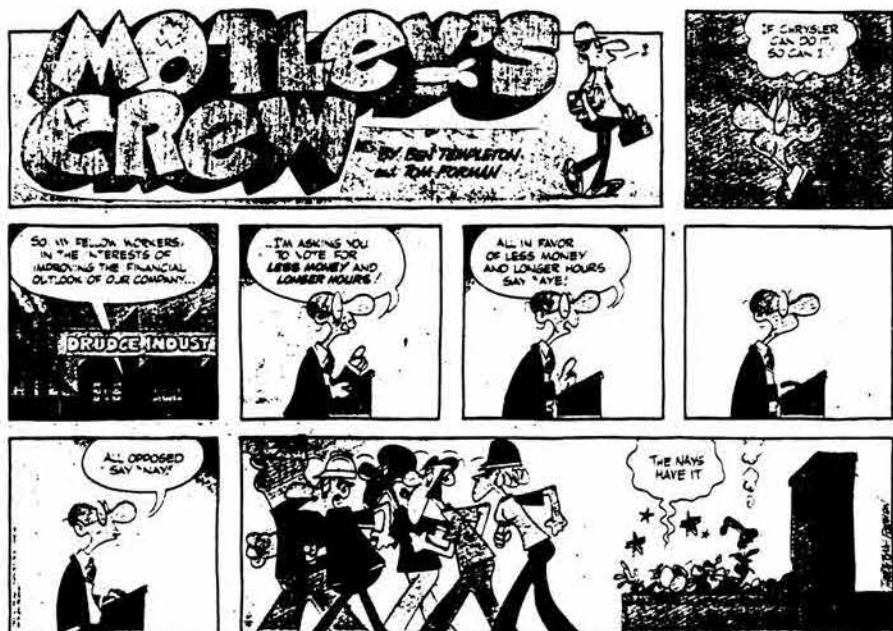
The unionists' families have also been endangered. Workers at the plant said radioactive material collected in their clothing and was taken home with them.

The uranium used is of a relatively low level of radioactivity. However, low level radiation is dangerous in itself, and workers also report radioactive "hot spots" in the plant.

In addition, they point out, radioactive uranium oxide is polluting the air around the plant and contaminated water is probably seeping into the ground water.

The company is trying to save money by ordering the workers to wear respirators eight or more hours a day instead of cleaning up the plant. TNS spokesman Edward Smith told the *New York Times* that "the real issue" in the strike was that the union wanted to take away management's right to set production standards and methods of operation.

The "real issue," Mr. Smith, is whether workers' lives are more important than TNS profits.



## Another Reagan 'fact' falls apart

Reagan's attempt to prove that on-the-job sexual harassment of women workers comes more from fellow workers than from bosses backfired badly. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) told the Senate Labor Committee that, of 118 corroborated charges, "106 were perpetrated by supervisors and others in management, only twelve by co-workers."

—Vivian Sahner

# Letter from rail worker: 'all railroads are dis-investing'

The 'Militant' received the following letter from a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1474 in New York. Along with the letter he sent some other material. One was an article written by a rail worker, Charles Fox, which appeared in the business section of the May 10 'New York Times.' Another was the statement by Signalmen's union President Tom Bates, which was printed in the June 5 'Militant.'

May 19, 1981

Enclosed are copies of some comments on Fred Kroll's agreement and on Conrail in general. Along with photocopies of the agreement, they circulated among block operators and clerks in Grand Central Terminal, on Conrail's Metropolitan Region.

Charles J. Fox explains, among other things, the new notorious process of "dis-investment" that took place under Conrail's predecessor managements. The *Militant* should explain this process, which affects all rail

spread to large steam railroads. Some lines, like the Ontario & Western and the Rutland, for instance, were scrapped. Most carriers began branch line closures, and mergers resulted in closing of parallel competing services that the anarchy of competition had caused to be built in the first place. Investment was focused on heavily used freight lines, and some profits were diverted to new, non-rail uses, like real estate speculation, manufacturing, and larceny.

At present, all railroads are engaging in dis-investment, as available capital is invested where it will bring the highest return. From time to time, workers and taxpayers will be asked to sacrifice so the wreck of the latest gutted and abandoned railroad—the Milwaukee, the Illinois Central, the Burlington Northern—can be rehabilitated and then turned back to "private enterprise," which was responsible for their decay to begin with. "Opening the books" of the railroads to examination by workers is a good answer to this



Cartoon from rail unions newspaper 'Labor' for building the April 29 demonstration in Washington.

workers, not just those on Conrail.

From the beginnings, railroads were involved in non-transportation business, like mining and real estate, which grew out of the need for downtown terminals, supplies of coal for their locomotives, hotels for riders, etc. The New York Central, for instance, owned large blocks of real estate on Park Avenue; western railroads were granted blocks of land as inducements to build transcontinental lines (many of the latter have valuable mineral deposits, especially coal).

As the profitability of railroads in general declined after the First World War, because of highway competition for passenger and freight and because of the wasteful duplication of services characteristic of capitalism's anarchic development, investment in non-rail activities became more profitable. (The most striking early examples were the trolley companies that abandoned transit in exchange for electric power production, like Public Service in New Jersey.)

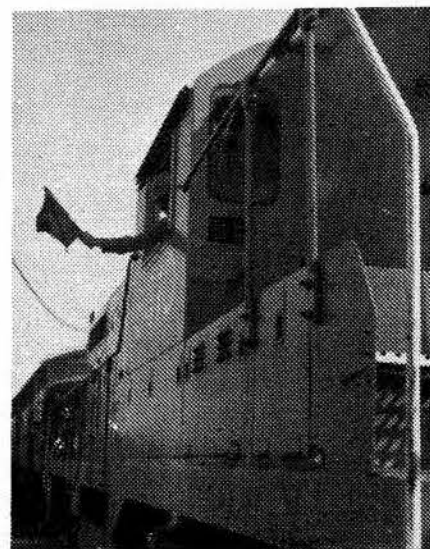
First railroads ceased investing in passenger services. This process began with trolley and interurban services and local steam trains in the twenties; it ended in the fifties, when the last long distance passenger equipment was bought. Note that it was enough for the railroads that passenger service brought lower rates of return on invested capital to divert investment to freight or non-transportation activities.

After World War II, dis-investment

threat, but it should be the books of all the railroads, not just the cripples of today.

In the Metropolitan Region of Conrail, which serves commuters primarily, a lot of discussion centers on takeovers by the MTA [Metropolitan Transportation Authority] or some other agency. Changes in work rules (taking off firemen, most notably) are threatened, but some workers look forward to better pensions and early retirement as state employees. Long Island Railroad workers are widely regarded as having made a good deal with the MTA.

Bates in the *Signalmen's Journal* makes a good point about the thirties: rail workers then took cuts in pay, but later still lost their jobs.



Militant



# ...rail workers under attack

Continued from back page

Conrail Chairman L. Stanley Crane demanded big contract concessions from rail workers and repeal of worker protection rights in federal laws as the price to keep the Conrail system together. He called on the government to intervene in negotiations between Conrail and the unions to force "constraints on labor costs."

The Rail Labor Executives Association (RLEA), representing fourteen rail unions, said they opposed both plans. They organized a protest demonstration in Washington April 29.

The turnout of 25,000 in Washington and 10,000 more in forty-six other cities far exceeded expectations. And the rail workers were angry. Union-organized meetings in a number of East Coast cities prior to the march resulted in confrontations between workers and union officials. The workers wanted decisive action.

Less than a week after the April 29 demonstrations, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks President Fred Kroll, who is also head of the RLEA, Conrail Chairman Crane, and New Jersey Democratic Congressman James Florio held a news conference. They announced that the heads of twelve of the fourteen rail unions had agreed to the takeback demands of Conrail management as an alternative to the Reagan plan.

Details of the concessions have still not been released. Initial reports reveal that \$200 million a year in wages was signed away.

The *Militant* obtained a partial summary of the deal and printed it in the May 22 issue. That remains the only printed copy for the victims, Conrail workers, to study.

(Copies of the May 22 issue of the *Militant* are available for one dollar, including postage. Write to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.)

## Give an inch . . .

Other reports indicate additional takebacks being planned. They include changes in work rules.

An editorial in the New York *Daily News* June 16 demanded Congress abolish "a host of outrageous featherbedding rules" such as severance pay. They are referring to Title V of the Regional Rail Reorganization Act, which established Conrail. Title V provides job and wage guarantees in the event of layoffs and bankruptcies.

Conrail commuter lines around New York and Philadelphia will be transferred to local commuter agencies like New York's Metropolitan Transportation Authority or to a subsidiary of Amtrak. Either way, the affected workers will lose basic rights. The commuter agencies come under anti-labor state requirements like New York's Taylor Law. And Congressman Florio is pushing federal requirements to prohibit strikes and further restrict the rights of rail workers.

Workers in the large Conrail yards, shops, and offices in Altoona, Pennsylvania, anticipate layoffs and shutdowns that will devastate the economy of that old railroad center.

Many rail workers are angry that their union officials would make these concessions. The leaders of two unions, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, have refused to sign the agreement.

Signalmen's Union President Tom Bates wrote, "I am surprised they stopped short of insisting that all rail workers not in total agreement with Conrail's suggestion be placed in chains and reduced to slavery."

## Florio and Lewis

Congressman Florio is supposed to be pushing the Conrail management plan through Congress. The Reagan plan is being pushed by Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis. But Lewis and Florio are in increasing agreement.

Florio now says the Reagan administration may be willing to delay plans for an immediate sale of Conrail.

And the Reagan administration has gone along with a \$122 million increase over their original budget proposal for Amtrak. But the total of \$735 million is still \$165 million less than the Amtrak budget for this year.

The only differences being argued out between Florio and Lewis are how quickly to sell Conrail and how to get the most concessions from the unions.

Whether Conrail is sold in one year or three years, sold in one piece or several, whether the common stock is sold or whether the road and equipment is given to other railroads to cannibalize, rail workers will lose out.

But the fight is not over.

Rail workers throughout the country, especially on Conrail, are discussing the attacks and how to respond to them.

## What next?

The questions coming up in these discussions include, what kind of shape are the unions in to conduct a fight?

Should the railroads be run for private profit or be nationalized?

How can rail workers get a political voice?

Who are the allies and who are the opponents of labor?

Rail workers' experiences recently point toward answers to these questions.

## 1. Miners' example

A serious takeback effort against the United Mine Workers union was defeated by militant action of the miners. They organized a demonstration against Reagan budget cuts of black lung benefits. They helped organize a demonstration against nuclear power. They appealed to the union movement and everyone else for solidarity. These steps, in the midst of contract negotiations, backed the mine owners off on some key points.

# Miners back UMW construction workers; tentative pact reached

By Michael Baumann

On June 17, union and company negotiators announced a tentative contract agreement for United Mine Workers of America construction workers.

The construction workers, who number 11,500, went out on strike last March with the rest of the union. But they bargain separately.

The miners returned to work briefly following the June 6 approval of a new contract after a seventy-two day national strike. Then most walked out again—in West Virginia, Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia—because construction workers hadn't won a contract.

Traditionally a settlement for construction workers is quickly reached after the contract for miners has been approved.

This time the contractors tried to block a settlement. They are driving to weaken union protection of mine construction jobs, opening the way to increased hiring of nonunion labor.

UMWA construction workers, like UMWA miners, have the right to vote on their contract.

Pittsburgh miner Mary Zins explained why support for the construction workers is solid. "To most miners the issue is they don't have a contract, so of course they have to pull us out. That's their only strength. Everybody respects their pickets."

When union officials agreed to a contract worse than the miners thought they could get, they voted it down and stayed on strike for over two months until they got a better one.

After they voted to accept a better contract, mine construction workers who are members of the United Mine Workers remained on strike without a contract. So in solidarity, the majority of the 160,000 UMW coal miners remained on strike.

The ability of the UMW to stop takebacks comes from the union democracy won by a mass movement of miners in the 1960s and 1970s. They exercise their rights to read and study the full text of the contract, vote on it, and go on strike if they do not have a contract.

## 2. Nationalize the railroads

The underlying problems of the railroads is private ownership. All decisions about rail transportation are made on the basis of profit.

Passenger service is ended and vital freight lines abandoned when the railroad owners feel they are not profitable enough. Equipment and track is allowed to run down, safety is ignored. Commuters' needs are ignored. The owners are only after profits.

Amtrak and Conrail are not nationalized. They are run at public expense to benefit private owners and creditors.

If there is any doubt about who profits from these supposedly unprofitable rail operations, their books should be opened to the public.

Nationalized railroads would be run under the control of rail workers, managed by publicly elected boards.

## 3. For a labor party based on the unions

In exchange for Congressman Florio pushing the Conrail management proposals in Congress, rail union leaders have touted him as a friend of labor. Union backing won him the Democratic Party nomination for governor in the June 2 New Jersey primary.

Rail workers need candidates from their own ranks, who represent the needs of workers, not the bosses. It is becoming increasingly clear that there are no such candidates in the Democratic or Republican parties.

A labor party exists in Canada—the New Democratic Party—and the Canadian affiliates of the railroad unions support it.

## 4. Allies

In preparation for the April 29 demonstration in Washington, some rail union locals printed and distributed leaflets to commuters explaining the issues. This was a big step toward mobilizing allies.

In agricultural areas, small farmers have been driven out of business by railroad rate hikes and dropping of service.

Hurting these farmers hurts rail worker jobs.

The rail unions supported the March 28 anti-nuclear power demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. They won support from the other unions and anti-nuclear activists involved in that action.

A clear fight in support of affirmative action for women and Blacks would help win the backing of groups and individuals in the Black community and among women. The companies should not be allowed to reduce the percentage of women and Blacks in the work force through layoffs.

It is the oppressed, farmers and the unions that are the natural allies of the rail unions. Railroad management and capitalist politicians are not.

At the April 29 demonstration, both United Transportation Union President Fred Hardin and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland spoke in favor of a bigger military budget. They argued that the railroads are a military necessity.

This approach is a dead end.

Rail workers are no more in favor of war than other working people.

Reagan and his gang will not go easier on rail workers because union leaders call for treating railroads as part of the war machine.

At the April 29 demonstration, BRAC President Fred Kroll correctly pointed out that rail workers have been in the front line of labor struggles for over a century.

"In 1877 railroad workers were among the first to stage strikes and demonstrations, just like this one, to protest wage cuts, poor working conditions, unemployment, and the lack of respect and dignity from railroad employers. They were battered down, shot at, and in some cases killed by federal troops and company goons. But their example inspired other unions to greater activism which brought about progress for the working people."

Kroll seems to have forgotten this when he gave in to management demands six days later. But his points are still valid.

Rail workers are facing a very difficult struggle today. They deserve the support of all working people.

# American Railroads: the case for nationalization by Dick Roberts

Railroads are a public necessity. They are essential to millions of commuters. Hundreds of factories receive vital supplies and ship finished products by rail. But service is being cut, and equipment and roadbeds are deteriorating at an alarming rate. Why are the railroads dying?

This book explains the crisis in rail today by examining the history and economics of the industry: Who owns the railroads? What are their interests? How do they operate?

What have rail workers accomplished in past struggles? How can they defend their jobs and improve their conditions today? And how can the railroads be reorganized to meet the needs of the majority they serve—the farmers, small businesses, and workers?

An important reference for people who want to understand the decline of a vital utility. 109 pp. \$2.45 paper, \$9 cloth. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$.75 postage)

## The Great Labor Uprising of 1877

by Philip S. Foner

288 pages, \$5.45 paper, \$12.00 cloth

A Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014



## Longshore leaders murdered in Seattle

Two militant trade union leaders were shot to death in Seattle on June 1.

Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo were officers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 37. They were murdered while they worked alone in the union headquarters.

Domingo and Viernes were elected to office as reform candidates. They contested a preferential system used to dispatch union members to jobs in Alaska fish canneries—a racist system that discriminated against Filipino cannery workers.

Viernes—elected dispatcher on a rank-and-file slate last year—was a longtime labor and community activist. He led a walkout against a fishing company in Alaska in 1970.

He had been involved in an ongoing suit against the New England Fishing Company over racist and discriminatory practices.

Domingo—the local's secretary-treasurer—came to the canning industry after playing a leading role in the Asian community. He was an active participant in the anti-Vietnam war movement.

Both were outspoken critics of

the Marcos regime in the Philippines. They were members of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP).

More than 450 people attended a memorial service for Viernes on June 3.

"They were killed because of what they were doing," ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer Curtis McClain told the crowd. "There was someone or some group that did not want to see Local 37 strong and united. There was someone or some group that did not want to see the organization of oppressed workers in Dutch Harbor."

"Well, it won't work," he said. "We will continue to work, continue to build as a monument to them."

Constantine Baruso, president of Local 37, read telegrams from labor leaders in the state of Washington and on the West Coast, including condolences from the ILWU executive board.

Baruso described the two as "hardworking and honest trade union officers, highly respected in the community and among their coworkers. This tragic shooting is an unwarranted attack on the union."

Two suspected killers are being held on \$75,000 bail.

## Socialist hits ripoff by N.Y. landlords

NEW YORK—"Mayor Koch's transit board wants to hike the subway fare. So none of us can go anywhere; we'll have to stay at home. Now another one of Koch's boards considers allowing landlords to raise our rent; we won't even be able to afford a home to stay at!"

So protested Diane Wang, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council at-large, at a June 10 hearing of the New York City Rent Guidelines Board.

About 900,000 apartments in New York City are under rent-stabilization, which allows landlords to raise rents only a specific amount. Landlords are urging that increases as high as 32 percent be allowed.

Speaking before the rent board, where about a hundred tenants and a handful of landlords had gathered, Wang called authorization of any rent increase "preposterous to any working person in this city who already pours about one-third of her or his paycheck into rent payments."

The socialist candidate pointed out that in Cuba, rent—by law—cannot be any more than 10 percent of any Cuban worker's wage. Wang outlined a program that in the same way would put people's needs before landlords' profits in New York City.

"All these landlords who are posing as 'oh-so-poor' should be forced to open their books to the public," Wang urged.

"Second, we should take a good chunk of that budget surplus Mayor Koch gloats over, along with the millions of dollars of bond payments, and de-

vote it to building low-cost housing."

Further funds for housing could come from the military budget, Wang pointed out—instead of "funding dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala or financing a nuclear holocaust in the Middle East." At this point loud applause interrupted her testimony.

"Not only would such a large-scale housing program provide desperately needed apartments," said Wang, "it would provide hundreds of thousands of jobs."

In New York about 30,000 apartments are abandoned each year. Landlords have threatened that unless rent-stabilization laws are changed, one-third of them would abandon buildings in the next five years, bringing the number of abandoned apartments to more than half a million.

Wang urged that rather than giving in to the landlords' extortion, all buildings abandoned or inadequately maintained be taken from the owners. These, as well as new housing units, should be managed by tenants' councils.

The entire program, Wang continued, "should be supervised by a board elected by and accountable to working people, not one appointed by Mayor Koch, who himself was appointed by the bankers, landlords, and bosses of this city."

On June 15 about fifty people picketed the Sheraton Center where Koch was attending a breakfast with the landlords' organization. "You dirty crooks, open your books!" demanded the protesters. "Koch, you bum, you make housing a slum!"

## Federal, state gov'ts back drive to bring back the death penalty

By Harry Ring

A reactionary drive to fully re-establish the death penalty is under way.

In 1972, the Supreme Court struck down the various death penalty statutes as unconstitutional.

Since that time, thirty-five states have adopted new statutes intended to meet the high court objections.

And a Reagan-endorsed measure has passed the Senate Judiciary Committee to re-establish the death penalty for such federal offenses as treason, espionage and presidential assassination.

The execution laws are wielded against the poor in this country, especially Blacks.

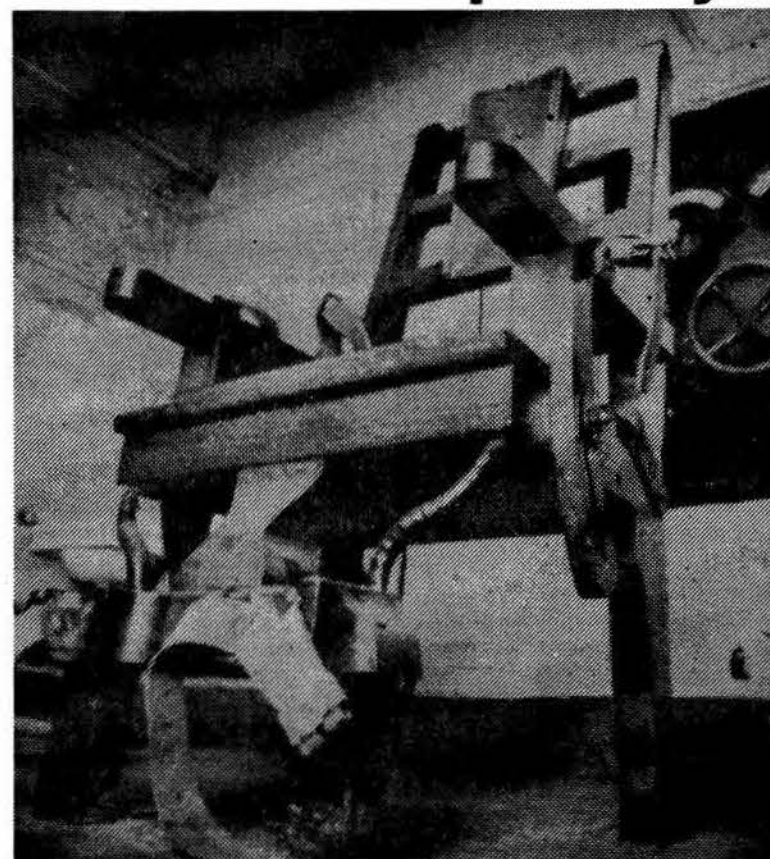
According to the June 14 *New York Times*, one study has established that Blacks convicted of murdering whites are sentenced to death *eighteen times as often* as whites convicted of murdering whites.

Data compiled in Texas, Ohio, Florida, and Georgia for 1972-77 showed that of 1,015 Blacks convicted of murdering whites, 170 got death sentences. But of 341 whites convicted of murdering Blacks, only three were sentenced to death.

Since the 1972 court decision, four people have been executed. The number is now expected to escalate. Last year alone, about 150 people were condemned to death. The current number of death row inmates stands at a record high of more than 780.

The figures confirm the argument of death penalty opponents that the statutes designed since the Supreme Court ruling are as arbitrary and racist as the ones they replaced.

This apparently will not serve as a deterrent to their application.



In April, Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist complained that court rulings have provided "procedural protections" for victims of the death penalty, "unheard of for other crimes."

It didn't occur to the justice that the finality of this particular sentence is not matched by any other.

It has long been established that executions are no deterrent to crime, although this remains the principal argument of proponents of legalized murder. The American Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, and others have produced studies establishing this.

The simple fact is that the death penalty is intended to be

exactly what it is—a weapon of intimidation, of class and race victimization.

The move to reinstate the penalty for such ambiguously defined offenses as "treason" and "espionage" is particularly ominous in this respect.

Up to now, only two people have been executed for espionage in peacetime by a civil court. The electrocution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in 1953 on trumped-up charges of being "atomic spies" was a frame-up used to deepen the witch-hunt atmosphere of the McCarthy era.

The fight to abolish the death penalty is a just and necessary response to the right-wing forces who rule in this country.

## Ferry workers continue protest

By John Votava

SEATTLE—Workers in the state's ferry system—the nation's largest—are angry.

The Marine Engineers Benevolent Association (MEBA) walked off the job for three days in May after Governor John Spellman passed a bill that puts the ferry workers under civil service laws—a move that strips the union of collective bargaining rights.

The thirteen other unions on the ferry system who would be affected by the bill united behind the MEBA and shut the system down tight.

Spellman's action was viewed as doubly treacherous because he had promised the MEBA that

he would veto the bill if they would accept a proposed contract.

The engineers signed the contract. Then the governor let the bill become law without his signature.

The unionists returned to work after a temporary compromise was reached between the governor and the two most important unions involved in the dispute, the MEBA and the Inland Boatman's Union.

They agreed to the organization of a commission to review the situation and make recommendations by July 5.

That date was picked by the unions and it tells a lot about their mood.

July 5 is the anniversary of Bloody Thursday, 1934—an attack on the labor movement that was answered by a general strike in San Francisco.

The ferry workers, backed by organized labor across the state, are adamant that no solution is acceptable that takes away their right to belong to their union or to bargain collectively.

State AFL-CIO President Marvin Williams said, "As long as I have a podium to speak from, I will defend the ferry workers and their right to collective bargaining. . . . The labor movement of this state will stand foursquare behind you all the way."

## Support ballplayers' strike

By Stu Singer

The Major League Players Association, a labor organization, is on strike against the major league baseball teams. The issue is the right of players to change teams.

Professional baseball is organized under a system where players are highly-paid indentured servants who have very limited rights to seek jobs with different employers. Gains won in this regard in 1976 are being taken back by management.

The Players Association won a significant ruling from the

National Labor Relations Board—it ordered the owners to open their books to prove their claims of economic hardship if the players are allowed to change teams. A federal court judge overturned this, precipitating the strike.

The baseball strike is being discussed in every bar, locker room and lunch room in the country. A wave of anti-player propaganda is having an impact because it is hard to identify with people earning as much as baseball players (even though a majority of them only make the

big money for a few years).

But the strike concerns straightforward union questions. The news media are pushing the owners' side the same way they accuse all unions of being greedy.

Whether or not you like baseball, arguing in defense of the players is an argument in defense of unions.

Readers of the *Militant* should note that, with nothing much left to watch on television, playing softball during the strike would not constitute strike-breaking.





## Kremlin tells Polish CP: 'Crack down'

By Suzanne Haig

As the July 14-18 congress of the Polish United Workers Party approaches, Moscow is applying maximum pressure on the government of Stanislaw Kania to halt the growing ferment in the nation and within the party itself.

On June 5, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party sent a letter to the Central Committee of the PUWP, criticizing the Kania leadership for its "constant concessions" to "anti-socialist" and "counterrevolutionary elements [code words for workers fighting for democratic rights]." It attacked the openness of the press and the weakness of security forces, and called for a change of line before the congress.

Why is Moscow so worried?

The Polish Communist Party is in the midst of a deep discussion. Demands have been raised for more democracy within the party, more access to information, the expulsion of corrupt and inept leaders, and the separation of party and government.

Some 60 percent of the factory delegates to the congress are members of the independent union, Solidarity.

As a result of pressure from the ranks, the new Politburo will be elected at the congress by secret ballot. This limits the ability of the top officials to determine in advance who the new CP leadership will be.

This ferment is a direct threat to the continued rule of the bureaucracy.

The Soviet letter expressed alarm that "It is no longer unusual for casual people who overtly espouse opportunist points of view to lead local party organizations or figure among delegates to conferences and to the congress. . . .

"It cannot be excluded," the letter continued, "that, during the congress itself, an attempt could be made to strike a decisive blow against Marxist-Leninist forces in the party in order to liquidate it." In other words, the congress could codify more democratic policies.

"The party can and should find within itself the strength to reverse the course of events and return them to the proper path even before the congress."

Following the receipt of the letter, a



Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa at a March 20 rally.

two-day emergency PUWP Central Committee meeting was convened. There, a bitter power struggle raged, with a minority supporting the Soviet position.

But the outcome of the meeting was a reaffirmation of the main concessions granted thus far.

At the same time, the Politburo attempted to placate the Kremlin by promising to tighten party discipline, punish "antisocialist" acts, and curb the press.

In a speech to parliament June 12, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski followed this same approach—affirming the course of change while pledging to restore party order and emphasizing the importance of Soviet relations.

He announced the dismissal of four economic cabinet ministers. In addition, he fired the unpopular justice minister, Jerzy Bafia, who has stalled on naming and disciplining those responsible for the police attack in March on Solidarity members in Bydgoszcz.

At the same time, Jaruzelski promised to move against anyone distributing "antisocialist" materials or attacking or abusing the police.

As another way of pressuring the Kania leadership, Moscow has backed elements in the Polish CP who favor a crackdown on the workers.

Early this month, the Soviet press published documents written by a small group of about 200 Polish CP members calling themselves the Katowice Forum.

The forum attacked the Kania leadership and characterized the party as split into factions with "no clear-cut concept, no strategy for overcoming the crisis."

The Politburo, local party organizations, and Solidarity all publicly condemned the forum as provocative, disruptive, and dangerous. They made it clear to everyone, including Moscow, that the majority of Polish people support democratic renewal.

Because of the situation following Moscow's letter, Solidarity postponed a warning strike called to protest government inaction around the Bydgoszcz incident.

### Provocations

Solidarity has also denounced attempts to link the union with anti-Soviet acts.

When unidentified vandals poured

white paint over a Soviet war memorial in Lublin, June 13, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa immediately called the act a "provocation." Solidarity also sent workers to clean up the statue and to publicly demonstrate their anger at the defacement.

Is Moscow preparing to invade Poland?

Editorials like the one June 13 in the Czech CP paper, likening the situation in Poland to Czechoslovakia before the 1968 invasion, seem to back such a move.

The Soviet government, however, faces an escalating dilemma. As the movement for socialist democracy deepens in Poland, and the possibility grows of it spreading to other East European countries and to the Soviet Union, pressure increases on Moscow to do something to crush it—pressure Kania to crack down, remove the present Polish CP leadership, or invade.

### Obstacles to invasion

At the same time, the obstacles to such moves are also escalating.

Workers, farmers, students, intellectuals, and party militants have organized themselves and become more determined to proceed with their struggle at all costs.

Nor is it certain how the Polish army would react to a Soviet military move.

In order to hang on, the Polish bureaucracy has had to make concessions and adapt to the workers' upsurge, identifying itself with the powerful combination of nationalism, the fight for democratic rights, and the drive for workers control.

Its approach is to appeal to the sentiment for a united, independent Poland. In this way, it hopes to get the workers and farmers under its control and move toward demobilizing them. But this course is increasing strains between Kania and the Kremlin.

The workers and farmers are using this rift to strengthen their organizations, deepen and broaden the reform movement in the party, and unify the whole population against the threatening noises from the Kremlin.

## U.S. to build nerve-gas factory in Arkansas

By Will Reissner

The Reagan administration's drive to increase the Pentagon's arsenal of new weapons received two boosts in May and June. On May 21, Congress appropriated \$20 million to build a new nerve-gas factory in Arkansas, and in early June the Pentagon reported that it had begun producing neutron bombs and warheads.

Neutron bombs are enhanced radiation weapons that produce higher levels of radiation and less blast and heat than conventional nuclear weapons. They have sometimes been described as the ultimate capitalist weapon because they kill people while doing minimal lasting damage to property.

The appropriation to build the chemical warfare plant is actually only a tiny part of the Pentagon's plans to increase its stocks of nerve-gas weapons. The U.S. government already plans to spend \$2.47 billion for chemical weapons over the next five years. And the May 24 *New York Times* reports that "in a secret study for the [Defense] department, a panel of the Defense Science Board recommends that this figure be increased by a factor of three or four."

Estimates of present U.S. chemical warfare stocks run as high as 38,000 tons. About one-third of that is contained in chemical land mines, artillery shells, rockets, and bombs, while the remainder is in bulk storage.

The Pentagon stopped producing nerve gas following an executive order by President Nixon in 1969. That decision was forced by the public outcry after the 1968 death of some 6,000 sheep in Utah, killed by a cloud of poison gas that drifted thirty miles from the U.S. Army's Dugway testing site.

In 1975, the United States government finally got around to signing the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which bans the first use of gas or germ warfare weapons. But when President Ford signed the measure, he stipulated that Washington, unlike the other signatories, interpreted the protocol to mean that herbicides and so-called "riot control agents," both of which were widely used by U.S. forces in Vietnam, were not covered by the agreement.

Experience with chemical warfare in World War I, when poison gas was extensively used and caused 1.3 million military casualties, showed that after the first surprise attacks, it was largely

ineffective against protected troops. In subsequent gas attacks unprotected civilians suffered the greatest casualties and were the most vulnerable targets.

On June 1, the U.S. Department of Energy, which oversees U.S. stocks of nuclear material, announced to Congress that production had begun on a new Lance missile neutron warhead, and that production of an eight-inch neutron artillery shell would begin in July.

This announcement indicates that the Pentagon is moving forward with the production of neutron weapons despite the massive opposition to those weapons in Western Europe, where most of the neutron bombs would be placed and used.

In fact, in 1978 the intense opposition to the neutron bomb in Europe and the United States forced President Carter to withdraw his plan to deploy the weapon in Europe. But Carter went ahead with a decision to produce all the components of the neutron weapons, and to stockpile those parts for later quick assembly into shells and bombs.

The Pentagon has not given up its hope of placing the neutron bomb in Eu-

rope, despite European opposition. In January, Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger told a news conference that he favored both production of the weapons and their placement in Europe.

The reaction to Weinberger's statement was so hostile in Western Europe that Secretary of State Haig publicly stated that Weinberger's comments did not reflect official administration policy. Haig also promised that no decision would be made on neutron weapons without discussion with other NATO alliance members.

But the fact that production of neutron bombs is proceeding indicates Washington's real policy.

The decisions to move forward with the production of nerve gas and neutron bombs come at a time when public opinion in Europe is already strongly against Washington's plans to place nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union in Western European bases. These decisions will make it even harder for the NATO governments to convince their people that the current NATO arms build up is a defensive response to Soviet military strength.

From Intercontinental Press





# Mexico: police linked to right-wing threats

By Aníbal Yáñez

Terrorism against progressive and revolutionary forces is making new inroads in Mexico. A so-called National Patriotic Anticommunist Front (FPAN) has threatened to kill Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, leader of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR), and several leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Mexican section of the

**PRT WINS BALLOT RIGHTS**—On June 11 the Federal Electoral Commission of Mexico granted the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) the right to be on the ballot in the 1982 elections.

Fourth International.

Ibarra de Piedra has been nominated by the PRT as its candidate for the presidency of Mexico. The members of the PRT who have been threatened with death are Edgar Sánchez and Pedro Peñaño, both national leaders of the party; Rafael Torres, an activist in the teachers union; and Andrés Ugalde, PRT organizer in Cuautitlán, an industrial suburb near Mexico City.

At the beginning of April, in a leaflet distributed in Cuautitlán, the FPAN assumed responsibility for the assassinations of Misael Núñez, a leader of a rank-and-file current in the teachers

union and of the general-secretary of the General Electric workers' union.

In that same leaflet the FPAN—under the slogan of "Mexico free from communism!"—announced that together with its "justice commando" it would decide "when and how" Ibarra de Piedra and the PRT leaders would die.

One of those threatened, Andrés Ugalde, is not widely known as a PRT member, since he is an organizer who is mainly concerned with the internal work of the party.

## Factory workers threatened

In addition, the FPAN leaflet says that the work of the PRT in factories such as Goodyear Oxo, Mexicana de Autobuses, Ford, and Teléfonos de México, and in the electricians union, "will no longer be permitted."

The naming of these workplaces and the threats against Ugalde arouse suspicion that the Mexican police are involved in the FPAN provocations. Who the militants of the PRT are and where they work is not something that is necessarily in the public domain.

Moreover, these threats take place in the context of the everyday repression and provocations that affect the industrial suburbs of Mexico City and working people in particular. One of the main instruments for the creation of this cli-

mate of repression has been the Battalion of Radio Patrols of the State of Mexico (BARAPEM), whose activities range from the breaking of strikes, to extortion and robbery of workers on payday, to the imprisonment of trade union and political activists.

On May 1, the international workers holiday, a total of 100,000 workers marched in the industrial suburbs of Mexico City. One of the central demands on the placards and banners of these workers was an end to the BARAPEM's arbitrary actions and repression.

A PRT spokesperson explained in a telephone interview from Mexico City, "Everything points to the fact that there is a strong link between the FPAN and the BARAPEM."

It is especially important to note that the new threats against the PRT and its presidential candidate come precisely at the moment when the party is stepping up its fight to be registered for the 1982 elections.

## Registration battle

Since 1977, when the current Mexican president, José López Portillo, began his "political reform," the PRT has pressed its demand and stated its right to be registered as a party.

In May 1977, shortly before the PRT

had to appear before the Ministry of the Interior to present its case, Alfonso Peralta, a founder and leader of the PRT, was gunned down by a group that claimed to belong to the "September 23" Communist League. This was an attempt to create the impression that the assassination of Peralta was the result of a feud between left-wing groups. But the police, usually so dedicated and efficient when it comes to going after organizations of the workers movement, never offered a satisfactory explanation of the assassination.

One year later, in the midst of the PRT's campaign for legal registration, the FPAN made its first appearance, threatening leaders of the party with death and holding up Peralta's murder as an example.

Numerous police provocations against PRT activists involved in the campaign also took place that year. Nevertheless, at the end of 1978 the PRT obtained its registration as a "National Political Association," and the public threats of the FPAN ceased.

In renewing their death threats against the leaders of the PRT and Ibarra de Piedra—a well-known fighter for democratic rights—the terrorists of the FPAN declared "No to the registration of the PRT!" in the leaflet distributed in Cuautitlán.

# Mothers of Somoza victims meet in Nicaragua

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Close to a thousand women whose sons and daughters were killed by Somoza's National Guard gathered here Sunday May 24 for the First National Assembly of Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs.

They came in buses from every part of Nicaragua. Overwhelmingly, they came from the poorest classes—campesinas, tobacco and textile workers, domestic servants, women from the working-class barrios of Managua and other cities.

A number of the martyrs of the Sandinista revolution came from Nicaragua's wealthiest families, but their mothers tend not to identify with the cause for which their children died and were not in evidence at the conference.

Several generations were represented. There were women whose children died fighting against Somoza twenty or more years ago. And, because the revolution is less than two years old and many of the National Guard's victims were only children, some of the mothers were young. I talked to one woman, dressed in black for the child she had lost, who was nursing an infant who will grow up in the new Nicaragua.

Except for small boys, a few reporters, and Commander of the Revolution Humberto Ortega, the assembly was virtually all female—and it was one of the most militant Sandinista gatherings I have yet attended in Nicaragua.

## No going back

The tone was set in opening remarks by Zulema Baltodano. One of her daughters, Zulemita, was captured by the National Guard, tortured, and later killed in a bombing raid. Another, Alma Nubia, had both her hands blown off by a bomb. A third, Mónica, is one of three women in Nicaragua with the rank of Guerrilla Commander and was on the stage representing the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

"Nobody should think," Zulema Baltodano warned, "that they can take us back to the past. It can't be done. That's why we too are in the Sandinista People's Militias."

She explained that the determination of the Sandinista mothers grew out of the terrible grief they had suffered.

"We want peace," she explained. "We don't want war. But if in order to achieve the peace we need to rebuild our

country, we have to take up arms, we are prepared to do it and even to die as our children died."

In chants and individual remarks, the mothers expressed anger that National Guard members who had tortured and killed their children had been pardoned. Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega took up these complaints in his remarks to the conference. He explained that justice was more than just punishing the guilty, but that in this case, clearly, "some people who did not deserve to be set free had been pardoned."

Many of the women brought photographs with them. One grandmotherly woman showed me her son's wedding picture. Both he and his bride were killed.

Another woman's son was only eleven—the same age as my own son—when he was killed. "Every mother here has a story to tell," one woman told me.

## Margarita Hernández's story

One of the most moving stories was told by Margarita Hernández of Managua. Hernández, who described herself as "only a poor woman, a worker, of the people," lost two sons.

First she told the story of "one afternoon in March" when she went to a food stand after work and found out that her younger son Otto José had been taken by the National Guard. As she told of five days spent going from police station to police station, hospital to hospital, some women in the audience began to cry quietly as if remembering their own experiences.

Finally Hernández found Otto José's body, brutally beaten and shot. Even then the National Guard captain made her wait all day for permission to remove her son's body, and gave it "on the condition that I bury him immediately and not say anything to anybody."

Hernández's other son was named Franklin. "Franklin was always a very serious boy," she said. "He would always say to me, 'Mama, one day we are going to win, you'll see that some day the Frente is going to win.' And of course that made me sad because I knew that my son might be killed. I didn't want to accept what he was, but in the end you have to accept, you take on the ideals of your children."

Franklin was arrested four times, the final time on a Holy Thursday, after a

street battle in which his companion Thelma was killed. Three hundred National Guard surrounded his mother's house and took him away. Franklin was freed when the FSLN took power July 19, 1979.

## Continuing terrorism

"From that moment on," his mother continued, "he worked without stopping, day and night with hardly a moment's sleep. But he worked with great love. Unfortunately he wasn't able to continue, because the morning of January 22, 1980, when he was involved in trying to capture some counterrevolutionaries, an evil son of Nicaragua, a National Guard assassin, took the life of my son."

Hernández was only one of dozens of mothers at the assembly whose sons and daughters have been killed by Somozaist forces since the revolution. More than 100 Nicaraguans—literacy brigade teachers, militia members, and peasants of the northern frontier—have been murdered by bands of ex-National Guard based in Honduras.

From Intercontinental Press

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



There were, for example, three reports from Iran on massive Women's Day actions there. Also from Iran came an analysis by revolutionary socialists of the current stage of the revolution in that country. And IP staff writer Ernest Harsch, author of *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* (see review, page 21) looked at the Reagan administration's new alliance with the apartheid regime. 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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# Two H-Block prisoners win seats in election

By Gerry Foley

DUBLIN—The growing instability in Ireland was pointed up by the June 11 elections for the Dublin parliament (the Dáil). The seats were divided up almost evenly between the incumbent party and the opposition coalition.

The incumbent Fianna Fáil party won 78 seats in the 166-member parliament, while the opposition coalition of the Fine Gael Party and the Labour Party holds 80. Six independents hold the balance of power.

Two H-Block prisoners—hunger striker Kieran Doherty and Patrick Agnew—won seats, effectively denying the Fianna Fáil party any possibility of assembling a stable majority. The H-Block campaign ran nine candidates in all.

At the same time, the Labour Party suffered such heavy losses that its very survival is threatened by a continuation of its coalition policy. It may be forced to reject the tempting fruits of governmental participation from the hands of Fine Gael and thereby leave no other possibility but that of a rickety minority government.

## Rising pressures

Whatever kind of weak government emerges from the intense parliamentary wheeling and dealing that has now begun, it will be much more vulnerable than the previous one to the pressures of rising anti-imperialist feeling focused on the H-Block issue and the economic disaster that is visible to all observers. The relative economic development of the past years was fueled and sustained by foreign borrowing, and a day of reckoning to the imperialist banks and financial institutions is fast approaching.

At the same time, the relative economic prosperity of the last years and the closing off of the traditional outlets for emigration has produced an explosive growth in the number of youth who are beginning to flood into an increasingly sluggish job market. Unemployment now stands at 10 percent, and inflation is at 21 percent.

In this situation, the Irish people are desperately looking for political alternatives. That was reflected by the wild fluctuations in the opinion polls during the election period as well as by the erratic pattern of the results. The Irish voters were caught between a rock and a hard place, and there was little opportunity for the working people to express their interests.

The national coalition of Fine Gael and Labour, which governed the country from 1973 to 1977, left an evil memory of repression and open capitulation to imperialism.

A repeat of such a government was not a very attractive alternative. But the incumbent Fianna Fáil regime has done nothing to deal with the increasing economic problems. And its traditional anti-imperialism did not go beyond a little verbiage and some dubious publicity gimmicks such as the Dublin-London summit talks with a vague agenda and even vaguer purposes. In some respects, collaboration with British repression even increased under Charles Haugh-

ey's Fianna Fáil government.

The Cabinet, presided over by Haughey, has let four Irish political prisoners in Northern Ireland be driven to their deaths by the British government, without any official protest, or even an official display of concern and sympathy.

Since the Irish government failed to take the republican prisoners under its wing, the Irish people did this directly by electing two of them to membership in the parliament that is supposed to represent the entire nation.

The H-Block prisoners have now received recognition as political prisoners, as representatives of the oppressed Irish people, by the Irish people themselves.

## Thatcher lies undercut

When Bobby Sands was elected to the British parliament and Doherty and Agnew to the Irish parliament, it becomes more difficult for the Thatcher government to continue to claim that the Irish prisoners are criminals. It also undercuts the Irish government's claim that it is not the government's responsibility to defend them.

In a whirlwind tour in support of the H-Block candidates, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey stressed:

"When one-half of the population is under thirty, any government or party that says that young people between the ages of twenty and thirty, starving themselves to death to uphold the dignity of our people, is not a matter of national concern, has no moral right to rule."

The attendance at her rallies was largely youthful, especially in the city of Dundalk, in Louth, where H-Block prisoner Agnew was later elected. McAliskey stated:

"The press is talking about the cynicism of youth toward the big parties. That's not cynicism, that's common sense. They're not about to be fooled. There's no shortage of youth at the H-Block rallies."

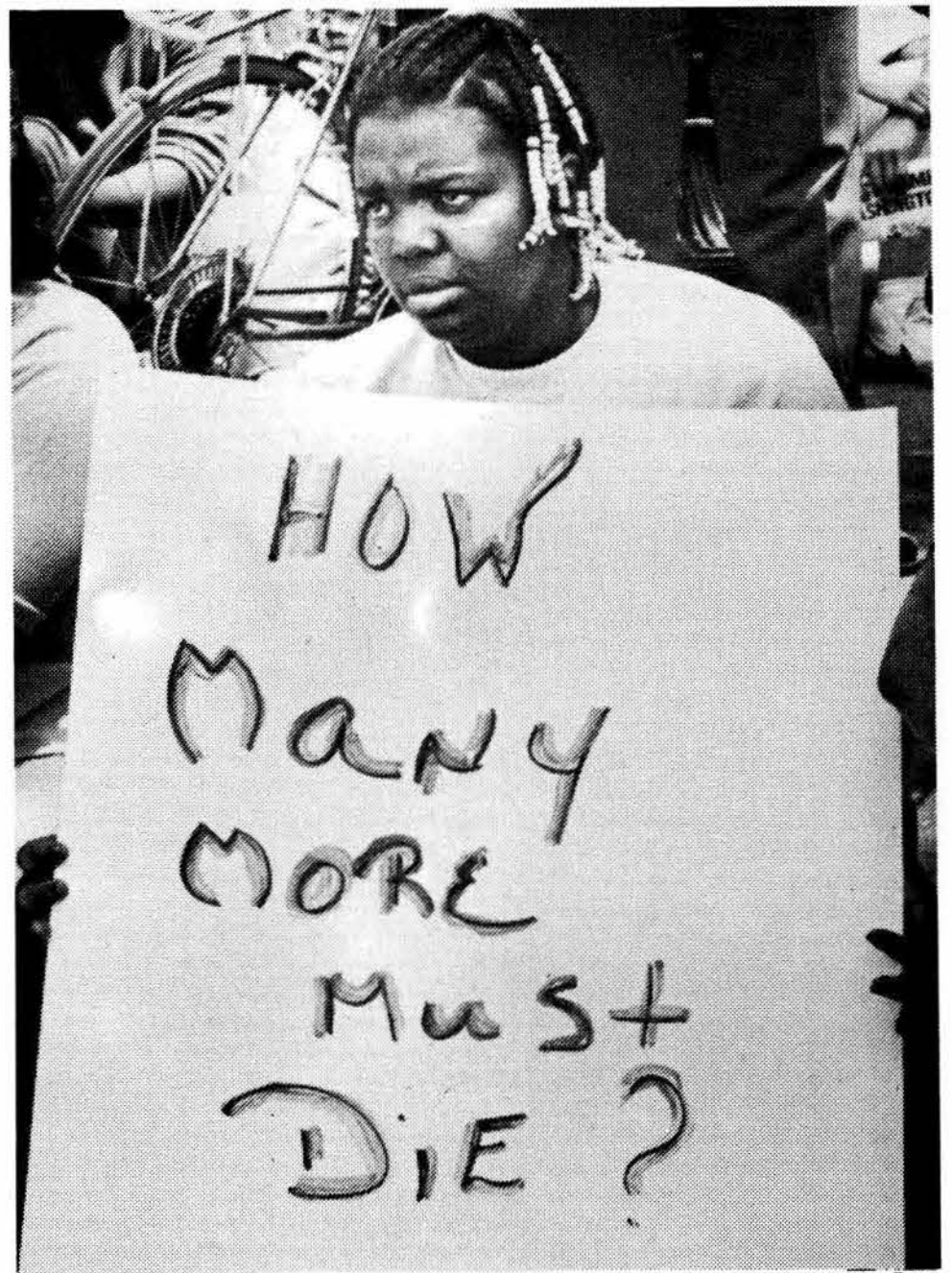
She also appealed to workers, getting an enthusiastic response in industrial cities. "Take the trade unions back from those who betray them," McAliskey said. "Put them back in the forefront. The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland."

People's Democracy, the Irish Trotskyist group, stood two candidates on a revolutionary anti-imperialist program—Vincent Dougherty in the premier's constituency, and Joe Harrington in Limerick city.

Against a powerful machine, Dougherty rolled up 1,500 votes out of 55,000, in a five seat constituency.

The likelihood is that the incoming parliament will be unable to elect a stable government and that new general elections will be held in a relatively short time. The anti-imperialist movement will have a chance to consider the lessons of this experience and reorient itself so it can take fuller advantage of future opportunities. It already has greatly increased possibilities for bringing pressure to bear on behalf of the prisoners.

From Intercontinental Press



Militant Joe Ryan

# Socialist: Atlanta killings stem from racist society

The May 21 'Intown Extra' section of the 'Atlanta Constitution,' the biggest Atlanta paper, published an extensive interview with Andree Kahlmorgen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta. Here are excerpts from what she said about the child murders there.

I think that the major issue in this campaign is the child murders, and they stem from the fact that we live in a racist society and an economy that perpetuates racism.

I think the whole issue of the child murders is not just a Black issue. Racism and the child murders are very important to the white workers as well.

Some of us are more oppressed than others, but we all have the common goal: to live in a free society where racism and sexism and war and poverty and all of these things don't exist.

Here in Atlanta . . . there's a lot of confusion and disorder about the issue. But outside of Atlanta, people are very clear that this is another racist attack. They connect it with Buffalo, Miami, Chattanooga, Mobile and so forth.

The racist nature of these stems not necessarily from who is behind the killings. It stems from the fact we live in a racist society, a society that makes Black life cheap. And it's primarily the Black community that's being terrorized by these [killings].

I think that if these were 27 young white students from Ashford-Dunwoody it would be a totally different situation. We would never see these kinds of attacks on the mothers and the children themselves.

The children have been called street-wise hustlers and homosexual prostitutes. The mothers have been called uncaring and been accused of killing their own children by the FBI. This is turning the victims into the criminals.

I don't think many people will quibble with the fact that police have dragged their feet around this child murders issue. It was a year before they even established the task force, and that was only at the insistence of the mothers and the pressure that they brought to bear. And it's only because of the mothers that this issue has become a national and an international one.

## ...police cover-up

Continued from back page

[Wayne Williams] is still a suspect according to sources in the investigation," she said. "Our client is in fact the defendant."

"He has in fact been convicted by the unfavorable media coverage. By the time he had returned home after having been questioned by Atlanta police, just about the whole world thought the person responsible was caught."

The contrast between the way the government treats Wayne Williams and the way they treat the discovery of the police uniform shows that a big cover-up is going on.

A whole number of questions are raised.

Are they investigating the uniform? Why won't they tell the public what they have found?

Why has the media blacked out the story?

A full and clear answer to these questions should be given by the Atlanta police and FBI. They should open up the files of their investigation to public scrutiny.

Working people, Black and white, need to demand:

Stop the harassment of Wayne Williams.

Stop the cover-up.

Open the files on the investigation.

Stop the murders of Atlanta's Black youth.

## Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

José G. Pérez



## Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

by José G. Pérez 24 pp., 35 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# Haig takes on the underground

The following article by Barbara Garson appeared in the June 3 issue of New York City's weekly 'Village Voice.'

Last week I watched the transit police carry what appeared to be a raving lunatic off the A train at 125th Street. The man—the only other white on the platform—was gray haired, well dressed, and well groomed. Indeed his face seemed dignified, even handsome, between contorted grimaces and strident cries of "I am in control! I am in control!"

As they carried him up the stairs a slim black notebook dropped from his jacket pocket. It was labeled "Documentation of data for White Paper on INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST UNDERGROUND." The inside pages seemed to be a journal, printed in precise black letters.

How I wish I had never opened it. I have no idea what to do with it now. In the hope of advice, I reprint the contents in full.

\* \* \*

**12:02 p.m.:** I Alexander M. Haig have been dispatched on the highest authority to gather incontrovertible evidence of Soviet expansionism in this distant metropolis. I am aware that this assignment, bringing me many miles from the Oval Office, has been perversely misconstrued by my detractors as a demotationality in proximity to the presidential person. Yet, as I stand at the strategic intersect locus of 59th Street and Columbus Circle, I am conscious only of my Commander's closeness and of the immense trust he places upon me by his direct order to descend into the heart of the International Terrorist Underground.

**12:04 p.m.:** I perceive immediately that the terrorist cadres are split into three factions! IND, the so called "Independistas"; IRT which stands for International Revolutionary Terrorists; third and most dangerous of all, the BMT. None of my informants can state categorically where this third line originates but it is clearly Marxist Leninist inspired.

**12:35 p.m.:** After an unconscionable delay, due to Russian trained sabotage agents, I board the pass-

enger vehicle which is covered with encoded terrorist slogans.

**12:37 p.m.:** Aboard the conveyance and approaching a seat I am deliberately cut off and physically touched by a dark woman wearing a green ribbon insignia on her lapel. The closeness of her approach indicates that she mistakes me for a member of her secret cell.

**12:39 p.m.:** On all sides I now note the proliferation of this cryptic green insignia. The color of the ribbon and the distinctive features of its wearers enables us to construe categorically that they are Irish terrorists, smuggled in via the Cuban proxy in the hundreds of thousands to undermine the legitimate and . . . [Here the writing breaks off.]

**12:58 p.m.:** I have just been directly assaulted by a fierce smelling individual who placed his hands threateningly on my shoulder and demanded that I spare him \$2 for a cup of coffee.

"What did you say?" I questioned him shrewdly with the intent of recording his illegitimate demand on my tiepin tape recorder.

"Okay, \$1.50," he replied, apparently testing my will. At this point in time chronologically I whipped out my revolver and informed him that we do not negotiate with terrorists.

He backed off the train disappearing into a crowd of his confederates including covert pretzel sellers and blind nuns peddling Marxist literature under the banner of Christ.

**1:13 p.m.:** The lights have blinked out.

**1:13½ p.m.:** The vehicle has suddenly stopped.

**1:14 p.m.:** Lights returned but no movement.

**1:15 p.m.:** The motor cut off.

**1:16 p.m.:** NOTE, at 1:16 p.m. Soviet sabotage has achieved the standstillization of the entire internal transport network.

**1:22 p.m.:** One of the green-insigniaed passengers attempts to instigate rebellion calling out, "Hey man, how long we gonna sit here?"

**1:23 p.m.:** The insurrection is snipped at the fount by the voice of the duly elected central government over the loudspeaker. "This train will continue on the express track. Next stop 125th Street."

125th Street? Hijacked!! This vehicle is being hi-



jack!! I am hurtling against my will toward the central heart of the terrorist underground. I remain calm and in command. Through my two-way radio I request immediate air strikes to level all territory between 125th Street and 163rd.

Are you there? Are you there? Oh my God, the radio is dead. They don't come in. There's no way out. There's no light at the end of the tunnel. . . .

\* \* \*

At this point the block letters begin to give way to a less and less readable scrawl. I believe I can make out the words paramilitary, no ransom, and finally We Do Not Negotiate with Terrorists. A big black blot must indicate where the pen broke. This could not have been long before the time I saw him carried off and then picked the notebook up.

Please, I must have someone's advice. In the interests of our national security shall I hand over this notebook to the FBI, the CIA, the State Department, or Bellevue Mental Ward?

## Alfred Jackson is dead, but it's 'nobody's fault'

The following editorial appeared in the June 8 'Charleston Gazette,' Charleston, West Virginia.

Alfred Jackson, 53, a Florida resident without family or friends, was arrested at Rand and charged with attempted burglary. He stayed in the county jail from March 17 until May 22 when he committed suicide by hanging himself.

During the more than two months he was a prisoner, his case was mishandled by the Kanawha County judicial system. "I charged with invading private property . . . and they won't let me out jail. They have never gave me any time and they won't give me any lawyer," he wrote despairingly to the New York office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Jackson was charged with attempted burglary. Magistrate Kermit Pauley made the first mistake. He wrote a warrant saying the charge was a felony. It isn't.

Then what happened? Nothing. Nobody seems to know why. The only detail that those involved are clear on is that Jackson's death wasn't their fault.

On March 23, the case was assigned to Magistrate Burl Holbrook. He said he didn't set a hearing because Jackson's lawyer had not asked for one. The

reason was that Jackson had no lawyer.

On May 6, Jackson filed a pauper's oath in an appearance before Magistrate Denver Casto. The oath, in effect, is a request for a lawyer. The affidavit took 15 days to reach Circuit Court Administrator Bob Slack.

Why? Casto said he didn't have the slightest idea.

On May 19, Jackson called Slack. Slack went to the jail and took a second affidavit. Nothing happened. Why? Slack said he was looking for the warrant that had been written the month before. Holbrook had it but he didn't know what to do with it.

Three days after Slack's visit, Jackson killed himself.

Numberless investigations are going on. Sheriff Carl Withrow has asked the city police to determine if jailers are at fault.

The state Supreme Court is trying to learn if the magistrate system is wrong. Slack is going to consult with Chief Circuit Judge John Hey to see if procedures can be improved.

Prosecuting Attorney Mike Roark is planning to send an investigator around twice a week to see that prisoners have lawyers.

In short, the system is following its normal course. Everyone is expressing regret, denying responsibility

and promising it won't happen again.

About 800 years ago, the king of England signed a great charter promising to appoint as judges "only such as know the law and mean duly to observe it."

Magistrate Kermit Pauley makes the wrong charge. He doesn't get the warrant to a central office. Does he know the law? Is he duly observing it?

Magistrate Denver Casto seems undisturbed that it takes 15 days for a pauper's oath to get from one part of the courthouse to another. Is Magistrate Casto duly observing the law?

And what of those in charge: Hey, Chief Magistrate Jack Kinder, Magistrate Clerk Kay Burkett and Slack? They get the pay. Why don't they do the work?

One is tempted to say that the Kanawha magistrate system is out of control but that would leave the impression that it was once in control. Nobody is at fault because nobody is in charge: not the Supreme Court, not the chief judge, not the chief magistrate, the magistrate clerk and certainly not the magistrates. Ask any of them.

Let the people of Kanawha County accept that premise because they have been living with it. Meanwhile, let us express our regret to Alfred Jackson. It is too bad that he is dead. He should be comforted to know that it was nobody's fault.

## Lefever defeat signals resistance to Reagan

By Janice Lynn

In a defeat for President Reagan, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 5 rejected Ernest Lefever's nomination for the State Department's top human rights post following several weeks of hearings.

There had been widespread opposition to the nomination of this right-wing opponent of human rights. The June 5 vote in the Senate committee finally forced Lefever to withdraw his name from nomination.

Reagan's inability to get Lefever appointed was due to increasing resistance among working people to the Reagan administration's reactionary policies. In a major U.S. opinion survey, conducted for Time magazine May 12-14, some 67

percent of those polled said they opposed "economic and military aid for anti-Communist allies like South Korea if they violate human rights."

During the Senate confirmation hearings, Lefever was only able to cite three violations of human rights he thought were worthy of public condemnation by the U.S. government: the taking of the U.S. hostages in Iran, the imprisonment of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, and the shooting of the pope.

When U.S. senators asked Lefever to mention some of the countries with records of human rights abuses, Lefever replied, "I don't normally name countries. . . . It is not in good taste for me to identify friendly and allied nations. . . ."

Nor did Lefever have any criticism of the apartheid regime in South Africa. In fact, the conservative policy center Lefever headed—the Ethics and Public Policy Center—was under investigation for its connections with the South African government.

The Washington-based center was also being investigated for the \$35,000 it had received from the Nestlé Corp. in order to campaign for Nestlé's sale of baby formula in underdeveloped countries. Millions of infants have died from the use of such baby formula.

Lefever's two brothers were among his outspoken opponents. They announced that their brother was a supporter of the racist theories of William Shockley, who holds that Blacks are ge-

netically inferior.

The whole Lefever controversy reflected the objective difficulties presently facing the U.S. ruling class over the human rights question.

The U.S. rulers face the contradiction that a credible human rights policy means that the repressive regimes of "friendly" dictators will be undermined and opposition currents encouraged. But abandoning any human rights pretense at all means increasing the distrust and anger of working people in the U.S. and around the world.

With the Lefever nomination, Reagan was trying to bury the human rights question. But he ran smack into the sentiments of the American people.

From Intercontinental Press



## 'South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt'

South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt. By Ernest Harsch. New York: Monad Press, 1980. 352 pp. Cloth \$25, paper \$6.95.

Ernest Harsch's *South Africa* tells the story of the origin and development of white rule and Black revolt from the early days of the Dutch settlers of 300 years ago to the present.

The long history of struggle is given vividness and color by his powers of description, manifest in his opening pages on Soweto and his eyewitness accounts of life under the apartheid regime.

Basic in Harsch's analysis is the fact that South Africa is a colonial-settler state that—thanks to its great resources and the super-exploitation of its Black population—has achieved a high degree of industrialization.

The history of South Africa, therefore, is not only the history of a colonized country; it is the history of an industrializing capitalist country. The colonial-settler state has now developed into a junior imperialist power that exploits the Black masses of its own and other African countries in conjunction with pow-



cans and the Coloured, and to suppress militant unionism while permitting house-broken unions.

Their "reforms" are just that: new forms for white ruling-class dominance. The new "moderation" is belied by intensified political repression, which goes hand in hand with the much advertised reforms.

The liberation struggle has come a long way from the time of the early 1880s, when the first Black political groups appeared. In the second half of the book, Harsch analyzes its development in detail, from the first mass actions of the turn of the century through the urban explosions of the 1970s.

What emerges clearly from this history is the high level of combativity of the Black population, despite the fierce repression that it has always been subjected to. Not a decade passed without some major upsurge or development in the liberation struggle. Not a decade passed without some new lessons being learned.

### Black organizations

Harsch examines the campaigns and activities of all the major Black organizations, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement, and others. His treatment of the Black Consciousness movement—which emerged as a significant force in the early 1970s and which inspired the student rebels of 1976—is particularly detailed, relying on numerous original documents, as well as interviews with some of the key participants in the movement.

Over the course of this long liberation struggle, there are two political trends that stand out in particular: the role of Black nationalism in mobilizing and uniting the oppressed population (African, Coloured, and Indian), and the growing influence of the Black working class. The latter has been reflected not only in the frequent strike waves and the formation of Black unions, but also in the working class's impact on the political demands and methods of action of the main Black liberation organizations.

Harsch highlights the increasing interaction between these two political factors and shows how they underline the character of the developing South Africa revolution—a revolution by Blacks against their national oppression and by the workers against their class exploitation.

As one activist of the Black Consciousness movement told Harsch in Johannesburg, "Our struggle against apartheid is a struggle against capitalism."

—Paul Siegel

## Books

ers, such as Britain and the United States.

### Land question

It was apparent early to the white ruling class that in order to gain cheap labor, it had to forbid Black ownership of the land. As the president of the Chamber of Mines stated in 1912, "The ownership of land must be in the hands of the white race" so that "the surplus of young men," instead of "spreading out over unlimited areas, must earn their living by working for a wage. . . ."

South Africa was accordingly divided into "native areas," consisting of 13 percent of the country, and "white" South Africa, the rest of the country, in which Blacks could not own land. Even in the "native areas," now known as Bantustans, the amount of land a Black could own was limited. These restrictions led to exhaustion of the land, and the majority of the men in the Bantustans had to find work in "white" South Africa.

At the same time the ten small, poor, scattered Bantustans—which the South African government claimed were the means for Africans to achieve "national self-determination"—were used as a divisive device to prop up collapsing tribalism and deflect the demand for Black majority rule of the entire country.

As a result of their having been thus

driven off the land, there are today 7 million African workers, who make up 70 percent of the work force. The total number of Black workers, including one million Coloureds (those of mixed race) and 221,000 Asians, constitutes 81 percent of this work force.

The apartheid system exists for the purpose of controlling this powerful Black working class. "The police and prisons, the pass laws, the labor bureaus, influx control, the Bantustans, the migratory labor system, segregated townships, even education—all are aimed, in one way or another, at ensuring that Blacks fulfill their assigned role as underpaid and super-exploited laborers," Harsch explains.

European countries use foreign "guest workers" for super-exploited labor; Black workers in "white" South Africa are foreign "guest workers" in their native country.

There is an idea that apartheid stems not from the needs of South African capitalism but from the backwardness of Afrikaner farmers clinging with Dutch stubbornness to the past. This idea is popular among foreign liberal critics of apartheid. And it's a myth.

Afrikaner plantation owners invested in industry, and Afrikaner capitalists now are a major sector of the bourgeoisie, along with the English-speaking capitalists.

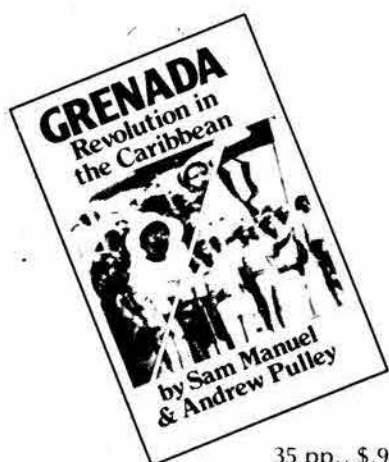
The idea that the effect of foreign capital is to mitigate racial oppression is another myth. Foreign capital shares in the profits from the super-exploitation of the Blacks. In the decade of the 1960s, the profit rate of American businesses in South Africa was 18.6 percent, as against 11 percent throughout the world.

Foreign capital is well aware of what it has to gain by the maintenance of the status quo and is, despite what it says, careful not to disturb it. It is welcomed by the South African government as a means of building key sectors of the economy.

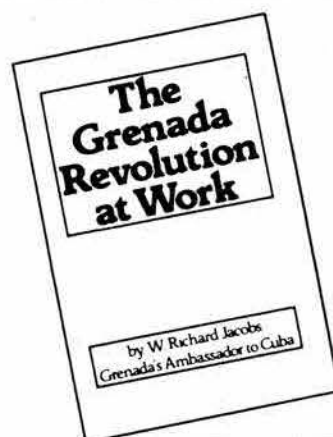
The paradox of the system is that it requires a massive Black working class and yet this working class is a growing threat to it. As a leading Afrikaans newspaper warned, "Increasing dependence on Black labour carries its own germs of destruction." Never has Marx's famous statement about capitalism producing its own grave-diggers been more clearly illustrated.

This contradiction, which was sharpened by the recession of the mid-1970s and the Soweto uprisings of 1976, has caused the authorities to try to redesign apartheid in order the better to preserve white supremacy. Basically, what they are seeking to do is to divide the Black urban and the migrant workers, the employed and the unemployed, the Afri-

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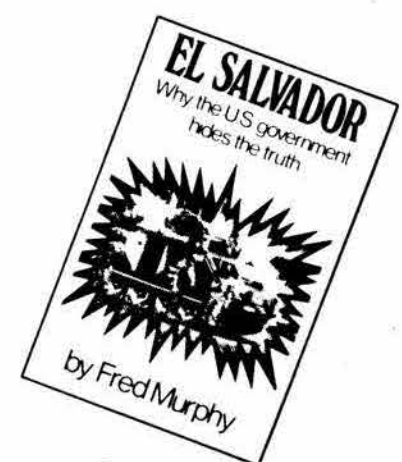
35 pp., \$.95



15 pp., \$.50



46 pp., \$.95



31 pp., \$.95

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





**Suggestion box**—Responding to budget-axing moves to lay most of them off, St. Louis's twelve food inspectors suggested instead that the city lay off their boss and his assistant. A city official responded, "That's like trying to operate a boat without a captain." Better a captain without a boat?

**Spiritual view**—"Material wealth is God's way of blessing people who put him first." Jerry Falwell of the "Moral Majority."

**In time for Father's Day?**—An old friend of ours who's fond of the phrase,

"as cold as a landlord's heart," should note the news item about Elizabeth and Ed Johnson, seventy-seven and eighty-eight respectively, of Wichita, Kansas. They face eviction from their home of thirty-six years. Their son is the landlord.

**Yes and no**—"Consumer confidence in the American economy continued to improve in May . . . the Conference Board, a business research organization, said yesterday. But consumers' purchasing plans continued to decline, the group's survey found."—News item.

**Like gross**—Researchers have fashioned a new poll, one that purportedly measures, "the gross national spirit." They report a sharp burst of optimism since Reagan came in. Not, however, as high as it was in Carter's first days. We trust the analogy will not make Reagan unduly nervous.

**Like knifing a teammate**—The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to end its \$1.4 million investment in tobacco-related stocks. The minority argued it was an

"embarrassment" for doctors to invest in a product that caused death and disease.

**The enhancers**—The *Doublespeak Quarterly* bestowed an award on the Pentagon's funding request for a "radiation enhancement device." A reporter's queries established it was the neutron warhead.

**Recycle them?**—The House Ways and Means Committee voted to eliminate from the Social Security program a \$255 burial benefit if there are no surviving beneficiaries.

## Canadians show how to fight for steel contract

The large steel mills in the United States organized by the United Steelworkers union negotiate as a group for what is called the Basic Steel Contract. There has not been a contract strike for over twenty years. Union leaders and the companies have locked steelworkers into a framework of a no-strike pledge and denial of the workers' right to vote on their contract.

Canadian steelworkers are members of the same union, but they are not as restricted.

### As I see it

Contract negotiations are now taking place between the steelworkers and the main companies in Canada. They are quite a contrast to the process the union went through in the United States for the last Basic Steel Contract in 1980.

At Canada's largest mill, the Stelco Hilton Works in Hamilton, USWA Local 1005 has organized an impressive contract fight. Local 1005 has 12,600 members.

The union printed a four-color pamphlet, "Contract 1981," which was distributed to all the

members. It explains the contract proposals in detail and answers some of the company claims of poverty. The union is also distributing copies of "Baptism of a Union—Stelco Strike of 1946," which was written by the Labour Studies Programme at McMaster University in Hamilton.

The introduction to the 1946 strike history was written by Local 1005 President Cec Taylor. The interviews and pictures of the struggle involved in establishing the union give an inspiring picture for steelworkers considering how to win a decent contract today.

In the U.S., steelworkers are excluded by top union officials from even voting on the contract. But the local leaders in Canada are making a serious effort to get the ranks involved in the contract process. And they are fighting for demands to improve wages, benefits, and working conditions; strengthen the rights of women workers; and advance the situation of steelworkers in general. What a difference from the wage concessions and productivity drives pushed in the United States.

Local 1005 organized a mass membership meeting April 26 to discuss and vote on the contract proposals.

Dave Patterson, the president of the nickel miners Local 6500 from Sudbury, spoke at the meeting. He gave a "stirring speech of solidarity," according to an article by 1005 member Richard DeGaetano in the May 18 issue of *Socialist Voice*, Canadian sister publication of the *Militant*.

Patterson received an overwhelming majority of votes from Local 1005 a month later when he was elected the new director for Steelworkers District 6.

The *Militant* will follow developments in this contract fight. Copies of the two booklets, "Contract 1981," and "Baptism of a Union—Stelco Strike of 1946," can be obtained by writing USWA Local 1005, 1031 Barton St. East, Hamilton, Ontario.

Enclose \$1.50 for "Baptism of a Union." "Contract 1981" is free.

Hamilton is about sixty miles from Buffalo. Geographically close, same union, same industry. But pretty far apart.

U.S. steelworkers have a lot to learn from the brothers and sisters in Canada.

—Stu Singer

## What's Going On

### ARIZONA PHOENIX

**RALLY TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party under order of deportation; Diane Post, National Lawyers Guild; representative of Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP) of Mexico; others. Fri., June 26, open house 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**FREE THE NASSCO THREE!** Speakers: Tom Ono, member, NASSCO Three Defense team; Bernie Sapir, president, Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union. Also: showing of color videotape on NASSCO Three case. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway, just north of the Broadway off ramp of Golden State Freeway. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
**WORKERS' UPSURGE IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** Speaker: Tim Mohun, former activist in Britain, now member of U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 26, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### COLORADO DENVER

**INVESTIGATION OF CANCER INCIDENCES AT NUCLEAR PLANTS.** Speaker: Dr. Carl Johnson, former director, Jefferson County Health Department. Dr. Johnson was recently discharged for his outspoken views on the dangers of Rocky Flats. Thurs., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Denver Socialist Forums. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**RALLY TO SUPPORT CIVIL LIBERTIES.** Speakers: Fred Halstead, witness at Socialist Workers Party trial against the government; Lyman T. Johnson, civil rights activist; Geneva Perry, legal counsel for Kentucky Civil Liberties Union; others. Sun., June 28, 6:30 p.m. reception; 7:30 p.m. rally; 9 p.m. social. Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge, 100 E. Jefferson St., Dogwood Room. Donation: \$3. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**RACE AND CLASS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.** Speaker: Alan Wald, English Department, University of Michigan, author of *James T. Farrell, the Revolutionary Socialist Years*. Sun., June 28, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

**WEEKEND OF ACTIVITIES JULY 11-12.** Saturday evening: Rally in Defense of the Bill of Rights. Reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Sunday afternoon: barbecue. Reservations at Solidarity Bookstore, 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### NEBRASKA LINCOLN

**FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES BATTLE OF THE 1980s.** Speakers: Kathryn Crowder, member of Young Socialist Alliance National Committee, witness in socialist trial against the government; Merle Hans, Newman Grove farmer, board of Nebraskans

for Peace; Sam Walker, president, Nebraska Civil Liberties Union; others. Thurs., June 25, 7 p.m. City Campus Student Union Rostrom, 14th and R Street. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (402) 464-2565.

### NEW YORK BROOKLYN

**'HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.'** A film on a coal miners' battle. Fri., June 26, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

### NEW YORK CITY

**INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PRISONERS SOLIDARITY FORUM.** Speakers: representatives of African National Congress of South Africa, Casa El Salvador, Civic Committee for Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, H-Block/Armagh Committee, and Afeni Shakur, former Panther Twenty-one defendant. Chair: Paul O'Dwyer. Wed., June 24, 7:30 p.m., Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 W. 4th St. Donation: \$2. Aup: N.Y. H-Block/Armagh Committee. For more information call (212) 788-1990 or 436-4770.

### OHIO CINCINNATI

**POLITICAL RIGHTS DEFENSE FUND PRESENTS RALLY FOR BILL OF RIGHTS.** Speakers: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Sarah Gardner, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Ron Hooks, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, director of Justice for J.P. Stevens Workers; Fred Halstead, witness in Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government; Margie Robertson, executive director, Cincinnati American Civil Liberties Union; others. Sun., June 21, 7:30 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 536 Linton Road. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (513) 321-5503.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**'MEXICO: THE FROZEN REVOLUTION.'** Tricontinental film in Spanish with English subtitles. Sun., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### VIRGINIA NEWPORT NEWS

**RALLY TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.** Speakers: Ron Ault, president of Metal Trades Council at Norfolk Naval Shipyard; Donny Algood, member of Boilermakers Local 684, Norshipco; Gayle Conroy, Peninsula National Organization for Women; Cindy Jaquith, editor, *Militant*; Johnny Hunter, member, Hampton Education Association. Sat., June 27, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Archie's Victory Arch, Warwick Hotel, 2410 West Ave. Donation: \$1. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### WEST VIRGINIA MORGANTOWN

**GOVERNMENT SPYING VS. DEMOCRACY.** An evening in support of the Bill of Rights. Speakers: Barbara Angle, author, *Rinker*, disabled coal miner; Nelson Blackstock, author of *COINTELPRO*, reporter for *Militant*; Marian Bustin, member, United Mine Workers Local 2095; Rev. Jed Griswold, local pastor, co-chair of Draft Information and Referral Center; John Hilsman, Letter Carriers' Union. Sat., June 27, reception 7 p.m., speakers 8 p.m. Ramada Inn, Routes 48 and 119. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (304) 296-0055.



# Letters

## Abortion poll

A recent call-in poll by the *Detroit Free Press* asked its readers for their opinions on the latest Senate restrictions on Medicaid funding for abortions. Of the 1600 callers, 87 percent opposed the Senate restrictions on a woman's right to choose. The callers included such comments as, "How many senators have had an unwanted pregnancy?" and "The male Senate should go to the Wizard of Oz and get a heart."

Seth Wigderson  
Detroit, Michigan

## Footnote on Eastman

I would like to add a footnote to Alan Wald's review of a new biography on Max Eastman. Wald notes that Eastman was the son of two ministers, then writes: "Eastman broke sharply with religion and sexual repression to become a Bohemian iconoclast and political radical in Greenwich Village." One might conclude that the Eastman family was an extremely narrow, "conventional" one.

In fact, Eastman's mother was a supporter of women's rights and women's suffrage. An inspiring orator, she was interested in the ideas of Freud and encouraged both her sons and her daughter to be independent thinkers.

Max Eastman was introduced into radical politics by his older sister, Crystal Eastman, a labor lawyer who worked on the Pittsburgh

Survey, the first in-depth study of industrial accidents and working-class life. As a socialist-feminist, she worked for suffrage, supported the Equal Rights Amendment, opposed U.S. intervention into World War I, and drafted New York state's first workers' compensation law—which became a model.

Although she died in 1928, readers who are interested in learning more about this fascinating socialist-feminist might be interested in reading a compilation of her writings, *Crystal Eastman on Women & Revolution*, edited by Blanche Wiesen Cook (Oxford University Press), or *The New Woman in Greenwich Village, 1910-1920*, by June Sochen (Quadrangle Books), which discusses the Greenwich Village radicals.

Dianne Feeley  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

## A bone to pick

I've a bone or two to pick with the mayor of Burlington, Vermont, Bernard Sanders.

I suppose one might call himself a socialist even while supporting the local police agency (after all, the "socialist" Mitterrand supports a whole army loaded with nuclear weapons).

However—first, that really stinks. What I've learned about cops—their role in strikes as scab protectors; their role in our cities as murderers of Black, Latino, and other oppressed people; their role in



society as violators of civil and human rights—makes me object in all ways to them, out of solidarity for the oppressed and out of a desire for personal safety.

Second, a Marxist approach places a demand to define things in class terms. Cops are not workers, even if they form a "union." They do not generally perform socially useful labor. They do not produce anything of value. (I doubt that sorrow has any real use-value.)

The police serve the capitalists as an institution which protects private property and profits through force against the workers.

The cops also serve to protect the capitalists' class rule, by subversion, harassment, burglary, wiretapping, torture, and murder against workers and oppressed people who want social change. The SWP suit shows that clearly.

Got the picture? Go out on a real workers' picket line some time—and just look for which side the cops are on.

Jeff Stephenson  
New York, New York

## Campaigning in N.C.

I thought the readers of the *Militant* might be interested in an experience I had while campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Betsy Soares.

Three other Soares supporters and I were canvassing a large Black housing project. I approached six people on a porch. As I began up the stairs, I asked if they could spare a minute to hear about a candidate for mayor. Before I could go further, one of them said, "You can talk to us, but only if your candidate isn't a Democrat or Republican." I let them know they were in luck, and proceeded to outline Soares' platform.

What I initially assumed would be a one-or two-minute exchange turned into a longer

discussion about Joe Grady, a local Klan leader running as a Republican for mayor; the May 25 rally in D.C. in solidarity with Atlanta's Black community; and how the Soares campaign is part of the fight against increasing racist attacks and union-busting. Before I left, three of the six people bought single copies of the *Militant*, and the group made arrangements for Soares to meet with them.

As I headed down the stairs, one of the six said, "If we don't change things, the government is going back to being a king and queen."

Lisa Potash  
Winston-Salem, N.C.

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## Rail crisis: what's the way out?

By Stu Singer

Rail workers are facing a severe attack from management and the government.

Workers on Conrail and Amtrak are the first targets, but the rest of the rail labor work force will be next.

Where do the attacks stand?

Rail labor contracts expired April 1. As usual, rail workers are working without a contract. Secret negotiations take place behind their backs.

The Railroad Retirement Fund, which takes the place of the Social Security system for rail workers, is near bankruptcy. Layoffs are jeopardizing the fund more quickly. All the hard-won benefits earned by rail workers can be lost or cut back.

The layoffs, especially on Conrail, have already had a serious effect. Four repair shops have been closed; 25 percent of the Amtrak Washington headquarters will be unemployed by October. Union and management officials estimate cuts of 10,000 of the 70,000 workers on Conrail.

Young workers with low seniority have been hit the worst by the layoffs. Affirmative-action gains of the past few

years, where Blacks and women were finally hired as firemen and engineers, for example, are being wiped out. Already, virtually all the women firepersons on Conrail have lost their jobs. The number of Blacks is drastically reduced.

The Reagan administration calls for "getting the government out of the railroad business."

This means ending hundreds of millions of dollars a year of federal subsidies to passenger rail transportation through Amtrak and selling the 17,000-mile Conrail system, the main Northeast and Midwest freight line.

In this case, billions worth of track, engines, cars, and other equipment paid for with taxpayer money would be sold at rock bottom prices to the private railroads. The purpose is a redistribution of wealth. Welfare for the rich. It is a repeat of the century-old process of the railroads looting the U.S. Treasury.

Customers for the railroads are being offered a big bonus: the power of the federal government is being used to break union-won wages, work rules, job security, and basic union rights.

A few months ago, two plans were floated to attack Conrail and Amtrak



April 29 rail union demonstration

Militant/Salm Kolis

workers.

Reagan was calling for selling off Conrail as soon as possible and cutting

funding for Amtrak. Conrail and Amtrak management opposed these plans.

Continued on page 15

## Goons assault Black & Latino construction workers

By Nelson González

NEW YORK—On June 15, about sixty members of Black Economic Survival (BES), a Bronx-based group seeking construction jobs for Blacks and Latinos, were attacked by 100 racist thugs at a construction site in mid-Manhattan.

The demonstrators were appealing to workers at the Trump Towers construction project to support the demand that management hire more minorities. The attack forced them to retreat to their chartered bus.

When the bus tried to leave, the racist goons attacked it with sledgehammers, pipes, and bricks. They broke every window and flattened the two front tires.

Two Latino demonstrators and the driver were injured.

The attack ended when police arrived on the scene. No attempt was made to arrest any of the thugs.

The BES and other groups have been demanding that the racist construction industry and the building trades unions adopt affirmative action quotas. The better-paying jobs at construction sites are still white job trusts.

Prior to the racist assault, BES had come under attack from Bronx District Attorney Mario Merola. He claimed the group engaged in harassment and intimidation to get "no-show" jobs for its members who would then "kick back" money to BES.

Of course, for Merola and the construction bosses, any pressure to hire more Blacks and Latinos is "harassment" and "intimidation."

Five trials in the last two years have exonerated the BES. Now physical violence is being resorted to.

BES attorney Murray Richman pointed out that all members of Black Economic Survival are trained and have union cards. "It is outrageous . . . they're not given the opportunity to work."

According to Richman, BES wants 25 to 30 percent minority representation at local construction sites. A Trump company spokesman told the New York Daily News that 20 to 25 percent of the

workers at the site are Black.

But Richman pointed out, "How is it then that none of those who attacked our vehicle were minorities? And why have the police done nothing?"

Wells Todd, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor, issued a statement protesting the attack on the BES.

"If I were mayor, the full weight of city government would be thrown into enforcing affirmative action quotas in the construction trades and other industry."

"Racist attacks like this should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

## Atlanta: new cop cover-up reveals racist double standard

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—On Friday, June 12, a plastic bag containing the badge and uniform of a Clayton County Police officer was found floating in the Chattahoochee River by a Spanish television film crew.

The bodies of six of Atlanta's murdered Black youths have been found in the same river.

The police and the media are trying hard to cover the whole thing up.

Police from Atlanta's special task force took possession of the badge and uniform. The cops claim they belong to Clayton County policeman J.C. Mitchell, and were stolen from his home in April 1980. Investigators say it has no connection to the child murders.

Since the initial local news reports on Saturday night, June 13, there has been a near blackout on the new information, and police departments involved have also stopped giving information.

The finding of the cop uniform was reported at 6 p.m. on the Atlanta affiliates of ABC and NBC. The 11 o'clock news on

these channels on the same night showed nothing.

The major newspapers ran nothing on the story the next day. Almost nothing else has shown up in the media since.

A spokeswoman for the Atlanta Public Safety Department, Beverly Harvard, told the Militant, "We won't give out any information on how we are following up this new information. We don't want to cast any suspicion on the Clayton County officer or any others."

This stands in glaring contrast to the way the Atlanta cops and the FBI have treated the parents of the slain youths, claiming at one point that some parents killed their own children.

This also stands in marked contrast to the way the Atlanta cops have treated Wayne Williams, a twenty-three-year-old Black man, who they picked up for questioning on June 3.

For days, the cops released to the press every possible piece of information they could gather on Williams, casting a web of suspicion around him.

No one, however, from the police de-

partments involved would tell the Militant what information they had gathered or what they learned from Clayton County policeman J.C. Mitchell.

An officer at the task force headquarters told the Militant simply, "What's happening is you're getting the run-around."

The last place the cops and media want people to look for the murderer or murderers is in the police department. They have reason for being nervous about this.

A recent poll showed 70 percent of Atlanta's Blacks believe the killer is "a person in uniform" or someone masquerading as a cop.

Instead, the cops and the media continue to focus on Wayne Williams as a scapegoat. There are always ten cops and a small army of reporters on a stake-out around Williams's home.

However, the so-called case against Williams continues to unravel. Spokesmen for the cops say that there is now a lot of "confusion" about what really happened when they stopped Williams on

May 22 on a bridge over the Chattahoochee River.

They say they are now uncertain whether Williams stopped his car on the bridge. They now say it is uncertain that Williams told the cops he "threw some garbage" in the river.

It has been revealed that one of the two cops who stopped Williams was asleep under the bridge at the time of the alleged "splash."

The other officer now admits there was no way he could place Williams's car on the bridge at the time of the alleged "splash," and he had no clear view of the top of the bridge.

Williams has gone to the U.S. District Court in Atlanta to stop the harassment against him. A brief filed by his attorney, Mary Welcome, seeks to enjoin the Atlanta police and major news media from releasing information about Williams.

At the start of the hearings on Monday, June 15, Welcome told the court the reason for the legal action. "This person

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