

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Black Workers Shake South Africa

Once again black South Africa is rising up against its oppressors. After two months of the largest and most militant anti-apartheid struggles since the student protests of June 1976, black and "coloured" (mixed race) workers and students are marking the fourth anniversary of the Soweto massacre with strikes and demonstrations throughout the country. From the coloured townships of Cape Town to the auto plants of Port Elizabeth, from the sprawling slums around Johannesburg to the Indian Ocean docks of Durban, the victims of the apartheid system are defying heavily armed cops and troops and demanding an end to racist rule.

The South African army and police, who slaughtered more than 600 young protesters four years ago in Soweto, this time shot to death well over 32 persons and wounded 175 between June 16 and June 20. Those are the government's figures and South African newspapers and hospitals report that the real toll is at least twice as high. Panicked by the upsurge of the oppressed majority, which outnumbers the privileged whites by more than five-to-one, the Pretoria regime has put the regular army on a war alert—something that was not done even in 1976. In an effort to cover up their murderous repression and the extent of the unrest, the apartheid rulers have banned reporters from "trouble spots." But no amount of official censorship can hide the fact that the oppressed masses of South Africa are militantly challenging apartheid rule.

The shadow of Soweto hangs over both the white rulers and the black masses in the current struggles. Black students, who four years ago marched headlong into the automatic weapons fire, today are more cautious, dissolving their demonstrations when the killer cops and troops arrive. For its part, the government of Prime Minister Pieter Botha is wary of provoking another uprising by randomly mowing down hundreds of schoolchildren. But a distinguishing feature of the current upsurge, one which is crucial to the success of the anti-apartheid battles, is the central role being played by organized black and coloured workers in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Also important has been the vanguard role played by coloured students, who began this spring's actions with a nationwide boycott of schools to protest inferior education. Reports from South Africa agree that many of the young coloured generation are rejecting their traditional status as a relatively privi-



Apartheid terror devastates coloured areas of Cape Town.

Der Spiegel

leged intermediate group in apartheid's "separate development" and are throwing in their lot with the black majority, even to the point of rejecting the label of "coloured" and identifying themselves as "blacks."

The strikes and protests around the coloured students' boycott (see "Black Upsurge in South Africa," *WV* No. 258, 13 June) grew in size and intensity after police viciously attacked demonstrators commemorating the June 16 Soweto anniversary. Shotgun-wielding cops wounded at least 20 persons on the 16th in Soweto as black youths defied the government's ban on public gatherings. In Cape Town a one-day "stay at home" general strike was honored by about three-quarters of the workforce and in the city's textile factories up to 90 percent of the workforce stayed home. In the coloured townships in the Cape Town Flats, cops repeatedly charged groups of protesters with billy clubs and tear gas.

The following day angry coloured youths burned and looted white stores, set up street barricades blocking the roads leading to the airport and stoned white motorists. The cops, enraged because one protester managed to knife a cop to death in self-defense, broke out their automatic rifles and loaded their shotguns with deadly buckshot. Police Commissioner Mike Geldenhuys gave the OK to "shoot to kill," urging his men

to show "no mercy" to protesters. Two planeloads of riot cops were rushed in to reinforce the locals.

Stone throwing and street barricade fighting spread to Soweto, Durban and Port Elizabeth. Then, on June 20, the wave of protests reached a new level as 10,000 workers joined the struggle. Port Elizabeth's Ford, GM and Volkswagen assembly plants, the Goodyear Tire factory and a dozen other plants were shut down solid by strikes for higher pay and an end to racist discrimination. At Volkswagen, the United Auto and Rubber Workers, one of the few recognized black unions, demanded an 80 percent raise.

As black workers waited at the gates, management gave its answer: lockout. Cops fired shotguns and teargas into crowds of strikers. Goodyear workers responded by stoning white homes in the industrial town of Uitenhage. The government, recognizing that the black auto workers are the muscle of the anti-apartheid upsurge, called in the regular army to occupy the plants. A reporter who slipped through police lines reported that the Volkswagen plant, ringed by Hippo armored cars, had been turned into an armed camp.

"Verligte" Apartheid Under Siege

South African Prime Minister Botha assumed office last year promising to reform various of the minor forms of

apartheid restrictions. But the bloody police terror unleashed against the unarmed street protesters and strikers is the clearest possible evidence that Botha, like his predecessors, is committed to preserving white minority rule at any cost. And just to prove it he launched the biggest South African foreign military operation since World War II this month. Thousands of troops poured over the border from South Africa's Namibian colony to strike South West African People's Organisation refugee camps in Angola.

Even before this spring's protest/strike wave, Botha, under pressure from the "verkrampte" ("narrow") wing of his ruling National Party, had backed off from such sub-tokenist "reforms" as integrated white-coloured high school rugby matches. In this way he duplicated the history of his predecessor, J.B. Vorster, who also started off by promising to reduce "petty apartheid," until it threatened to break up the unity of the Afrikaner *laager*. Botha, the leader of the so-called "verligte" ("enlightened") wing of the National Party, is now trying to give the appearance of flexibility by advocating an appointive "president's council" which, while having no real power, would include coloured, Indian and even Chinese representatives—but no blacks.

The "verkrampte" racists are holding

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Letter from Japan

In elections on June 22 Japanese voters returned a majority for the governing conservative Liberal Democratic Party. The following letter, sent to us by a supporter in Japan, goes into the background of the campaign, in particular the split between the Communist and Socialist Parties. Late last year the long-standing JCP-JSP electoral alliance was broken as the Socialists opted for a coalition with the Buddhist "clean government" Komeito movement.

Tokyo, Japan
8 June 1980

Dear Editor,

In the last four years the ruling Japanese Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has suffered one scandal after another. The latest series began in February when the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations exposed a shady deal between the Marubeni trading firm and Lockheed. This led to the eventual arrest of Prime Minister Ohira's mentor, Kakuei Tanaka. Among the aircraft involved in this and later deals were F-104 fighter planes and P-3C antisubmarine reconnaissance



Tokyo: 72,000 workers take to the streets for the spring offensive.

sance planes for Japan's growing Self Defense Forces (SDF).

The most current corruption scandals involve a vice-minister, an LDP deputy in the Diet (Japan's parliament), the former head of the SDF, and Koichi

Hamada who resigned as Dietman over his caper in Las Vegas where he gambled away \$1.5 million. The gambling loss of the latter fellow was the last straw. The opposition LDP factions of Fukuda (former prime minister), Miki (another former prime minister) and Nakagawa (former agriculture, forestry and fisheries minister) felt that Ohira was not doing the best thing for the party's interests. On 16 May when the opposition factions wanted more discussion over the means for a cover-up or for deflecting criticism from the LDP, Ohira had the bell rung to begin the plenary session. Opposition factions claimed there was no conscious decision to bring down the cabinet but they couldn't follow Ohira into the session like puppy dogs.

1955 System

Twenty-five years ago a number of events came together to create the system of Japanese capitalist class rule which has successfully maintained itself to this day. The economy regained its peak performance, the LDP was established as a single party ruler, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) reunified and Japan's unique "spring struggle" labor-management bargaining method began. There are two elements of this "1955

system" which are not widely recognized by the Japanese left for their "peace"-keeping merits. One is the JSP's role as conscious guardian of capitalism. Through its influence in the powerful Sohyo (General Council of Labor Unions) the JSP has consistently helped to maintain wage increases at sub-inflation levels. The other is the inherently bureaucratic and defeatist "spring struggle."

With all the anti-Japanese propaganda going on now, American workers will be glad to know that there is a class struggle here. But the bureaucrats of the Japanese labor movement are no better than their counterparts in the U.S. Workers go out on ritual strikes, negotiations take place behind closed doors, and rank and file members are not consulted when the final offers are accepted. Moreover, public sector workers (whose wages are lower) are denied the right to strike. This no-strike law is an integral part of the "spring struggle" system of labor peace. Last year they made a deal that there would be no strike in 1980. Since the Japan National Railway did go on a brief strike this year, 90,000 workers face discipline.

The last two elements of the 1955
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Guardian Distorts

The following letter was written in response to an article in the [New York] Guardian 30 April, "W. German Anti-Nazi Moves Grow" by Phil Hill. In reporting on a mid-April anti-fascist conference held in Frankfurt, Hill complained of the "disruptive effect of the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD)—related to the U.S. Spartacist League." According to Hill, the TLD's "crime" was presenting "the ultra-'left' view that it would be reformist to 'ask' the state to ban the fascist gangs, that it would only be necessary to 'mobilize the unions' to smash them. The unfortunate result was that the working committee on implementing the already existing Nazi ban had little time to pull together a concrete program."

Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
Sektion der internationalen Spartacist
Tendenz

Postfach 1 67 47
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June 2, 1980

Letter to the Guardian,

In his article "West Germany Anti-Nazi Moves Grow" in the April 30 Guardian your journalist Phil Hill

reports the real and alarming increase in neo-fascist activity in West Germany, naming as an example the busting up by fascist thugs of an anti-fascist citizens' committee meeting. But he then tries to lull the reader into believing that "since then the antifascists have had too much mass support to be broken up by the fascists," and that the fight against these thugs is now in the competent hands of ... the movement "Rock Against the Right." Hill apparently wants to promote the export into America of the pernicious idea that fascism can be dispelled by a few thousand rock fans grooving to "progressive," "left" music.

In fact, Rock Against the Right is nothing but a ploy by reformists like the ex-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB) and the Sozialistische Arbeitergruppe (SAG) to put "popular" pressure on the SPD to ban the fascists. They don't even call for smashing the fascists, contrary to Hill's report!

Hill certainly reacted hysterically when comrades of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands [TLD]—German section of the international Spartacist tendency—intervened in a workshop at the "Antifascist Congress" sponsored in Frankfurt in mid-April by the KB and SAG. The topic in debate, the KB's and most of the left's position of calling for a ban by the capitalist government against fascists, has evidently been bothering some left elements of this rotten propa-

ganda conglomerate. And so it should. As our comrades said in the workshop, such calls fly in the face not only of the Marxist understanding of the state, but also of all empirical experience. Haven't Hill and the Kommunistischer Bund ever noticed that the aims of the fascists—the destruction and reconquest of the Soviet Union and East Germany and other workers states, the smashing of the unions, the liquidation of communists and of national minorities—are also the long-term aims of West German imperialism? Perhaps not today, but in times of severe crises, the bourgeoisie will need these anti-working-class stormtroopers. All decorative constitutional guarantees in the West German Constitution to the
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Here's One for the Irish

No Magnum Force for Ulster Cops!

It's not often that revolutionaries are able to support a Congressional action. But if we had a representative in Congress we'd certainly be supporting the current embargo on shipping arms to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Northern Ireland. The RUC, recruited almost exclusively from Protestants, is a paramilitary force functioning as an extension of the British army occupation force. It is notorious for its bloody assault on a peaceful civil rights demonstration in Derry in 1968 and consistently turns a blind eye to assaults on the oppressed Catholic minority by "Loyalist" gangs (whose membership often overlaps with the RUC).

A couple of years ago the RUC ordered 3,000 .357 Magnum handguns from the United States, a very insignificant deal compared to the billions worth of military hardware the U.S. routinely ships to reactionary dictators around the world. But this one didn't get through. House speaker "Tip" O'Neill decided to call in some political IOUs and stand up for the Irish by getting Congress to block an export license for the guns. The weak Carter administration, concerned no doubt to undercut

Kennedy support among Irish American voters, obligingly went along.

However, like most of Carter's recent moves, this one went awry, too. His chastisement of the British for failing to impose a severe economic boycott on Iran because of Parliamentary pressure was snidely rebuffed by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington: "Now you, who we think are our friends, are unable to supply us with the pistols we need for the R.U.C. because of opposition in Congress. It's rather the same thing, isn't it?" To which the *New York Times* (28 May) editorialized: "Point, game and set for the Noble Lord."

The Congressional boycott reflects simply the historical accident of some of its influential members' Irish ancestry. As proletarian socialist revolutionaries, we defend the IRA against the imperialist army and the Loyalist thugs in uniform, but give no political support to the Catholic nationalism common to all wings of "Republicanism." The Spartacist tendency calls for the formation of anti-sectarian workers militias to combat the bloody communal terrorism, both Orange and Green. And we fight for the creation of an Irish workers



Colman Doyle

republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles.

But the precondition for any solution to the bitter conflict must be that British troops get out of Ireland! The Royal Ulster Constabulary, the police force of Protestant ascendancy, must be smashed.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly
of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

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Gordon, Mark Kellermann, James Robertson,
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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published
biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a
week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing
Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007.

Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861
(Business). Address all correspondence to: Box
1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic
subscriptions: \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class
postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters
do not necessarily express the editorial
viewpoint.

No. 259

27 June 1980

Get the Killer Klansmen Off the Streets

Free the Greensboro CWPers!

The cops tore into the Communist Workers Party (CWP) again on June 16, right in the hallways of injustice at the courthouse in Greensboro, North Carolina. CWP supporters were beaten bloody. Four more were arrested and jailed as they tried to get into the opening day of the semi-secret trial of six of the Klan and Nazi murderers who blasted the comrades, friends and family of the CWP last November 3. As the proceedings continued through the week, it was apparent that the defense was going for an all-white jury and the "prosecution" was letting them.

About 40 anti-Klan demonstrators stood outside the locked chamber doors of Judge James Long on Monday chanting, "Let the families in." But "justice" North Carolina-style was having a "public" trial of the Klan/Nazi killers in which only token representatives of the families of the victims were permitted to sit in the courtroom. The cops even stopped survivors of the Greensboro massacre, including Dr. Paul Bermanzohn who was wounded and paralyzed by the fascist gunfire on November 3. Dale Sampson, widow of one of the martyred CWP members, told the press the cops grabbed Bermanzohn's wheelchair. And the CWP newspaper *Workers Viewpoint* (23 June) explains it was when his comrades tried to defend Bermanzohn from attack that the cops arrested the four demonstrators.

They had come to the courthouse in Greensboro to protest what they call "upside-down justice." Indeed, from the first day that fascist Klan/Nazi guns took the lives of five CWP martyrs, the weight of capitalism's "blind justice" has been balanced to punish the victims for the crime. The media called the Greensboro massacre a "shootout" between

two equally violent "fringe groups." Four surviving CWP leaders who were missed by the KKK/Nazi assassins were arrested for "felony rioting" and other charges meant to convict the CWP for "inciting to riot" and provoking their own murders.

So it was the continuation of this "even-handed" justice at the Greensboro courthouse on June 16. In courtroom 3A they arraigned the victims, five CWP survivors, on felonies: Nelson Johnson, Rand Mandella, Dorothy and Alan Blitz, Lacie Russell. Across the corridor in courtroom 3C they started picking the jury for the trial of the six Klan/Nazi killers.

It was in the no man's land between these courtrooms that the cops got their latest CWP victims. The four protesters were charged with "interfering with courtroom procedure" and additional charges including "assaulting a police officer" and "assault with a deadly weapon." What was this "deadly weapon"? A walkie-talkie. In Greensboro, North Carolina it seems any object in the hands of a radical can be classed as a "deadly weapon" by the courts. This is also one of the charges against Nelson Johnson (who was stabbed during the November massacre), because he carried a stick.

By June 23 the racist process of jury selection was already under way, with two white jurors picked and ten more whites promised. Klan lawyers dismissed four blacks who were part of the pool and made it clear that they were going to keep the jury lily white: "We're looking for people who do not have any pre-conceived prejudices against the Klan," said defense lawyer Robert Douglas III. He went on to state the obvious: "I think you would have a hard time finding a black that does not have



Greensboro, June 16: Cops beat CWP supporters outside locked courtroom. AP

some deep-seated feeling against the Klan." But these "deep-seated feelings" are based in experience not in prejudice. Blacks, the targets and victims of Klan terror, are in the best position to judge them. Those who have awakened to the sight of hooded nightriders and blazing crosses, those whose memories of lynching are vivid, those who lost family and comrades recently in Greensboro, or themselves took fascist bullets—let them judge the Klan and Nazis!

It will not be in the courtrooms of Greensboro or any capitalist court that such justice will be done. The KKK

lawyers have also said that not only blacks but also "well-educated" jurors may "work against" the Klansmen on trial. The two jurors selected June 23 include a Vietnam veteran who said he had no opinion about the Klan although he saw the Greensboro Klan shooting on TV. The other man said he had once lived next door to a Klan leader and had no strong feelings about him.

The entire workers movement and all those who defend democratic rights must protest this "license to kill" trial of the CWP. The state of North Carolina
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Down With SWP Exclusionism!

On June 21, supporters of the Spartacist League were excluded from an advertised public meeting of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Los Angeles. The SWP's pretext for this blatant violation of the principle of workers democracy was an incident at a San Francisco SWP forum the week before. There, some Spartacist supporters were admitted to the meeting in apparently accidental violation of the standard S.F. SWP practice of excluding the SL from "public" events. The SLers expressed by some chanting their indignation at the SWP featured speaker, Peter "Pedro" Camejo, who reportedly fingered members of the leftist Simón Bolívar Brigade to the Nicaraguan authorities. While the first SWP speaker was addressing the meeting, an argument at the door became audible between several Spartacist supporters seeking to get into the meeting and SWPers who were seeking to keep them out. A Spartacist member rose to address the chairman, demanding she allow the other Spartacist comrades inside. A shouting match ensued, and the SWP quickly seized on this excuse to adjourn the forum to the SWP headquarters.

The role of the unspeakable Camejo was not really a fit subject for comradely debate. Camejo's collaboration with the bourgeois Sandinista government in driving adventurist leftists out of Nicaragua would have been more appropriately protested by a picket line outside rather than by an attempt to engage this

fink in a "dialogue." Camejo has drawn the line between himself and the left in blood.

The SWP became the policeman of the left in the 1960s. As the supposed "best builders" of a popular-frontist Vietnam "peace" movement, the SWP provided whenever it could both the goon squads and the left-sounding excuses for purging the demonstrations of "unauthorized" pro-NLF slogans and other expressions of anti-imperialist sentiment. The SWP drew the blood line between its reformism and Trotskyism when it brutally drove out Spartacist and Progressive Labor supporters who were vocally protesting the presence of bourgeois politician Vance Hartke at a conference of the SWP's antiwar front group NPAC in July 1971. In December 1974 the SWP cited in court, as evidence of its "peaceful, legal" respectability, its July 1974 expulsion of the SWP "Internationalist Tendency," thereby solidarizing with a bourgeois "anti-terrorist" scare and fingering its own former comrades as purported terrorists. More recently, the SWP has become the most notorious cheerleader of Khomeini's Islamic reaction, defending his goons' bloody rampage against pro-guerrillaist leftists at Teheran University.

Our comrades have endured the most extreme provocations at the hands of the SWP. The SL has been singled out for exclusion from SWP "public" meetings, systematically in some parts of the country and selectively in others.

The threat of violence implicit in all such exclusions has been carried out more than once; the most graphic such incident occurred in San Francisco on 2 May 1975 when three militant trade unionists were brutally assaulted and thrown out of an SWP "public" forum when they protested the exclusion of the SL (see *WV* No. 68, 9 May 1975). We have been the recipient of reams of slander, both political and organizational, in the SWP press. Prominent SWPers have engaged in the most repulsive race-baiting of black Spartacist members.

In the Bay Area, the SL had been excluded from every "public" SWP forum held in the last two years, with the notable exception of one meeting where the veteran SWP speaker informed us that "nobody will ever be excluded from a forum I give." Last month the SWP went so far as to exclude prominent Bay Area trade unionist Jane Margolis from a "public" meeting, preventing her from announcing an upcoming mass anti-Nazi rally because the anti-fascist action was being heavily built by the Spartacist League. Little more than a week ago, an SL picket line outside an SWP campaign rally for scab presidential candidate Andrew Pulley was menaced by an SWP goon squad; only the tight organization and restraint of our comrades prevented the pushing and shoving from turning into a violent melee.

So after suffering endless abuse from the SWP, some SL members were sucked into becoming unruly when their com-

rades were excluded yet again from yet another "public" SWP forum. The SWP was thrilled to seize this excuse to justify the cowardly exclusionism it has been practicing all along. The L.A. SWP's prompt recourse to a special leaflet on the subject of the S.F. meeting is itself a refutation of the leaflet's claim that "similar attacks...have occurred in numerous cities throughout the last year by the Spartacist League." The SWP has screamed "disruption" at such eminently proper Spartacist activities as peaceful picket lines and even the asking of questions the SWP deems inappropriate to the subject. Now at last, like the little boy who cried wolf, the SWP has provoked an incident which it hopes will be the fig leaf covering its years of exclusionism and systematic abuse of Spartacist comrades.

The Spartacist League holds its own truly public public meetings where members and friends of the SWP will of course continue to be welcome. In contrast to the absurd statement in the Los Angeles SWP leaflet that "in order to protect the Militant Forum's policy of allowing all points of view to be heard, the members of the Spartacist League will no longer be welcome at our events," we can promise that orderly discussion procedures will be maintained through appropriate means—and not through blanket exclusion of any tendency in the workers movement, including the SWP. And we continue to view our exclusion from SWP "public" meetings as a chronic and politically cowardly violation of workers democracy. ■

Strike Ma Bell in '80!

Watts Sacrifices CWA for Carter

LOS ANGELES—With a national phone contract coming up August 9, with well over 100,000 telephone workers jobs lost since 1974, with a huge cut in the members' purchasing power over the last year due to runaway inflation—you would think that the Communications Workers of America (CWA) annual convention held here June 16-19 would be devoted to gearing up for a hard fight with Ma Bell. But CWA International president Glenn Watts squandered the opportunity, instead throwing the union's energies and resources into keeping the anti-labor Democrat Jimmy Carter in the White House.

Watts had little time to discuss contract issues, and the closest he came to a "strategy" was to assert that "CWA helped nominate Jimmy Carter. He knows it and he is grateful." Of course, Carter put it differently. As he told the convention in a phone hook-up Monday night: "All of us must sacrifice a little.... This has always been the spirit of the CWA." Sure, the Georgia peanut boss is "grateful" that Watts and the CWA bureaucracy are sacrificing their members' jobs and living standards for the "larger good" of Carter's reelection and phone company profits!

Watts actually spent more convention time attacking the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the leading opposition group in the CWA, than even talking about a strike. The MAC distributed a leaflet at the convention entitled "Break with Carter—For a National Strike in

His Master's Voice: Glenn Watts gets his marching orders from the White House.



WV Photo

1980." This sentiment also found its way onto the convention floor in discussion of the official "statement on economic policy." Delegate Cynthia Whetsell of Local 9102 (Seattle) urged the body to vote this down because "inflation is now running at 18 percent and endorsing this economic policy, which is Carter's wage freeze, would mean at least a 9 percent wage cut per year." Whetsell ended by calling for "a large national strike this summer." (Significantly, her remarks were censored out of the official convention proceedings.)

The CWA tops of course have no intention of embarrassing Carter and will do anything to avoid a phone strike in this election year. Discussion of

bargaining issues was restricted to a special "delegates only" session Thursday morning. Watts admitted from the podium that the meeting was closed in order to keep out a particular alternate. This was alternate Jane Margolis, the MAC spokesman and executive board member of San Francisco Local 9410 who was dragged from the CWA convention floor last July by Secret Service goons. Thus, for a crucial meeting on the upcoming contract fight, Watts went so far as to exclude all the alternates in order to get rid of one whose views he did not like. Two of the speakers at this session protested the undemocratic exclusion.

On Wednesday there was a demon-

stration outside the convention hall by 100-plus operators and traffic division representatives calling attention to the fact that the CWA has proclaimed 1980 "year of the operator." However, the only piece of business at the meeting dealing with the interests of the brutally regimented operators was a resolution for a committee to "study" secret monitoring by the phone company. A call for narrowing the huge wage differential between largely male craft workers and largely female operators never made it to the floor. And in contract bargaining, this year as always no significant demands have been raised for the traffic division. MAC has called for many years for narrowing the wage gap between traffic, clerical and plant—as well as for no layoffs, forced transfers and downgrades, and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to offset automation.

The biggest fight at the convention was over filling a slot for International executive vice president. Watts' candidate, Dina Beaumont, was roundly defeated by E. M. Nichols, a Houston bureaucrat. The membership had already gotten a bad taste of Beaumont, when as vice president for southern California (District 11) she implemented a recent sellout contract with General Telephone even before the ranks had finished voting on it. This was exposed in a leaflet to the convention by Mike Drake, president of Local 11510 (Anaheim). Unfortunately, Beaumont's opponent is no better. Asked by WV whether he has a more militant

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Secret Service gives big apology

DETROIT (AP)—A union activist who was pulled from the floor of a union convention in Detroit and detained for 30 minutes for allegedly threatening President Carter has received an apology and a \$3,500 check from the Secret Service.

Myron I. Weinstein, Secret Service deputy director, confirmed Wednesday that a copy of a letter signed by him and distributed by supporters of the activist, Jane Margolis, is legitimate. The letter was accompanied by a copy of a

which Secret Service spokesman Warner also confirmed is legitimate.

MISS MARGOLIS, 32, is a member of the executive board of the Communications Workers of America. Local 9410, her hometown of San Francisco, learned before Carter was to address the convention at Detroit's Cobo Hall July 16, she was dragged from the floor by a Secret Service agent and taken to a police station after refusing to speak.

Chicago Tribune

Secret Service apologizes for CWA arrest

A San Francisco union activist who was yanked out of her union's national convention, handcuffed and then detained when President Carter was preparing to speak has won an apology and an award from the Secret Service.

In an unprecedented action, Jane Margolis, a telephone installer, received a written apology and \$3,500 from the Secret Service for what now is acknowledged to have been an error.

The incident took place on July 16, 1979, at the Communications Workers of America convention in Detroit. Margolis, a delegate to the convention, was told by police she was being detained because she was considered a threat to the president.

Margolis, a militant activist, contended that the Secret Service knew she wasn't a threat but was anxious to silence her because she had planned to make an anti-Carter statement and to ask a few embarrassing questions during Carter's nationally televised appearance.

After being held for 40 minutes, while agents read through the notes of her statement, Margolis says, she was released.

She returned to the line of questioners and was 16th in line when the president cut off questioning four persons ahead of her.

Following an inquiry by its own office of inspections, the Secret Service now admits that Margolis was on no list of dangerous persons. In a written apology by Deputy Director Myron I. Weinstein, the incident was called "regrettable."

Weinstein said, "The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding, which is obviously regrettable, arose from our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested. It was his belief that he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest."

Cobo Hall arrest incident

U.S. apologizes to union leader

By ROBERT E. ROACH
News Staff Writer

A dissident California union leader has won an unprecedented apology and out-of-court settlement from the U.S. Secret Service because an agent dragged her from Detroit's Cobo Hall shortly before an appearance by President Carter last summer.

The union leader, Jane S. Margolis, 33, was a delegate to the national convention of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) which was addressed by Mr. Carter.

Miss Margolis, of San Francisco, was taken from the hall by the agent and a Detroit police officer, handcuffed and held for 40 minutes in the July 16 incident. She later filed false-arrest charges against Detroit police and the Secret Service.

MISS MARGOLIS announced the settlement yesterday. She received \$3,500

and a letter in which Deputy Director Myron Weinstein blamed her "obviously regrettable" detention on "a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer."

In Detroit, Executive Deputy Police Chief James Bannon maintained yesterday that a plainclothes Detroit officer who was photographed hauling Miss Margolis from the floor "was asked by a Secret Service agent to remove her from the building."

Miss Margolis, an employee of Pacific Telephone and leader of a leftist faction within the CWA, named the agency in a \$1-million lawsuit filed in November in federal district court in California. "Unknown" Detroit policemen were also cited but the suit was never served, said a Detroit city lawyer.

Weinstein's letter said investigation determined that an agent thought he was assisting a Detroit policeman in making an

arrest while the policeman thought "the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law."

A SPOKESMAN at Secret Service headquarters in Washington refused further comment but said the settlement "is the first of its type we're aware of."

Weinstein's letter denied "any political motivation" in the incident. But Miss Margolis, an elected convention delegate and an outspoken critic of the President's labor policies, continues to insist that she was arrested to prevent her from questioning Mr. Carter.

"This is a real victory, not only for myself but for other convention delegates and for the rights of the labor movement to meet and assemble without fear of government intimidation and harassment," said Miss Margolis. She said she will donate the \$3,500 to her union strike fund.

San Francisco Examiner

"At the same time, the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law. In any event, it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances."

Weinstein added that "there is no indication whatsoever that there was any political motivation to these actions."

Margolis, 32, is a shop steward, a member of the executive board of local 9410, the San Francisco local, and a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus, a group dedicated to greater union militancy. After the incident in Detroit, Margolis hired San Francisco attorney Charles Garry and sued the Secret Service for \$1 million.

The letter and money are settlement of the suit. From Los Angeles, where she is attending a less dramatic national convention of the CWA, Margolis said the Secret Service apology and payment "is a terrific victory not only for myself but for the rights of unions to meet and assemble without fear of government intimidation or harassment."

Margolis maintains that the Secret Service is acting like a political arm of the Carter administration by squelching dissent at public gatherings.

"We have never and will never act as a political arm to the president," said special agent Jim Boyle, assigned to the office of public affairs. "Our integrity is such that we wouldn't." He added, "We do not deny the right to demonstrate, or for an individual to speak. As law enforcement officers we support that right."

Boyle said that the Margolis award is "an admission that we were wrong in this allegation."

"As one who has defended many victims of government repression," said attorney Garry, "I see this case as a victory for Jane Margolis, her union and all partisans of constitutional rights."

The Detroit News

PK-MARGOLIS 6-18
SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) — A UNION LEADER, DRAGGED OFF THE CONVENTION FLOOR JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT CARTER WAS TO ADDRESS HER GROUP'S APPOINTEE FROM THE SECRET SERVICE, HAS RECEIVED \$3,500 AND A LETTER OF APOLOGY FROM THE SECRET SERVICE.

JANE MARGOLIS, A COMMUNICATIONS WORKER OF AMERICA OFFICER, AND HER SUIT AGAINST THE SECRET SERVICE, THEY PRODUCED A COPY OF THE LETTER TO HER, WHICH TERMED HER ARREST "REGRETTABLE."

"THIS IS A WONDERFUL VICTORY, NOT ONLY FOR FREE SPEECH, BUT FOR THE VITAL RIGHT OF LABOR TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT FEAR OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE OR INTIMIDATION. WE STOOD UP TO THE GOVERNMENT, AND WE WON," SHE SAID.

MS. MARGOLIS, 32, SAN FRANCISCO, ASSERTED THAT SHE WAS HELD BY THE SECRET SERVICE ON JULY 16, 1979, BECAUSE SHE HAD PLANNED TO ASK PRESIDENT CARTER A HOSTILE QUESTION. BUT THE SECRET SERVICE OFFICER SAID SHE WAS ASSISTING A DETROIT POLICE OFFICER IN MAKING AN ARREST. SHE SAID SHE WAS HELD FOR 40 MINUTES.

"IN ANY EVENT, IT IS NOW APPARENT THAT NO ARREST SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES."

MS. MARGOLIS, EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER OF CWA LOCAL 9410, SAN FRANCISCO, SAID SHE WAS HELD FOR 40 MINUTES IN THE FLOOR OF COBO HALL AND HANDCUFFED IN A BACK ROOM FOR 30 MINUTES LATER.

MS. MARGOLIS SAID SHE WOULD DONATE THE MONEY TO HER UNION STRIKE FUND.

UPI 85-18 12 48 RED

U.P.I.

Secret Service grants \$3,500 to union leader

By Lonnie Isalt of Tribune Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO — The U.S. Secret Service has apologized to Jane Margolis, a telephone company employee in San Francisco who was dragged from a labor convention in Detroit by agents and held for 40 minutes.

Margolis, executive board member of union Local 9410, claimed in a suit against the government that she was handcuffed, escorted off the convention floor and questioned by the Detroit police officer.

"The Attorney's office dealt with the incident," said Weinstein.

Oakland Tribune

"The Attorney's office dealt with the incident," said Weinstein.

Interview with Jane Margolis:

"A Terrific Victory for the Rights of Labor"

We print below a WV interview with Jane Margolis, a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in the Communications Workers of America, a steward and a member of the Executive Board of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco. Last July, as an elected delegate from her local, Margolis was dragged off the floor of the union's national convention in Detroit by the U.S. Secret Service shortly before Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak. Following a storm of protest and a legal court suit by Margolis, on June 6 the Secret Service was forced to issue a formal apology and award a \$3,500 cash settlement for this "regrettable" violation of her rights.

WV: Jane, could you tell us something about the settlement of your suit against the Secret Service?

Margolis: It was a terrific victory for the rights of labor—for the right of unions to assemble and meet without fear of government intimidation, harassment and intervention. And also for the rights of oppositionists within the labor movement to be able to speak out and oppose the policies of the government.

They had accused me of being a threat to the life of the president, a charge that could put you in jail for the rest of your life. It also was an attempt to discredit me as a unionist. But it was ludicrous to begin with. Never did the Secret Service

search me. All they did was take my notebook which had my prepared question for Jimmy Carter in it.

Just to give you an idea of how absurd it was, only a few months after the incident at the CWA convention, while the Secret Service said the case was still being investigated, who do you think put in Vice President Walter Mondale's phones in his presidential suite at the Hilton Hotel while he visited San Francisco? Me! And not a word of opposition from the Secret Service. Because they were only interested in silencing my political views.

I want to tell you, this case was supported by representatives of over 100 individual unions, and many officers and members of the CWA. And since the rights of the entire union—all delegates and the members who elected them to last year's convention—were attacked, I am turning the entire check from the Secret Service over to the CWA and earmarked for the Defense Fund.

WV: Could you tell us how you went about fighting this attack?

Margolis: Our key to winning this case was mobilizing active support and publicity in the labor movement. Many outraged union members sent telegrams and made phone calls to the White House. Apparently there was a press secretary there who was handling the



WV Photo

Attorney Charles Garry, MAC militants Jane Margolis and Gary Adkins announce victory to press June 17.

"Margolis case" calls. After getting a good lawyer, Charles Garry, and filing the lawsuit in November, within our union we formed the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) which did the publicity and fundraising for the case. Within a couple of months we raised over \$14,000 and gathered a wide number of union endorsers.

We discovered wide receptivity about the case because many unionists have

also been victims of government harassment and they were excited seeing someone fighting back. The International Association of Machinists, in particular, had also been victims of the Secret Service, acting as political agents of Carter. At an IAM demonstration against Carter and his energy policy last summer, the Secret Service had threatened to take away the union photographer's camera and film. And the Secret Service says their sole function is to protect the life of the president!

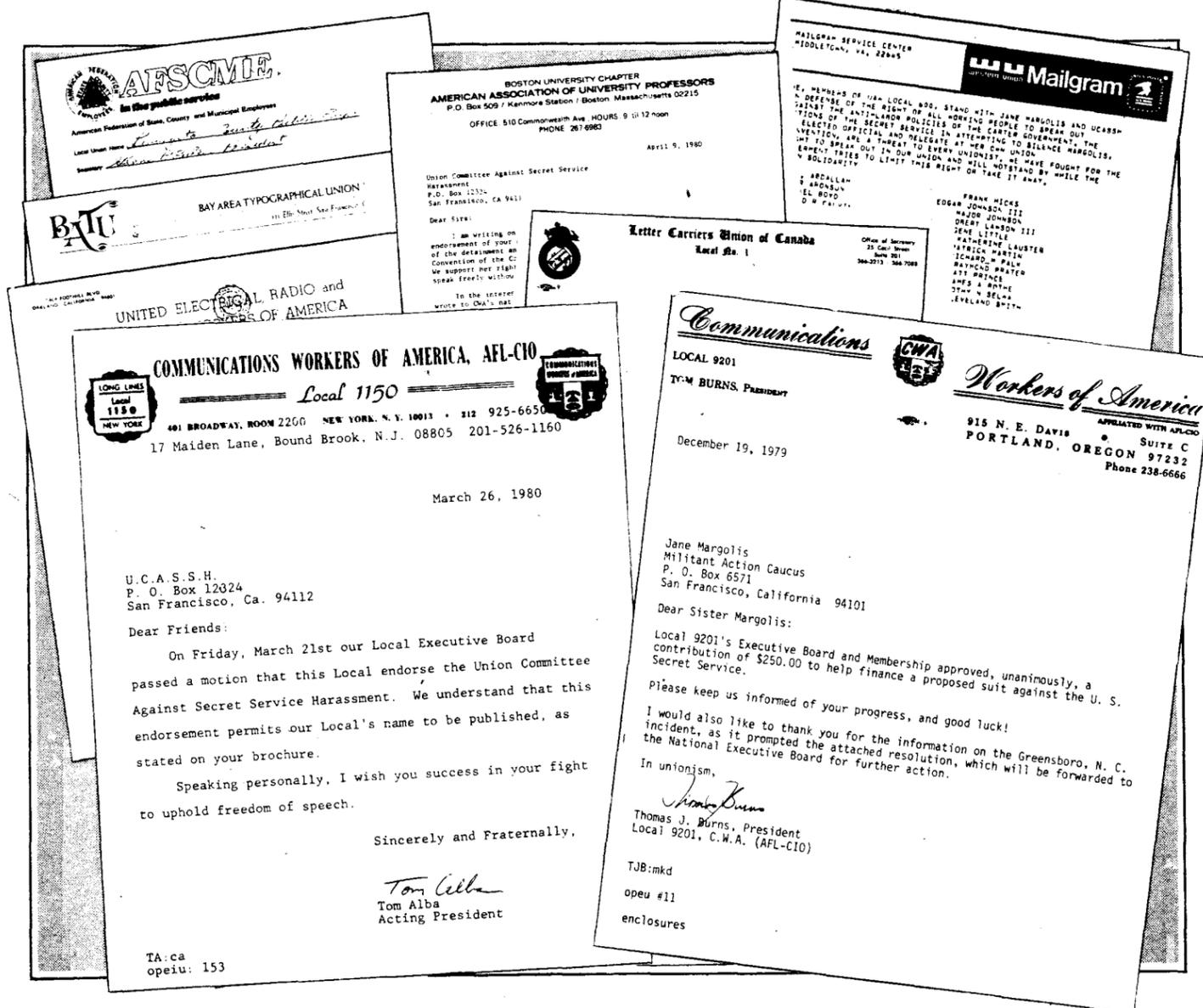
WV: Could you tell us how you see the significance of the suit that you brought against the government?

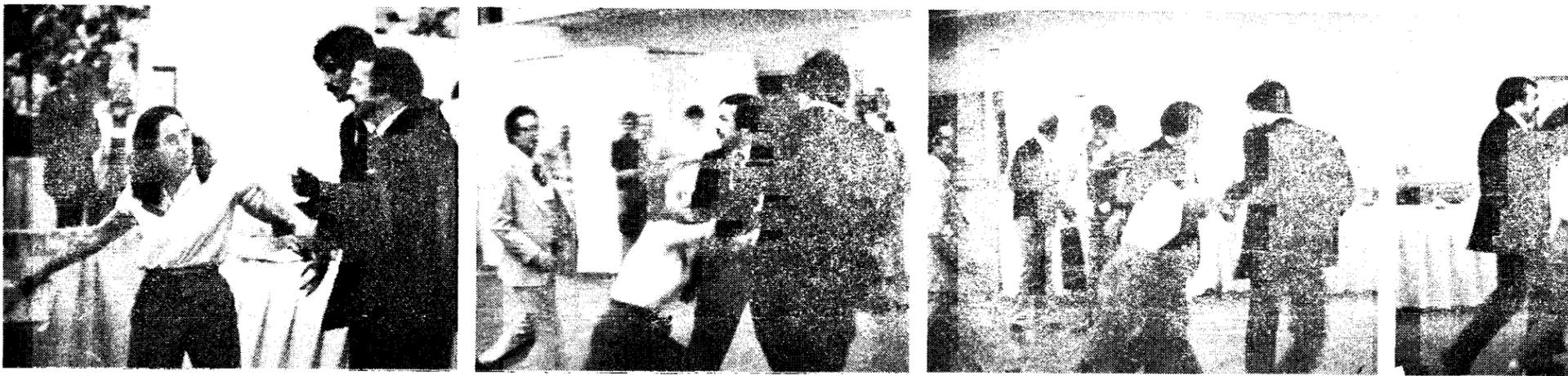
Margolis: Every day this strikebreaking government intervenes on behalf of an employer against a union. But union-busting comes in all different kinds of packages. In my case the government directly stepped into a union convention to manipulate and control the political climate, to silence a critic of Jimmy Carter and intimidate any other potential critics. A lot of people don't understand the nature of the government. They want to appeal to the pro-business courts to help them in union elections, and so on. Well, this is what you get. My case was supported by such a wide range of unionists and persons interested in civil liberties because they understood the significance: if we did not win, their convention and union could be next.

WV: What kind of support did you get from outside the unions?

Margolis: Some very prominent individuals who are concerned about civil liberties endorsed the case: Daniel Berrigan, who was active in the antiwar movement; Noam Chomsky. I was very excited when Crystal Lee Sutton, the real Norma Rae, endorsed my lawsuit when I was attending a benefit on her behalf in Los Angeles. Also, individuals that were victims of government repression in the '50s, two members of the Hollywood Ten, Alvah Bessie and Lester Cole, endorsed, as did a number of legal organizations, including the

continued on page 7





NEWLY RELEASED PHOTOS: When the Secret Service seized Jane Margolis.

Outrage...

(continued from page 12)

The reason: Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak that afternoon. A well-known labor oppositionist, Margolis had been elected to convention delegate on the platform, "Not a dime, not a vote to the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans." Carter's agents wanted to make sure the voice of militant unionism would not be heard.

When Margolis was dragged off the floor, CWA president Glenn Watts told the delegates to pay no attention to the disruption. The floor mikes were turned off so no one could protest. Out of view of the delegates, Margolis was man-handled, interrogated, threatened with being held incommunicado for days on the basis of "reports" from unidentified "sources" for suspicion of "threatening the life of the president." She was deprived of legal counsel, which she repeatedly requested. White House officials first denied that anyone had been seized. But they changed their story.

Margolis...

(continued from page 12)

rights, for the rights of labor, and she won.

"We Demand an Apology"

From free speech to the right to strike, it takes a hard fight to defend democratic freedoms from the ruling class. And unlike any other civil liberties case in recent memory, this victory was won by a union-based campaign from start to finish. Immediately after the Secret Service assault, 700 workers from Margolis' San Francisco local petitioned the White House:

"We the undersigned strongly protest the forcible removal of our delegate Jane Margolis from the convention floor...preventing her from making critical remarks about Carter's anti-labor policies. This was in clear violation of her democratic rights as a duly elected delegate. We from CWA Local 9410 demand an apology from the White House to delegate Margolis and the union as a whole."

Represented by noted attorney Charles Garry, Jane Margolis sued the Secret Service for invasion of privacy, assault and battery, false arrest and violation of her constitutional rights. Outraged

unionists formed UCASSH and began to pound the government stonewalling, gathering support for their case from coast to coast. Forty-nine CWA stewards endorsed the case, along with Locals 9201 (Portland, Oregon) and 1150 (Northeast Long Lines). Hundreds of endorsements were generated from local unions, well-known civil libertarians, other frame-up victims.

Socialists joined the fight early on. James Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League (SL) and a close personal friend of Margolis, immediately phoned the White House to demand that Jane be released and an official apology made. Told by a White House staffer, you can't talk to me like that or I'll hang up, Robertson told him to stop stonewalling and reminded him of what happened to Richard Nixon. SL supporters and friends played an energetic role in backing UCASSH, particularly in fundraising, and a staff counsel of the Partisan Defense Committee joined the legal team headed by Garry to fight the case in the courts.

But the case encountered one obstacle—many CWA bureaucrats from International president Glenn Watts to leaders of Margolis' own local stood passively on the sidelines or actively

tried to sabotage this defense of their union's independence from government control. For Watts & Co. are so tied to Carter that they are blinded to the threat to the whole union posed by the invasion of the CWA convention and seizure of Jane Margolis.

A "Regrettable Misunderstanding"?

Seldom do the government's snoops say they're sorry. The Secret Service was forced to issue a formal apology and award a cash settlement to Jane Margolis not least because it didn't have a leg to stand on legally. At first it denied any arrest had been made, and the official letter from Secret Service Deputy Director Myron Weinstein refers to "alleged false arrest." But then it tries to explain the "regrettable misunderstanding" as a comedy of errors resulting from "our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested." Never mind, says the letter, "it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances." So the government now admits Jane was arrested even though she had "not violated any law."

Why was Jane Margolis hustled off the floor of her own union convention?

Endorsers of the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1414C, Hayward, Calif.
Gary Adkins, Executive Board, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
AFSCME Local 1695, University of California, Berkeley
AFSCME Local 2652, Livingston County Public Employees
Tom Alba, Executive Board, CWA Local 1150, New York
Christopher Alston, pioneer member UAW; former President, Local 429, UAW
American Association of University Professors, Boston Chapter
American Postal Workers Union, San Francisco
American Postal Workers Union, Oakland
Dore Ashton, Author
Edward L. Baldwin, Jr., CWA Local 9413, 2nd Vice President
Gilbert Basaldua, President, CWA Local 9425
Erwin Bauer, former President UAW Local 306, Detroit, Mi.
Bianche Bebb, Executive Board member, Hospital & Institutional Workers Union, Local 250
John Beecher, School of Humanities, San Francisco State University
Ulrich Beher, OTV, Public Employees & Transportation Union, University of Frankfurt
Daniel Berrigan
Aiyah Bessie, Hollywood Ten
Bob Blauner, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley; member AFT Local 1474
Robert Bly, poet
M. Burawoy, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
Tom Burns, President CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
Bob Carson, member Waterfront Writers
Noam Chomsky
Marge Clouser, Executive Board member, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
Richard R. Cobb, OCAW Local 4-227, Chairman ARCO Pipeline Group
Lester Cole, Hollywood Ten
CWA Local 1150, Long Lines Local, New York City
CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Illinois
CWA Local 9201, Portland, Oregon
Paul Copeland, Law Union of Ontario
Vern Countryman, Harvard Law School
Angela Davis, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
Ross Dowson, Forward Group, Canada
Dagobert Diemann, Shop Steward, OTV, Public Employees and Transportation Union, University of Frankfurt
Frank Donner, Attorney

Dianna Doughtie, Business Agent, AFSCME Local 2700; member Contra Costa Central Labor Council
Executive Board of the University of Detroit Professors Union, Detroit, Michigan
Glen Fields, OCAW Local 4-227 Workmen's Committee, Houston
Jerry Foster, Executive Board member, Local 4-227 OCAW, ARCO Group Workmen's Committee, Houston
Bill Franz, Vice President, CWA Local 2011, Clarksburg, W. Va.
Richard Fraser, New American Movement
Barbara Garson, Author
Gay Activists Alliance, New York
Tom Gentry, Executive Board member, District 4 Delegate, OCAW Local 4-227, Houston
Earl Gilman, Executive Board, San Francisco Chapter, SEIU Local 535; member San Francisco Central Labor Council
William Goodman, Attorney, Detroit, Michigan
Jim Grant, Farmworkers Legal Services; recently released defendant, Charlotte 3
Hazen Griffin, President, SEIU Local 372, Chicago
Fernando R. Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
John Gurley, Economics Department, Stanford University
Bill Hampton, December 4th Committee; Hampton/Clark lawsuit
Paul Harris, President, National Lawyers Guild
Nat Hentoff, Author
David Herreshoff, Professor, Wayne State University
David Hilliard, SEIU Local 411; former Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party
Jerome L. Himmelstein, Department of Sociology, U.C. Berkeley
Hospital and Institutional Workers Union Local 250, San Francisco
Industrial Workers of the World
IBT, Chauffeurs Local 265, San Francisco
IBT, Local 312, Martinez, CA
Abdeen Jabarra, Attorney
G.T. (Jake) Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer, OCAW Local 1-5
Paul Jarrico, Producer, "Salt of the Earth"
Randall Johnese, Field Representative, SEIU Local 535; member, Alameda Central Labor Council
Sanford Katz, Attorney
Ted Keller, International Relations, San Francisco State University
John L. Kelley, Math Department, U.C. Berkeley; Executive Board AFT Local 1474
William Kunstler, Attorney

Frank Lazaro, Executive Council AFT Local 3157, San Diego
League for a Revolutionary Party
Gerald Lelcourt, Attorney
Sidney Lens, Author
Debby Leonard, OCAW Local 4-227, ARCO Group Organizing Committee
Letter Carriers Union of Canada, Local 1
Henry M. Levin, Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
Walter Lippmann, Chairperson, Human Rights Committee, SEIU Local 535
Gretchen Mackler, President, AFT Local 1528
Jeffrey Mackler, Board of Directors, Hayward Unified Teachers Association/Calif. Teachers Association/National Education Association
Shirley Magidson, ACLU, SCLC, Vietnam-U.S. Friendship Association
Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600, Detroit, Michigan
Joan Marcus
Ben Margolis, Attorney; New American Movement
Hilding Martinson, Business Agent, U.E. Local 1412
Dr. Henry E. McGucken, Speech Department, San Francisco State University
Patsy McMichael, OCAW 4-227, Workmen's Committee ARCO Group
Michael Meeropol, Fund for Open Information and Accountability; elder son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Robert Meeropol, *Socialist Review*; younger son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906, New Jersey
Kate Millett, Author
Lynne Morel, Steward, Chevron Negotiating Committee, OCAW Local 1-5
Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, Local 9415, Oakland
Charles D. Najbergler, Executive Board, SEIU Local 535
National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 228, Pasadena
National Lawyers Guild
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Local 8-149, Alberson, New York
Partisan Defense Committee
Dorothy Perry, Executive Board, UAW Local 203, Detroit
Revolutionary Communist League-Internationalist
James Robertson, National Chairman, Spartacist League/U.S.
Mike Rotkin, Santa Cruz City Council; NAM; AFSCME
Richard Rubenstein, Antioch Law School, Washington, D.C.
San Francisco Progress Newspaper Chapel, International Typographical Union
Bernard Sapiro, President, District Council #2,

Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, Los Angeles
John H. Schaar, University of California, Santa Cruz
Henry Schmidt, Retired International Vice President, ILWU; leader of 1934 San Francisco General Strike; defendant in Bridges/Robertson/Schmidt lawsuit
Paul Schrade, UAW Local 887 Los Angeles; Chairman ACLU Worker's Rights Committee
Charles Schwartz, Professor of Physics, U.C. Berkeley
Peter Dale Scott, English Department, U.C. Berkeley; AFT Local 1474
SEIU Local 372, Chicago
SEIU Local 535 State Executive Board
Marianne Silva, CWA Local 9421, Executive Vice President
Dan Smith
John Snow, Bargaining Committeeman, UAW Local 600
State Council of the United Professors of California (AFT/AFL-CIO)
Crystal Lee Sutton, ACTWU; (the real "Norma Rae")
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 315
Twin Cities Federation of Labor of Champaign County, Ill. (AFL-CIO)
Sylvia Tennenbaum, Author, Freedom to Write Committee
Typographical Union No. 21, San Francisco
United Electrical Workers, Local 1412
United Stanford Employees, Local 680
United Transportation Union Local 1081, Phoenix, Ariz.
Doron Weinberg, Attorney, San Francisco
Leonard Weinglass, Attorney
Cynthia Whitsell, 1977 and 1979 Delegate to CWA National Convention, Local 9102, Seattle
Jewel White, President CWA Local 5011, Lockport, Ill.
Robert F. Williams, Author, *Negroes With Guns*
Women Back Into Stelco Committee, Ontario, Canada
Bruce Wright, Statewide Executive Board, United Professors of California; member AFT Local 1588, Los Angeles
Sol Yurick, Author
Howard Zinn, American Association of University Professors, Boston University Chapter
John Zupan, former President AFSCME Local 1497

In addition CWA Stewards in the following Locals endorsed as individuals:
 Local 9410, San Francisco: 31
 Local 9415, Oakland: 3
 Local 11502, Los Angeles: 11
 Local 11513, Los Angeles: 1
 Local 1150, New York City: 1
 Local 4015, Plymouth, Michigan: 1
 Local 9102, Seattle, Washington: 1

Organizations listed after individuals are for identification purposes only.



Photos by Jon P. Fishback

Because she was "a threat to the life of the president"? Then why wasn't she searched, not even her handbag? And as Margolis noted in her statement for the June 17 press conference, "No wonder they settled. They would have looked pretty funny when the fact they allowed me to install [Vice President] Mondale's phones in his hotel suite came out in court!" Was it really only a "regrettable misunderstanding"? Then why was Jane held incommunicado until a CBS newsman accidentally entered the room where she was being held and demanded to know why she was being detained? Even after she was released, Secret Service agents continued to hound Margolis for the rest of the convention, even following her to the bathroom.

The government of course denies "any political motivation" to the seizure of Jane Margolis on the floor of the CWA convention. But why was she singled out from among the more than 2,900 unionists present? Clearly because she was a leading oppositionist who had spoken as a delegate at the CWA's 1978 convention against union support for "strikebreakers, anti-labor politicians, Jimmy Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley against the miners strike...." It was the idea that militant labor opposition to the Democratic Party might be voiced that panicked the president's private political police. That is why they seized Jane Margolis' notebook, and why the "question and answer" session following Carter's speech was abruptly cut off before she could speak. Margolis was politically gagged.

"Whose Union Is This, Anyway?"

The legal complaint filed by her attorneys began, "This is no ordinary lawsuit." Unlike many would-be oppositionists who routinely drag the unions into the bosses' courts, Margolis asserted labor's right to decide its course free from government interference. And the suit pointed out how this fight goes a long way back, citing the important Minneapolis Teamster trial of 1941 as an example of how the capitalist state witchhunts militant unionists and socialists like Jane Margolis. The preface to the legal complaint concluded:

"Thus the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service challenges in principle the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade union movement."

The familiar government "dirty tricks" are apparent in this case: anonymous G-men seek to discredit a militant leader in the eyes of fellow unionists, trying in a dramatic incident to make her appear as a dangerous criminal. By this outrage the Secret Service tried to block Margolis from carrying out her mandate at the 1979 CWA convention, chilled free discussion by other delegates as well, may have intimidated phone workers from supporting her for fear of reprisal and forced Jane to spend the last year fighting to clear her name of this slanderous charge. One of the crimes is that it took this much effort, thousands of hours of volunteer work and hundreds of small contributions, for working people to get even partial justice. And that doesn't even begin to compensate for the discriminatory nature of capitalist class justice in America, where corporations and the government can hire batteries of lawyers, making this victory all the more remarkable.

The Secret Service's formal apology and cash settlement demonstrates that Jane Margolis was a victim of official persecution reminiscent of Nixon's COINTELPRO. This was a victory for Margolis and her UCASSH supporters, for the CWA, the entire labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights. Of course, it is only one step. The same letter of apology vows that the political police will do it again and again ("the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur"), all in the name of protecting the imperial president. But Margolis' victory will give pause to the secret police witchhunters before they try such a stunt again. Finally it will not be mainly through legal suits but on the picket lines and in the class struggle that this fight must be won. The only real protection the working class has against victimization by the capitalist state is a militant, vigilant labor movement politically mobilized against the big business politicians and government.

Of course, there were those who said it couldn't be done, shouldn't be done. As always there were many who counseled reliance on the Democrats and other phony "friends of labor." Others just "knew" you can't fight city hall. They must be scratching their heads in amazement now, for Jane Margolis, UCASSH, MAC and their supporters fought the White House... and won. That counts for a lot in a union that has been pushed around for decades by the hated phone monopoly: here is a program that can put the CWA on its feet.

To Jane, to the phone workers who threw their full strength and thousands of valuable hours into the cause, to the hundreds of trade unionists and socialists who supported them, to the contributors who donated thousands of dollars to back these fighters against the government, CONGRATULATIONS ON A VICTORY WELL WON! ■

Margolis Interview...

(continued from page 5)

National Lawyers Guild. The American Civil Liberties Union in southern California voted to file a "friend of the court" brief in my behalf.

WV: What about the left?

Margolis: From the very start, a few hours after the incident, when a good friend of mine, James Robertson, the national chairman of the Spartacist League, called up the White House demanding my release, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee did everything to push this case to a victorious conclusion. Fundraising, mailings, speaking engagements, you name it. They took an active stand against union-busting. But I can't say the same for the rest of the left. Most were noticeably silent. If it was left to the Communist Party and *People's World*, you would never have known that Jimmy Carter was using the Secret Service to silence political oppositionists in the trade unions. The Socialist Workers Party also was silent on the issue, but very active in physically excluding me from one of their public forums when I wanted to make a three-minute announcement building for the April 19 rally against the Nazis in San Francisco.

WV: In addition to being an elected official of the CWA, you are also a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA. Would you tell us what the MAC is fighting for at this convention?

Margolis: Our union is facing a tremendous battle against Ma Bell as our contract expires in August. And the company has already begun gearing up. In San Francisco, numerous union reps have been fired in blatant frame-ups. And since November, when I filed my lawsuit against the Secret Service, PT&T has been trying to fire me. The Militant Action Caucus is calling for a

national strike against Ma Bell to protect jobs. A shorter workweek with no loss in pay, an unlimited cost-of-living escalator, an end to job pressures should all be the primary focus on the agenda of this convention. Instead, Watts will try to turn this convention into a rally for Jimmy Carter. With phone workers in every city in this country, with phone service being essential for big business, we have tremendous potential power as a union. But our union leaders never use it. Instead they tell us to rely on the Democratic Party.

Carter, Kennedy or Reagan—they're all a disaster for working people. All three are defending the interests of big business, attempting to get us into a war against the Soviet Union and cutting social services, telling unions that we're the problem while our members lose jobs, minority unemployment rises to 14 percent and the climate is created that brings out the KKK and the Nazis. That's why we in the Militant Action Caucus for the last nine years have been calling for a workers party. There is a solution to the anarchy of plants closing, of people being put out of work. We need a workers party that will fight for a workers government, will expropriate industry, establishing an economy that is run for social need, not profit.

WV: Anything else you'd like to say?

Margolis: I want to thank everyone who supported this case. We in the Militant Action Caucus are fighting to win. When the Secret Service grabbed me off the floor, they didn't realize that they had laid their hands on someone who will not let her rights be violated without a fight. I do believe that you can "win against city hall"—if you are willing to stake a stand, organize the labor movement, and know who your friends are. My friends are other unionists, persons truly concerned about democratic rights and socialists. If I had relied on "my" senators and assemblymen and a "more Democratic Congress," as the labor bureaucracy is always telling us to do, I never would have received a letter of apology and the CWA Defense Fund would never have seen the \$3,500. And if we can win against the government, we can win against Ma Bell! ■

San Franciscan handcuffed
One critic Carter didn't hear
Special to The Examiner
DETROIT — A militant San Francisco member of the Communications Workers of America was detained for 40 minutes by Secret Service agents yesterday, shortly before President Carter was scheduled to address the union convention.
Jane Margolis, 32, an executive board member of CWA Local 1410 said she was surrounded by about a half dozen Secret Service agents, dragged off the floor of Cobo Hall and handcuffed in a back room.
There, she said, she was told she was being held for three hours, Carter's life.

San Francisco Examiner
Margolis said she was also prevented from making a motion to prohibit Carter from addressing the convention. In addition, she said, the number of delegates to be permitted to question Carter was reduced from 30 to 12. She was 12th in line, she said.
Margolis, who is a SCLC member for Pacific Telephone

Police seize, question woman delegate at Cobo
By ROBERT E. BOSCH
A well-known woman delegate was dragged from the floor of a union convention in Detroit's Cobo Hall...

Delegate quizzed by Secret Service
Carter's anti-labor views
Margolis was indignantly about...

Secret Service Gags Carter Critic
By Joe Conason
Everyone laughs these days at Jimmy Carter's promises of open government, but something...

VOICE

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Stalinists Call the Sheriff

TUAD: No Action, No Democracy

Participants at the Second National Conference of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) held June 20-22 in Gary, Indiana were greeted by armed sheriff's deputies who searched their bags and confiscated "unapproved" literature. A government crackdown on TUAD's Communist Party backers? On the contrary, this one was ordered by the Stalinists themselves. There was Fred Gaboury, editor of TUAD's paper *Labor Today*, standing by the cops ordering bewildered and angry workers to turn over their literature to the police as they entered the conference.

The use of strikebreaking cops was no accident, but part of an effort to make sure no militant alternative could be raised to TUAD's reformist program. The deputies and TUAD goons moved to prevent distribution by a number of labor and socialist groups, including auto workers of the Rouge Militant Caucus, who were instrumental in building a successful labor/black rally against the KKK in Detroit last November. They even stopped an NMU seaman who sought to hand out a resolution opposing the reactionary trade boycott of the Soviet Union initiated by anti-Communist AFL-CIO leaders.

In particular, the TUAD hacks were determined to prevent steel worker militants from raising a resolution endorsing the Keith Anwar picket line defense case (see below). Although TUAD's "Bill of Rights for Union Members" includes the demand that "all union members shall have the right to respect the picket lines of other work-

Stalinist goons call on cops to censor union militants.



WV Photo

ers," the Stalinists wanted nothing to do with this case. Two of the invited guests at the conference were Jim Balanoff, director of District 31 of the USWA, and Bill Andrews, his successor as president of Steelworkers Local 1010 (which is also Anwar's local). Both Balanoff and Andrews are trying to wash their hands of this case, a militant defense of the right to strike, and naturally TUAD didn't want to embarrass its guests. (TUAD supporters in the USWA have also refused to endorse a recent Anwar defense resolution.)

When a member of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee tried to distribute inside the conference building a motion

that had been *officially endorsed* by USWA Locals 1010 and 65, Dave Woods, a grievance man at Local 65, led a gang of Stalinist thugs who attempted to rip the leaflets out of her hands. This was too much for some trade unionists from Clinton, Iowa who had been invited as guest speakers. These militants, members of the Grain Millers union, had just lost a bitter eleven-month strike against the Clinton Corn Company. Their union had been busted and decertified as a result of organized scabberding. The Clinton strikers had also defended CP vice presidential candidate Angela Davis against right-wing thugs when she came to town to

address the union. But when they saw TUAD goons attempting to censor a resolution endorsing defense of picket lines, they packed their bags and left in disgust.

The conference was attended by at best only half the number of unionists who turned out for the first, and only previous, TUAD conference ten years ago. A few gutless resolutions were passed appealing to the bosses' state to ban the Klan and limit the right of companies to close down plants. Of course, the keynote speaker was Gary's Democratic Party mayor, Richard Hatcher. And while TUAD leaders were using deputies to seize "unauthorized" literature, the same Lake County Sheriff's Department was busy elsewhere breaking the strikes of iron workers, brewery drivers and the steel workers employed by the Northern Indiana Public Service Company!

For a number of participants, the TUAD conference was an eye-opener. Some undoubtedly left disillusioned and disgusted with what they understood as communism. But for at least some others, it was the first time they had come into contact with genuine class-struggle unionists, the ones who respect picket lines and defend workers democracy against Stalinist/bureaucratic suppression. They met *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League which backs these militants and fights for a revolutionary leadership in the workers movement. As for TUAD, a union militant could only conclude that it meant: no action, no democracy, no thanks. ■

USWA Must Act to Defend Keith Anwar!

Members of the Chicago-Gary District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are demanding that union leaders take action to reinstate Keith Anwar and to defend the right of all union members to honor picket lines. On June 19 a resolution mandating the district leadership to immediately bring the Anwar case to arbitration passed in Anwar's Local 1010 at Inland Steel, and a similar motion passed in Local 65, U.S. Steel Southworks, on June 11. Numerous union officers have individually endorsed the resolution, many of them delegates to next weekend's District 31 conference, where the Keith Anwar Defense Committee intends to wage a fight over this crucial issue.

Keith Anwar was fired from Inland

Steel on May 18 of last year for refusing to cross the picket line of another USWA local at the plant. Since then over 1,500 steel workers have signed petitions, and more than 2,000 hard-earned dollars have been donated to Anwar's fight to win his job back. Last year's district conference unanimously passed a resolution pledging "all available resources" to Keith's case, but for the last seven months his grievance has been in limbo. Meanwhile, district leaders Jim Balanoff and Ed Sadlowski and International president Lloyd McBride have cynically blamed each other for refusing to further the case. It is now 13 months since Anwar was fired, and still the union has not even completed the grievance procedure!

But the resolutions passed at Inland and Southworks make it clear that the membership is fed up with this stalling. Particularly significant was the victory for the motion in Local 1010, home local of District 31 director Balanoff. Balanoff has been doing his best to derail support for the case and delegates from Local 65 say that when they went to him to discuss the Anwar grievance, he told them "not to touch it." The Local 1010 leadership is overwhelmingly dominated by the Rank and File Caucus (RFC), whose former head was Balanoff himself. A number of Local 1010 leaders were reluctant to confront Balanoff by supporting a resolution that squarely placed the responsibility for getting the case moving on the district director.

The Anwar defense resolution was hotly debated at the June 19 Inland meeting with almost 45 minutes given over to discussion and several speakers taking part on each side. One union leader reportedly said that he had been on every picket line set up at Inland and that he had never seen a young man as serious about the union as Keith. Another commented that the Anwar case was not "merely another grievance... it's not just Keith, it's the union." The support for Anwar has cut across the normal bureaucratic squabbling in the USWA. At Inland the case has been endorsed by such RFC members as vice president Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo and Joe Gyurko, chairman of the grievance committee, as well as by members of the United Concerned Steel Laborers Caucus. So it was a big victory when the Anwar defense was backed by Balanoff's home local and by leading members of his own caucus.

Additional key endorsements have

recently been received from David Wilborn, president of Local 6787 at Bethlehem's Burns Harbor Works, and Jerry Wilson, president of Local 8180, whose picket lines Keith Anwar refused to cross. At U.S. Steel's Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana, 100 members in the coke department signed petitions endorsing Bob Lotz for delegate to the conference so that he could bring up the Anwar defense motion on the floor. Lotz, a member of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, who was subsequently made a delegate, pointed out in a statement issued to his department, "I believe the importance of this case should unite all elements of our union to defend the union picket line against the companies. Factional electioneering must not lose the Anwar case!"

The June 27-28 District 31 conference must take a stand. Reinstate Keith Anwar!

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee needs your help. Contributions may be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee P.O. Box 7914 Chicago, Illinois 60680.

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Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday: 3:00-6:00 p.m. Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

Guardian ...

(continued from page 2)

contrary, the state cannot and will not effect a ban on fascists.

But we do not just say that such calls for bans are reformist, as Hill reports of us in his article. We say they are lethal. In West Berlin the Senate used the murder by Turkish fascists of a trade-union leader as an opportunity to demand that all Turkish "extremist" organizations submit their membership lists to the city authorities. Naturally this will hit primarily at the left Turkish organizations. This is the consequence of relying on bourgeois-democratic "justice."

At the congress comrades of the TLD exposed the impotence of these strategies and pointed to the necessity of mobilizing the real power of the organized working class to eradicate the fascist scum when and where they raise their heads. Hill blusters about the disruption which our intervention brought in the attempts of the KB and SAG & Co. to work out a reformist program around appeals for bans of fascists. His problem is that none of these frauds could answer the political challenge of the Trotskyists!

We point with pride to the examples of successful actions against the fascists shown in the work of our American comrades in the Spartacist League. 1,200 trade-union militants, blacks, homosexuals, Jews, Chicanos on the streets to make sure that the Nazis couldn't celebrate the birthday of Hitler in San Francisco! For labor/black self-defense guards against fascist provocations! When Hill calls such actions "ultra-left" and "criminal," as he did at the Antifascist Congress, he is only betraying his own gutless opportunism and cynicism. Unlike Hill and the KB we do not attempt to present an *Ersatz* for a proletarian perspective—which could only distract militants from the necessity of a working-class struggle to smash the fascists.

A final word about the Antifascist Congress—it was a flop. They had planned it for 1,000 participants, but the fans didn't show. After all—at this gig there was no music!

Catherine Thomas
for the TLD

Japan...

(continued from page 2)

system are the powerful economy and LDP rule. At the turn of the century the Japanese had a dual slogan to keep Japan out of the clutches of the Western colonialists: "rich nation/strong army." In the post-World War II period they decided to go for the rich nation and use America's strong army. The economic recovery in post-war Japan was made possible by U.S. domination of world capitalism. The U.S. occupying forces helped bring into existence not only the LDP and Japan's constitutional regime but also the extra-parliamentary ruling bodies of Japanese capitalism. The great holding companies of the pre-war years, known as "zaibatsu," were disassembled, the senior members of these holding companies put out to pasture, and the junior members were invited to submit proposals for the restructuring of the economy in a "democratic" free enterprise framework.

Key to this misnamed "anti-monopoly" system was a network of ruling-class executive committees such as the Employers' Association of Japan (Nikkeiren), the Federation of Economic Organizations (Keidanren) and the Japan Federation of Commerce and Industry (Nissho), which through their close association with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry form the heart of what is known as "Japan Inc." This apparatus is only conditionally dependent on its beneficiaries in the LDP. The Keidanren was threatening to

withhold funds if the LDP factions split. Now Keidanren's new leader has stated that he is prepared to see the LDP bypassed by a coalition government.

Brought Down by Inflation

The striking hypocrisy of the coalition parties is that they don't even claim they will change any of the substance of the so-called "1955 system." The main motivation of the JSP's no-confidence motion was uncontrolled inflation. Evidently these phony socialists feel they've done their part in fighting inflation by holding down wages and by easing up on the right-to-strike issue. In order to appease its coalition partners, the JSP has back-pedaled so far that it can scarcely bring up the defense spending issue as a cause for high taxes and inflation.

The Rengo Seiken coalition is an anti-Communist alliance with the right-wing social democrats of the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and the buddhist Komeito. As an editorial writer for *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (20 May) put it, "The JSP having made a stand against the JCP must either make a decisive turn in policies for this election or face the consequences of isolation. The JSP is being pressed by the Komeito to change and at the same time is under great pressure from its supporting groups"—the latter being the anti-Communist leaders of the Sohyo.

It is the CP, since it was rejected by the Social Democrats of the JSP, that is suffering isolation. The CP is essentially a Eurocommunist type of party. It has not openly embraced the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as the Eurocommunists have embraced NATO. But the Communist Party's nationalism is manifest in its demand for the return of the strategically important Kuril Islands: "... the seizure of the Kuril Islands was the result of Stalin's great power mistakes and we have strongly emphasized this to the USSR" (*Akahata* special supplement, 19 May). In fact, at the end of the war the CP hailed MacArthur's occupying forces as liberators.

The JCP's unique brand of Eurocommunism resulted from having taken sides with China against the Soviet Union over the nuclear test ban treaty. A later squabble with the Chinese resulted in the party's present "independence." When taunted about its allegiance the JCP answers: "Reactionaries have taken the Afghan problem to show that if Japan is attacked by the Soviets that we would help them. This is slander against our party. We are friends of Japan and if attacked we will strongly fight to protect Japan's sovereignty and independence as we are a truly patriotic party" (*ibid.*). In fact it has called for the withdrawal of Soviet army forces from Afghanistan.

This nationalist approach leads the Communist Party to isolationism and ultimately protectionism. The same special supplement to *Akahata* (Red Flag) calls for getting "rid of America's meddling and its demands for an open Japanese market." It wants to "regulate big business' anti-social activities"—among which are "import[ing] those products which in turn lead to layoffs, rationalization, lower wages, and stifling small industry." So the CP shows it has no real program for layoffs and can only hope to reform imperialism. Of course Japanese workers suffer from the same problems as American workers. Foreign workers are not to blame. These are inherent problems of capitalism's decay and they cannot be solved by regulation.

Usec

...The DYI [Revolutionary Communist Party, Japanese section of the Usec] now calls for a new state based on the trade unions, for independence from capital, nationalization of major industry without compensation under work-

Gold!

"So, too, the old fetishes of so-called international bankers are being replaced by efforts to plan national currencies...."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, July 1933

Thus spoke the president of the United States in announcing that the U.S. was abandoning the gold standard. From here on out supposedly the U.S. government would "plan" the value of the dollar unencumbered by the "fetish" of its convertibility into gold. In 1934 gold coins were withdrawn from circulation and American citizens were even forbidden to own gold except for jewelry and industrial uses.

At Bretton Woods in 1944 the U.S. organized its financial domination over the postwar capitalist world. To do so it promised other governments (but not private parties) to exchange an ounce of gold for \$35. So the dollar was considered as good as gold. That is, it was until the late 1960s when de Gaulle's France actually turned in its dollars for the gold. Then it became apparent that the greenback was not as good as gold—not at \$35 an ounce anyway.

So in August 1971 Nixon reneged on the Bretton Woods agreement and shut down the gold window. Now supposedly gold really had no role in the world monetary system. The good old law of supply and demand would henceforth determine the value of the dollar against other currencies, and that would be that. But, as should have been obvious at the time, floating exchange rates allowed governments to inflate their currencies even more than before.

By the late 1970s the wealthy of the world had had enough and exchanged ever greater quantities of dollars, pounds and even Deutsch-

marks into any pieces of gold they could get ahold of. The price went from \$200 an ounce in mid-1978 to \$875 an ounce last January. So as not to leave speculators with a monopoly of this lucrative trade, the South African, Russian, British, Canadian and other governments reminted gold coins.

Now the U.S. has shamefacedly followed suit. The Treasury just announced it is minting a new gold "medallion" for sale to the public at a fluctuating price determined by the world market rate for bullion. But to preserve the fiction that the almighty American government still pegs the price of gold, the Treasury will only get \$42 (the official price) for a one-ounce "medallion," the rest going to a general government fund. So 36 years after Franklin Roosevelt announced that the U.S. government would "plan" the value of its national currency, the paper greenback is once again convertible into the precious yellow metal, albeit at what now promise to be wildly gyrating rates.

Capitalist governments can no more plan the value of their national currencies than they can the level of employment or steel tonnage. The crucial role of gold in world money derives from the fact that it has intrinsic value as the product of labor. Marx described it as "the universal medium of payment, as the universal means of purchase, and as the universal embodiment of wealth" (*Capital*, Volume 1, Chapter 3). Only Latin American *caudillos*, who believe they can do anything given enough machine-guns and printing presses, and arrogant imperialist powers like the U.S. in its "American Century" phase believe their own paper currency can do away with gold.

A Consumer's Guide to the Growing Market For Gold Coins

 <p>South African Kruggerand Gold Content 1.000 fine troy ounces Wholesale Price June 18 \$618 Premium Over Price Of Bullion* 3.0%</p>	 <p>Canadian Maple Leaf Gold Content 1.000 fine troy ounces Wholesale Price June 18 \$617 Premium Over Price Of Bullion* 2.7%</p>	 <p>Mexican 50 Peso Gold Content 1.2057 fine troy ounces Wholesale Price June 18 \$741 Premium Over Price Of Bullion* 2.6%</p>	 <p>Austrian 100 Crown Gold Content 0.9802 fine troy ounces Wholesale Price June 18 \$589 Premium Over Price Of Bullion* 0.3%</p>	 <p>U.S. Grant Wood Medallion Gold Content 1.000 fine troy ounces Wholesale Price June 18 — Premium Over Price Of Bullion* —</p>
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*The percentage premium represented by the price of the coin over the price of an equal amount of gold bullion.
Source: Moccata Metals Corporation
The New York Times / June 19, 1980

ers control, and freedom of political activity within the union movement. This may sound good but the DYI spends most of its energy pursuing environmentalist movements against nuclear power and against the new Narita airport.

A little more than two years ago when I turned on the TV to see news coverage of the Narita demonstration of 26 March 1978 and saw DYI members smashing out the windows and bashing the computers of the airport control tower, I could hardly believe that the DYI would resort to such a stunt. Later I learned that the DYI had sacrificed the jobs of their trade-union members who participated in this. Their members abandoned important work in the unions to be a part of the "militant" action!

With the death of Ohira the LDP factions are bickering more than ever.

What the Japanese working class faces now is not that end to the "1955 system" that liberals and even the "far left" have been praying for, but only a new version: a coalition government with or without LDP participation. The uneven development of anti-Stalinist movements beginning in the late 1950s has yet to produce an organization with a truly internationalist perspective for revolution. The tragic destruction of the Japanese Socialist, Communist and trade-union movements during the 1930s helped to insure this, and the disorientation of the left by the betrayals of Stalinism persists. The building of a Trotskyist party integrated into a reformed Fourth International is the only thing that can prevent Japan from being thrown into one side or the other of a new world war. This is the task of revolutionaries today.

D. Stevens

Down with Racist Bar to Haitian Refugees!

On June 20 the Carter administration announced that 114,000 Cubans and 15,000 Haitians who have recently fled to the United States would be given a six-month "parole" while Congress enacted special legislation, presumably to grant the refugees permanent resident status after they had lived here for two years. Carter is squirming under charges of racism for refusing to grant entry to the Haitians (who are black) and finds it necessary to put on a show of equal "generosity" toward them and the overwhelmingly white Cuban exiles.

The Cubans speed the 90 miles to Key West in cabin cruisers usually reserved for dope smuggling. And they are assured of a welcome as part of Carter's anti-Communist "human rights" provocation against Castro's Cuba. Washington still claims, however, that the Haitians are simply fleeing poverty, greedy for bucks. So if they are just "economic refugees," how come they're willing to face death in a treacherous 800-mile journey in tiny, leaking sailboats and fishing boats? Because they fear for their lives if they stay.

Haiti's President-for-Life, "Baby

Doc" Duvalier, you see, is one of those despots whom FDR labeled "our sons-of-bitches." The newly granted "entrant" status will give the Haitians but a temporary reprieve from being sent back to the tender mercies of the Tontons Macoutes. Moreover, the U.S. hopes that announcement of a six-month grace period will facilitate rounding up the estimated additional 10,000-15,000 Haitians who have disappeared into the Caribbean communities in Florida. With their status "legitimized," they too will be eligible for deportation!

The majority of the Cubans will no doubt be granted permanent residency. To do otherwise would further undercut Carter's anti-Communist crusade, which has already backfired. (He really didn't expect all those Cubans, but Castro saw an opportunity to get rid of some anti-revolutionary dead weight.) However, Washington has announced that those found to be "anti-social delinquents" will be deported. At this, Havana screamed bloody murder, and rightly so. Wrote *Granma*:

"In the United States there are hundreds



Haitian refugees land their leaky craft near Miami.

of Batista's assassins who sought shelter there after the triumph of the Revolution and likewise countless terrorists encouraged by the CIA to commit crimes against Cuba.

"If they deport them to our country we will receive them. But why does [Senator] Byrd want to send us cat burglars, gamblers, prostitutes, if they prefer to remain in the 'Yankee paradise'? This is in flagrant contradiction with human

rights, and thus, we will not give them visas."

—*Latin American Review*
[Havana], 6 June 1980

By the way, ever wonder why so few blacks left Cuba in "Operation Libertad"? Maybe they didn't like the looks of "human rights" in Miami's ramshackle Liberty City slum as it went up in smoke.

Watts...

(continued from page 4)

approach than Watts, Nichols replied, "No"—adding that he is "totally opposed" to the local right to strike.

Attack on MAC

Watts had a fit of sour grapes over this loss, but he had already vented most of his ire on the Militant Action Caucus. He really let loose with a vituperative red-baiting smear attack at a so-called "union-builders rally" on the first night of the convention. Delegates who attended told *WV* that the union president spent more than ten minutes attempting to smear MAC as "the ultimate disruption" and comparing them to "communists in Cambodia, who want to destroy society so they can control what's left." (Whoops—isn't the U.S. backing the Pol Pot gang now? Oh well.) But he mainly wanted to explain away Margolis' recent victory—a cash settlement and formal Secret Service apology for her wrongful arrest (see page 5).

Watts told the delegates that at the 1979 convention they (MAC) created a ruckus on the floor in order to embarrass the president. The Secret Service, he said, was "just doing its job, checking things out." He charged manipulation of the press to spread "lies" about "this person" (Margolis) being handcuffed and dragged off. "It's not true," he claimed. This didn't impress the delegates, some of whom witnessed last year's incident themselves. There was no applause at that, and one CWA member, angered by this witchhunting, yelled out, "McCarthyite." Later at receptions in the hospitality rooms a number of incensed members and delegates called Watts a liar to his face. Subsequently, when a bureaucrat tried to run Jane Margolis out of the Michigan room, delegates voted for her to stay.

Naturally, the union members were quite interested the next day to read a MAC leaflet reproducing the Secret Service letter admitting the charges Watts claimed were "not true." The CWA president, however, when asked by *WV* what his reaction was to the Margolis victory, replied, "I don't know anything about it." The amnesia seemed to be spreading, as *WV* got "no

comment" from Warren Downing, president of Local 11502 (Los Angeles), and Harry Ibsen of Local 9415 in Oakland, where Margolis had also been an executive board member before transferring to San Francisco. Jim Imerzel, head of Margolis' home Local 9410 in SF, opined that Jimmy Carter's thugs were concerned about a "threat to the physical well-being of the president." Yet the Secret Service itself admits that Margolis was arrested in error and that she had "not violated any law."

Well-known attorney Charles Garry who represented Margolis in her suit against the Secret Service, pointed out the significance of the victory at a press conference at the convention June 17: "This is probably one of the very few lawsuits that have been filed against the government and governmental wrongdoing that's ended up in a settlement of any kind, or even an admission of wrongdoing on the part of the government itself." In a public letter to Watts, Margolis announced that she was donating the entire \$3,500 settlement to the union's defense fund. The victory received coverage in several daily papers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *Oakland Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune* and the *Detroit News* (see display).

Labor Has the Power

While lining up the union for Carter's reelection bid, the CWA bureaucracy was working overtime to whip up Cold War anti-Communism. The official union foreign policy statement denounced Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as proof of Russian "ambitions to dominate the world" by force of arms. MAC met the anti-Communist issue head-on, explaining in its main convention leaflet that Carter "tries to justify domestic hardships by diverting the anger of the American people to 'foreign enemies,'" and that in Afghanistan the U.S. was supporting feudal reactionaries who want to keep the country in the seventh century: "Afghanistan explodes the myth of Carter's 'human rights' crusade...." One CWA-COPE committee demonstrated what Watts & Co. mean by defense of the "free world," selling raffle tickets for South African Krugerrands to raise money for the

Democrats!

MAC also pointed out that Carter's anti-Soviet Cold War drive has fueled the growth of racist terror groups domestically like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis. The Caucus program calls for labor/black mass mobilizations to smash KKK/Nazi terror. And it has put this into practice, playing a leading role in initiating and building the successful April 19 SF rally to stop the fascists from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. In a leaflet announcing the showing of a videotape of this demonstration at the convention, MAC wrote: "This rally of 1,200 largely union and minority demonstrators, including 75 phone workers, was endorsed by CWA Locals 9410 (San Francisco) and 9415 (Oakland). It demonstrates that labor has the power to stop the growing fascist menace."

Militant Action Caucus literature insistently demands, "Not a dime, not a vote for the wage-freezing, strikebreaking Democrats!" We agree with Jane Margolis that the likes of Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter shouldn't even have been invited to a union convention—not even by phone connection. The CWA bureaucracy's defense of Secret Service disruption of the 1979 convention—an attack on the entire union—even after the government admitted false arrest, speaks volumes about its servility. No wonder Watts bragged in the closed session about his good relations with the ex-AT&T chairman, who knows he's a "responsible" union leader, not a "strike-happy" militant.

Gary Adkins, a MAC supporter and member of the executive board of Local 11502 (L.A.), summed up the week in an interview with *WV*: "The convention is the highest body of the union, with all of the local leaderships assembled. We should have delivered a message to the Bell System that we have been preparing, are preparing, and are ready to strike now for the real needs of phone workers. The only thing that was done here was promises to Carter that Watts will abide by the straitjacket wage controls and attacking the most militant sectors of the union." The Militant Action Caucus proclaims it is for "a new fighting leadership in the CWA," calling for a workers party and a workers government. And to begin: Break with Carter! Strike Ma Bell in '80! ■

CWP...

(continued from page 3)

wants to prove in court that if fascists kill leftists, blacks, union organizers and anti-Klan activists, the state will go after the targets in the name of "even-handedness."

This vendetta against the CWP is part of a wider campaign to give the go-ahead to the fascists. That is why it will take a powerful, organized defense of the CWP to stop the continued railroading of its members. It will take more than talk and courtroom bravado. It will take more than a few dozen demonstrators up against hoards of armed cops. The CWP says that the bourgeoisie thought "it was putting the Party [CWP] on trial," but "we refuse to recognize their bourgeois justice." For the CWP it "was a great day for the Party of the working class" when another batch of its members were framed up and beaten. But the bourgeoisie is putting the CWP on trial and the CWP had better learn to understand state power and class power—the power of the working class to "indict" capitalism and avenge generations of Klan terror in struggle.

With its schizophrenic Stalinist politics, the CWP continues to oscillate between adventurism and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. So when 1,200 people at a labor-centered Bay Area demonstration stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday on April 19, what did the CWP do? Hold its own smaller, explicitly non-confrontationist rally of a few hundred a couple of blocks away rather than participate in a united-front action with the Trotskyist Spartacist League. What's more, they asked SF mayor Feinstein to endorse it.

Mass mobilizations of labor and blacks are needed to smash the Klan. The Detroit rally of 500 blacks, auto workers and socialists last November 10, also heavily built by the SL, is another example of what can be done. The defense of the CWP must not be limited to little adventures or liberal gestures. United-front actions under the slogans "Free the CWP! Lock Up the Killer Klan/Nazis!" could mobilize thousands to stop the state's vendetta against the CWP and turn around this "upside-down justice." ■

NYC Councilman Calls For:

Soviet Aid for the South Bronx!

In October 1977 Jimmy Carter delivered a major "human rights" address to the United Nations, then traveled to the devastated ruins of Charlotte Street in the South Bronx to reaffirm his "commitment to the cities." On that very spot, he vowed, a housing project would rise like a phoenix from the ashes. Two years later when the president's Polish pope visited the area it was still a pile of burnt-out shards. John Paul Wojtyla said a few prayers over the rubble, denounced "consumerism" and told the Puerto Rican population to keep their minds on "moral goals."

Now it is mid-1980 and still no housing project. So last week New York City councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin decided to cash in on all the "human rights" publicity and took a delegation from the Soviet Peace Council to Charlotte Street. "What I am doing," he said, "is asking the Soviet Government for \$5 billion in foreign aid to rebuild the South Bronx." We bet the White House winced over that one. For the good councilman had an airtight case.

It was clear from the minute Carter set foot on Charlotte Street that his promises to rebuild the South Bronx would be a pork barrel without pork. When the Board of Estimate killed the plan a couple of months later (absorbing the federal money into more politically profitable sectors), they justified it by arguing reasonably enough that a single housing project amid miles of abandoned wasteland wouldn't make a dent.

At the time we joked that NYC mayor Koch would christen the token project



Charlotte Street, South Bronx, 1977 (above) and 1980 (below). Same place, more desolation.

the "Herman Badillo Plaza," after the city's token Puerto Rican politician. Not only did the plaza never appear, but Badillo lost his job as deputy mayor. He left remarking that the spot "where the

president stood two years ago has become officially enshrined as an urban tombstone." Even the Phoenix detox program is being closed down as Koch moves to shut down Lincoln Hospital as

part of his austerity drive.

Mixed in with more than one million Spanish-speaking "illegal aliens," the Puerto Rican population of New York is part of a huge reserve army of labor forced to work at sub-legal wages as messengers, elevator operators and sweatshop laborers. They're lucky when they get "benign neglect" from the government. Washington's neglect is so complete, in fact, that it didn't even bother to ask Puerto Rico to boycott the summer Olympics this year. So in an unusual display of independent-mindedness the Puerto Rican Olympic Committee thumbed its nose at Uncle Sam and announced it would be sending a team to Moscow.

Councilman Gerena-Valentin got the spirit, too. The idea wasn't new—not so long ago an Appalachian town having difficulty getting money for a bridge appealed for Soviet aid. TASS sent a reporter, and the State Department was hot on his heels. Well, the South Bronx could use some Soviet aid. After all, conditions on Charlotte Street aren't that much better than in poverty-stricken Afghanistan.

We did some "before-and-after" photos ourselves of the conditions in this symbol of "human rights" America (see above). But try as we might we couldn't duplicate the same shot. Not because of urban renaissance—everywhere we looked there were fewer buildings standing today than when Carter visited in 1977. Looking at the photos you can't help saying "hats off" to the councilman, and a Bronx cheer for J.C. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

out against any weakening of apartheid, fearing that it would be the beginning of the end of their caste privileges and minority rule. The "verligte" white supremacists maintain that it is necessary to promote a privileged black stratum in urban South Africa having a material stake in the status quo. However, the fate of the oppressive apartheid regime will not be determined by the maneuvering and pseudo-reforms of white ruling-class politicians, but in the struggles of the black masses against the massive police-state apparatus designed to keep them "in their place." The black working class now flexing its muscles occupies a key spot in the South African economy. Out in the desolate bantustan "homelands" the black majority's numbers don't necessarily mean strength. But in the heart of South Africa's gold-fueled and growing economy, black labor is vital.

The growing reliance on black skilled and semi-skilled labor is the Achilles heel of apartheid. "Separate development" is contradicted by the need of the white capitalists to have the black proletariat in the urban centers. As Botha told a heckler who dismissed the need for more black housing by shout-

ing "Send them to the homelands": "My friend, if they were all there, who would bring you your coffee in the morning?" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1980). And who would bring the gold, the diamonds, the automobiles, the textiles and all the other goods and services provided by black labor? The fact is, by bringing more and more black workers into the urban labor force, apartheid capitalism digs its own grave.

Black Workers to Power!

Recognition that the black proletariat has the power to smash apartheid is the key to a revolutionary program to liberate the oppressed South African masses. South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of the continent. But unlike those of virtually every other African state before independence from direct colonial rule, the black South African masses do not face a thin layer of colonial bureaucrats and expatriate settlers. Instead, they must defeat a powerful capitalist class at the head of an entrenched, quite large and well-armed white racial caste. Proportionately the white minority in South Africa is five times as large as its Rhodesian counterpart. And if they must go under, the country's rulers are quite prepared to unleash a fiery holocaust in the process.

To open the door to the South African socialist revolution the black masses must break through the present apartheid shackles and win a degree of freedom needed to mount organized, mass social struggles. Key to this is fighting for the legalization of independent black trade unions, abolition of the hated pass laws and bantustan system and an end to all racist job privileges and the contract labor system.

A South African revolutionary movement would, of course, strive for the unity in struggle of the black masses with the coloured and Indian populations. But what of the four-and-a-half million whites? They constitute an

enormously privileged caste, not a nation for which one can advance the right of self-determination, i.e., the right to their own separate state. At the same time, as against some black nationalists and their left apologists, communists recognize the right of South Africa's whites to exist. Furthermore, their skills would be of tremendous value to a revolutionary regime. A black-centered

The following is the text of a motion raised at the Thursday, June 19 meeting of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco by Stan Gow, an executive board member and supporter of the *Longshore Militant*. The motion reads:

"That Local 10 shall carry out a boycott of South African cargo for the length of time that the police killings of black worker and student demonstrators continue and that we urge the International and other longshore locals to carry out similar policies throughout the [longshore] division."

The motion was referred to the executive board without a vote being taken.

workers and peasants government would grant to that portion of the white population which chose to remain the same democratic rights as those of South Africa's other peoples. And it cannot be ruled out in advance that for some white workers, appeals to class unity could overcome racist solidarity.

In the present anti-apartheid struggles, as black workers take to the streets along with the students, the need for a proletarian perspective is clearly posed. Petty-bourgeois nationalists of the African National Congress (ANC) and other exile and underground nationalist organizations offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. "We can't fight a bush war," admits ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki, "Look at a map. It is all developed" (*New York Times*, 20 June).

The would-be Kenyattas and Nyereres of South Africa seek to subordinate the workers' struggles to their own petty-bourgeois ambitions. They also appeal to U.S. imperialism to pressure the apartheid rulers for reform. Their model for post-apartheid South Africa is based on the experience of anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism like Mozambique's Samora Machel (who still sends contract labor to South Africa's mines) and Zimbabwe's strikebreaking Robert Mugabe.

If South Africa's oppressed non-white masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is therefore the construction of a Trotskyist party armed with a program for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key to socialist revolution throughout the entire economically extremely backward region. The South African working class therefore bears a historic responsibility beyond even its own liberation from the chains of apartheid slavery. It can become the vanguard of social revolution for a whole continent. With the country's vast mineral resources and industrial power harnessed for social emancipation instead of apartheid profits, a black-centered workers and peasants republic in South Africa would be the real beginning of the African socialist revolution. ■

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Los Angeles

WORKERS VANGUARD

Carter's Secret Service Apologizes for Assaulting CWA Militant

Jane Margolis Wins!

Jane Margolis and her supporters in the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) have won an important battle on behalf of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and the rights of all labor. In a press conference at the CWA national convention in Los Angeles, June 17, UCASSH revealed that the U.S. Secret Service had made a formal written apology for seizing delegate Margolis, an elected steward and executive board member of Local 9410 (San Francisco), from the floor of the union's convention in Detroit last July. The government also forked over \$3,500 to prove in hard cash that it "regrets" the incident. In a dramatic expression of labor solidarity, Margolis announced that since the attack was directed at the whole union and turned back by the determined action of hundreds of phone workers and trade unionists around the country, she was endorsing the check over to the CWA Defense Fund.

That the Secret Service and the Carter administration now "regret" the official mugging of Jane Margolis, there can be no doubt. They regret that they couldn't discredit and silence the union militant. They regret that they couldn't set a precedent for secret police invasion of a union convention. They regret that their stone wall was cracked and their dirty trick boomeranged, forcing them to apologize. Most of all they regret "regretting."

What happened in Detroit's Cobo Hall last July 16 was a naked assertion that the government has the prerogative to disrupt the business of a duly constituted union convention. Jimmy Carter's Secret Service was trying to guarantee that there would be no criticism of the president while he was at the convention—using police powers

for political censorship, thereby seriously disrupting convention proceedings. Perhaps they thought Jane and her union brothers and sisters would just take it without complaint. The Secret Service, as its name says, likes to work in secret. It doesn't like noise, but Jane Margolis yelled "foul" loud and clear.

Who was legitimate here? Jane Margolis was where she belonged, as a seated, elected delegate in the CWA's national gathering; Jimmy Carter was only an invited guest, and his Secret Service invaded the floor of that convention acting as a law unto itself. She is a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the main opposition group in the union, which has been tested in nine years of principled struggle for labor's cause. Margolis insisted on her right, and duty to those who elected her to represent them, to defend the interests of working people against the strike-breaking Democratic Party. She wanted to explain that this strikebreaker had no right to use the CWA as a platform, that politically he was telling the American people they must sacrifice for the companies. But she was stopped by the president's private police.

Jimmy Carter said that he had come to the phone workers' convention "to hear the voice of Americans." But as one San Francisco newspaper headlined after the Secret Service assault, Jane Margolis was "one critic Carter wouldn't hear"—the voice of militant, class-struggle unionism. However, Jane would not be silenced so easily, allow herself to be treated as a "non-person" and her union to be violated. She demanded the rights that any American ought to get. That is what the case is all about: Jane Margolis stood up for her

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Outrage!

On July 16, 1979, in Detroit's Cobo Hall, the United States Secret Service, private police of the U.S. president, walked onto the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention and seized an elected CWA delegate and union official, Jane Margolis. As other delegates looked on in stunned disbelief, the burly federal agents grabbed Margolis by the arm and dragged her, vigorously protesting, out of the hall.

continued on page 6


 DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
 UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223
 DEPUTY DIRECTOR

JUN 1979

Ms. Jane Margolis
 475 Alvarado Street, #3
 San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention
 Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

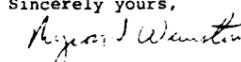
The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding, which is obviously regrettable, arose from our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested. It was his belief that he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest. At the same time, the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law. In any event, it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances.

It should be noted that there is no indication whatsoever that there was any political motivation to these actions.

Following your initial removal from the floor of the convention, the law enforcement personnel on the scene began questioning why, in fact, you had been removed. As soon as it became apparent that you had not violated any law, but rather that an error in judgment had been made, you were released.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

 Myroslaw I. Weinstein
 Deputy Director

Check No. 75,115,989
 SYMBOL 3004


 United States Treasury

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 C/O CHARLES R GARRY
 05 23 1979
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\$3,500.00
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*Henry H. C...
 1979*

"Since the rights of the entire union were attacked, I am turning the entire check from the Secret Service over to the CWA Defense Fund."

IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURE
 You are asking this check for the individual person, you should request full identification and endorsement in your presence as follows: agent's name, date, and address.

This check should endorse below in ink as indicated.

If an endorsement is made by mark (X) it must be witnessed by two persons who can write being their "act of endorsement in full."

It is suggested that this check be given to the payee.

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