

IN SHORT

No safety in numbers

More than 4,000 mishaps occurred at U.S. nuclear power plants in 1981 and over 83,000 atomic workers received radiation doses, according to a study conducted by Ralph Nader's Critical Mass Energy Project. Using more than 300 Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, the study found that of the 4,060 mishaps, 140 were especially serious. "These findings show that the day-to-day operation of nuclear reactors is plagued by equipment failures, human errors and design defects. The multitude of serious safety problems is a sure sign that without major changes it is just a matter of time before another serious accident occurs," the report said.

But safety is in the eye of the beholder. The Atomic Industrial Forum, the nuclear industry's major trade association, responded that the industry has an "exemplary safety record."

Reagan miscasts leading ladies

One-time matinee idol Ronald Reagan seems to have lost his edge with women. Some polls show up to a 15 percent gender-difference in approval of the president, so the Reagan administration has appointed a White House Coordinating Council on Women to shore up his standings, John Judis reports. The council will consist, however, of four men—White House officials David R. Gergen, Edwin L. Harper, Joseph Wright and Peter E. Teley—and only two women—Public Liason Elizabeth Dole and Personnel Assistant Helene von Damm. The administration also announced that Dee Jepsen, the wife of Sen. Roger Jepsen (R-Iowa), would replace Wendy Borchert as the chief liason on women's issues. While an aide to her husband, Jepsen worked on the Family Protection Act, which is aimed at curbing teenage sexuality, abortion and homosexuality. A frequent guest on the Christian broadcasting network, she is also known for her outspoken opposition to abortion rights.

AFSCME's fireside chats

This year we may have to suffer through more political TV advertising than ever. Some say the figure could top the \$100 million mark and go as high as \$200 million. But amid this advertising blitz by Republicans and Democrats both promising this and that and telling us the "story behind" the real issues, there is an alternative. On July 29, the million-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) began its first live nationwide broadcast via satellite on AFSCME's Labor News Network. The broadcasts, designed for use by local television and radio stations, provide commentary and analysis on issues including labor contracts, state and local government policies, health care and education. So instead of listening to Ronald Reagan chat on the radio Saturday mornings about how economic recovery is just around the corner you can hear AFSCME experts and President Gerald W. McEntee discuss from firsthand knowledge the effects of budget and tax cuts.

Oily times at Ridgemont High

Exxon, the world's largest oil company, is laying it on thick in an expensive propaganda campaign aimed at the nation's high school students. Several films, including *A Funny Thing Happened... On the Way to the Gas Station, Faces of Energy* and *World Beneath the Sea*, have been circulating in high schools to rave reviews. A "before" and "after" test indicates that before the films only 19 percent of the students thought the oil companies were doing a good job solving the energy problem, but after the films, the figure jumped to 46 percent. Students found the films stimulating, realistic and interesting, and 90 percent believed that all or most of the information was true. On the basis of post-film class discussions, teachers concluded that favorable attitudes toward the oil industry increased by 49 percent. In fact, the program has been so successful that management has given the green light for four more films.

Supply-siders fit to be tied

All over Washington, D.C., men are wearing their favorite 18th-century hero close to their hearts this season. Thousands of somber-hued ties sporting profiles of free marketeer Adam Smith have been cropping up on senators and bureaucrats. The tie's designer, Norma Lipsett, told the *New York Times* that "some guys wear the ties so often that it looks like they've slept with them and their wives complain."

But those who'd like to tell the supply-siders to stuff it can now buy a stuffed Reagan doll for \$5. The "Supply Side" shows Reagan wearing a Hollywood smile and a black tuxedo. The other side, depicting a miserable naked man in a barrel, is labeled "Demand Side." Take that, Ronald Reagan.

—Nina Berman

A bailout for Manville?

Since the early '30s the Manville Corp., earlier known as Johns-Manville, has been consciously exposing its employees and users of its asbestos products to severe health problems while trying to avoid any responsibility for the damage. For decades they tried to suppress information about the dangers of asbestos. When public awareness increased and the slow-developing lung cancers multiplied, Manville fought lawsuits brought against it, spending more for lawyers' fees than for awards granted by the courts to victims.

Now Manville, ranked 181st in the Fortune 500, is attempting to use its filing of bankruptcy, despite claims of being "in good shape" financially, to avoid the 16,500 current claims and anticipated additional 36,000 suits against it and to force the public to shoulder the costs of compensating victims (see editorial on page 14). But its actions have raised a storm of protests, including plans for hearings in Congress on both the asbestos claims and the company's potential abuse of the bankruptcy laws. Lawyers for victims also plan to contest the bankruptcy.

As many as 20 million individuals have been exposed to asbestos. Some may become seriously ill with asbestosis or mesothelioma, a lung cancer. A 1978 federal government study estimated that over the next three decades, 13 to 18 percent of all cancer deaths would be asbestos-related. Manville is by far the largest capitalist producer of asbestos.

Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the Labor Standards Committee, has introduced legislation that would require all asbestos manufacturers as well as companies that used asbestos to contribute to a fund that would compensate victims. Because occupational illnesses are hard to establish under many state compensation laws and because the long latency period of asbestos-caused lung



Asbestos insulation being removed from New Jersey classroom

illnesses often means that employers become exempt from compensation claims, victims have had to turn to lawsuits against the manufacturers.

Under the Miller bill, present suits could continue but claimants in the future would receive two-thirds of their pre-disability pay. They would surrender the right to sue, as in standard disability procedure. Since the average award to victims has been \$20,000 and lawsuits often take as much as five years, Miller argues that victims would be better off. Manville, ironically, might even be better off: More corporations would share the burden and the huge legal costs would be reduced.

But Manville wants to escape liability. It wants the government to pick up all or much of the tab. The bankruptcy is viewed as a crude attempt to bludgeon Congress into accepting that burden.

"We simply do not accept the notion that the federal government is responsible or that government should bail out companies that have behaved as reprehensively as the asbestos industry," said John Lawrence, staff director of the Labor Standards Committee. "The record in Congress and the courts is filled with evidence that the industry knew as long ago as the early '30s that

asbestos was related to severe health problems, that they failed to bring that evidence to the attention of government or employees, and that some companies as late as 1978-79 were opposing labeling of asbestos products. Congressman Miller has said that [the industry position] is an attempt to socialize the losses, but the taxpayers didn't have anything to do with it. This is your classic bailout and a dangerous precedent for other industries" with harmful products that could become a "wholesale raid on the Treasury."

—David Moberg

The Ledeen connections

PARIS—Michael Ledeen, a consultant for the undersecretary of political affairs at the State Department, is becoming famous in Italy. Right after Reagan's election, when he was still working for Washington's most important right-wing think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), his name was copiously dropped by Italian Socialist leader Bettino Craxi's international emissary Claudio Martelli as Craxi's best friend in the new court. Ledeen himself complained that Martelli was exaggerating, and most Italian commentators thought he probably was.

Ledeen is also known for his work in promoting the imaginative thesis of "international terrorism" as one big Soviet plot to destabilize the West. At the time of the 1976 elections, Ledeen interpreted the implication of Communist Party gains for the Italian media and select groups in Washington.

But since Ledeen, like most of the CSIS, has been incorporated into the Reagan administration in a high-ranking position, his name has been cropping up in less-flattering contexts, notably in leaks from investigation of the tentacular secret Masonic Lodge P-2, involving, among other things, banks, the Mafia, the heads of Italy's intelligence services and various right political intrigues.

The Italian parliament and police have been investigating P-2 for months, while its mysterious grand master Licio Gelli has been evading arrest in South

Worker at the Stockton, Calif., Manville plant



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America and Europe. One of Gelli's residences is a mansion in Carrasco, Uruguay, which Uruguayan police broke into on May 29 looking for Gelli. The secret police chief who led the raid did not find Gelli, but did find a secret room full of files—Gelli's specialty—on men with careers to make or break, which are considered the source of his enormous wealth and mysterious power. A warrant first went out for his arrest in Italy after police found a store of such files, largely obtained illegally from right-wing intelligence chiefs.

Knowing a good thing when they saw it, the police chief copied the files on Gelli's photocopying machine and took away the photocopies, leaving the original documents. The next day, the minister of the interior took over the case and the photocopies.

What has become of them? Last February, the Italian Ambassador officially asked for them. The Uruguayan government promised to think it over.

About that time, the Italian weekly *Europeo* reported that Ledeen, on behalf of the State Department, had offered the Uruguayan government \$15,000 for 480 files photocopied in the Carrasco raid. The weekly magazine said all Ledeen had got so far for his money was Gelli's report on the Italian Communist Party, but was hoping for more important revelations.

On the roof of Gelli's Montevideo villa is an enormous antenna linked to an ITT satellite, enabling Gelli to telephone all over the world without going through regular telephone companies and switchboards. His calls are untraceable. But not unrecorded. At least some of the people he has telephoned have, for reasons of their own, taped the conversations. And some of the tapes have ended up in the hands of investigators.

One of these was recorded by Florence lawyer Federico Federici, accused of being a Gelli representative, in the Hotel Pierre in New York on January 23. The weekly *Panorama* reported on March 29 that in the course of this recorded conversation, Gelli told Federici he had written a book and that the manuscript could be given to Ledeen. He told Federici to go ahead and see Ledeen about submitting the book to him.

The Italian parliamentary commission investigating P-2 has recently been questioning extraordinarily well-connected young businessman Francesco Pazienza, who ran an information service working for P-2 banker Roberto Calvi's bank, the Ambrosiano, and was involved in efforts to take over the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*. Pazienza has told the commission he often worked with his friend professor Ledeen. *Europeo* reported last Jan. 13 that Ledeen had always maintained good relations with the Italian Socialist Party through Pazienza. In one of Gelli's taped telephone conversations with Rizzoli publishing empire director Bruno Tassan Din, Gelli reportedly said that Pazienza was connected to the CIA and the American Mafia.

La Repubblica reported on Feb. 19 that General Nino Lu-

garesi, who took over the military intelligence service SISMI after his predecessor General Giuseppe Santovito was dismissed for his P-2 membership, identified Pazienza as "the link between P-2 and the secret services." Pazienza was hired by Santovito and sent on missions to the Middle East, to Saudi Arabia in particular. Pazienza acknowledged to the parliamentary commission that SISMI paid him over \$30,000 plus expenses for the Arabian mission, *Unita* reported.



Michael Ledeen

The January 18 *Europeo* said that General Lugaresi's investigation of Santovito's administration of SISMI "has found an entirely American thread that risks blowing up a new case inside Ronald Reagan's staff." "Investigating the cycling of money spent by Santovito in the years when he was head of SISMI, Lugaresi allegedly discovered the existence of an interesting bank account opened abroad, probably in Switzerland. Huge sums were allegedly deposited in that account in compensation for SISMI consultant Francesco Pazienza, hired by Santovito," *Europeo* said. "But a share of the money instead allegedly ended up with Pazienza's good American friend Michael Ledeen."

Parliamentary commission sources said Pazienza and Ledeen allegedly sold a CIA study on how to combat terrorism to the rival intelligence service SISDE for a huge amount of money. The sources doubted that the study was worth that much.

The parliamentary commission hearings are secret, and the members who provide leaks to the press have no written minutes and have to go on their recollections. Obviously mistakes are possible, and none of these reports can be considered confirmed.

In any case, according to these reports Ledeen is by no means Pazienza's only good friend in Washington. Pazienza reportedly told the commission last February 11 that he had become friends with former Sec. of State Alexander Haig "when he was head of NATO, because we were both involved together in some business incidental to an American industry that produces arms." Thus when the Italian Foreign Ministry proved unable to arrange a meeting with Haig for Christian Democratic party leader Flaminio Piccoli during his visit to Washington, Pazienza was able to set it up with a personal call to Haig.

—Diana Johnstone

Briefing: Selective prosecution

With two men already convicted for failing to register for the draft and three others awaiting trial, the Justice Department is clearly doing everything possible to ensure that selective prosecution brings the desired convictions while keeping a lid on discussions concerning political and moral opposition to the draft. This strategy was most apparent in the San Diego case of Benjamin Sasway, the first man to be indicted and the second to be convicted.

According to Sasway's attorney Charles T. Bumer, "The judge...never allowed us to put on our basic defense that the whole registration program is morally and ethically wrong and young men should not be required to register." Moreover he denied the defense and prosecution the opportunity to question the jury on any issues, including their background or relationship to the San Diego military establishment. (The judge handled all questioning—a standard procedure in federal court, but not a mandatory one.)

Location of the trial was also a factor. John Herrington, assistant secretary of the Navy for manpower, warned President Reagan's Military Manpower Task Force that "the cases should be quiet; and pick the right jurisdiction so you don't end up in New York or Chicago, and end up in Omaha or somewhere like that your first few trials." Like Omaha, San Diego has a large population of active duty and retired military personnel. It is "a big military town," said Bumer, one dominated by the Navy and Marine Corps and "I think that had something to do with the selection."

Following Sasway's conviction, the judge ruled that he be immediately imprisoned without bail since "he is aware of the fact that many of our people have gone to Canada when the chips were down. He has said he wouldn't, but the statement indicated he knows about it."

Several questions regarding the legality of the trial proceedings will likely be brought up when the case is appealed. Bumer said, "The judge more or less almost directed the jury to find him guilty. For instance, the judge ruled and instructed the jury that this is a continuing offense. If they found that Ben failed to register at any time up to June 30, 1982, they would find him guilty."

According to Bumer, Sasway opposed the draft because he refused "to be a tool for military misdirection that involved us in Vietnam 15 years ago and that might see our involvement in El Salvador or Nicaragua."

Like Sasway, the other four men indicted were fairly active in their protest of draft registration. And a Justice Depart-

ment official said at Sasway's pre-trial hearing that it was the Department's intention to single out for prosecution those "most adamant in their refusal to register." The language of the indictments are identical in four of the five indictments, with the fifth differing only by the addition of two words. According to Bumer, under selective prosecution there has been a "system of detection that automatically picked out people who were exercising their First Amendment right [to free speech]."

This strategy may run into problems in Los Angeles where David Wayte's trial is tentatively scheduled for September 28. According to his lawyer, Bill Smith, "We are expected to get a fair trial. I don't believe that Sasway got a fair trial." Smith added that they plan to introduce in court Wayte's political and moral opposition to registration.

With a staff of nine lawyers working on Wayte's behalf, Smith is optimistic that the trial will serve as the major de-



Benjamin Sasway

ense case against registration. Moreover, unlike San Diego, Los Angeles does not have a large military community and the local community appears to support Wayte. According to Smith, the Justice Department probably picked Los Angeles because "we have a lot of very bad federal judges here and I think the federal government thought we would get one. But it backfired."

On September 30, Mark Schmucker will be brought to trial in Ohio. And like Smith, Schmucker's attorney William Whitaker is confident that they will receive a fair trial. "My

feeling is that the judge in San Diego did not allow evidence that was definitely admissible and definitely relevant to Sasway's case, and I don't anticipate that happening to us." According to Whitaker, the defense is considering pursuing a broad array of political and moral issues but will almost definitely raise First Amendment questions about religious freedoms. Like the first man convicted, Enten Eller, Schmucker comes from a religious background, yet Whitaker claimed that "our defense will be entirely different from Eller's."

Of most immediate importance, however, is Russel Ford, whose trial is scheduled for September 10 in New Haven. Presently in jail for refusing to sign a bond release at his arraignment, Ford has refused representation by a lawyer but is receiving legal advice from the Lawyer's Guild in New Haven.

According to Nora Leyland of the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft Ford has been very active in organizing a strong anti-draft registration community in New Haven. In fact, Leyland claimed that the U.S. attorney is "not eager to prosecute" and wanted the case

moved to Maryland, Ford's home state, but Ford insisted that he be tried in New Haven.

In what may become a problem for the Justice Department, U.S. attorneys across the country are receiving warnings from community groups not to pursue draft registration cases. In Boston, supporters of non-registrants recently met with the U.S. attorney to tell him they do not want any registration cases prosecuted there—that it would cause adverse publicity and the community would strongly back the defendant.

The Justice Department may soon run into more opposition than it bargained for.

—Nina Berman