

THE MILITANT

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

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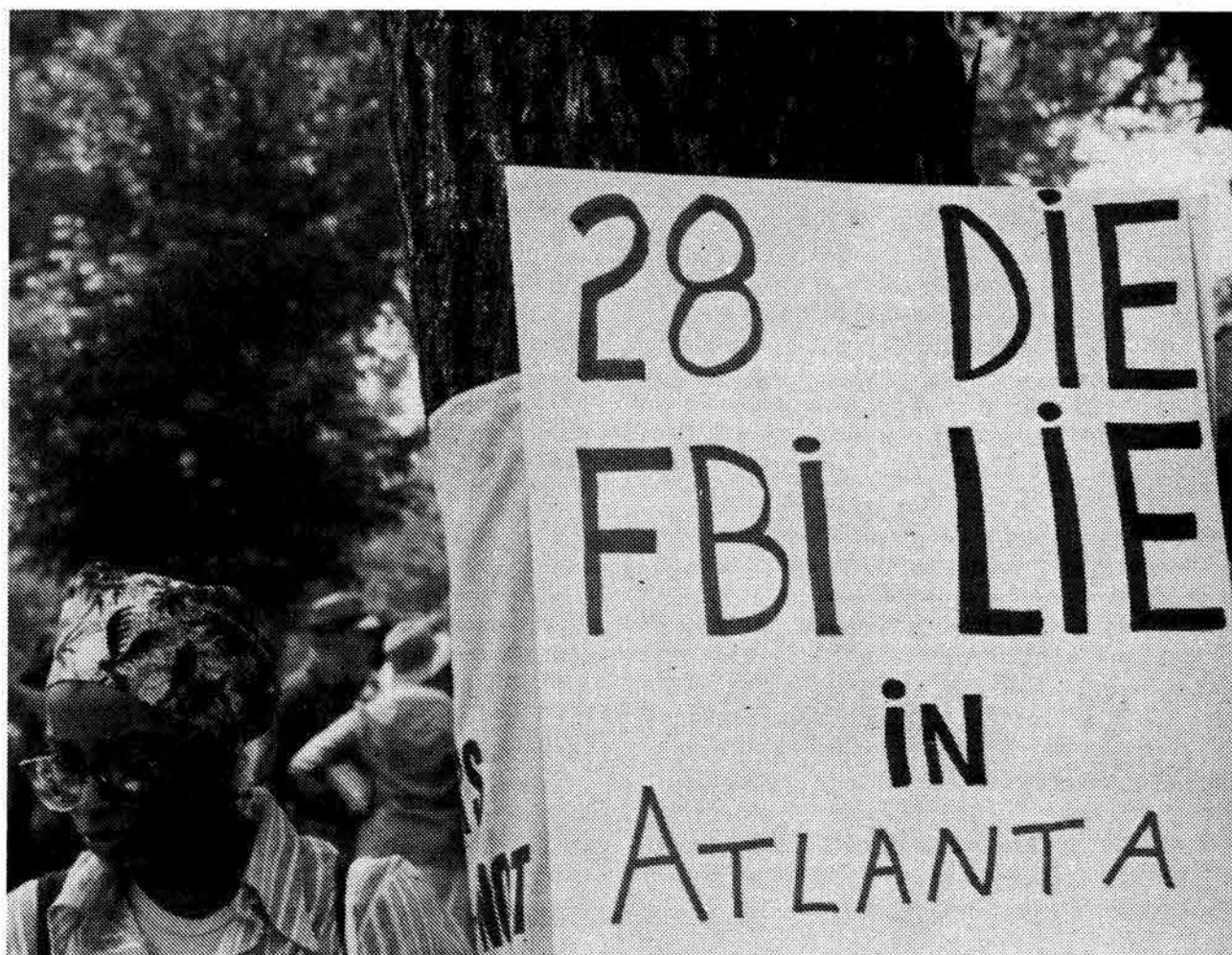
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Voting Rights Act

The Voting Rights Act is under attack. Unless it is renewed, it will expire in August 1982. The Reagan administration and its key allies in Congress are preparing moves to gut the law.

The Voting Rights Act made it possible for the overwhelming majority of Blacks in the South to vote for the first time. For decades before then, Blacks were barred from voting, and often lynched for trying.

If the Voting Rights Act is allowed to lapse, the racists will be emboldened to step up their attacks on all aspects of Black rights. In moving against the act, the Reagan administration is trying to reestablish the idea that Blacks have no right to look to the federal government for protection against racist practices.

The Voting Rights Act was not a gift from the rulers of this country. It was won in a long struggle in which some civil rights supporters, Black and white, gave their lives.

Passage of the act in 1965 followed massive protests by tens of thousands against police brutality in Selma, Alabama. Selma cops brutally beat Blacks trying to register. Blacks in Selma were led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Act prohibited literacy tests, poll taxes and other devices which disenfranchised Black people. It requires federal approval of changes in election laws in areas with a history of racial discrimination in electoral matters. The stuffing of ballot boxes was outlawed and intimidation of would-be voters was made liable to criminal penalties. Federal examiners were empowered to register voters in states with a history of racial intimidation.

In 1975 the Voting Rights Act was expanded. In areas where more than 5 percent of the population speaks a language other than English, election ballots and other materials must be bilingual. This provision has made it possible for many Latinos and Asians to vote. These provisions will expire in 1985 if not renewed.

The Voting Rights Act victory in 1965 drove the nails into the coffin of legal segregation in the South. It opened up new opportunities for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in the North as well. The gains won by Blacks helped inspire the women's rights movement.

In spite of the gains since 1965, we are still far from real equality, including in the electoral arena. The economic gap between whites and Blacks is widening. Through such techniques as at-large districts, Blacks are still being denied the right to representation. Although 12 percent of the population is Black, only 1 percent of elected officials are (a vast improvement from pre-1965 days, when there were almost no Black elected officials).



Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee that must approve extension of the Voting Rights Act before it is voted on by the Senate. This is the same Strom Thurmond who in 1948 ran for president in defense of Jim Crow. In 1965, Thurmond filibustered against the Voting Rights Act. He is now seeking to defeat its extension.

The Reagan administration wants to remove the requirement that the federal government approve election laws in areas covered by the act that have a "good" record in recent years. And the White House is undoubtedly open to other changes, if it can get away with them.

The bosses are stirring up the embers of racism. They are trying to isolate Blacks and roll back their rights. This explains the attacks on busing and affirmative action. In this way, they hope to undermine the solidarity of working people and make it easier to attack the living standards and rights of the great majority.

A massive movement must be built to defend and extend the Voting Rights Act. Only in this way can the racist offensive of the bosses be defeated.

Socialist lawsuit

Something important is happening at the round of rallies now being organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The rallies, taking place in dozens of cities from coast to coast, are getting out the word on the Socialist Workers Party suit now being tried.

They are drawing together supporters and raising much-needed funds. The goal is \$125,000. (See pages 8-9 for reports on the latest rallies.)

These meetings have demonstrated a new recognition of the need for unity in face of attacks by the Reagan administration.

Witch-hunt victims, Black leaders, representatives of the unions, left parties, women's, and anti-

war groups have joined together on PRDF platforms in the broadest demonstration of unity against the secret police we have seen in decades.

An editorial in the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, *Chronicle*, a Black newspaper, addressed the socialist suit as one of the most important in the nation's history. Speaking at a PRDF rally in that city, Clifton Graves, Jr. of the *Chronicle* declared that the real plaintiffs in the suit "are all of us, especially the Afro-American community."

The desire for a common fight for democratic rights has also been expressed in the big turnout for the "No More Witch-hunts" rallies held June 19, the anniversary of the murder of the Rosenbergs. And in the support generated for the NASSCO Three, unionists who have been railroaded in San Diego on charges of conspiracy to bomb a shipyard there.

In the coming weeks, a series of major rallies in support of the socialist suit are scheduled.

We urge our readers to join in these meetings, and in the drive to raise the huge amount of money needed to meet the trial costs of the socialist lawsuit.

Thus far, PRDF has collected nearly \$90,000. Another \$16,000 has been pledged, leaving nearly \$20,000 to be raised.

Your contribution to this effort will give added strength and unity to the whole movement for democratic rights.

July 19 rallies

On July 19 the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has projected activities across the country to mark the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

In New York, in conjunction with other Central American solidarity committees, CISPES will be organizing a march and rally around the theme "No U.S. intervention in Central America."

San Francisco activists are planning a combined demonstration and celebration sponsored by Casa El Salvador, Casa Nicaragua, the Guatemala News and Information Bureau, and others.

Boston activists are planning a picnic and cultural program with groups representing the Central American countries participating.

Los Angeles will be holding a teach-in.

Atlanta and Houston are also planning to hold activities, as are other cities.

Given the current attempts by Washington to strangle the Nicaraguan revolution, we urge as many of our readers as possible to get involved in the July 19 day of solidarity with Nicaragua and the people of Central America.

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Pressure on Poland

U.S. bankers are insisting that the Polish government slash workers' living standards, as Moscow demands a crackdown on independent union movement. **Page 4.**

The Militant

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An appeal to our readers

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh is an Iranian student at Morgan State University in Baltimore.

On July 7 she will go before an immigration judge to fight for her right to stay in this country.

Hariri-Vijeh has committed no crime.

Last February she joined the Young Socialist Alliance. A few weeks later immigration cops were at her door.

The government says she should be deported because her student visa expired. But Hariri-Vijeh believes the real reason is her socialist politics.

The case has already won significant support.

Among those backing Hariri-Vijeh are Rep. John Conyers (D.-Mich.); Michael Harrington,

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee national chair; and Tony Benn, Labor Party member of British Parliament. The recent convention of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression passed a resolution in her behalf.

Telegrams and petitions are urgently needed as the July 7 hearing approaches. Protests demanding a halt to the deportation proceedings against Hariri-Vijeh and renewal of her student visa should be sent today to: Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Send copies to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 2913 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.



MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH

Militant/Lou Howort

France: Socialist Party in election sweep

By William Gottlieb

The French Socialist Party won a resounding victory June 21 in the second round of elections to the National Assembly. The SP and its allies won an absolute majority in the 491-member body.

The outcome confirmed the Socialist mandate won in the May 10 presidential elections, when Francois Mitterrand's victory was greeted with dancing in the streets by French working people.

The voters massively repudiated the policies of Mitterrand's predecessor, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, who had carried out antilabor economic policies like those of the Reagan administration here.

Mitterrand helped assure a socialist legislative majority by taking a number of measures in the interests of working

people during his first days in office. He raised the minimum wage by 10 percent, raised state benefits to low-income families by 25 percent, increased aid to older people by 20 percent, and upped rent subsidies to the poor by 25 percent.

The Mitterrand government also canceled plans to build a nuclear power reactor in Brittany.

Mitterrand also sought to preserve his reputation as a supporter of liberation struggles in Latin America by appointing Regis Debray, a friend of the late Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara, as a foreign policy adviser. Mitterrand is a member of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution in Nicaragua, initiated by the Socialist International.

At the same time, Mitterrand affirmed his support to U.S. plans to place new nuclear missiles in Europe.

The Communist Party lost about half of the eighty-six assembly seats it had held.

Many workers hold the CP responsible for previous electoral victories by Giscard and the capitalist parties, because of its sectarian refusal to unite with the Socialist Party to defeat the right.

The CP also repelled many voters with its racist propaganda against immigrant workers.

And wide support for the Polish workers also weakened the CP's standing among workers.

The Mitterrand government and the Socialist majority in the assembly face massive problems stemming from the decline in the world capitalist economy. Unemployment is at 8 percent while inflation is running at 14 percent.

The sharp fall of the French franc on international money markets following Mitterrand's election was a warning that big business will oppose any policies that benefit working people.

The capitalists demand that Mitterrand continue the antilabor austerity policies that made Giscard so unpopular.

But the French workers and their allies are expecting big, progressive changes from the Socialist government. They expect Mitterrand to provide jobs and protect the living standard of working people from the effects of the capitalist crisis. They want him to oppose the drive to militarize Europe and prepare for war. And they want a government that will speak out strongly against South Africa and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Vietnam vets urge big July 4 protest

By Hayden Perry

LOS ANGELES—A group of Vietnam veterans brought the story of their struggles with the Veterans Administration to a Militant Forum here on June 20.

Richard Ogden, author of a novel on Vietnam, *Green Knight—Red Mourning*, explained how their fight developed from a local into a nationwide protest of veterans.

Ogden was one of the initiators of the Vietnam Veterans' hunger strike at Wadsworth Veterans Administration hospital here. The group is now preparing for a protest rally in Washington on July 4.

"At first we had to capture the nation's attention," Ogden said. "We did that by our hunger strike and sit-in at Wadsworth Veterans hospital. Messages of support poured into our encampment from every part of the nation and from overseas. The whole country has been alerted.

"Our negotiations with the VA reached a stalemate. Their hidebound bureaucracy, some in office since 1930, is incapable of responding to the needs of today's veterans.

"The VA has forced us off their grounds but it is no defeat," Ogden said. "We are preparing for the next step in



Hunger strike in Los Angeles

Militant/Walter Lippmann

our campaign—a caravan to Washington where we will be joined by thousands of other veterans."

The hunger strike is continuing, the veterans pointed out. One hunger striker, Michael Chapman, has suffered a

heart attack and has been hospitalized.

A contingent of hunger strikers and their supporters is already in Washington. The group has a permit for Lafayette Park, across from the White House, through July 4, and a permit for

Constitutional Mall for the protest rally.

Ogden said they expect veterans and sympathizers to join their car caravan in towns and cities across the country.

Vietnam Veteran Steve Suwalsky told the forum audience about their four demands: an impartial investigation of the VA; publication of the truth about Agent Orange; recognition of delayed stress syndrome as a service-related disability; and a direct response from President Reagan acknowledging the justice of the veterans' demands.

Dennis Miller, a Vietnam veteran and member of the Socialist Workers Party, described the plight of the vets.

"When we were eighteen, they wanted our strong bodies to fight in Vietnam," Miller said. "Now that we have returned with bodies weakened by wounds and poisons, they say disappear—we want to forget you, you don't look good to the new generation we want to draft for new adventures overseas.

"But the Vietnam veterans do not intend to disappear," Miller declared. "We will keep the memory of Vietnam alive to ensure that no more Vietnams will be perpetrated by American imperialism in other parts of the world."

A collection was taken at the forum to help the veterans on their way to Washington.

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Is Wayne Williams cops' scapegoat?

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA, Ga.—Based on flimsy, circumstantial, and highly questionable evidence, Wayne Williams, a twenty-three-year-old Black man, was arrested June 21 and charged with the murder of Nathaniel Cater, one of twenty-eight Black youth murdered here.

Three days later, Judge Albert Thompson of the Fulton county State Court forwarded the case to a grand jury after a heavily guarded three-hour preliminary hearing.

District Attorney Lewis Slaton said he would seek an indictment against Williams within thirty days. No bond is set.

Williams maintains that he is innocent.

Almost 300 people packed the courtroom for the hearing, including the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, André Kahlmorgen.

She told the *Militant*, "All they had were two carpet fibers, three dog hairs with 'no significant microscopic difference' from hairs and fibers taken from Williams's home and car. And a statement by a cop from the surveillance team. He said he heard a loud splash in the Chattahoochee River two days before Cater's body was found floating in the river. That's it."

Reactions from those attending the hearing—including the media which came from around the country and the world—were mixed. Two young Blacks told the press that the cops had "no evidence."

Mary Welcome, Williams's attorney, commented after the hearing, "I feel the state has a very, very weak case. Anyone of you, under the circumstances, could have killed Cater. You all have fibers in your hair. My client is innocent. He did not kill anyone. No one even saw his car stop on the bridge that night."

Role of White House

What led to Williams's arrest? Why now?

According to all news accounts Williams's arrest was due to direct pressure placed on Atlanta officials by the FBI and the White House.

The June 22 *Atlanta Journal* says, "the decision to arrest Williams was not prompted by the discovery of any major piece of new evidence linking Williams to Cater's death. What prompted the arrest was a seven-hour meeting at the Georgia governor's mansion June 19 of George Bush, Gov. Busbee, Fulton County District Attorney Lewis Slaton, and other officials."

Williams was picked up on June 3 and questioned for twelve hours by the FBI. Slaton, however, had refused to arrest Williams, saying there was not enough evidence linking him to the slayings.

According to the *Journal*, "the FBI and the local U.S. attorney's office continued to pressure Slaton to arrest Williams over the next two-and-a-half weeks. Finally the local FBI office sent a voluminous report on the case to Washington, to be reviewed by top FBI and Justice Department officials."

It was information based on that report which prompted the June 19 meeting between Busbee and Slaton.

Although Atlanta's mayor, Maynard Jackson, was not present at the meeting, a radio newscast reported that he was "overjoyed" by the arrest. He went to Washington on June 24 to meet with President Reagan.

Public response

The role of the White House in Williams's arrest has raised more questions than answers. Most people are skeptical about the FBI and police investigations.

No one the *Militant* talked to believes Williams committed twenty-eight murders—or even the twelve or thirteen the cops imply he may be tied to. No one feels safe.

"The arrest doesn't put me at ease one bit," observed one grandmother, Lucille Robinson.

Anita Slaton, who lives in the Summer Hill community, said, "I still watch my two children like a hawk. I don't feel that things are any safer because there are still twenty-seven murders for which we don't know who did it, and I am not sure by the evidence that Wayne Williams committed the murder they say he did."

Camille Bell, mother of one of the slain youth, said, "an arrest is not a conviction. I hope Wayne Williams gets a fair trial."

After talking to members of her union, Dorothy Bolden, founder and president of the National Domestic Workers union, stated, "People aren't so enthusiastic over his being arrested. A lot of people said it's a frame-up."

A white reverend in Cobb County, Rev. Charles Higgins, said he and his friends "have a great deal of skepticism" about the arrest. "I fear, however, that he [Williams] could become a scapegoat for a number of them [murders] because police officials have been feeling the pressure" to find the killers.

André Kahlmorgen observed that "Reagan, Busbee, the FBI, and local police are taking a big gamble: by jailing Williams they hope to halt the flood of criticism surrounding the investigation. They want the investigation over and done with, whether the real murderer is caught or not."

Case extremely weak

As the hearing exposed, the case against Williams is extremely weak.

Police initially claimed they first ac-

costed Williams on a bridge over the Chattahoochee River on May 22. They said Williams stopped his car on the bridge and threw something into the water which made a "loud splash."

But now they say they are uncertain whether Williams stopped his car on the bridge. One of the two cops who stopped him had been asleep at the time of the alleged "splash." The other officer now admits there is no way he can place Williams on the bridge at the time of the "splash." He had no clear view of the bridge.

More important than the weak evidence is what the police investigation has not come up with. They have no witnesses. They have no motives. They can't show any access by Williams to the many victims.

One high-ranking cop observed that the fibers and dog hairs now being presented as evidence "might be blown to hell by a good defense attorney."

Role of news media

The police and news media have created a racist, legal lynching atmosphere in the case. Just as in the 1920s, when Black men were lynched by hysterical mobs on the basis of concocted evidence, so Wayne Williams is being tried and found guilty by the media.

The same day as the hearing, another judge denied Williams's request for a temporary order limiting the information the cops and news media could make public about his life. Williams was concerned about the damage to his reputation and for his personal safety.

Thus the noose around Williams's neck continues to tighten.

Now that he is behind bars without bond, Williams is unable to answer the charges against him. He will not be able to hold another news conference as he did, to the embarrassment of the cops, after the FBI interrogated him.

By jailing Williams, the cops are buying time to straighten out their conflicting stories and concoct more "evidence" to be publicized in the media. The establishment newspapers around the country are already pouring out instant "psychological profiles" portraying Williams as a potential mass murderer.

Since the beginning of the investigation, the suspects have almost always been Black. A reporter on one of Atlanta's television stations expressed satisfaction that Williams had been arrested because, he said, "it shows the murders are not racist."

It doesn't matter if the killer or killers are Black or white. The murders as well as the investigations have been racist. Whoever is behind the killings has chosen to kill only poor Black youth, and has gotten away with it for two solid years.

The investigations have always been marked by foot-dragging, attacks on the

victims, the mothers, and anyone who speaks out against the way the cops are "investigating" the murders.

For example, few people outside of Atlanta know that on June 12, a Spanish-language film crew found a plastic bag containing a uniform and badge of a Clayton County policeman, J.C. Mitchell, floating down the Chattahoochee River, near the location where Nathaniel Cater's body was found.

The police and media are keeping a lid on this while broadcasting anything that can be used to prejudice public opinion against Williams. The cops claim the badge and uniform were stolen from Mitchell's home in April 1980. Lee Brown, the Public Safety Commissioner, claims it has no connection to the murders—but provides no proof of this.

Investigate the investigation

The flimsy evidence against Williams indicates the need for an investigation of the role of the cops, FBI, and White House in the case, and their failure to find the killer or killers.

In a campaign statement released to the press at the hearing, André Kahlmorgen pointed to the example being set by the National Black Independent Political Party. The party plans to send a fact-finding commission to investigate the investigation in early July.

"I urge all Black and trade union leaders in the state and across the country to follow the example of the National Black Independent Political Party. An independent commission of inquiry is the only way to learn the facts about J.C. Mitchell's uniform and badge, and the role of the cops and media; to expose the cover-up; get the views of community residents; objectively evaluate the evidence against Williams; and learn the whole truth."

"We must demand:
"Open the files of the investigations.
"Stop the cover-up.
"Stop the media conviction of Wayne Williams.
"Stop the murders of Atlanta's children."

NASSCO 3 protest

Supporters of the NASSCO Three have called a July 11 march and rally in San Diego to protest the guilty verdict against the three.

The demonstration will occur the weekend before their sentencing, scheduled for July 14.

Demonstrators will assemble at 11 a.m. in Newton Park and march through downtown San Diego.

For more information call (714) 563-0149.

U.S. bankers put the squeeze on Poland

By Suzanne Haig

U.S. bankers are stepping up pressure on the Polish government to impose a severe austerity program on the Polish workers and farmers. Poland is currently unable to meet the demand for payment of its \$15 billion debt to capitalist financial institutions.

The U.S. bankers, according to the June 22 *Wall Street Journal*, are demanding that Poland continue to make massive interest payments while payment rescheduling is negotiated. About \$1.4 billion of Poland's debt is owed to U.S. banks.

The new demands came after Moscow ordered the Polish government to crack down on the independent union movement, strengthen the police, increase censorship of the media, and end the ferment in the country.

Moscow is particularly fearful of the

decisions that may be made at the Communist Party congress scheduled to convene in Warsaw July 14. Due to more democratic election procedures, many members of the party central committee are being defeated in the election of delegates. Already 130 of the 428 delegates elected so far are members of Solidarity, the independent union movement. A total of 2,000 will be elected. Many delegates will be attending their first congress.

Poland is in deep economic difficulties. There are acute shortages of food supplies, such as meat, cheese, and bread. Many items have been rationed. Some factories are unable to run because of lack of materials, components, and spare parts from the West. There is also a lack of foreign exchange to pay for vital imports.

Continued on page 14



Gdansk shipyard workers. Bankers complain there's 'no willingness to accept prolonged austerity.'

Rallies demand 'No more witch-hunts!'

By Michael Smith

NEW YORK CITY—More than 2,000 people turned out June 19 for a "Day of Resistance." The event was sponsored by No More Witch Hunts, a newly formed New York-based political rights coalition made up of some seventy-five groups and individuals.

A street festival in front of the United Auto Workers District 65 headquarters in Lower Manhattan was followed by an evening rally with a broad panel of speakers.

Similar events were organized in Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Detroit; Houston; Los Angeles; and other cities.

June 19 marked the twenty-eighth anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. They were framed on atom-spy charges during the height of the McCarthy period. Their son Michael Meeropol was a featured speaker at the rally.

Civil rights leader Anne Braden asked for a moment of silence for the Rosenbergs, "two people who did not compromise, two people who all Americans are indebted to."

"How was the witch-hunt of the past defeated?" Braden asked. "It was the civil rights movement which set the forces in motion. The longing of Black people to be free was just too powerful."

She stressed the need for unity with the Black rights movement today.

Judge Bruce Wright blasted the Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism. Paraphrasing Samuel Johnson, Wright said, "Patriotism isn't the last refuge of scoundrels, it is the first."

Folk singer Holly Near drew a tremendous response, both for her artistry and her message. "The 1980s will be a time of coalitions, when we all take the lessons of the past and get together and apply them," she said.

Communist Party leader Gil Green and several other speakers described their experiences during the 1950s. Green said he was forced underground by the government for four-and-a-half years, and then spent another eight in prison.

Angela Davis sent a message pledging "to fight the witch-hunt to the finish. . . . We—united with all progressive and democratic forces—will win."

John Connelly spoke for the Political Rights Defense Fund, describing the trial of the U.S. government in the lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Other speakers included Dr. Helen Rodriguez, an outspoken fighter for abortion rights; Bob Lewis, chief attorney for the United Electrical Workers, whose union was decimated during the McCarthy period; and actor and actress Richard Dreyfus and Susan Sarandon.

Richard Dhoruba Moore, a leader of the New York Black Panther Party who has spent ten years in prison as the result of an FBI and New York City Red Squad frame-up, sent a message to the rally.

Debby Chaplin, chief organizer for No



2,000 participated in New York rally

Militant/Steffi Zeughauser

More Witch Hunts, talked about the need to build a political rights campaign that brings together people from diverse groups and outlooks.

Endorsers of No More Witch Hunts include the Center for Constitutional Rights, Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Communist Workers Party, Greensboro Justice Fund, and the H-Block Committee.

Mobilization for Survival, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild, New York Anti-Klan Network, People's Anti-War Mobilization—D.C. chapter, the Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance were also endorsers.

Anne Braden summed up the sentiment of those at the rally, "We are going to take this decade for the people who love justice. The witch-hunters will not have it. It will belong to us."

Grenada Friendship Society launched in N.Y.

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—About 300 people gathered here June 19 to launch the New York chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. The rally was held on the first anniversary of the counter-revolutionary bombing that killed three persons and injured many others in Grenada one year ago.

Recalling that attack, Grenadian Ambassador to the United Nations Caldwell Taylor said, "Our people didn't go home and cry; they went home to organize, to mobilize, to join the militia."

Taylor recounted the violence, economic destabilization, and propaganda attacks that have been aimed at Free Grenada, but warned that "imperialism will have to learn serious lessons in Grenada."

"We want normal diplomatic and political relations [with the United States]," he said. "but on the basis of equality."

"Part of your job has to be to convince them of our right to develop our own country." Grenada is "nobody's backyard or front yard."

Adayemi Bandle of the Black United Front explained that "an attack on



Grenadian ambassador to UN, Caldwell Taylor

Militant/Lou Howort

Grenada's self-determination is an attack against Black self-determination in this country.

"Defense of Grenada should be on the

agenda of every Black and progressive group in this nation," he said.

Several speakers answered slanders recently aired on U.S. television that

Grenada is a totalitarian state. "We know what a police state is, and we know Grenada isn't one!" declared Colette Pean of the Mobilization Committee Against Police Brutality. She pointed out that "in New York there are dogs in the subways and thirteen-year-olds tried as adults" in courts.

Lou Wolff of the Center for Constitutional Rights explained the dangerous new legislation being proposed in Congress that would make solidarity with the Grenadian, Salvadoran, and other peoples illegal.

Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and the National Black Independent Political Party answered criticisms that Grenada has not yet scheduled new elections. He pointed to the March 13, 1979, revolution on the island and concluded, "the election for Grenada was held March 13."

Professor Archie Singham of Brooklyn College continued the explanation, saying Grenada had had enough of what he called "cuckoo" politics. That's the kind of politics where democracy supposedly gets exercised only once every few years at a ballot box, he explained, like a cuckoo bird popping out of a clock. "We want new politics," he said, "not just new politicians."

Speaking about Washington's campaign of threats and slanders against the revolution, Socialist Workers Party leader Andrew Pulley explained that it's "not because Grenada will attack Miami, but because of the hope and promise of liberation that Grenada offers."

The rally was opened by Esmarelda Brown of Nueva Alternativa Popular Panameña. It heard greetings from the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Athie Martin of the Dominica Liberation Movement, Dominican Movement for Socialism, Guatemalan Solidarity Committee, and a professor of the Caribbean and Latin American Studies Program at City College.

A representative of the Grenada Revolutionary League captured the spirit of the rally, urging people to "join the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society and make your contribution in an organized fashion!"

Grenada charges CIA link to newspaper

On June 19 the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Government seized copies of *The Grenadian Voice*, a right-wing newspaper that the government states has ties to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

According to a news release from the office of the secretary for National Security in Grenada, the group of twenty-six that published the *Voice* is the same one that has been issuing pamphlets calling for violence in Grenada and the violent overthrow of the PRG. Evidence implicates at least one of twenty-six in a recent plot to attack militiamen and soldiers in Grenada.

According to the news release, two senior CIA officers associated with the U.S. embassy in Barbados had

boasted that a counterrevolutionary newspaper would be put out in Grenada and had met with leaders of the counterrevolutionary group.

"This latest manifestation of counterrevolutionary activity has absolutely nothing to do with 'freedom of the press,'" declares the Grenadian press release. "The *Trinidad Express* newspaper, which has attacked the Grenada government more strongly than any other newspaper in the entire region, continues to circulate freely in Grenada, where several hundred copies are sold each day. Several other regional newspapers are also sold in Grenada, along with *Time* magazine, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. Eight radio stations and two television stations can

also be heard and seen by Grenadians.

"The challenge facing the revolution today is that of a group of counterrevolutionaries closely linked with the CIA."

As the Caribbean's first genuinely independent Black government, the PRG has good reason to be concerned about counterrevolutionary plots organized from the United States.

Washington has provided a haven for ousted dictator Eric Gairy, who has been attempting to organize an invasion force.

And the Ku Klux Klansmen who were placed on trial in New Orleans for plotting to invade Dominica had originally selected Grenada as their target.

FBI snitch testifies against SWP

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Edward Heisler, who functioned within the Socialist Workers Party as a paid informer for the FBI, testified June 17 and 18 in the damage suit brought against the government for political victimization.

The government called Heisler to the stand as one of its principal defense witnesses.

He joined the Milwaukee Socialist Workers Party in 1960 and Young Socialist Alliance in 1961. Later he was a member of the Chicago SWP and YSA. In 1975 he was elected to the SWP's national committee and served in several capacities as a party spokesperson.

According to his testimony, he became an FBI informer in March 1966.

In bringing him to the stand, the government apparently hoped to convey that such informers are not as despicable as they seem and don't do the damage that their victims claim.

Throughout its examination of him, the government sought to establish that even though he was an informer he had been a "dedicated" and "loyal" member of the SWP. Heisler proved a cooperative witness who tried hard to bolster this preposterous thesis.

'Loyal,' 'dedicated'

Representing the defense, U.S. Assistant Attorney Edward Williams asked Heisler:

"Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, did you consider yourself a dedicated Marxist-Leninist?"

Heisler responded, "Yes."

And during this period, Williams continued, "did you consider yourself a dedicated member of the SWP?"

"Yes, I did."

"Isn't it true that without question your loyalties were with the SWP?"

Again, "Yes."

The government attempted to establish that Heisler had submitted accurate reports on the SWP.

Heisler agreed. He testified under oath that he had never fabricated information and tried, as best he could, to be accurate.

His testimony, particularly under cross-examination, proved his "accuracy" was on the same par as his veracity and his "loyalty" to the party.

His testimony established a number

of things, including:

- He submitted lists of names to the FBI of people who attended public SWP forums, drawing attention to the names of foreign-born people who could be subject to deportation and victimization in their homeland.

- He submitted a report to the FBI which falsified what SWP leader Andrew Pulley had said at an antiwar conference.

- He submitted a lying report about a visit to this country by Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International and a noted economist.

- He entered the party headquarters during off hours to copy political and personal correspondence for the FBI.

Heisler told the court that he contacted the Chicago FBI in March 1966 and told them he was disillusioned with the SWP and YSA and was interested in making money as an informer.

Fanciful tale

But, he testified, what he told the FBI wasn't the real reason he had decided to become an informer. He then told the court a patently absurd tale. He had become persuaded, he said, that at some point the government would try to victimize the SWP. If he "infiltrated" the FBI, he would undoubtedly be presented as a witness at some future trial of the party. He would then expose the government frame-up.

Under cross-examination by SWP attorney Margaret Winter, a more plausible story emerged.

At the time he signed up with the FBI he was eligible for the draft and had already had his pre-induction physical.

In fact, it was established, he just received his induction notice.

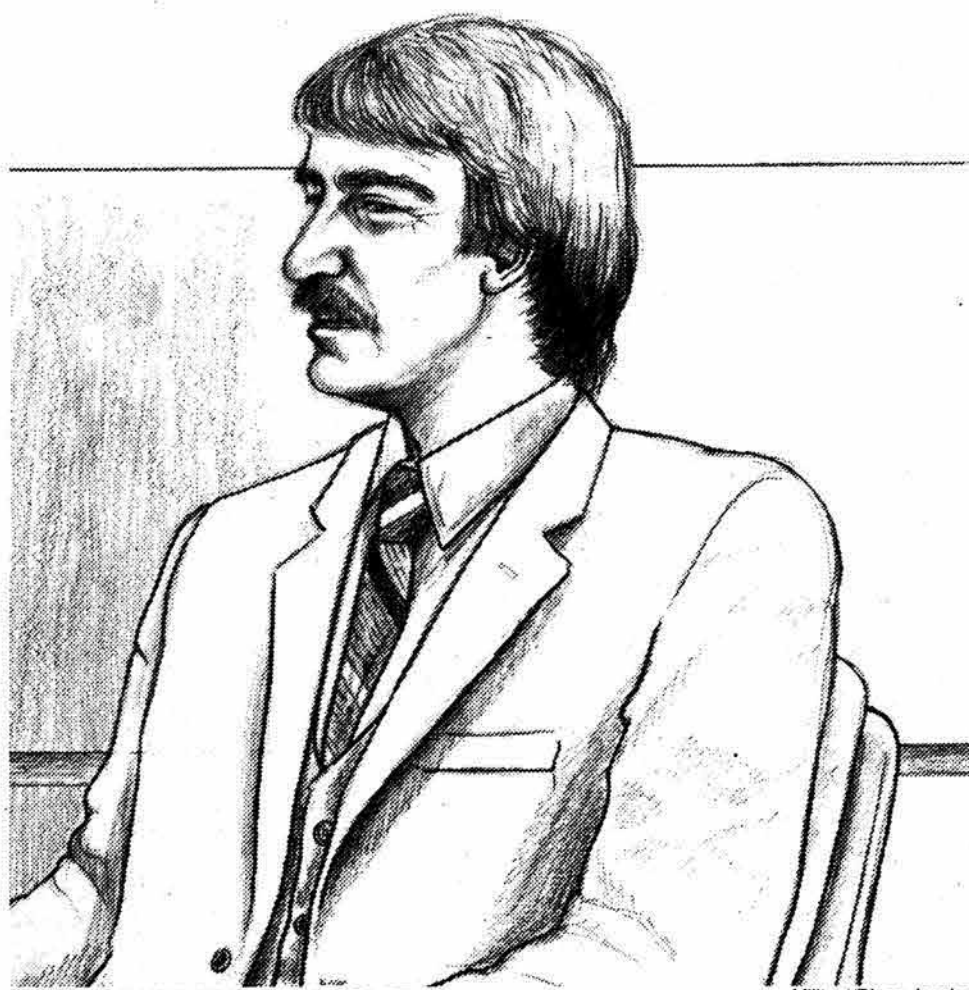
Shortly after his visit to the FBI, Heisler was called up for induction, only to learn—to his "surprise"—that he had been classified 4F.

Apparently it was no routine matter. A memo from J. Edgar Hoover was sent to a ranking Army intelligence officer advising that Heisler had agreed to become an informer against the SWP.

And "inform" he did.

The attempt to frame Andrew Pulley was perhaps the most sinister.

Heisler had submitted a report to the FBI on a 1969 Cleveland Conference of the Student Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam.



FBI INFORMER EDWARD HEISLER

Militant/Diane Jacobs

Pulley was one of the speakers at the conference. At the time, Pulley had won national attention as one of the Fort Jackson Eight, a group the Army attempted to victimize for their active opposition to the Vietnam War.

Lying report

In his informer's report to the FBI, Heisler had written:

"Andrew Pulley spoke first. He stated the antiwar movement should attempt to reach GIs on the basis of a free speech fight and the bring the troops home now demand rather than support the NLF [Vietnamese National Liberation Front] as the SDS proposes. According to Pulley, GIs are *not yet ready* to take up arms against their officers or to overthrow capitalism, *although this is the long-term perspective.*" (Emphasis added.)

Cross-examined by Winter, Heisler said it was unlikely Pulley would have said GIs "are not yet ready" to take up arms, "although this is the long-term perspective."

Apparently forgetting his previously asserted concern for "accuracy," Heisler added, "First, I rarely if ever went over a report after I had prepared it. . . ."

Presiding Judge Thomas Griesa was quite interested in an assertion that an SWP or YSA member favored GIs taking up arms against their officers, now or in the future, and he questioned Heisler closely on this.

He finally asked Heisler: "Do you recall now consciously putting down an incorrect summary of what he [Pulley] said?"

Heisler replied: "No, I don't recall consciously doing that."

Inside view: How political cops operate

NEW YORK—When FBI informer Edward Heisler finished telling his tale, the defense put Edgar Best on the stand. Best is Special Agent in Charge of the Los Angeles field office of the FBI. A veteran of twenty-one years with the Bureau, he testified as an authority on how it functions.

In targeting political organizations, they are not concerned with possible crimes. In the case of the Socialist Workers Party, for example, Best said the agency would be "investigating a philosophy with motivation."

Informers are essential for political as well as criminal investigations, he said.

"For instance," he explained, "if there is going to be a meeting of the hierarchy of a given organization wherein they are going to enter into a conspiracy to discuss something. . . ."

Groups are not investigated to determine if they are "subversive." The government decides that first, then it "investigates."

This bears on the type of information informers are instructed to obtain.

"Well, obviously, we feel we have a very good reason to open a case to be-

gin with," Best explained. ". . . there must be information in our possession that a given organization is involved in something diametrically opposed to our form of government and may even be in a position where they violently want to overthrow our government."

"So we would direct our informants . . . to obtain information concerning that kind of philosophy or action."

This in turn bears on how informers are paid. There are no fixed fees, Best testified. Rather, informers are paid varying amounts based on the "quality" of the "information" they submit.

SWP attorney Donna Marie Gilligan asked him if the FBI would pay more to an informer who filed reports asserting that the Socialist Workers Party advocated the violent overthrow of the government.

Best replied, "Yes."

This can lead, he conceded, to informers submitting the kind of information they think the agency wants to hear. However, he assured, FBI agents are skilled in spotting "embellishments."

He also asserted that, generally, the FBI is not interested in personal

gossip about those being spied on.

Gilligan asked how he squared that with one informer's report about an SWP member being pregnant.

It is not possible, Best replied, to assure that each informer "follows instructions to the letter."

"Since the inception of the Bureau," he explained, "we have probably handled well in excess of a quarter of a million informants."

Moreover, he added, they sometimes do want personal information about individuals.

"For instance," he said, "supposing we wanted to target as an informant someone in an organization and we were looking around to try to find a fallacy in that person's operation. We found out the individual was heavily involved in debt. We may go to him and advise him of that point and say that we might assist him financially and therefore gain his cooperation as an informant."

Although presented by the defense as an authority on FBI activity and methods, Best did try to pretend he really didn't know anything about the Bureau's Cointelpro disruption activity.

Gilligan presented him with a copy of an early 1960s report from the Los Angeles field office to the FBI director entitled, "Socialist Workers Party, Disruption Program."

The report advised that an informer in the SWP branch there was doing effective work in sharpening a political dispute then going on in the branch.

"As a result," the report said, "it is believed that this informant has played an important part in 'fanning the flames' of discord and discontent within the LA/SWP."

When Gilligan asked if he would not rule out instructing an informer to engage in such disruption, Best replied:

"Well, I would have to look at the totality of the investigative objective. I would want to know, what are we trying to achieve? Are we trying to achieve the breakup of a group?"

He did not explain what legal authority the FBI has to try "to achieve the breakup of a group" that has neither been charged with nor convicted of a crime.

—H.R.

This flatly contradicted his earlier answer to Winter's questioning.

Mandel targeted

Heisler was also established to be a liar in the report he submitted to the FBI about Ernest Mandel.

In the fall of 1968, while Mandel was on a lecture tour in this country, Heisler sent a report to the FBI falsely asserting that Mandel had given a report to the Chicago branch of the SWP. (Participation in such a meeting could have been the basis for charging that Mandel had violated the terms of his visa.)

The report went on to offer an even more invidious falsehood. It stated:

"Ernest Mandel's tour is primarily designed to raise money for the financing of the operations of the Fourth International. \$250 was received from Student Government at Northern Illinois University . . . and another \$250 was received from Notre Dame University where Mandel spoke." (Emphasis added.)

This lying report could well have been one of the pretexts for the State Department's later denial of visas to Mandel.

Questioned by Winter, Heisler again had to concede his "accurate" reporting was not all that accurate. His report on Mandel allegedly attending an SWP branch meeting was "contradictory" in that the report gave a list of people who attended and Mandel's name was not among them.

And concerning Mandel's alleged fund raising for the Fourth International, Heisler was compelled to admit he had no other basis for the assertion than his "guess at the time."

Heisler's professed "loyalty" to the SWP fared no better.

In 1970, a gang of right-wing thugs known as the Legion of Justice made several physical attacks on the SWP headquarters. Later it was established that this gang had the complicity of the Chicago Police Department "red squad" and an Army intelligence unit. The FBI denies direct involvement.

'Personal safety'

After the first Legion attack, Heisler testified, he had a meeting with his FBI "handler" and "indicated to him that I was concerned about my own personal safety in the event of any future physi-

cal attacks on SWP members."

He added that his "handler" assured him that if the FBI did learn of any slated future attacks by the Legion of Justice, "I would be alerted . . . so I wouldn't be injured. . . ."

Winter asked him if he considered himself a loyal member of the SWP at the time. Heisler replied, "Yes."

What, she then asked, did he plan to do if the FBI did notify him in advance of a future attack?

He would, he gravely assured, have notified the party, even though it would mean the end of his career as an informer.

Why then, she further inquired, had he submitted a report after the first attack with a subheading, "Proposed Security Measures"? This section of his report to the FBI described how the SWP planned to minimize the risk of break-ins, including, Heisler wrote, "A flush door lock will be installed on the outside firedoor entrance to the hall."

In passing on this information to the FBI, Winter asked, did he think he was insuring the safety of the organization?

"No." That too was "a contradiction." Heisler's dirty tricks were not limited to the SWP.

In 1967, Heisler went on a tour of Indiana, Illinois, and St. Louis for the Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC was building at the time for an antiwar demonstration in Washington.

Rat on anyone

Heisler and the person traveling with him compiled a list, some half-dozen pages long, of people to contact for possible support to the action. They included two Episcopal ministers in St. Louis and an Indiana clergyman who headed a group opposed to the war.

Heisler filed the entire list with the FBI.

He further testified that while a member of the SWP, he had violated the party's long-standing policy prohibiting its members from using illegal drugs. He had "on several occasions" smoked marijuana in the presence of other members.

He asserted that because he was an informer he assumed he would be immune from prosecution if caught and that the other persons would be too. He

could offer no reason for so thinking.

Heisler's testimony resulted in the government being caught in one more cover-up in the suit.

Complying with a 1976 pretrial order, the FBI had turned over to the court purported complete lists of documents obtained from the SWP by informers. The informers were identified only by code number. In the document bearing what now proves to be Heisler's code number, the FBI had listed but one set of stolen minutes and a few other documents.

But after Heisler's disclosure as an informer, the FBI was required to release copies of all SWP material he had provided them. Apparently forgetting to check back on its original sworn claim of what he had turned in, the FBI disclosed substantially more documents than it had admitted to in 1976. And then it was further disclosed that there is still material the FBI is withholding.

Just 'quit'

Heisler asserts he quit being an FBI informer in 1971. But it was not until July 1980 when the present trial appeared to be headed for court that, for reasons yet to be established, he wrote a letter to the party revealing he had been an informer. He was promptly expelled.

According to Heisler's story, when he told the FBI in 1971 that he no longer intended to be an informer his handler paid him one visit to find out if he wanted more money. Heisler says he told him no and that was the last he heard from the FBI until he revealed himself.

Such respect by the FBI to an informer's desire to quit seems unusual. In fact the government even continued to shield him. In 1976, Heisler had signed a waiver authorizing the government to turn his complete dossier over to the SWP in preparation for the current trial. (He was one of thirty-five leading party members for whom the files were requested.)

Judge Griesa wanted to know from the government why it had continued to shield Heisler's identity after he had signed the waiver. Government attorneys responded with their customary double talk, but failed to explain why they had concealed this information from the court and from the plaintiffs.

DAY 49: THURSDAY, JUNE 18

FBI informer Edward Heisler completes testimony.

SWP leader Linda Jenness is asked if she put on a job application that she was 1972 SWP presidential candidate and if she is a partisan of Cuban revolution.

Edgar Best, Special Agent in Charge of Los Angeles field office, testifies on how secret cops operate.

Thomas West, former undercover Chicago policeman, testifies he was "penetrant" in YSA in late 1960s.

An FBI agent testifies that just-completed twenty-minute search by Bureau staff members failed to turn up personal correspondence Heisler admitted stealing from SWP office.

DAY 50: FRIDAY, JUNE 19

Merril Kelley, top official in military intelligence in Department of Army in Washington, D.C., testifies. Goes over policies during Vietnam War and today on spying on civilian antiwar demonstrations. Says that if member of armed services were found to be in SWP or YSA an extensive investigation would be initiated.

Russell Harding, informant for Arizona state police in early 1970s testifies that YSA plotted takeover of campus administration building. Says Morris Starsky, former professor and SWP member, asked if he knew how to make a bomb.

Ed Shaw is questioned about his work in Fair Play for Cuba Committee in early 1960s.

DAY 51: MONDAY, JUNE 22

FBI informer Ralph Desimone testifies that he volunteered to be an FBI informer at the University of California at Berkeley in 1971. He then joined the Oakland-Berkeley YSA and SWP and remained an SWP member until 1976.

Claims FBI told him to be an average good comrade and never do anything illegal. Desimone says he spied on average twenty to twenty-five hours per week. He received over \$22,000 for his 'voluntary' work.

Lawyer Howard Liebow testifies on university investigation of SWP member Starsky, who lost job at Arizona State University due to FBI dirty tricks.

James Perkins, assistant director of personnel in the Austin, Texas, school system, says SWP member Evelyn Sell was not hired as kindergarten teacher because she never applied. Claims no knowledge of FBI report that her release from Austin school system was result of cop report to administration on Sell's political affiliation.

DAY 52: TUESDAY, JUNE 23

YSA leader Lisa Hickler testifies on YSA finances.

A certified public accountant for the Internal Revenue Service testifies that party's bookkeeping does not follow normal accounting procedures. Says it is impossible to calculate profits and losses from such records.

Raymond Wawnall, retired high FBI official, explains Cointelpro history and legal nature. Says that Cointelpro-type operations were approved on ad hoc bases before formal launching of program. Says that Cointelpro-type operation can be approved on a one-by-one basis but says to the best of recollection none occurred between 1971 and his retirement in 1976.

'I don't talk to cop cops or lawyer cops'

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—Lawyers for the FBI dropped the name of Bill Massey from their witness list June 19.

Any hope they might have had of using his testimony for their benefit had collapsed.

Now a member of the Workers World Party, Massey was once a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the Internationalist Tendency, a minority group inside the SWP in the mid-1970s.

During the previous week, Hedda Garza, an ex-SWP member who had also been a leader of the Internationalist Tendency, gave testimony that an FBI attorney admitted had been prepared in collaboration with the government during secret, off-the-record meetings.

By contrast, Bill Massey's rejection of government overtures for off-the-record meetings is an example of how members of the workers movement have traditionally handled such moves by the police.

The trial of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment is now in its third month.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Massey told how the government had attempted to draw him into collaborating against the SWP and YSA, and how he rebuffed them at every turn.

"It began when I got an unusual call on March 31," Massey said. "When the caller identified himself as being from the FBI, I immediately hung up."

The next morning at 6:45 a.m. two

FBI agents were at his door with a subpoena. It "commanded" him to turn over to the government "all documents in your possession or control referring or relating to the Socialist Workers Party, the Internationalist Tendency and Fourth International."

It also "commanded" him to "testify on behalf of the United States of America" in the socialist suit.

"My decision was automatic. It flowed from my own outlook and the outlook of my party. We would in no way cooperate with the government. The fact that this is a case against the government brought about a convergence of interests with the plaintiffs, the SWP and YSA."

Massey informed SWP members handling the suit about the subpoena and his attitude toward it.

He then secured an attorney, Jesse Berman. "I explained our position on the case, which was to cooperate with the plaintiffs."

Berman then contacted Edward Williams, assistant U.S. attorney and head of the legal team defending the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

Williams said that Massey would not be called to testify for a few weeks. When Williams inquired about the "documents" the government was asking for, Berman said that his client had instructed him to inform the government that he had no such documents.

Still, in the next weeks Williams continued to press Massey through his attorney to produce the documents, even though he repeatedly insisted that he

had none.

The government lawyer then suggested an informal meeting.

"Williams proposed to my attorney that I come down and look over some documents. He said this would give me an opportunity to familiarize myself with those I would be questioned on."

"I immediately rejected this. I don't talk to cops—whether they are cop cops or lawyer cops. I had no desire to talk to the government."

On Monday, June 15, Massey got word from the government that he was to testify the following Friday.

"I got to the courtroom early that morning. As I was sitting there, one of Williams's associates, whom I had never met, pointed me out to him."

"Williams came over and asked if I was Bill Massey."

"I said, 'Yes.'"

"He asked if I had received his message. I said I hadn't."

"Williams then said, 'We're dropping you as a witness.' He paused a second, then added, 'Unless you want to be?'"

"I said, 'No.'"

"Would you like to meet and talk about it?" he asked.

"No," I answered.

"Well, I'm sorry about the inconvenience," Williams said.

"Then, as I was leaving the room, he came after me and said, 'Mr. Massey.'"

"I turned around."

"You are entitled to a \$20 witness fee for your trouble, if you like."

"No," I said. "I don't want anything from you."

Political Rights Defense Fund rallies:

Chicago: 200 attend June 13 rally

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—It was an evening where the slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" came to life.

The occasion was a June 13 rally in support of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying. As Illinois American Civil Liberties Union director Jay Miller told the more than 200 people present, the case "is incredibly important to all of us."

Greetings to the rally, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, came from a range of groups and individuals: the Chicago chapters of the NAACP, the staff of the newsweekly *In These Times*, Illinois National Organization for Women President Sheila Stoll Clark, and Illinois International Association of Machinists Legislative Director Charles Williams.

The urgency of the socialists' legal battle was highlighted by Lou Pardo, president of IAM Local 113, the largest tool-and-die unit in the International union.

Attacks on the SWP, he said, "are a prelude to the main course," an all-out assault on the labor movement by the government and big business, who believe "trade unions should not exist in any viable form."

The crisis in the U.S. economy, Pardo said, has made the historic "gentlemen's agreement between the union leadership and the corporations" obsolete. That deal, he said, of official union support for U.S. foreign policy in exchange for "steady, regular increases in the standard of living," is over.

"It's a new ballgame," Pardo told the crowd. Attacks on the rights of Blacks, Latinos and socialists are the opening salvos.

Pardo called the government-corporate gang-up on fifteen socialist workers, fired from the IAM-organized Marietta, Georgia, Lockheed plant, a challenge to the labor movement. If such attacks go unanswered, he asked, "what happens to our freedom of thought and action?"

The SWP, Pardo said, "is defending the constitution. It is a serious political group with serious political ideas and is offering solutions" to the problems facing the trade unions.

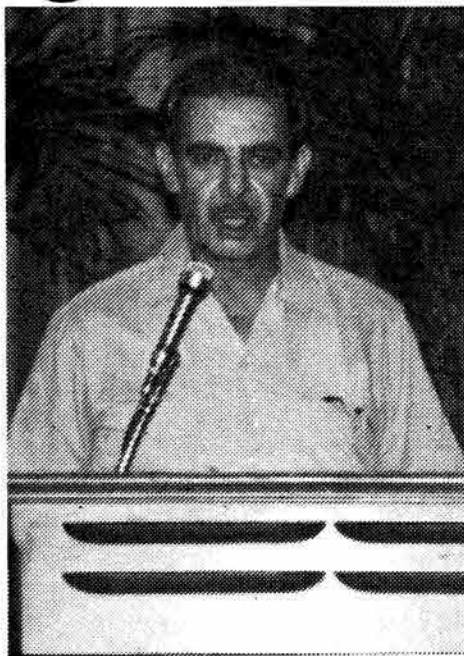
The socialists, Pardo continued, "have the right to project their views, the right to be listened to, and the right to win adherents. A victory in their suit is a victory for all of us."

This spirit of solidarity was a powerful theme in the rally. From the moving presentation on behalf of the rights of foreign born activists given by Black South African exile Dennis Brutus, a renowned poet the U.S. government is seeking to deport, to Chicago Alderman Danny Davis's plea for financial support to PRDF.

Davis's fund speech brought in more than \$2,600. An additional \$500 was raised for PRDF in response to a Chicago fund letter.

Lawyer Mike Deutsch saluted local supporters of the Pontiac Brothers, 17 Black prisoners recently acquitted of frame-up charges stemming from the Pontiac Prison rebellion where three white guards were killed. A lawyer for the Pontiac Brothers, Deutsch was warmly applauded when he urged defense of his other clients, the Puerto Rican nationalists accused of being members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

Mark Blessoff of the Communist Workers Party spoke on behalf of two



LOU PARDO

Militant/Ike Nahem

important defense campaigns. One involves a suit against the government for complicity in the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, in November of 1979. The other is the case of three union activists at the San Diego NASSCO shipyard recently convicted on trumped-up conspiracy charges on the basis of testimony provided by an FBI agent provocateur.

Other speakers included prominent civil libertarian Quentin Young, Leroy Wolins of Veterans for Peace, SWP leader Fred Halstead, and Chicago YSA member Lori Laningham.

Greetings came from the Committee for Reconstruction and Aid to the People of Nicaragua and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. These committees and the Chicago Cuba Committee displayed literature at the rally.

Among those attending the rally were members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the Communist Party. Supporters of the Communist Workers Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Communist Party, USA (Marxist-Leninist) also had literature tables at the event.

Urging broader and deeper solidarity against attacks on democratic rights was a common stance taken by speakers at the rally.

"If we learn to stick together," SWP leader Fred Halstead said to cheers and applause, "if we learn to disagree as comrades, as brothers and sisters, while uniting against them—and we all know who 'them' is—then we can beat them, too."

Pittsburgh: We all have a stake in this suit

By Kathy Mickells

PITTSBURGH—Sixty steelworkers, miners, environmentalists, and antiwar activists gathered here June 6 at a rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

It was obvious that Reagan's attacks on working people's rights are not sitting well with anyone.

Speakers included Molly Rush, director of the Thomas Merton Center and a defendant in the trial of the Plowshares Eight antinuclear protesters (who included Daniel and Philip Berrigan). She put the current suit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the government in historical perspective.

"Particularly in times of military build-up approaching wars and in wartime, this has been the result—repression, attempts to jail people, or to exile people who question government tactics

and motives," Rush said.

"In World War I, the Espionage Act was used against Eugene V. Debs, the socialist. In 1919, 350,000 steelworkers struck. The Department of Justice moved in, carrying out raids on those who were aliens and began deporting them."

Joni Rabinowitz, chairperson of the Pittsburgh chapter of the New American Movement, said, "The defense of free speech is probably the most important right we need to maintain. For without free speech there is no movement. It is an indication of the time that the government is now admitting to wiretaps and illegal searches with the excuse that it's okay to break the law in the interest of national security."

"The Socialist Workers Party suit is being carefully watched as a test case to see how much they can intimidate us into shutting up. We cannot and will not let this happen," she said.

Other speakers included Bob Anderson of the Communist Workers Party, who spoke on the case of the NASSCO Three, in which an FBI agent provocateur was used to frame three union militants.

Jesse McDonald, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a striking coal miner, and Richard Blackett, a professor of Black Studies at Pitt University, spoke about the current threat by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport people if they disagree with government policies.

Both McDonald, who was born in Ireland, and Blackett, who was born in Trinidad, could be victimized by such a move.

Malik Miah, SWP national co-chairperson, gave an update on the trial.

Participants reached deep into their pockets to contribute more than \$700 to help with the costs of the case.



LEE FAYE MACK

Militant/Kelly Lawrence

Winston-Salem: FBI won't stop 'Black party'

By Steve Craine

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.—"For the past eight weeks, one of the most important 'political' trials in this nation's history has been taking place in New York. A trial with perhaps more serious ramifications for the Black American community than the trials of Joan Little, Angela Davis and the Wilmington 10 combined!"

This was the opening paragraph in a signed editorial, "FBI on Trial," in the June 13 issue of *The Chronicle*, Winston-Salem's Black weekly. That same night, Clifton E. Graves, Jr., the author of the editorial, spoke at a rally in support of the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit.

At the rally, which forty-five people attended, Graves pointed out that "although the Socialist Workers Party is the main plaintiff in this trial, the real plaintiffs are all of us, especially the Afro-American community."

Lee Faye Mack spoke of her many years of experience as a leader of Winston-Salem's Black community.

"We're sitting in one of the most racist towns on the map of America," Mack told the audience. "When all the 'have nots' come together, then don't you know there'll be changes in this country!"

Mack reported that, only a few nights before, Black City Alderman Larry Little returned to his car after a meeting at city hall to find "KKK" written all over it. "Now that car was parked right between the jailhouse and the police station," Mack explained, "and you can't tell me someone wrote all those 'K's' on there without being seen."

The local Ku Klux Klan, which has been increasingly active, is running its leader, Joe Grady, for mayor of Winston-Salem as a Republican.

Mack said that people had called her to ask why she was speaking "down there at a socialist rally." She replied, "If their rights have been violated, my rights have been violated."

Mack and Graves are both active in the Winston-Salem chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party. Mack stated that the NBIPP is like a new baby about to be born and "there ain't no stopping us with infiltrators—the baby will be born in August in Chicago. We want all the Black sisters and brothers here tonight to join the Black Independent Political Party."

Also speaking at the rally were Doug Jenness, a member of the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party, and Travis Payne, a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

"The SWP suit comes at a very opportune time—a time when government intimidation and the police state mentality are on the rise," Payne told the rally. "It gives us the opportunity to educate ourselves and others about what's going on. Anyone who loves democracy should be supporting this lawsuit."

Participants at the rally approved telegrams protesting the conviction of three trade unionists at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego and the threatened deportation of Young Socialist Alliance member Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh. They also pledged over \$900 to the Political Rights Defense Fund to pay the legal costs of the trial.

San Diego: Defend the NASSCO 3

By Mary Calder

SAN DIEGO—A rally here June 6 for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI, CIA and INS drew seventy-five people and raised more than \$2,000.

Rodney Johnson, one of the NASSCO Three, was a featured speaker. He and two other workers at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company in San Diego were recently convicted on trumped-up charges of conspiracy to bomb the shipyard. The government's key witness was an FBI agent-provocateur, Ramon Barton. The three are scheduled for sentencing on July 14, and could face up to forty years in jail.

Johnson and Mark Loo, another one of the frame-up victims, are members of the Communist Workers Party.

Johnson expressed appreciation to all who have supported the defense effort of the NASSCO Three. "We have to continue to build this type of unity generated in the course of our struggle at NASSCO to stop the attacks on the

Socialist suit fights for everyone's rights



Three NASSCO workers framed by the FBI, David Boyd, Mark Loo, and Rodney Johnson. SWP member Héctor Marroquín, right, read a support statement at June 6 news conference in San Diego.

American people," he said.

SWP member Héctor Marroquín, who told the rally about the socialist trial in New York, stressed the importance of supporting the NASSCO Three.

Earlier in the week Marroquín gave greetings to a fundraising program attended by seventy-five supporters of the NASSCO Three.

Cindy Pearson of Woman Care told of a Department of Health investigation into four women's self-help clinics in California, part of a general attack on women's rights. She was optimistic about the outcome of her struggle and the others:

"I'm confident all of us will win, the SWP with their suit, the NASSCO Three. . . . We will not let them separate us anymore," Pearson said.

Bill Roe, a founding member of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, also gave greetings to the rally. The outcome of the SWP lawsuit will affect many, he said. "The issue is cen-

sorship of political thought and where it might end; who will be next, and where will it stop."

Kevin O'Connor of the Irish Rights Committee spoke about the lack of civil rights in Northern Ireland and the struggle for a free and independent Ireland.

Kirk Olson of Orange County Irish Northern Aid entertained the audience with revolutionary Irish music.

Greetings were sent to the rally by Jim Walsh of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Portland: Unity is being forged today

By Bev Hansen

PORTLAND—More than forty people

attended the Political Rights Defense Fund rally here June 14 to show their support for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government. They contributed more than \$900 toward legal expenses in the case.

José Angel Gutiérrez, a founding member of the Raza Unida Party and former judge in Zavala County, Texas, was unable to attend the rally, but sent the following message: "I am an activist in the Chicano struggle against the very same agencies the SWP faces in court today. I must stand with you."

"Many of us in the Chicano struggle have been the target of surveillance, sabotage, intrigue, and harassment for years. The files we have obtained under the Chicano Legal Defense Fund program reveal the extent to which many of us in Raza Unida have been targeted by the FBI, the CIA, the INS and many others. It is imperative that we all join with you to hold the government accountable for these senseless activities that constitute the most basic criminal actions."

"We support you because the government's illegal activity over the past forty years is an attack against all of us, against everyone who dares have and voice any criticism against the government," declared Elizabeth Linder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. "We support your courage, dedication and perseverance in not accepting a settlement out of court and in taking this lawsuit all the way to trial at the cost of thousands of dollars and hours of time. We recognize the importance of this trial to all of us, and we thank you."

Co-chairperson of the Citizens Party in Portland, John Troxel, said, "I bring from our members the greetings, best wishes, and most of all thanks for the effort you have undertaken, which is currently being played out in New York City. Our chapter is in complete support of the Socialist Workers Party in its suit against the federal government."

"We support this action because it is right and correct, but also, frankly and pragmatically, because it could have profound implications down the road for us," Troxel added. "What the government is now doing to the SWP and other groups, it could be doing in the future to others, including the Citizens Party."

Dave Worthington, president of Local 724 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades, spoke of the need for solidarity from the labor movement.

Andrew Pulley, the 1980 SWP presidential candidate, voiced his apprecia-

tion of these statements of solidarity from various organizations.

"One of the most positive and ironic things that is happening around this case is that a tremendous amount of unity has been forged precisely to fight against the FBI and other government agencies who sought to blow apart such unity," Pulley said.

"People have learned to unite in spite of whatever differences they may have, we need to unite in the face of a common enemy. It bodes well for the future struggles of all working people and of all those who are oppressed that such unity is being forged today."

Philadelphia: \$2,500 raised for PRDF

By Bob Stanton

PHILADELPHIA—Defense of Irish freedom fighters was a feature of the Political Rights Defense Fund rally held here at the First Unitarian Church June 6.

More than 100 people gathered to support the fight for democratic rights and the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against government spying. They contributed more than \$2,500 to PRDF. Portions of the rally were filmed by Channel 6-TV.

Jack McKinney, columnist for the Philadelphia *Daily News* spoke about the case of Michael O'Rourke, an Irish freedom fighter who has been imprisoned in the United States and faces deportation. McKinney said that new evidence proved Immigration Service harassment of the judge hearing O'Rourke's deportation case. Margie Lee O'Rourke added that government agents who were involved in a "criminal conspiracy should be in jail," not her husband Michael.

Karen Detamore, National Board member of the National Lawyers Guild, commended the SWP for not settling out of court. She urged all to "fight to see that the gains of the last twenty years' struggles are not lost."

Max Weiner, longtime leader of the Philadelphia Consumer's Party, called attention to the *Militant* news coverage on the trial. He attacked the government's assertion that the Constitution gives the president virtually dictatorial power. He added that if the SWP succeeds, then all who act for peace and progress will be able to work "with a little more freedom."

Leonel Zepeda from Asociación del Istmo Centroamericano Nicaragüense (known as ISTMO and representing the Nicaraguan community of Camden, New Jersey) spoke of the importance of the struggles in Central America.

Philip Foner, the noted labor historian, stressed, "the time to assert a right is when that right is called into question."

Jane Perkins of the Harrisburg Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, spoke, as did Sonia Sánchez, professor and poet and herself a victim of FBI harassment. Sánchez read a satirical poem she had written about the FBI.

Father Paul Washington, of the Church of the Advocate in North Philadelphia, gave the fund appeal for PRDF. The fund collection featured the auction of an original cartoon by syndicated cartoonist Tony Auth, which Auth donated to PRDF.

Nelson Blackstock of the *Militant* reported on the political issues coming to the fore in the trial.

Statements of support at the rally were read from Spencer Coxe, past director of the Philadelphia ACLU; Jeff Brown, vice-president of Dist. Council 33, AFSCME; and the National Alliance of Third World Journalists.

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 27	Newark (201) 643-3341	July 11	Washington, D.C. (202) 797-7699
June 27	Morgantown (304) 296-0055	July 12	Kansas City, Mo. (816) 753-0404
June 27	Phoenix (602) 255-0450	July 11	Virginia, Minn. (218) 749-6327
June 27	Newport News, Va. (804) 380-0133		
June 28	Milwaukee (414) 445-2076		
June 28	Louisville (502) 587-8418		
July 1	Albuquerque (505) 842-0954		
July 2	Denver (303) 534-8954		
July 11	Boston (617) 262-4621		
July 11	Atlanta (404) 872-7229		



Testimony of socialist city councilman

Below is a slightly abridged transcript of the testimony under direct examination of Mel Mason, Seaside, California, city councilman and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, in the trial of the U.S. government.

Direct examination was conducted May 28 by Donna-Marie Gilligan, a member of the socialists' legal team.

Judge Thomas Griesa presided.

Q: Where do you live, Mr. Mason?

A: I live in Seaside, California, which is located on the Monterey Peninsula, which is in the central coast area of California.

Q: And are you a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Yes, I am.

Q: Where are you currently employed?

A: I am employed at Monterey Peninsula College in Monterey, California, and I am student activities coordinator.

Q: How long have you been so employed?

A: I have been working there now for seven years.

Q: Do you hold any electoral positions?

A: Yes, I do. I am a city councilman for the City of Seaside, California.

Q: When were you elected?

A: In April of 1980.

Q: Did you ever serve in the Armed Forces?

A: Yes. I was in the United States Air Force from 1961 to 1965.

Q: Were you honorably discharged in 1965?

A: Not in 1965. In 1965 I was discharged from the United States Air Force with a bad conduct discharge. I had been involved in a theft when I was overseas, in Istanbul, Turkey. I was court-martialed and I spent time in the stockade.

After that I was stationed at Fort Worth, Texas, at Carswell Air Force Base, at which time my Air Force record was causing me to have some difficulties with noncommissioned officers in charge and I went AWOL and was subsequently discharged from the Service.

Q: Did you ever get this bad conduct discharge changed?

A: Yes. In 1967, the discharge was changed to one under honorable conditions by the then-senior senator from California, Mr. Thomas Kuchel.

I went back to college in 1966.

Q: Did you graduate from Monterey Peninsula College?

A: Yes. I graduated from Monterey Peninsula in 1967 with an associate of arts degree.

Q: Did you attend any further colleges?

A: Yes. When I left Monterey Peninsula College, I left with approximately 70 athletic scholarships in basketball. I chose to go to Oregon State University.

Discrimination in sports

After I enrolled at Oregon State University and signed the scholarship contract, then I found that there were some discriminatory limit standards that applied to Black athletes, Black students in general. That was that Blacks were not allowed to be out on the street as late as whites, that Blacks were not allowed to go to certain places where whites attended, and basically we were asked by the athletic administration to keep a very low profile as far as living outside the campus was concerned. I challenged that and told the coach that I couldn't live by those kinds of rules and standards.

We had conflicts. I was kicked off the basketball team and then I withdrew from college.

Q: Did you ever finish college?

A: Yes, I did. I finished college in 1972 at Golden Gate University, which is located in San Francisco, California. I



MEL MASON

worked in the daytime and I went to school at night for about two-and-a-half years, and I received a bachelor of arts degree in political science and sociology.

Q: After you left college in 1967, were you involved in any union activities?

A: Yes. I was working at Western Electric Company in Sunnyvale, California, from 1967 to 1969. In 1969 I was instrumental in helping to establish a Black workers caucus for Black workers at Western Electric Company.

The purpose of that caucus was to deal with the problems that were besetting Blacks on the job; namely, we were dealing with the problems of hiring, we were dealing with the problems of affirmative action, we were dealing with the problems of promotions for Blacks, discriminatory treatment against Blacks on the job.

Q: Did you belong to any political parties during this time?

A: In 1968 I joined the Black Panther Party.

Q: And how long were you a member?

A: I was in the Black Panther Party from 1968 until 1969.

Q: Why did you join?

A: I joined the Black Panther Party because I felt that the party had the best program and was also addressing, was doing more in terms of addressing the problems that were besetting the Black people in this country. I joined for that reason.

Q: What was the Black Panther Party doing?

A: Well, the thing that attracted me to the Black Panther Party was the fact that they were advocating, first of all, the mass organizing of Black people. They were also advocating independent political action on the part of the Black people. I felt as though those were two things that were necessary for Black people to be able to accomplish their goals and to resolve the problems that were besetting them.

Q: What activities did you engage in as a member of the Black Panther Party?

A: Well, first I was, since I was already involved in union organizing, the Black Panther Party simply asked that I continue to carry out that particular function.

We organized Black workers caucuses not only at Western Electric Company, but also caucuses at places like the Ford plant in Milpitas, California. We organized Black workers caucuses at Fair-

child Industries right outside Sunnyvale, California. We organized the Black workers caucus at Lockheed, which was in Sunnyvale, and also at Western Electric.

Q: Did you participate in any public activities with the Black Panther Party?

A: Yes. I participated in a number of political rallies and also community forums and community meetings.

Q: Why did you leave the Black Panther Party?

A: I left the party in 1969 because something was happening that I did not agree with myself personally. I felt that the political perspective of the Black Panther Party had changed; that there was an evolution going on with the party that was moving the party more in the direction of being rhetorical about the revolution, and moving away from the mass-based organizing of Black people that originally attracted me to the party.

I felt that the party was spending more time making rhetoric about the revolution, and that they were not spending hardly any time at all in organizing Black people around the day-to-day struggles that were happening in the community. So I left.

Q: After you left the Black Panther Party, were you involved in any other political organization?

Community activities

A: In 1976, I helped to found and establish the Community Action Coalition in Seaside, California. That was an organization that was established primarily to address the needs and issues that were affecting Blacks, poor people, and minorities in the Seaside community.

Q: And were you involved in any other community organizations?

A: Yes. In 1979 we dissolved the Community Action Coalition because I had been asked by a number of citizens in Seaside to help form what became a larger-based organization called the Citizens' League for Progress, which was also an organization that supported my political campaign for office.

Q: How did you decide to join the Socialist Workers Party in 1976?

A: Well, in 1976, I had a number of Socialist Workers Party candidates for office to speak on campus at Monterey Peninsula College. I had the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the gubernatorial office in California to speak at MPC.

I had also the party's candidate for vice president of the United States, who at that time was Willie Mae Reid, to speak at Monterey Peninsula College.

I had an opportunity to discuss with them the Socialist Workers program, reflecting also on the fact that I had been reading the *Militant* off and on over the years and I remembered that Malcolm X had made some real good statements that the *Militant* was a good newspaper.

So it was this combining of having read the *Militant* and having met the then-Socialist Workers Party candidates for office that helped me make up my mind to become a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

It was immediately after that contact that I had with those two candidates that I then drove over to the Salinas Office of Elections, Monterey County, and had my voter registration changed from Independent to that of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: Now, you stated earlier that you were elected to the Seaside City Council in 1980. Was that the first election you ran in?

A: No, I ran for office once before in 1977. I ran for the Monterey Peninsula Unified School District School Board. There were three seats, if I remember correctly.

Judge Griesa: When did you run for the school board?

A: In 1977.

Judge Griesa: On what ticket?

A: I ran, well, it is a non-partisan election, so therefore no one is allowed to declare their political party, but I ran openly as a socialist.

I ran on a platform that included affirmative action, relevant curriculum for minorities, community control over decision-making that occurred at the board level within the school district, and also dealing with discriminatory punishment that was being meted out to Black students in the Monterey Peninsula Unified School District.

I think it was significant in this campaign that there were three seats open at the time and I finished fourth in the election.

Gilligan: You said you did run as a socialist?

A: Yes, I ran openly as a socialist.

Q: Why did you decide to run for city council in 1980?

A: After my organizing work with the Citizens' League For Progress, there were a number of citizens who came to me and asked me to consider running for office, for the office of city council, because they felt that they had not been receiving adequate representation and that I would be a person who would not be afraid to deal with the real issues that confronted the community.

I considered it, I ran for office. Those people supported me, the Citizens' League For Progress supported me, and I subsequently won my seat on the city council.

Q: What were the issues of your campaign?

Affirmative action

A: My campaign dealt specifically with affirmative action in city hall as far as hiring, affirmative action for contracts with the city in terms of getting more minority contractors involved, in that the contracts were processed at city hall.

I also ran a campaign that was dealing with the problems of housing in that area, especially housing problems that affected minorities and poor people.

I was advocating an ordinance that would control rents, and also advocating an ordinance that would ban discrimination against children in rental units which impacted extremely heavily on the minority community.

I campaigned heavily for jobs, especially jobs for youth, and also for increased public participation in the decision-making process at city hall.

Q: Did you run in that election campaign as a socialist also?

A: Yes, I ran openly as a socialist, but, again, due to the California non-partisan election laws, I was not allowed to state my party affiliation on a ballot form or anything.

But I did run openly as a socialist. I ran at that time in my campaign telling people that I was a supporter and affiliated with the Socialist Workers Party.

In fact, some of the people who were opposed to me running for office ran letters to the editor, ads in the newspaper to the effect that I was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and that as a result of that people should not vote for me.

Q: How was your campaign conducted?

A: It was a very low-budget campaign. Most of our work was done in the streets. We talked to people in the streets, we went door-to-door and, of course, I held a number of community meetings.

Q: How many people ran for city council?

A: There were eleven people running for city council and there were two seats available.

Q: How many people live in Seaside?

A: 36,000.

Q: As a socialist city council member, what activities have you engaged in since you were elected?

Strike support

A: I supported three strikes publicly since I have been in office.

One was involving the International Brotherhood of Carpenters. The other was involving the Meat Workers Union, and the other one was involving the local Social Service Workers Union.

In all of these strikes, I supported them publicly. In fact, in the case of the Social Service Workers strike, I was on the picket line walking with them.

Q: Have you been involved in any other activities as a council member?

A: Yes. I was involved in organizing two tenant unions. One was a senior citizens tenant union at one of our local senior citizens housing projects.

The way that came about was that the senior citizens contacted me and asked me for assistance in a problem they were having in terms of rent hikes.

Since they were on fixed income, and most of them living on Social Security benefits, they felt continuing rent hikes would just be something they could not afford.

They said that they had pleaded to other elected officials in the past, and no other elected officials helped them. They felt I would be the one that would possibly at least try.

I went there. I helped them to organize a tenants association because I felt it was necessary for them to protect their own interests with such an organization.

Then I got involved in communications with the Department of HUD [Housing and Urban Development] to see if there was some kind of program that could be made available, that the Federal Government could use to assist those people in their rental situation, so they would not have to be forced to pay rent hikes.

Rent hike blocked

There was a program called Section Eight, which is a federal assistance to rent program. Finally, after about three or four months, HUD came down with a declaration that said that the housing project would be 100 percent Section-Eighted, which means that every tenant that lived in that unit would be exempt from any rent hikes in the future because Section Eight means that the majority of the rent is paid for by the federal government.

Q: Did you initiate or support any resolutions or ordinances as a council member?

A: Yes I initiated two ordinances

that were passed by the city council. Those were two ordinances dealing with affirmative action.

One was dealing with giving minority vendors additional bidding credits in the bidding process.

Judge Griesa: What process?

A: Bidding for vendor's contracts with the city. The minority vendors were given a 4 percent—

Griesa: These were city ordinances?

A: Yes, ordinances.

Griesa: Were they passed?

A: Yes, they were passed.

The other affirmative action ordinance I passed was dealing with minority contractors; that 9.1 percent of all city contracts over \$10,000 would have to be given to minority contractors.

Also for major contractors, the ordinance provides that all major contractors would have to have at least 20 percent minority and women working in all craft areas with the corporation in order to qualify for contracts.

Q: Were you opposed to any resolutions or ordinances?

A: Yes. There were two ordinances—

Judge Griesa: I don't know what this relates to. The case is not about affirmative action or rent control of Section Eight subsidies or any of these other items.

Gilligan: I understand, your Honor.

Griesa: These other projects which this witness was in favor of, it is irrelevant to me what he was in favor of or not in favor of.

Gilligan: The reason that I am asking these questions, and there are only a very few more on what he has done, is that Mr. Mason is the only person in the Socialist Workers Party holding elected office.

I think it is important to show to the Court what an elected official who is a member of the SWP will do and is doing as an elected official.

Griesa: He is on the city council and whatever they do in the city council at Seaside. I assume that.

The question is, I don't know that there is any claim that Mr. Mason has done anything other than carry out his political beliefs in these ways.

Gilligan: I don't think there has been a claim directed specifically to Mr. Mason.

Griesa: Let's have it very short. These are familiar programs that people are for in some cases. I think I understand.

What else do you have?

Gilligan: Mr. Mason, have any of your activities created any conflicts with other council members?

Black GIs

A: Yes. Some months ago, I was approached by a group of Black GI's at Fort Ord, California, which is a military installation right outside of Seaside.

At that time they told me they were frustrated because they had attempted to bring some grievances to the post command, and they felt these grievances had been swept under the carpet.

Specifically, they were talking about the kinds of racism and discrimination they were receiving as Black GI's at Fort Ord.

They were saying that Blacks were—

Judge Griesa: What is the relevance of this? There are many problems in Seaside and Fort Ord. All of these are difficult political problems in this country.

Mr. Mason has acted according to his beliefs. I don't need to get into all of these issues.

The Fort Ord problem, I don't know what it has to do with our case.

Gilligan: All right, let me just ask one other question.

Q: What happened as a result of your support to the Black soldiers at Fort Ord who were protesting discriminatory treatment?

A: The city council that I served on passed a resolution at the following council meeting which forbade me from

ever using my title of city councilman whenever I engage in, as they say, unilateral activities.

Q: Is this resolution in effect?

A: No, the city attorney made a public statement to the effect that the resolution was without any legal effect whatsoever.

FBI harassment

Q: Have you ever encountered any harassment or any interference in your life from the FBI?

A: Well, let's see. After I had learned of the visit of the FBI to Burlington, Vermont, I called the Monterey County office of elections. This must have been around, I guess, the 15th of April. [The FBI sent an agent to investigate Burlington Mayor Bernard Sanders after his name came up at this trial as an elector for the SWP in 1980.]

I asked the assistant registrar of voters from Monterey County if the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been by in any way connected with me.

She said that they had. They had come by and she said they flashed badges, but she was not at liberty to divulge any information. I would have to talk to Mr. Ross Underwood, who was the registrar of voters for Monterey County.

I contacted Mr. Underwood the next day, and he said that the FBI indeed had been by, two agents had come by.

They had asked for copies of my election file. I asked Mr. Underwood, did the FBI tell him why they were asking for my election file? He said no.

So I called the FBI office in Monterey and asked to speak to whoever was in charge there.

The secretary told me that no one was in, but that she would take a message and give it to the appropriate person.

I left my name and also left the reason why I called—which was, namely, to find out what was happening, whether or not I was being investigated. If I was being investigated, what I was being investigated for?

I also called a press conference, because it was my concern as a public official that, should information get out to the public that the FBI was over at the Monterey County office of elections looking in my election file, this would somehow imply to the community that I am serving as a public official that I am somehow under investigation by the FBI. So I wanted to clear the air on that particular issue.

I received a call from the agent in charge—Mr. Bunch, I believe his name is—the following day, asking me if I had any questions for him.

FBI run-around

I told him that I did. One of the questions I wanted to know was, was I under any kind of investigation? He said no.

Then I asked him, if I am not under investigation why were the agents over at the Monterey County elections office asking about my election file? He said no comment.

I asked him, who could I talk to that could comment on this?

He said, you would have to call the United States Attorney's office.

I said, who would I talk to?

He said, I don't know.

I said, what is the number of the office?

He said, I don't know that either.

I also read the following day's edition of the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, which is the daily newspaper in that area. In that news article, it also said that the FBI stated that I was not under investigation, but that they could not comment on the reason why they were there.

I did learn subsequently that the FBI had made a statement later that they were investigating something regarding me and this particular trial.

Q: Mr. Mason, are you a member of any other political organizations besides the SWP?

A: Yes. I am a member of the National Black Independent Political Party,

which was formed last November in Philadelphia.

Q: Do you hold any elected positions in that party?

A: Yes. I am a member of the National Party Organizing Committee.

Q: What does the National Black Independent Political Party stand for?

A: The National Black Independent Political Party, first of all, stands against racism and sexism in this country.

It stands for the promotion of the interests of Black people and building an independent political vehicle to make sure that those issues and concerns of Black people are addressed in the political arena.

Q: Who belongs to this party?

A: People from all backgrounds and all walks of life belong to this party.

For instance, we have people who at one time or another were involved in Democratic and Republican Party politics. We have people in this party who were members of unions, members of community organizations throughout this country, and also people who are members of churches.

Q: Is there any conflict or contradiction in belonging to the Socialist Workers Party and the National Black Party?

A: No, there is no conflict at all. In fact, the Socialist Workers Party has long supported the idea and concept of the Black political party.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the National Black Independent Political Party and supports and encourages its building, just as we support and encourage the building of the independent labor party for the working class.

Q: As an elected official of the Seaside City Council, are you controlled or directed by the SWP in your activities?

Controlled by electorate

A: No, I am not controlled by anyone except the electorate of Seaside. Those are the people that put me in office, and those are the people who can take me out if they are dissatisfied with me.

But I think what has to be taken into account here is the fact that I ran on a program as a socialist. I ran with the socialist program and that program was voted on by the people.

The fact that I was voted into office means that the people voted for me based on that program.

As far as political discipline is concerned, obviously I am under the political discipline of the SWP because I believe in the party and I believe in the political program of the party.

The one thing that has to be taken into account here is the fact that, unlike Democrats and Republicans who give us one program when they run for office and then exercise another program after they get elected, I carry out the same program that I ran for office on.

Trip to Grenada

Q: Now, Mr. Mason, have you made any trips abroad since you were elected?

A: Yes. I was in Grenada March 9th through 16th. I went there for the specific purpose of seeing for myself what was going on in the country and then reporting that back to the constituents in Seaside, which I recently did.

Q: Did you meet any government officials while you were there?

A: Yes. Briefly, I had a chance to meet just about all of the ministers in the government. I didn't have a formal meeting with them but I did get a chance to talk with them and discuss with them my feelings of solidarity with the revolution of the Grenadian people.

Q: And how did you report your trip to your constituents?

A: This past weekend, we had a slide show and discussion in Seaside, at which I spoke and showed slides about it, about Grenada.

Gilligan: No further questions.

Religious groups, Cuba framed up in new Salvador 'white paper'

By Nelson González

Jon Glassman, the State Department official who compiled the "captured" documents on which the department's white paper on El Salvador was based, admitted June 8 that the white paper is a bundle of inaccuracies.

As he was doing this, the State Department announced that a new, improved white paper was coming out.

The "improved" version centers its fire on Cuba in order to smear the liberation movements in El Salvador and other Latin American countries as foreign-based "communist conspiracies."

It even portrays American-based aid organizations such as Catholic Relief Services as dupes of the conspiracy.

It thus sets up Americans working with these agencies in Latin America for intimidation, torture, and even murder for disagreeing with State Department policy.

The new white paper claims to be based on the same sources as its predecessor, plus sixty-one other "captured" guerrilla documents.

During the Vietnam War, "captured documents" were mass-produced by the U.S. military and its Saigon allies to justify U.S. intervention. It can safely be assumed that the Salvadoran military and its U.S. "advisers" are up to similar tricks.

Cuba targeted

According to the June 9 *New York Times*, the new white paper "denounces Cuba as the instigator of revolutionary movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, and Costa Rica."

In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Thomas Enders provided a preview of the white paper. Enders is Reagan's choice for Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

He portrayed the United States as the victim of "a sustained political and military effort by Cuba to establish Communist regimes in the Caribbean and Central America," said the *Times*.

To bolster his claim, Enders pointed to such supposedly outrageous behavior as Cuba's economic and military aid to Nicaragua.

According to Enders's logic, any country that refuses to join Washington in refusing aid to Nicaragua is guilty of "subversion."

The new white paper is being used to prepare moves to tighten the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba. The *Times* reported:

"The special report on Cuban support for guerrillas in the Caribbean and Central America is expected to serve as the basis for increased United States pressure on the Havana regime."

"Mr. Enders said the Administration was considering tightening economic regulations that allow some exports from the United States to Cuba and that anti-Communist radio broadcasts were 'under very active consideration.'"

The Reagan administration goes beyond threats to Cuba and other governments that show solidarity with the Salvadorans. It is also threatening relief organizations working in El Salvador that have dared to tell the truth about events there.

Red-baiting attack

According to the June 8 *Wall Street Journal*, the State Department's Glassman has "declared that some of the documents, not yet generally released, show that relief funds raised by several major U.S. charities are subject to diversion to the Communist war effort in El Salvador, with or without the charities' knowledge."

Organizations cited include Catholic

Relief Services, Oxfam America, and the World Council of Churches.

They have never been charged directly, learned of the charges through newspaper accounts, and have never been allowed to respond to the charges, which they vociferously deny.

The new white paper charges that two Salvadoran relief agencies were planning to form a single organization that would then be secretly "controlled by Communist revolutionaries and whose money would be used to buy arms, among other things," said the *Journal*.

Monsignor Robert J. Coll, assistant director of Catholic Relief Services in New York, went to El Salvador to check out the charges.

He found that two relief agencies did merge into a single agency, known as ASESAN. But Monsignor Coll found that President José Napoleón Duarte and Salvadoran acting Archbishop Rivera y Damas both endorsed ASESAN's work and Damas had assigned "the best priest in his diocese" to it.

Nancy Clark of the World Council of Churches denounced the charges. "There are thousands of people, chiefly widows and children, for whom this money [relief aid] is responsible for their daily food," she pointed out.

The State Department has informed Lawrence Simon, an official from Oxfam, that it will distribute these red-baiting documents widely.

"An article based on the documents was distributed in April by United Press International, which didn't quote the charities' denials," the *Journal* noted.

Simon is worried that these lies will be spread by Latin American newspapers. "Saying someone is connected to the Communist Party of El Salvador," he said, "is tantamount to signing someone's death warrant down there. We're concerned about the danger this has placed our field staff in."



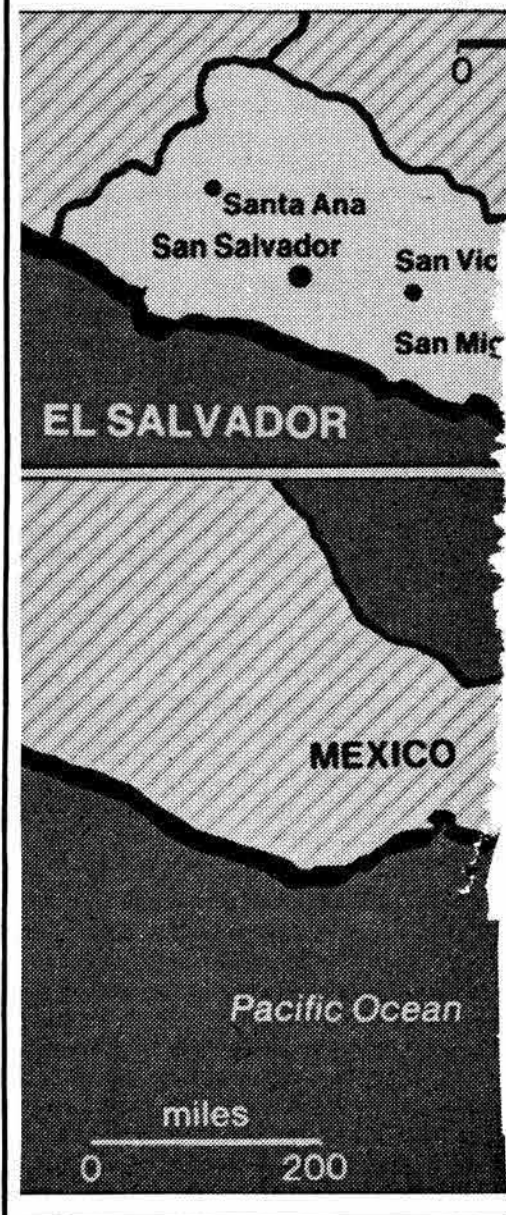
KAZEL

DONOVAN



FORD

CLARKE



Canadian labor leader blasts U.S. intervention

The 70,000-member Manitoba Federation of Labour (MFL) has given strong support to the Salvadoran people. The MFL held a solidarity concert on May Day and raised \$600 for food, shelter, and medicine for the people of El Salvador.

On May 27 'Socialist Voice' correspondents Bob Ages and Jack Wilson interviewed MFL president Dick Martin. Martin is the former president of the United Steelworkers local at the Inco Nickel mine in Thompson, Manitoba.

'Socialist Voice' is the Canadian sister publication of the 'Militant.' The following interview has been abridged for space reasons.

Socialist Voice: How would you describe the situation in El Salvador?

Martin: It's not an unusual case. What is happening in El Salvador is precisely the same thing that happened in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras. An oligarchy has been in control of the country for a long, long time. That oligarchy is supported by multinational food corporations that

want to control those countries. . . .

Those countries also have immense natural resources. For example, in Guatemala it is well known that they have some big oil finds [which] are of major importance to countries like the United States. They certainly don't want those mineral deposits and oil wells taken over by public corporations. So they are going to fight to the bitter end.

'I met with the American consulate and told them of the federation of labor's disgust with the policy in El Salvador. I told them of our demand to remove all American military aid from El Salvador.'

SV: Recently two unionists from El Salvador visited Winnipeg. What did they tell you about the situation?

Martin: They talked about the brutality that is taking place in El Salvador, the repression. Against the unions, but also against virtually every group that has any progressive type of attitude at all: cooperatives, trade unions, even small business

people. They told us stories of the atrocities that are taking place, perpetrated by the right-wing military junta and their supporters, the right-wing death squads.

I also question what the American military are doing in El Salvador. What is happening is that the American military—although they don't seem to be taking a direct approach to it at all—are certainly counseling

people to take care of all those dissidents that don't agree with the government.

SV: The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) was involved in the solidarity campaign with Nicaragua, and the MFL has supported the Salvadoran struggle with events like the May Day concert. How else is the labor

movement involved in the Central American struggle?

Martin: I met last week with the American consulate here and told them of the federation of labor's disgust with the American policy in El Salvador. I also told them of our demand to remove all American troops and military aid from El Salvador. I told them the situation should be settled internally and a political settlement should come about there, rather than a military settlement. . . .

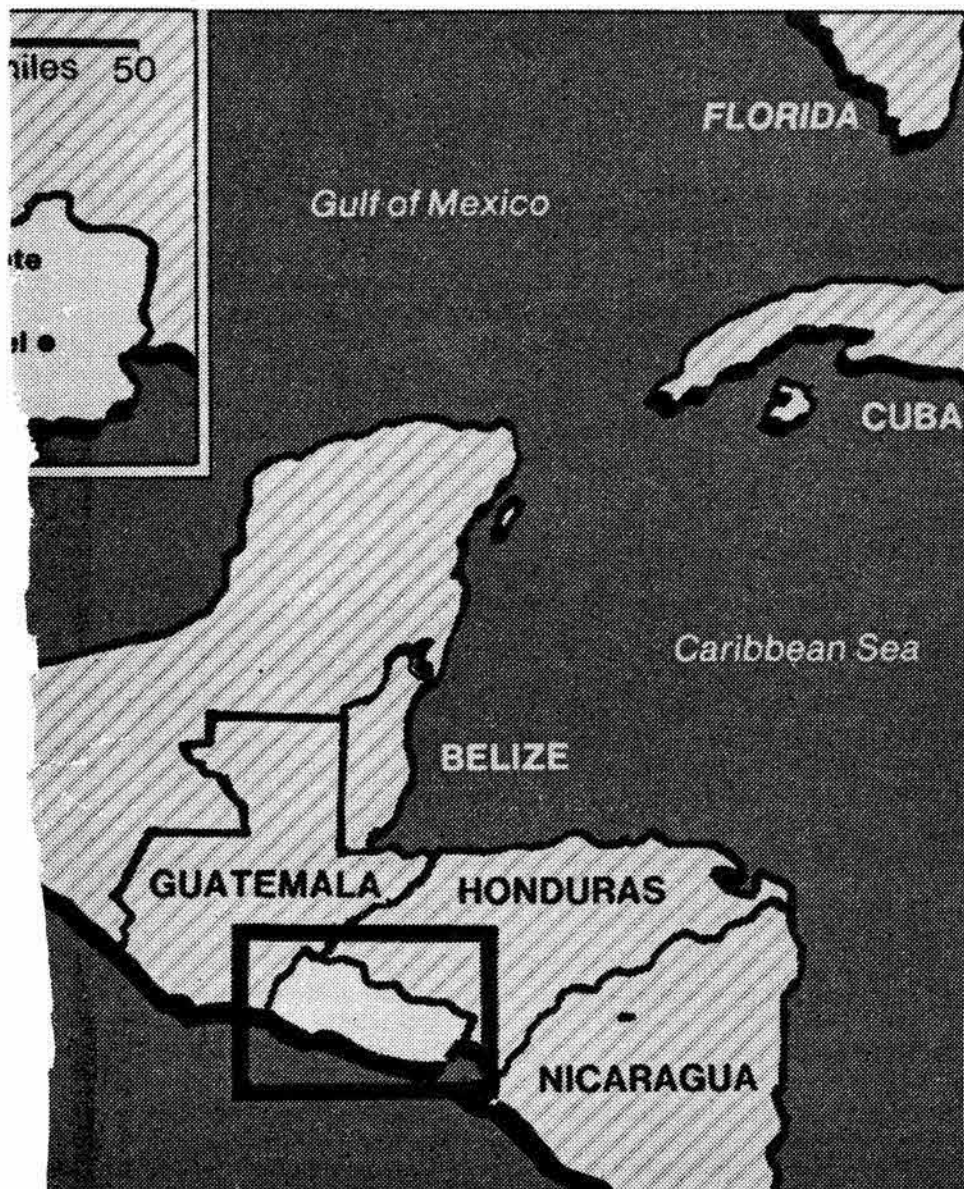
SV: What role do you see for Canadian unions in the Salvadoran solidarity movement?

Martin: I think the Canadian labor movement can do two things. One is to advocate a political settlement in El Salvador through the political process. I totally support [NDP leader Ed] Broadbent on his mission to El Salvador to try to bring about a settlement there.

Failing that, I don't see any way possible except a military solution to the whole thing, and I say military in that the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) should be supported in order to overthrow the government.



New U.S. 'white paper,' which portrays religious and other aid organizations as Communist dupes, attempts to legitimize more actions like murder of four Catholic missionaries, left.



ion in El Salvador

There is no other way about it.

When I say that, I am saying that the CLC and the MFL should support any way possible to achieve a political solution, meaning democratic elections. But if there is not that, and I mean in the very near future, we should throw our support behind the people who are struggling for democracy and control of their country.

SV: The American government has said it supports the junta in El Salvador to stop the so-called "international Communist conspiracy." How would you answer that?

Martin: There is no evidence at all that the El Salvadoran revolutionaries are supported by the Cubans or Russians. But I wouldn't be surprised if there was Cuban military equipment and Russian military equipment there, and why not?

They made an appeal to the Western world to support them and the Western world turned them down. They are against a brutal repressive dictatorship, and if I was them I would go to any country in the world that would provide me arms to overthrow that brutal, repressive dicta-

torship. I support that.

Second, there is no evidence at all it is a Communist conspiracy or any other kind of conspiracy. The people simply want to have a part of the national economy to live in some decency. . . .

SV: The Honorable Secretary of State has stated Canadian policy to be "quiet acquiescence" to the American policy. Would you agree that that is Canadian policy?

Martin: It's not acquiescence, it's total collaboration as far as I am concerned. Every drop of blood that is dropped by a Salvadoran peasant and guerrilla fighter is a responsibility of Canada's, just as much as it is of the United States and General Haig.

The Americans, in my belief, would have listened to Canada if [Minister of External Affairs Mark] McGuigan had spoken out and said, "Your position is wrong, get out of El Salvador, quit sending military equipment." The Americans would have looked around a little more before they made another move. We are guilty as much as the Americans of what is taking place there today.

Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



Detroit labor backs Salvadorans

On June 14, some 110 union members and others participated in a labor speakout on El Salvador, sponsored by the Detroit chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). The meeting was held at the Detroit headquarters of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Victor Rubio, official spokesperson for the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), outlined the history of the Salvadoran trade union movement, the repression, and the fighting response of the unions.

Cathy Callahan, president of AFSCME Local 1640, read excerpts from the AFSCME International Executive Board resolution condemning military intervention in El Salvador.

Reg McGhee, AFSCME international representative, stressed the crucial role of the solidarity movement in the United States and urged trade unionists present to continue their efforts at building the movement.

Endorsers of the speakout included Robert Lopez, international representative of the United Auto Workers Union (UAW); UAW international vice-president Mark Stepp; Mike Rinaldi, president of UAW Local 600; Harry Lester, district director of District 29 United Steelworkers of America; and Gerald Deneau, president of Graphic Arts International Union Local 289.

A statement of support sent by Martin Gerber, UAW international vice-president, declared: "I am opposed to any U.S. involvement in that war-torn country. I support those in El Salvador seeking to exercise their basic human rights of free expression, and to organize freely and independently. Trade unionists in El Salvador have shown tremendous courage in the face of severe repression. They deserve our full support in their struggle to obtain a more free and democratic society."

Stan Glassman, president of Lodge 82 of the International Association of Machinists, and Paul Domeny, general secretary of the United Catering, Restaurant and Bar Workers Union, also sent messages of solidarity.

Cultural festival solidarizes with Salvador

On June 6-7, the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador held a cultural festival in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Uno Más Uno, a Mexico City daily newspaper, reported that "the festival took place last Saturday and Sunday in the Plaza Hidalgo in Coyoacán, where thousands of spectators—in addition to taking in the music, the poetry, dance, and theatre of twenty-five Mexican, Salvadoran, Peruvian, and Chilean groups—also received the message of the armed struggle that liberates a people from injustice and oppression."

Gilberto López y Rivas from the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador pointed out that "the festival is part of a series of activities to intensify the solidarity between the Mexican and Salvadoran people." He continued: "It can be affirmed that if Reagan intervenes in El Salvador, thousands of Latin American men and women will be disposed to wage an international solidarity struggle."

Uno Más Uno reports that the United Union of Workers in the Nuclear Industry contributed 4,463,000 pesos (US\$185,214). On June 27-28, the first international forum of solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution will take place in Mexico City. More than 150 Mexican and Latin American organizations will attend.

El Salvador 'Most Censored' story by media

The June 12 *Lancaster Independent Press* reports:

"'Project Censored', a nation wide media project, has selected El Salvador as the most 'censored' story of 1980.

"Each year Project Censored, which is coordinated at Sonoma State University in California, names ten stories which nationally recognized media jurors choose as being ignored or mishandled by the major media.

"El Salvador tops the list this year because, according to noted journalist Noam Chomsky, one of the project jurors, 'The major news media presented the American public with an inaccurate picture of what was happening there.' And Carl Jensen, the project's director, adds that coverage of El Salvador is 'a prime example of how the mass media, either through misinformation or ignorance, generated public support for a misguided U.S. foreign policy that threatened to embroil America in another Vietnam War.'"

What "Project Censored" failed to note, however, is that—despite the media's best efforts—polls show a majority of Americans oppose Washington's policy of providing arms to the junta.

'Grenada—Nobody's Backyard'

On June 26-27, the film, *Grenada—Nobody's Backyard*, directed by Ellen Ray, will be shown at the New York Marxist School, 151 W. 19th St., seventh floor.

The showing begins at 8 p.m. for an admission of \$3. Caldwell Taylor, representative of the Grenada Mission to the United Nations, will be on hand to answer questions.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

...Poland's economy

Continued from page 4

The U.S. banks want to delay a decision on the debt repayments until the Kania government convinces them that it can contain the working-class upsurge in Poland and implement the brutal austerity measures necessary to pay off the huge debt.

At the current time, explained Richard Portes, economics professor at the University of London, in the June 19 *New York Times*, the banks "see no evidence of improvements in Polish economic management and of willingness to accept prolonged austerity."

Portes believes that the U.S. loan sharks will want even higher interest rates as part of an agreement. The Polish government has already been paying extortionist interest rates—1.5 percent above the standard European rate.

The bankers are outraged that while the cost of Poland's scarce food supplies soars, the price of food has not risen since last summer.

Obstacle for bankers

"Keeping food prices down has been expensive for the government," explained the *Wall Street Journal*, "because it has had to raise by about 40% what it pays farmers for their products. The effect is a subsidy costing the government about \$8.4 billion a year."

The big obstacle to the bankers' goal of milking Poland for debt payments is Solidarity.

The bankers, of course, do not openly call for harsh measures, like those demanded by Moscow in Poland. That would expose the duplicity behind Washington's posture of sympathy for the Polish workers—a stance taken as part of their anti-communist, anti-Soviet propaganda campaign.

An article in the *New York Times*, August 31, 1980, noted that "both communist authorities and the capitalist bankers recognize a common interest in stability—so much so that one Western banker, who asked not to be cited by name, said that if the Russians actually did invade Poland, the nation's credit ratings might actually increase."

In his speech to parliament June 12, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out that the efforts to reorganize Poland's economy were being seriously hampered by the lack of an agreement with the Western banks.

Blaming the workers

Jaruzelski, however, failed to explain the real causes of the crisis.

Instead, he blamed the workers.

Industrial production in May, he said, was down 18 percent in comparison with May 1980. Coal production was down 20 percent. Moreover, incomes had increased, creating an excess of \$16 billion of demand over supply.

"Polish workers work shorter hours, produce less, but earn more," he complained. "The mountain of money" in workers pockets he described as "sucking almost every product out of the market. Lines are getting longer, chaos on the market deepens, and speculation grows."

What is the real reason for the crisis?

The Polish government's economic planning in the past decade was based on the assumption that the market for Poland's products in the capitalist countries would continue to expand. But this perspective foundered when the capitalist economy went into decline on a world scale in the mid-1970s. Trade possibilities began to contract, forcing the Polish government to borrow more and more from the imperialist banks.

Mismanagement and waste

Attempts to pay back this enormous debt by cutting food subsidies and thus raising food prices, caused the explosions in June 1976 and then in June 1980. This heralded the beginning of the workers' upsurge, which brought down the Edward Gierek government in September 1980 and led to the formation of Solidarity.

Although Poland (a workers state with a planned economy) has not suf-

fered the same shocks of unemployment and inflation as experienced by the capitalist countries, its economy has suffered. Solution of the problem has been blocked by bureaucratic mismanagement and the waste of resources by the highly privileged officials.

Jaruzelski puts the demands of the bankers first. The Polish workers and farmers, on the other hand, are fighting for a solution that will protect the living standards of working people and advance the overall interests of the Polish nation.

Jaruzelski is opposed to relying on the Polish workers and farmers to resist the demands of the banks, because he represents the special interests of the privileged bureaucracy that governs Poland today.

Solidarity is putting forward a program for solving the crisis. The stance of the union was summed up by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa at an International Labor Organization meeting in Geneva June 5.

Walesa stated that the union was not responsible for the crisis. Everyone knows, he said, that the crisis is the result of the "political errors and the irresponsible economic and social policies of the state leadership over the last [several] years."

'Solidarity will cooperate'

Solidarity, he said, is prepared to cooperate with any "rational program for overcoming the economic crisis and of reconstructing the existing forms of organization of our social and economic life. We are conscious of the fact that to find a way out of the present difficulties will require sacrifices and self-denial from every Pole."

"We have also advised all the branches of the Solidarity union that they should not make any new wage demands or launch any new strikes without first consulting the central leadership."

Walesa added, "We intend to fight so that no one in Poland goes without a job and to defend the vital interests of the poorest sectors of society in town and countryside alike."

Walesa made clear that the Polish workers take seriously the threats of invasion from Moscow and have no intention of giving up their hard-won gains.

Solidarity stands with the overwhelming majority of the Polish people who are united and committed to deepening the changes occurring there.

"I would like, from this international forum," Walesa told the meeting, "to tell everybody, all peoples of the world, that the Poles are capable of settling their own internal affairs by themselves and among themselves. It is the common interest that external intervention should not become an obstacle to the process of consolidation now going on in Polish society." And he continued:

"Our union was born out of protest. Using the traditional methods of workers' struggle—demonstrations and strikes—it contributed in a definitive way to launching a profound transformation of the social and political life of the country. There is no area which has remained unaffected by this process of renewal."

'Only the beginning'

"Even though we are aware this is only the beginning of these changes, no one in Poland has any doubt as to the fact that there is no way back to the previous methods of ruling the country and governing its economy."

Solidarity "has become the greatest, the largest social organization in the history of my country. Its members... are joined by one common striving... life in civic freedom, in freedom of thought and speech, in human dignity and national sovereignty," he said.

Walesa added that "the principles of social justice, democratic freedoms and independent action that are the guidelines of Solidarity transcend the frontiers between states, blocs, or systems. They are the common property of the labor movement."

National Picket Line



Cotton dust restrictions upheld in court

Labor won an important victory on June 17 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the benefits of cotton dust regulations should not be measured against the costs to the industry. Such a step, the court said, "would inevitably" lead to less protection. The decision upheld the cotton dust standard, which sets maximum allowable levels in mills.

The decision helps protect the health of an estimated 800,000 workers in the textile industry who are exposed to cotton dust, the cause of brown lung.

It was a setback for the Reagan administration, which is carrying out an aggressive campaign to undercut Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations. The ruling is a precedent against similar court cases on exposure to benzene, asbestos, arsenic, lead, and coke-oven emissions.

On May 4, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union organized thousands of active and retired textile workers to demonstrate in Washington and other cities in support of the cotton dust standard.

Harbor shutdown in Los Angeles

Mike Downs, a longshoreman from Los Angeles, called to report on the twenty-four-hour shutdown of the Los Angeles harbor Monday, June 15.

The protest action included a rally by 5,000 workers at the Longshore Hall. It was organized by the L.A. Harbor Coalition, eight local unions that came together last year.

The aim of the protest action was to stop U.S. Senate Bill 1182. It is an attack on the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Compensation Act. The Reagan administration is pushing to reduce benefits and restrict coverage.

The protest was initiated by Local 13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.



20,000 workers protest in Illinois

20,000 trade unionists jammed the capitol grounds in Springfield, Illinois, June 2 to protest a flood of antilabor bills being proposed by the state legislature.

The rally was organized by the Illinois AFL-CIO and included large contingents from the building trades, steel, auto, rubber, and other unions.

The Democrats and Republicans have proposed bills that reduce workers' compensation, unemployment insurance benefits, safety standards on construction sites, and cut the "prevailing wage" on publicly funded projects.

A "right to work" bill that was approved by the House Labor Committee was voted down just a few days before the protest.

Robert Gibson, state AFL-CIO president, told the cheering crowd, "That union-busting measure went down because they knew you were coming."

Sick of the givebacks

Workers at the Chrysler plant in Belvidere, Illinois, found their own way to mark June 15—the day they *should* have gotten a cost-of-living increase in their paychecks.

More than 50 percent of the night shift called in sick the Friday before. Fifty percent of the day shift got sick that Monday. The company had to cancel production both times... and 1,300 fast-selling Omnis and Horizons didn't come off the line.

The COLA payment was lost in the last round of Chrysler givebacks, a concession that workers in the Belvidere plant have overwhelmingly voted against.

Anti-communist oath ruled illegal

A district court magistrate in Providence, Rhode Island, has ruled that an anti-communist oath in Local 94 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is illegal.

According to an article in the June 12 *Daily World*, a newspaper that reflects the views of the U.S. Communist Party, District Court Magistrate Jacob Hagopian ruled on May 22 that the union was violating the First Amendment by demanding that prospective union members declare whether or not they are members of the CP.

The suit was brought by John Hovan, a floor tile installer who refused to answer the question in 1978 and lost the chance to obtain work at a union shop.

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

—Vivian Sahner

Minn. tour wins backing for Salvador refugee

By Carole Lesnick

MINNEAPOLIS—Tulio Figueroa Mendoza, the Salvadoran unionist seeking political asylum in the United States, has just completed a successful tour of Minnesota. Mendoza is a member of ANDES, the Salvadoran Educators Association.

The tour began June 13, when Mendoza participated in a panel on "The Labor Movement Under the Republicans." The panel was part of a three-day regional conference on union democracy in Minnesota sponsored by the Association for Union Democracy (AUD). It was attended by sixty delegates from unions in the region.

Other panelists included Carl Auerbach, professor of law at the University of Minnesota; and Victor Reuther, former director of International Affairs for the United Auto Workers (UAW).

After Mendoza spoke, Reuther blasted Washington's role in El Salvador. He also denounced the role of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA front that operates in El Salvador with official AFL-CIO support. Reuther characterized the killing of two AIFLD officials by right-wing gangs as tragic, but pointed out that the two had nothing to do with the labor movement. Instead of carrying out an "agrarian" reform in El Salvador that resulted in the death of thousands of peasants, he said, real union people would be out organizing farmworkers right here in the United States.

Fifty-two people signed Mendoza's petition for asylum, including Reuther, Auerbach and Gordon Haskell, president of AUD.

On June 14 and 15, Mendoza was interviewed by Gordon Spielman, editor of the *Union-Advocate*, newspaper of the St. Paul AFL-CIO; the *Minnesota Daily*; and radio stations KUOM and KFAI.



From left, Carole Lesnick, representative of El Salvador Solidarity Committee; Alan Benjamin, representative of U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; Tulio Mendoza; Bob Killeen, sub-regional director, Region 10 United Auto Workers; Virgil Moline, vice-president, Minnesota AFL-CIO and president of Minneapolis Central Labor Council.

On the evening of June 15 at the Minnesota Labor Center, 225 people, mostly trade unionists, turned out for a labor speakout in support of Mendoza sponsored by the Minnesota state AFL-CIO.

An impressive array of speakers participated. Bob Killee, sub-regional director of UAW Region 10, chaired it. Virgil Moline, vice president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO and president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Council, also spoke. He brought a message of support from Dave Roe, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO.

Other speakers included James Mangin, member of the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and representatives of the Guatemala and El Salvador solidarity committees.

Over \$300 was raised and 150 people signed a petition requesting asylum for Mendoza.

Statements of support were sent to the meeting by Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) Minneapolis Lodge 1310, and by United Transportation locals 650 and 911. Gordon Wil-

liams, general chairman of BRAC System Board #46, representing clerks on the Burlington Northern Line, sent packets of literature on the Mendoza case to locals in the twenty-eight states he represents.

On June 16 Mendoza traveled to Virginia, Minnesota, in the Iron Range, where he was interviewed by the *Mesabi Daily News*, the *Hibbing Tribune*, and WEVE radio.

Mendoza spoke to fifty people at Mesabi Community College in a meeting sponsored by the Northern Minnesota Committee on El Salvador. A representative of Minnesota Congressman James Oberstar, author of House Resolution 126, which would grant Salvadoran refugees "extended voluntary departure," greeted Mendoza and read a message of support to the meeting. In addition, Mendoza was able to meet Ed Walberg, vice president of Local 1938 United Steelworkers of America, a sponsor of previous solidarity activities.

That evening, the St. Cloud Central Labor Council passed resolutions condemning U.S. economic and military aid to the Salvadoran junta and supporting Mendoza's and all Salvadoran refugees' right to asylum.

A noon press conference in the Duluth City Council chambers June 17 was attended by all three major networks and KQDS and KDAL radio. The *Duluth Tribune* and *Labor World*, the AFL-CIO paper, were also on hand.

Seventy people attended a rally at Civic Plaza sponsored by the Duluth Central Labor Council, the Northern Minnesota Committee on El Salvador, and Clergy and Laity Concerned. Speakers included Mendoza, Jenny Richardson of the Duluth Federation of Teachers, Tom Huntley, representing the Duluth City Council, and Bishop Paul Anderson of Duluth.

10,000 Ariz. workers hit union-busting move

An estimated 10,000 unionists marched and rallied in Tucson, Arizona, on May 13, according to a story in *The Arizona Republic*.

They were protesting Tucson Electric Power Company's awarding of a \$150 million contract for construction of a coal-fired power plant to a nonunion firm.

They were also outraged at the utility's proposed 11.8 percent rate increase. Among the demonstrators at the Wednesday protest were almost all of the 5,000 union workers from the Palo Verde nuclear plant under construction near Phoenix.

The Phoenix Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO, had appealed for those workers to join the protest.

At the rally—reportedly the largest ever in Tucson—iron workers, carpenters, electricians, and other unionists

carried signs saying, "Keep America Union," and denouncing Brown & Root, the scab contractor.

A significant number of the participants were Chicano workers.

John Fitzpatrick, president of the Retail Clerks Union, Local 727 in Tucson, was cheered when he told the crowd, "open shop means scab shop or anti-union shop."

Arizona is a "right-to-work" state.

Dudley Brown, business manager of the Phoenix Building Trades Council, explained, "We're here in Tucson because the enemies of labor are here in Tucson."

He charged that Tucson Power "and their Wall Street bankers want to break the unions."

"We're mad as hell, and we're going to blow the whistle on Brown and Root."

Tom Volgy, vice-mayor of Tucson,

called the requested rate hike "outrageous" and told the crowd, "it should not be tolerated."

After the rally in Presidio Park, the protesters marched through downtown to the power company's headquarters, where their annual shareholders' meeting was taking place.

At that meeting, Theodore Welp, president of Tucson Electric, explained why Brown and Root, the largest builder of power plants in the country, won the contract.

Brown and Root plans to use 500 fewer workers than the union contractor it was competing with. Utility officials estimate this will save them \$50 million in labor costs.

No estimates were given of the health hazards and poor working conditions which result when too few workers are employed on a construction project.

Welp also explained to the share-

holders that the company's earnings in 1980 had improved for the sixth straight year. The proposed rate hike would bring in \$28 million.

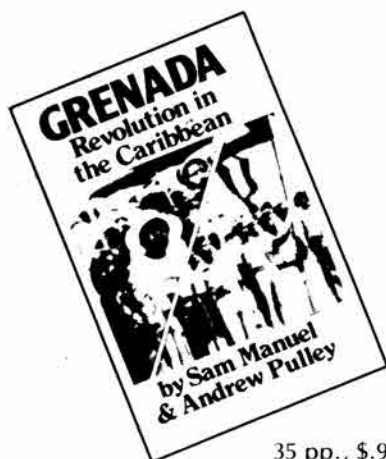
In an editorial entitled, "Outrageous!" *The Arizona Republic* complained of the "gall" of the Palo Verde construction workers in taking off from work to attend a labor protest rally.

What really defied belief, the editorial continued, was that workers claimed they were protesting rate hikes.

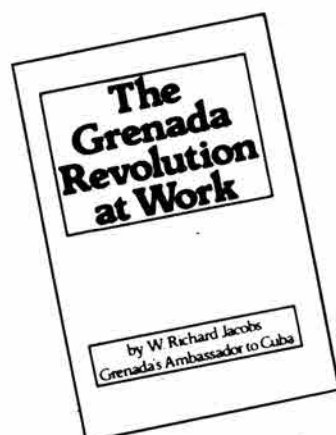
But, *The Republic* fumed, "Perhaps the most incredible statement flowing from this wildcat behavior came from a union spokesman who tried to justify the walkout by comparing it to the activities of Solidarity in Poland."

The editorial concludes by urging action against the workers and measures to prevent such work stoppages in the future.

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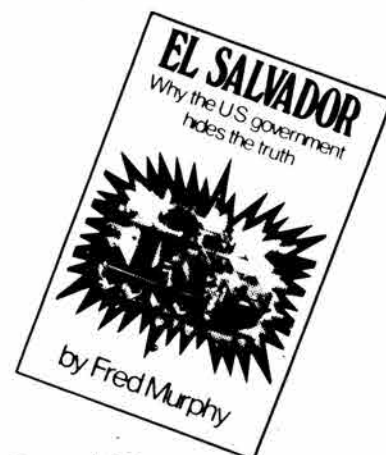
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Irish hunger strikers win worldwide support

By Sean Flood

DUBLIN—I recently got a sense of the extent of worldwide support for the republican hunger strikers in the H-Blocks of Maze prison by speaking to Sean Halpenny, the secretary of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of Sinn Féin (the political organization associated with the Provisional Irish Republican Army).

"There has been support from all quarters of the world," Halpenny pointed out, "and this has been an ongoing process since the start of the first hunger strike." That hunger strike ran fifty-three days in October, November, and December 1980 and ended with concessions by the British government, which were later reneged upon. "On the second hunger strike," Halpenny continued, "this support has solidified and advanced."

In particular, Halpenny drew attention to the massive support for the hunger strikers that has been seen in the **United States**. A number of state legislatures have passed resolutions in support of the demands of the hunger strikers.

Many U.S. trade unions have expressed their support for the hunger strikers. Among them are the Teamsters Union, the Texas Farmworkers Union, the New York Central Labor Council (representing one million workers), the New York Trades Council, the California Labor Federation (representing 1.75 million workers), and numerous individual union branches.

Other U.S. groups that have expressed support include the Arab-American University Graduates, the International Indian Treaty Council (a body representing ninety-eight Indian nations in the U.S.), and Puerto Rican and Chicano organizations.

Two important messages of support were sent to Sinn Féin from **Nicaragua**—one from the government and the other from Julio López, director of foreign affairs for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

'An inspiration'

Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of the Caribbean island nation Grenada, discussed Ireland in his speech on the second anniversary of the Grenadian revolution. Bishop called the Irish struggle an inspiration to all revolutionaries throughout the world.

Messages of solidarity with the Irish



Funeral for Bobby Sands, hunger striker who died May 5

An Phoblacht

freedom fighters have also come from the major organizations currently battling to overthrow the repressive junta in **El Salvador**.

Cuban diplomats have publicly declared their support for the Irish prisoners.

In **Canada**, the Irish struggle has been closely followed in Quebec in particular. Halpenny pointed out that the major unions in French-speaking Canada, have sent messages of support. A May 8 support demonstration in Montreal was led by the president of the Quebec Federation of Labor and the general secretary of the Quebec Teachers Federation.

European support for the hunger strikers has been "incredible" according to Halpenny. During the first hunger strike, the **Portuguese** parliament passed a resolution condemning the Thatcher government and calling for recognition of the prisoners' political status. British Prime Minister Thatcher responded by threatening to cut off diplomatic ties.

Nevertheless, during the second hunger strike the Portuguese parliament passed another motion in support of the five demands of the strikers. About seventy members of that body went to the British embassy to express their views.

On the day Bobby Sands died, some

9,000 people marched through Lisbon carrying black flags and pictures of Sands.

In **France**, Halpenny said, all four major union federations have called on the British government to grant the demands of the prisoners. There have also been big demonstrations around the prisoners in France. One of 10,000 people was organized by the Communist Party.

The new French president, François Mitterrand, sent messages of condolence to the Sands family following Sands's death.

In **Belgium** youth organizations responded by printing tee-shirts bearing pictures of the prisoners and slogans supporting their demands.

The teacher's union in **West Germany** has declared its support for the prisoners. Prominent writers, artists, and musicians have signed a solidarity petition.

A Sinn Féin delegation recently toured **East Germany**. The delegation, which included two former prisoners, was interviewed on radio and television and by two leading newspapers.

The British government lodged a formal protest about the visit, but the East German government responded with a statement blasting the use of torture in British prisons.

Halpenny told me that every Communist Party in Europe, with the notable exception of those in Ireland and Bri-

tain, has declared its support for the demands of the hunger strikers.

Representatives of two left parties in the **Danish** parliament, and thirty-eight members of the **Finnish** parliament have declared their solidarity, as have the **Catalonian** and **Basque** parliaments in Spain.

Trade union support

In **Italy** the three major union federations have all taken up the cause of the hunger strikers and there have been street demonstrations.

The major newspapers in **India** have blasted the British government's attitude and supported Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's criticisms of Margaret Thatcher.

Leading figures in **Iran** have also made strong statements. Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and Ayatollah Khomeini sent messages, as did the prime minister and Tehran's mayor. The Iranian government sent a representative to Bobby Sands's funeral and renamed the street running past the British embassy in his honor.

Sinn Féin has also received support for the demands of the hunger strikers from the National Democratic Front—a broad coalition of political and cultural organizations—in the **Philippines**.

Messages have been received from a number of important trade unions in **New Zealand** and **Australia**, including the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

Among the national liberation movements that have endorsed the demands of the hunger strikers are the Popular Front for the Liberation of **Palestine**, the **Zimbabwe** African National Union (now the governing party), the **South West Africa** People's Organisation in **Namibia**, the African National Congress in **South Africa**, the Polisario Front in the **Western Sahara**, the **Eritrean** People's Liberation Front, and the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, which is a Soweto-based group.

Solidarity in Britain

Halpenny is greatly encouraged by the growth in solidarity inside **Britain**. Messages of support have come from the Edinburgh Trades Council, the Scottish Trades Union Congress, the National Union of Miners, and other unions. Several city councils and student organizations have also expressed their support for the hunger strikers' demands.

From Intercontinental Press

Swiss voters approve equal rights amendment

By Janice Lynn

Women in Switzerland won an important victory June 14 when voters approved a constitutional amendment on equality of the sexes.

The amendment expands an article in the present constitution that proclaims "all Swiss are equal under the law," making explicit that women and men are entitled to both equal rights and equal pay.

The full text of the amendment that was approved by Swiss voters states, "Men and women have the same rights. The law provides for equality, especially in family, education, and work domains. Men and women are entitled to equal pay for equal work."

The amendment grew out of a proposal initiated by various women's organizations. The women withdrew their original proposal after the bourgeois

parties in the Federal Council introduced a counterproposal. While not as inclusive as the women's original initiative, the Federal Council's proposal still contained the important equal pay principle. The women's groups campaigned actively for approval of the amendment.

This victory will lay the legal groundwork for women to carry on their struggle for equal rights and to campaign for implementation of the amendment.

It wasn't until 1971 that Swiss women first won the right to vote in national elections. Yet there are still cantons where women are not allowed to vote in local affairs. Under the new constitutional amendment, women may be able to bring legal action to win their right to vote in local elections.

Similarly, the amendment gives legal backing for the trade unions to fight for securing equal pay for women workers.

The amendment was bitterly opposed by the employers. At present, Swiss women earn 25 to 30 percent less than men for the same job.

In the watch-making industry, one of the most important industries in Switzerland, half of the 40,000 employees are women (and 35 percent of these are immigrant women). Yet, 80 percent of the women workers are employed in unskilled categories, as compared to only 17 percent of the men.

The women, who perform the bulk of the very repetitive, detailed work, receive an hourly wage, and in 93 percent of the cases this wage is linked to productivity. Meanwhile, the bulk of the male workers receive a monthly wage.

One of the demands in the coming contract negotiations is for a monthly wage for all workers.

However, only 12 percent of the wom-

en workers in the watch-making industry are unionized. This makes it more difficult for the women to fight for their rights.

The Socialist Workers Party (PSO), Swiss section of the Fourth International, points to the need for the trade union movement to increase its presence in the watch-making industry and revise the industry's present policy of orienting women workers to the unskilled, lower-paying jobs. The PSO calls for training programs that will allow women access to all trades.

The PSO was actively involved in the campaign in support of the equal rights amendment. It calls for the independent mobilization of women workers and the workers organizations to assure that the rights now legally guaranteed to women are actually implemented.

From Intercontinental Press

Washington, Peking take aim at Vietnam

By David Frankel

Asia—the most populous area in the world—also confronts some of its most pressing problems. Hunger, malnutrition, and disease affect millions. In most countries economic development has been stunted by the legacy of colonial oppression. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea are still attempting to reconstruct their countries, which were the victims of the most savage destructive campaign in world history.

But not one of these problems has been addressed by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig in his tour of Asia. Instead, Haig has concentrated on threats against Vietnam; support to the shaky dictatorships in Thailand and the Philippines; encouragement of greater militarization in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand; and new steps in Washington's counterrevolutionary alliance with Peking.

Haig wasted no time in setting the tone for his trip. After three days of meetings with officials in Peking, he announced June 16 that Washington would open up arms sales to the Chinese regime.

This announcement was followed up with a June 18 article by *New York Times* correspondent Philip Taubman, who reported: "The United States and China are jointly operating an electronic intelligence-gathering station in China to monitor Soviet missile tests, according to senior American officials."

According to Taubman, Washington provided the equipment for the spy station, which is operated by Chinese technicians and periodically visited by advisers from the CIA.

Military pressure on Vietnam

U.S. officials left no doubt as to the aim of any arms sales by Washington to the Peking regime. In a June 16 speech in Peking, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs John Holdridge singled out Vietnam.

Complaining that the Vietnamese "are very tough people," Holdridge declared that "we will seek, if we can, to find ways to increase the political, economic, and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam."

The following day, Haig flew to Manila to meet with the foreign ministers of

the five members (Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines) of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Upon his arrival in the Philippines Haig asserted that he had come to consult with the ministers on "the dangerous activities of Vietnam with the encouragement and with the support of the Soviet Union."

Emphasizing his support for the corruption-riddled regime of Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Haig said that Washington was prepared to "shore up those who are under threat and danger and in the front lines."

Precisely because of the ever-present danger of revolution that they face from their own people, the ASEAN regimes are haunted by the threat of the Vietnamese revolution—although they pretend that the threat is military rather than political.

At the center of the campaign against the Vietnamese revolution right now is the demand that Vietnamese forces withdraw from Kampuchea. Washington sees this as the first step toward reestablishing a counterrevolutionary beachhead there.

With encouragement from Washington, both the Thai military dictatorship and Peking have been funneling arms and supplies to the Khmer Rouge army of former Kampuchean ruler Pol Pot, which was responsible for the deaths of millions of Kampuchians during its years in power.

U.S. arms sales to Peking mean that this aid to the Pol Pot forces will be stepped up. And at the ASEAN meeting, Singapore's foreign minister, Supiyal Dhanabalan threatened that if Vietnamese forces are not withdrawn from Kampuchea, "Vietnam will continue to be isolated, aid to them from the international community opposed and denied and every nationalist group resisting Vietnamese occupation will be encouraged."

Behind the bold front

Behind the bold front put up by the ASEAN regimes and Haig, however, there is not much confidence.

Far from resisting "Vietnamese occupation," the Kampuchean people view the Vietnamese presence as a welcome



Deng Xiaoping and Alexander Haig



guarantee against any return of the hated Khmer Rouge regime.

Militarily and politically, the counterrevolutionary forces are fragmented and there appears to be little prospect of their unification. Despite murderous raids and harassment, they have been unable to prevent a new government from being consolidated and from reviving the economic life of the country.

Nor are the capitalist regimes in the area convinced that more extreme measures would prove any more effective. The announcement that Washington will sell arms to Peking revives memories of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in January 1979.

As David Van Praagh reported in the June 29 issue of *Business Week*, "A growing ASEAN fear is that China, emboldened by U.S. military hardware, would go to Thailand's help if it were threatened by Vietnam. But some Southeast Asians fear that Chinese forces could be beaten."

The fact that Washington is being forced to turn to Peking for help in containing the Indochinese revolutions is an indication of just how weak the U.S. position in the region really is. Capitalism, after all, has been abolished in China, despite the counterrevolutionary foreign policy of the current regime.

Referring to the possibility of a

change in government in China, one ASEAN diplomat told *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin, "Although the ASEAN countries now see Vietnam as the main threat in the region, in the longer term China could be the main threat."

No help from Japan

A further indication of the underlying weakness of Washington's position was the response of Japanese officials to Haig's demands that they increase military spending and move to play a broader military role in east Asia.

Massive opposition to such moves among Japanese working people had led to the resignation of Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito in May and to the cancellation of Haig's planned visit to Japan—originally scheduled as the first stop on his tour.

The week before Haig arrived in Manila, U.S. and Japanese military and governmental officials met in Hawaii. According to a report in the June 20 *Washington Post*, the U.S. team proposed military spending increases as high as 50 percent to the Japanese.

At Manila, the new Japanese foreign minister, Sunao Sonoda, met with Haig and rejected the proposed military increases.

From Intercontinental Press

Israeli bomb raid: the lies start unraveling

By Janice Lynn

One after another, every justification given by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin for the June 7 bombing of an Iraqi nuclear reactor has turned out to be nothing but lies—pure and simple lies.

- On June 9, Begin had read reporters a quote he said was from Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. It was supposed to have appeared in the October 4, 1980 official Baghdad newspaper, *Al Thawara*.

The statement Begin read was supposedly made several days after planes, reported to have been Iranian, damaged the Iraqi nuclear facility.

According to Begin, the Iraqi newspaper quoted Hussein as saying: "The Iranian people should not fear the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which is not intended to be used against Iran, but against the Zionist enemy."

This quote, widely distributed by Israel's Foreign Ministry, was picked up by much of the bourgeois press in an attempt to give credence to the Israeli claim that the bombing was really in self-defense.

Nonexistent

It turns out that no such quote ever existed!

U.S. State Department official Nicho-

las Veliotis said June 17 that the State Department had conducted a thorough search for this article and any others supposedly threatening Israel with nuclear weapons. "Those articles did not exist," Veliotis flatly admitted.

Both Begin's office and the Israeli Foreign Ministry were forced to finally admit that there was no such quote.

- Begin repeatedly claimed that the Iraqi nuclear reactor was designed to produce atomic bombs.

On June 17, U.S. Under Secretary of State Walter Stoessel admitted that the CIA had not been able to come up with a shred of evidence to show that Iraq was planning to develop a nuclear weapon.

- Begin had also claimed that Iraq had refused to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to inspect the reactor.

In fact, the agency's inspectors had visited the facility as late as this January and had found no evidence that the Iraqi regime was attempting to build bombs.

IAEA director-general Sigvard Eklund said it was "practically impossible" for the Iraqi reactor to have been making plutonium, for the production of nuclear weapons.

'Inspector' contradicted

U.S. Senator Alan Cranston (one of the most outspoken defenders of Israel's bombing raid), tried to rebut Eklund's

testimony by producing a former IAEA inspector who testified he believed Iraq was developing nuclear weapons.

But this was contradicted by every other scientist who testified. And it turns out this self-appointed expert on Iraqi intentions had never even inspected the reactor.

- Knowing he was on shaky ground, Begin resorted to an even bigger lie. On June 11 he declared that the real target of Israel's bombing raid was actually a secret, underground facility (about 130 feet underground, in order to avoid detection, he said), where the Iraqis were secretly preparing atomic bombs. (Begin later changed it to a chamber that was only thirteen feet underground.)

French nuclear experts firmly denied the existence of any underground "bomb chamber." On June 14, Bertrand Barre, a chief attaché at the French embassy in Washington, declared:

"We have built this reactor and every auxiliary piece of equipment that goes with it and there is nothing secret about it."

Israeli authorities later backed away from the whole claim that there was a secret room under the reactor.

Meanwhile, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to strongly condemn the Israeli military attack. The resolution, however, con-

tained no call for sanctions against Israel.

U.S. ties to Israel

Just to make clear where Washington really stood, in case anyone had questions, the American delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick declared before the vote that even though Washington had condemned the attack, "we know it is necessary to take into account the context of this action, as well as its consequences."

Kirkpatrick reminded the UN delegates that "President Reagan said Israel might have sincerely believed it was a defensive move," and she extolled the "strength of the United States ties and commitment to Israel."

"Nothing has happened that in any way alters the strength of our commitment or the warmth of our feelings," Kirkpatrick said. "We, in the Reagan administration, are proud to call Israel a friend and ally."

New evidence of Washington's "commitment to Israel" surfaced June 19 when a representative of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission revealed it had advised Israeli scientists about how much damage could be inflicted on a nuclear reactor with 2,200-pound bombs.

Bombs of that size were used in the Israeli raid on the Iraqi reactor.

From Intercontinental Press



Sandinistas address problems of Atlantic coast

The following interview with Guerrilla Commander Manuel Calderón was obtained in early May by Lorraine Thiebaud and Matilde Zimmermann in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua.

Calderón, also known as "Comandante Rufo," is the military commander of the northern half of the Atlantic Coast region and a central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in the area. (In Nicaragua, the term Atlantic Coast refers to the entire eastern half of the country.)

The interview was conducted in Spanish. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.' The interview has been slightly edited for reasons of space.

Q. When we visited the gold mines of the Atlantic Coast, representatives of the unions explained to us how the miners are divided along racial lines. Can you explain to us how this problem affects not just the mines but the whole region of the Atlantic Coast?

A. Under Somoza, one's status here was defined by race more than by social class. This was the way Somoza kept things in control.

North Americans were at the top, the people who could do anything. Then came the Chinese, who didn't speak Spanish and were the merchants. Then came the Blacks, whose status was lower but who had a special relationship with the North Americans because they spoke English and with the Spanish because they learned Spanish quickly. Still lower were the Miskitus, and then below the Miskitus the Sumos, and lower still the Ramas.

Somoza took advantage of all these divisions, pitting the Miskitus against the Blacks, the Sumos against the Miskitus. The Ramas were hardly considered worth worrying about.

The "Spaniards," those who spoke Spanish, were always the ones in governmental posts, so here the person who speaks Spanish has come to represent exploitation, humiliation.

The "Spaniards" learned English, but they didn't learn Miskitu, because there was no economic or social reason to learn Miskitu.

The Blacks already knew English and they learned Spanish too. The Miskitus learned English better than Spanish. The Sumos almost never spoke their own language. They spoke Miskitu because the Miskitus had higher status.

Colonized by English

Q. How did this situation come about?

A. The Atlantic Coast was colonized by the English, not the Spanish. It wasn't until 1894 that this region was incorporated into Nicaragua, but even

then it was only a legal incorporation. There was no economic relationship, nor social, nor cultural, no recognition of the special character of the coast.

What happened was the foreign companies came to exploit the area and they built economic enclaves. They built big company stores and hired lots of people—as laundry women, ironers, wood cutters, drivers, and mechanics.

The people of the coast, because of their political backwardness, did not see how they were being abused by the companies. The truth is that imperialism exploited this area even more cruelly than other areas.

At least in the Pacific Coast they allowed a certain amount of economic development, but here they did nothing. There wasn't even the development of class consciousness here, because of the racial divisions.

What they said was—"You're a Sumo, you can't do anything. You can't either, you're a Miskitu. You're a Black, maybe you can be a mechanic. You're half white, or half Spanish, maybe you can be a boss."

In this area you can have two workers, one Miskitu and the other Spanish-speaking, and they don't think of themselves as workers. They have racial consciousness rather than class consciousness. The companies taught them racial consciousness, although of course they never solved the problems they have as a race.

When people here resisted this domination, they resisted on the basis of being Miskitus, or Blacks, or Ramas. Never on the basis of being exploited, of being workers, of being desperately poor.

Racial divisions

Q. What kinds of problems are these divisions causing today, and to what extent is imperialism able to take advantage of this situation?

A. There is an organization here called MISURASATA (Miskitus, Sumos, Ramas, and Sandinistas United). But the top leader of this organization, whose name is Steadman Fagoth, turns out to have been a police agent for Somoza. He has been leading the organization to take antigovernment positions, and this was made easier by the isolation of the area.

This is a population that didn't know how to read and write, a population that wasn't organized in any way. And they are upset and don't understand why their leader has been arrested. They don't understand, even though we've tried and tried to explain. We even brought Fagoth here so that he could explain.¹

As revolutionaries, we have to under-

stand the concerns of our people, even when our people are ignorant of the facts, or are being tricked.

The reactionaries are taking advantage of this situation. Recently articles have been coming out in the Honduran press saying that the Miskitus are fleeing to Honduras because they are being repressed, because the Sandinista armed forces are after them.

There is also the matter of the radio station called "15th of September." It calls on the people of Nicaragua to follow the example of the struggle of the Miskitu people, who are rising up against the government to win their final liberation. It calls on Miskitus to come to Honduras to join the Somozaists, to join the ex-National Guard who will liberate them.

Promoting development

Q. What is being done to overcome these problems?

A. The organization of trade unions has helped some. The unions are formed by Miskitus, Blacks, and Spanish-speaking. They elect their own leaders—it's not a question of the FSLN choosing leaders for them. Little by little, this is starting to improve things.

We know that overcoming these divisions will take a long time. We need time. The problem is that this is an extremely undeveloped area.

There are no means of communication. There are no sources of permanent work. There are no good schools or good health centers. There are no vocational schools. The illiteracy rate is very high. For example, there were areas where 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The population is very dispersed.

The economy is basically one of subsistence. People grow food in order to live, in order to eat. This is not because they want it that way—it is because they have no way to sell their products.

In 1980 we went way into the countryside. We handed out all kinds of loans to peasants, but we did it in a romantic way, only to find out later that there was no way to get out the products they had grown.

This cost the country millions of córdobas. But as good revolutionaries we can't take away a peasant's little plot of

1. Since this interview, Fagoth was released from house arrest in Managua and allowed to return to Puerto Cabezas. He had promised to use his influence to persuade Miskitu youth who had left for Honduras to return to Nicaragua. Instead Fagoth himself fled to Honduras, where he made broadcasts in Spanish and Miskitu on the Somozaists' radio station attacking "the Sandino-Communist government."

land. That would be anti-Sandinista. So we have a real problem.

Isolation from revolution

Q. Do you think that economic development is the most important way to win the confidence of the residents of the coast?

A. It is a many-sided task. A lot of different elements have to come into play.

The revolutionary war never reached the Atlantic Coast. If you haven't lived through a war, if you haven't experienced the difficulty of this struggle, then how are you going to know the revolution except through its accomplishments? And here, frankly, the revolution has not accomplished great things because we just haven't been able to.

There is a problem with communication. We are trying to finish this landing strip so that big planes can land. We weren't able to finish the Waslala-Siuna road (linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts) because the rainy season came early. Water transportation is a problem we haven't been able to resolve.

Here even a little project costs 10 million córdobas (10 córdobas = US\$1). Providing drinking water just for the town of Puerto Cabezas costs 9 million córdobas. Improving the landing strip costs about 8.5 million.

Another example is the housing we are building for the miners. We know that these houses won't be fit to live in in five years. But we don't have the resources to build better houses. The ones we are building cost 49 million córdobas.

We have to bring the prefabricated houses in by sea, and then by river to Alamikamba, where we take them off the boats and put them on trucks to take to the different mines. And we don't really have the trucks and big boats we need to transport them. It is an enormous task.

Indian groups need to unite

Q. What kind of role can an organization like MISURASATA play in helping to change this situation? What types of demands does MISURASATA put forward?

A. The role it plays depends on what kind of orientation it has. If the organization had a nationalist orientation, if its purpose was to build nationalist sentiment or patriotic sentiment, it could help.

In the first place it could unite the three different Indian groups. Then at least the problem of racial antagonisms among the three groups could be resolved, and it would be easier for them to move forward if they were united. The problem is that the individuals who are heading the organization tend to lead it in another direction.

One of the demands MISURASATA puts forward, for example, is that 80 percent of the coast's earnings should be kept here for the development of the coast. The truth is that if we limited ourselves to 80 percent of the coast's earnings, this region wouldn't be developed in 100 years.

The total earnings of the Atlantic Coast are less than 100 million córdobas a year, because the industry that produces the most is mining, and their goal for 1981 is 70 million córdobas. But in 1981 the government plans to invest 250 million córdobas in developing the coast.

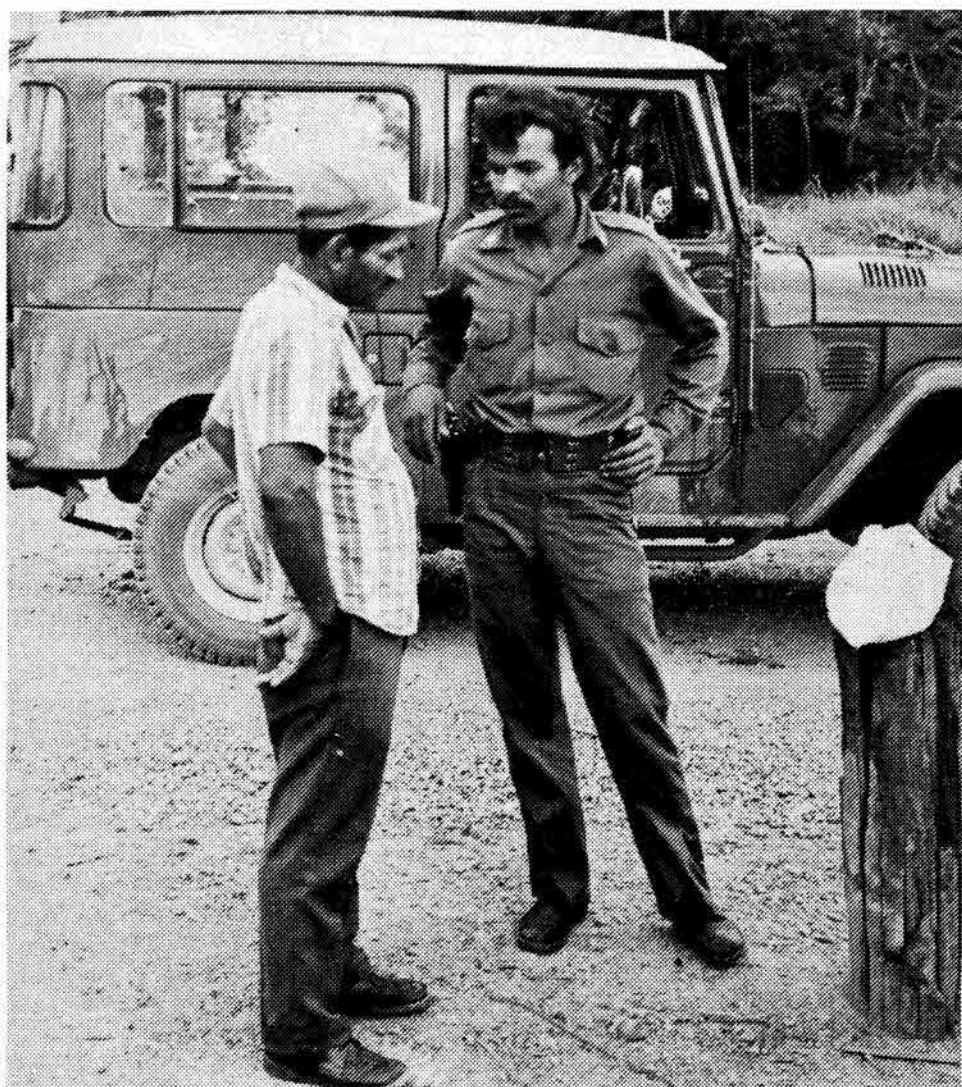
Q. But don't people believe that the mines are producing tremendous wealth which is being stolen from the Atlantic Coast by the Pacific region?

A. The leaders of the MISURASATA certainly know that is not true. They know that the Siuna mine, up to recently, was losing almost two million córdobas a month. Rosita was losing a million or a million and a half. Up to recently Bonanza was the only mine producing a



Militant/Russell Johnson

Nicaragua's Atlantic coast. Under Somoza's rule foreign companies exploited area, keeping it extremely poor, underdeveloped, and racially divided. 'This was the way Somoza kept things in control.'



Comandante Manuel Calderón, right, member of the provincial leadership of FSLN, has worked on Atlantic coast region since revolution.

surplus, and the leaders certainly know this.

Part of this problem could be a lack of communication. It is the same problem of a lack of human resources. A person can't be in every different community. And then there has been a language problem, which we are trying to overcome.

History of MISURASATA

Q. Does MISURASATA carry out activities like the other mass organizations, organizing literacy classes, the militias, community projects, and so forth?

A. It has played a role in some areas. It participated in the literacy drive in Miskitu, Sumo, and English, for example. On the other hand, in the current vaccination campaign it has done nothing.

Q. What is the history of this organization?

A. There was an organization called Alpromisu formed in 1972. In the beginning it was against Somoza, but Somoza was able to buy off some of the leaders, and the organization almost died. It stopped causing Somoza any problems.

Then with the triumph of the revolution, this new organization was born. There was an assembly in which it took the name MISURASATA, which gave the false impression that it was going to be a Sandinista organization.

I don't think it is fair to say it is anti-Sandinista. It is a question of understanding the whole history of this region. The truth is that the people of the coast are Nicaraguans, and they are oppressed.

The Atlantic Coast has always been considered very far away. When I graduated from high school, I thought all there was on the Atlantic Coast was Bluefields. I didn't even know Puerto Cabezas existed, or the mines, or anything, because in school we never learned anything about the Atlantic Coast.

Q. When did you come to this area?

A. I've been here since the revolution, as head of the region on the military level and as a member of the provincial leadership committee of the FSLN.

Q. But you also fought here during the war. People have told us that during the war the Sandinistas got a lot of sup-

port from the peasantry of the coast but not from the miners. Can you tell us if that is true?

A. It is not right to put it like that. The truth is that we never tried to do political work among the miners because we didn't think we were strong enough. There were only three of us working in the area of the mines, and our most urgent task was to organize a support network among the peasants—a logistical base that would enable us to come in and out safely and bring in arms, because it was a question of arming people for war.

It was a question of giving people military training, organizing arms caches, couriers, organizing guerrilla columns. We couldn't go into a barrio, work alongside people, have meetings, discuss their problems and their demands, resolve these problems. All we could do was grab the most active types and recruit them to the FSLN.

Q. How much time did you spend in the mountains?

A. I spent a little more than four and a half years in the mountains and a total of seven years in the FSLN before the

revolution.

I was recruited in León, as a student. I grew up on a farm outside of town. Then I spent three years at the National Seminary in Managua, studying to be a priest. I started working in the high-school student movement in 1970, when I was sixteen. Then I worked in the student movement in Managua inside the seminary. Then they threw me out of the seminary.

So when the earthquake came in 1972 I went back to León and started to study at the Instituto Nacional del Occidente. There I began working with the FSLN as well as continuing to work in the student movement. I was doing political work in the student movement and also work in the barrios with the FSLN, so I got burned [known to the police] fast. I was burned at school and burned in the barrio, so I had to go underground.

Mostly because of my physical condition—because I was used to the country and used to walking long distances—they decided I should go directly into the mountains. And I never came out until the victory.

Q. And you lived with campesinos in the mountains?

Pablo Úbeda Brigade

A. We had some contact with the campesinos in order to get information or food, but we tried to stay off on our own as much as possible to avoid their being victimized. Sometimes we had to walk half a day or even a whole day to get food when we were camped.

It was a very irregular life. Sometimes we camped two or three days. Sometimes we could camp fifteen days, but at other times we couldn't. Sometimes we would come down and carry out two or three military actions and then go back and watch and see how the enemy would react.

We were part of what was called the Pablo Úbeda Brigade. It included Commander Hugo Torres, Commander William Ramírez, Commander Francisco Rivera. Who else is still alive? Commander René Vivas, Commander of the Revolution Henry Ruiz, and also Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado López. At its biggest it was about 100 people.

The Pablo Úbeda Brigade was almost wiped out in 1977. We were reduced to about eleven people as a result of CONDECA² getting involved. People were captured, and there was brutal repression in the area.

I only came out of the mountains once. I got a Lanica plane in Bonanza, along with a nun who was pretending to be my sister. This disguise enabled me to get to Bluefields, where I had to have an X-ray

2. CONDECA—Central American Defense Council, a U.S.-sponsored military pact among the armies of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

because of a little matter of a bullet. I had been wounded in 1976 and the bullet stayed inside.

When the war ended, I stayed for the liberation of the mines and then came here to Puerto Cabezas. When we got to Puerto Cabezas the National Guard had already left.

Taking the mines

Q. You helped organize the taking of the mines. What was the reaction of the miners?

A. It was positive. Just in Rosita and Bonanza, about 300 young people joined us. That was May 28, before the victory. And mine workers joined us too.

The first response of the miners was to want us to burn down the mines. We said no, we couldn't do that. And we explained why. We told them they would need a place to work afterwards. And we told them we would win within a month or a month and a half. Then for the first time they believed that victory was close.

The workers here, such as the miners, don't have ideological or political vices. The problem is the one I described to you earlier, the lack of any experience with organization. There has never been a political life here before, no meetings, no seminars. These things can't be acquired overnight.

But the miners, for example, have told us about some attempts at sabotage or theft, and they are the ones watching out for these things.

In the mines we have had tremendous problems getting spare parts, and the miners themselves have had to make them from the parts that are there. When the *gringos* left they said that in six months the mines would close for lack of parts. It has been a year and a half and they haven't closed, and they aren't going to close.

There have been difficult times. At one point the miners had to make something out of cloth to replace a screen that was broken. They knew it wouldn't last more than a week, but that was enough to look for the part. The miners go through the old dumps where the *gringos* threw things out, looking for parts they can use.

Another example is the participation in the People's Militias. We are at the point of forming a Reserve Battalion in the mines. There are departments where all the workers want to join the militias, although it hasn't been possible to organize everyone yet.

The fact is that we are still fighting a war, and a harder war than before. Before you could see what imperialism was doing. It was right in front of your eyes and you had a motive for fighting it. Now we have thrown out the foreign companies. But we still have the job of forging a class consciousness in order to take on the huge problems of development that we face.

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



There was staff writer Janice Lynn's discussion of the latest move in Israel's war drive—the bombing raid in Iraq. A reprint from the *Free West Indian* reports on the African Liberation Day celebration held on the Caribbean island of Grenada. George Saunders, who recently visited Poland, brings readers up to date on events leading up to the July Polish United Workers Party congress. Also, the first installment of the draft program of Solidarity, Poland's independent trade union movement, appears in this issue. Reading *Intercontinental Press* every week is a must. Subscribe now.

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'The Spike': keeping public disinformed

The Spike, by Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss. Avon Books. 458 pp., \$3.50 paperback.

In case you were wondering, here's how the Russians did in the shah of Iran.

"As you remember," Barisov continued, "the campaign to isolate the Shah of Iran from Western support was conducted over many years. It was masterminded by Directorate A. We succeeded in having the Shah depicted as a uniquely bloodthirsty tyrant, when in fact his regime was mild compared with some of those in neighboring countries."

It's okay if you didn't know this. Most of the rest of the world was taken in, too. What with all those human rights groups denouncing the shah, and all the photos of maimed bodies that even the U.S. press had to print. Hell, the Iranians themselves were fooled into overthrowing the guy.

Clearly the folks at Directorate A know their business.

Books

At least, journalists Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss think so. They're the authors of *The Spike*, from which the above passage is taken.

The Spike is one of what are called "fact-based" novels. That is, stories that contain a bunch of assertions the author thinks are true but can't prove. Some things *The Spike* asserts are:

- All the revelations of illegal FBI and CIA activity were stories planted in the media by Russian agents—"disinformation."
- Many social movements in this country (notably that against the Vietnam War), if not run outright by Russian agents, at least owe their popular support to Soviet disinformation.
- This disinformation campaign gets help from top U.S. government officials.

Now de Borchgrave and Moss aren't kidding about this. Maybe that means we shouldn't either. Heaven knows, if one of them could actually prove any of it, he would be doing us all a big service.

Well, one of them, de Borchgrave, got a chance to do that last April: as a witness before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (SST). He even got some free advance work from high places.

About a month before the SST hearing, Secretary of State Alexander Haig briefed a group of foreign diplomats on the situation in El Salvador. "The Communist countries," he told them, "are orchestrating an intensive international disinformation campaign to cover their intervention while discrediting the Salvadoran government and American support for that government."

Unfortunately, when asked later by reporters how this was being done, a State Department spokesman had to admit he had no idea what Haig was talking about.

De Borchgrave didn't do much better in his appearance before the SST (the date of which, by the way, happened to coincide with a publicity tour he was doing for *The Spike*).

He had "irrefutable proof," he told the subcommittee in his opening statement, of massive Soviet influence in the media. Of course, any proof is irrefutable so long as you don't tell people what it is. So de Borchgrave wisely kept his to himself.

As for what he shared with the subcommittee, all it proved was that the main thing the Soviets were influencing that day was his overheated imagination.

Disinformation, he began, was part of a Russian plan, hatched in 1968, to take over the world "without having to fight a war." The "guiding principles" of this plan were formulated 2,500 years ago by "the Chinese philosopher of war, Sun Tzu." This, de Borchgrave said he got from "European intelligence services" and "numerous defectors."

Next, the Russians' plan included "control of the Western world's oil supply in the Middle East" by "playing a covert role in promoting the antinuclear lobby." There was a "direct link-up between the World Peace Council, a well-known Soviet front organization, and . . . Mobilization for Survival, which is a leading umbrella organization for antinuclear groups." This, he said, had been "suggested" by "leading scientists."

Finally, "the UN infrastructure is under increasing KGB control," and KGB agents have been "very

active recently cultivating businessmen close to the Reagan administration." His source for this? "Sources."

If all this was starting to sound like it was from a bad novel, that's because it was: de Borchgrave's novel. And, by the time of the hearing, lots of people had questions about how "fact-based" that thing was.

The questions began last year, when co-author Moss called disinformation "one of the biggest stories that I have come across." He and de Borchgrave, he wrote, "decided that we would probably reach a larger number of people with our message if we put it in the form of a novel. . . ."

Fellow journalists thought this approach odd. What if, for example, Woodward and Bernstein had opted for this? The result would have been a steamy tale of crime in government, and Richard Nixon happily serving out the rest of his term in office.

Eyebrows arched even higher when it was learned that a single challenge to the veracity of *The Spike* had led to a flurry of last-minute changes to avoid a libel suit.

So people couldn't help but wonder what this man and his comic book were doing in front of the Senate. And why the Secretary of State had endorsed his views.

Some answers came in the weeks after the hearing, when the Reagan administration floated proposals to: (1) limit public access to government documents under the Freedom of Information Act; (2) permit the FBI to conduct surprise searches of newsrooms; and (3) make it a crime to publish the names of undercover intelligence agents.

The deBorchgrave show, then, was part of the effort to do away with media reportage of FBI-CIA shenanigans.

More important, it was part of the larger effort to do away with the antigovernment sentiment that forces the media to report this sort of thing in the first place. A shot at reestablishing the credibility of the intelligence agencies as instruments of foreign and domestic policy.

De Borchgrave and Moss were closely associated with a group of government and intelligence officials who had the bad luck to serve as such during the Watergate years. The massive evidence of government

The Clash in concert: 'Sandinista!'

Sandinista! by The Clash. Epic Records. Three-record set, \$14.98 list.

Sandinista! is the title of the latest record album by The Clash, one of the original English punk-rock bands. They caused quite a furor in New York in early June and made area rock fans aware of the Nicaraguan revolution and its Sandinista leadership.

Originally booked to play a one-week engagement at a rock-and-roll dance hall, The Clash came to the attention of tens of thousands through the media as the city twice tried to close down the club.

The performance I attended showed that The Clash live are what their highly-acclaimed records would lead you to expect—a powerful, versatile, and politically committed rock band. Certainly one of the finest bands in the world today.

Music

One high point was "Washington Bullets," a song inspired by the Nicaraguan revolution. During the song, a Salvadoran representative from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), wearing a Sandinista-style red bandana, spoke from the stage as leaflets cascaded from the ceiling over the dancing crowd. CISPES had a table set up inside the club during the entire Clash engagement, handing out leaflets and selling T-shirts, buttons, and literature. They reached many draft-age rock fans; some had never been handed a political leaflet before.

Harassment

After the first night, the Fire Department closed down the club, Bond International Casino, for being overcrowded. The Clash announced that they would play double the number of concerts to reduce each

crowd, but allow all ticketholders to see them. Then the Building Department moved in and closed the club for other violations. In the end, The Clash played for more than two weeks to over 30,000 people. Tickets had been sold out weeks in advance.

Although there were no doubt technical violations, I suspect that part of the city's problem came from a reaction to The Clash similar to the one *Newsweek* had when reviewing *Sandinista!* in their February 23 issue:

"Now comes 'Sandinista!,' a three-record set that fills two and a half hours with agitprop sermonizing, urban chatter, echoed noodling, all afloat in an inky mix that pulses with a crazy, compelling, distracted energy."

In case "urban chatter" and "energy" excites you rather than puts you off, *Newsweek* got more specific: "Washington Bullets" rehearses some of imperialism's greatest hits. . . . It has one jarring couplet: 'For Castro is a color, is a redder than red./Those Washington Bullets want Castro dead.'

"In these conservative times, one would like to cheer signs of opposition—but what is the message of this music?"

The message of this music is very clear. *Newsweek* and the New York City Building Department just don't like it.

Serious social themes

Far from being "agitprop sermonizing," the lyrics of The Clash are witty and sophisticated presentations of serious social themes, and the hard-edged intensity of the music lends itself to them.

And it's nothing new for The Clash. The punk movement came to the fore in 1977, a year marked in Britain by the contrast between the high inflation, increasing social tensions, racist attacks, record-breaking youth unemployment and the organized hoopla of the queen's Silver Jubilee. (Think of the 1976 Bicentennial with a crown on top.)

The Clash wrote songs about their own experiences, which they had in common with a whole generation of the working-class: unemployment, repression, racism, the threat of nukes, and the army offered as their only "career opportunity." The Clash supported the Rock Against Racism movement and performed at the April 1978 Antiracist Carnival in London, attended by 80,000 people.

Since the early punk days, their experience has been that of successful musicians. They've traveled and seen a bit of the world, in particular the United States, but their original concerns haven't changed. In fact, they've broadened.

During their concert, The Clash used photo montages flashed on the wall behind the band to illustrate the themes they build their music around.

"The Guns of Brixton"—written several years ago—was accompanied by last April's headlines about the massive Black rebellion in that predominantly West Indian London neighborhood.

'The Call Up'

"The Call Up"—an antidraft song—was played as Salvadoran and Vietnamese victims of war were pictured along with anti-imperialist graffiti from the walls of Belfast. The song ended with a huge color photograph of a banner from a British demonstration calling for "Troops Out!" of Ireland. The banner lingered on the wall into the next song.

"Lightning Strikes," "Broadway," and "Somebody Got Murdered"—songs about urban life, New York in particular—were played to recent headlines from the *New York Post* and *Daily News* screaming: "10 Min. Over Baghdad"; "Sex, Drugs, Murder Linked to Raid"; "Landlords Hike Rents 32%."

The New York event was their only U.S. appearance, so to hear them you'll have to get their records.

London Calling won the 1980 Jazz & Pop Critic's Poll by a landslide.

Sandinista! is a mammoth work, consisting of



Soho News

Witnesses, from left, William Colby, author Claire Sterling, and Arnaud de Borchgrave swearing to tell Senate subcommittee the truth.

wrongdoing that surfaced in those years soon made these people former officials.

Swept out in the housecleaning under Ford and Carter, most of them landed in the extreme right-wing organizations, like the Heritage Foundation. A few, like Haig, managed to avoid the broom altogether, went to work for the Rockefellers, and are now back in power.

It is interesting to note that many of the individuals who were responsible for unloading these people, or who oversaw the intelligence agencies in their absence, are easily recognizable as the KGB agents who are unmasked at the end of *The Spike*.

So there is some personal vindictiveness here. But this is only the human drama, if you will, being played out against the backdrop of world events.

Rival factions of the "intelligence community" may have their own views on how U.S. foreign policy should have been carried out in the post-Watergate years. But they hold in common the view that these were years in which the rest of the world got away with murder. The Vietnamese finally got the U.S. out of their country, the Iranians and Nicaraguans had revolutions of their own, and so on.

This is a view that is shared by the ruling class as a whole. As they see it, it is time to go back on offense with U.S. foreign policy. This means, among other things, getting the intelligence agencies back on their political feet.

The point of all the disinformation talk is simple: if the Russians have their covert operations, then we must have ours.

As SST co-witness William Colby, a former director of the CIA, obliquely put it, "the solution to disinformation is better information."

Even de Borchgrave managed to pull out of orbit long enough to tell the SST that "guidelines" make it "very difficult for the FBI to monitor the very groups and individuals that the KGB hopes to manipulate or recruit."

The ruling class will try almost anything to convince the American people that more spying is needed. Use right-wing groups like the Heritage Foundation, organize a circus like the SST hearing and put the spotlight on a clown like de Borchgrave.

Behind all this, though, stands the serious business of, for example, stepping up domestic surveillance by the CIA, as was proposed last March.

Or fabricating documents that show Russian control of the Salvadoran revolution.

Or the most serious business of all: getting away with this stuff, a big problem for them.

At the SST hearing, Colby had to admit the CIA had found the anti-Vietnam War movement to be "an indigenous movement, not dependent on foreign support."

Two days after the hearing, FBI Director William Webster added that his agency had "no real evidence" of Soviet-sponsored terrorism in this country.

And the El Salvador documents have found their way onto the growing pile of what everyone knows is CIA disinformation.

So you were right all along about the shah of Iran. And the fact that most of the rest of the world agreed with you was the main reason the Iranians were able to get rid of him without having to take on the marines at the same time.

Hopefully, this clears up a few things for you. As for me, I'm still trying to figure out where the Chinese philosopher of war, Sun Tzu, fits into all this.

—Steve Bride

Miners blast TVA on nonunion coal

By Bronson Rozier

BEAVER DAM, Kentucky—Sixty residents of Muhlenberg and Ohio counties confronted the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Army Corps of Engineers at a public hearing June 17. TVA plans to have a barge-unloading facility built for its Paradise Power Plant on the Green River.

The plant is now supplied by coal brought directly from mines in the area. These are United Mine-workers mines. Last year, the government-run TVA tried to bring in nonunion coal by truck. The miners stopped them. Now the TVA wants to ship in nonunion coal on the river.

Alan Mullins, director of fuels for the TVA, testified the barge facility would enable the TVA to get the lowest-cost coal for the power plant. He claimed most of the low-cost coal had been mined out of local mines.

Mullins's testimony was quickly discredited. The people who mine coal for a living testified there was plenty of coal in the area and they'd be more than willing to help mine it.

Mullins also refused to answer questions about why the TVA tried to bring in nonunion coal last year. Shipping and other costs made that coal more expensive than the union coal from local mines.

UMWA District 23 Executive Board member Joe Holland, and Local 1359 President Dale Barnes, led the attack on the TVA and the Army Corps of Engineers. Holland listed over ten mines where hundreds of UMWA members were laid off.

Barnes pointed to the effects on the river from the barge use. Water quality, fishing, and recreation would be damaged.

Town and county governments oppose the TVA barge facility. They expect to be burdened by new costs resulting from it. Already, barge traffic on the river has damaged water-supply pumps.

One local resident said at the hearing: "You all stopped bringing in nonunion coal because you feared blood would be spilled on the highway. Well, there'll be more than oil spills and coal dust on the river if you try and bring nonunion coal that way."

Thousands stranded in Chi. transit crisis

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—Three suburban transit lines have shut down here, leaving 40,000 bus and train commuters to find other ways to Chicago. Larger rail lines have used the crisis to win Illinois Commerce Commission approval for whopping fare increases.

The Burlington Northern's ticket prices will go up 58 percent, while the Milwaukee Road and Illinois Central Gulf were granted 75 and 80 percent hikes.

Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature are now discussing an increase in state sales and liquor taxes—which hit working people the hardest—to close multimillion dollar deficits incurred by the suburban lines.

The Chicago North Western railroad is threatening a shutdown to win approval for a fare increase.

Last year's fare increase for buses and subways was just jumped a dime, making the 90-cent one-way ride the most expensive in the country. Mayor Jane Byrne has announced \$26 million in service cuts.

The politicians of both parties are taking aim at the Amalgamated Transit Union's contract with the Chicago Transit Authority, which includes regular cost-of-living adjustments and a no-layoff provision.

"We're not going to re-open our contract," ATU president John Weatherspoon said on June 15. "We assume the CTA will live up to the contract and we will hold them to the letter of it."

The ATU's stance has forced Byrne to float other ideas, notably a 4 percent tax on professional services, such as lawyers and doctors.

But it's big business that should pay for mass transit. It would be interesting to see the books of the banks and the railroads. How much money are the banks making off mass transit? What's the real financial position of the railroad companies and suburban bus lines?

Socialists put FBI, CIA, INS ON TRIAL!

Read about it in the *Militant*.
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The Clash, from left, Joe Strummer, Nicky Headon, Paul Simonon, and Mick Jones.



Soho News

thirty-six songs covering an extraordinary range of musical styles and influences, all the while remaining unique and innovative.

Reggae influence

In addition to the hard, driving rock that The Clash are masters of, they've developed into accomplished reggae musicians. The reggae influence is clearly more from the leaner reggae of places like Brixton, where two of the band members grew up, than from the more melodic sounds of the islands.

The Clash are also delving deeper into the roots of rock, into much of American music: jazz, gospel, Motown.

The production on the album is excellent and an il-

lustrated lyric sheet is included.

At a news conference, Clash member Joe Strummer explained that they're trying to give the audience "music that makes them think while they're dancing."

Sandinista! does just that. In addition to encouraging you to think about Nicaragua, Cuba, Ireland, Jamaica, and Harlem, the album is a vivid expression of living and working in an advanced industrial society that will destroy you through poverty, war, drugs, and boredom unless you recognize that your problems aren't simply your own but are social and can be explained and fought against.

Sandinista!

—David Martin



Think you're crazy?—Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger says the administration has a new strategy to be prepared to fight at least two major wars simultaneously—one in Europe and probably one in the Mideast. Nixon, he said, had a one-and-a-half-war strategy—a biggie in Europe and a “minor” one in the Caribbean or Asia. Before Vietnam, he said, we used to have a two-and-a-half-war strategy.

Cover money—Nixon used the fund to build a \$500,000 swimming pool at Camp David and a helicopter pad and of-

fice complex at his San Clemente home. Johnson improved his ranch and converted a hangar into an air-conditioned movie theater. Ford rented villas and hotel rooms for aides. It's a secret military fund to establish sites for the president to hide during a military attack. Reagan swears he won't misuse it.

Pocketbook issue—The American Medical Association House of Delegates voted in favor of ending federal price supports for tobacco farmers. Earlier it voted down a motion to get rid of its retirement fund's tobacco stocks. That, a

spokesperson explained, was an “internal matter.”

Subversives—Secretary of Agriculture John Block scrapped the department's Human Nutrition Center, which produced a “controversial” diet guideline advising less fat, salt, sugar and alcohol and more cereals, breads, fruits and vegetables. The “controversy” was with livestock producers.

Image problem—New York's Koch administration has slashed away at social services, but has increased the budget for city prison officers. Yet, de-

spite a vigorous recruitment drive focusing on the pay, there's no rush of applicants. “It's a hard job to attract young people to,” an official observed, “because prisons have such a negative reputation.”

Environmental dep't—Interior Secretary Watts said a new contract would be issued for a concessionaire at Yellowstone Park, with the government waiving the customary concessionaire's fee. Instead, the concessionaire will be expected to invest in “improving” the park. Like filling it in and paving it over?

The American Way of Life

The silent slaughter of Black workers

In 1961 Charles Thomas, a Black man from Alabama, came to Chicago in search of a better life. He landed a job at a small lead smelting shop. There was no union.

On the job, Thomas heated scraps of lead in giant cauldrons, then poured the molten metal into pans to be refined. He was surrounded by fumes from the steaming lead.

After fourteen years on the job, Thomas thought he was choking to death. At work he would have to stick his head out the back door to catch his breath. He had to take days off. Even the dust in his home made him choke.

Thomas, along with other employees, was given monthly blood tests by the company doctor. The doctor failed to indicate to Thomas that anything was wrong.

Finally, Thomas was examined at the Cook County Hospital. Lead poisoning was diagnosed. Thomas's blood was flushed for three weeks and he was warned never to work with lead again.

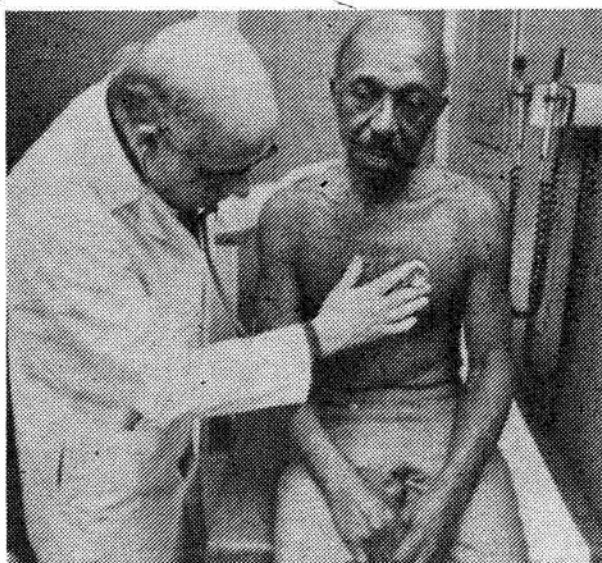
He was earning \$3.65 an hour when he was forced to quit. There was no pension.

His son, Charles Jr., also got a job at the lead smelting shop. He still works there.

The story of Charles Thomas is related by Joanna Brown and Ronni Scheier in the March 1981 *Chicago Reporter*, a monthly information service on racial issues in metropolitan Chicago.

They report that exposure to toxic chemicals is destroying the health of U.S. workers. These toxins cause cancer, respiratory diseases, and blood poisoning. Black and Latino workers are the special victims.

In 1950 the rate of deaths from lung cancer was 25 percent lower among nonwhite males than it was for white males.



Richard Stromberg

In 1973 it was 21 percent higher.

Between 1947 and 1969, prostate cancer in Black males went up 55 percent, colon-rectum cancer increased 50 percent and lung cancer rose 23 percent.

Brown and Scheier report that “In 1979, the Chicago Lung Association tested 73 members of Local 233 of the International Molders and Allied Workers union. The local represents about 1,000 workers, mostly black and Latino, in small Chicago-area foundries. Half of those tested showed evidence of diseased lungs. . . . Of those with scarred and damaged lungs, about three-fourths were black.”

Another industry destroying the health and lives of Black workers is the battery industry.

According to Brown and Scheier: “The EEOC report also shows a high proportion of minorities in bat-

tery plants, where workers exposed to lead, chromium, and cadmium risk blood poisoning, lung cancer, emphysema and other respiratory ailments. . . .

“From 1976 to 1978, specialists at Cook County Hospital examined 42 workers, most of them black, from the KW Battery Co. in Skokie. The men complained of headaches, fatigue, irritability, insomnia, leg cramps and loss of appetite. . . . In fact, all 42 had lead poisoning. Some had been working at the plant 20 to 30 years, others as little as one year.”

The rubber industry also enriches its owners over the bodies of Black workers. Brown and Scheier write, “A 1976 study of 6,500 rubber workers in Akron, Ohio, found that 27 percent of the black workers were concentrated in the compounding and mixing areas of the plant. Only three percent of white employees worked in those sections, said to be the most hazardous. The black workers were found to have a particularly high rate of respiratory and prostate cancer compared to whites.”

As Brown and Scheier note, massive unemployment hits Black and Latino workers especially hard, forcing them to accept such life-destroying jobs. They quote a Latino worker, “My foreman tells me, ‘There are 100 people waiting at the gate for your job.’”

The bosses don't rely just on unemployment. They take full advantage of the U.S. government's persecution of undocumented workers. Brown and Scheier relate a case of a worker from Mexico who was told by his foreman, “You call OSHA and I'll call immigration.”

The Reagan administration's drive against “over-regulation” of business will enable the bosses to squander the health and lives of workers even more freely than they do now. And as always, it is Black and Latino workers who suffer most.

—William Gottlieb

What's Going On

COLORADO DENVER

A RALLY FOR THE FIRST GREAT CIVIL LIBERTIES BATTLE OF THE 1980s. Speakers: Héctor Marroquin, witness in trial of Socialist Workers Party against the government; James Joy, American Civil Liberties Union; others. Thurs., July 2, 7:30 p.m. Executive Tower Inn, 14th and Curtis. Donation: \$2. Ausp:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

RALLY TO DEFEND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Speakers: Ben Chavis, director, Commission for Racial Justice; Rob Duncan, D.C. Committee to Defend the NASSCO Workers; Michael Gaffney, National Lawyers Guild; Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, Young Socialist Alliance member who faces deportation; Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party Political Committee; Hilda Mason, D.C. City Council; Lee Perkins, D.C. National Organization for Women and Commission on Human Rights; Phil Wheaton, EPICA. Sat., July 11, 6:30 p.m. reception and entertainment; 7:30 p.m. program. Ethical Society of Washington, 7750 16th St. N.W. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Political Rights Defense Fund. 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. Ausp: 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. Ausp: 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. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

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. Ausp: 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. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

NEW YORK INDOCHINA:

U.S. RENEWS WAR THREATS

Speakers:

Chan Bun Han, native of Kampuchea, recently returned from visit to Kampuchea

Fred Feldman, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper

Representative: Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea

Friday, July 10, 7:30 p.m.

108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor

Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

Letters

Poland I

In what was an otherwise excellent article in the May 8 issue of the *Militant*, entitled "Revolution in Poland," David Frankel unintentionally added a note of confusion by stating right at the start, "A political and social revolution has been unfolding in Poland for the past eight months." (italics mine) And though he goes on to explain very carefully that by social revolution he does not mean an "overturn [of] the economic foundations of society," the words in Marxist terminology mean precisely that.

I imagine the purpose is as Frankel himself explains—to underline the breadth and depth of what is changing in Poland. But Trotsky and all those who agreed with him understood that a political revolution was not going to be just a change on top or even the removal of a substantial section of the bureaucracy.

In the *Revolution Betrayed*, first published in 1937, Trotsky pointed out how deeply the bureaucracy has imbedded itself in Soviet society. "Twelve percent, or perhaps 15 percent of the population—that is the authentic social base of the autocratic ruling circle."

All democratic forms of political life have either been destroyed or so distorted that they serve only the interests of the bureaucrats. In Poland this is even more so because the bureaucrats ruled from the start.

Therefore new political forms must be developed so that the

workers and their allies rule directly in their own name. And a political revolution would of necessity be deep and thorough.

Ethel Lobman
New York, New York

Poland II

The *Militant* deserves congratulations for providing reports and analyses of the extremely important events in Poland. I think some unnecessary and unfortunate confusion was created by the first section of "Revolution in Poland," reprinted in the May 8 *Militant* from *Intercontinental Press*.

The article starts off, "A political and social revolution has been unfolding in Poland. . . ." and then goes on to explain why the revolution is not a social one! The task of a social revolution is "to overturn the economic foundations of society and establish new relations of production." But, " . . . the antibureaucratic revolution in Poland will not usher in new property relations . . ." yet still "it is a social revolution in virtually every other respect."

I've always read and heard that it is precisely this "respect" that distinguishes a social revolution from a political one. By coincidence, I am reading Leon Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* which deals extensively with the question of a political revolution against a privileged, undemocratic bureaucracy in a

workers state. The political revolution in Poland is inspiring and significant to workers and their allies all over the world.

Adding "social" to the nature of the revolution does not make it more important.

The article in the *Militant* highlights the fact that the Polish workers and their allies are fighting for "a change in the way the entire country is run, from top to bottom." Their demands, not limited to "a change in government," include changes in the educational system, health care, newspapers, electronic media, etc. Supposedly, this allows adding "social" to the nature of the revolution.

There is no mystery to the broadness of the demands for change, no need to stretch the characterization of the revolution.

Evelyn Sell
Los Angeles, California

[David Frankel replies—Ethel Lobman, Evelyn Sell, and I agree that there is a profound revolution underway in Poland and that this revolution will result in fundamental changes affecting not only the political and governmental sphere, but virtually every aspect of social and economic life in that country. It is a struggle for equality as well as for democracy.

[We also agree that this revolution will leave the underlying economic foundations of the Polish workers state intact.

[It is for this reason, as Eve-

lyn and Ethel point out, that the Polish revolution is not a social revolution, in the sense of uprooting capitalist property relations and replacing them with nationalized property forms; this was done in Poland following the Second World War.

[In my article, I used a provocative opening sentence, the one that Ethel and Evelyn object to, in order to focus attention on the deepgoing character of the Polish events and to avoid some possible narrow misinterpretations of the phrase *political revolution*, which can sound to some readers—both here and in Poland—as involving a change only in the government.

[I then went on to explain what I meant in the following paragraphs. However, since it obviously caused some confusion among readers who agree with my main point, and since the purpose of socialist journalism is to maximize clarity and minimize confusion, the *Militant* will attempt to be more clear in the future.]

Evolution vs. creation

Stephen Jay Gould recently gave a lecture on "Evolution vs. Creation" at the New York Marxist School. It was attended by over 100 people.

Professor Gould teaches biology, geology, and the history of science at Harvard University, and writes a monthly column in *Natural History* magazine on these topics. Two books, *The Panda's Thumb* and *Ever Since Darwin*, are collections of those columns. His field of research is paleontology. He describes himself as a Marxist.

He explained many points that reveal creationism to be neither a theory nor scientific. He gave an interesting overview of current evolutionary thinking. But there was disagreement with his political analysis of the rise of the creationist movement and how to fight it. Many in the audience discussed these points.

Gould downplayed the organizational base and motivations of the creationists. He characterizes them as well-meaning people just trying to fight non-responsive and alienating school systems. He

didn't seem to connect them to the reactionary advances being made on all other fronts against the forces of progress and reason.

He minimized the attack, saying if the teaching of evolution were banished from the schools, the consequences on society would not be great. But this contradicted the point he made that biological evolutionary thought is one of the great scientific revolutions.

Members of the audience pointed out that creationism vs. evolution is a fight over unthinking reliance on superstition and authoritarian thought-control against scientific reason. They pointed out that the attack on evolution and our response to it is not only important but fundamental. As one person put it, "Evolution is materialist and dialectical and the ruling class doesn't like it."

Gould said public debates are just what the creationists want—a forum for their ideas.

I disagree. A knowledgeable debate would demolish any creationist. This fight should be brought into the public light in order to expose creationism for what it really is and the motives behind its proselytizers.

Deborah Jamison
Gillette, New Jersey

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THE MILITANT



Left, demonstrators welcome Prince Charles to New York, June 17. Right, high society walks a 'virtual gauntlet of protesters' on their way to gala with Charles at Metropolitan Opera House.

By Steve Bride

NEW YORK—Britain's Prince Charles and the black-tie-and-gown crowd found the road to the Metropolitan Opera House lined with supporters of Irish rights here June 17.

The demonstrators—about 5,000 of them—demanded political status for H-

Block prisoners and an end to British occupation of Northern Ireland.

The protest occurred as Charles, Nancy Reagan, and the beautiful people were attending a \$1,000-a-throw benefit for the Royal Ballet Company at the Met, located in Lincoln Center.

Charles made it into the Met through

a side door, but the rest had to pass through the receiving line, less than twenty feet away.

"British out now," shouted the demonstrators as silver and black limousines glided up the front drive of Lincoln Center.

For those who had left the limo home, it was an effort—usually unsuccessful—to look disdainful as they walked a virtual gauntlet of protesters.

Women in the crowd banged garbage can lids on the sidewalk, as women in Northern Ireland do when British soldiers invade their neighborhoods.

And everyone joined in hooting down high society as it passed in review.

The demonstration was called by Irish Northern Aid and supported by numerous other groups. Among the protesters were Sean Sands and Malachy McCreesh, brothers of dead H-Block hunger strikers Bobby Sands and Ray McCreesh; and Elizabeth O'Hara, sister of dead hunger striker Patsy O'Hara.

Addressing the crowd from a flatbed

truck parked across the street, Sean Sands called support in the U.S. for the hunger strikers "fantastic."

Through a window, the partygoers inside the Met could be seen sipping cocktails. Occasionally, one would point to the demonstrators, and this would evoke a chorus of boos from the crowd outside.

"I just hope there is not too much champagne going down the royal gullet," said rally speaker Mulig Parri, a former lieutenant in the British Army who served in Northern Ireland. Parri is now a member of Northern Ireland Veterans Against the War.

Meanwhile, inside, four protesters who had somehow gotten tickets for the Royal Ballet performance interrupted the show with shouts at Charles: "You are murdering the Irish."

As police were removing one of the demonstrators, a woman in an expensive evening dress screamed after them, "Kill the bastards. They're ruining the whole evening."

Belfast city councilman to tour

The New York H-Block/Armagh Committee will sponsor a July 2-12 tour of several cities for Fergus O'Hare, who was recently elected to the Belfast City Council on an H-Block platform.

O'Hare is a member of the executive committee of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee in Ireland. He ran against and defeated Gerry Fitt, one of the most prominent Catholic politicians who is an

opponent of political status for H-Block and Armagh prisoners.

O'Hare is also a longtime member of People's Democracy, the Irish Trotskyist group, and has been active in the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland since the civil rights movement of the late 1960s.

For information on having O'Hare speak in your city call (212) 788-1990 or 436-4770 in New York; or (617) 628-4077 in Boston.

South Africa arrests student, labor leaders

By Priscilla Schenk

Prime Minister P.W. Botha has launched a severe crackdown in South Africa. About thirty trade union and student leaders have been arrested in the past month.

Among those arrested was Khotso Seatlholo, a student leader who had been living in exile. Seven other exiled students were arrested, but authorities have so far refused to release their names. The eight were reportedly attempting to enter Soweto, the Black township outside Johannesburg where students launched a rebellion in 1976.

Seatlholo was the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council until he was forced to flee South Africa in February 1977. The U.S. National Student Coalition Against Racism sponsored a speaking tour for him in this country shortly thereafter.

The tour explained to students here the situation existing in South Africa. Seatlholo appealed to Americans to help break Washington's ties to the apartheid regime.

More than 400 Black students were killed in the Soweto uprising. Thousands more were forced to flee because of the brutal repression against political activists.

On June 16 this year, 5,000 people gathered in a Soweto church to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the start of the student uprising. South African police attacked the meeting, firing teargas into the packed church.

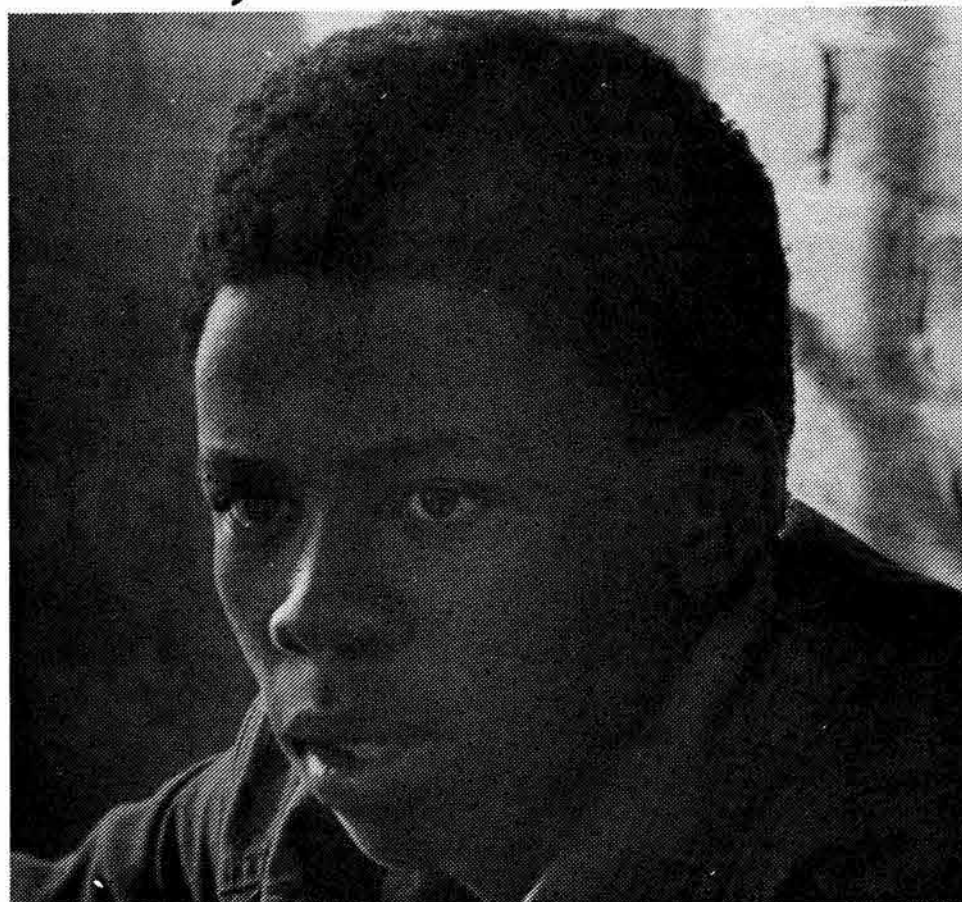
There have been other attempts by the apartheid regime to halt growing unrest.

On June 4, riot police attacked a demonstration of Coloured (mixed race) high school students in Johannesburg. The students were peacefully protesting when police began throwing teargas canisters and beating students with clubs and whips. Three students were injured.

Just a day before the arrest of Seatlholo and the other student exiles, Thami Mazwai, a Black journalist and secretary general of the Media Workers Association, was arrested.

On June 20, Zwelakhe Sisulu, a Black journalist and former president of the Media Workers Association, was arrested.

A series of seven arrests of student leaders took place since May. Among them was Wantu Zentile, president of the Congress of South African Students.



Khotso Seatlholo in 1977

Militant