

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

VOL. 6 NO. 21

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JUNE 1-JUNE 7, 1981

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!

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Prosecutor Can't Shake Beliefs NASSCO Defendants Take Stand

Erin White

The second week of the defense's presentation in the trial of the NASSCO 3 began with defendant David Boyd's testimony on May 19, 1981. The 33 year old welder, described himself as growing up in Tulsa, Oklahoma, until he graduated from high school and joined the Air Force in 1967. After serving for four years, winning several medals for his service in Viet Nam, and being promoted to sergeant, he left the service for civilian life. Back in Tulsa, he went to

Ramon Barton urging the three on, "none of this would have happened." When Lipman redbaited Boyd, pressing him on political discussions he may have had with his two co-defendants, CWP members Rodney Johnson and Mark Loo, Boyd replied that indeed they had discussed politics. To the best of his understanding, the CWP wanted to "educate the masses" so that "people could choose whether they wanted socialism or not."

This did not satisfy Lipman, who wanted to know "the means by which they mean to attain this revolution," obviously pushing to find out if either of the two had advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. government (a classic component of Marxist doctrine and part of the CWP's all-rounded preparation for workers' rule).

Lipman is using this redbaiting tactic to try to prove that there was predisposition to violence on the part of the two defendants, and to paint them as terrorists before the jury and the public. Lipman has redbaited almost all witnesses for the defense. He asked them if they knew if either of the two defendants were communists or CWP members, whether witnesses read the Workers Viewpoint, the CWP's paper, if they sold the paper and so forth.

More Dirty Laundry

But witnesses have not been intimidated, and they have stood by the good work of their friends. "This has gone on from start to finish and we still don't know if we have all the information. When the trial is over we still won't know," said defense attorney Dan Siegal about government coverup in the trial of the NASSCO 3.

In an "eleventh-hour revelation," prosecutor Lipman on May 21 told

Stop the Railroading of the NASSCO 3

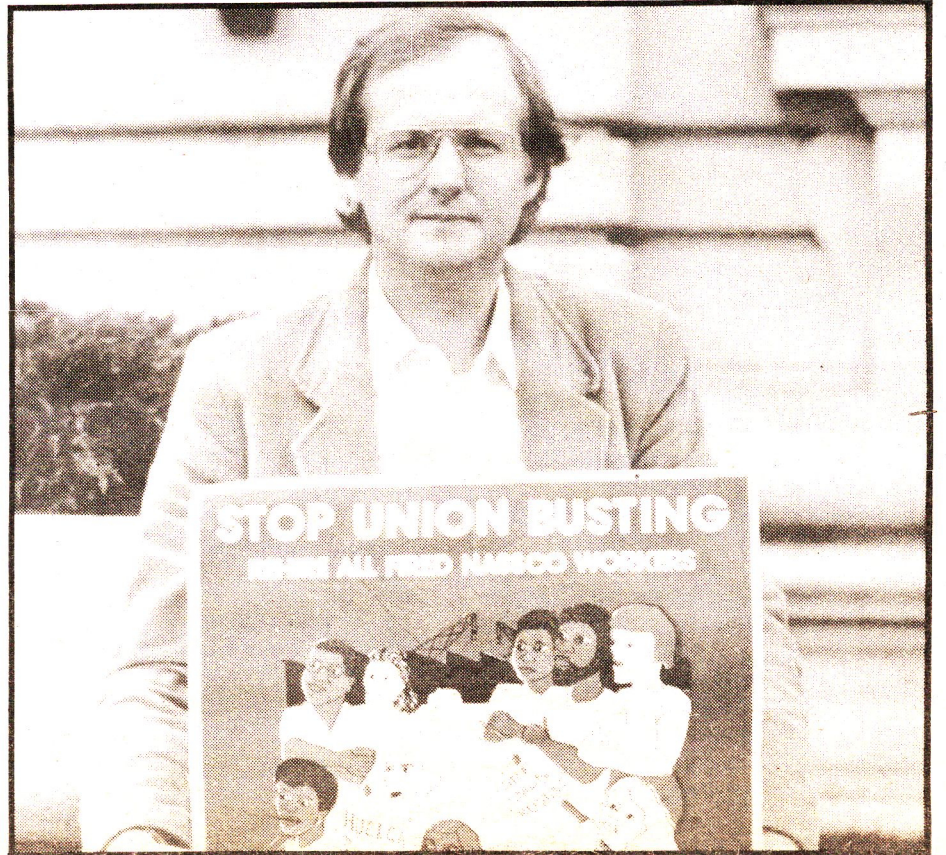
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aeronautics school and worked for a sailboat repair and sale shop. He moved to San Diego and got a job at National Steel and Shipbuilding Co. in 1978.

Boyd described working at NASSCO, the largest shipyard on the West Coast, where six ships may be under construction at one time. Ventilation and lighting were some of the worst problems workers face, Boyd said. Summertime heat in the interior of ships sometimes got so high people could not be expected to work. "163 degrees is the highest I have seen it," he said. "But it could get even hotter than that at the top of the ship," where the sun beats directly on the steel decks, heating the inner compartments like ovens.

Redbaiting Fails

During the cross-examination on May 20, Prosecutor Michael Lipman hammered away at Boyd, but couldn't shake Boyd's conviction that without FBI and San Diego police informer



David Boyd, one of the NASSCO 3, testified at the trial.

defense attorneys that NASSCO, the FBI and others had met long before an alleged bomb plot developed. He delayed giving the information to the defense until the end of the fourth week of the trial, because supposedly he didn't know about this information until the third week and was only able to fix a date on the news that Thursday. "This confirms our opinion," said Leonard Weinglass, "that the FBI, police and company conspired to break the union and set up the three."

According to statements from Prosecutor Lipman and Sergeant Ernest Trumper of the San Diego Police Department Criminal Intelligence Unit (commonly referred to as the Red Squad), the three parties met in NASSCO's offices to discuss NASSCO's "labor policies, the problem of radical elements in the yard," and FBI agent Richard Schneider outlined "evolution and development of the CWP."

The police and FBI denied making any agreement with NASSCO to help bust the union, but the "coincidental" timing of this meeting (one day after

Barton's first call to police to inform on union activities, and preceding the first face-to-face meeting between Barton and police by a few hours), along with a continuing coverup of evidence, makes that statement look as shaky as most of the rest in the government's case.

Present at this meeting were FBI Supervisor Schneider and agent Finly, Police Red Squad members, Lt. Mike Tyler and Sergeant Trumper and NASSCO officials Laughlin (head of security), Tolbert and vice president Larry Flynn.

Agent Schneider's previous testimony that the FBI's interest in the CWP in San Diego was remote and that the FBI was not interested in this case or in Barton before September 4 was contradicted by these latest revelations.

Labor Spy Racket at NASSCO

From the day of the arrest, the government has covered up its role in

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Which Way Out
for Poland?

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ATLANTA:
Day 672

The Railroading
of Sacco
& Vanzetti

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We Charge
Genocide!

NATIONAL NEWS

SWP Suit

40 Years of Spying Uncovered

May Quan

NEW YORK, N.Y. — On May 21, 1981, Associate Deputy Attorney General Keuche testified that, "no" the FBI and CIA did not have any ongoing investigation of the SWP, YSA, or their leaders and members. The SWP lawyers subpoenaed Keuche as a Department of Justice representative as they continue to present evidence in their suit against the U.S. government for spying and harassment.

Keuche is on the staff of the Deputy Attorney General's Office which is responsible for reviewing and approving all FBI domestic security investigation reports and requests. When he issued the FBI guidelines in 1976 Attorney General Edward Levi delegated that responsibility to the Deputy Attorney General's Office while retaining the authority for reviewing FBI foreign counter-intelligence investigation to the Attorney General's Office.

Keuche also testified to Attorney General Levi's reason for his "termination" of the FBI's 40-year investigation of the SWP and YSA in September 1976. Levi had reasoned that in recent years there was no evidence that the SWP would or was engaging in violent acts against the U.S. Government. When presiding Judge Griesa questioned the witness whether the Attorney General's decision was a result of the SWP's civil suit against them, Keuche replied that the decision to terminate the FBI full field investigation of the SWP was not "unanimous."

Keuche also testified to the origins of the FBI investigation of the SWP. It began, he stated, in 1938 under President Roosevelt's directive to conduct investigations of certain kinds of organizations, "communist, fascist or subversive." Since then, Keuche said, Truman, through Executive Order 10450, and Eisenhower, through Executive Order 9835, had upheld the FBI's right to investigate the SWP. Keuche stated these Executive Orders, which date from 1947, "continue in force, and effect and in deed, and continue to today."

In the eight years since the SWP initiated their suit, the government has

shifted its line of defense. In 1976, the Justice Department swore it was "reforming" the FBI by issuing guidelines. Now, when the suit opened in April 2, 1981, the government claimed it had the right to investigate the SWP or anyone else, based on Executive Order 10450, among other things. Furthermore, the government has badly stepped on its "right" when on April 24, government lawyers introduced to court an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) document stating that the agency was reviewing SWP for placement on their list of "proscribed" organizations.

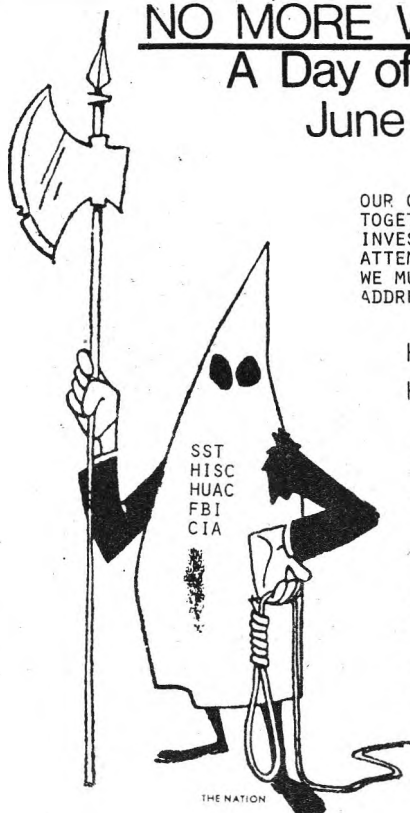
INS Threatens El Salvador Support

The INS document was signed by Acting Associate Commissioner for Enforcement Glenn A. Bertness and dated April 1, 1981. It stated that "in light of the materials reviewed in response to the litigation currently pending," or in retaliation to the SWP suit, INS, which is under the Department of Justice, had begun a review of the SWP to "proscribe" or outlaw the SWP in order to "exclude and deport" "members and their affiliates."

Bertness also testified in court. The SWP was on INS' proscribed list in 1956, but was removed from the list in 1966 when INS could not prove that SWP advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. INS stated they were reviewing the SWP not because they advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government, but for advocating "doctrines of world communism" or "totalitarianism." About 300,000 people are now on the "proscribed" list and legally may be denied entry to the U.S. or deported because they belong to a "totalitarian, communist" group.

Clearly, the government is threatening to deport and deny entry to the U.S. to the supporters of the liberation struggle of El Salvador. However, with 100,000 people turning out to demonstrate against U.S. involvement in El Salvador on May 3rd, whether the government will be able to carry out its threats remains to be seen. □

NO MORE WITCH HUNTS A Day of Resistance June 19, 1981



OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE ENDANGERED. TOGETHER WE MUST RESIST CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEES AND ANY ATTEMPT TO LABEL DISSENT AS TERRORIST. WE MUST STAND UP FOR THE RIGHT TO ADDRESS PUBLIC ISSUES.

HAVE A RIGHT TO VOICE YOUR OPINION
HAVE A RIGHT TO WORK FOR CHANGE

(IF YOU HAVE ACTIVELY SUPPORTED ANY OF THESE ISSUES, YOU ARE IN TROUBLE)

- * RACIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE
- * SOLIDARITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES
- * MAKE HUMAN NEEDS A BUDGET PRIORITY
- * SLASH THE MILITARY BUDGET
- * STOP NUCLEAR TERROR
- * NO DRAFT
- * WORKER'S RIGHTS
- * WOMEN'S RIGHTS
- * END RACISM
- * LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS
- * HONOR NATIVE AMERICAN TREATIES
- * DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT
- * SUPPORT FIRST AMENDMENT LIBERTIES

SAY NO TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITY AND TERRORISM
SAY NO TO THE HOUSE INTERNAL SECURITY COMMITTEE
SAY NO TO SPIES IN OUR HOMES

For More Information:
NO MORE WITCH HUNTS
339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012
(212) 477-3188

May Quan

Opposition to the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism is jelling in the form of a national coalition entitled "No More Witch Hunts." Staff coordinator, Debby Chaplan, said, "No More Witch Hunts is a campaign designed to bring together groups, persons and organizations who are potential targets (of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism) — which is everybody. It's a massive political education drive — that we've all got to fight. Fight before the subcommittee does anything. They shouldn't subpoena anybody or investigate anyone."

"Some groups said wait and see until they do something unconstitutional. We thought it is good to begin campaigning now before they do anything unconstitutional."

On June 10, 1981, "No More Witch Hunts, A Day of Resistance" events will be taking place in New York City and Chicago. The initial sponsors of the coalition are Center for Constitutional Rights, Coalition for a People's Alternative, The Christic Institute, Covert Action Information Bulletin, Fund for Open Information and Accountability, Inc., Government Accountability Project, Grand Jury Project, Harlem Fightback, Institute for Labor Education and Research, Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, National Alliance Against Racism and Political Oppression, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild, North American Congress of Latin America, United Tremont Trades, Viet Nam Trial Support Committee, Women Strike for Peace.

In Chicago, the event will be held June 19, 1981, Pick Congress Hotel, Windsor Room, 8 p.m. For information call No More Witch Hunts, (312) 939-0675. In New York, call No More Witch Hunts, (212) 477-3188, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. □

Detroiters: "Reagan has got to go!"

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

Workers Viewpoint is the weekly newspaper of the Communist Workers Party.

Workers Viewpoint welcomes contributions on all topics. WV will respond to every contributor. Written materials should be submitted typed, double-spaced on 8½" X 11" paper. Material can be returned only if accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Subscriptions are \$20 per year; \$12 for 6 months; \$5 per year for unemployed and students; and \$1 per year for prisoners.

Send all correspondence to:

Workers Viewpoint
GPO Box 2256
New York, N.Y. 10116
or call (212) 732-4309

DETROIT, Mi. — Detroiters kicked off the struggle against Reagan's budget cuts at a rally Sunday, May 9. More than 200 people came out under threatening skies to the downtown Kern Block for an enthusiastic rally and march. Signs demanding "Money for Jobs, Not War," "Tax Dollars for People, Not Big Business," and "Reagan's Budget Attacks National Minorities" were posted all over the downtown shopping area. Fighting chants and songs against the Reagan cuts rang out throughout the day. Several people joined in as the march made its way up Woodward Avenue. Current reports are that this was the most successful of the nationally coordinated protests called by the National Coalition for a Fair Budget, a broad coalition of major unions, community service organizations, churches, and others.

Among the speakers were Martin Gerber, UAW vice-president, City Council members Erma Henderson and Maryanne Mahaffey, and a

representative from Senator Carl Levin's office (one of the few Senators to vote against Reagan's budget). Glen Janken, Communist Workers Party member and a candidate for City Council got the crowd rocking when he blasted the Reagan budget for taking money from services and putting it into the military. Explaining why the U.S. government is forced to intervene in other nations he asked the crowd if the government should be doing this in El Salvador, the Middle East, and South Africa. A resounding, "NO!" was the answer. His call to march on Washington and tell Reagan that we will fight by any means necessary was met with strong applause. Rick Martin, president of the Blast Furnace Unit of UAW Local 600 fired up the crowd by demanding firm leadership and a fight to the finish against all attacks on our standard of living. Speaker after speaker denounced Reagan and the big money his administration represents to the delight of the rally. Cheryl Labash from the city workers AFSCME union

linked the Reagan cuts to the proposed cuts on city workers by Mayor Young and called on the people to support any actions taken by the union to defend their wages and jobs.

Put together in little more than a month's time, most of the local coalition organizers deemed the protest a success. The crowd was (more than the same faces that frequently turn out at rallies and) composed of mainly fresh forces representative of the different types of people being hit by these cuts. Seniors, welfare recipients, handicapped, and many union people were there. Legal service workers were there in large numbers, and in fact the success of the day was in large part due to their selfless hard work in initiating and participating in the coalition. The close attention people paid to all the speakers was striking. And the fact that the vast majority stayed for a teach-in at Central Methodist Church after the march and rally reflects a growing commitment to activism. You

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UN Vote Bans Ads of Formula Makers

People worldwide won an important victory over the infant food monopolies, in particular Nestle Corp., in a vote for a code that calls for the banning of advertising and promotion of baby formulas as a substitute for breast feeding. The code was approved 118 to 1 in a meeting of representatives of the World Health Organization, an agency of the UN, on May 21. The only opposition to the code came from the U.S. government. Its "no" vote was such a blatant example of imperialist bullying that two top officials of the U.S. agency, AID, resigned in protest.

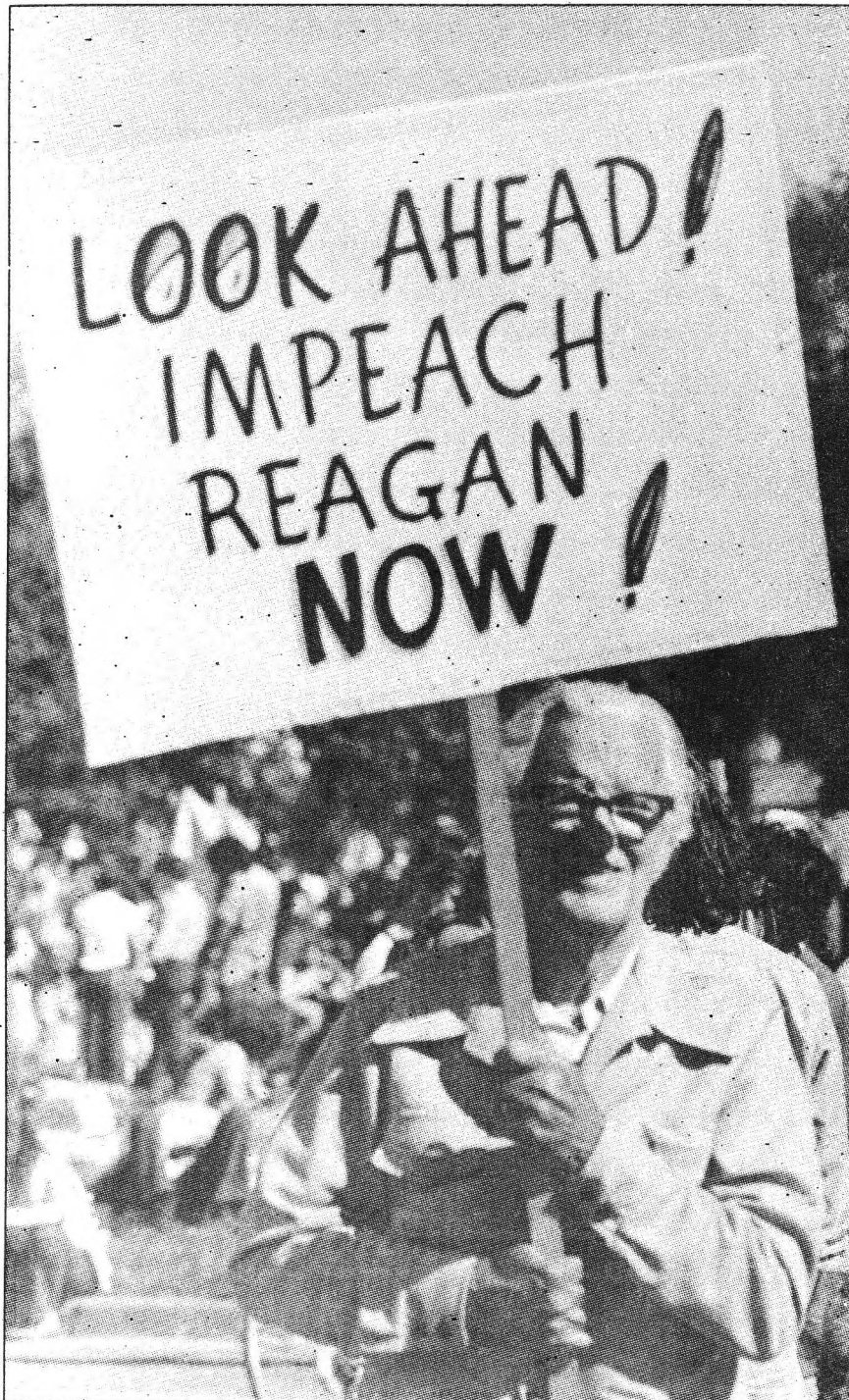
Dr. Stephen C. Joseph, a pediatrician and the highest ranking medical professional at the agency said he quit because the vote was unconscionable. He said that the "misuse of infant formula is directly detrimental to the health of children in the third world and contributes to deaths there." It has been estimated by health experts that 10 million babies suffer from severe malnutrition, diarrhea and dehydration from bottle feeding, resulting in at least 3 million deaths each year.

The battle against the baby bottle plague began several years ago when health care workers in third world countries saw an alarming rise in disease and death among infants fed infant formula. The formula itself is safe, but when it is mixed with contaminated water, or put in unsterilized bottles or over-diluted with water, it

becomes a killer. Under these conditions — which are commonplace in third world countries — breast feeding is the safest, most nourishing form of infant feeding.

The code, if it's adopted by individual governments, would stop the infant food monopolies' deceptive advertising and promotion campaigns. Particularly sinister is the industry's use of nurses in white uniforms in ads inferring that formula is "scientifically better." Health activists charge that the handing out of free samples at hospitals and clinics is comparable to getting mothers and babies "hooked" on formula. The free samples last only long enough for the mothers' milk to dry up, forcing the continued use of the formulas.

The U.S. vote not only showed the government's isolation in the world health community, it also exposed its imperialist motives in the third world. Out of the \$1.4 billion sales worldwide, 80% is shared by U.S. producers. Nestle controls 50% of the market. Ernest Lefever, a Reagan nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs heads up a tax-free think tank which received a \$25,000 grant from Nestle to publish a report supporting the company's infant formula after it came under attack. However, this public relations ploy was beat back by the Nestle boycott organized by the Infant Formula Action Coalition. □



Thousands marched against Reagan in South Bend, Ind., as he gave a commencement address to the graduating class of Notre Dame.

Notre Dame Protest Swats Reagan "El Salvador is All of Us"

Norman Sadler

SOUTH BEND, IN. May 17 — Thousands of Notre Dame graduates, their friends and relatives were backed up outside the doors of the Convocation Center in South Bend as they passed, one by one, through four metal detectors and were searched for weapons. The graduation ceremony included tight security because Reagan, FBI's William Webster and the President of the World Bank were getting honorary degrees. It was Reagan's first public appearance since the assassination attempt. But it was not the first, and it will not be the last, mass protest against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Reagan's economic plans.

More than 2,500 people from South Bend, Chicago; Toledo; Madison, Wis., Indianapolis and elsewhere

rallied at Orange Field, a few hundred yards from the Convocation Center. Organized by CISPES, (Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador) the Chicago Religious Task Force and other groups, the demonstrators rallied around the same issues and causes represented by the May 3 march on the Pentagon.

The day's events dramatically illustrated the split on the Catholic Church over these issues. After the march, a member of the university's founding order of the Holy Cross followed the group of Notre Dame alumni against the Reagan visit. "The 150 people who have signed the Notre Dame statement represent the tip of the iceberg," he said. "We intend to expand this movement. Your voices and our voices can finally expose the strong

strain of progressivism in the American Catholic movement. Today, we call for a major conference in the fall of this year at Notre Dame, which would be Catholic college alumni from all over the country against the Reagan economics."

"The 80's Will be the Us Against Them Decade"

From El Salvador's assassinated Archbishop Romero to the President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Catholics have demanded an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and have defended the people's struggle for liberation. Bishop Rivera y Damas, Romero's (assassinated Archbishop of El Salvador) successor, has stated: "Although those directly responsible would like to avoid accountability by conveniently pointing to violence from the left and violence from the right or to an uncontrollable political-military apparatus, ... we hold the National Guard and ultra rightist groups responsible... and the government junta which is responsible for actions by the military." Catholic and other religious groups have jointly declared the junta an "illegitimate" government, and have declared that "we too wish to be with the people at this moment, recognizing their legitimate right to self-determination."

The march was headed by a campus mime troupe slowly beating a drum, with others carrying coffins and crosses to represent the 22,000 who have been murdered in El Salvador with U.S. aid. The thousands who followed in the procession through the campus to the Convocation Center included the Veterans for Peace, Study and Struggle, CWP, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, SWP, RCP, local high school students and hundreds of others, all chanting "Money for jobs, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

Signs demanded "Support the Atlanta Children, not the Junta," and "Full Funding for Legal Services."

Teddy Beam, of the United Council of Student Governments, pointed out how Reagan would get an unearned degree while cutting off student aid to 750,000 college students. Another irony is that Napoleon Duarte, ruler of El Salvador's junta, had received his Bachelor of Arts degree at Notre Dame. Warning that the newspapers would call the demonstrators a throwback to the 60's, and reminding everyone how the 70's had been defined as the "Me Decade," she called for "our own definitions, to make it clear that we know who we are and we are everywhere on this earth, and we know how small they are, and if we can get our act together, and join our hands, and stand up against them, they won't stand a chance. "This will be, she said, the "Us Against Them Decade."

Who is Getting Senile?

While Reagan avoided the issues of El Salvador and his economic proposals, he had to address communism; and in doing so he almost repeated exactly Carter's graduation speech which declared the fear of communism to be inordinate. Reagan said, The West will not contain communism. It will transcend communism... whose last pages are even now being written."

Outside, Secundino Ramirez, representing El Salvador's Human Rights Commission, exposed Reagan's lies that Western (U.S.) culture and military might would dominate. "We have to better our forces, because intervention in El Salvador is not only against us, it is against the people of Central America. And the people of Central America are very well aware what this intervention means for the people of the region, and we are ready to face it and defeat it." □



The anti-Reagan demonstration linked U.S. imperialism's murderous policies abroad with its domestic policies of slashing the masses' living standards.

An Urgent Call to Stop the Railroading of The NASSCO 3

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

- (1) Stop the Railroading 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 92101
Defense Committee: (714)563-0149

Partial List of Endorsers:

(Organizations listed for identification purposes)

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Trade Unionists for Democratic Action,
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Joseph E. Cook, AFGE, Local 41,
Washington, DC
Dave Johnson, BA-Financial Sec., Toronto
Building & Construction Council, AFL-CIO
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Louis Gates, Pres., UAW, Local 600, Frame
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Rick Martin, pres., UAW, Local 600
Walter T. Corey, Pres., USWA Local 210
Sidney Lens, Labor writer
Jim Miller, Institute for Labor Studies,
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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
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Larry McDonald, Hotel & Restaurant Local
2, San Francisco
Abe Feinglass, Int'l V.P. Amalgamated
Meatcutters & Butcher Workmen
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

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Daniel Siegel
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Ronald Graham

Steven Harvey
Richard Hooks
Alejandro Isunza
Paul Jaramillo
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Ruben Parga
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Nancy Hegelson, Women's Resource
Center, La Jolla, UCSD
Margaret Ratner, Center for Constitutional
Rights, N.Y.C.

David McReynolds, Socialist Party
Abe Feinglass, International Vice President,
Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher
Workmen, AFL-CIO

Senate Balks at Social Security Cuts Reagan Attack Stumbles

William Nishimura

On May 20, the Republican-dominated Senate voted 96 to 0 against the President's proposed cuts in Social Security. The "sense of Congress" resolution is non-binding and was meant only to poll the sentiment of the Senate. Nevertheless, it was enough of a setback that Reagan cut his losses the next day. "This Administration is not wedded to any single solution," he said in a letter sent to Congressional leaders.

Squeezing the Elderly

The Reagan proposal, announced in detail on May 12, contains 13 points. Among these are measures that would:

- Penalize workers who opt for early retirement at age 62 instead of 65. Early retirees are now entitled to 80% of the benefits they would have received if they had waited until their 65th birthday. Reagan wants to cut this to 55%, an average of \$126 less a month. Since even those who get full benefits have barely enough to live on, such a move would all but eliminate any hope of early retirement.

- Reduce Social Security benefits for workers in 1987 by 4 — 9%. This would be done by manipulating the formula now used to circulate initial benefits. The Administration claims that the present formula "over-compensates" the elderly for the effects of inflation.

- Delay payment of the annual cost-of-living increases that recipients get based on changes in the Consumer Price Index. Reagan wants to push the increases back from July to October.

- Raise the ceiling on income recipients can earn without jeopardizing their Social Security benefits. Right now, those who continue to work after age 65 have their benefits dropped \$1 for every \$2 they earn over \$5,500 a year, until the age of 72. Reagan would raise the ceiling to \$10,000 next year, \$15,000 in 1983, and lift it entirely the year after. This has little meaning to most retirees. Many of those who can continue working do so only because they cannot survive on Social Security payments alone.

The Administration claims that the cuts are necessary to save the Social Security system from bankruptcy. This is why Reagan has reneged on his promise not to touch the program. But the annual cost-of-living increases are the only thing keeping many elderly from starving. In effect, Reagan would

squeeze even more from those Americans who have already given a lifetime of labor. In addition, one of the reasons the Senate gave for rejecting Reagan's plan was that more money was being cut than was necessary. The House Select Committee on Aging estimated in a report released on May 20 that the Reagan cuts would save more than twice the amount needed to keep the Social Security in the black for the next 75 years.

Fear of Unifying Opposition

The same day the Senate rejected the Social Security cuts, Congress was putting the final touches on a joint budget resolution that gives the Administration the \$696 billion target it asked for.

The Senate vote does not mean that Congress has now become a fortress against the Reagan budget assault on the American people's standard of living. Furthermore, Congress has even restored funds for some of the few programs benefitting big business that Reagan cut. An example of this is the Export-Import Bank which provides cheap loans to businesses competing for foreign markets.

The Senate vote stems from a larger political worry and not out of concern for the nation's elderly. Demonstrations against various budget cuts have been almost a daily occurrence in the nation's capital. Political observers noted that one of the significant features of the May 3 demonstration was that it passed many issues ranging from U.S. intervention in El Salvador to the budget cuts and was not limited to a single issue.

Social Security is one domestic program that is supported overwhelmingly by people as every news poll has indicated since the Reagan budget was first proposed. An attack on Social Security could ignite an avalanche of protest that could gel the American people against Reagan's entire budget package. It could put the government's domestic policy on the defensive just as El Salvador has put the Administration on the defensive in foreign policy.

When the Reagan budget assault first began in January, Sen. Jesse Helms characterized it as a test of strength between Congress and the American people. "It's our guts and their will," he said. If the May 20 Senate vote is any indication, the government is losing some of its nerve. □

NASSCO...

continued from page 1

the case. They held back from the defense team tapes secretly recorded by Barton and the transcripts for those tapes. The transcripts themselves were full of errors and discrepancies, causing the defense team to spend hundreds of precious hours logging the tapes and reviewing the transcripts.

The judge has refused to allow into court evidence two witnesses — the company spy Charlie Walker; and NASSCO's head of security from May 1980 Richard Bradford. Their testimony would have proved NASSCO did have a practice of hiring labor spies.

Mike Contreras, a NASSCO labor relations official who actually approached people, on the verge of being fired by NASSCO for attendance problems, to offer them their jobs for information on union activities, has disappeared from sight. Police and FBI supposedly have no notes of any type of their meetings with Barton or any others — nothing that can verify what

they have claimed on the stand.

Barton has lied on the stand, and the government has collectively used other witnesses to cover Barton's purchase of materials which he thought could be used to make bombs, and his giving them to the defendants.

On Thursday afternoon, Dr. George Papcun took the stand. Papcun is one of 25 tape experts in the country who are certified by the Association for Identification. The defense team gave Dr. Papcun a tape to examine which omitted a conversation between Barton and the three, in which the three told Barton they didn't want anything to do with his scheme. After analysing the tape, Papcun testified that "the tape shows indications of having been tampered with, modified or altered." When defense attorney Iredale asked if a loose wire or broken antenna (part of the "malfunction" police claim is responsible for the gaps in this tape), could have caused the gap, Papcun replied, "Absolutely not." Dr. Papcun will resume the stand Tuesday morning, May 26, when the trial begins its fifth week. □

LABOR NEWS

Reader Responds Lessons of Mt. Sinai Wildcat

When the leadership of the hospital workers union, 1199, called for the lunchtime sit-in at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York ("Striking Blow For '82 Contract," by Dave Young, WV, May 18-24), they expected a few hundred workers would sit in for an hour or two. They were rudely awakened when 3,500 workers (100% of the 1199 membership there, not 80% as you reported) refused to move for five days. In fact they tried to get the workers to go back to work after the first day but the workers refused to return until management would agree to put in writing that they would stop attacking their sick days. By the third day, the union pulled out all its paid representatives and the action was no longer union sanctioned. Rather it was a wildcat.

Why didn't the 1199 leadership know that the sit-in wouldn't develop into a wildcat? Why doesn't 1199 understand its own victory at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York, where they won an astounding 5-1 victory in a representation election recently? What was the "mistake" that mineworkers' president Church made? What does the Mount Sinai wildcat mean for the current contract negotiations in the postal industry? What lessons can organizers of the working class learn from this wildcat?

All these questions cannot be answered by saying, as Dave Young, the writer of the article said, "These are not ordinary times and any organized action can quickly turn into a lightning rod for the workers' pent-up anger." In this respect, *Business Week* is better in analysis than the *Workers Viewpoint*.

One week before the recognition election at St. Vincent's Hospital, the organizers assigned to it were still

hedging their bets on whether they would win there because only 35 workers out of 900 would come to an organizing meeting. When the election results came in, the union was stunned by the proportions of its victory. The union could not understand *why it won*. They couldn't understand for the same reason that they weren't prepared for a wildcat at Mt. Sinai. They viewed St. Vincent's as a new phenomenon or they said that the organizers didn't know what they were doing. They saw the Mt. Sinai workers as a funny bunch — doing nothing one minute and wildcatting the next. The union sees its own members (minimum pay \$234/week) as "fat cats" — workers who have made it, and, consequently are lazy.

But the capitalists know the workers better than its own misleaders. A few months ago, *Business Week* carried an article analyzing the character of the work force. Because, it said, we have a unique situation in American history of simultaneous inflation and recession, the workers, although they are under tremendous pressures on the job, are afraid to strike because of the instability of the economy. They have fears of an entire corporation like Chrysler, going bankrupt, fears about being able to find another job. This tends to keep a lid on labor militancy in spite of tremendous dissatisfaction with working conditions.

This answers all the questions I raised. Members of 1199 at Mt. Sinai would *not* rebel unless it was union sanctioned because then they felt they would be protected by the union. St. Vincent workers would not turn out to meetings because they are afraid of being fired. But once they got behind a screen where they could vote without repercussions, they voted for the

union. The "mistake" UMW President Church made was that he let the miners go out. There wasn't going to be a massive wildcat before the strike, but once the miners went out, there was no way he could bring them back. For the postal negotiations, this trend means that there won't be a wildcat, but once the union sanctions a strike, the union won't be able to bring them back for a long time.

A few of the lessons that organizers of the working class can deduce from this are:

1. Tremendous internal pressures are being held down by fear of the recession — lack of jobs, fear of the future.

2. The momentum must be started through relatively "safe" means. As a rule, activities that directly and immediately threaten livelihoods will not take off. These safe activities include among other things, organized activity called by recognized forces such as union sanctioned strikes or walkouts;

union elections and electoral activities.

These guidelines must be seen as guidelines based upon a characterization of current major trends among the working class. There will be instances where the pressure becomes so great that it breaks out spontaneously such as the subway revolts in New York City. Furthermore, as the situation nationwide deteriorates, the trends will change and our analysis and consequent actions must change.

But throughout this, the *Workers Viewpoint* must play a leadership role in recognizing these trends in the workplace and draw out the concrete implications for the working class. To simply say that the workers are mad as did Dave Young in his article on the Mount Sinai wildcat isn't much more than Monday morning quarterbacking.

In Struggle,

W.A.
Bronx, N.Y.

Steel Workers Slam Shutdowns

"The Threat is Real from U.S. Steel"

PITTSBURGH, PA. — On May 4 about 175 steel workers, progressive clergy and other concerned people picketed the United States Steel 1981 stockholders' meeting in the heart of downtown. The demonstration, organized by the Tri-State Conference on the Impact of Steel, was aimed against lack of capital investment in the deteriorating Pittsburgh area steel mills. U.S. Steel has repeatedly threatened to close these mills, reproducing here the disastrous conditions they have already created in nearby Youngstown, Ohio.

Carrying signs reading "stop plant closings" and "save our jobs" and cardboard coffins signifying the death of the mills, the pickets chanted "The threat is real from U.S. Steel" and "Save our towns, stop the shutdowns." At the same time Tri-State members passed out leaflets and counter annual reports to stockholders and passers-by explaining their position and calling for support. Several members holding voting proxies raised the issue of plant closings and investment inside the meeting itself — confronting U.S. Steel's chairman Roderick face to face and demanding answers.

The specter of Youngstown, less than 100 miles north west of here, haunts the steelworkers and virtually all of the people of Pittsburgh. They know they must prepare for serious struggle if their jobs and communities are to survive. Although at the moment unemployment is low in the local steel mills, the threat of following the fate of Youngstown is very real for Pittsburgh and the mill towns of the Monongahela River valley south of the city. Many of these communities have been dying for years despite urban renewal schemes and now the economic crisis of the eighties is hitting them especially hard.

Pittsburgh area mills are old. Constructed around the turn of the century or in the '20s, the last major modernization at most mills was during World War II — some 40 years ago. Only one of U.S. Steel's mills, the Edgar Thompson Works, has the modern basic oxygen process for converting iron to steel. Others (including the historic Homestead Works) still use the obsolete open hearth furnaces. Furthermore, many of the rolling mills and other vital processes in the mills

such as the hot strip mill at the Irvin Works are worn out.

U.S. Steel has been making vague hints around here for some time about up-grading, but their official 1980 report to stockholders projects no firm budgetary commitments whatsoever. In their "counter report" Tri-State called U.S. Steel's hand, demanding specific detailed answers to the questions of what and when of modernization and bluntly pointing out that U.S. Steel is not investing in steel because the giant corporation finds it more profitable to invest in chemicals and real estate than to guarantee the jobs of the workers who created its vast wealth in the first place.

Pittsburgh has long been dominated economically, politically and culturally by U.S. Steel and the super-rich Mellon family. These forces and their political puppets in both capitalist parties are bent on pouring development funds, including tax dollars, into ultra-modern office buildings for giant corporations in the downtown area and swanky shopping malls and centers both downtown and in the suburbs. Meanwhile, traditional working communities are left to rot along with the mills. The young mayor of Pittsburgh has stated that all those who can't find office or professional work or minimum wage service jobs in Pittsburgh should move out of the area!

Conspicuous by their absence at the demonstration were the officials of the United Steel Workers, whose international office is only a few blocks away from the demonstration site. They have been repeatedly invited by Tri-State to take up the struggle or at least speak out on the question of modernization of the mills. So far the misleaders of USW have been in complete solidarity with the steel barons on this burning issue — they refuse to rock the capitalists' boat and they condemn as outside interference any attempt by anyone else to rally the people against the steel interests.

The Tri-State Conference on the Impact of Steel plans to continue, with or without USW support, to organize against the steel industry's "disinvestment" in the region and has already attracted rank and file workers as well as the usual coalition type progressive activists. They plan to fight to the finish. □



Once the masses find an acceptable form to express themselves, their resistance and anger will pour out. Here, railroad workers demonstrate against Reagan's budget cuts.

The Railroading of Sacco & Vanzetti



Demonstration supporting Sacco and Vanzetti

Laura Johnson

Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco emigrated to the U.S. from Italy in 1908. Both were young, hard-working men who came to America full of dreams and hopes, dreams that evaporated almost as soon as they touched shore. For what was a hey-day for John D. Rockefeller, Jay Gould, and Andrew Carnegie in amassing huge sums of capital and establishing trusts and combines the scope of which had never been seen before in America, was hell for the working class. Wages averaged \$10/week; the workday was 10-16 hours long. Sacco and Vanzetti took residence in one of the huge slums and shantytowns which grew like cancerous sores on the glitter and gold of the industrial and commercial centers, as workers flocked to cities in search of jobs and the "American Dream" they would never see.

To be foreign in an expanding capitalist system that was crushing everything in its way was to suffer the worst indignity and exploitation. Vanzetti described his arrival:

"In the immigration station, I had my first surprise. I saw the steerage passengers handled by the officials like so many animals. Not a word of kindness, of encouragement, to lighten the burden of tears that rested heavily upon the newly arrived on American shores. . . the hours were long; the air when we slept was suffocatingly hot; and the vermin did not permit me to close my eyes."

But the realization that America was not the "golden land" they had expected only put resolve into the hearts of the young shoemaker and fish-peddler. They wanted answers to the exploitation they had left in Italy and found anew in America. Both read everything they could get their hands on — Dante, Zola, Darwin and, most important, Marx's "Capital" and other revolutionary literature from around the world. For even within the destructiveness of capitalism, they saw a far greater opportunity — and opportunity to organize, to fight back, and to rally their fellow workers. This they set out to do with a vigor sparked not only by the history of resistance in their own land, but deepened by the knowledge of working class destiny. Vanzetti wrote in "Life of a Proletarian":

"I learned that class consciousness was not a phrase 'invented' by propagandists, but a real, vital force, and that those who felt its significance were no longer beasts of burden but human beings."

Both dug into the strike movements of the day, not only leading several themselves, but coming to the defense of other strike leaders singled out by the government for attack. Vanzetti personally led a 4,000-person strike at an unorganized cordage factory in Plymouth, Mass. Despite predictions in the local media and by the company bosses that the strike would be crushed in two days, the workers valiantly held out for over a month, fighting off state police, Pinkerton guards and scabs to win their demands. Workers credited Vanzetti's strong agitation and organizing ability for their being able to fight to the end.

The two did not limit themselves to just economic agitation and organizing. Calling out World War I as nothing but a holocaust among imperialist bandits, Sacco and Vanzetti agitated and organized resistance to what one historian referred to as "a mass orgy of death." Part of this was the effort to free Tom Mooney, leader of the 1915 San Francisco Street Car Workers strike, who had been "convicted" for bombing a 1916 government-organized "Preparedness Parade." Along with others, Sacco and Vanzetti exposed the charges as lies, helping to distribute a picture of Mooney next to a city clock a mile away from where the alleged crime had happened. For their anti-war activities, the two young revolutionaries were hounded by some of the hundreds of Justice Department agents who were sent out under the 1916 "Espionage & Sedition Act" — to every union meeting and public gathering called to organize against the war. They were forced into exile in Mexico, returning as soon as the war ended.

Most of all, these two fighters were champions of the rights of immigrant workers. During and after the vicious Palmer raids, Sacco and Vanzetti organized protest meetings, printed leaflets and raised money for defense. They themselves, it was later admitted by Justice Department officials, were on a special hit-list of the Justice Department, with an agent Shannassy assigned to tail them.

Sacco and Vanzetti were some of the most far-sighted young working class militants of the times. To the workers, they were proven leaders. But to the capitalists and U.S. government, these two Italian-American revolutionaries were dangerous men. Not only did they organize the workers in their daily fight, but they educated them about revolution in America. Something had to be done!

Salseda's Death: Frame-up Begins

In early May of 1920, Vanzetti received word in Boston that an Italian printer named Andrea Salseda had been held for eight weeks by the Justice Department for his "radical activities." Vanzetti immediately went to investigate the detention. The next day, Salseda was found crushed to death beneath the 14th story window of the Department of Justice building on New York's Park Row.

News of Salseda's death bannered the front pages in New York and Boston. Few believed the official account that it was "an accident." The situation grew tense as workers debated what to do in the factories, on street corners, in local bars. Sacco and Vanzetti themselves were dogged by government agents everywhere they went for the next two days.

On May 5th, the net fell. Sacco and Vanzetti were picked up and themselves charged with "suspicion of radical activities." Boston detectives and federal agents confiscated hand-bills announcing a meeting to plan organizing around Salseda's murder. They impounded Sacco's .32 Colt pistol that he carried as common practice for his "self-protection."

No sooner had the arrests been made than workers in the Boston Italian districts began organizing. Afraid of a mass response on straight-up "red" charges, the authorities needed a more indirect and polarizing tact to shift public opinion to nail the two leaders. New charges were brought against them: the murder of two company guards in a \$15,000 pay-roll robbery at South Baintree, Mass. shoe factory on April 15th. An unsuccessful robbery attempt in Bridgewater, Mass. in 1919 charged further to Vanzetti. The burden of proof now lay on the two defendants.

Significance of Case Reaches Far Beyond the Two Men

The great frame-up had begun, and with it one of the most far-reaching political trials in this nation's history. The significance of the Sacco and Vanzetti trials reached far beyond the personalities of the two men. It became a broad symbol of the class conflict of the times and a rallying point for the working class and justice-loving people of the U.S. and abroad.

In the U.S., the largest strike wave in history up to that point followed in the wake of the war-crisis. Over 4,000,000 workers took to the streets and showed the war-enriched monopoly capitalists what they thought of the aftermath of the "war to save democracy." The Great Steel Strike of 1919 brought forth over 365,000 steel workers in 10 major steel centers in a striking offensive against the "open shop" campaign of the biggest monopolies of the time, pacesetting the fight of industrial workers for years to come.

A short two weeks after the Armistice was signed, Seattle shipyard workers struck an industry virtually built by the war; 110 other unions struck in sympathy. The Seattle General Strike brought the city to a standstill. Seattle workers from the IWW & AFL Metal Trades Council set up a Soldier, Sailor and Workingman's Council, patterned after the Soviets in Russia.

In the midst of such spontaneous resistance of the workers, the Communist Labor Party and Communist Party were formed in 1919, later merging in 1921.

The case of Sacco and Vanzetti grabbed world attention, becoming at once a symbol of the most reactionary jingoist rule of the monopoly capitalists, and a "cause celebre" to workers and oppressed the world over. With the Palmer raids fresh in their minds, Sacco and Vanzetti tapped the sentiment of thousands of newly arrived Italian and other European immigrants. It was this political background that brought forth hundreds of thousands throughout the world to take up the support of the two immigrants and expose the reality behind the so-called "golden age" of the 20's.

Trial Focuses Government Attacks

The government used the trial to sustain its desperate anti-foreign, redbaiting campaign.

The kangaroo court set up to try Sacco and Vanzetti had a hand picked case. Presiding Judge Thayer set the tone, when he issued a statement even before the trial began on May 21, 1921.

"This man (Vanzetti), although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions."

Describing the opening days of the trial, Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais in "Labors' Untold Story" wrote:

"The defendants, manacled and loaded with chains, were taken into a heavily guarded courtroom and placed in a case. . . in an effort to give the impression that a red rescue was imminent, the courthouse was guarded by armed police and everyone entering the courtroom was searched for weapons. . . in his

remarks and later charge to the jury, Judge Thayer exhorted the jurors to act as soldiers on the battlefield serving their country against a foreign enemy."

The main prosecution eyewitnesses were a prostitute who fingered the defendants in return for a government-insured job and a man who was a fugitive from charges in another state, testifying under a false name. The court interpreter — who played a key role in translating the defendants' "broken English" was so close to Judge Thayer that he named his son after him. The jury foreman told a fellow juror before the trial even began that "Sacco and Vanzetti should be hung. We need to get rid of these Degos."

Trial transcripts show that each witness contradicted the other. Some said the defendants drove into town, some that they arrived by train. Each came out with a different story on the time and actual place of the robbery and murder. Defense witnesses on the other hand, spoke in unified voice to where the defendants really were at the time of the crime. A leak from the Italian consulate in New York testified that Sacco was obtaining a passport from him at the time of the alleged crime. Witness after witness testified that Vanzetti was seen by them 35 miles away at Plymouth just before the robbery. (In 1927, just before the two defendants were executed, Celestino Madeiros, part of the Morelli gang of Boston, wrote a letter to the defendants in jail confessing in full to the crime. This the government also suppressed.)

The capitalists' media did its part in the orchestration of the legal lynching, churning out story after story parroting the official government lies. For example, on Oct. 27, 1921 it was reported:

"Federal agents have unearthed in Boston plans of an organized gang of radicals to spread a reign of terror over the whole U.S. for days . . . The plot, according to investigators, is international in its organization and was to have been carried out by radicals to aid the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti."

Local Support Grows Into International Resistance

But from the beginning, outrage and support came in from people of all walks of life against a trial that stunk of racism and witch-hunting. Italian workers in Boston initiated the support committees that mushroomed throughout the country. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and other members of the young Communist Party played leading roles in these committees which organized protests nationwide and raised over \$300,000 in defense funds. In 1925, the CP established the International Labor Defense and the Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born to broaden out support for Sacco and Vanzetti and other victims of political and national persecution. The Communist International gave leadership to the vast out-pouring of international support.

At the trial itself the Federated Churches of Greater Boston, New England Civil Liberties Union, League for Democratic Control and the Italian Embassy all sent observers. Over 120 union newspapers pooled their reporters and resources to ensure daily coverage of the circus proceedings. Writers like poet Edna St. Vincent Millay and Heywood Broun spoke out in support of the defendants.

The United Mine Workers and Ohio AFL convention immediately passed resolutions calling for the dropping of charges. In May, 1921, locals from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers of America, Boilermakers, IAM, IBEW, Molders, Shoeworkers and others joined the outcry. The support was spanning the whole labor movement.

When the verdict of guilty with automatic death by electric chair came down on Oct. 28, 1921, the world was shocked. The outrage and protest grew



Nicola Sacco and Bartholomew Vanzetti

and kept growing through ebbs and flows for the next 7 years. Demonstrations and meetings were held every step of the way as appeals and petitions wound their way through the torturous legal channels and the 2 defendants sat out in jail what became popularly known as the "passion of Sacco and Vanzetti." Liberal journals of the times like the New Republic, The Nation, and the London Outlook called for reversal of the verdict.

The Central Labor Councils of Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Seattle, and others appealed for defense funds. Pushed by the workers and progressive unionists throughout the country, even the AFL executive board finally joined the voices of those calling for a new trial.

At the same time, demonstrations at the U.S. embassies in France, England, Italy, the Soviet Union, Germany, India, China and Brazil rocked world opinion.

Execution Amidst the "Golden Age"

By 1927, the American people had lived through Henry Ford's "American plan" and witnessed the reality behind the bourgeoisie's "Golden Age." For the masses of U.S. people this "prosperity" was a sham. In the 1920s, according to the Brookings Institute, 60% of the American people lived beneath the "basic necessities" line. Speed-up, automation, the job combination took their toll on the workforce. Thousands were thrown out of work in the midst of monopolization and further intensification of labor. In the '20s, over 25,000 American workers a year lost their lives in industrial accidents alone.

In 1927, the height of this capitalist "Golden Age," the Massachusetts Supreme Court denied final motion on Sacco and Vanzetti's appeal and set the date for execution on August 23, 1927.

If the struggle around the frame-up and persecution of these two Italian labor organizers had been a thorn in the side of the government for the last 7 years, it now became a ram-rod. Only Mass. Governor Allan Fuller could stay execution. Workers and progressive people by the tens of thousands poured into Boston from all over the country to demand justice. They came by car, train, and on foot. They took off work and brought their families. Protest rallies were held in large cities and small towns. Strikes ripped through New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Colorado — all the way to the West Coast.

According to news reports of the time, literally hundreds of thousands of workers struck and protested with one aim: Free these two fighters! Stop the scapegoating of foreign immigrants! Stop the rail-roading!

Battles with national guard troops and police lines broke out in the industrial centers like Chicago and Philadelphia. Over 50,000 people demonstrating in New York's Union Square fought back against the

vicious raid of police, who indiscriminately beat up men, women, and children to put down the outrage that had overcome broad sections of Americans. Bombs explode in New York City — carefully planned to destroy property, not human life.

Protest in this country was matched by protest around the world. The August 3, 1927 issue of the New York Times carried these stories: "Russia Appeals to the World," "50,000 Swedes Parade," "Berlin Police Battle Reds at our Embassy," "Argentine Strike Goes On," "Danes Threaten Legation," "Brussels Police Rout Rioters."

But still, the government refused to budge. Robert O'Brian, owner of the Boston Traveler, summed-up later the views of the whole ruling class: "The momentum of the established order required the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti."

On the night of the execution, thousands marched to the prison where the two defendants waited. A phalanx of National Guard troops guarded the prison, machine guns punctured its walls.

Protesters screamed for freedom, children cried. It was a stand-off and even as the National Guard tightened ranks to keep the protesters back on the outside, the executioners within the prison walls pulled the final switch on the lives of Nicholo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. The humble shoemaker and fish peddler died, passing on the "hopes and dreams" they had brought with them to America 19 years before to the thousands who stood up in their defense.

Even in death, their last words were a call to the working class world-wide to take up where they left off. The 7,000 people who marched from the funeral home to the cemetery August 28; the 200,000 who lined the streets of Boston to pay their last respects took heed of their final words.

Sacco in a letter to son Duante: "...help the persecuted and the victim because they are your better friends; they are the comrades that fight and fall as your father and Bartolomeo fought and fell... for the conquest of the joy of freedom for all..."

Vanzetti: "...Our words — our lives — our pains — nothing! The taking of our lives — the lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler — all! This last moment belongs to us — this last agony is our triumph."

Sacco and Vanzetti Paceset Fight Back

The militant, wide-spread, organized resistance to the frame-up and murder of Sacco and Vanzetti pace-set some of the most militant labor struggles in this nation's history. Two years after their execution, the stock market crashed, bringing down with it devastation, hunger and impoverishment on the American people. Under the political leadership of the CP in the 30s, united and with organization that spanned the entire working class, thousands of workers followed in the footsteps of the "good shoemaker and poor fish peddler" — taking on the biggest monopoly capitalists, the scab National Recovery Administration (NRA), the courts, national guard.

In 1934, longshoremen shut down the entire West Coast shipping industry. For over 45 days, pitched battles between striking workers and riot-equipped police raged on the docks. Nearly every union in San Francisco joined the Longshoremen in support. Two years later, autoworkers in Detroit initiated the sit-down tactic, which grew like wild fire.

Shock troops of striking workers shut down plant after plant, backed up with an organizational system that brought in literally thousands of workers from all trades, the wives and families of the strikers to bring GM to its knees and kick off the organizing of the CIO. And every year, around the first week in August, the men and women who were fighting out some of the glorious pages in U.S. labor history took off their hats and paused a moment or two in silence in remembrance of the two Italian immigrant fighters who had given their lives for the cause of the working class just a few years before. □

*This is the five dollar bill received by me from the U.S. Government in paying the ultimate ransom and contribution by me to the Sacco Vanzetti Defense Fund
Dec. 25th 1921 Eugene P. Debs*

The great American socialist and popular working class leader, Eugene Debs, himself in prison for his political convictions, sent Sacco and Vanzetti his prison money for their defense. Pictured is a receipt of his contribution.

Polish Workers Fight Revisionist Line Part 1

Which Way Out for Poland

This is an edited version of a major article that appears in the forthcoming issue of The 80s, theoretical journal of the Communist Workers Party. Part 2 will follow in the next issue of Workers Viewpoint.

Dennis T. Torigoe

The thousands of workers who downed tools and took over the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk last July began a workers' movement that has reverberated far beyond Poland's borders. Workers and bourgeoisie, communists and capitalists pondered what it meant for workers to rebel against a government run supposedly for the workers. In many ways, it echoed the debate at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in China over a decade ago.

Were the workers in Poland going berserk, threatening anarchy and the overthrow of the system (and thus making Soviet invasion "necessary") as some opportunists say? Or was it a result of the accumulated revisionist lines and policies of the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP)? And most important of all, how to begin resolving the serious problems of Poland?

Polish Workers Strike to Protest Food Prices—The Fourth Time Around

The recent strike wave is the fourth major workers' protest in Poland's postwar history. Previous strikes occurred in 1956, in 1970 and again in 1976. Never before, however, has the strike wave swept so many workers into the movement as in this past year. And never before have the workers been able to form and maintain as powerful a workers' organization as Solidarity, the independent union born out of the struggle.

Marxists around the world are asking: "Is it terrible or is it fine?" Some revisionists, like those in Line of March, a sect divorced from class struggle, call the Polish workers "reactionary," demanding that the Soviet Union militarily intervene and "save socialism."

But Marxist-Leninists don't sidestep the truth. The roots of the Polish workers' revolt are deeper than a few "hooligans" or "anti-socialist" elements. The real basis lies in the revisionist lines and policies of the leaders of the PUWP and the Polish government it leads, particularly the lines they followed in handling the relationship between the party, government and the masses after World War II. This profoundly affected how the PUWP reacted to the economic dislocations of the country.

As Lenin said, "A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and the working people. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions that have led up to it and thrashing out the means of its rectification—that is the hallmark of a serious party."

As we will show through examining the history of the PUWP, it is just this refusal to make thorough-going

self-criticism and rectification that has deepened their opportunism and forced the workers to rebel. Instead of correcting wrong lines, especially weak mass line, party leaders have tried to protect their positions, breeding careerism and giving rise to a stratum of bureaucrats. And as they tried to justify their opportunist positions, the situation got worse and worse. This vicious cycle has backed the PUWP into the corner it's in today.

The workers had no alternative but to rise up. There was absolutely no other way to turn the situation around. And clearly if the workers had not risen up, the future would have been literally out of control, giving the imperialists an opening to step in and take over. As for the present, we think that as long as the Soviet Union does not intervene, the future for the Polish workers is definitely bright and will strengthen the socialist system in Poland.

The Vicious Cycle of PUWP's Revisionist Line

The problems facing the PUWP stem in part from the way it came to power in Poland. Before World War II, the Polish communist movement was very weak and in 1938 the Polish Communist Party was dissolved. Reconstituted during the war, it was part of the overall resistance movement but was one of the smallest parties in Poland.

The key to the communists' coming to power was the Red Army's liberation of Poland from the Nazi occupiers. Aided by the Comintern, the Polish communists, then called the Polish Workers Party, began extensive work among the masses. Party membership grew rapidly as area after area was liberated.

But the road to power for the Polish Communist Party was not easy. Though backed by the Red Army and the Soviet Union, its standing among the Polish masses was far from consolidated. It still faced much larger anti-communist forces in the country, including the Home Army, the largest of the anti-Nazi armed forces directed by London exiles. It was only after a bloody civil war lasting over three years that the armed resistance of the Home Army and other anti-communist guerrillas was smashed. The war cost thousands of lives on both sides.

The history of the PUWP's taking state power brings into sharp relief the fallacy of "exporting revolution," a line held by the Soviet revisionists today. Because it had not been necessary to establish the party's moral authority among the masses prior to the seizure of state power, this problematic task existed in the period after. Most of all, the PUWP had not had to deal seriously with winning over and keeping the majority of the masses on its side. That is the problem of a deep and thorough-going understanding of, and ability to implement, the mass line. Even now, the PUWP still has not been able, or refuses, to deal with the question seriously.

To see the effects of this revisionist line in the PUWP, we must begin with events in 1956. At the Stalin factory

in Poznan, workers walked off the job demanding higher wages, setting off a chain of events which led to the rise of Gomulka four months later.

Right after the Poznan walkout, the party leadership opportunistically blamed an imperialist plot. However, as Gomulka himself summed up, "The workers of Poznan were not protesting against people's Poland, against socialism, when they came out into their city streets. They were protesting against the evil that has become so widespread in our social system and which touched them so painfully, against distortions of the basic rules of socialism, which is their ideal. . . . The clumsy attempt to present the Poznan tragedy as the work of imperialist agents and *agents provocateurs* was politically very naive."

With these lessons in mind, Gomulka set out to find a "Polish road to socialism." Two important measures stand out from that period—the establishment of workers' councils and the decollectivization of agriculture. Both of these highlight the fundamental problems of Poland in the 1980's, some 25 years after Poznan.

The Rise and Fall of Workers' Councils

There was a spontaneous demand of the masses for more opportunities to supervise the leadership of the management and the party. Trade unions under PUWP leadership did exist but the demand for workers' councils showed clearly the masses did not see them as representing the workers' interests. Nor did they serve as the "schools of communism" Lenin described.

Whether the workers' councils were a correct form or not is not the question here. In any case, the PUWP began to oppose them and then took *administrative* measures against the workers' councils. The first step curbing the power of the workers' councils was the instruction to the trade union organizations to fight them. By the spring of 1958, Gomulka had announced plans for legislation to reduce the status of workers' councils and the plans were enacted into law in December. Thus by 1958, Gomulka himself had forgotten what he had called "the painful lessons" of the Poznan.

As Lenin through bitter experience of the early years of Soviet power learned, ". . . One of the greatest and most serious dangers that confront the numerically small Communist Party which, as the vanguard of the working class, is guiding a vast country in the process of transition to socialism (for the time being without the direct support of the more advanced countries), is isolation from the masses, the danger that the vanguard may run too far ahead and fail to "straighten out the line," fail to maintain firm contact with the whole army of labour, i.e., with the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants. Just as the best factory, with the very best motors and first class machines, will be forced to remain idle if the transmission belts from the motors to the machines are damaged, so our work of socialist construction must



As long as the Soviet Union does not intervene, the future for the Polish workers is bright and strengthens socialism in Poland.



The Polish workers had no choice but to rise up. The intolerable situation was the accumulated result of the revisionist lines and policies of the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party.

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meet with inevitable disaster if the trade unions—the transmission belts from the Communist Party to the masses—are badly fitted or function badly. It is not sufficient to explain, to reiterate and corroborate this truth; it must be backed up organizationally by the whole structure of the trade unions and by their everyday activities.”

This extremely important truth returned to haunt the PUWP again and again in the decades following Poznan.

Faced with this crisis, the PUWP removed Gomulka from the position of First Secretary and replaced him with Edward Gierek, a coal miner's son elected to the party's Political Bureau in 1959.

Gierek's Opportunist Policies — From Bad to Worse

The strikes of 1970 also brought home with a vengeance the fact that Poland's economy had a massive contradiction. Throughout the 60's the economy as a whole grew at a brisk 6% pace based on the development of a number of industries. But the peasant-dominated agricultural sector based on small private plots was clearly beginning to drag the economy back. The attempted price adjustments of 1970 indicated that.

The choices open to Gierek upon his rise to the first position of First Secretary were clear—either deal with the agricultural problem head-on and start taking the necessary steps, painful as they were, to rectify the situation; or sidestep it and take the path of least resistance.

At that point, it was clear that the worse sin the PUWP could commit would have been to do nothing at all on the agricultural question—which is essentially a peasant question. Collectivization seems to be seen as a deadly threat by the Polish peasants and the government. If in fact there was widespread collectivization, there probably would be massive distress that would mean greater food shortages and more workers' revolts.

But the PUWP had to act, whether it instituted a step-by-step cooperative and commune movement based on concrete local conditions—as China did in the 50's and 60's or another version of the NEP under Lenin, with further unleashing of market forces and the polarization of the peasantry, including the expansion of the kulak class. It was clear, that the condition of Polish agriculture was creating both economic and political dislocations on a massive scale. No long-run solution was possible without solving this problem. And half-steps only made it worse.

Under Gierek's leadership, the PUWP committed the opportunist sin—it sidestepped the question. After the 1970 strikes, Gierek was forced to rescind the price increases and lower them to the pre-1968 level. He removed a few top level leaders of the PUWP, including a number of Political Bureau members, and replaced 12 out of 18 provincial party secretaries. The replacement of people, however, was incidental. The main thing was that the line remained revisionist.

Without dealing with the fundamental underlying problem of agriculture, Gierek tried to cool out the workers' resistance by creating more consumer goods. This treated the symptoms of the problem without getting to its basis. It only put off the problem to the point where it exploded with ever greater ferocity.

Basically, Gierek gambled with the Polish economy. Fearing them he failed to explain clearly to the workers and the masses the scope and extent of the problems the country faced. Instead of mobilizing the masses to deal with the problems, he lied to them and tried to cover up the contradictions.

1976 — Revisionists Do It Again

The economic problems, especially the crisis in agriculture, forced the government again to try to raise food prices in 1976. They raised meat prices 60% and sugar 100%. On June 28, 1976 workers in the cities of Ursus and Radom went on strike, occupying party offices and paralyzing the railroads. In the end, the government rescinded the price increases but 20 people lay dead and many were arrested.

removal of the leadership that occurred in 1956 and 1970. Instead, the revisionist PUWP leadership tried harder to cover its tracks. This represented the growth of opportunism.

At the Dec. 1976 Central Committee meeting the PUWP decided to put more funds into subsidizing the low prices of agricultural products and into the production of consumer goods in general. In the long run it amounted to doing nothing; in the short run it meant drying up investment and running the economy into the ground.

Most important, however, was the line basis of the Polish revisionists' actions. They were treating the Polish working class essentially like a bunch of animals. The revisionists refused to explain to them the economic and political dislocations the country faced, deeper than even five years before, repudiating the incorrect line and policies they held and removing those responsible—primarily Gierek himself. Nor did they have the guts to call on the Party and advanced workers to lead the struggle for the purging of the revisionist line and make the sacrifices necessary to turn the country around. Instead of a vitally necessary *concentric attack* in all spheres—political, organizational, ideological and economic—to deal with the problems, the revisionists took short-sighted pragmatic measures to cool the workers off. Some of this was necessary. But it did not deal with fundamental problems.

The Severe Economic Dislocation in Poland Today

Because of these problems, since 1975 the Polish economic picture is one of steady deterioration. Agricultural production shrank every year except 1977. National income, industrial production and investment have all declined. In 1979, for the first time since the formation of the People's Republic of Poland, national income actually dropped, with industrial production growing only 2.8%. Investment in the economy dropped 8.2% from the previous year (which dropped .2%) and agricultural production dropped 1.4%

Agriculture in Poland is now clearly a disaster area. In 1980 food production fell an estimated 300 million tons. Trying to make up for it, the Polish government had to import 1,000 million tons of grain, some 400 million tons over the previous year. One observer noted that Poland, now the largest food importer in Europe, "is never more than a shipload away from agricultural crisis."

Because Poland is not self-sufficient in feed grain, there will be distress slaughter of livestock if the government cannot raise the necessary foreign exchange to buy feed. Lack of foreign exchange—caused the Poland's tremendous debt and interest payments on Western loans—has already caused massive cutbacks in Common Market butter imports and led to shortages.

Tightness in the meat supply sparked the strike waves in 1970, 1976 and this past year. One of the reasons why the government has to raise meat prices last year was the tremendous expense of subsidizing food costs. These have averaged \$2.12 billion annually, a full 20% of the government's budget. In an attempt to cut these costs, the government kept prices stable in state-owned stores while reducing quantities of meat available. At the same time, they allowed the prices in the commercial markets to rise. Since July, prices for the best meats have doubled. Beef went from \$1.15 to \$2.27 a pound, smoked ham from \$1.30 to \$2.50 a pound. These price rises, on top of shortages, fueled the latest storm of resistance from the Polish workers.

Why the Brezhnev Doctrine Would Bring Disaster

There are two Soviet divisions stationed inside Poland and today tens of thousands of Warsaw Pact troops are at Poland's borders. As everyone knows, they are poised to invade Poland if in the eyes of the CPSU leadership things get out of hand.

The precedent for violation of Poland's sovereignty is the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968. At that time the infamous "Brezhnev Doctrine" was coined. This according to the Soviet revisionists, gave them the right to intervene at will anywhere socialism is "threatened." According to this line, which represents a social-imperialist policy, socialist nations have only a "limited sovereignty."

It is under this concept of "limited sovereignty" that the Soviet revisionists justify invading other countries in Eastern Europe. Not only is it another example of the revisionists' great-nation chauvinism, it is a concept in fundamental opposition to the interests of socialism in the era of imperialism.

In essence, the Brezhnev doctrine represents a *revisionist programmatic cover-up* of the source of the problem—all in the name of "imperialist plots." It sidetracks attention from the internal basis of the problem—the revisionist line inside the PUWP and in fact justifies the lack of thorough-going self-criticism and rectification in practice.

The line of "limited sovereignty" also represents out-and-out opportunism in the relations between socialist states.

Just as important, in the era of imperialism, the fight against imperialism is tightly linked to a socialist state's foreign policy. This includes relations between socialist states based on mutual assistance and proletarian internationalism, the support of national liberation struggles and countries' independence and the policy of peaceful coexistence. The imperialists are driven by their economic systems to constantly violate the sovereignty of other countries in order to export their capital and find new markets and sources of raw materials. The socialist policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems exposes the imperialists who can never follow this policy. The imperialists are the ones who never uphold the principle of sovereignty of all countries and look for any excuses to violate countries' independence.

The concept of "limited sovereignty" in fact undercut the socialist foreign policy of peaceful coexistence and the Soviet revisionists have in fact helped the imperialists off the hook.

Line of March has stated that to oppose the right of the Soviet Union to intervene in Poland is to negate the liberation of Eastern Europe from the Nazis by the Red Army and the People's Volunteers from China in the Korean War. This is shameless sophistry. Where are the fascist armies in Poland? Where are the U.S imperialist troops invading the country? This is nothing but another attempt to prove themselves better flunkies to the revisionists of the CPSU than the CPUSA—over the bodies of Polish workers.

If the Soviet Union did invade Poland—under whatever pretext—it would utterly destroy the PUWP's chances to regain its moral authority. It would play right into the hands of the reactionaries and imperialist agents

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The Real Terrorists in Northern Ireland

Sally Campbell

The following is the first in a series of articles on Northern Ireland that will deal with questions such as: is the IRA a "terror" group? as people like Claire Sterling alleges. Is the struggle in Northern Ireland one between "Protestant and Catholic extremists"? — as Britain claims or the Irish people's fight for liberation from British imperialist occupation? Future issues will address these questions in a historical context, as the occupation of Ireland by England began in the year 1169, and as yet has not ended.

With the continuing hunger strike for political prisoner status in Northern Ireland, which has now led to the deaths of Raymond McCreech and Patrick O'Hara, as well as Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, the British and U.S. news media have been going all out to paint the Provisional Irish Republican Army (to which three of these men belonged) as a "terrorist" and "Catholic extremist" organization. Claire Sterling, in *The Terror Network*, devoted a whole chapter to "revealing the international terrorist network" that supposedly supports and arms the IRA. The bourgeois press never discusses the terrorism of U.S./British imperialism against countless third world countries. Anyone who dares confront U.S.-backed dictators in Iran, El Salvador, for example, is an "extremist" and "terrorist," as are people opposing U.S. domestic or foreign policy here at home.

Unfounded Fiction

Claire Sterling's book is being trumpeted by Secretary of State Alexander Haig as an authoritative investigation into the relationship between various national liberation forces and third world countries, as well as the Soviet Union. But, a series in the Irish People, newspaper of the Irish Northern Aid Committee, disputes most of these claims and offers other sources that are accepted authorities on Irish history, as well as stating known fact.

For example, Sterling claims that most of the IRA's arms come from the Soviet Union. "The cargo vessel Claudia steamed out of Tripoli toward the coast of Ireland bearing 250 Kalashnikov rifles and other weapons — five tons of the very best Soviet-bloc hardware," she writes. But Oisín, the author of the series, quotes Gary McEoin in *Northern Ireland: Captive of History* (p.8): "In March, 1973, the Irish navy intercepted off the Irish



The British flag goes up in smoke along with an effigy of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at a demonstration in front of the British Consulate in N.Y.C., May 5.

coast a German-owned coaster carrying five tons of arms, ammunition and explosives, with a top IRA leader on board. The armaments, believed to have been taken aboard in Libya, had originated in Russia, East Europe, Belgium, Britain and the United States. Why state that all the arms had come from the Soviet bloc when in fact they had not? The truth is that the IRA like any insurgent organization needs arms and has to get them wherever it can." This piece of half-truth is nothing compared to other whoppers in Sterling's book.

She tells the story of how the IRA smuggled a firebomb "into Belfast hid-

den in a baby pram, wheeled by two teenage girls." But according to Oisín, this was a lie made up by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), the fascist in N. Ireland. "The entire story was subsequently admitted by the British Army Press Office to be totally untrue" and "the army had the RUC issue a statement admitting that the story was completely false."

Sterling claims that IRA funds come "through protection rackets, brothels and massage parlors, drug-running and bank stickups (preferably in Dublin, where police are unarmed)." In fact, these are the tactics of the British imperialists to recruit spies and slander the IRA. "British Intelligence has been able to secure numerous local informers and agents through blackmail, bribery and straight payment. A minor episode gives a glimpse of the ethics involved, D15, in conjunction with army intelligence and the Special Branch set up two brothels and a 'massage parlor' in the Malone Road and Antrim Road districts of Belfast to obtain material with which to blackmail clients into becoming informers or agents.... The girls were required to take the Official Secrets Oath.

"Conversations with clients were tape recorded, and remote controlled 35 millimetre cameras took photographs in the bedrooms." (Kennedy Lindsay, *Ambush At Tully West*, as quoted by Oisín.)

As for the charge of holding up banks, "British... Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington won't be grateful to Claire for mentioning [that]," comments Oisín. They were actually carried out by two brothers, one a criminal who wanted his name off the "wanted" list, and the other who of-

ferred to inform on the Official IRA. "The Littlejohn brothers, besides supplying information about the Official IRA, were ordered to carry out bank robberies and other illegal activities, including murder, in the south of Ireland to discredit the Republican movement." One of the brothers, "Kenneth, in a British Broadcasting Corporation interview after their masters had disowned them following their capture, revealed that he knew of 16 bank robberies arranged by British Intelligence. He also claimed credit for the petrol bombing of police stations in the south of Ireland and threatened to reveal the names of those responsible for the 1972 bombings in Dublin which killed two persons and injured more than 100 others. Details showing British involvement in the bombings may be found in Michael Cunningham's *Monaghan: County of Intrigue*."

This is substantially more than Claire Sterling offers about the incident, and a bit more up-to-date. Many of her footnotes cite the arch-Tory London paper the Telegraph or the Daily Mail (also London), UPI, 70% British-owned. The Village Voice has done a scathing review of Sterling's book, exposing many of her sources as right-wing magazines and publications of right-wing think-tanks.

Oisín documents what is just now becoming common knowledge. The British imperialists are the real terrorists in Ireland, ruling by direct repression and through fascist groups like the UDA (Ulster Defense Association) and the UDR (Ulster Defense Regiment). "Both Loyalists and Republicans have long charged that many of the so-called 'sectarian assassinations' were the work of British troops. It is now certain that British units did indeed carry out many such assassinations and Kennedy Lindsay's *Ambush at Tully West* deals with that type of operation attributable to British Intelligence services."

The UDA murdered about 440 people, wounding and injuring thousands more, between 1972 and 1977 (Jack Holland, *Too Long A Sacrifice*). Says Oisín, "The Derry Branch of the UDA, in a statement published in the Irish Times of Feb. 24, 1981, claimed that one of its former leading members is an officer in British Military Intelligence. The figures given by Jack Holland account for 72% of the civilian 'sectarian' deaths for the period mentioned."

Masses Clear on Need to Fight

What is most important is the awareness of the nationalist population in the northeast part of Ireland, of Britain's terrorist rule. According to Oisín, the number of house searches from 1971 to 1978 totalled 301,566. The house searches are conducted by "soldiers [who] seal off a nationalist area in the early morning hours. Men, women and children are dragged from their beds at gunpoint; floor boards are ripped up, plumbing fixtures smashed (including toilets), furniture ripped open, and, for good measure, crucifixes or other religious articles are smashed."

It is due to such tactics that the IRA changed from a purely defensive organization after the failure of several military campaigns decades ago, to one which actively attacks British troops and blows up commercial targets in an attempt to make British investment a losing proposition.

The IRA's military resurgence was sparked after a police riot in 1968 against an unarmed civil rights march, now known as the Burntollet Ambush. The Provisionals came into being from a split in the IRA in 1970.

As for the IRA's origins in the first place, "Sterling hypothesizes that the IRA is one of a network of groups spawned in 1966 at a Havana 'Tricontinental Congress.' When one considers that the IRA, as presently con-

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Belfast youth continue to make patrols difficult for the occupying British by repeatedly setting up roadblocks, into which this British armoured vehicle is crashing once again.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Imperialists Never Learn

Guatemala — Another El Salvador?

George Owens

In a few short months, El Salvador has become a rallying point for the American people against Reagan's war preparation and budget cuts. Over 100,000 people gathered in Washington, D.C. on May 3 to protest the aid and military advisors sent to prop up the murderous regime in El Salvador.

The State Department worked overtime to black out news on El Salvador, trump up accusations of Cuban military aid and pay lip service to human rights. They hope these efforts will prevent even more widespread opposition from developing as preparations are made to broaden U.S. intervention in the Central American region. An important aspect of this plan is resuming military aid to Guatemala. As a State Department spokesman admitted, "It is very important to our interests in the region to re-establish relations with the government of Guatemala, and we are actively pursuing ways in which to do so."

Number One Human Rights Violator

Ever since a CIA-funded and organized group invaded and overthrew the democratic government of Guatemala in 1954, the military's reign of terror has gripped the country. Next to these butchers, the Salvadoran junta smells like roses. Even the New York Times had to admit that over 25,000 people have been killed in government-approved murder sprees over the last 15 years.

In the three years General Lucas Garcia was in power, Amnesty International (AI) documented over 6,000 killings directly attributed to the government. AI has denounced it as one of the worst violators of human rights in the world. An average of 30 to 40 people have been killed daily and this has stepped up since Reagan's inauguration. *Yet not a single investigation or arrest has ever been made.*

Guatemala's death squads, operating under the names of "Secret Anti-Communist Army" or "Eye for an Eye," take credit for most of the deaths and disappearances. No one is safe. From students to teachers, from peasant cooperatives and unions to journalists, from Christian Democrats to priests, everyone is a target of the death squads. Even international relief organizations like the Church World Service and other groups set up to help the people after the 1976 earthquake received death threats.

Evidence of government involvement in the death squads was provided by Elias Barahona, former press secretary to President Garcia. After fleeing the country, Elias Barahona held a press conference and revealed that the stationery for the "Secret Anti-Communist Army" was kept in the office of Interior Minister Alvarez Ruiz, who also controls the national police. The "hit lists" were drawn up by President Lucas Garcia, the Interior Minister, the Chief of Police and a group of top ranking generals on the fourth floor of the National Palace Annex.

Church Makes Historic Protest

Simple murder does not satisfy the death squads' thirst for blood. A morgue coroner reported that two out of every three bodies bore signs of torture. The women victims were raped. In the countryside, bodies are found with their hands tied and beaten or macheted to death. Bodies are so disfigured that it is difficult to verify identities.

The army recently decided to participate more directly in these atrocities. The province of Quiche, composed mainly of Indian peasants, was placed under military occupation. Passes must be shown before anyone can leave or enter the towns. Food crops are seized to prevent the villagers from supporting the guerrilla groups operating in the area. Young men who refuse to be conscripted into the army are rounded up and shot to prevent them from joining the ranks of the guerrilla movement.

Among the casualties in Quiche have been two Spanish and one Belgian. Two attempts to assassinate the Bishop of Quiche were also made. After the Bishop went to Rome for a meeting with the Pope, Guatemalan officials refused to let him back into the country. He was detained at the airport and forced into exile in Costa Rica. For the first time in Latin American history, the Catholic Church closed every church in the entire diocese of the province to protest the repression.

"Incomprehensible" Level of Violence

Even the U.S. State Department could not ignore this reign of terror and repression. In 1976, after

persistent efforts to get Guatemala to clean up its image, Carter suspended military aid as the military readied to invade neighboring Belize in a territorial dispute. Despite the suspension, Guatemala was able to purchase \$1.4 million in military equipment from the U.S. over the last two years. In addition, Guatemala turned to Israel and France for airplanes, South Korea for uniforms and Argentina for counter-insurgency training. Two months ago, the Council of Hemispheric Affairs in Washington, D.C. issued a report that concluded Guatemala was the worst violator of human rights in the Western Hemisphere. The report stated, "The magnitude of carnage and senseless destruction is incomprehensible. The Lucas Garcia dictatorship is a terrorist government which is violently repressing all dissent and rejecting all legal and peaceful means to solve Guatemala's serious social and economic problems."

The Guatemalan Connection: Reagan's Abscam

Despite their total disregard of human rights, Gen. Garcia's regime was confident that the U.S. would resume the military aid. The Guatemalan government celebrated Reagan's inauguration with a spectacular fireworks display in the capital. A whole year of meetings and conferences between Guatemalan businessmen and Reagan's foreign policy advisors had nurtured their confidence. This shuttle between Guatemala and the U.S. was documented by the magazine *Cover Action* and points out that a deal had already been struck with the Guatemalan butchers.

Many junkets to Guatemala were sponsored by Roberto Alejos Arzu, whose plantation was used as a training site for the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. Taking part in the junkets were executives of Young Americans for Freedom, the Heritage Foundation, Moral Majority, Young Republicans' National Federation, the American Conservative Union and John Laxalt, brother of Reagan's campaign chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt.

Last spring, Reagan met personally with Eduardo Carrette, a Guatemala hotel owner and leading figure in a group called Amigos del Pais, which preaches politics to the right of the John Birch Society. Since that meeting, Eduardo Carrette was named the ambassador to the U.S. At the same time, Amigos del Pais paid \$11,000 a month in retainer fees to Deaver and Hannaford, a public relations firm headed by Michael Deaver and the same firm handled the Reagan presidential campaign. Michael Deaver is now White House Deputy Chief of Staff.

Right Wingers' Shuttle Busy

Other Reaganites who visited Guatemala last year included Roger Fontaine, National Security Council assistant for Latin American affairs; retired General Daniel Graham, former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency; and Richard Allen, National Security Council chief. On his return from Guatemala, Fontaine told reporters, "It's pretty clear that Guatemalans will be given what aid they need in order to defend themselves against an armed minority which is aided and abetted by Cubans."

Graham traveled to Guatemala with retired General John Singlaub, both as delegates of the American Security Council. Singlaub, former commander of U.S. forces in South Korea, was seen last spring lecturing at "The Farm" in Powder Springs, Ga., the infamous mercenary training camp of Mitchell Werbell III. The American Security Council is the same group that invited Robert D'Aubuisson, the right-wing Salvadoran who claimed that if it took the death of 100,000 Salvadorans to quell the liberation movement, then so be it.

Their trip was paid for by the Guatemala Freedom Foundation, founded by Roberto Alejos, another right-wing businessman from Guatemala. Public relations for the Guatemala Freedom Foundation is handled by MacKenzie, McCheyne, Inc. which also ran the Nicaraguan Government Information Service for Somoza and the El Salvador Freedom Foundation for that junta.

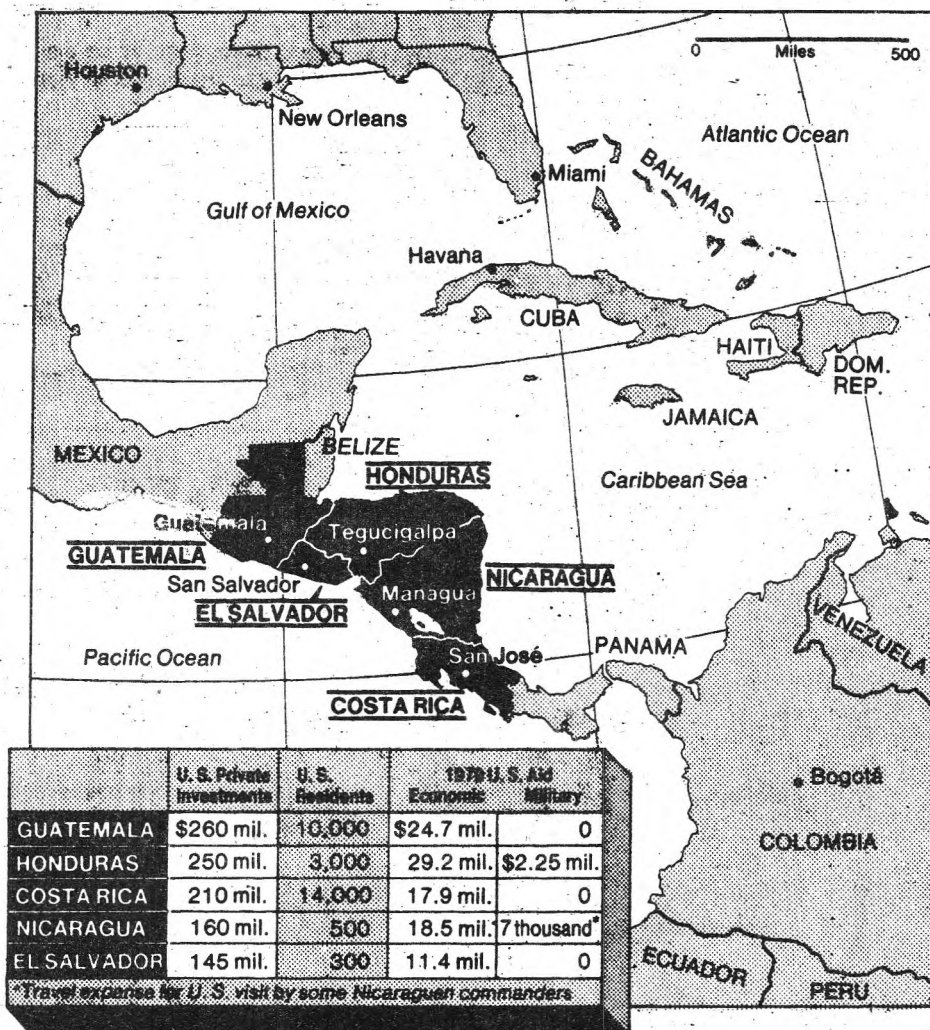
Reagan supporter and fundraiser John Trotter is a director of the Guatemalan Freedom Foundation. Trotter used to be the manager of Guatemala City's Coca-Cola plant and was involved in death squads that murdered workers and union leaders at the plant. He was removed by Coca-Cola after pressure from an international union and a church-led boycott of Coke.

Through these meetings, lobbying efforts in Washington and fundraising in the millions for Reagan's campaign, the Guatemalan junta was assured of a change in State Department attitude to their country. And they won't be disappointed. The State Department has already told different Senators and Congressmen eager to establish ties with Guatemala that a decision will be made this month.

Dilemma Traps Reagan

Even before Reagan's election, the ruling class made preparations to shift their policy on Guatemala. In the words of the New York Times, the Carter Ad-

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SPORTS

The King Controversy



Billie Jean with Andrea Jaeger, her current doubles partner, in Japan earlier this month.

A Cheap Shot Bounces Lower

Angela Brown

When Marilyn Barnett filed a lawsuit seeking financial support from tennis star Billie Jean King, she sent shock waves throughout the sports world. Magazines as diverse as the gossipy *Enquirer* to the more respected *Sports Illustrated* decried the "widespread lesbianism in women's sports." While CBS sportscaster Brent Musberger, King's current doubles partner Andrea Jaeger, and the Women's Tennis Association all applauded Billie Jean's courageous admission of her affair with Barnett. Divorce lawyers discussed the lawsuit as a landmark palimony case. And everywhere, people debated whether the lawsuit is fair or just plain blackmail. But the widespread publicity garnered by this case shows that it has implications beyond Billie Jean or just the law.

Women's Lob

A record 20 Wimbledon titles and 24 U.S. titles from 1967-1979 all attest to BJ's consummate mastery of tennis. From perfecting the short, sharp placement shots to being able to bang it out with the best of them from the baseline, her artistic, competitive style of play has revolutionized women's tennis. But it is her fight for parity with men's sports and her out-spoken support for a women's right to abortion that has made her a symbol of women's sports and the women's movement overall.

As the 70's rolled around, a burgeoning women's movement knocked down doors to the workplace, to education, etc. Sports proved no exception. Billie Jean helped initiate "Women's Lob" (Women's Lob so-named for the offensive/defensive overhead volley shot) in 1970 to protest mainly the unequal purse structure under which men competed for five times the prize money offered to women. There were the TV execs and tournament directors

whose corporation-backers didn't think women's tennis could arouse general interest (profits). And even fellow tennis players like Arthur Ashe and Stan Smith responded negatively with suggestions that women should be "home having babies instead of playing tennis." But these views were soon to change.

The female tennis players struggle for parity benefited both men and women players. The Virginia Slims tournaments (1970-1979) drew thousands of spectators prompting other advertisers and corporations to jump on the bandwagon. More and more tournaments like the men's Grand Prix were set up. This along with the women's threatened boycott of prestigious tournaments like Wimbledon and the U.S. Open resulted in higher purses and more security for all the pros. Then Billie Jean King became the first woman athlete to top \$100,000 in annual earnings when she collected \$117,000 in 1971. King also founded the WTA in 1973 as a bargaining agent to push the demands on parity and other issues with tournament directors. But it was the 1973 "grudge match" between King and Bobby Riggs that showed the major networks the large audiences and profits that tennis could draw. Tennis like golf has always seemed like an upper class sport. Rarely were courts found in inner-cities, the Y's, or even any suburban working class neighborhoods. But now widely popularized by TV, and promoted by pros like King and Ashe, tennis is now a more accepted sports activity. And despite the folding of World Team Tennis, the popularity of tennis has continued to grow.

You've Come A Long Way Baby

Women's tennis has made phenomenal gains. Since 1979, Avon has sponsored the WTA to the tune of two million a year. And according to a recent ten-

nis magazine report, pro Martina Navratilova earned a record \$353,175 in tour prize money in 1980. The Avon Futures Circuit (the over \$300,000 circuit for developing emerging talent) has provided tennis a steady flow of young talented players — Tracy Austin in 1977, Pam Shriver in '78, Kathy Jordan in '79, and Andrea Jaeger in '80. Tournament attendances have soared — the 1980 Chicago Avon tournament attracted over 68,000 spectators alone!

But the effect of the fight for parity in purses and prestige extends far beyond tennis. The battle against sex discrimination produced Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 requiring equal opportunity for both sexes in the classroom and the locker room. In 1978 a major sports college, UCLA, spent over \$450,000 for women's athletics compared to just \$17,000 in 1971-1972. The recently formed Women's Professional Basketball League and its players are both products of the gains of Title IX. Nearly three times as many colleges offered varsity women's sports in 1976 (840) than in 1972. Sports once considered the exclusive province of men (car racing, football, etc.) opened up to women. There were Janet Guthrie, who placed ninth at Indy in 1978 and the semi-professional LA Dandelions football team. Nancy Lopez-Melton, Ann Myers, and Chris Evert-Lloyd have all become household names. Still the system shackles most women to their TV set rather than providing opportunities for participation out in the fields. But because of pioneers like King women have pushed ahead in male-dominated professions.

An Attack on Women

In a 1978 *Horizons* article, Chris Evert-Lloyd noted that "15 years ago a woman athlete wasn't a normal human being, she was a freak. Ten years ago, she was looked down on. Women athletes are respected now; now we are looked up to." That's true. Women athletes from Mo Connely to Althea Gibson were looked upon as abnormal. The Rudolphs, Whitworths, and now King have helped to destroy some of these myths. Now those misconceptions are resurfacing even stronger — encouraged by the government's present policies on women. As the government streamlines in every economic area then diverts those funds into the build-up for war, it also has to cut back funding in all the family-related areas of education welfare, arts, and sports. At the same time it is preparing us all to accept the elimination of hard-fought for gains of the 60's and 70's — daycare, food stamps, anti-sex discrimination laws etc. — under the guise of saving the American family. And in the area of sports, culture, and social welfare, this means reinforcing sexist stereotypes of women in non-traditional roles.

There have always been two stereotypes of women in heavy industry, the business world, sports, etc., i.e., they're either loose or gay. At recent Washington hearings on Sexual Harassment in the workplace, Phyllis Schlafly said any women propositioned by the boss had to "be asking for it." This stereotype feeds the "they should be home having babies and not taking jobs from men" lie used to split the sexes and dismantle affirmative action programs and anti-sex discrimination laws. Last month's Penn. State Supreme Court ruling (5 to 1) that whenever rape victims talk to rape counselors, anything they say may be used against them in court is more of the "blame the victim" trend. This "she asked for it" attitude is also the premise of the women-slasher films like "I Spit On Your Grave" and "Ms. 45" Women in male-dominated professions are warned that they will be punished for "not knowing their place."

The other view of women in sports is that they're all lesbians. The number one sports magazine in America — *Sports Illustrated* does its own "investigative research" to conclude that "they're all dykes." In explaining why women even like sports they say (quoting Indiana University Sociology Professor Weinberg), "Masculine females may gravitate toward stereotypical 'male' activities because that's where their talents and interests lie. Such females may get involved in these activities at a very young age, which can ultimately lead to their involvement in the world of sports." Earlier they explain "But while it has certainly been proved that 'feminine' athletes can excel too, the fact remains that lesbianism (involving women who, in fact, may or may not appear masculine at all) is commonplace in both the women's pro-tennis and even more notably, golf circuits, so much so that it is a matter of intense and immediate speculation among the athletes as to whether their sexual preferences are gay or straight." This article makes the private lives of athletes — particularly, their sexual preferences — the issue. And besides reinforcing old stereotypes, it promotes dissension

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Introducing . . .

American Journal

The Mean Decade

Beginning with this issue, we welcome David Armstrong as a regular contributor to the Workers Viewpoint. His column, American Journal, is run in a diverse group of 30 alternative and college papers around the country.

David Armstrong

If the 1970's, with its preoccupation with self, was the Me Decade, the 1980s, following the conservative obsession with reversing the gains of the past 50 years for the disenfranchised, may go down in history as the Mean Decade. Both impulses — getting yours, and keeping others from getting theirs — are selfish. But while the fashionable selfishness of the seventies took the form of apolitical withdrawal, the eighties are shaping up as a time to lash out.

With Ronald Reagan's punitive budget, meanness is being written into law. The natural world is to be cut and burned for profit, food stamps denied to

hungry people, affirmative action stalled, public legal services dismantled, funding for the arts squashed, Social Security wounded, perhaps fatally. Reagan's attack on Social Security is a direct violation of his campaign pledge to maintain the system as a "safety net" for the elderly poor. That promise, it turns out, is worth about as much as a 1981 dollar.

Why, even corporate executives claim they are being squeezed by inflation. According to a survey by Ernst & Whinney, a New York accounting firm, over half of a group of execs with average yearly incomes of \$88,000 complain that their standard of living is declining. Twenty-three percent say they are tightening their belts at home and on the job. You do wonder how they get by.

In reality, the Reagan administration is a government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich, and has been so since day one, when the mink coats and top hats crowded Washington for the Inaugura-

tion. Not since the mean-spirited Republican triumvirate of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover has privilege been so nakedly enshrined in the White House.

No one who has truly followed Reagan's career as governor of California and stump speaker for General Electric should be surprised at the swiftness and thoroughness with which he has turned the ship of state to the right. Post-election assurances by myopic seers like James Reston of the New York Times and the Washington Post's David Broder that Reagan would prove to be a moderate compromiser once he reached Washington have been shown to be transparently false. The president is as he has long been: an ideologue of the far right.

In theory, conservatives such as Reagan oppose high government spending and extensive government regulation. In practice, as the early months of the Reagan administration have demonstrated, conservatives oppose only certain kinds of government spending and regulation. Military spending — let's not call it defense, no one is attacking us — is at an all-time high. Budget cutter David Stockman has ask-

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...French Election

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mulated and the masses pick them up, they will learn through their own experiences that if they want a better life they must get rid of the old order.

This is the lesson of the Russian Revolution. The Russian workers and peasants did not consciously fight for socialism. They fought for peace (and end of World War I), bread and land to the tiller. After advancing these demands and being disappointed by a succession of reformist governments, they revolted under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Through

their quest for their demands they learned that only a government headed by the Bolsheviks could satisfy them.

Unite to Hang

Communists can draw many lessons from the French presidential race. Mitterand's election shows the importance of finding the transition or approach to socialist revolution, as Lenin said. The vote for Mitterand and his program is one indication of the masses' ferment and is one indication of what they demand. He must put up or shut up, so to

speak. It matters not that Mitterand is a reformist and that in all likelihood he has no intention of carrying out his promises. The election results are a stop on the French masses' leftward course and is part of their political schooling.

Genuine communists must assist this political awakening in every way possible. Communists must support these demands, explaining all the while that they are unachievable under capitalism. And communists must support whoever articulates these demands.

In this case it means supporting Mitterand. But it must be done in such a way that the workers and oppressed become clearer about the extreme limitations of capitalism and the sellout nature of the reformists. With each and every demand, Mitterand must be held accountable for his actions. In short, he must be supported as a noose supports a hanged man, as Lenin said. This way the workers and oppressed get drawn into the fight and become clearer on what they want and how to get it. □

NOW AVAILABLE A documentary film on the Greensboro Massacre



RED NOVEMBER, BLACK NOVEMBER

"Finally, after all the months of distortions, after seeing Jim and my other friends turned into faceless ideologues and terrorists, and so many things they weren't, finally there is something that begins to tell the story. I hope everyone sees this film. It's all there: it's angry, it's thoughtful, it's beautiful, it's tragic and ugly; it's hopeful, it's even funny. But most of all, it's about real human beings fighting and dying for something they believed in. And it's about what those deaths mean for all of us."

Signe Waller,
widow of Jim Waller,
killed Nov. 3, 1979

"The government always wants its victims to remain faceless, nameless. That way, it's easier for people to write off the years of unjust imprisonment, the shattered families, the ruined lives, even the murder of innocent people. RED NOVEMBER, BLACK NOVEMBER makes sure those people who were killed on Nov. 3, 1979 will be remembered as husbands, friends, fathers, brothers and sister. The American people must see that this tragedy belongs to all of us, not just those who lost someone they love. As long as we don't speak out and fight against this kind of thing, who knows who will be next?"

I expected to be depressed by RED NOVEMBER, BLACK NOVEMBER. I expected it to be a eulogy for the dead. But it's really a film for and about the living. It's very hopeful. I hope everyone who feels 'overwhelmed' or confused or depressed sometimes about where this country is heading has a chance to see this film. It has a lot to say that we need to hear."

Anne Sheppard, Wilmington 10 Defendant,
Present Co-convenor of the Triangle
Area Greensboro Justice Fund Committee

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Look For Showings In Your Local Area

... Poland

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inside Poland. The Line of March revisionists blast the PUWP and the Polish masses for "nationalism." They resort to national nihilism to cover their support for the social-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union. The utter stupidity of this line is clear: in fact a Soviet invasion would arouse anti-Soviet nationalism to levels unseen in Poland's history.

One argument the Line of March makes for saying that the Polish workers' movement is reactionary concerns the role of the Catholic Church in Poland. An estimated 80% of Poles consider themselves Catholic and the Church has extensive organization in the country. Lech Walesa, the recognized leader of Solidarity, considers himself Catholic.

The truth is that the Catholic hierarchy, including Cardinal Wysznski, has been calling on the workers for "moderation." In early December, according to Time, the Church called for "internal peace," citing a "threat to the freedom and statehood of the Fatherland." A Church spokesman, the Rev. Alojzy Orszulik, later criticized the "noisy and irresponsible statements which have been made against our eastern neighbor," and singled out Jacek Kuron, a leading dissident, for censure.

The Church knows very well that whatever its ideological influence, it is weak politically. Government control over the church is extensive, with the power of veto over church appointments to key posts. Though the government refrains from attacking it openly—which would be politically incorrect as well as fuel the fire of resistance at this point—the government control of resources and the threat of repression keeps the church in check.

Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarity have been using the contradiction between the church and the government as a bargaining chip. As Solidarity is barely beginning to get organized, this is definitely correct. Solidarity has to use everything it can to protect its own existence.

A Soviet invasion, as called for by the Line of March, would prevent any real rectification of the revisionist line of the PUWP leadership. As one PUWP member said, "There are a lot of people who are going to lose their fur coats and Mercedes cars. They will do anything to restore the status quo—even welcome the Russians." If the Soviet Union in league with the revisionists do succeed in crushing the workers' movement, what would make the revisionist leadership change their line? Why would they even have to bother? □

...Guatemala

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ministration had finally come to the conclusion that since "the army runs the country... the army is therefore the sector that American diplomacy must engage." Guatemala, even more than El Salvador, is a linch pin for the U.S. in Central America and the Caribbean. Guatemala's 18,000-member army is the best trained and best equipped force in the region. This army will be used to fight a proxy war for the U.S. in the region as part of the U.S. plan for the "Latinization" of the struggle, similar to the "Vietnamization" of the 70's. Guatemalan troops are already involved in El Salvador fighting against the Democratic Revolutionary Front. Guatemala also has oil and mineral resources that the U.S. wants to exploit.

But the Reagan Administration is caught in a dilemma. How can this shift in policy be presented to a Vietnam-wise American public? Under present laws, military aid cannot be given to any country that commits "gross and consistent" human rights violations. No country fits that description more perfectly than Guatemala. To ignore or circumvent this clause would expose the administration just as they revive talk about concern for human rights. With the protest ignited by military aid to El Salvador, resumption of aid to Guatemala would only fuel the fire of resistance.

Crying "Wolf" Too Often

Nor will the "extremists of the right and left" formula work in Guatemala. The facts prove its falseness. In the last ten months, 76 leaders of the Christian Democratic party have been murdered, including three successive mayors in the town of San Martin Jilotepeque. Over Easter weekend, the party chief in the province of Huehuetenango was also killed. Two attempts on the life of Party chief Vencio Cerezo Arevalo have been made. In addition, 10 leaders of the Social Democratic party have been assassinated.

Both parties had pulled out of the presidential election scheduled for next year because of this repression. The only candidates left are people like Mario Sandoval Alarcon, who commands a 3,000-member private army. The Christian Democrats being killed in Guatemala belong to the same party as Duarte, the president of El Salvador. If the U.S. State Department cannot convince the American people that Duarte represents a middle-of-the-road reformist government, there is no way they can successfully portray Garcia's regime in Guatemala as progressive.

Reagan's only option is to revive the bogey men of "international terrorism" and "military aid from Cuba" to justify U.S. military aid. Despite the media blitz with these phrases on El Salvador, public pressure forced the U.S. Senate to set restrictions on the aid to El Salvador. At the same time, several U.S. Congressmen have filed suit to block *any* aid for El Salvador. This sort of hype on Guatemala would be doomed to the same fate. The State Department has cried "wolf" a few too many times.

Gov't. Polarizes: Left Unites

Even if the U.S. does resume military aid, the Guatemalan government's troubles are not over. Their repression has polarized the people and large sectors of the population are joining the guerrilla organizations. As Christian Democrat Party chief Cerezo Arevalo lamented, "Unless there is a halt in the violence and some reforms in the electoral process, I don't see how we can take part."

The four liberation groups in Guatemala have joined into a unified command similar to the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador. In October of last year, the liberation groups staged lightning protest marches and barricaded rallies protected by armed squads throughout the country. At the same time, over 10,000 farm workers went on strike, paralyzing 16 coffee plantations.

The Guatemalan Army is stuck making a proxy war in El Salvador while revolution brews at home. At the same time, Guatemala is even more isolated internationally than El Salvador was last year. Spain has broken diplomatic relations and Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela will soon follow. Two recent Guatemalan trade fairs in France and Germany were disrupted by demonstrations protesting their infamous record on human rights. The Reagan Administration may shift policy and resume military aid to Guatemala, but they will only be hastening the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Central America and spawning a more powerful opposition at home. □

...Billie Jean King

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among women athletes by encouraging speculation. In a May 15 New York Daily News article, golf pro Joanne Carner expressed these same fears when she said already woman golfers "feel the backlash of the Billie Jean King issue." She says "there isn't a woman athlete that Billie Jean hasn't helped. You have to have a loyalty feeling. But this thing is not good for anybody." This attitude pushed by Sports Illustrated also leads to more distrust of women athletes among men. And this "they're all dykes" will be used to slash funds from pro and amateur women's sports.

Overall, this latest furor is being used by Phyllis Schlafly types, male chauvinist sportscasters and magazines, the media, to discourage non-traditional roles for women. They also try to twist our love of family into opposition to women in sports, heavy industry, etc. This is also seen most clearly on the issue of a woman's right to control her own body. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) and John East's (R-NC) hearings in Washington on April 23 and 24 to discuss the Human Life statute legislating abortion as murder turns back the clock. When King admitted having an abortion earlier in her career she shocked the whole sports world. Since then, the women's movement has gone all out to challenge the myth that women's sole function in life is reproduction. King's strong stand on abortion and encouragement to women to have lives and careers outside the home is a symbol within the women's movement.

An Attack on Homosexuals

Another aspect of this case is the way the press is using it to attack homosexuals. Sexual preference has never had any relationship to talent or decency — Noel Coward or ex-NFL running back David Kopay show this. Intimations that the killings of the youth in Atlanta are all sex-related keeps alive the stereotype of homosexuals as less than human beings, as murdering fiends. The increasing violence

against gays in New York and other cities and the dismemberment of a homosexual in Durham, North Carolina recently in the name of "Christ" show the danger of these stereotypes. Things are getting to the point that the former president of the Ladies Professional Golf Association, Carol Mann Hardy, said "If I were a lesbian, I'd be scared stiff."

Discrimination against gays in our society has remained widespread even for those who have become professionals. As ex-pro footballer David Kopay commented he still feels the backlash for admitting his homosexuality. In a recent New York Times article he said, "I've been frustrated at finding a niche for myself, I'm disappointed at not having had any coaching opportunities. I've constantly been told forget it, there's no chance. I hadn't counted on this." Even tennis pro Arthur Ashe (in a recent Jet article) claims he supports King but that the moral issues of whether or not "lesbian activity itself is a mistake" is the chief question that should be answered. Fortunately, most of the female pros feel as King herself noted before leaving for a tournament in Japan, "Adults assume if someone is a homosexual, they're bad. I don't think it makes any difference."

Women's Movement More United

Right now even Hollywood is getting into the act. As the movie "The Fan" exploits the events surrounding John Lennon's murder, the film "Personal Best" supposedly explores lesbianism in women's sports. But I think King's honesty prevented her from being baited by the press. This along with the widespread support for her of the WTA and other women's sports and the vanguard actions of the Women's Liberation Zap Action Brigade and other women in exposing the proposed Human Life Statute have all contributed to strengthening the women's movement overall. □

...Mean Decade

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In theory, conservatives such as Reagan oppose high government spending and extensive government regulation. In practice, as the early months of the Reagan administration have demonstrated, conservatives oppose only certain kinds of government spending and regulation. Military spending — let's not call it defense, no one is attacking us — is at an all-time high. Budget cutter David Stockman has asked Congress for more money for *his* office. And lavish federal subsidies to politically powerful interests such as the tobacco industry continue to be granted.

Those who will suffer most from Reagan's punitive policies are those with the least to lose: the old, the poor, racial minorities, women, working people. Together, those groups constitute a majority. Unlike the moneyed elite that runs Pennsylvania Avenue and Wall Street, however, the less affluent

haven't organized themselves into an effective political force. Until and unless they do, the humanitarian features of American society will continue to be attacked.

The consequences of scuttling social programs and concentrating even more power in the hands of the corporate giants are predictable. They include higher inflation sparked by cost-inefficient military spending, a sharp rise in occupational accidents and disease and the continued growth of violent crime, much of it seemingly senseless — the final acts of persons with no hope, whose desperation can touch even presidents and popes. If the administration responds by lashing out with ever more punitive laws while ignoring the underlying causes of crime, the situation can only get worse.

It's not much to look forward to, this scenario. But such is the American future if the Mean Decade is allowed to unfold unchecked. □

...Budget Cut Rally

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could almost feel the snowball reaction to the cuts beginning to develop.

The local coalition called the Wayne County Coalition for a Fair Budget was very broad. Endorsers included, among many others, neighborhood district councils, the Coalition for Human Rights of the Handicapped, Detroit Tenants Union, UAW Region 1-A as well as the CWP. In summing up the demonstration some of the organizers were disappointed by the turnout. They felt that the large organizations such as the UAW and the Womens Conference of Concerns (closely associated with City Council President Erma Henderson) should have turned out more of their membership. That's true. We would have had a much larger turnout if the UAW and some of the other large community based organizations had mobilized. While we should strive to get their endorsement and support, the coalition

must build and grow on what it has in the active organizations and individuals that worked and showed up. The 200 plus people who came out are the core of a grassroots movement to fight the budget cuts. The coalition has committed itself to a grassroots action orientation. To wait for the larger, more established organizations to get active, or worse, to tone down action or begin to silence more radical groups in the coalition to try and entice the "moderate" forces to join in more would be sabotaging the struggle. If we look at their track record of going along with wage concessions and "incentives" to big business we shouldn't be surprised that groups like the higher levels of the UAW or different City Council members' organizations are only half-heartedly active at this point. It's *building* the struggle of the people that will get them to be more active down the line. □

LETTERS TO THE CWP

...Ireland

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stituted, began in April 1916 [after the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising], some fifty years prior to the conference (with lineal antecedents extending directly to the 18th century United Irishmen and arguably to 12th century Irish troops resisting the initial invasion of Ireland by England), then one must either dismiss Sterling's writings as unfounded or believe in miracles of retroactive inspiration," responded Irish Northern Aid.

Real Agenda Attack on Americans

Claire Sterling testified about her "investigation" into the so-called international terror network as a "friendly witness" before the Senate hearings on Security and Terrorism. The real agenda of these hearings is to target the American people and slander any resistance as terrorist. The American people's support for Irish liberation is one that is being singled out for attack.

But it won't be easy for the U.S. government to cut off support for the Irish struggle. The death of Bobby Sands has focused world attention on British occupation of Northern Ireland. His sacrifice has helped to break the media blockade on the issue and put enormous public pressure against totally distorted press coverage. Tens of thousands of Americans have demonstrated their support for the hunger strikers and for the IRA at countless rallies coast to coast.

All the politicians are walking a tightrope on the issue. Some like Gov. Carey of New York have had to publicly criticize the Thatcher government. Seven state legislatures have passed resolutions condemning Prime Minister Thatcher and calling for political status for the hunger strikers. The support movement for Irish liberation has tremendous initiative.

Let Us Hear the Truth

Less than a year ago, Sinn Fein, the legal political wing of the IRA tried to come to this country to let the American people know the truth about what's happening in N. Ireland. The State Department refused to issue a visa. On the other hand, Ian Paisley, the notorious N. Ireland fascist leader, was allowed to attend President Reagan's inauguration at the invitation of the Moral Majority. The U.S. government has also agreed to lower Britain's NATO obligations so the Thatcher government can beef up its troops in N. Ireland.

With the initiative on the side of the Irish support movement, this would be an excellent time to invite the Sinn Fein to the U.S. Such a move would tap the sympathy of many Americans and put the government on the spot. It would force Reagan to show just how much the Administration really "regrets" the death of Bobby Sands. □

Correction

In the issue of Workers Viewpoint, Vol. 6, No. 17, May 4-May 10, we reprinted an article by Bobby Sands from *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. Part of the introduction was missing, which would have explained that the article was *semi-autobiographical*, had originally been written anonymously, and that certain key facts were deliberately false: his mother is alive; she attend his funeral. And he is survived by a son, Gerard, not a daughter. We regret any confusion this omission may have caused.

Why Klan Rally Supports Cops

Dear Workers Viewpoint:

I have been concerned about what has been going on in Greensboro, N.C. (Between the time of the murders of the five communists and the acquittal of the Klan and Nazis who did the killings).

About over a month ago, I contacted the Greensboro Justice Fund to find out about their up-to-date activities. This was shortly after the news of the Klan rally in Meriden, Conn. Because the rally turned into violence. B. Wilkinson, who is the Imperial Wizard of the KKK announced he would file civil rights complaints against the International Committee Against Racism and the Communist Workers Party.

I feel Wilkinson is no better because their reason for that rally was an act of violence; even though they said it would be peaceful. Why should blacks sit back and allow the Klan to put on a scene by showing their support for a white police officer who shot and killed a young black man? Wilkinson also announced that the rally was to defend law and order. I think they should let the police take care of that.

Just because a white police kills a black, I don't see why the Klan should get involved. If the Klan want to hold a rally, that's fine, but they should do it in a way of not announcing it on radio or on T.V. and they should rally in a place where they can't be seen.

I am writing to let you know how I feel about all this violence, especially where it's racially-motivated. I would like to show some support for communism which is why I'm writing and I ask you to put my name on the newsletter mailing list. A friend told me to write New York regarding this. If it's no trouble, send me as much information as possible including Greensboro, Atlanta, Miami, etc.

One more thing: send me the following: The single issue entitled, "A Year Since the Greensboro Massacre." The pamphlet, "Being a Doctor is not Enough."

I appreciate this organization doing this for me and if I can be of any help, such as sending in donations, I'll do whatever I can.

Sincerely,
Y.C.,
Roxbury, MA.

Dear Y.C.,

Most people, like yourself, have deep hatred and are outraged at the organizing of the Klan and their cohorts in the Nazis. Their history is bloodstained with lynchings, the firebombing of black churches in the 60's, assassination of civil rights leaders, more recently, the assassinations of the CWP 5 in Greensboro and organized Klan attacks against Vietnamese fishermen in Texas.

What is important to see is that the violence of the Klan and Nazis can't be separated from the violence of the U.S. government and capitalist class. They are not just some "crazies out there," but in fact are used directly and indirectly to spearhead attacks and to sow racist division among the American people.

This important lesson was brought out sharply in Greensboro. The Klan/Nazi assassins of the CWP were organized by U.S. government police agents: Bernard Butkovich (BATF) and Edward Dawson (FBI). Likewise, Gary Rowe of the FBI has admitted to planning and carrying out the execution of civil rights leaders in the 60's.

There is a reason why the Klan held the rally you talk about in your letter to defend a white policeman up on charges for killing a black man. Yes, the history of the Klan is one of violence and terror. But the main source of violence against the American people is the U.S. government and its police agencies. Every day we hear new exposes of cops shooting down our youth in the street for no reason. In Atlanta, so-called "crack cops" of the FBI still have no answer for the 27 children murdered, but instead arrest community residents forming self-defense patrols. Every day in workplaces across the country, many are killed from neglect and abuse of proper health and safety practices.

The point here is that the Klan and Nazis are used by the government to carry out part of its dirty work, like the assassination in Greensboro and other racist attacks. It is for that reason that they are protected by the cops in their organizing, as in the Connecticut rally where the cops defended the Klan is given all the coverage it wants by the press.

Wilkinson uses demagogy about

"law and order" to play on people's fear and outrage over rising crime and a sense of helplessness in a world that appears to have gone wild. But, the "law and order" the cops and Klan defend is the law and order of the Rockefellers, the Duponts, and the rest of the monopoly capitalists; the law and order of the new McCarthyism; the law and order of three cops who killed black insurance agent McDuffie being let off scot-free; the law and order of the Greensboro verdicts.

HOW TO CONTACT THE CWP

WRITE:

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

CALL OR VISIT:

CWP National Office
1 E. Broadway, 2nd floor
New York, N.Y.
(212) 732-4309

OR CALL YOUR LOCAL OFFICES

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VOL. 6 NO. 21

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50 CENTS

The French Elections And The Fight for Socialism

Robert Goldstein

The French working class will learn some valuable political lessons with the election of Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand to the French presidency. Having swept a reformist social-democrat into the highest office in the country on a very popular program, they will learn that their demands cannot be won within the framework of monopoly capitalism. And, under certain circumstances, they may learn that there can be no peaceful transition to socialism.

For the first time in 23 years, France has a president identified with the left. And the reasons are fairly clear. After seven years under Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the French masses knew they could not stand another seven.

When he took office in 1974, in a narrow victory over Mitterand, it was all promises for a bright future. Unemployment was down, inflation low and prosperity right around the corner.

But in 1981, the French workers and oppressed are groaning under the strain of the worst economic crisis French has seen since the 1930's. The

a higher minimum wage, a 35 hour work week, a lower retirement age. Additionally, he calls for nationalizing eleven of the country's industrial groups, all remaining private banks and insurance companies and a government program to immediately create 160,000 public jobs.

That his is the most radical of all the European Social-Democratic programs is no accident. It is based on the historical militancy of the French working class for the desire of the social-democrats to be relevant.

The turbulent events of 1968, when the overthrow of the French capitalists was a real possibility, swept aside the reformist social-democratic movement. The masses would have no truck with a party vitally interested in compromising with other reformists and against revolutionaries. The Socialist Party dissolved. It reformed in 1969.

The SP knocked around for a few years after its reformation, trying to unite the non-communist left. For example, Mitterand tried to unite with the Radical Socialists, a small party which, despite their name, have nothing to do with socialism and lean more toward the center of the French political spectrum. But it had little success both in uniting with them and with attracting new members to its ranks. In fact the people and organizations the SP appealed to were anti-communist.

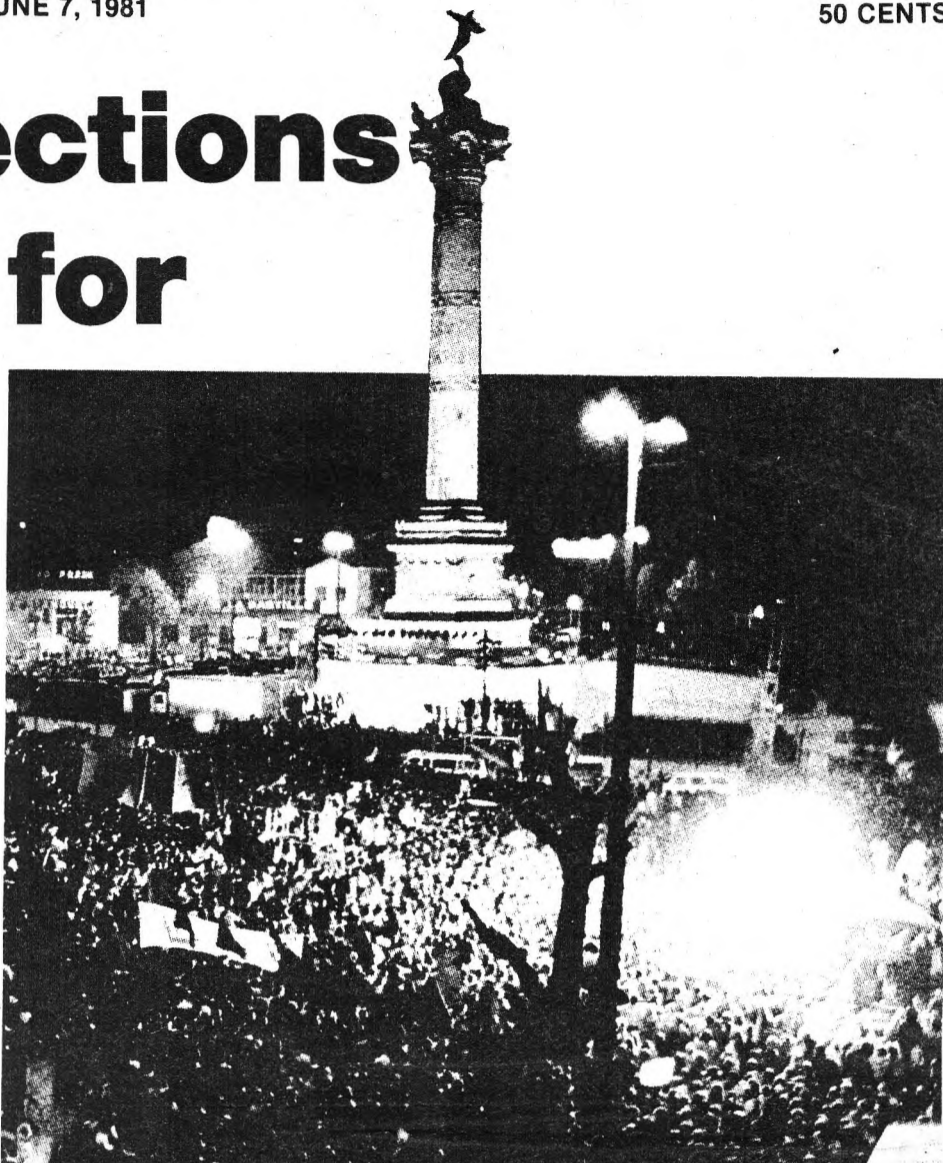
Its dismal showing in the 1969 elections showed the temperament of the French masses. By 1971, the Socialist Party had given up its efforts of forming an alliance with the non-communist left. Whereas the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, a party which has headed governments before, differs little from capitalist parties even in appearance, Mitterand's socialists have never formally renounced socialism, and at least in words treats it as more than an abstract ideal.

History of Program

Mitterand and the Socialist Party soon found that if they wanted to capture the mood of the French working class, they had to move to the left. That is when they struck a bargain with the revisionist Communist Party of France.

Mitterand's election program is based on the 1972 Common Program, the Socialist Party's and Communist Party's joint statement. This legislative program, to be implemented over a 5-year parliamentary session, was a program for a Socialist-Communist coalition government. It was a plan for peaceful transition to socialism. And although the formal alliance of these two parties broke up after the 1974 presidential election, the Common Program still forms the basis for Mitterand's election promises.

The whole conception of the Common Program — and Mitterand's, too



French workers danced through the night at the Bastille, the historic spot of the French revolution. Mitterand's election will be a great political education for the French working class and oppressed.



Francois Mitterand, the new President of France.

good times Giscard promised turned sour long ago. Inflation is running at 14% a year. Unemployment stands at 8% with 1.7 million idle workers.

"Enough of Giscard!" the French masses said. "It's time for a change."

Masses' Temperament Shapes Race

The vehicles for this change turned out to be oddly enough, Francois Mitterand, the reformist Socialist Party of France and a program of legislation which promises an eventual peaceful transition to socialism.

Mitterand's program calls for relief from the economic crisis. He proposes

— is gradualists. The Socialist Party and the Communist Party, despite their disagreements, agree on one crucial aspect of the program. Not only will it, in their view, take more than five years to accomplish their promises, but it will be done by consensus with the capitalists.

Mitterand, already backing off his militant promises, stated that his sweeping nationalization of industry, the banks and the insurance companies will be realized only where the opportunity arises and only by mutual agreement. Nationalization of the highly profitable banks and industries will not be forced on the capitalists; it will only be done with their consent! What capitalist will freely agree to having his profitable business taken from him?

Mitterand's hedging on these popular demands are an indication of what the masses may have in store during the next seven years. What action he plans to take on his social promises also remains to be seen.

In addition, even if Mitterand had intentions of implementing his program, there is no way many of the demands can be realized under capitalism. There is no way, for example, that all the banks can be nationalized.

Finance capital is the lifeblood of the monopoly capitalist system. The capitalist class will encourage nationalization of many stagnant and unprofitable enterprises and even whole industries (such as steel in France or the railroads in the U.S.) The capitalists will even let many financial institutions be nationalized; the French banking industry is 75% nationalized with only the biggest and most profitable still in private hands.

But it is precisely this 25% that the monopoly capitalist class will fight to keep in private hands; they will resort

to all sorts of tricks and intrigue — both legal and illegal — to keep this from happening. And unless Mitterand is organizing the working class, all-roundedly preparing them to back up their demands by overthrowing the capitalist class, these popular demands will not be achieved.

Election & Transitional Demands

Mitterand's stunningly large victory — 4% is stunning by French political standards — brings to the forefront the question of how to mobilize the majority of the people into direct battle with the capitalist class. In an advanced capitalist country, aligning the workers and their allies in such a fashion for the final onslaught against the capitalist system is no easy matter. They cannot be mobilized on the basis of fighting for socialism or even on the basis of overthrowing the government. This is because they make revolution not based on preconceived ideals or ideas but based on necessity. The masses make revolution based on the fact they can no longer live in the old way, under the brutal conditions of capitalist dictatorship.

In an advanced capitalist country it is extremely difficult to discover the demands that will mobilize the masses as one against the capitalist class and its representative, the government. Bourgeois democracy divides the masses, separating their fights into different streamlets of struggle. Especially now, when capitalism is highly destabilized demands must be put forward which will concentrate the masses extreme hatred for capitalism and which they will take up as their own and organize around. The demands must also be formulated in such a way they cannot be coopted under capitalism. Once the demands are for-

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