

# WORKERS VIEWPOINT

End the Criminal Rule  
of the U.S. Monopoly Capitalist Class,  
Fight for Socialism!

The Proletariat and Oppressed People  
and Nations of the World, Unite!

NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY, U.S.A.

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## Miners Decide Contract, Union's Future

Douglas Pierce

On Saturday, May 30, United Mine Workers President Sam Church announced a tentative settlement of the two month-old contract strike against the 130-member Bituminous Coal Operators' Association. The union's 38-member bargaining council approved the pact unanimously. While all the terms of the agreement are not yet clear (the contract will not even be available to the union membership until June 2), Church is making his rounds of the coal fields, selling the contract to miners who have little information about its contents.

It appears as if the 40-month contract (four months more than the standard three years) does not deal at all with the main issue — government union busting. Kowtowing to a recent Supreme Court decision, Church eliminated the automatic recognition clause from the contract which guarantees UMWA representation to miners at any new mine a signatory company may open up. There also seems to be change in subcontracting rules, placing in jeopardy several thousand union mine construction workers' jobs.

In addition, the contract is unusually hard to read. "You really gotta be a Philadelphia lawyer to understand this one," said one West Virginia miner. This, combined with the fact that they have not seen the whole contract yet, has made the miners cautious. Most rank and filers hesitate to venture an opinion until they have had time to study the contract and discuss it in their locals. What follows is a report on the West Virginia miners' reaction to the volatile issues of union representation and subcontracting. In the next issue of Workers Viewpoint, we will have detailed reports and analysis of this latest contract.

CHARLESTON, W.V. — Not too long ago, Jay Rockefeller, Governor of West Virginia, with a great deal of fanfare, arranged a coal contract between A.T. Massey Coal Company and Polynesian businessmen, for the delivery of 2-3 million tons of coal annually. With this large contract, Massey started construction on a mine complex in the heart of the United Mine Workers of America in West Virginia. They named it Elk Run Coal Co.

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## NASSCO 3 Case Goes to Jury

### Company Spy Ring Bared

Erin White

SAN DIEGO, CA — Defense testimony in the trial of the NASSCO 3 concluded on Thursday, May 27, with a surprise witness and a defeat for the prosecution. Government prosecutors challenged First Amendment rights for reporters. The reporters won, reaffirming their right to protect their unpublished notes and confidential sources from government snooping.

Labor Spy Racket

On Thursday, the defense's last witness, Michael Contreras, took the stand. Contreras is a former employee in the National Steel Labor Relations Office. Officially his duties included disciplining workers for excessive absenteeism and acting as a company spokesman in grievances filed by the union. Contreras admitted that he had recruited spies among the workers from different unions in the yard. While Judge Schwartz would not allow much of Contreras' testimony in the

court, Contreras told defense attorneys before taking the stand that indeed, the labor relations office had a policy of recruiting spies and that all three labor relations officials had their own spies in the yard.

Contreras believes that Barton, who helped the government set up the phony bomb plot in which three union militants are being charged, was a personal spy for his (Contreras') former boss, Carl Hinrichson. This directly contradicts Hinrichson's sworn testimony that he knew nothing about labor spies at NASSCO. Contreras also told the court that part of his job was to discredit leadership of certain locals in the yard, "especially [Ironworkers] Local 627."

At one time, Contreras said NASSCO was considering hiring a "goon squad" to beat up union leaders, Frank Hollowach and Miguel Salas. It was supposed to prevent their

election in December, 1980. While union militants and the defense team for the NASSCO 3 have consistently argued that NASSCO was out to bust Local 627 and that they resorted to using an industrial spy (Barton), to try to discredit the union, the judge kept all of Contreras' testimony relating to NASSCO's policy on labor spies out of the record.

Charley Walker, a worker who was asked to be a spy for NASSCO was kept from taking the stand by the judge. Schwartz also refused to allow testimony from Richard Bradford, former head of NASSCO security. Bradford stated in a sworn deposition that he knew of 17 incidents where NASSCO approached workers in hopes of recruiting them to spy on unions.

NASSCO Perjury Charged

Proof that Hinrichson perjured himself on the stand was given to the lawyers in the form of two letters. One was a letter of resignation written by Contreras on August 18, given to his boss. The other was a letter of recommendation from Hinrichson dated August 22. Hinrichson stated in testimony that Contreras had called him sometime in September, while Contreras was on vacation, to resign. NASSCO's termination form for Contreras is doctored, also reflecting the September date.

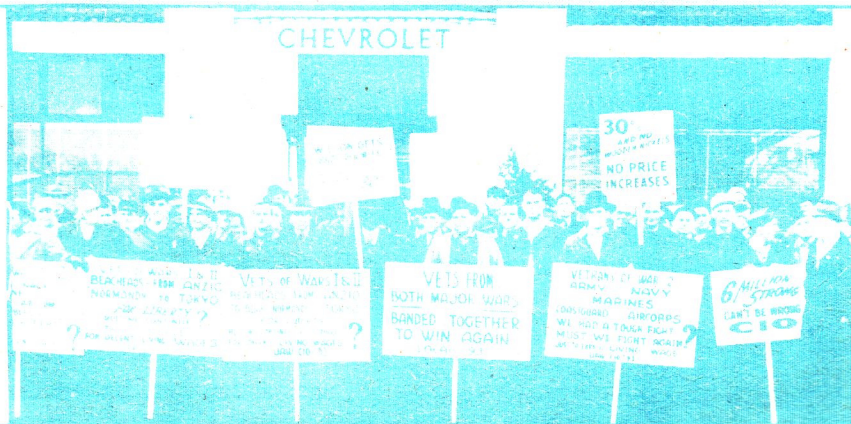
Why would Hinrichson lie and try to cover up what appears to be a routine resignation? No one knows the answer. Whatever the reason, the fact that NASSCO officials would perjure themselves about something so mundane as resignations indicates there is quite a bit more they are trying to cover

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# NATIONAL NEWS

## Greeley Celebrates Cinco de Mayo

Daniel Lopez

Special to Workers Viewpoint

GREELEY, COLO. — Greeley is not well-known throughout the country. Mainly an agricultural area, like small towns throughout the U.S. in the 80's its farmland scenery is slowly changing. Today, sugar beet fields are dotted with oil rigs. The once thriving Monfort meat packing plant and feed lot now looks like a ghost town of the prairie. But Greeley is far from being a quiet, obscure rural community.

On May 9, the Mano a Mano (Hand to Hand) Coalition sponsored a "Stop Government Attacks" march from the downtown streets of Greeley to the city's northside where the rally and program was held at the Jesus Rodarte Center. More than 250 people participated in this day-long event commemorating Cinco de Mayo, opposing the Reagan budget cuts and protesting the murders of young blacks in Atlanta.

Cinco de Mayo signifies the heroic struggle of Mexican workers and peasants who, on May 5, 1861, rose up against French rule and, although poorly equipped, defeated them in Puebla. Today the revolutionary tradition of May 5 continues in the heroic struggles of the oppressed peoples all over the world.

### Dozen Groups Participate

The day began with a short rally on the steps of the Weld County Municipal Courthouse. The crowd grew as speakers voiced anger and criticism of the transfer of funds from human services to the military budget, and especially U.S. intervention in El

Salvador. Speakers included representatives from women's organizations, professors, a legal aid attorney and a speaker from the Mano a Mano Coalition.

Chanting slogans like "Hey, hey, ho, ho, the Reagan cuts have got to go," and "America, ain't you got no shame? Stop the killings now," the spirited group of approximately 150 marched and chanted to the Rodarte Community Center.

The march, watched and edged by the local police every step of the route, was made up of ethnic groups of almost every color of the rainbow — proving the unity of our struggle despite the tremendous attacks aimed at isolating one struggle from the next.

Groups participating that day were Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Revolutionary Youth League, People's Anti-War Mobilization, the Communist Workers Party, Supporters of the Iranian Peoples Organization of Fedayeen Guerrillas, Greeley's Hispanic Senior Citizens, Supporters of the National Democratic Front of North Yemen, University of Northern Colorado's Black Student Union, Workers' World, Greeley's Science for the People, and many others.

Young and old, black, Chicano, white, Iranian, Asian — people gathered for both information and entertainment in the Rodarte Cultural Center. Folklorico dancers from Fort Collins and Brighton colorfully livened the program. Jesus Negrete, nationally known musician from Chicago, had



Over 200 people of all nationalities celebrated Cinco de Mayo in the streets of Greeley.

the crowd spellbound with song, humor and tales — a satirical and hilarious version of Chicano history.

Kiko Martinez, political activist and community lawyer, still facing charges of allegedly sending letter bombs, spoke on the importance of organizing and building solidarity among the people. "We can no longer put our faith in the police, the judges, the prosecutors, or the prison system to solve the problems of violence against our people." A revolutionary with strong nationalist sentiment, Martinez stressed the effectiveness of resistance when people work within communities they are most familiar.

### Solidarity & Militant Spirit

Breaking the myth of the Reagan "mandate" Patti Iwasaki, CWP representative, said, "We here are giving the *real* people's mandate. We represent the true majority, those who are saying *no* to his proposals for sweeping cuts in health services, to social security, vets, education and workers benefits and more.

"The history of the American peo-

ple," she concluded, "is rich with examples of people standing up and fighting for what they justly deserve. What we have shown today is people of all backgrounds and ages *will* come together, *will* join hands, *will* continue to fight... and we *can and will* win a better future."

Renowned poet Abelardo "Lalo" Delgado spoke briefly on the power and strength of many small groups of people organizing into one large body to fight those oppressing us. He elaborated on the ineffectiveness of the two party system which serves the rich, and how the impact must spread across the country to preserve the gains that have been made from the past.

The feeling of solidarity and militant spirit was never more present as on this Saturday. The program ended with an immense circle, singing the traditional "De Colores." Doctors, field workers, college professors and students, housewives and lawyers, old and young stood arm in arm; the attacks by the ruling few can not destroy this unity being forged in Greeley, Colorado. □

## Anniversary of Kwangju Uprising "We Want Reunification!"

Eliot Chun

LOS ANGELES, CA. May 17, 1981 — Commemorations marking the first anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising were held all over the world, from Japan to West Germany, New York to Los Angeles, France to Canada. One year ago, the South Korean people

rebelled against the U.S.-backed fascist regime of Chun Doo Hwan. Koreans and freedom-loving people from all over the world paid their respect to the martyrs of Kwangju. More importantly, they gathered together in determination to continue the unfinished mission for which thousands of youth in Kwangju laid down their lives — one unified, democratic Korea!

In Los Angeles, as in other cities, a broad coalition formed after the Kwangju uprising in 1980, uniting many active and progressive Koreans in the struggle for democracy. The Committee to Commemorate Kwangju initiated a 2-week series of events, including a rally and march, panel discussions, educationals, poetry, and a film showing on the Kwangju uprising. Hundreds of Koreans have come out to participate in the commemoration activities.

Many were shocked and outraged at photos and film clippings of a youth's head being crushed, a young woman's breast cut off, a pregnant woman's fetus ripped from her stomach — all at the hands of the South Korean fascist dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan backed by U.S. imperialism.

"Who is to blame? It's clear now!"

Over 70 Koreans attended the May 17 march and rally. Many families  
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## Overseas Korean Resolutions One Year Commemoration of the Kwangju Uprising, May 17, 1981, Los Angeles

All who cry for freedom! Your only crime was to love our country. The soldiers brutally cut and killed you. We can still hear your screams. We know your only unfinished mission. Every drop of blood is etched in our memory.

We know who our enemy is. We also know only to trust our own people. You planted a seed in Kwangju. Countless youth lay dead on the street. You will not have died in vain.

They want to destroy even the roots of the Korean people. We know their bloody plans, Chun Doo Hwan and his gang. The masses of Korean people know their hidden agenda.

Reactionaries' blood rots easily, but your revolutionary spirit will live on forever. The spirit of Kwangju will become our historical guiding light.

The burning bonfire of patriotism from Kwangju will wash away the sorrow of our colonized nation. Patriotism of the masses will rise like the hot sun from the East. The spirit of Kwangju spreads all over, from Pusan to Masan, Pacific to Atlantic, and to the Koreans overseas.

The sea of Kwangju flows stronger than ever. Like the March 1st Movement,\* it will be a part of history. The strong, continuous sea of Kwangju will lead to revolution.

The spirit of Kwangju marches on, past the rotten blood of the reactionaries, drawing on the life line of the Korean people. The bloody lesson of Kwangju is felt deeply in our heart.

These are our resolutions:

1. Get rid of the reactionary, fascist Chun Do Hwan regime and build a nation of freedom.
2. Get rid of foreign power and influence and establish the self-reliant spirit of Kwangju.
3. Achieve the long desired reunification of Korea; pay respect to the martyrs of Kwangju.
4. Let us follow the road of freedom and justice, and expose the anti-nation, anti-people, and anti-history along the way.
5. Free political prisoners.
6. We believe in and will practice freedom, democracy and justice until the freedom of our nation. We vow to unite as one until victory.

\*The March 1st Movement was a Korean Independence Movement against Japanese Imperialism that began in Kwangju.

## WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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# Watching the Watchers

Shelley Barnes

*It is obvious that the growing revolutionary movement has the ruling class running scared. The government is trying to beef up its repressive machinery in order to combat progressive and communist organizing.*

*At the top of their program is unleashing the intelligence community. Nationally and internationally their job is to do imperialism's dirty work under the guise of "national security."*

*In the past 20 years alone U.S. intelligence agencies have been involved in an attempted invasion of Cuba (the CIA), the assassination of the Congo's Patrice Lumumba (CIA), the murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark (FBI and Chicago "Red Squad"), and the murder of the CWP 5 (BATF and FBI). In the late 60's the FBI used a program called COINTELPRO which involved wiretaps, slanderous anonymous letters, infiltrators and agent provocateurs to spread mistrust and dissension among progressive, black nationalist and anti-war groups. It was instrumental in preventing the effective merger of these different segments of the struggle into a united political force.*

*These are only some of the tactics used by the intelligence community in the past. It is important for us to understand the workings of this apparatus at deeper levels than just acknowledging that Big Brother is watching you.*

*We have to understand just that this kind of repression is a desperate defensive effort of a system and government in crisis, the last step before descending to outright fascism. The intelligence community has weaknesses we have to learn to capitalize upon, legal maneuverings we have to be prepared to fight and a history we have to learn in order to be prepared for their future attacks. We have prepared a series of articles on the weaknesses of the intelligence community, attempts to reform the intelligence system, an examination of some of their tactics and programs, and their preparations for a long hot summer in 1981.*

The abuses of the U.S. intelligence community are well known because they trumpet their successes in their own, imperialist terms. We do not hear much about the failures of U.S. intelligence, which are generally the victories of the third world and socialist countries.

**"We do not hear much about the failures of U.S. intelligence, which are generally the victories of the third world and socialist countries."**

Many of the intelligence shortcomings stem from requirements of imperialist necessity. Intelligence, which is a political requirement of every state power, is twisted to become a tool for class warfare and imperialist domination. The policy controlling intelligence operations is not formulated on any national basis. Especially in the years since World War II, the policy is more often than not a rabid anti-communism which is directed at any progressive movement which dares to challenge the influence and power of the U.S. ruling class and its representatives throughout the world.

Of course, when something goes wrong, those at the highest levels of government policy making are not the ones to take the blame. According to them, intelligence failures are not caused by the inherent weaknesses of a policy based on interests which run counter to the majority of the world's people. They see it only as a failure of technique. U.S. intelligence collection techniques are dominated by a mentali-

ty which sees every situation as some kind of jigsaw puzzle that can be completed if you just get "a few more facts." When something goes wrong it tends to get blamed on a missing piece of information or equipment, rather than on a fundamental flaw of insufficient analysis or mistaken preconceived ideas.

The Bay of Pigs, the CIA's attempted invasion of Cuba in 1961, is probably its biggest known failure and a perfect example of why things go wrong for the intelligence community. It was planned at the highest levels of government and was the pet project of Allen Dulles, then head of the CIA. He expended considerable effort in convincing President Kennedy, who had just taken office, of the necessity and feasibility of the invasion.

What Dulles did not tell Kennedy was that the CIA's own Analysis Section had predicted that the invasion would not be successful because the Castro government had vast popular support. The Operations section (the agents in the field), however, predicted an uprising and mutiny by the military would be sparked off by the invasion. Dulles mainly reported the Operations conclusions and downplayed the Analysis section.

In other words, Dulles had two conflicting sets of information and chose the one that corresponded with the already decided policy; the rabid anti-communism of the imperialist power-makers colored their vision, making it impossible for them to comprehend that the vast majority of the Cuban people welcomed socialism and were willing to fight and die for it.

Thousands of Cuban emigres were given training and equipment by the CIA. An invading force of several thousand landed at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of Cuba. They never got off the beaches. Beaten to a pulp by the Cubans, most wound up in Cuban prisons. One year later the U.S. paid a huge ransom to Castro for the return of the prisoners of war.

The U.S. government was horribly embarrassed internationally because it could not deny its part in the attempted invasion. The CIA blamed their failure on "inadequate air cover," their "missing piece of the puzzle."

Some heads rolled at the CIA, and paramilitary operations were made the

responsibility of the military. Nevertheless, none of this had the effect of changing the policies that caused the fiasco in the first place. The CIA continued to finance and train anti-Castro Cuban emigre organizations. Numerous attempts were made to assassinate Castro. Instead of "eliminating the communist threat in the Caribbean," the policy and practices of the CIA had the effect of solidifying Cuba's relationship with other socialist countries. According to journalist Bill Moyers, the reaction to the Bay of Pigs invasion was a primary reason for the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962.

The Bay of Pigs, the economic destabilization of the Chilean government and the overthrow of the popularly elected Iranian government in 1952 are examples of what is known as "covert operations." Overseas covert actions are the intervention in the internal affairs of another country.

In keeping with imperialist policy, covert operations are an offensive act. It is a violation of every principle of

national independence and peaceful co-existence. The weapons used range from relatively subtle propaganda tactics and front groups, through blackmail, economic subversion and outright terroristic assassinations and paramilitary operations.

U.S. covert operations agents collect information to the extent that it aids their particular mission but it is not correlated with an overall intelligence picture. Covert agents operate according to their own limited world view which creates a mind set that automatically filters out information that would countermand or invalidate an operation.

**"CIA field agents were unable to predict the fall of the Shah. The idea of the Shah being overthrown was alien to their whole plan, so it was generally dismissed."**

For example, in Iran in 1979, CIA field agents were unable to predict the fall of the Shah. This was not due to any special weakness in their ability to collect information. It was caused by the fact that their main job in Iran was not gathering intelligence but helping maintain the Shah in power. The very idea of the Shah being overthrown was alien to their whole plan, so it was generally dismissed. CIA Operations section blamed their failure to predict the fall on not being allowed to wiretap Khomeini.

But even journalists and others who only had access to public information had a better grasp of the revolutionary situation than the CIA operatives.

The U.S. intelligence community has been consistently unsuccessful in the areas of espionage (plain old-fashioned spying on a foreign government) and counter-intelligence (uncovering foreign agents in the U.S.) and in their own intelligence network.

In the early 50's the CIA set up an espionage network, a vast underground apparatus in Poland, attempting to "roll back the Iron Curtain." Millions of dollars in gold bullion were poured into Poland. Additional agents were sneaked in. It took the CIA several years to realize that their racket had been uncovered by the Polish secret service almost from the very beginning. The agents were arrested and the gold wound up in the Polish treasury.

Partly because of repeated failures in espionage in the 50's, U.S. intelligence began changing its techniques. They found it almost impossible to plant secret agents in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe due to the strength of the socialist intelligence systems. The little information that was gathered came mostly from defectors — not a reliable source. So the intelligence community began concentrating on electronic surveillance and covert actions.

Electronics concentrates on simple data collection on the one hand and provocative and repressive actions on the other. On the whole this developed an intelligence system which was weak in being able to make predictions through analysis.

Various agencies of the U.S. government such as the Defense Department's National Security Agency and the National Reconnaissance Office are very good at data collection using electronic surveillance, spy satellites and signal interceptions. (For instance, the U.S. would not have entered into SALT negotiations if it hadn't been sure of its ability to detect Soviet violations through the use of high resolution satellite photos.)

This type of intelligence is fine for

counting the number of Soviet troops stationed on the border of Poland, for example. But it is nearly useless for predicting whether or not the Soviets would actually invade Poland under a given set of circumstances. Yet more than two-thirds of the publicly acknowledged intelligence budget is spent on this type of collection. Most U.S. intelligence agencies have more information than they can possibly analyze.

The failures of U.S. intelligence which can be traced to high-level policy decisions are embarrassing enough. But the intelligence agencies also manage to get into a good deal of trou-

ble on their own through bureaucratic bungling which didn't let the right hand (a diplomatic negotiating team, for example) let the left hand (the CIA) know what was happening.

In 1960, the U.S. government was negotiating for a Summit meeting with the Soviet leaders. Ignoring this delicate diplomatic situation, the CIA continued its overflights of the Soviet Union with U-2 spy planes. One of the planes, piloted by Francis Gary Powers, was shot down. The double-dealing of the U.S. government was exposed and the proposed Summit meeting was called off by the Russians.

Incidents like the U-2 affair can partly be traced to the intelligence community's romanticizing self-image of seeing itself as infallible and invincible. The intelligence community would like us to forget that the "crack" Watergate burglars were trained by the CIA. These superspies were caught because they were such bumbling fools that they left pieces of masking tape on a door which were spotted by an alert night watchman.

Another flaw in the intelligence system is the competition among the various agencies. It is fierce and often counter productive. They fight for influence and their piece of the turf — more funds, glory and personnel. At least this competition means a duplication of effort. In the more extreme cases it results in a watered-down intelligence that hopelessly tries to reconcile many different interpretations. Even within the agencies and departments there is rivalry: the Operations section of the CIA pays very little attention to the Analysis section.

The purpose of exposing these blunders is not to help improve the quality of U.S. intelligence. There are plenty of suggestions from both conservatives and liberals for making it more efficient — and therefore a more devastating repressive arm of the bourgeoisie. Attempts like the proposed Executive Order to streamline intelligence, centralizing it more in the CIA, and all the new Congressional committees set up to investigate "terrorism...subversives...threats to internal security" do not resolve the fundamental flaws in their system.

We will deal in future articles with some of these proposals and who's behind them. They are part of the political offensive against all progressive and revolutionary movements.

The intelligence community is dangerous but by learning their weak spots we can learn how to fight the ruling class more effectively. We should celebrate their failures because it always means a victory for progressive forces. But we cannot depend on their weaknesses. □



# Who Will Fight for Our Schools?

**Norman Sadler**

"No more homework, no more books, no more teachers' dirty looks!" The chant has a deeper meaning for the Eighties.

According to estimates by the two largest teachers' unions, 700,000 teachers will get notices that he or she may not be rehired in the fall, and 100,000 of those could be actually without jobs — a ten-fold increase over last year. "It is already the worst avalanche of such notices since the depth of the Great Depression," American Federation of Teachers spokesman Peter Laarman said. "We're looking at situations where persons with 10 or 12 years in the classroom are being laid off." Not counting the tens of thousands of CETA employees in the schools who will no longer have jobs, an additional 100,000 school employees face layoff and discharge.

In Chicago, 32 schools will be closed permanently by June. Last summer, 9,500 kids went to reading, math and bilingual classes, largely paid for by Title I funds marked for the poor communities. But no one will go to those programs this year, because the state and federal funds aren't there.

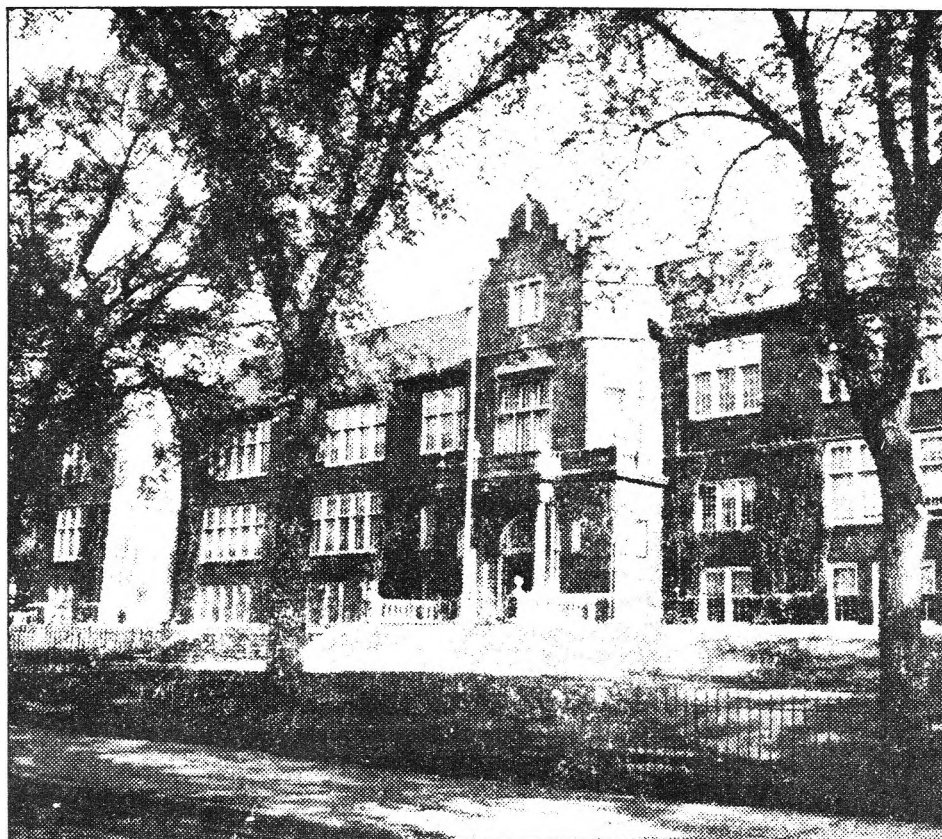
Schools compelled to tighten their budgets are cutting the arts and athletics programs first. When news

"It's going to be massive," said Anita Epstein, director of governmental affairs for the National Association of State Boards of Education. "The entire education community is just pulling its hair out."

The federal budget cuts hit education hardest in the big cities. A congressional panel survey of the nation's biggest cities found that half the cities surveyed had operating deficits last year. Three-fourths of those cities will be in the red this year. The Joint Economic Committee's survey studied 275 cities with a population of 10,000 or more.

As federal funds dry up, the report said, cities will be forced to raise local taxes, user charges, auto fees and building permits just to maintain the existing level of services. The report said that this would spur on another flight to the suburbs by businesses and the middle class, contributing further to declining enrollment in city schools.

Higher taxes and fees are just one step cities are making. The other step is cutting services, closing schools, laying off employees. In Chicago, not just the old, worn out buildings are being abandoned. Relatively new "magnet schools" and schools for the education of the handicapped are also being closed.



Gary Emerson High School in Chicago. After more than 50 years, it's scheduled to close on July 1.

had nothing to eat, she arrogantly said "Let them eat cake." Is budget director Stockman saying anything different?

The chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee told Stockman that 12,000 school districts would end their lunch programs if the budget cuts were approved. Stockman replied that "the federal government's share of the costs has doubled in the last ten years, from 25% to 50%, while the student's share has dropped from 50% to nearly 25%... He didn't think middle-class parents would leave the program because of the increased price." (*Education USA*, 5/4/81)

In Dallas, the price of a school lunch would jump 71% to compensate for lost federal funds. Parents are free to choose: pay it, bag it, or skip it.

### Schoolboards Bicker

Reports indicate that many school boards and superintendents have given up the fight and are planning "survival" strategies. Even the Lake Central School Board in Indiana, one of few school systems with a growing enrollment, has voted to begin the next school year with a four-day week, hoping to cut costs until more funds might be found for the spring semester. The burden is again put on working parents.

School administrators have long supported deregulation and less federal involvement. Their fight is among themselves on how to deal with it now that they've got it. The National School Board Association favors Local Education Agencies getting the block grants, while the Council of Chief

State School Officials (CCSSO) wants the State Education Agencies to have control. William Pierce, executive director of the CCSSO, said of his organization and the NSBA, "We've both wanted to get the feds off our backs. Now, rather than trying to come up with an agreement on how to do it, they (NSBA) want a turf fight."

The turf fights are just beginning, now that Congress has decided on the overall amount to cut, and next has to decide which specific programs to ax, and which to spare.

In education, the turf fights get down to basics. At public hearings on the Chicago school closings, parents objected that their children would have to walk through gang-controlled neighborhoods to get to the schools left open. School closings threaten the total collapse of communities already struggling for survival. A school is often the "glue" that holds together a faltering neighborhood. Such was the case when the 75-year old Emerson High School in Gary, Indiana was slated for closing. A petition with 800 names was submitted in opposition. At the last meeting of the school board on the subject, when it was clear to everyone that the closing would be approved, 50 protesters still appeared, fighting to the bitter end.

Are our children "over-educated," like the Chrysler workers were "over-paid?" Parents everywhere are loudly saying "NO" to the increasing attacks on their children's futures. Petitions, boycotts, marches and even occupations of school buildings have taken place as parents take the offensive. □



School's out for the summer. But come September, will there be schools for them?

appeared that art teachers were being let go at a Gary, Indiana school, a woman wrote to the local newspaper that the cultural Athens left a larger legacy than the war-minded Sparta. But during the next five years, in 1980 dollars adjusted for inflation, more money will be spent on military buildup than was spent between 1965 and 1970, the escalating years of the Vietnam war. Like Sparta, the U.S. is putting the military force before all else.

### Who, What, When, Where, Why, How?

By spring, school boards have to give notice to teachers who may not be rehired in the fall. Most teachers' union contracts require the advance notice to allow teachers to seek employment elsewhere. This is one reason the effect of the budget cuts show up in the schools so quickly.

According to National Education Association spokesman Sam Pizzigati, "We've never been faced with a situation like we are now. Thousands and thousands of teachers are losing their jobs across the country. There are already school districts where the youngest teacher began teaching in 1969."

"We've been cutting our budget for five years," Milwaukee Superintendent Lee McMurrin said at a conference of the Council of the Great City Schools. The conference, reported in the March 23 issue of *Education USA*, found that its member school systems will lose between 22% and 41% of their federal funds. "To take one fairly typical example," the article said, "Chicago could have looked forward to \$187 million in total federal education aid for the coming year. Reagan's budget, if it is accepted, will reduce that to \$139.6 million."

In a May 18 issue, after most of the bad news was confirmed, *Education USA* summed up the impact in various states. "California will lose \$123 million of its \$303 million in school lunch funds, and the loss of CETA funds could eliminate an additional 4,000 jobs in school districts (on top of 25,000 teaching positions). Funds for educating the handicapped will drop from \$80 million to \$60 million... "A \$13 million loss in vocational education funds will mostly be taken out of equipment purchases..."

### Stockman: "Pay Up or Starve"

When Marie Antoinette was told that the peasants were rebelling and

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## ... NASSCO

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up. It can also indicate that they have no hesitations in lying about other things they want to keep covered.

### Reporters' Rights Safeguarded

All along, Prosecutor Lipman has clouded the issue of a government conspiracy at NASSCO with redbaiting. "Lipman," said defense attorney Dan Siegel, "has from the beginning confused Johnson's (Rodney Johnson, one of the NASSCO 3) philosophical beliefs with a specific intent to do violence at NASSCO."

With the prosecutor's case shot to hell, Lipman has shown that he will trample even on reporters' rights to get a conviction he desperately wants and needs. Lipman tried to get three reporters who have interviewed the NASSCO 3 to testify about the three's personal philosophy.

Susan Jetton, of the San Diego Union, Margaret Garrard Warner, formerly of the Union and currently reporting for the Wall Street Journal, and John Nunes of the Escondito Times Advocate were all subpoenaed by Lipman. The reporters' attorneys' efforts to stop the subpoenas out of hand were denied.

Instead, a hearing was held without the jury's presence, where Lipman questioned reporters to prove that their testimonies would help determine the defendants' predisposition (frame of mind or intentions). Lipman used this opportunity to go on a fishing expedition. But after numerous objections by attorneys both for the defense and the reporters, the judge directed Lipman to limit his questions to specific statements which the defendants may have made against NASSCO while talking with reporters.

Lipman was unable to comply with the directions. He continued to ask Warner, "Did Johnson discuss the need for the violent overthrow of the capitalist system with you?" and "Did Johnson tell you he believed in the violent overthrow of the capitalist system?"

Warner fought for her rights, declining to answer questions which were directly quoted in her articles. Even then, she qualified her answers. "He (Johnson) never said to me that he is dedicated to the violent overthrow of the government. Whether one would characterize the substance of our conversation as substantiating that is an independent judgment I might make or someone else might make differently."

After being questioned by Lipman,

Jetton said, "I can testify to what Johnson is quoted as saying in my article. Not to what is unpublished."

When Lipman asked if she wouldn't testify to other parts of conversations because of first amendment privilege or because she couldn't remember, Jetton answered, "both."

Lipman got almost no answers from reporters outside of materials already made public through their articles. Faced with evidence of Lipman's fishing trip and the determination of the reporters not to cooperate, the judge squashed Lipman's subpoenas, preventing the reporters from testifying before the jury.

### Gov't. Collaboration Indicted

"Our government has around \$750,000 to spend on the case against the NASSCO 3. How much has the government spent to investigate the possible illegal actions of NASSCO management in question? Why is corporate lawbreaking okay?" asked Nancy Baker, speaker for the ad hoc labor committee which was formed out of concern for "some important issues which seriously impact labor" that are being raised in the trial of the NASSCO 3.

NASSCO's violations of safety standards have resulted in the deaths of seven men in the past five years. NASSCO has never been indicted for manslaughter, never mind murder. The FBI and police were aiding NASSCO in surveillance of active union members and radicals in the yard. But they have never been reprimanded for interfering with labor struggles on the side of the company.

Closing statements will be made when court resumes on Tuesday, June 2. Attorneys expect the jury will begin deliberations on Wednesday afternoon, after the judge issues them instructions. □

### CORRECTION

In our last issue, the article, "NASSCO Defendants Take Stand" mistakenly called Charles Walker a company spy. This is NOT true. In fact, despite tremendous pressure from NASSCO, Charles Walker has stepped forward to reveal NASSCO's attempts to recruit him to spy for them. This speaking out has helped the case of the NASSCO 3. Charles Walker, we applaud your brave stand.

## 2,000 Hit Reagan Cuts in New York

### Jim Davis

NEW YORK, N.Y. May 28 — Over 2,000 people rallied outside the Federal Building today to protest the Reagan Administration's budget cut plan. The action was organized by the Save Our Communities (SOC) New York Coalition for a Fair Budget. Included among the nearly hundred endorsers were the American Federation of State County & Municipal Employees, District Council 37; Center for Community Change; Communication Workers of America, District I; Council of Senior Citizens Centers; Legal Services Staff Association; National Association of Social Workers; New York Urban League; Hospital Workers National Union 1199; United Auto Workers of America, Local 259; the Chinatown Coalition Against the Budget Cuts and many others.

### Reagan Plan Unites All

Two workers from Project Renewal, an alcoholic treatment center in Brooklyn, came to the rally to fight for their jobs. One explained, "There should be money for jobs. I don't care if it's the government or private corporations that do the hiring. It's such a waste to see people, especially young people, throw away their lives because there aren't any jobs."

Though many others came out for different reasons, they all agreed that the Reagan plan was an attack on everyone. The Reagan plan would virtually eliminate whatever is left of vital

social programs in New York City. 11,500 CETA jobs would be wiped out. 75,000 New Yorkers would be thrown off the food stamp program. 96 daycare centers would shut down. \$200 million cut in Medicaid. 1,260 special education teachers would be laid off. 7,000 housing units would be eliminated. 48 Senior Citizens centers and 23 Legal Services offices would be closed. 40,000 city jobs would be lost.

### "Democrats, Republicans, No Difference"

Among the speakers at the rally were City Council President Carol Bellamy, District Council 37 President Victor Gotbaum and former Congresswoman Bella Abzug. Bellamy lashed out at President Reagan as a "butcher of the poor and elderly." Gotbaum, touching on the complete breakdown of faith of the two-party system among many Americans, said "we're here not only to fight Reaganism but Kochism as well." Earlier the crowd booed and hissed when a representative from Mayor Koch's office read a statement of support.

Throughout the rally, attempts by organizers to sign up people to vote in this fall's elections were met with little enthusiasm. When a registration sheet was shoved in his face, an 1199 hospital worker said, "Why should I vote? There ain't no difference between either the Democrats and the Republicans." □



2,000 march across the Brooklyn Bridge in N.Y.C. on May 28 to protest budget cuts.

## ... Miners

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This whole operation has become a battle ground for the coal companies and the UMWA. First, Elk Run Coal hired United Steelworkers for the construction work. And now rumors are circulating that it plans to go non-union in the fall. This company's operating procedures help to illuminate the principal concern facing the union in this contract strike.

### Non Unions on Rise

Non-union mines are increasing in the Western coalfields of Wyoming; they are also on the rise in the midst of union country. The UMWA represents only 40% of the mines in the country. One reason for this is the opening of vast new strip mines and the weakness of the union's organizing effort. Organizing more mines is important to maintain and increase the strength of the union. Miners realize this, and get angry at the thought of more non-union mines, especially ones in their own backyards.

In the coal negotiations, the union is not addressing the question of simplifying the organizing of non-union mines. Instead the UMWA is on the

defensive. In the first contract proposal (which was rejected by the rank and file at the end of March) the organizing issue was dealt with, but it was obscured by legal means. Basically, the agreement was a series of enormous takebacks.

### Oil Monopolies Out for Blood

The coal bosses want two long-standing contractual agreements changed. They want to scrap the automatic recognition clause which guaranteed coal miners union representation at any new mine a unionized company opened up. They also want to be able to sell coal land covered by the agreement without guaranteeing that it would stay unionized.

Coal companies, the majority of whom are part of energy conglomerates, have been trying a number of ways to get out of these long-standing agreements that protect union workers against attempts to unorganize them. One way is to renegotiate the contract in their interests. This is what they're attempting to do now. The second way is to get the courts to intervene on their behalf and declare illegal parts of the contract they don't like. This is what happened in the Amax Corporation complaint.

Amax complained about the con-

tract clauses in the 1977 contract that demanded that companies sell or lease land only to other companies that would keep these lands union, and the part that says that they can only subcontract work out to UMWA companies. Amax said these points were unfair, and they should be able to employ and sell to whomever they want. They courts ruled in Amax's favor on the subcontracting issue only.

### Miners Hit Unionbusting

This subcontracting issue has miners concerned. They do not like to see the number of union jobs in construction, repair and haulage whittled away.

But UMWA President Sam Church has taken this court decision as the gospel truth and is negotiating the portion of the contract that covers the subcontracting issue as the starting point. His most recent proposal, called the wage standards clause, demands that all subcontracting firms pay their workers wages equal to or better than what UMWA workers receive. Of course, all non-union operations must do this if they want to keep the union out.

Out in the coal fields, the fact that the operators, particularly Consolidation Coal Co., the second largest and most hard-nosed of all the BCOA com-

panies, want to bust the union has taken on more and more significance as people realize the enormous impact on the union if the operators' proposals are agreed upon.

Elk Run stands as an example of the operators' dream — a large non-union mine in the UMWA heartland. It is no coincidence that the main proponent of these takebacks in the contract negotiations is Consol, a Rockefeller company, and the man that got the coal contracts for this test case is Jay Rockefeller himself.

Nevertheless, some UMWA leaders and rank and file miners have begun to answer these assaults with their own statements. The vote against the first contract, the union elections which turned out many of Sam Church's supporters and the militant actions that have recently occurred at Elk Run and in Kentucky have sent tremors into the headquarters of Consol, Peabody Coal, U.S. Steel and other BCOA members.

The coal miners are sending a message. They do not want to go backwards to the "good old days" — the days of company stores, scrip, eviction from company houses and tent houses. The UMWA miners want their workplaces union. □



# LABOR NEWS

## Shipyard Workers Chart Own Course

SAN DIEGO, Ca. — On Wednesday, May 27, Judge William B. Enright indicated that he would deny an injunction filed by Miguel Salas, Gwen Ferguson, Frank Hollowach and Marcos Juarez on behalf of Ironworkers Local 627 against the trusteeship by the International union. Local 627 has been in trusteeship since January 7, one day before newly elected militants were to take office.

Michael Contreras, former labor relations official for NASSCO, said that NASSCO and the International were meeting since the beginning of August. And that International representative, Neil Coleman told NASSCO labor relations manager, Carl Hinrichson before the early August unfair labor practice strike that the International wished to put the local into trusteeship. Union leaders hoped to be able to use the new evidence, as well as Contreras' revealing of NASSCO's illegal policies, before Judge Enright, and change his tentative decision to deny the injunction.

Whether they win in court proceedings or not, the rank and file members of Local 627 have given the local the go-ahead to form a new union. Ironworkers say they are angry and frustrated with an undemocratic International whose heavy-handed use of trusteeship has helped NASSCO speed up its production at the cost of workers' rights and safety.

At a May 30 union meeting, 75 workers voted to form an independent union, the United Shipworkers Union. With only 3 votes against the move, the new union is off to a good start.

30% of NASSCO's 6,000 Ironworkers must sign cards for a union representation election. Local union leaders expect to have the necessary number by the July 1 deadline. They expect the actual election will take place sometime in December.

Contract negotiations currently being handled by the International will be suspended if the dissident union members obtain the required number of signatures by the July deadline. □

## 2 Dead at New Orleans Shipyard

# Why is Barton at Avondale?

Dave Young

The following is based on a report that appeared in the April 30 edition of the Times-Picayune of New Orleans. The information was sent to us by one of our readers.

FBI stoolie and company spy Ramon Barton is known by workers at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company in San Diego, California, as a "loud, big-mouthed guy" who often had to be "urged to stop shouting obscenities on the picket lines." Workers said Barton suggested strapping propane tanks onto a NASSCO official's car, claiming the engine heat would cause them to explode. He also proposed bombing NASSCO's offices with Molotov cocktails. Barton fingered David Boyd, Mark Loo and Rodney Johnson when police and FBI agents arrested them for conspiracy to "bomb NASSCO's electrical transformers." The Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers contends that the government is colluding with NASSCO to divert attention from the real issue — job safety.

The police and FBI gave Barton over \$7,000. After completing his dirty work, he disappeared from San Diego. It was later discovered that the FBI moved Barton to Avondale, Louisiana. Now employed by the Louisiana Avondale Shipyard, Barton goes by the name Ray Dixon.

Recently, two men were killed at Louisiana Avondale. According to the Times-Picayune of New Orleans, Jose Duncan and Huey Nuccio were suffocated by argon gas while inspecting the cargo hold of a newly-constructed tug barge. "As the two men entered the tank, or soon afterward, a feeder line of argon gas was pulled into or fell into the hold, John Chantrey, vice president in charge of personnel said. The gas replaced the oxygen, causing the men to suffocate," wrote the Times-Picayune. These circumstances are almost identical to the deaths of Michael Beebe and Kenneth King at NASSCO. On September 2, 1980, the two workers were found dead and six others injured when argon gas leaked into the hull of the USS Cape Cod. The pipe containing the gas was closed with plastic tape.

Beebe and King were victims of a vicious anti-union campaign by NASSCO designed to oust the leadership of Ironworkers Local 627. Since this leadership was elected in December 1977, they negotiated a contract giving the union "unprecedented language on safety issues" including the right to stop work in unsafe areas. 1,500 grievances were filed in the first year of that contract. No fatalities took place in a shipyard that recorded five deaths between 1976 and 1977. After 200 workers demonstrated against the firing of shop stewards and unsafe conditions at the launching of the USS Cape Cod, NASSCO fired 27 workers. These included most of the active fighters in Local 627. Throughout these attacks, Barton played a major role in feeding NASSCO and the FBI information. In arbitration hearings, NASSCO officials admitted that Barton reported to them regularly.

In light of the fact that Louisiana Avondale is presently undergoing a union drive, is it a coincidence that the FBI chose to move him there? □

The Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers is asking everyone to send telegrams, letters, mailgrams, etc., around the demands:

- (1) Stop the Railroad of the NASSCO 3
- (2) Fair Trial or Drop the Charges
- (3) Stop Government Cover-up— Full Disclosure, Open All FBI Files
- (4) Stop Government/NASSCO Union-busting

Send to:

Judge Edward Schwartz, U.S. District Court  
940 Front St., San Diego, CA 92101

People are urged to help the NASSCO 3 defense by sending tax deductible contributions to:

Clarence Darrow Foundation/NASSCO  
c/o San Diego Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers  
P.O. Box 8383, San Diego, CA 92102  
Defense Committee: (714)563-0149

### Partial List of Endorsers:

(Organizations listed for identification purposes)

United Domestic Workers of America  
Trade Unionists for Democratic Action,  
Peter Fisher  
Joseph E. Cook, AFGE, Local 41,  
Washington, DC  
Dave Johnson, BA-Financial Sec., Toronto  
Building & Construction Council, AFL-CIO  
John Donaldson, President, Int'l Assoc. of  
Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Workers,  
Local 721, Ontario, Canada  
James E. Miller, Pres., Bakery  
Confectionary & Tobacco Workers, Local  
205, Madison, Wisconsin  
Louis Gates, Pres., UAW, Local 600, Frame  
Plant, Detroit  
Rick Martin, pres., UAW, Local 600  
Walter T. Corey, Pres., USWA Local 210  
Sidney Lens, Labor writer  
Jim Miller, Institute for Labor Studies,  
Cornell U.  
Mike Macguire, Organizer, IBM Workers  
United, Johnson City, NY  
Josephine Garris, Brown Lung  
Association, Garysburg, NC  
James Blackstone, President, USWA Local  
3522, Baltimore, MD  
Gil Dawes, coordinator, Theology in  
Americas Project, Clinton, IA  
Dan Luria, UAW Research Dept, Detroit  
John Reiman, Recording Sec., Carpenters  
Local 36, Building & Construction Trades  
Council, Oakland, CA  
Manual Sunshine, IAM Local 68 delegate,  
SF Labor Council, San Francisco  
Margie Clauser, Exec. Bd., CWA, San  
Francisco  
George Wong, Graphic Arts Union, Central  
Labor Council, San Francisco  
James Romanoff, People's Democratic  
Club  
Frank Wilkinson, Exec. Dir., National  
Comm. Agst. Repressive Legislation  
David McDonald, Hotel & Restaurant Local  
2, San Francisco  
Nancy Baker, IAM Local 685, Central Labor  
Council Delegate  
Jerry Newport, Seafarer Union, San Diego  
Wren Osborn, Probation Workers Union  
Local 2702, San Diego  
Anatole Zachs, Hotel & Restaurant  
Workers Local 2, Grievance officer, Bay  
Area Coalition to Bust the Union Busters  
Jeanne Tai, UAW 900 delegate to Nat'l  
Ford Council

### NASSCO 3 Defense Team:

Leonard Weinglass  
Daniel Siegel  
Alan Yee  
Eugene Iredale, Federal Defender

### NASSCO 27 members

Steve Chinn  
Carlos Espinosa  
Ronald Graham  
Steven Harvey  
Richard Hooks  
Alejandro Isunza  
Paul Jaramillo  
Thomas Legg  
Savino Marquez  
Ruben Parga  
Hector Romero  
Pam Scullen  
Juan Segredo  
Miguel Salas, Business Agent, Ironworkers  
Local 627, NASSCO  
Gwen Ferguson, President, Ironworkers  
Local 627, NASSCO  
Frank Hollowach, Vice-President  
Ironworkers Local 627, NASSCO

WOMANCARE, San Diego  
Rosaura Sanchez, Director, UCSD Third  
World Studies  
Ernest Charles McCray, Educator &  
columnist, San Diego

Prof. Robert Russel, Mesa Community  
College  
Dena S. Anderson, Grey Panthers, San  
Diego  
THE PROGRESSIVE COALITION, San  
Diego  
UCSD Student Cooperative Union  
UCSD Associated Student Government  
Ken Overton, President, Black Student U.  
Ricardo Sanchez, Musician, Los Alacranes  
Mojados  
Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Council  
Asian Americans for Equality,  
Los Angeles Chapter  
National Lawyers Guild, UCLA  
Student Chapter  
Larry Holmes, Workers World Party  
Dennis Serrette, President, National  
Black Communications Coalition,  
New York Chapter  
Walter Lippman, Chairman, Human Rights  
Committee of Service Employees  
International Union, Local 535  
Los Angeles  
Haywood Burns, Director, Center for Legal  
Education and Urban Policy, N.Y.C.  
Bay Area Women's Caucus of the United  
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of  
America (San Francisco)  
Teamsters for a Democratic Union  
Steering Committee (San Francisco Bay  
Area Chapter)  
Kit Hanzo, President, Glass and Bottle  
Blowers Association, Local 15 (Oakland,  
California)  
Dorothy Healey, KPFF radio commentator  
and New American Movement activist  
(Los Angeles)  
Ron Teninty, Business Representative,  
Teamsters, Local 315 (San Francisco)  
Jerry K. Foster, Executive Board Member,  
Chemical and Atomic Workers,  
Local 4-227 Workman's Committee  
(Houston, Texas)  
Patsy B. McMichael, Committeewoman,  
OCAW, Local 4-227 (Houston, Texas)  
Rev. Philip Zwerling, First Unitarian  
Church (Los Angeles)  
Michael Parenti, author, lecturer and  
adjunct professor, University of Maryland,  
College Park (Washington, D.C.)  
Ruth Gage Colby, U.N. Representative of  
the Humanists (New York, New York)  
Eqbal Ahmed, fellow, Institute for Policy  
Studies (New York, N.Y.)  
Mark Lemle Amsterdam, attorney  
(New York, N.Y.)  
Abbott Simon, Secretary-Treasurer, Center  
for Constitutional Rights  
El Sentimiento del Pueblo (Riverside,  
Calif.)  
Gloria Romero, co-editor, El Sentimiento  
del Pueblo  
Maggie Swenson, president, Legal Aid  
Working Union (Louisville, Kentucky)  
Ken Lawrence, Director, Anti-Repression  
Resource Team and Organization  
(Jackson, Miss.)  
Murv Glass, Vice-Chairman, Board of  
Directors Legal Defense Center  
(Santa Barbara, Ca.)  
Elmo Dorg, political activist, N.Y.C.  
Sanford M. Katz, attorney for National  
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee,  
N.Y.C.  
Alan Rosenthal, Citizens United Against  
Police Brutality  
Joe Heath, attorney, Syracuse  
John Marshall Kilimanjaro, Publisher  
and Editor of Carolina Peacemaker.  
Rev. Henry Atkins, Apostical Chaplain,  
Univ. of Carolina, Greensboro  
Robert Williams, professor, Guilford  
College, Greensboro  
David Dopkin, North Toledo Area Corp.  
Ben Blake, Teamster Local 705  
Debbie Weisman, attorney, Syracuse  
Frances Borden Hubbard, activist, Sophie  
Davis School, CUNY



## Social Democracy Cripples UAW Merger No Solution for Auto Union

Clair Holland

"This is a time to unify and — in a spirit of solidarity — to work together and fight together with our brothers and sisters in the labor movement." With these words United Auto Workers President Doug Fraser announced on April 28 plans for the UAW to re-join the AFL-CIO. Fraser said the union's regional delegates voted 7,789 to 4,527 in favor of the merger and would move quickly to work out final terms of the agreement.

The merger will end a 13-year separation from the AFL-CIO. When Walter Reuther, then President of the UAW, split with the labor federation in 1968 he criticized its leadership, especially George Meany, for lack of trade union democracy and for not supporting the liberal social programs of that time. Reuther's position was more sophisticated. He supported the advanced monopoly capitalists in promoting liberal reforms like Johnson's "Great Society" and the "War on Poverty" to undercut the Black Liberation Movement and anti-Viet Nam war movement.

But Reuther's differences with Meany were only tactical. Their goals were the same. They both supported the capitalists' need to disintegrate these movements and prevent them from challenging the capitalist system.

The UAW Executive Board spelled this out in an Executive Letter published in the Feb. 1967 issue of *Solidarity*, the UAW magazine: "There is no basic difference between the UAW and the AFL-CIO in the commitment to resist communist aggression. We in the UAW can be proud of our record of continuous and successful struggle against communism and all other forms of totalitarianism. We share the view, however, that the most effective way to fight communism is to make democracy work. We believe that anti-communism in and of itself is not enough. We must take positive steps to abolish poverty and hunger and to eliminate social and economic injustice which are the ingredients that communism exploits and attempts to forge into political power. The disagreements which the UAW has with the AFL-CIO concern democratic trade union principles and policies, sound union programs and their effective implementation." Accusing the AFL-CIO of "complacency," the union pulled out.

### UAW All Talk — No Action

The UAW did take some stands that were more progressive than those of the AFL-CIO leadership — like support for the United Farm Workers organizing drive and some support for the Civil Rights Movement. But overall, in spite of their progressive sounding talk, when it came down to action, to fighting for equal rights and building a democratic union, it was another story.

At the same time Reuther was talking about justice and equality black auto workers in Detroit were organizing the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) to fight discrimination in the plant and in the union and to fight for union democracy. Their famous chant of "UAW Means You Ain't White!" put out the true story.

When Reuther split with the AFL-CIO he said "I didn't join the labor movement to sit on my fat bottom, I joined to get on with a job for which the labor movement was organized and that is what this is about. I don't think

the leadership of the labor movement ought to be a retired workers' rest home. I believe it ought to be a place for action."

Today there are plenty of auto workers who are asking their union leadership, "Who's sitting on their fat bottoms now?" More than 200,000 auto workers were on indefinite lay-off most of last year in the Big 3 alone. Many, especially Chrysler workers, will never walk in an auto plant again, under this system. And they know it. The "socially disadvantaged" the UAW leaders talked about in 1968 are today autoworkers who have lost their homes and cars and are even forced on welfare and food stamps to survive.

The UAW leadership has not led the fight for jobs and to defend workers' standard of living. Instead, Doug Fraser takes the lead in working hand in hand with the government and corporations to make the workers pay for the economic crisis.

Fraser pushed Chrysler's three-time wage cut, setting a backward example for all workers. The UAW backed up the government bailouts for Chrysler and a \$200 million gift to GM for their new Cadillac plant in Detroit — all out of the taxpayers' pockets. Letting the auto capitalists off the hook, the UAW has been in the very front of a vicious campaign to scapegoat Japanese imports for the unemployment of U.S. auto workers — even to the point of not allowing foreign-made cars in the union parking lot.

### Social Democracy Made UAW Weakest Ever

The UAW is in deep trouble. In 1981 there are at least 200,000 fewer UAW members than there were in 1966. Union membership fell 20% in the past year. With plant closings, whole locals like Dodge Main's Local 6 have been wiped out. The UAW is running a \$200,000 monthly deficit, and a loss of dues income has forced a 10% cut back in UAW staff.

While the capitalists are shoving the crisis down workers' throats, the union leaders have laid down and died. From Reuther to Fraser it's been a lot of liberal talk (Fraser even talks about socialism) but no fight. This is the essence of the bankrupt policy of social democracy (reformism). The mess the UAW is in today is the direct result of this policy.

Because they have not taken up the fight, the UAW is the weakest ever, and the Executive Board is looking to the AFL-CIO to prop them up. This is the main reason behind the merger.

Fraser has also said they want to eliminate duplication of lobbying efforts with the AFL-CIO. This further reveals the bankruptcy of a union leadership that relies only on the politicians instead of the workers. Concerned UAW staff also point out that the merger will pull the UAW backwards, creating more layers of bureaucracy and making it even harder for progressive union officials and rank and file to be heard.

### Merger Doesn't Answer Workers' Demands

But to most auto workers the merger isn't an issue. "Union? What union? I pay 20 bucks dues, and for what?" A do-nothing union, in or out of the AFL-CIO, it makes little difference. The UAW leadership is so removed from the rank and file that most workers don't even pay attention to their maneuvers. The cynicism is also

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Massachusetts workers protest budget cuts of \$530 million in federal aid to state. Rally was led by AFSCME Council 93 members.

## Reagan Fears Backlash, Urges "Sensitivity"

Dave Young

In the past few weeks, the mouthpieces of the U.S. ruling class have cautioned greater sensitivity to the prospects of backlash against Reagan's cuts and his Administration's other hard line attitudes.

On May 16 the Washington Post published the results of a Post/ABC News survey among 1,033 people regarding their attitudes towards Reagan's proposed cuts in Social Security benefits. While only 8% felt that the Social Security system is in "good financial shape," two out of three believed that the government should protect Social Security "at all cost even if money has to be taken from other government programs."

This compares with another finding about people's feelings towards increased military spending. To the question: "Do you agree or disagree: Reagan should not seek cuts in future Social Security benefits at the same time he is asking for substantial increases in military spending," 50% agreed, 44% disagreed and 6% had no opinion.

The May 19 Wall Street Journal ran an article entitled, "OSHA's Initial Actions Make Some Supporters Uneasy." The White House was worried that the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's decisions to review safety standards "appears to put dollars ahead of workers, health and safety." Top administration officials are bothered by new OSHA head Thorne G. Aucter's statements that "hazards are here to stay. They're part of the American enterprise system." A corporate lobbyist criticized Aucter's burning of OSHA's Brown Lung pamphlets as "a needless affront to labor."

### Trying To Cool Union Opposition

In particular, the government has been trying to play it cool with its own workers. According to the May 5, Wall Street Journal, the Reagan Administration was courting the federal unions and trying to "mend fences." Donald Devine, new head of the Office

of Personnel Management, told members of the American Federation of Government Employees that he will inform them in advance of any planned layoffs. Devine also promised that Reagan would soon praise the "positive contributions of federal workers."

It is unlikely that sweet talk will satisfy federal workers whose jobs are on the chopping block. Recently, for example, the D.C. Budget Cuts Coalition was formed. It represents over 125,000 public workers and has the support of the D.C. Central Labor Council and 40 community groups. "People have reached a point of exasperation," says AFGE President Herbert Blaylock. He threatens massive leave requests and work slowdowns this summer.

On May 11, 1981, Postmaster General William F. Bolger backed down on his refusal to negotiate with postal unions representing 600,000 postal workers. Their contract expires this July 20. Bolger used the pretext of having to deal with four separate unions to block discussion of contract issues. One of the main issues is the Postal Service's demand to do away with uncapped Cost of Living Allowance. When contract negotiations were scheduled to begin on April 22, Bolger asked the National Labor Relations Board to designate a single bargaining unit.

Legally, Bolger has no grounds to decide how each postal union wants to negotiate its contract. It's up to the postal unions whether they will negotiate as one group or individually. In the past, the American Postal Workers Union, the National Association of Letter Carriers, the Rural Letter Carriers Association and the National Post Office Mail Handlers Union often had a single negotiator.

As postal workers rallied against Bolger, his attempt to block negotiations itself turned into a flashpoint for rank and file anger. Realizing that his tactics were backfiring, Bolger backed down. □



# Which Way Out for Pola

Dennis T. Torigoe

*This is the final part of a major article that appears in the forthcoming issue of The 80's, theoretical journal of the Communist Workers Party. It has been edited for the Workers Viewpoint. Part I printed last week traced the historical roots of the Polish workers' discontent, how the intolerable situation in the country today is the accumulated result of the revisionist lines and policies of the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party, and why Soviet intervention would be disastrous to the cause of strengthening socialism in Poland. The following deals with the significance of Solidarity and the question: Is there a structural guarantee for socialism?*

## Solidarity Necessary Counterweight To PUWP's Revisionism

The situation in Poland clearly shows that the workers are the driving force behind rectification of the PUWP. The bureaucratic line of the PUWP and its vast separation from the masses have come out full-bloom in the latest crisis.

It is clear that without Solidarity, workers would have no leverage to make the revisionists change. That's why we say that the new union must be supported and the right to strike guaranteed.

Precisely because of bureaucracy and corruption among the top officials of the government and the party, Lenin struggled against Trotsky's bureaucratic line on the trade unions under socialism. Lenin expanded on this later in his "Draft Theses on the Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy":

"As long as classes exist, the class struggle is inevitable. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the existence of classes is inevitable; and the Programme of the Russian Communist Party definitely states that we are taking only the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism. Hence, the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the trade unions must frankly admit the existence of a class struggle and its inevitability until the electrification of industry and agriculture is completed—at least in the main—and until small production and the supremacy of the market are thereby cut off at the roots.

"From this it follows that at present we must on no account reject strikes and cannot, as a matter of principle, agree to a substituting obligatory state mediation for strikes.

"On the other hand, it is obvious that under capitalism the ultimate object of the strike movement is to break up the state machine and to overthrow the given class state power. Under the transitional type of proletarian state such as ours, however, the ultimate object of the strike movement can only be to fortify the proletarian state and the state power of the proletarian class by combating the bureaucratic distortions, mistakes and flaws in this state, and by curbing the class appetites of the capitalists who try to evade its control, etc. Hence, the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the trade unions must never forget and must never conceal from the workers and the mass of the working people that strikes in a state where the proletariat holds political power can be explained and justified only by the bureaucratic distortions of the proletarian state and by all sorts of survivals of the old capitalist system in the government offices on the one hand, and by the political immaturity and cultural backwardness of the mass of the working people on the other. For if the courts and all other state bodies are set up on a class basis by the working people themselves, and the bourgeoisie is excluded from the list of voters, then it will be to an increasing extent become normal for the working people to turn directly to the state bodies in order to settle disputes between labour and capital, and between employees and employers."

## What Does Solidarity As An "Independent Union" Mean?

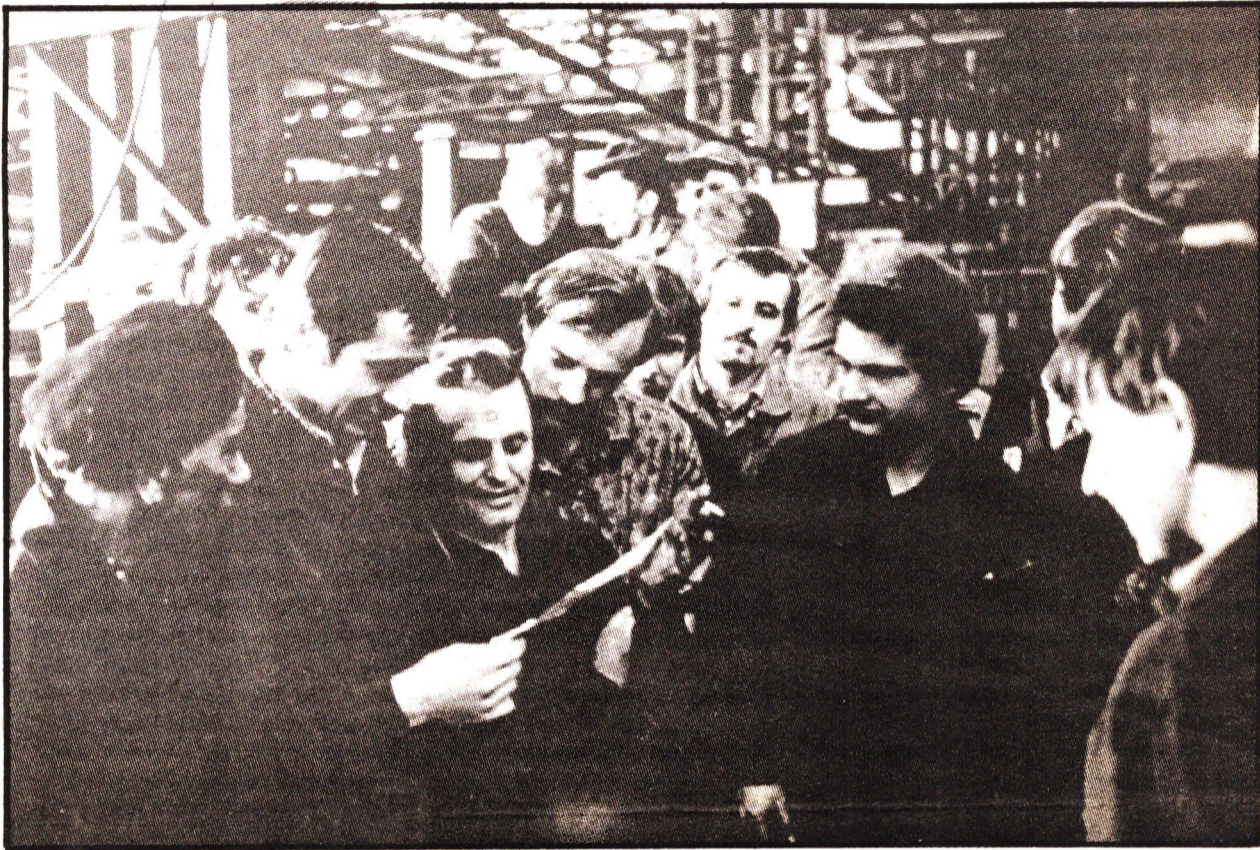
It would be one-sided and simplistic, however, to say that trade unions under socialism only have to protect its members' interests and fight bureaucracy. Lenin explained the contradictory role trade unions under socialism have to play:

"From all the foregoing it is evident that there are a number of contradictions in the various functions of the trade unions. On the one hand, their principal method of operation is that of persuasion and education; on the

other hand, as participants in the exercise of state power they cannot refuse to share in coercion. On the one hand, their main function is to protect the interests of the masses of the working people in the most direct and immediate sense of the term; on the other hand, as participants in the exercise of state power and builders of the economy as a whole they cannot refuse to resort to pressure. On the one hand, they must operate in a military fashion, for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fiercest, most dogged and most desperate class war;

total. One study found that Poles with higher education were three times more likely to be party members than those with only elementary schooling. Party activists were even more likely to come from the ranks of white-collar experts; among technicians and engineers, one in 15 was a party activist, as against one in 75 skilled workers, and only one in 198 unskilled workers.<sup>15</sup>

It would be totally vulgar materialist, however, to look at these figures strictly from the point of view of class composition of the party. Whatever the composi-



Striking workers of URSUS tractor factory reading Solidarity newspaper, "Niezaleznose" during 4-hour warning strike on March 27.

on the other hand, specifically military methods of operation are least of all applicable to the trade unions. On the one hand, they must be able to adapt themselves to the masses, to their level; on the other hand, they must never pander to the prejudices and backwardness of the masses, but steadily raise them to a higher and higher level, etc., etc.

"These contradictions are no accident, and they will persist for several decades. For, in the first place, these are contradictions peculiar to any school. And the trade unions are a school of communism. It cannot be expected that the majority of the working people will reach a higher stage of development and discard all traces of vestiges of the "school" for grown-ups, before several decades have passed. Secondly, for as long as survivals of capitalism and small production remain, contradictions between them and the young shoots of socialism are inevitable throughout the social system.

"Two practical conclusions must be drawn from this. First, for the successful conduct of trade unions' activities, it is not enough to understand their functions correctly, it is not enough to organize them properly. In addition, special tact is required, ability to approach the masses in a special way in each individual case for the purpose of raising these masses to a higher cultural, economic and political stage with the minimum of friction.

"Second, the afore-mentioned contradictions will inevitably give rise to disputes, disagreements, friction, etc. A higher body is required with sufficient authority to settle these at once. This higher body is the Communist Party and the international federation of the Communist Parties of all countries — the Communist International."

The problem is that because of its bureaucratic line, the PUWP has lost the authority to settle these "disputes, disagreements, friction." Solidarity is now independent of the party precisely because the party's incorrect lines have driven the workers away from its leadership.

One reason for the gap between the party and the workers is that the class composition of the PUWP has become increasingly non-worker. In 1945 non-manual employees accounted for less than 10% of the party membership; by 1961 they made up almost 43% of the

tion of a party, the main question is political line. From these figures, however, we can see some effect of the revisionist line of the PUWP.

It reflects the PUWP's increasing distance from the masses of workers. The workers, especially the advanced, most class conscious, are driven to oppose the party's revisionist line.

## Agreement Between Solidarity and the Government a First Step

It would be anarcho-syndicalism to say that this state of affairs is preferable. The Polish workers, like all workers, need their vanguard party. The unions, which are mass organizations encompassing the majority of the proletariat and correctly not requiring its members to be communist, are incapable of running the state machinery today.

The fact remains, however, that the workers do want the ability to supervise the government and the party and to protect their interests against the bureaucracy.

This is the thrust and significance of the agreement reached between Solidarity and the government last August. The following appeared in the New York Times on Aug. 31, 1980:

"GDANSK, Poland, Aug. 30—Following, in unofficial translation, are excerpts from the draft agreement between the Polish government and the Interfactory Strike Committee:

"The activities of trade unions in Poland have not fulfilled the workers' expectations. Therefore, it is considered useful to set up new self-governing trade unions that would be genuine representatives of the working class.

"We do not dispute anyone's right to stay in the old union, and in the future there might even be cooperation between the two unions.

"In setting up the independent, self-governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee states that they will observe the Polish Constitution. The new unions will defend the social and material interests of working people, and they have no intention of playing the role of



# nd? PART II

a political party.

"They accept the principle of nationalized means of production, which is the basis of Poland's social system.

## Party's Leading Role Stressed

**T**hey recognize that the Polish Communist Party plays a leading role in the state and they do not challenge existing international alliances.

"They strike to give working people appropriate means of control, to express their opinions and defend their interests.

"The Government commission states that the Government will guarantee the freedom and independence of the new unions in both structure and organization.

"The existing strike committee will turn themselves into founding organs of the new trade unions. The new trade unions should have a real opportunity to publicly express an opinion on key decisions that determine the living conditions of working people, the principle under which the national income is divided into consumption and investment, how the social consumption fund (health, education, culture) is divided, the basic principles of income and wage policy, especially the principle of automatic wage indexation in conditions of inflation, long-term economic plans, and investment policy and price changes."

## Study Center is Projected

"The Government guarantees that it will insure that the provisions are carried out.

"The workers' committee will set up a center for study of social affairs whose aim is to analyze objectively the situation of the workers, the living conditions of working people and the methods of representing the working people. It will carry out expert analyses on indexing prices and wages and will propose forms of compensation. It will publish the results of this finding and the new unions will have their own publications.

"The right to strike will be guaranteed in a law on trade unions that is being prepared. The law will determine the condition under which strikes are organized and proclaimed, methods for resolving conflicts and responsibility for infractions of the law."

## Is There a Structural Guarantee for Socialism, For the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

The agreement between Solidarity and the Polish government is a solid first step. Its implementation will certainly require vigilance and further struggle by the workers.

This brings us to a fundamental and important question facing socialist societies—is there a structural guarantee for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat? Can revolutionary committees, Soviets or independent unions as in Poland serve as such structural guarantees?

This question has been addressed recently by Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the Communist Workers Party and head of its Central Committee.

He said, "there is no structural guarantee, no organizational guarantee to socialism. Our party's experience shows that. There needs to be both ideological/political line and organization. Both are indispensable. Political line without organization to implement it, to spread it, to consolidate it, to clothe it, cannot be turned into a material force.

"On the other hand, organization without political line is useless. In fact, it will serve reactionary ends. There is no organizational structure that guarantees democracy, to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat. You need both under socialism.

"There must be organizational guarantees such as ability to vote somebody out of power, and regularly scheduled congresses—in other words, the norm of democratic centralism. If there is no party congress, no Central Committee plenary scheduled on a regular basis, then questions drag on and on with no chance to vote on them. Organizational structure is a necessary condition for the implementation of the line.

"In China, that particular structure was abused after the Cultural Revolution. Basically a whole generation of cadres who held opposing views or had differences of opinion were purged. There was no way to have debate and democracy with the opposition. That's the result of

obsession with and uptightness over the ideological line—thinking that any shade in line leads to restoration of capitalism without considering the material enforcement of socialism, the workers' interest and building the organization to protect it. Not seeing the positive independent momentum of socialism and of the socialist state, leads to an abnormal internal life of the party. That's how democracy can be abused and was abused in China after the 9th Congress and that's why struggle has to be on a line basis.

"You can't prosecute people for holding a different line, a different opinion or a different belief under socialism unless they engage in active sabotage, carry out the other line in practice and violate democratic centralism. You cannot prosecute a different line. Line has to be debated on line-basis and everybody has the right to hold a different line under socialism. That's why we oppose the prosecution of the so-called Gang of Four — because it was based on their line and not on what they did. They are accused of individually executing different people, but those acts were based on the prevailing line of the Central Committee of the Political Bureau. The problem is that the majority of revisionists in power today did not dare raise differences. So it was the nominal majority view. Even though the line caused damage, under those conditions you should not prosecute people because that was the line. They are equally responsible for it. That's where the organizational structural guarantee comes in, though they do not guarantee the change in line itself. But there should be protection for people who hold different lines—physical protection, and then prosecution of people who practiced different lines. That's the only way to have genuine socialist democracy.

"There is a question as to whether they should remain in the party. But even if they're not allowed to stay in the party, their right to express different views and different lines must be insured. The only way the party can truly maintain itself as the vanguard party is if it can successfully combat their line and their influence without shutting somebody up, and by actually winning the masses over to its line instead of allowing them to be influenced by the incorrect line."

**H**e continued by saying that the ideological/political guarantee is a true vanguard—i.e., the most advanced, most farsighted in the party, particularly in the Central Committee and in top leadership positions. To raise the political level of the people as a whole, you have to constantly raise the masses' theoretical and cultural level. That's what the campaign to study the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in China was about. The study classes on the job with pay are very necessary.

There is no concentric attack in China or the Soviet Union now because there are no theoretical/ideological/political components to the masses' lives. There is excessive concern for economic construction.

In the last few weeks, there were signs of change in China — emphasis on politics, curtailment of imports and undoing many of the effects of the revisionist line such as giving the law of value free rein (under which each unit would request and negotiate separately with foreign countries to import advanced technology to the point where they cannot pay for it anymore.) This method of doing things does not proceed from the concrete conditions in China. There are some signs of correction in China, but not in the Soviet Union, at least not up to now. Of course, the socialist material basis is stronger in the Soviet Union than in China. The public ownership (state ownership) of the means of production extends to greater realms and is more thoroughgoing than in China.

One aspect of the organizational guarantee is making sure that socialist legality is established—policies, and set procedures. All will be judged as equals by socialist legality. One problem of mass democracy during the Cultural Revolution was formulating new laws and new policies with a different set of values. It's one thing to overthrow and knock down, to drag down, demote, and purge but it's quite another to establish positive organizational policies and socialist legality. Without them there will inevitably be an arbitrary style of decision-making. That's another essential element in safeguarding democracy under socialism.

## Conclusion

In the final analysis the PUWP still must repudiate its revisionist lines and take extreme measures to correct its mistakes. The party must win the advanced workers and through them the masses of the Polish workers by an all-rounded concentric attack in all spheres—political, economic, organizational, cultural, and ideological. Only thus can the situation be rectified and the party regain the moral authority and leadership of the workers upon which its political power depends.

For precisely these reasons Mao summed up the need for and then led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. Though there were problems in implementing it, it opened up a great debate over the line of the Communist Party of China, mobilizing and educating hundreds of millions of the masses in the process. And it reinvigorated the communist movement worldwide, stultified by the revisionist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Krushchev.

Given the situation in Poland, does the PUWP have any other choice? □

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**Jerry Tung  
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# The Origins of the McCarthy Era —Part II

## War at Home — Hot and Cold

### May Quan

Just as revolutions brewed in France, Italy and Greece after World War II, the U.S. was also affected by similar conditions, though not nearly so deeply. In 1945, the U.S. ruling circles knew they would face fierce opposition at home after the war. Although they still had no clear ideas as to the depth of the crisis worldwide, they did perceive that they had to attack two obstacles to avoid postwar crisis. One was the leadership of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which in 1937, led hundreds of thousands of people under the banner "Forward to a Soviet America." After the war, its membership had risen to its all time high of 74,000. Secondly, the bourgeoisie knew it had to strike at the workers' spontaneous resistance and basic organization, the trade unions, whose membership had also risen by the war's end.

By 1950-54, what is popularly known as the McCarthy era, the ruling class had smashed the independent organizations of the workers, and driven the CP into hiding. However, the period immediately preceding McCarthyism, was one of destabilization and of crisis. 1945-50 had the biggest strike waves in U.S. history, and with it the working class's great hopes and promise. As the workers and capitalists confronted each other in massive strikes, the period also saw some of the workers' greatest shame, the capitulation of the Communist Party, U.S.A. These five years are most crucial to understanding why McCarthyism came about.

The CP's capitulation to the bourgeoisie and to the McCarthy attacks, left the workers leaderless and disorganized. This situation led to the rout culminating in 1950 when McCarthy started his speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, by claiming to have in his hand a list of 205 people known to Secretary of State Dean Acheson to be Communists and still working in the State Department.

This three-part series examines the period that created the McCarthy era. In part I (Workers Viewpoint, May 25), we examined the U.S. bourgeoisie and summed up that the U.S. capitalists, although the strongest capitalists worldwide, were weak in comparison to the strength garnered by socialism and the Soviet Union during and after the war. The U.S. capitalists reacted in large part to crisis after crisis after the war.

### Workers Rally Around 30% Demand

In 1941, as part of their pledge to fight fascism, the unions agreed to a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war. As the war drew to a close in 1944-45, wildcat strikes, called "quickie strikes," became more frequent and more common. By 1945, both labor and the capitalists girded for a showdown after the war's end and the ending of the no-strike pledge loomed.

The war's end brought the biggest strike wave ever in American history. 3.5 million workers struck in 1945. In 1946, 4.6 million more workers struck. Strike figures since have never been so high.

The strike wave concentrated in basic industries. For the first time, General Motors, then America's largest industrial corporation, was completely shut down. The steel strike in 1946, was the largest to this day. All four major rubber companies were struck at the same time. 43,000 oil workers walked on Sept. 17. Railroad workers hit the bricks as did textile, electrical, maritime and lumber workers, meatpackers, truck drivers and city utility workers.

Almost every strike rallied to the same demand — 30% increase in wages. The strikes lasted four times the length of war-time strikes. And they won tremendous victories in their wages.

These concessions were wrung not just from the capitalists, but from the government. Strikers came into direct conflict with the government. The government exercised wartime powers in peacetime, and demanded that workers halt strikes "against the government," and sent the Navy to seize the oil fields from striking oil workers. When railroad workers struck on May 23, 1946, halting rail traffic from coast to coast, Truman threatened to send the troops to run the rails, and to draft all strikers. Although they belonged to one of the most conservative unions, the railroad workers defied Truman's seizure of the railroads for over 48 hours before returning to work. Even though Truman seized the mines, and sent 150 soldiers to Madisonville, Kentucky, 400,000 striking miners forced the government to accede to their demand for a health and welfare fund — the first ever in their history and for decades the best in any industry — to be paid by a small levy on each ton of coal mined.

### Basis For Strike Wave

Why were the workers so relentless and determined to win their demands? During the war, workers' overall incomes rose and employment also rose, but the exploitation of more and more people by government force had increased. The workers footed the enormous costs of WWII — 41% of the war costs were paid by taxes. Taxation was for the first time extended to the lowest income brackets, taxing broader strata of people, while industry received 400% returns through more favorable tax depreciation rates.

Due to the rise in inflation during the war, workers were robbed of their incomes at faster and faster rates. By 1948, food costs increased over 115% and clothing prices rose 101%.

By 1944, the monopolies began massive layoffs. Between V-E day (May 2, 1945) and V-J Day (Aug. 14, 1945), more than a million workers lost their jobs. By 1949, unemployment rose to 6%. This was the material basis for the workers' disaffection and their demands. And there were social reasons as well.

### Strike Gains Legitimacy

During the war soldiers risked and gave their lives to the fight against fascism. Families were separated for years. Women at home shouldered the entire burden of raising families, never knowing if they would be reunited with their men again. Indeed many were not reunited. The people made Herculean sacrifice to fight for a world without fascism, to end war and to live a better life in peace.

Congress's proposal in 1945, to maintain high levels of troops abroad to stave off revolution in other

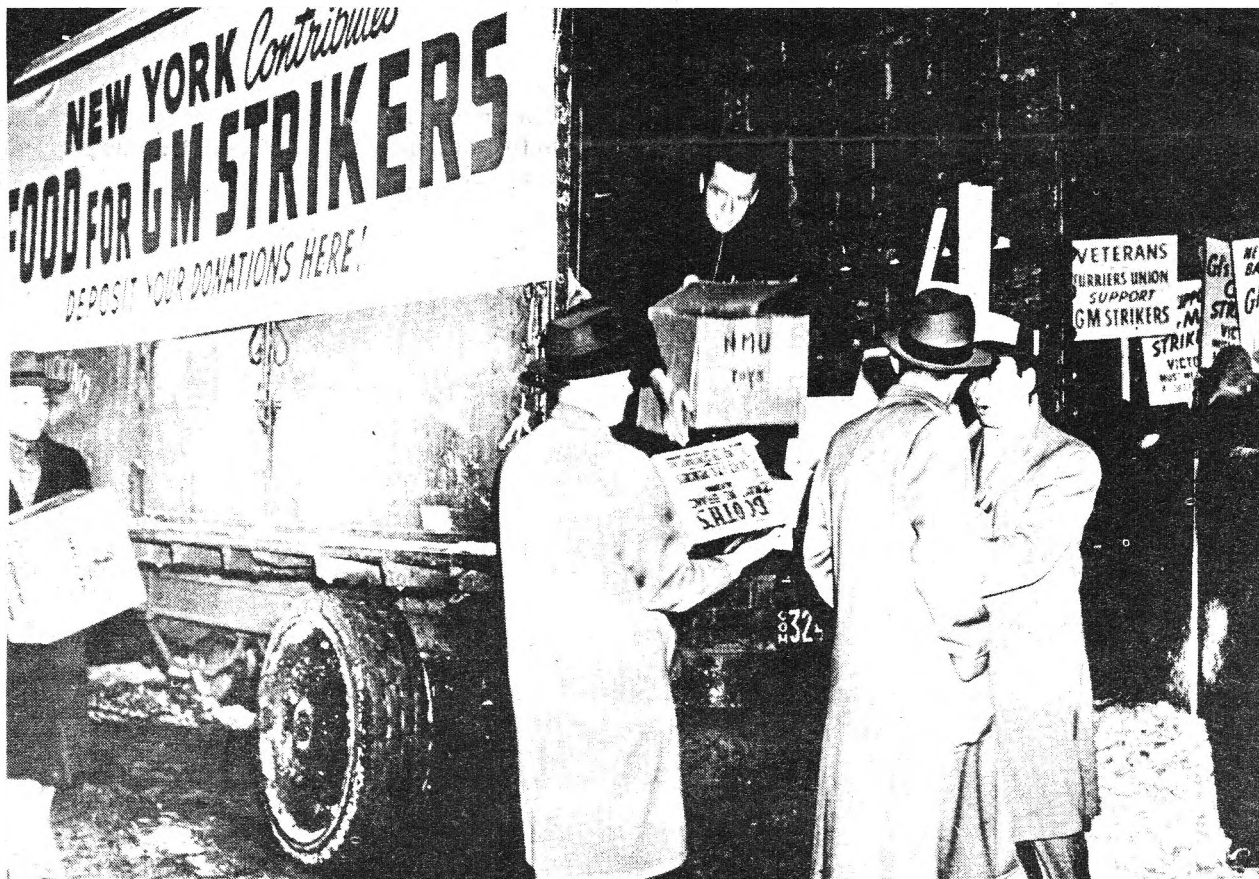
This same sentiment forced Congress to vote down Truman's proposal for a peacetime draft in 1946.

The strike wave of 1945-46 became a legitimate avenue of dissent for GIs. They went from the front lines to the unemployment lines. Instead, many stood picket line duty, wearing their uniforms and carrying picket signs reading, "From Bullets to Bull" and "One Front Now — For a Living Wage." In Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York and Illinois, war veterans marched and paraded on city halls to back the strikers' demands to halt police intimidation and for employment.

While a "full employment" bill was hotly debated in Congress, there were mass demonstrations of jobless CIO members. On Aug. 21, 1945, some 7,000 CIO workers demonstrated through Chicago's Loop with banners, "Negro and White Unite for Jobs." Richard T. Frankenstein, the United Auto Workers First Vice-President, who had won the most votes in the Aug. 7 primaries for mayor of Detroit (he lost the election 274,455 to 216,917) demanded that \$30 billion in unspent war appropriation be used for severance pay for the jobless.

50,000 people filled New York's Madison Square Garden; 25,000 shipyard workers marched on Aug. 28 in Camden, N.J.; 30,000 marched in San Francisco. In Detroit on Sept. 4, more than 20,000 marched to Cadillac Square to join scores of thousands demonstrating against layoffs of 300,000 from the war plants.

The support for the strike wave broadened and became even more legitimate as mass and citywide strikes were held to support it. On Jan. 3, 1945, in Stamford, Ct., 30 local unions of the CIO and AFL combin-



1945 and 1946 strikes received broad support and respect. Unions in New York collected food and toys to be distributed at Christmas.

countries, fueled a surge of protest "to bring the boys home" that pressured the Pentagon to release 12 million soldiers at one time instead of discharging 2 million soldiers over a period of a year as they had proposed. It was partly proletarian internationalism when GIs staged protests to return home from Guam, the Phillipines and China.

After hearing a long anti-Soviet tirade about why the troops had to remain in Rome after the war, one soldier remarked, "I thought we were allies fighting one war. I've never been told there was any possibility of a war with Russia over some mystical ground about fundamental differences from the American way of life. Has the U.S. government been fooling me?"

According to Drew Pearson, on Sept. 15, 1945, when General Harry Lewis Twaddle, commander of the Ninety-Fifth Division, assembled the troops to explain occupation duty in Japan, "The boos from the soldiers were so prolonged and frequent, it took him 40 minutes to deliver a 15-minute speech." It struck the soldiers most sharply after the war they were protecting other peoples interests, not their own.

ed in a 24-hour general strike to aid 3,000 striking machinists against the brutality of city and state police. In Lancaster, Pa., workers engaged in a two-day citywide strike and demonstration on Feb. 1946 to stop police attacks on AFL transit strikers, and to win a contract for them. An estimated 20,000 AFL and CIO workers struck and demonstrated in Houston on Feb. 26, to force City Hall to deal with 700 striking members of the AFL City-County Employees Unions.

This surge in mass activity was channelled into the demand of 30% wage increases. It focused on the crisis of the U.S. economy, which was driven by inflation and unemployment. An underlying cause was the massive anti-fascist sentiment for greater democracy and better living standards. During the wartime years, many had joined the CP. They sought new ideas and new solutions. Many examined the Soviet Union, probing and questioning the ideas of communism.

### Crisis Inevitable

The ruling circles were driven into more of a frenzy. On one hand, without the government's force and



troops they doubtless could not have withstood labor's demands as long as they did. On the other hand, they demanded an end to price controls and government regulation. With the demand for consumer production, small monopolies saw it as a chance to recoup losses during the war. The biggest monopolies who had benefited the most off war contracts saw it as a chance to mop up.

In 1946, spokesmen of the manufacturing and business organizations appeared before hearings of the House Banking and Currency Committee and threatened continuation and the withholding of consumer goods unless the already flimsy price controls were eliminated. In 1946, the meat industry withheld 90% of all its meat from the market and curtailed production to press Truman to end price controls.

The U.S. capitalists could only go in one direction to step up their attack on the working class.

**Public Opinion Fluid; Capitalists Whip Up Counter-Trend**

After the end of WWII, the U.S. monopoly capitalists worked overtime to swing public opinion in their favor. The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM, which represented over 17,000 affiliated companies of which 60 were dominant), spent several million dollars every year stimulating the belief that the Wagner Act, the union shop and the repeal of the "right to work" laws were all products of Moscow's machinations. Also, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce initiated its own campaign. In December 1945, it commissioned a report on the menace of socialism to Europe and its effect upon this country. They published two influential booklets, "Communist Infiltration of the U.S.," in 1946, and "Communists Within the Labor Movement," in 1947; both sold 500,000 copies.

The newspapers reported that this tactic was not working given the prestige of the Soviet Union in the United States. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, a leading correspondent of the New York Times, wrote on March 21, 1946, "The momentum of pro-Soviet feeling worked up during the war to support the Grand Alliance had continued too heavily after the armistice. This made it difficult for the Administration to carry out the stiffer diplomatic policy required now. For this reason, these observers believe, a campaign was worked up to obtain a better psychological balance of public opinion." In 1947, Senator Vandenberg told Truman, if he expected to get the spending appropriations for Europe from Congress, he would have to "scare the hell out of the country."

Public opinion remained fluid. On March 5, 1946, Truman imported Churchill to his hometown of Fulton, Mo., to give his "Iron Curtain" speech in which he denounced "communist fifth columns" which were "everywhere." The public sentiment against Churchill's speech was so great that even Truman had to disassociate himself from the speech. Undersecretary of State, Dean Acheson, excused himself from even appearing at a dinner given for Churchill in New York. At first the polls showed that 40% of the public opposed Churchill's speech and only 18% favored it. Yet a month later, another poll showed 85% approving Churchill's speech.

Another indication of the fluid public opinion was a 1945 poll in which only 3% believed that a new war was inevitable. By 1948, the figure had risen to 32%.

While in 1946, workers threw their huge weight in protest focusing on the economic situation, Truman and the red-baiters harped most successfully on one theme, that American democracy, the American way of life had defeated fascism, and it was the only way for the whole world, and it was unbeatable. By tying this theme to international issues about which people knew relatively less than their immediate experience with the economy, the bourgeoisie were also able to whip up a backward counter-trend of chauvinism and patriotism.

This can be seen in the red-baiting work of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the work of the reactionary Father Rice, who lobbied opinion in the unions, tying Communism and the alleged persecution of Catholics in Eastern Europe. For example, in Pittsburgh, the left had built up a considerable following among the Polish, Croatian and Hungarian working class communities during the war. By 1947, Pittsburgh was awash in anti-communist red-baiting in response to the capitalists' portrayals of the martyrdom of Cardinal Mindszenty and Archbishop Stepinac.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion went on witch hunts of their own. Their favorite speaker was J. Edgar Hoover who announced at their convention in 1947 that the 74,000 American Communists — the "masters of deceit," the ultimate threat to Western civilization and its "Judaic-Christian heritage" — represented a larger percentage of the population than Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1917. These organizations contended for the leadership of veterans. In Oct. 1947, 5,000 vets in Trenton, N.J., prevented the Mercer County CP organization from meeting to hear Gerhart Eisler, a well-known communist.

Anti-semitism and racism raged. Out of 29 Post Office employees under investigation for disloyalty in Cleveland, four were Jews, and 23 were blacks. There



These pickets of Local 93 UAW in Kansas City were typical of those across the country.

were 142 lynchings of blacks. By 1951, when the CP and independent unions were pretty much dismantled, the violence peaked. In 1951, seven black men were electrocuted for a rape which never occurred. Also in 1951, H.T. Moore, a black NAACP leader in Florida and his wife were murdered in a brutal bombing.

Violence against communists and progressives seethed. The government initiated its attack through the 1947 indictments of 14 communist leaders, the Congressional Hollywood 10 hearings, and investigation by Immigration and Naturalization into the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. In 1949, a mob attacked Paul Robeson at a concert in Peekskill, N.Y., which 15,000 people attended. Henry Wallace's 1948 Progressive Party presidential campaign was met with guns in West Virginia, kidnappings in Georgia, and stonings in Illinois. Robert Now, a 28-year-old port agent of the National Maritime Union and chairman of the local Wallace-for-President Committee, was murdered in cold blood by an anti-communist member of the NMU.

As Truman came out with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan which played up both chauvinistic and humanitarian sentiments of the workers, he quickly enacted a great deal of the legislative and executive machinery later to be used full force in the McCarthy Era. Ten days after he proclaimed the Truman Doctrine, he signed Executive Order 7835 which established the loyalty and security program for all federal employees, and he revived the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. The same act established the CIA.

By 1946, although the CIO had begun to attack communists and militants, the Marshall Plan was used to force through acceptance of the Taft-Hartley Act and of the ousting of communists and wayward unions from the CIO.



Anti-communists picket 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at Waldorf-Astoria, New York City. The picket sign protests attendance of Dimitri Shostakovich, great Soviet composer, at conference. The State Department had led the attack on the conference by raising they would deny entry to some foreign intellectuals to attend the conference because Russia was even worse about allowing free entry. Anti-communist intellectuals like Arthur Schlesinger, Mary McCarthy and Sidney Hook joined in attacking the conference.

**Appearance and Essence of Workers' Sentiments**

By 1947, William Z. Foster, Communist Party leader and leading party theoretician, concluded that the workers had, in today's terms, "turned to the right." He wrote, "Not only have these two parties (Democrat and Republican) succeeded in winning the open political allegiance of the vast bulk of trade union members and leaders, but they have also definitely stamped their capitalist ideology upon the workers' organizations... With American capitalism in this relatively favorable position, there has been a tendency for our trade union leadership (also the workers) to look away from socialism or even the nationalization of industry under capitalism and to fall victims to the capitalist illusions so assiduously cultivated during recent decades in the United States."

Foster misread the entire situation. The question was not whether the masses were won to socialism or not, and it was not whether the masses turned right or left on their positions. Only the most advanced among the people will really understand the idea of socialism and communism and propagate it among the masses. The masses on the other hand, mostly unfamiliar with socialism, will not make revolution by ideals, but will make revolution by necessity. Their stands will not be so clear cut as pro-socialism or pro-capitalism, but will voice the demands they see as necessary for their survival.

McCarthyism had no mandate from the people. In 1945-46, and up to 1947, the unions and the workers' spontaneous consciousness was even stronger than before the war due to the rise in union membership, the prestige of the Soviet Union and the masses' immediate experience with war. The strike wave of 1945-46 shows that the workers were determined to fight, that their demands gained broad support and legitimacy from other strata of the population.

The fact that the government nationalized four industries in response to strikes shows that they were in a weak position, something the workers could take better advantage of if they had had the leadership. The fact that the capitalists whipped up vicious anti-communism, chauvinism and racism shows the bourgeoisie was forced to contend for public opinion only through force, and the most vicious reaction and intimidation.

Even though the government took advantage of the respect people had for it built up from the war, people continued to resist it even at the height of anti-communist hysteria. 212,000 miners left the mines in protest of the Taft-Hartley Act, which restricted the unions' right to organize, restricted plant elections, restricted strikes and union political actions. It also required union officials to sign non-communist affidavits and gave Truman the right to nationalize industries. The miners just said, "Let Taft and Hartley mine the coal." On July 4, 1947, CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding workers called out some 132,000 east coast workers for 84 days despite Taft-Hartley threats.

Even the Korean war, at the height of McCarthyism, was very touch and go for the bourgeoisie in rallying the people's support. In Nov. 1951, one year after the Korean war had begun, 56% of the people thought the war "utterly useless," according to a Gallup poll. One month later, a poll showed 70% favoring a power peace conference. Eisenhower was elected mainly because of his campaign promise to go to Korea to help negotiate an end to the war.

Long before Foster's statements in 1947 the CP had given up the fight. By their own admission, they state, "In the Party and the Left especially from 1949 to 1953, there were strong tendencies to view war and fascism as inevitable." Their capitulation, which was fostered long before McCarthyism, led to workers being defenseless and leaderless in face of the bourgeoisie's vicious counter-attack. More on the Communist Party, U.S.A. in Part III.



# American Journal

## Joseph Pulitzer and Elijah P. Lovejoy

David Armstrong

The furor over the Pulitzer Prize awarded to the *Washington Post*, then withdrawn when it turned out the winning reporter made up her story, has certainly dimmed the luster of journalism's highest honor. I respect many winners of the Pulitzer, despite the Janet Cooke affair, and I'll continue to think of the prize, by and large, as an honorable one. I must confess, though, to being as amused as I am appalled by the story behind the "story," because it's not terribly out of character with the kind of journalism practiced by Joseph Pulitzer, the man after whom the prize is named.

Pulitzer made his mark first in St. Louis, then in New York City, in the late 19th century. He didn't exactly fictionalize the news in his papers, but he did embellish and create it when it suited him, which was often. Pulitzer's papers, particularly the flagship *New York World*, were filled with stories of grisly murders and sordid "love nests," mixed with crusades against corrupt politicians, and high-minded editorials that contrasted strangely with the bilge of the front page. The result was an amazingly successful blend that gave the *World* a daily circulation of over one million.

When there weren't enough sensational stories to hype, Pulitzer wasn't above staging stunts and calling them news. In 1889, he sent reporter Nellie Bly around the world with the object of returning in fewer than the 80 days of Jules Verne's popular novel. Feverish reports of Bly's progress filled the *World's* news columns for weeks, along with the usual formula of sex, violence and sports. This is the news-by-titillation that came to be known as "yellow journalism."

Yellow journalism reached its sleazy nadir in the late 1890s, when Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, locked in a circulation war in New York, egged the United States into a pointless war with Spain. Both papers supported the war enthusiastically, until Pulitzer, mindful of the increasing costs of maintaining fleets of correspondents and high-speed technology, decided that peace was better for business — his own. Pulitzer lived out his last years as a Howard Hughes-like figure, restlessly crossing and recrossing the ocean and editing the *World* by memorandum, as he fought approaching blindness and a pitiless nervous disorder. He died in 1911.

As a journalist, Pulitzer was not known for his dedication to fact. He did, however, make enough money to endow the Columbia University School of Journalism, which still administers the Pulitzer

Prizes. That's why they're named after him.

Better, in my view, that awards of such noble purpose be named after someone worthy of the altruistic ideals that journalists ceaselessly proclaim to anyone who will listen. My nominee for that honor is another St. Louis journalist, not as well remembered as the late press lord, but more fit, by far, to be remembered as representative of all that's best in journalism. His name is Elijah Lovejoy.

Lovejoy journeyed to St. Louis in the early 1830s from his native Maine, where he was born to an old New England family. A graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, Lovejoy went west to do God's work, and saw, first-hand, the scourge of black slavery. Convinced that slaveholding was a sin, Lovejoy thundered against the peculiar institution in a newspaper he edited called the *Observer*. When citizens of the slave state of Missouri took exception to his views and destroyed his printing press, Lovejoy fled St. Louis for the town of Alton, just across the river in the free state of Illinois.

The crusading minister thought he would be safe there. He was wrong. His press was destroyed twice more by local burghers, and he was told to get out of

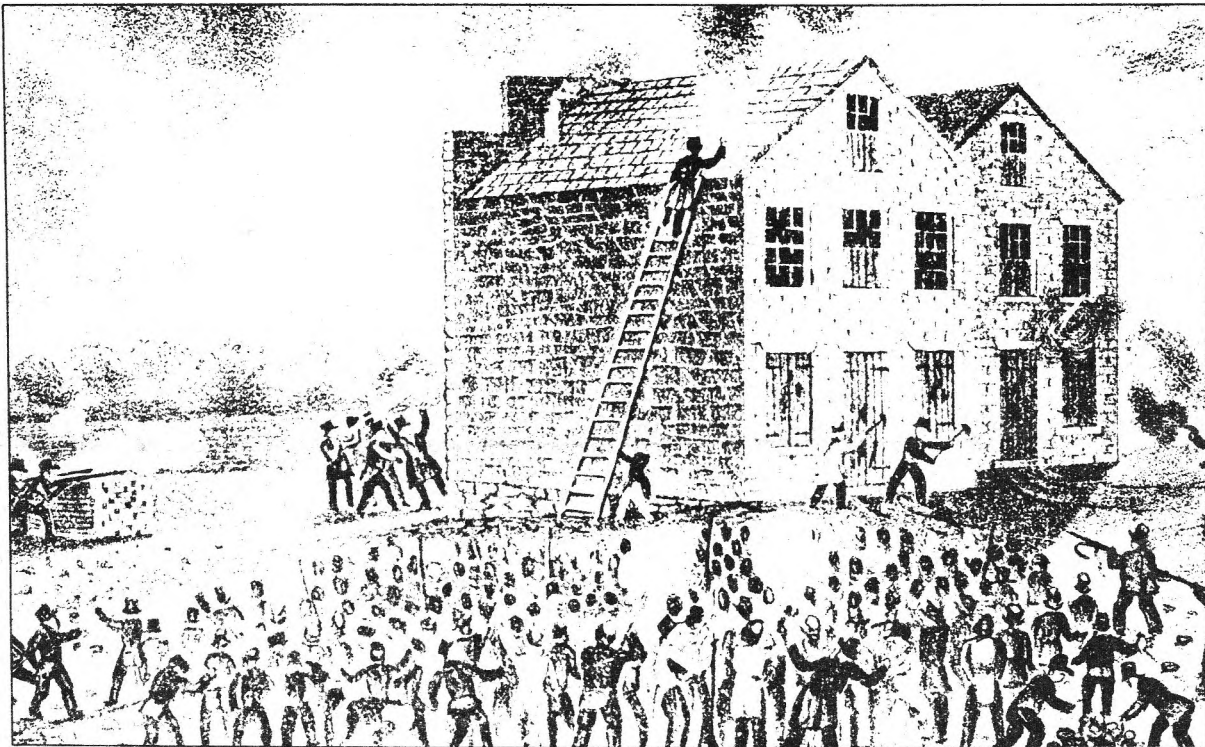
town. Lovejoy refused, replying eloquently that, "I fear God more than I fear man. . . There is no way to escape the mob, but to abandon the path of duty; and that, God helping me, I will never do. . . If I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton."

Lovejoy did die in Alton, on the cold, moonlit night of Nov. 7, 1837, his body riddled with five bullets taken while defending, with a gun, his fourth printing press from a pro-slavery mob. After the editor fell, his press was again destroyed. A witness reported that the mob was by then quiet and "seemed to be happy while engaged in breaking it to pieces."

But if Lovejoy's murder momentarily quieted a racist mob, it inspired the abolitionist movement to greater efforts. The slaves were freed 30 years later, of course, though not in the peaceful, rational way Lovejoy had envisioned, but through a terrible Civil War. The editor had become a martyr both to racial equality and freedom of the press.

Elijah Lovejoy is an authentic hero of American journalism and politics. It is he, and persons like him, for whom prestigious awards should be named, not promoters of self-serving sensationalism and stunts. If the name Pulitzer represents what American journalism has become, Lovejoy invokes visions of what it could be. □

*David Armstrong's column, "American Journal" is carried by a diverse group of 30 alternative and college papers around the country.*



A mob killed abolitionist newspaper editor Lovejoy and destroyed his press.

# women hold up half the sky

## Organizing Clericals: Labor's New Frontier

Sara Anderson

Recently the *Workers Viewpoint* received this letter from a Los Angeles secretary:

On April 22, National Secretaries Day was celebrated throughout the country. I was not taken to lunch by my boss or given roses in appreciation. But that didn't really matter. Instead, I attended a celebration rally of 200 secretaries sponsored by Los Angeles Working Women. It is an organization that defends the basic rights of office workers, such as equal pay for equal work. The main slogan of the event was "We want Raises, not Roses!"

The main guest speaker was none other than Gov. Jerry Brown. He didn't even address the abuses secretaries face on the job, such as sexual harassment and lower pay scales. All he did was talk abstractly about changing people's way of thinking.

Irene Hirano, from the Commission on the Status of Women, spoke about the tremendous injustices that we face day to day. Secretaries make only 3¢ for every dollar an executive makes and without us the bosses could not do their job. The average salary for an office worker is \$9,000/year.

I work for one of the largest oil corporations internationally. There is no union. Although they are feeling the pinch of the economic crisis also, they are in a better position to pay their employees more than the average office worker with decent benefits. Still the discontent of the workers at my job surfaced when I came back from the rally with a poster stating "Raises not Roses." One worker immediately taped it to my desk. Another suggested that I tape it to my boss' door to make sure that he saw it.

This is despite the fact that the company pays us more than the average worker (we still live from paycheck to paycheck) and despite the image of a "Human Rights Oil Corporation" they try to portray.

As the economic situation gets worse and ever larger corporations go under, we will need an organization like Working Women to fight for the basic needs and interests of the workers.

In Unity,  
M.T.

Working Women is a national women's organization of 10,000 members that has taken the lead in organizing around issues affecting clerical workers. Through this work it has made an important contribution to the women's movement by focusing the general demands of women — such as an end to sexual harassment and for job training — into demands to be fought for on the job. On March 3, Working Women took a step further to back up these demands with organizational clout. They joined with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) to form a clerical union, Local 925. Working Women will continue to be an independent women's group but will work with Local 925 to help organize clericals, both women and men.

Jackie Ruff, the Executive Director of Local 925, told *Workers Viewpoint*, "We felt that it would be best to have one place to refer women to, because what's needed is collective bargaining." She said that since the local was set up, their office in Washington, D.C. has been deluged with requests for organizing

continued on page 13



# CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE

## The Meaning of Reagan's Cuts in the arts

### Art Sans

As with most other areas of the proposed budget cuts, Reagan's reductions in the arts are aimed at programs which serve minorities, rural and working people, students, non-establishment artists and small community arts organizations. Elite culture and programs and institutions which cater to that public are reasonably protected, as they will be able to obtain corporate or foundation support to compensate for lost federal money or are secure, proud temples of high art — major symphonies, museums, dance companies, a handful of non-controversial "national treasures."

The proposed public corporation for the arts will be directed by Charlton Heston and it will replace the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Heston, whose principle image as an actor came from his Moses role in Cecil B. deMille's, *THE TEN COMMANDMENTS*, will once again climb the highest mountain and speak down to the people. That is the kind of grandeur and scorn Reagan's arts budget seeks to impose on the country. Gone will be support for many grass roots and community organizations producing art which considers political, feminist, anti-nuclear or other controversial issues. Support will be withdrawn from many independent literary publishers of books and periodicals. Gone will be many celebrations, festivals, and workshops gathering folk artists or exhibiting their careful, noncommercial artistry. And gone will be small, fledgling, non-profit community theaters, video collectives like Cleveland's New Organization For the Visual Arts (NOVA), and theaters for the handicapped like the Detroit Sign Company and Memphis' Show of Hands Circuit Playhouse — groups whose budgets are dependent on government money to a greater degree than major arts institutions. Now that the Gramm-Latta budget has cleared the House of Representatives, we can assume that programs will get pretty much what Budget Director David Stockman has been saying right along — and Stockman began by calling the National Endowment of the Arts and its sister-bureaucracy, the National Endowment for the Humanities, "the National Endowment for the Frills." Reportedly, Stockman's original goal was to completely axe both Endowments — to cut Federal arts and humanities aid to zero. That would amount to an annual savings of \$300 million, though when the projected cuts were announced last February he had restored about half the money. The anticipated \$150-200 million cut amounts to a tiny .03% of total Federal spending. However, it is a razor across the neck of many struggling artists and community organizations.

National organizations like Poets & Writers and the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines (important clearing houses and information centers for writers and publishers) will be hard-pressed to survive. Alternative exhibition areas like Cleveland's SPACES, an experimental visual and performing artists gallery organized in the late 1970's, can't shrink or "trim off the fat." "We can't cut staff — I'm it!"

says director Rob Mihaly. SPACES relies on government grants for 48% of its budget. The Dayton Contemporary Dance Company, a 23-member modern dance group, gets 33% of its funds from the federal government. "It would be like losing an arm or leg," says managing director Francine Cummings.

The effect in smaller cities and rural areas will be most severe. Bill Talbot, assistant administrative director of the Cleveland Art Museum dismissed the government's argument that private support is readily available — "private donors and corporations look for where they will have the most visibility in their gifts and that is in the big cities. The ones in outlying areas will suffer more." Touring cultural groups, exhibitions, orchestras, and artists-in-the-schools programs will seldom find financing to leave the major metropolitan areas and the sterile and phoney culture sold by the multinationals' entertainment industry will be much of what's accessible to the people.

The NEA originated with Johnson's Great Society legislation and had an original 1965 budget of \$2.5 million. By fiscal 1981 it had grown to \$159 million. Ex-President Carter boasted "we have no official art in this country and I pray we never will." Under Carter, the Endowments did respond to some demands from minority, ethnic, experimental, independent, handicapped and women's groups. Arts outreach was a policy. Reagan's approach is different. His platform denounced Carter's more liberal approach as "crudely political" and "lowering the standard of excellence." This translates as an elimination of funds for developing, newer arts groups and programs while continuing support for silk stocking groups. It means a lot of Beethoven.

Small groups, courageous emerging artists, independent publishers, and literary magazines unconnected to universities often do not have an affluent public to fall back upon. Their own resources are pushed to the limit to just keep things going. They are unlikely to attract corporate or private patronage (especially if they're controversial or political). The Endowment provided start-up money for many small arts groups. There were some scandals (the 1979/80 Literature Grants being the most publicized), flops, and silly projects as money worked its way through the bureaucratic pipelines and these will be notoriously exaggerated as examples of waste and fraud. But the cold truth is that the money got into the hands of many artists and progressive not-for-profit groups who produced a wealth of accessible, innovative culture.

Most of the big bucks went, as might be expected, to the great temples of formal art — for example the Cleveland Museum of Art and Cleveland Orchestra received over \$650,000 in 1980/81 Federal arts funds. The Cleveland Opera garnered \$84,000 in Federal funds in 80/81. These are magnificent organizations that cost a lot to maintain. The main problem posed by their receiving considerable public money is that poor, rural and work-

ing people have little access to their performances. With the upcoming reductions in NEA funds these companies will cut back on what expanded access they've planned for future seasons. Artistic director David Bamberger of the Cleveland Opera says "our program of tours to senior citizens would be an obvious if hard cut to make." Cleveland Museum of Art's Talbot says cuts "would substantially curtail our public services." Up and down the line it is the outreach programs which will be first to go — services for the blind have been dropped at one museum, free and open-to-the-public concerts at inner-city locations to be cancelled by another, tours suspended by a third.

Karamu House in Cleveland provides a model. They conduct arts workshops for children, teens and adults with a sliding-scale tuition, have a youth theater and are training a new 25-member professional company. Karamu last year received \$100,000 from NEA and \$120,000 from CETA for salary support. CETA is gone and NEA going. Drastic reductions in these monies will force abolition of the tuition scale, limit programs, and cancel the soon-to-debut professional acting company which many youths and adults have long trained for.

Another area destined to be cut will be the NEA Residencies-for-Writers program. This major Federal grant category enables non-profit organizations and public institutions from around the country to sponsor residencies and readings by American writers. These events introduce writers to new audiences in a wide range of community and institutional settings: libraries, hospitals, prisons, museums, colleges and schools. Folk art programs will be harshly curtailed — public affairs like celebrations of Black History Month, workshops in ethnic folk art and culture, bluegrass and blues festivals, performances of Native American dance. Opportunities for art and culture in not-for-profit settings will be few and far between with Reagan's scheme.

The ruling class seeks tighter control of culture with these cutbacks. They seek to impose a bourgeois norm on the country's art. We will be sold more of the stupid garbage the multinational corporations controlling the entertainment industry would like us to believe is art and culture: pin-ball parlors, dumb made-for-teevee movies, spectacles like those arts czar Heston made a career acting in, supermarket romances and melodramas marketed like chewing gum and touted as literature. Art that challenges the audience to think differently, books that break with capitalist ideology, classes that train people in traditional, highly disciplined crafts or musicianship will float dead-in-the-water. Money to train artists in the use and manipulation of expensive, advanced technology like video, film, and holography will stop. These are some of the immediate effects of the punitive cutbacks in Federal support for the Arts. □

*Art Sans is an Ohio artist and poet. Look for more of his writing in coming issues of Workers Viewpoint.*

from cities across the country.

Of the 20 million clerical workers in the country, 90% are unorganized. Many industrial unions, stung by layoffs of dues-paying members, have set their sights on this large pool of unrepresented workers. The United Steel Workers of America (USWA), the United Autoworkers (UAW) and the Teamsters have all launched organizing drives of office workers. But these efforts have been hampered by long-standing problems. One is that they don't recognize that the special job demands of working women are the best issues to organize around — maternity pay and company-provided day care for pre-school children, for example. As a rule, these unions send in national reps, mainly men who don't respect the ideas of women workers and who lack an appreciation of all-ready existing informal networks and leadership. Of those clericals, who have been organized, many have become disillusioned and disinterested in unions in general because they end up in locals dominated by male skilled workers.

Local 925 believes they can overcome these problems by letting clericals organize themselves. One reason they affiliated with SEIU (which already represents 50,000 office workers, is because the

agreement is based on giving initiative to women organizers on the issues that they think are going to be effective. Jackie Ruff says some of the main demands are job training, advancement opportunities, pay increases and flexitime, a plan for variable hours which would be a boon for workers with children.

The economic crisis is shrinking the ranks of industrial workers, but employment in the clerical sector is still growing. However, this trend doesn't signal a "health sign" for capitalism; rather, it reflects its increased reliance on the non-productive, parasitic sector of the economy to keep it going. Among the jobs in this sector are those in government and insurance.

The new technology of data processing has opened the field for more clerical jobs, although at the expense of professional ones. A bookkeeper in any large business, for example, is no longer sitting hunched over ledger books but over a computer terminal. And because this work is now considered clerical — women's work — wages have dropped accordingly.

Even though wages are low for clerical and service industry jobs, the concentration of women in

these jobs is a two-edge knife for the capitalists. While they have used the labor of women to intensify the exploitation of the whole working class; they have also created conditions for women to be permanent members of the work force. This development has been one of the most important factors advancing women's participation in social life under capitalism and has drawn together the demand for democratic rights for women with those at the work place. This trend has dramatically affected the lives of women and their families. Over half the women between the ages of 20 and 44 work fulltime. In fact, only 7% of households in the U.S. have the traditional "American family" where the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the homemaker.

The conclusion to be drawn from these developments is that organizing working women is essential. This organizing has to be based on the realities of their lives. They have to be recognized as full and equal partners of men in working class struggles. Their demands for maternity benefits, daycare, job training, must be understood as responsibilities that are social — not individual — and that they are the just demands of the American people for genuine equality. □



# Poems From Our Readers

## Memorial Day: Sights & Insights

Hot! Man, is it hot! Eighty-seven in the shade and climbing. Instead of being in the coolness of the indoors with a tall glass full of twinkling ice cradled securely in my hand, I am outdoors under the merciless rays of the sun. I am in the midst of thousands, my T-shirt plastered to my back by the sweat of effort-filled climbs up one hill and down another. I am in Prospect Park, among the workers of this city. I've been brought here by the Sounds of Summer, on this day which unofficially opens the season.

I stand at the park's entrance and take in the entire scene: splashes of brilliant colour everywhere; numerous puffs of smoke indicating individual efforts at barbecuing; an endless parade of labels: Puma, Adidas, Nike, Valenti, Jordache and so on (Heh, Lee & Converse, where have you gone?)

The music is everywhere... WABC!... WRVR... WBLS... But not one of these stations can compete with the music that calls out to me from a distance. It is the shout, the cry of bloodied fingers banging furiously away on stretched skin. It is the shout which has kept a culture alive. It is the cry of an oppressed people. It is the music of the Latin drum. Four congas, each distinct but united in its message, and its message has never been clearer to me whose ears have heard nothing but the sound of cell doors closing for so long...

There are many types of prisons under this present system. Long ago, the guardians of capitalism, the think-tanks of the exploiters, knew that the spirit of the masses was unstoppable, their thirst for justice unquenchable. So they set out to forestall the inevitable and their devious minds, long dedicated to the art of oppression, begat racism which in turn begat a warped sense of patriotism, turning white against black against brown against yellow, all in the name of America.

They put numerous pressures on the poor then flood our streets with their solve-all narcotics which begat addiction which begat high-crime which begat overcrowded prisons, full of people whose only crime was an attempt to survive. I have been in those prisons and so have you.

I have changed my name so often  
I have lost my wife and children  
But I've many friends  
And some of them are with me\*

I have suffered these changes in the course of my battles against the dreaded capitalist system. I am like the revolutionist Kim San of "The Song of Ariran."

I am no longer a son to my father nor a brother to my brother. I have lost a companion I dearly loved as a result of the war against the dealers of death and their agents. And yet I can truly say that on the day we rise and grab the sun, it will all have been worthwhile.

But today I will not recall the battles in sorrow, but in rage. I will not stare down at my needled-marked hands and mourn all I've lost. Today, Memorial Day, I will not recall the capitalist wars that destroyed so many brothers and sisters and made so many rich persons so much richer.

Instead I will allow my eyes to gaze around at the people. I will look at the youngbloods, some who carry radios bigger than themselves, and I will say to them, "the world belongs to you!"

I will gaze upon the mothers in the park who so carefully watch their precious babies. Mothers whose eyes betray a fact we already know. "Atlanta is not that far way," said Jerry Tung, and we know the killer lives in all our cities and towns.

I will gaze tearfully upon the wino, slouched on the bench, head hanging low, eyes cast to the floor. He has given up, perhaps, so I will fight for both of us. I will gaze upon him and embrace him with my understanding.

I will gaze upon the masses, so justly enjoying a holiday from the labors of the work week, and I will smile. Yes, I will smile, for in them I see the victory and in just believing that victory will one day belong to us, I am already, in a sense, victorious...

The conga players are now joined by six African drums and together they entertain the people. One set of drums calls, the other answers. The level of energy is so high that I, along with many others, hold on to the benches for fear of my feet leaving the ground. Faces have stopped smiling, they are intense. Each one, in his own mind, knows what must be done, the war that must be waged. The music is not to dance to, it is to march to and though today we march in the park tomorrow we will march on the bodies of those who have denied us freedom for so long. Memorial Day... I remember those who have fallen in the war... Jim Waller... Bill Sampson... Sandy Smith... Cesar Cauce... Mike Nathan. I remember, I recall and though today we must sometimes be in the shadows our time in the sun is guaranteed!

The wind, the wind is blowing  
through the graves the wind is blowing  
Freedom soon will come  
then we'll come from the shadows!\*

Joe Betances  
25th May 1981

\*"The Partisan," sung by French Freedom Fighters

## ...Merger No Solution

continued from page 7

the direct result of the lack of fighting leadership.

The real questions confronting workers — jobs, speed ups, safety, wage and benefit cuts — are not even on the agenda of the Executive Board of the UAW or the AFL-CIO. These are the burning issues demanding strong fighting leadership today.

Autoworkers used to be among the best off in the working class. But the decline of U.S. auto has led to deep

changes in their lives. The capitalist system can't deliver. And the emptiness of the liberal social programs the UAW pushed in the 60's, plus government corruption, have created a profound bitterness and disillusionment with the capitalist system. The merger with the AFL-CIO is a weak attempt to shore up the UAW. But while the UAW leaders fiddle, in the plants and in the homes there's an anger and a monumental storm brewing. □

## Reader Exposes Barton/ Avondale 'Coincidence'

Dear WV,

I just read the "NASSCO 3" article in Workers Viewpoint, Vol. 6, No. 18, May 11-17 issue where FBI informer Barton moved to the shipyard here, Avondale Louisiana! (Accompanying this letter was a newspaper article from the April 30 issue of the Times Picayune which reported on the death by suffocation of two workers at the Avondale, Shipyards Inc.—ed.)

As you can see workers here face the

same health and safety, life or death struggle as workers at NASSCO! And Barton is probably doing his same dirty work while people die. Stop the Railroading of the NASSCO 3!

L.H.  
Baltimore, Md.

Thank you for the information. See this issue of WV for an article we wrote based on the clipping you sent us.

## ...One Korea continued from page 2

came out after church. Speaker after speaker denounced the fascist regime of Chun, and many speakers also denounced U.S. government's role in South Korea. This reflected a significant development, because for many years anti-fascist Koreans did not condemn the U.S. government as the main supporter of the Park Chung Hee or Chun Doo Hwan dictatorships.

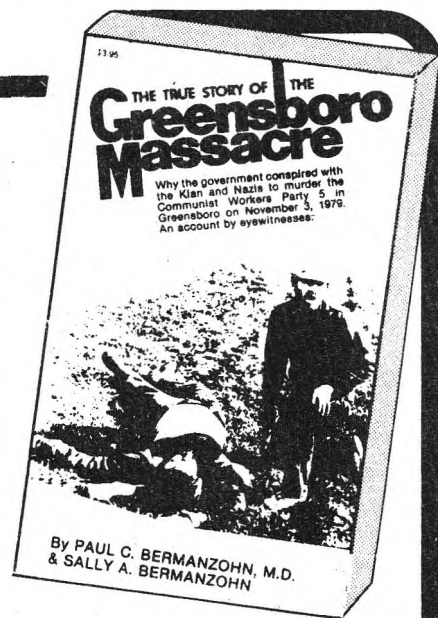
But after the Kwangju Uprising, the U.S.'s role has become clearer and clearer to the Korean people. As one speaker said, "Who is to be blamed for the atrocity in Kwangju? We blamed Kim I Sung and the communists in the past. But they were not the ones gunning down our youth in the streets of Kwangju. We saw U.S. machine guns and U.S. helicopters transporting Korean soldiers. We saw an M-16 used to blow off the head of a 15-year-old youth. So who are we to blame? It is very clear to us now."

"Who Killed My Grandson in Kwangju?"

Picket signs read, "Chun is a Murderer," "Oust the Military Rule in Korea," "Support the Struggle for Democracy," "Raise the blood-stained banner from Kwangju again!" As the march passed down Olympic Boulevard, heart of the Korean com-

munity, people chanted, "Death to Chun and his Gang!", "U.S. Get Your Hands Off!", "One Korea," and "We Want Tong II (Reunification)." One grandmother marched with a sign, "Who Killed My Grandson in Kwangju?" Many marched with photos exposing the brutality of the South Korean army backed by the U.S. imperialists. Traffic on the street slowed down as passersby saw the photos, read the signs, and nodded their heads in support.

After the march, participants gathered together to sing "Spring of the Motherland," a famous Korean song, and chanted "Man Sei," a traditional slogan used during the war against Japanese imperialism. Following the program, there was a film showing on the Kwangju Uprising. The film not only exposed the brutality of the fascist Chun regime, but showed the brave and militant youth who laid down their lives on May 17, 1980. The film ends with the statement, "These youth of Kwangju died fighting to see at least one free day for citizens of Kwangju." The thousands of Kwangju youth did not die in vain. Already tens and hundreds of thousands of Koreans and other freedom loving people have risen to take their posts to fight for democracy and reunification until victory. □



Nov. 3, 1979 — U.S. Treasury agent Bernard Butkovich and police informer Edward Dawson organized a Klan-Nazi terror squad that assassinated five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, N.C.

March 27, 1981 — U.S.-backed security forces slaughtered 1,500 El Salvadoran refugees. The U.S. government has pumped millions of dollars to the military junta which has murdered over 10,000 people.

From El Salvador to Greensboro the list of crimes against the people is growing. Miami, Atlanta, Buffalo, Three Mile Island, Love Canal are warning signs to all that what has been forced on people thousands of miles away is beginning to happen at home. Just as the El Salvadoran people fight daily against government repression so must the American people.

Read the *True Story of the Greensboro Massacre*. This dramatic eyewitness account of the Nov. 3 murders details the government's involvement in right wing death squads and the shocking court verdict which freed Klan/Nazi murderers.

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# LETTERS TO THE CWP

## "Never Again"

Dear Paul Bermanzohn,

Thank you for an excellent article on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising (which appeared in the April 20-26 issue of WV—ed.) It brought tears to my eyes when I read it and heightened my resolve to see that "Never Again" would a holocaust happen, either to Jews or other oppressed minorities. What the article did provoke for me was the beginning of a weekend of transforming awareness of my Jewishness.

I read your Warsaw Ghetto article on the eve of my family's Passover celebration, resolving to make a toast to the heroic fighters of the Warsaw ghetto. The toast was deeply appreciated by my family, a family much smaller than it would have been had not the Nazis exterminated half of them. I was excited about celebrating Passover — a holiday which commemorates the freeing of the Jews from slavery in ancient Egypt. However, while it was nice to have a family dinner, it's deeper significance was lost. I later realized that what was wrong with the Passover dinner was that it pushed a political line of divine intervention — that God delivered the Jews from bondage in Egypt. It left me with an emptiness on the role of the Jewish masses. Were my ancestors just passive, meekly accepting slavery and awaiting someone or something else (God) to free them from slavery, or was it in fact the struggle of the Jewish masses that delivered us from bondage in Egypt.

At the Passover get-together, my aunt gave me an article to read from the October 1980 issue of Jewish Currents titled, "Responses to the Holocaust," by Miriam Greenspan. Never before had I been so deeply touched by an article about my Jewish heritage. It made me come to grips with the fact that I had always bought the myth that the Jews "went like sheep to the slaughter." Isn't it interesting that this is the very same image which the Passover service helps to perpetuate, that of the meek, helpless Jews.

"Most Jews know something about the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. But few know that in practically every ghetto and in almost every labor camp and concentration camp, there existed a Jewish underground that not only kept up Jewish morale and reduced the physical suffering of the Jews as much as possible, but committed acts of sabotage, organized escapes and, against incredible odds, amassed arms and planned and executed revolts. Rosa Robota, a young girl who saw her family marched to the gas chambers, led a group of 29 women in helping to explode and put out of commission one of the four crematoriums of Auschwitz. Sobibor and Treblinka, two of the most notorious death camps, were put out of operation by the inmates.

"A document from the Vilna Ghetto tells us about the kinds of decisions Jews were forced to make in order to fight the Nazis. Knowing from the news of other ghettos that the Nazis intended to liquidate all the ghettos and kill all remaining Jews in concentration camps, the men and women of the resistance organization of the Vilna Ghetto had to decide whether to try to escape to the forests to join the partisan units there, or to stay in the ghetto to help Jews who could not escape to fight the Nazis. The document shows clearly that these Jews knew that either road meant death and that they were only choosing *how* to die.

"In the end they chose to do everything possible to help those who

could fight to escape to the woods and join the partisans. But they would stay to help those remaining to make a last stand against the Nazis. In the ghettos that were not able to smuggle in arms, Jews fought the Nazis with knives, clubs and bare hands. In the Warsaw Ghetto, it took the combined forces of tanks, ground troops, bomber planes and incendiary bombs to destroy the ghetto. Each enclave of resistance was an inferno. To destroy the Warsaw Ghetto, Hitler had to destroy it brick by brick." — Greenspan, p. 25.

Buying the myth of near total Jewish passivity in the face of six million murders left me with a hidden sense of shame of my Jewishness. How could I be proud of being a Jew when we rolled over and played dead for the fascists. Greenspan's article and yours transformed my understanding of my Jewish identity. My sense of shame has become a sense of pride.

Based on my new-found Jewish awareness, I have deepened my resolve to fight for socialist revolution, the only thing that will prevent further exploitation of the Jews. I am also going to retrieve and propagate some of the hidden history of Jewish resistance to the Holocaust as well as the lessons of the rise of fascism. We as communists and Jews must make the slogan "Never Again" a righteous outcry and call to arms against oppression.

N.J.  
Baltimore, Md.

## WV Needs Book Reviews

Dear friends:

As a long time reader of your paper I would like to salute you for the lively and thought provocative style of the newspaper. In times as these it is quite important to have a force such as the C.W.P. in the forefront of the struggle to establish a socialist society. I would also like to make a suggestion for a possible additional feature to the paper. It would be good from time to time to do a book review or list progressive books on certain subjects (i.e. Klan, economic issues, etc.) that readers may find interesting.

In closing I might just add that the style of work you do is good, keep such up and remain vigilant.

B.L.  
Denver, Co.

Thanks for the suggestion. We have done some book reviews, the most recent being Sara Anderson's critique of *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography* in the May 25-May 31, 1981 issue of the newspaper. While we encourage our writers and correspondents to do reviews of important books of interest, we really would like to make this kind of thing a regular feature.

So far we haven't found anyone in-

terested in doing book reviews for the WV. If you or any of our readers are interested, please contact us and we'll try to work out something. Also, any suggestions on specific books that you would like us to review would be appreciated.

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The Communist Workers Party, USA  
GPO Box 2256  
New York, N.Y. 10116

CALL OR VISIT:  
CWP National Office  
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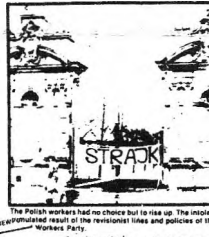
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## Wall St. Jitters Haunt Reagan

### William Nishimura

"I have never found Wall Street a source of good economic advice," said Ronald Reagan at a meeting of North-east state and local officials on May 28. The President's jab at Wall Street came when he was asked why the nation's financial markets weren't responding favorably to his economic program. The financial community is "looking through a very narrow glass and is seeing only one facet" of the budget and tax cuts, Reagan said.

White House aides tried to take the sting out of the criticism. The President's remarks were "light in tone" and "jocular," they claimed. Donald Regan, Secretary of the Treasury, supposedly joked back, "Why are you making life more difficult for me?" But the problem facing the Administration is no joke.

### Reagan Momentum Undercut By Markets

On the one hand, momentum for the Reagan economic package has been boosted by recent polls showing that

many are optimistic about the economy. One poll which appeared in the May 25 issue of Time magazine found that 51% believed that things were going well. This is the first time since October 1978 that a majority has felt this way. A New York Times/CBS News poll printed on April 30 showed that twice as many people expect to be better off a year from now compared to those who expect to be worse off.

On the other hand, Reagan's ability to take advantage of the polls and ram his budget and tax cuts through Congress has been undermined. Despite a recent jump, the stock market has been sliding downhill. The Dow Jones industrial average, a basket of blue-chip industrial stocks used to measure the health of the economy, has fallen. At the same time, the bond market has yet to recover from its collapse last year. Selling long-term bonds is a major way that corporations raise money, and the demand for bonds is a gauge of how much confidence investors have in the long-term strength of the economy. Meanwhile, short-term interest rates

continue to soar.

This gap between how the public sees the state of the economy and Wall Street's view has come to haunt the Reagan Administration in recent days.

Investors fear that the President's economic plan will only bring on more inflation. The loss in government revenue due to tax cuts is offset by the massive budget cuts. But, Reagan also wants to jack up military spending. This will increase the Federal deficit and eventually lead to more inflation. Thus, the financial community has been pushing for either even more budget cuts or a smaller tax cut. "I don't think Mr. Reagan's comments were justified, since I think Wall Street's qualms are well taken," said Larry Wachtel, first vice-president of Bache Halsey Stuart Shields, one of the biggest brokerage houses in the country.

The White House has admitted that Reagan's move to slash Social Security benefits is in large part an attempt to reassure Wall Street. But because of the American people's overwhelming opposition to Social Security cuts Reagan has had to back off. And now the Administration is talking compromise on the size and timing of the tax cuts.

### Faith and Profits Don't Mix

In response to Reagan's criticism, George Ball, president at E.F. Hutton, commented, "To credit or blame Wall Street for the response of the markets is to credit or blame it for influence it does not possess." In a sense, he's right. Reagan is asking Wall Street to have the same faith that his economic

plan will whip inflation and get the economy going as he's asked the American people to have. But when it comes to profits, the capitalists don't gamble on faith.

No matter how much individual capitalists may support Reagan politically, none dares to take the risk that he may fail. Under capitalism, the capitalists have no choice but to put their capital into areas that will bring maximum profits. Today, this means speculation on Treasury notes, the money market and so on, anything that will bring a fast, safe buck. Thus, high interest rates are here to stay. At the same time, few capitalists have the guts to invest in steel or auto, industries which take decades to bring in profits, or tie up their money in long-term bonds. With double-digit inflation and the economic crisis they can't afford to. Locked in life-or-death competition with other capitalists, none will willingly sacrifice his interests for the sake of his class as a whole.

"Wall Street feels the pure Kemp-Roth tax cut plan might not yield the results being promised, but instead add to inflationary pressures," said Wachtel. "The Reagan program is a theoretical approach. But the markets have been beleaguered for so long, there isn't the luxury of being wrong. Wall Street simply doesn't want to risk that."

Wall Street's jitters is hindering Reagan from pressing home his attack on the American people's standard of living. It buys time for grassroots opposition against the budget cuts to gel. And it is only this opposition that can really stop the mad slasher. □



More than 4,000 people took part in the Memorial Day rally to oppose the systematic murder of black youth in Atlanta. The rally, organized by the Committee to STOP Child Murders, a committee largely composed of mothers of the slain children, was held at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Speakers included Camille Bell, a leader of STOP and mother of a murdered child, Jesse Jackson and Dick Gregory.

## 4,000 Demand End to Child Murders

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