

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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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!

50 CENTS

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Road

By 1965, modern revisionism worldwide had pretty much putrefied the communist movement. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution rejuvenated the international communist movement, of which we are a part. The Communist Workers Party, U.S.A. was formed out of various anti-revisionist collectives, principally the Asian Study Group and the Revolutionary Workers League, who came together in the Workers Viewpoint Organization.

We must come to terms with the fact that these roots and that particular branch of history are relatively narrow and limited. Our study and understanding of Marxism are necessarily one-sided.

Basically we have had an idealist view of socialism. We conceived of socialism as a paradise where all the problems are solved, even though we said class struggle continues and problems persist under socialism. We have lacked an historical materialist

perspective on socialism in undeveloped countries like Russia, China and Zimbabwe. Those idealist conceptions have to be smashed. We must look at reality as it is, and proceeding from that, judge whether the struggles help the progress of humankind or hold it back. Only by that method and with that appreciation will we be able to genuinely perform our proletarian internationalist duty...

The proletariat is the last class, but it is also a very raw, new class historically. Only with that perspective can we understand socialist countries' weaknesses, dissect them and apply the lessons to revolutionary struggles here. Then, it becomes clear why the communist parties of the Soviet Union and China have so much to learn and will make so many mistakes... But let there be no doubt that those attempts by the proletariat are great and glorious. The only way to look at such attempts is not with cynicism or pessimism, which the CWP does not and has not, but with respect. We must actively learn and use what we learn to make revolution here and build socialism to a higher level... Only with an historical perspective can we understand socialism as a science, and base our fight against the criminal rule of the U.S. bourgeoisie on the last words of the science. The CWP today is in a

position to comprehensively understand the world experience of socialism, given the unceasing commitment and sacrifices in fierce battles and the years of consistently learning Marxist political economy.

It is with that history and confidence that the Central Committee of the Communist Workers Party, U.S.A., led by General Secretary Jerry Tung, is directing the entire party to study and change this line on the Soviet Union, in order to thoroughly and more consistently implement the immediate, all-rounded and universal preparation for workers' rule.

We address the basic difference between capitalism and socialism from the viewpoint of how socialism has begun to resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and socialized production. We point out that the fallacies of the most advanced thesis on capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union center around Chang Chun-Chiao's argument on the appearance and essence of ownership. We show how he fundamentally misses the essence of capitalist private ownership — capital. From this and critiques of the lines of Martin Nicolaus, Revolutionary Communist Party's "Red Papers 7" as well as a concrete look at capitalism's impoverishment of the

proletariat, we show that capitalism has not been restored in the Soviet Union. Seizure of state power is the bottom line.

Socialism is the transition from capitalism to communism. It is obligatory to seize state power at the earliest possible time. Once this is done, the long-term superiority of socialism is dependent on, as well as limited by, the level of productive forces. Capitalism cannot be easily rigged up, especially after the state sector has been enlarged and the transformation of small producers is well on its way. The consolidation of socialism (the dictatorship of the proletariat) has a material foundation and the reversal to capitalism has to usurp the basic economic interests of the working class by dismantling the socialist state apparatus by violent means. Just as the class interest and political economic essence of bourgeois democracy is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the essence of socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Despite problems of bureaucracy and revisionism, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a step on the tortuous socialist road to the communist future.

Under socialism, the material bases for revisionism are the underdeveloped productive forces, the non-state owned sectors of the economy, commodity production, the distribution principle of "to each according to work," different grades of a wage-scale, exchange through money and bourgeois right. The relatively independent behavior of ideology also perpetrates bureaucracy and remnants of bourgeois or even feudal ideologies, which distort a correct working class and internationalist orientation. This kind of distortion often takes nationally specific forms such as Confucianism in China. But again, while it is important to formulate communist education, ideological and cultural campaigns, we must stress that the relatively independent behavior of revisionist ideology is secondary in importance to the role of material conditions. It is production relations such as bureaucracy which constantly reinforces these ideological deviations.

Under socialism the task of preventing revisionism is part of concentric attack in all spheres and is itself two-fold. One aspect is the long-term development of socialist production relations through raising the level of productive forces. The second is the immediate and constant task of socialist education...

In those countries where the seizure of state power depends on relatively one-sided preparation (i.e., the main form of struggle is military), communists after the seizure of state power are most susceptible to spontaneity and revisionism in spheres where they have little experience. In advanced capitalist countries where preparation must encompass all spheres due to the more thoroughgoing and sophisticated nature of capitalist rule, the preparation for seizure of state power has to be far more comprehensive. And that requires a set of leaders, a cadre core with a set of experiences much more comprehensive than the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Communists had before their seizure of state power. This is an essential problem to solve in making revolution in the United States. This is why party-building is much more difficult in advanced capitalist countries. That explains why, to seize state power here, we need a set of leaders, a large and comprehensive cadre core comparable in experience, know-how and resoluteness to those undertaking the monumental task of making the transition from socialism to communism in socialist countries today. We must humbly learn from every advancement as well as every mistake committed by socialist countries. We must treat their experiences and lessons as our own. Only thus will we be able to prepare for socialist revolution here, benefiting from experiences of all countries. That is the universal link between preparation for and subsequent consolidation of socialism.

We see the role of the superstructure, of ideology, on the development of the material and spiritual conditions of socialism, particularly the impact of advanced or backward ideology, codified policies, plan, tradition and organization. Without seeing and

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First in a series of excerpts from the forthcoming book:

The Socialist Road Character of Revolution in the U.S. and Problems of Socialism In the Soviet Union and China

By Jerry Tung, General Secretary Communist Workers Party

NATIONAL NEWS

3,000 March for Reproductive Rights

NEW YORK, N.Y. — More than 3,000 demonstrators packed Union Square in lower Manhattan for the International Day of Action for Reproductive Rights on May 16. Rallies and educational activities in 18 countries and in cities across the U.S. protested anti-abortion laws and sterilization abuse of third world women. Among the demands of the groups who organized the New York march and rally were: Stop the Human Life Statutes; No to Reagan's Budget Cuts, and Money for Children, not for the Pentagon.

Sponsors included the Women's Committee of the Black United Front, the Bronx Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, New York Catholics for a Free Choice and the Reproductive Rights National Network. □



“Spirit of Life” Stronger Than Censorship

In Jersey City, N.J., there is a multimedia cultural group that serves the Afro-American community with jazz, drama and dance. It is the Spirit of Life Cultural Art, Inc. and it is under attack precisely because of Reagan's moral mandate to the reactionary die-hards.

The story begins every other Sunday, when the Spirit of Life presents programs for the community as part of the Cultural Arts Center of the Miller Branch Library. Any talented speaker, movie, groups or artist may perform provided they agree with these two guidelines: first, that there is a need to struggle against the plight of Black

people, national oppression; and secondly, that there is a need for a fundamental change in this society to right that wrong. This common struggle is what their leader, Daoud Omturiya, says keeps the Spirit of Life together and going.

On March 1, the Assistant Director of the Jersey City Public Libraries, Charles Livermore, came to see the program. The next day, he and the Director, Ben Grimm began a secret campaign to censor the programs to conform more “suitably” to their own tastes. They changed film titles and wording on leaflets, and demanded that the programs be taped. They even paid a librarian overtime to spy at a program about Atlanta. An interim policy sent to the Cultural Arts Director that all proposed events must be approved by them personally shows their intent to control the content of the programs. The Miller Branch Library was the only library in Jersey City to come under the new policy. The struggle over censorship in Jersey City is not over, but neither did it begin with this. In 1968, the Jersey City Black Panthers operated three free lunch programs for children and had free clothing drives for the poor. Through a process of FBI actions to disrupt them, subsequent court battles and heroin being pumped into the area, the Panthers dissolved. The Spirit of Life began to evolve at that time as a cultural arts group, part of the Young Repertory Theatre, operating out of a local church. Just after they received National Church funding, the center was bombed and burned down.

Understanding the implications of this censorship for all libraries, the Spirit of Life and the Miller Branch invited the community to speak out on the issue at the Board of Trustees meeting on April 9 in the Library. There was standing room only as the community and progressive organizations of all types came out. Interrogation of Livermore and Grimm revealed that the two had been acting on their own, without the knowledge of the Board of Trustees. When the com-

munity pointed out both verbally and physically who pays the taxes for the library, the Board took a vote on the censorship and unanimously vetoed it. The two culprits were afraid to even vote for it—and with good reason because the people were angry enough to stop them from leaving the library in one piece.

The Spirit of Life has received dozens of letters of praise from the community about their programs,

without a single negative response. That two men, Grimm, an out-spoken anti-unionist and Livermore, an ardent supporter of El Salvador's junta, would use their positions of “authority” to smash the community's center for progressive cultural arts and information is an example of how local political hacks try to impose their will on the people. That the community responded and exposed these two is a sign of our times. □

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.

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Reprinted from Those United To Fight Fascism Newsletter, No. 25



TUFF Members Attacked In Middletown

Reprinted from Those United To Fight Fascism Newsletter, No. 25

After denouncing the KKK at a city school board meeting, a Middletown, Ohio TUFF member returned to his car to find his tires slashed. Local authorities refused to investigate the matter despite the presence of Kluckers at the meeting and previous harassment of anti-racists in the city.

Another Middletown TUFF member has been suspended from her job as a secretary for the Board of Education for the remainder of the year for her local anti-racist activism. A Board of Education supervisor admitted that the TUFF member had been under surveillance for several months. The dismissal occurred after an alleged use of an office copier to print a TUFF leaflet.

The leaflet announced a local rally called to protest the Atlanta murders and the state's inability to solve the continuing reign of terror on the black community there. Despite testimony from several teachers that office copiers are frequently used for personal projects and that discipline is usually nonexistent or very minor, the TUFF member was fired by the Board. □

Nat'l Day Against Cuts Demonstrations Sweep Country

Norman Sadler

Nationally-coordinated actions against the government's budget cuts in social welfare programs took place in over a hundred cities across the country on Saturday, May 9. The National Anti-Hunger Coalition, with over 80 national organizations involved, targeted that date to: (1) demonstrate opposition to Reagan policies, and to protect social programs; (2) to educate the public about the devastating effects of the cuts, and to mobilize public opinion for a fair budget; and (3) to build local coalitions (or improve ones that exist) to develop a sustained and long-range ability to influence government decision-making.

"Pro-Lifers"—A Bigger News Item Than Budget Cut Protestors?

In the Midwest, actions were held in Detroit, Cleveland and Gary and other cities. In Gary, the single, local television station failed to come to the public hearing, with top brass like the Gary deputy mayor, the president of the Lake County Council, social service agency directors and the like. They said they were already committed to covering a "pro-life" demonstration in Merrillville, a suburban town. Similarly, a Chicago TV station gave extensive coverage to a confrontation between 50 pro-choice and "pro-life" demonstrators, and remarked briefly that anti-budget cut demonstrations were held, and that the largest, in Detroit, attracted only 200 people. News coverage was the same in Cleveland, where several hundred people chanting "Money for the needy, not for the greedy!" was hardly noticed, while a "pro-life" demonstration by about 30 people got big coverage.

Reagan, of course, would much rather hear about anti-abortion rallies than about the rallying of forces against his "something different for a change" plans for the economy.

"Jobs, Not War!"

In downtown Detroit, about 200 senior citizens, Afro-Americans, welfare recipients and workers gathered at 11:00 on May 9. The demonstration was sponsored by the Neighborhood Legal Services, the Southeast Michigan Committee for Occupational Health and Safety and forty endorsers, including many Catholic parishes.

Protesting the budget cut plans and demanding jobs, not war, the people singled out Reagan to focus their anger. They listened to members of the city council, Irma Henderson and Maryann Mahaffey, and to a UAW international vice-president, Martin Gerber. The speakers who received the best responses, though, were the ones who provided a bigger scope to the

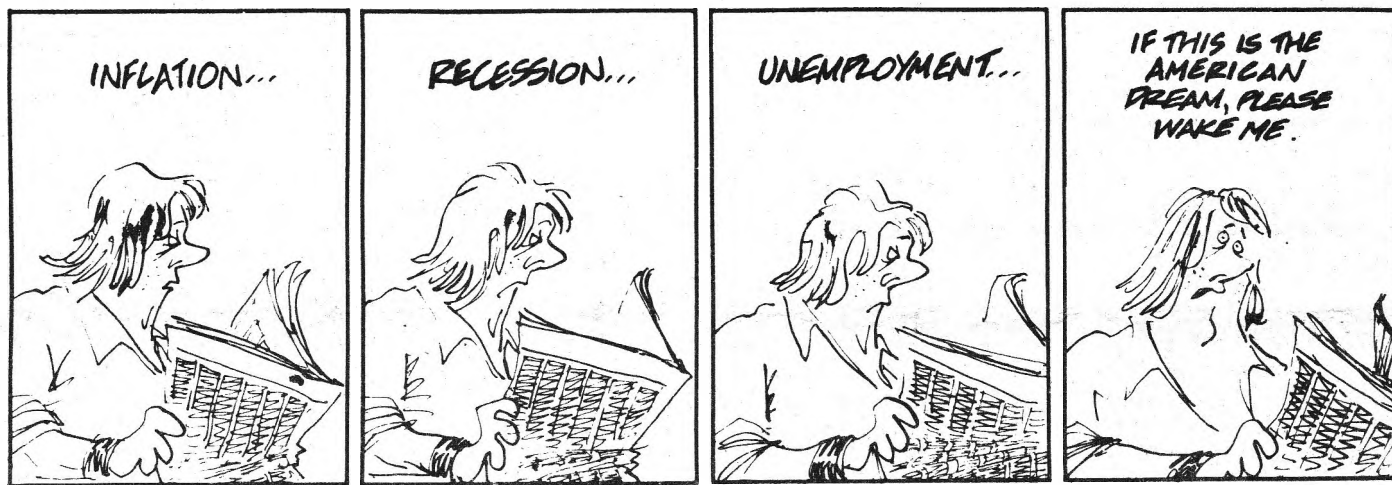
demonstration, and deeper understanding to the problems they faced. Rich Martin, president of the blast furnace unit in Local 600 at the Ford Rouge plant, blasted the economic policies for driving down wages and busting unions. Glen Jankin, a member of the CWP and candidate for Detroit City Council, explained why Reagan's budget cuts will not stop inflation, because the military budget is a bigger force behind the rising cost of living. Describing the government's push for budget cuts as a means to increase capitalist profits, he offered socialist revolution as the alternative. Reagan was asking for an alternative, wasn't he?

The Pentagon's Taking Our Rent Money

At the public hearing in Gary, the top-heavy presentation didn't prevent the poor from taking the offensive and pointing the way. When a representative of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom opened the subject on the Pentagon's budget the applause was tremendous. When the chairman wondered why we could bomb Russia 11 times over, and not have a back-up system for the poor, the response was quick. People know why they can't lead decent lives when the Pentagon is sopping up every million dollars slashed from food stamps, rent subsidies, and on and on.

The representative for Senators Lugar and Quayle was wiping his brow when he got up to speak at the end of the hearing. "I'm from the other side," he announced. "You sure are!" the audience was quick to tell him. Entering a speech defending the budget cuts that he must have down pat by now, he was interrupted by senior citizens, women on welfare and a handicapped person as he tried to explain just how Reagan was unleashing free enterprise to solve their problems. He said that the lowering of interest rates would allow more businesses to start, and hire the people out of work.

An old man got up and asked if the representative had ever been in business. Tim Sanders, the representative, said yes. "Well," the old man asked, "did you ever get a 20% return on your investment?" Sanders said he hadn't. "Neither did I. The best you can hope for is a 10 to 12 per cent profit. Now you tell me why people are going to invest their money in business at 10% return on their money, when they can get 15% and 20% on the money market and other speculative investments?" Sanders couldn't reply. After the hearing was over, welfare mothers and the poor crowded around him, sat him down, and took him to task. The "young man," as one welfare mother described him, needed some learning. □



Gallup

Denton Backs Criminal Intelligence Activity

Gary Madison

The U.S. government has moved to attack the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and the press by pushing the "Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1981" (S-391) through the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism on its way to a Senate vote.

The "Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1981" (S-391) would make it illegal to identify, expose or simply communicate the identities of present or former agents, informers, or "sources of operational assistance," even if the information comes from public unclassified documents or internal "leaks."

Government Scapegoats Whistle-Blowers to Attack 1st Amendment

The first witness at the SST hearing was Senator Chaffee (R-RI) who sponsored the bill along with Senators Goldwater, Hayakawa, Glenn, Laxalt, Nunn, Hatch and Jackson among others. Chaffee got right to the point: "The purpose of the Intelligence Identities Protection Act is to strengthen the intelligence capabilities of the United States" by placing "criminal penalties on those enemies of the American intelligence community engaged in the pernicious activity of 'naming names.'"

In an attempt to scapegoat people like Phillip Agee, who left the CIA and

wrote about its illegal operations, and the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, which regularly publishes the names of undercover agents working in other countries, the government said that the reason the CIA and the FBI have failed was because of the whistle-blowers' exposes rather than the people's struggle against the oppression these agents of U.S. imperialism have brought upon them.

The witnesses recall the 1975 death of Richard Welsh, the CIA Station Chief in Greece who was gunned down by Greek nationalists. Although they claimed that Welsh's death was caused by his being accurately identified by *Counterspy* magazine, a forerunner of *Covert Action*, they did not say what he was doing in Greece, or mention the long history of the U.S. support for the hated military juntas there.

Another example cited by William Casey, Director of the CIA, involved the expulsion of six CIA agents from Mozambique on March 4th. *Covert Action* told the whole story, breaking the news blackout instituted with the aid of the media and press in this country.

According to *Covert Action*, the Mozambique government broke up a CIA internal disruption operation in the U.S. embassy in Maputo, Mozambique. Since 1978 the Mozambique government had double agents inside the spy ring which worked with South African intelligence against all

neighboring countries. *Covert Action* said, the most serious operation, occurred this past January. Twelve members of the African National Congress (ANC) were murdered when South African commandos crossed into Mozambique and drove 50 miles to the homes of the leaders whose locations had been given by the CIA operations. Three other ANC members were taken back to South Africa as prisoners.

The U.S. State Dept. responded to the expulsions of their agents by claiming that a Cuban intelligence agent had attempted to recruit one of them and he refused. The Dept. went on to claim that three *Covert Action* editors who had been in Mozambique were involved in the expulsion and that their presence was "not coincidental."

CIA/FBI Needs More Secrecy to Attack Dissenters

In 1956 the CIA was interrupting mail in New York City in the name of national security. By 1958 it began giving copies of the letters to the FBI. The CIA ran the 20 year behavior modification program MKULTRA, which involved running drug experiments on unsuspecting Americans. Operation CHAOS was run by the CIA to spy on anti-war Americans. Through these types of exposures, the people gained the awareness that the FBI and CIA were directed, not at some sinister spy somewhere, but at them, the American

people. The FBI and CIA can no longer enlist people's support for counter-revolution disguised as "fighting for the American way of life." Because they now face broader opposition, they are campaigning hot and heavy to step up attacks on dissenters.

Since its inception, the "Intelligence Identities" bill has created opposition. The ACLU reported that a coalition of civil liberties and press groups blocked the bill last Congress by arguing that it violated the First Amendment. The Nation editorialized the bill would have a broad impact, and quoted a House lawyer who said, "There's a lot of intelligent people who think the bill is unconstitutional. I said intelligent people, not intelligence people."

Besides protecting the CIA, the Intelligence Identities Bill would also shield the FBI's "counterintelligence and counterterrorist" operations. Women Strike For Peace opposes the bill, calling it an Official Secrets Act which would outlaw disclosures of information "that must be available to citizens to keep a check on the government."

WSFP, which was organized in 1961 to protest nuclear atmospheric testing, has been kept under surveillance by the CIA and other intelligence agencies in programs like COINTELPRO and CHAOS. Many civil suits against the CIA and the FBI resulted from the discovery of the surveillance.

Women Strike For Peace said the Act "would place a criminal penalty on those members of WSFP who identify agents who unlawfully infiltrate our meetings. If one of our members learned the identity of agents through unclassified sources and wished to ex-

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Secretary of Interior, James Watt

America the Beautiful or America the Wasteland?

Cindy Soon

Spring is here. The sun's golden rays burst through the windows and behind lies the vast expanse of blue sky. It's a beautiful day for a family picnic. Even a leisurely nature walk through the woods would be relaxing. Perhaps something more invigorating — a canoe or boat trip down a sparkling river. Anywhere out of the city and into the fresh air would suit just fine. But in a few years, these places may not be so appealing anymore. Parks and wilderness areas will become harder to find, especially under James Watt, the new Secretary of the Department of Interior.

New Fervor in the Fight for Land

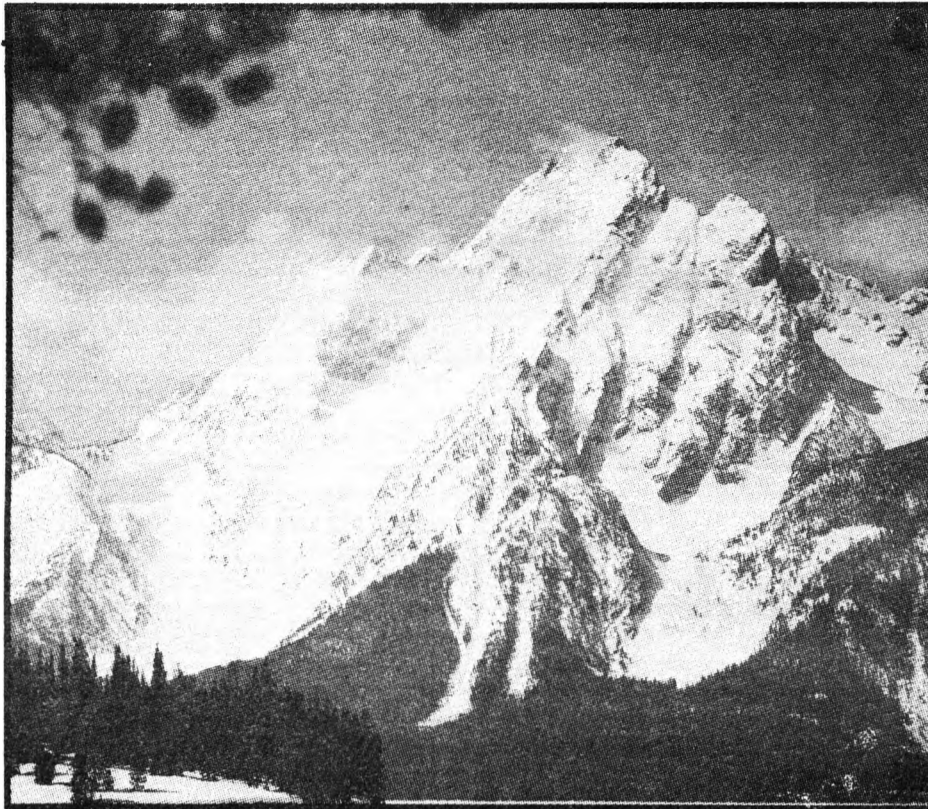
Watt's appointment as Secretary of Interior has stoked up the fires among everyone who enjoys the great outdoors. Although conflicts have been raging for the last decade between the Department and the American people, today, there is a growing new energy and fervor within the movement. Workers, students, professionals — all who appreciate the chance to breathe the outdoor air and marvel at nature's beauties have joined the cry to save the natural lands in the country. Even the Sierra Club, known mostly for their colorful calendars and wildlife photographs, has actively pushed out a national petition campaign to remove Watt from office. Thousands have already signed the Sierra Club's petition which calls for the dismissal of James Watt and an end to the naked exploitation of the land by the monopoly capitalists.

This new energy among the people comes from the realization that whatever lands left untouched in the U.S. are in jeopardy of being destroyed. People have seen through the years how the monopoly capitalists plunder the land until it has become totally useless and uninhabitable. The capitalists hold no regard for the beauty of a mountain, river or forest other than how much money they can get out of it and how quick. For years, land that was considered undesirable and a nuisance, were either given away or sold off at cheap prices. Federal policy then, was to quickly dispose of these lands anyway they could so that they were not responsible for its maintenance. But now, the tune has changed. Corporations are finding out that many of the tracts of land contains hundreds of billions of dollars and they all want to bargain for a piece of the action. This expansion by the monopoly capitalists into land untouched by industries and machinery is what the environmentalists want to put a halt to.

Governor Scott Matheson of Utah showed how desperate the capitalists are in acquiring mineral-rich land. Earlier this year, he sent Watt a memo stating that Utah wanted "lands and minerals having a sufficient value so that we could actually do something with them and derive some substantial income from them." In exchange, Matheson proposed to return "school lands that we own but do not want or can not use." (These school lands in Utah should actually have schools built on them but Utah chooses to let them sit instead, calling them useless).

Watt Blatantly Opts for Profits

Watt's own beliefs "are close to those of corporate America... (who) would be better off if the companies were unshackled to do what they want." His meaning of unshackled is less federal lands for wilderness areas and more for leasing, drilling and min-



Secretary of the Interior James Watt's anti-environment policies would turn the picturesque, snow-capped Grand Teton Mountains of Wyoming into the ugly strip-mined areas.

ing, more offshore drilling and mineral exploration; halting the acquisition of national parks and turning more of the management of existing ones over to private enterprise; relaxing regulations on strip-mining; and less emphasis on the protection of endangered species.

Watt argues that these actions are necessary because the environmentalists want "to delay or stop the orderly development of energy resources." He continues saying that because of people like them, "the nation is likely to suffer energy shortages and thus severe economic hardship... When this happens, the politicians in Washington will seize on the crisis and take whatever action is needed to extract energy." According to Watt's argument, it is the fault of environmentalists and conservationists that the U.S. faced a "gas shortage" two years ago. It was their fault that millions waited hours at the pump for a few gallons of gas. Yet we all know now that it was the oil barons who hoarded the oil and created the phoney crisis. Even now, there is a glut in oil, while the capitalists continue to hype up an "energy shortage," trying to extract every cent from the people's pockets. It's clear whose side Watt stand on.

What's Watt Doing to Our Land?

Under his Department's jurisdiction falls wildlife refuges, national parks, historic landmarks, the Fish and Wildlife Service — which is in charge of conserving migratory species, endangered species and other wildlife; Bureau of Indian Affairs; Bureau of Reclamation; Bureau of Land Management; and many more. In total, the Department has control of over one-fifth of the country's land — a grand sum of 400 million acres. The Interior Department also recommends which areas are to be used for the grazing of livestock and the exploration of oils and minerals. It makes up the strip-mining policies and policies involving the production, consumption, import, export and stockpiling of minerals. It oversees mining and mineral leasing on 1 billion 370 million acres, both federally and privately owned. In essence, the Department of Interior controls the land we live on and what can become of it.

What's Watt going to let it become?

Having only been in office for five months, Watt has just cut this year's budget of \$335 million to be spent on acquiring parks to a mere \$45 million (which "is to be used in special cases"). This drastic cutback leaves parks already under construction such as the Cape Code National Seashore; Gateway Recreational Park in New York/New Jersey; the Santa Monica Mountains and the Redwood National Park in California, incomplete. (Remember, it was Reagan who also said that "a hundred thousand acres of redwood trees are an awful lot of trees to look at. If you've seen one, you've seen them all.") Watt plans to close down the Youth Conservation Program; a program where young people had worked through their summers to help maintain the wilderness areas throughout the country. He also intends to allow oil and gas production on wildlife refuges and wilderness areas.

Watt & His Corporate Connections

Watt, in his early twenties had already started his political career working for Senator Simpson who served on the Senate Interior Committee. In 1966, Watt opposed the first national laws dealing with water and air pollution. He had also served on the Interior Department and the Federal Power Commission. But his main affiliation with the multinational corporations came when he was president and legal officer for the Mountain States Legal Foundation. This Foundation, formed in August 1977, was founded and financially backed by Joseph Coors, who also hired James Watt. Coors is the infamous union buster of the Coors breweries in Denver, Colorado. He also wants to open up another brewery in Virginia on federally owned land. Along with his breweries, he holds investments in coal, and 196 oil and natural gas leases on 97,005 acres of public land in Colorado. He owns two coal mines, one which currently has strip-mining plans pending in the Interior Department. Coors also sits as vice-president of the board of the National Legal Center for the Public Interest. Mountain States Foundation is one of the six independent affiliates of the Center. Of course, since Coors had taken care of Watt while he was president of the Founda-

tion, it won't be surprising for Watt to return that handshake.

The handshakes though don't stop with Mountain States. The National Legal Center comes next. Set up in 1975, it and its affiliates are supposed to serve the public's interest. Through that, they were able to get a non-profit, tax-exempt status. The money used to set up the Center came mainly from two corporations: The Fluor Corporation and the Scaife Foundation. Fluor is one of the owners of Peabody Coal, the nation's largest coal producer. It is an international engineering and construction company, provides drilling services and has been attempting to get other mineral companies under its wing. The other corporation, Scaife Foundation is backed by the Mellon family. These same Mellons own Gulf Oil and hold investments in gas and coal. The Center's new chairman is Charles Barber, who is also chairman of ASARCO, Inc., one of the largest mining corporations.

That's only skimming the surface of Watt's corporate connections. Behind the scenes of the Mountain States Foundation are energy, construction, agribusiness, banks, public utilities, casino companies including Amax (another large mining and coal company), Conoco and Amoco Production Company. Amax too has pressing business with the Department of Interior. "Its Wyoming mine has a strip-mining application pending before the Interior's Office of Surface Mining. Amax is also planning a new coal mine on the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State. That mine will require approval from the Bureau of Indian Affairs... and Amax is planning a large molybdenum mine near Crested Butte, Montana, which would require rights-of-way permits for federal lands, administered by the Bureau of Land Management..." (Village Voice, 1/28-2/3/81). Exxon, owned by the Rockefellers also funded the Foundation. Exxon has several coal leases in the West and two coal mines with plans for a third pending. All of the mines need permits from the Department of Interior.

Watt though doesn't have to worry too much about getting any flak from the bureaus in his Department. He has handpicked his "corporate friends" to head up most of them. For the head of the Bureau of Land Management, Watt named Robert Burford, a former Speaker of the State House of Representatives and a rancher. Burford was the same man that Joseph Coors had backed up for the position of Secretary of Interior before Watt came along. The Environmental Protection Agency will see Anne Gorsuch, a former Colorado legislator and attorney for the Mountain Bell Telephone Company. The new Interior's solicitor, William Coldiron, was the general counsel of the Montana Power Company. Found on the Board of Litigation of the Mountain States Foundation are attorneys from the Montana Power Company. John Crowell, a timber lobbyist is to head the Forest Service. Crowell has proposed to increase the cutting of more timber in natural forests, increasing the amount of timber wood from 10-12 billion board-feet a year to 35 billion. Crowell was also an attorney for the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, which is the largest private lumber company working on private land.

James Watt is trying to have all his cards stacked in the Department of Interior, hoping that he can slide any of his policies right through. But his stacking is a sign of weakness and not of strength. The American people will not let their land be turned into an eyesore. Opposition and resistance to his policies is and will continue to mount and no matter which way Watt tries to deal, he will have to answer to the American people. □

LABOR NEWS

"My local would love a Poland here."

Miners Out For Win Despite Church Betrayal

Robert Goldstein

It is quiet in the western Pennsylvania coal fields. Absent are the large picket caravans and sounds of guns firing at scabs characteristic of the largely non-union Kentucky coal fields during UMWA contract strikes. The few non-union operations here know better than to fool around and run coal during a strike: this is a solid union area.

Often there is little for the men to do but sit at home or gather at a buddy's house or the local beer joint. Many of the miners catch up on the sunshine denied them during normal times.

But as soon as the eight week old contract strike is mentioned, the miners' outward calm betrays a state of agitation, confusion and desperation. Much of those feelings center on the sellout contract offered by union president Sam Church. That proposal, which the whole union rejected by a 2-1 margin on March 31, was turned down here by a 9-1 vote.

"A Puppet on a String"

"Sam Church is practicing knuckling-under tactics," said Frank, a young miner and local union official. "He never should have come up with a contract like that. And so early on, too! It's the same contract as the one we just lived under plus four bad things. Church turned this from a strike for a good contract into one just to stay the same."

The four bad things he was referring to are the new 45-day probation period for new miners, fewer individual safety rights and more restrictions on union safety committeemen, the elimination of the royalty tax on non-union coal and the elimination of the automatic union recognition clause at new mines.

"Under the contract proposed by Church, you either do as the boss says or you're out of a job," said Mike, a 10-year veteran of the mines and head of his local's safety committee. "The union becomes a puppet on a string. Without adequate union representation, what axe do you have to wield?"

Everyone blames Church for the slave contract he had the nerve to present the rank and file. More than that, they are disgusted with his conduct of the strike. After he was defeated in the ratification vote, he disappeared for over a week—vacationing with his wife, he said.

Union More Prepared Than BCOA

The union entered this strike in a better position than the last, record-breaking strike of 1977-78. For three years there were almost no wildcats. Most of the rank and file, bracing for a long battle, saved up a good sum of money. And a strike in the spring means small utility bills.

In addition, just before the contract expired, the union called a successful two-day protest against cuts in black lung benefits, giving the coal operators a scare and giving Reagan a taste of the future. The union rank and file had given Church a mandate to go for it all. They were prepared to stay out a long time and fight for what they want.

In sharp contrast, the coal operators are deeply divided. Intense competition for limited markets and the prospects that many companies could go under has caused many companies to split from the Bituminous Coal Operators

Association, the industry bargaining organization. The coal bosses are hardly united on the conduct of the strike.

"With the situation like this," said Frank, "we shouldn't have taken anything but our full demands. My local is more united than ever; the boys stick together more than three years ago. We're prepared to stay out as long as it takes. But Church comes along and gives up our advantage. Now they know he will always settle for less."

Church Lonely at Bargaining Table

Church's last public act revealed the sort of material he was stuffed with. At a rally to support the miners on April 28 in Pittsburg, Church shamelessly carried on with Bobby Brown, head of Consolidation Coal (the second largest coal company in the country) and chief negotiator for the BCOA. Church neither encouraged the rank and file nor fired their enthusiasm to stay out. He didn't even repeat the union's just demands.

Miners Isolated, Frustrated

Church hasn't done a thing to encourage or coordinate strike activity. To this day, stopping scab coal production, keeping scab truckers off the road and preventing coal from reaching the utilities is done without the International's sanction or help.

"The miners feel isolated. The miners here want to do something, they want to fight back. But because of Church's sabotage, many feel that all they can do is wait for the next contract proposal to come by and vote it down," said Sheila, a woman miner from Allegheny County.

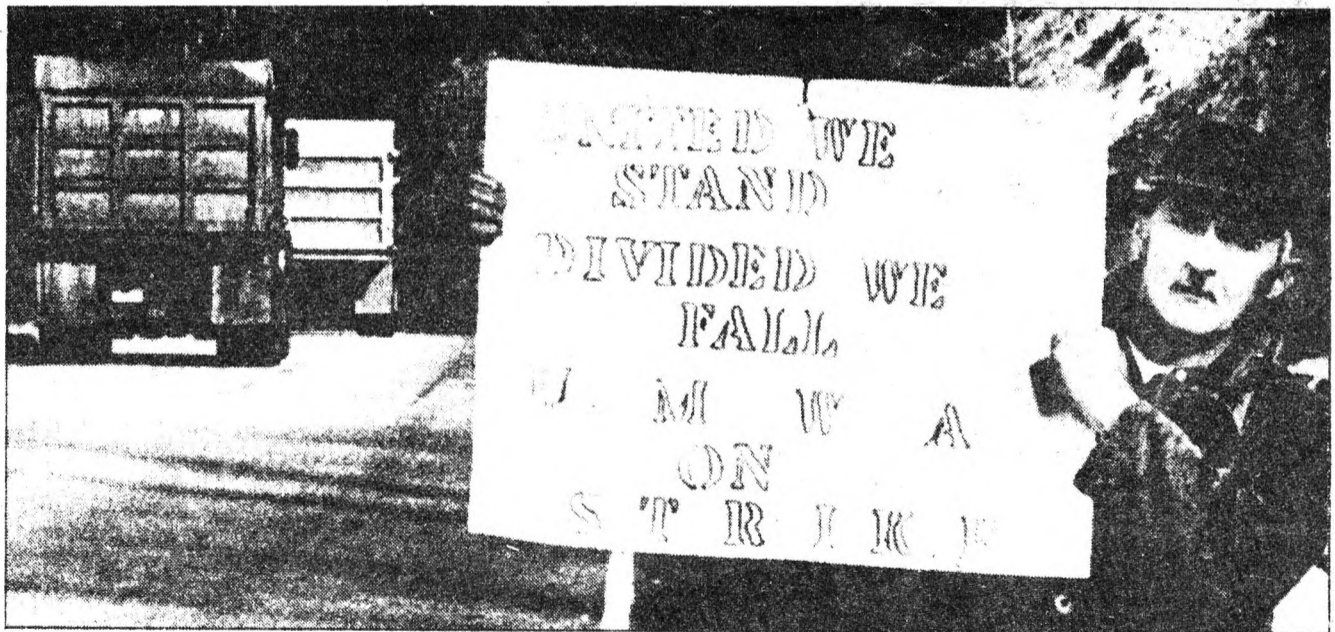
Her feelings were echoed by Al, a retired miner from Cambria County. "I went to see Church last May," he said, waving his huge, rough hands in front of him. "But he had no time to see me—he was off to catch a plane somewhere. We put him on notice last May but he didn't heed us. So we'll put him on notice again. But what can you

ly intimidated," declared Mike. "If that contract gets ratified like it was proposed, I won't go back to work. I won't be a coal miner. If I have to go back on that wage and what amounts to no union, I'd rather starve. I'd rather not work."

Although there were bitter fights in the coalfields three and more years ago, a lot of miners who didn't have enough backbone, still shook like leaves every time the boss breezed by. These guys loved it when the boss said they were doing a good job, all the while fingering in his pocket money ripped off the miners.

Workers Need a Poland

That was three years ago. Today, the miners are tired of being pushed around. The last three years have been unbearable. The companies are more hardnosed. And with Reagan in office, the miners are sick of feeling the whip. "Things are worse now than three years ago, at the last contract" said Al. "That boy should have used a bigger caliber on Reagan," he growled.



In the coalfields of Kentucky, Ohio and West Virginia, striking mineworkers are putting a lot of heat on scab coal operators. Even in areas where there is little activity, strikes are prepared to do almost anything to win this strike.

Instead, before 3,000 coal miners, their families, their supporters and the national press, he used the occasion to beg for another chance to negotiate away their lives. He made his customary jab at Brown for being a "hostage of Big Oil" and then pleaded for him to return to the bargaining table. He went from the speakers' platform to a phone booth—to call Bobby Brown. And until the talks started ten days ago, Church called Brown every other day, begging him to come back and talk.

Some union members refused to come out to this rally. Many miners were on call in case scabs tried to move coal. "No, I can't come out to see Church," one old timer said. "Me and 200 other guys are waiting to see if they'll try to move the coal to the power plant. Why should I travel two hours just to hear Church?"

do? I've been in the union 49 years and have never seen such poor leadership. You can't do anything for a good contract as long as Church is in there."

Rather Starve Than Slave

"What can you do?" and an angry shake of the fist—this is a common response in the western Pennsylvania coal fields. This helplessness, in the past has led people, enraged though they are, to throw in the towel. Some miners feel the fight is futile and think they should return to work because they can't get a good contract.

But helplessness breeds not only resignation. There is an increasingly desperate and determined mood among the miners. A growing number of miners are seriously saying they will not return to work under a sellout contract.

"I've been working 10 years in the mines. I like my work but I'm not easi-

Mike agreed. "I've a vet and he's going to cut my benefits. It was him and his bunch that got us into Vietnam in the first place and now he's making us pick up the bill for their blunder."

The rank and file's desperation increases with each passing day of the strike. So does the number of miners spoiling for a fight.

"The United Mine Workers of America is a strong union," Mike said, his eyes narrowing with resolve. "But if you want to stay a strong union, you've got to exercise your power. For too long we've been giving up and giving up. Now's the time to draw the line and turn this thing around."

Frank nodded his head. "The capitalists are bleeding the people dry. We need a Poland here," he said, a smile lighting his face. "I know the boys in my local would be for that." □

NASSCO 3 Frameup

Defense Uncovers FBI Documents

Erin White

SAN DIEGO, Ca. — "If the government wins this trial," said Miguel Salas, Business Agent of Ironworkers Local 627, "there will be a green light to attack militant unions around the country." Referring to the government's case against the NASSCO 3 and information revealed about FBI surveillance of the Communist Workers Party and supporters, Salas commented, "Greensboro was the green light for the KKK and Nazis to shoot down anyone they disagreed with or disliked. The assassinations of five CWP members, who were all active in leading or building unions, were orchestrated by an agent from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, Bernard Butkovich, with help from FBI informer, Edward Dawson. Here at National Steel, we again have a man who acted as a government agent to set up union militants and CWP members."

Orders From the Top

The trial of the NASSCO 3 has uncovered FBI documents that indicate national authorization to probe into the CWP and its activities. Part of an FBI file was released to the defense attorneys handling the Three's case during the first week of the defense presentation.

Richard Schneider, the FBI supervisor during August and September of 1980 responsible for the investigation that resulted in the arrest of Rodney Johnson, Mark Loo and David Boyd, admitted in court that the central office at the FBI had directed almost all the bureaus across the country to open a file on the CWP. This was in November 1979, right after the murder of five CWP members in Greensboro, N.C. The D.C. FBI also ordered various national offices to open another file in July 1980, during a demonstration at BATF headquarters exposing agent Butkovich's coordination of the assassinations of the CWP 5.

The FBI claims that it didn't become involved in the bomb plot case at NASSCO until September 5 when the San Diego Police called them about it. But the FBI and the San Diego Police Department were working together on events at NASSCO long before then. Men, who many workers believed to be FBI agents, were seen at NASSCO during an early August strike and others report seeing agents as far back as April 1980 when Ironworkers Local 627 was involved in a struggle over cost of living adjustments.

On August 21, 1980, FBI agents, with the San Diego Police, spied on workers gathering at a local restaurant and preparing to demonstrate against Carl Heinrichson over arbitration for fired workers. Heinrichson is NASSCO's top labor relations official. Schneider testified that the San Diego Police Department informed the FBI that "the CWP was going to go to a labor relations official's house." Agent Finly was assigned to the case and Schneider himself accompanied her to observe workers at the restaurant and at Heinrichson's house.

The next day, on August 22, agents Schneider and Finly "just happened" to be at a restaurant with two members of the San Diego Red Squad while Barton was there meeting with police. Schneider said that the FBI combined the November 1979 file with July 1980 file and that Finly had compiled a list

of close to 30 suspected CWP members in San Diego by August 22.

Evidence of a Setup

The FBI claims that investigation into the CWP is separate and unrelated to the trial of the NASSCO 3. But the defense contention that the government is using this case to attack the CWP as well as militant labor struggles was strengthened by the recently released information.

In a July 1980 report to the FBI central office, the San Diego FBI noted that the CWP was involved in a "legitimate labor struggle at NASSCO." July is the first month after workers in the yard began to notice Ramon Barton, the government's key witness in the trial. Susan Morgan, a former shop steward in the yard, told the court, "Barton told me back in July that 'we have to get the communists out of the yard.'" July is also the month Barton ordered a book on explosives, *The Poor Man's James Bond*, from Soldier of Fortune magazine. On August 18, he asked Mark Loo to inspect the book and then called NASSCO to inform them that "they have books on explosives." Later the FBI reimbursed Barton for this book.

Distorted Facts, Doctored Tapes

The FBI and prosecution's own reports show that they were well aware the testimony of Dan Stravinsky, a labor relations supervisor at NASSCO, Debbie Callum, cashier at Ferrer's surplus store, and Linda Peckron contradicted Barton. Not surprisingly, the government didn't want to use them as prosecution witnesses. As a legal tactic, this is to be expected. However, conscious and willful manipulation and distortion of the facts appears to be the sole foundation of the government's case against the NASSCO 3. This can be seen in the use of testimony and in the edited tapes that were made as well. "This case is cut and dried," said prosecutor Michael Lipman. "These guys were trying to build bombs to blow up the shipyard's transformers. We have it on tape; we're going to prove it in court."

Out of 30 hours of secretly taped conversation, the prosecution only found three hours which they felt would help their case. But even these tapes, which show the defendants experimented with different chemical combinations, reveal it was Barton who constantly suggested different methods of doing things and urging the three to keep on experimenting. By the middle of September, Barton resorted to calling Loo and Johnson "sellouts" in an apparent attempt to split the three after they informed Barton it was time to end his scheme.

Over and over, Boyd can be heard on the tape saying, "This is a farce. It will never work. I'm just not into this like I used to be." Barton's constant reply was, "Can't quit now, man, I mean it's just too much to lose."

Defense witnesses, workers from NASSCO, management personnel, and workers from other plants all see Barton as a violent person who seemed to be trying to provoke something. One woman told how Barton came onto their strike line on August 26 with two other people from Local 627 and talked about the need for "sabotage" and suggested "getting rid" of a couple of buses.

Beginning on May 19, the NASSCO 3 defense will present its case. □

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)

- | | |
|--|--|
| United Domestic Workers of America | Ruben Parga |
| Trade Unionists for Democratic Action, | Hector Romero |
| Peter Fisher | Pam Scullen |
| Joseph E. Cook, AFGE, Local 41, | Juan Segredo |
| Washington, DC | |
| Dave Johnson, BA-Financial Sec., Toronto | Miguel Salas, Business Agent, Ironworkers |
| Building & Construction Council, AFL-CIO | Local 627, NASSCO |
| John Donaldson, President, Int'l Assoc. of | Gwen Ferguson, President, Ironworkers |
| Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Workers, | Local 627, NASSCO |
| Local 721, Ontario, Canada | Grank Hollowach, Vice-President |
| James E. Miller, Pres., Bakery | Ironworkers Local 627, NASSCO |
| Confectionary & Tobacco Workers, Local | |
| 205, Madison, Wisconsin | WOMANCARE, San Diego |
| Louis Gates, Pres., UAW, Local 600, Frame | Rosaura Sanchez, Director, UCSD Third |
| Plant, Detroit | World Studies |
| Rick Martin, pres., UAW, Local 600 | Ernest Charles McCray, Educator & |
| Walter T. Corey, Pres., USWA Local 210 | columnist, San Diego |
| Sidney Lens, Labor writer | Prof. Robert Russel, Mesa Community |
| Jim Miller, Institute for Labor Studies, | College |
| Cornell U. | Dena S. Anderson, Grey Panthers, San |
| Mike Macguire, Organizer, IBM Workers | Diego |
| United, Johnson City, NY | THE PROGRESSIVE COALITION, San |
| Josephine Garriss, Brown Lung | Diego |
| Association, Garysburg, NC | UCSD Student Cooperative Union |
| James Blackstone, President, USWA Local | UCSD Associated Student Government |
| 3522, Baltimore, MD | Ken Overton, President, Black Student U. |
| Gil Dawes, coordinator, Theology in | Ricardo Sanchez, Musician, Los Alacranes |
| Americas Project, Clinton, IA | Mojados |
| Dan Luria, UAW Research Dept, Detroit | Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Council |
| John Reiman, Recording Sec., Carpenters | Dick Gregory, Activist |
| Local 36, Building & Construction Trades | William Kunstler, Attorney |
| Council, Oakland, CA | Mark Rosenbaum, ACLU, Los Angeles |
| Manual Sunshine, IAM Local 68 delegate, | Jim McNamara, Those United To Fight |
| SF Labor Council, San Francisco | Fascism |
| Margie Clauser, Exec. Bd., CWA, San | Rene E. Dubose, Co-chair, People United |
| Francisco | Against Government Repression, Klan |
| George Wong, Graphic Arts Union, Central | & Nazis |
| Labor Council, San Francisco | Jerry Tung, Communist Workers Party |
| James Romanoff, People's Democratic | John Spearman, Revolutionary Youth |
| Club | League |
| Frank Wilkinson, Exec. Dir., National | Leslie Friedman, Chutzpah, Chicago |
| Comm. Agst. Repressive Legislation | Francis Wise, Women of All Red Nations, |
| Larry McDonald, Hotel & Restaurant Local | AIM, Oklahoma City |
| 2, San Francisco | Yvonne Wanrow, Rita Silk-Nauni Defense |
| Abe Feinglass, Int'l V.P. Amalgamated | Comm., Inchellium, WA |
| Meatcutters & Butcher Workmen | Wally Kopelman, SDSU Professor |
| Nancy Baker, IAM Local 685, Central Labor | UCSD Committee for World Democracy |
| Council Delegate | New Indicator Newspaper |
| Jerry Newport, Seafarer Union, San Diego | Communist Workers Party |
| Wren Osborn, Probation Workers Union | Larry Remer, San Diego Newslite |
| Local 2702, San Diego | Mexican American Political Association, |
| Anatole Zachs, Hotel & Restaurant | Oakland chapter |
| Workers Local 2, Grievance officer, Bay | Prof. Michio Kaku, CCNY Physics Dept. |
| Area Coalition to Bust the Union Busters | Libby Grell, Save Our Democracy |
| Jeanne Tai, UAW 900 delegate to Nat'l | Albert Germany, Reporter, WEA Radio, |
| Ford Council | Baltimore, MD |
| NASSCO 3 Defense Team: | Danny Valladolid, Chicano Moratorium, |
| Leonard Weinglass | San Diego Committee |
| Daniel Siegel | Nancy Hegelson, Women's Resource |
| Alan Yee | Center, La Jolla, UCSD |
| Eugene Iredale, Federal Defender | Margaret Ratner, Center for Constitutional |
| | Rights, N.Y.C. |
| NASSCO 27 members | David McReynolds, Socialist Party |
| Steve Chinn | Abe Feinglass, International Vice President, |
| Carlos Espinosa | Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher |
| Ronald Graham | Workmen, AFL-CIO |

OSHA Pamphlets Burned

Letting Brown Lung Killer On the Loose

Dave Young

Outraging fair-minded people everywhere, the Reagan Administration recently ordered the burning of over 100,000 Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) pamphlets on Brown Lung. According to the OSHA pamphlet, Cotton Dust: Workers Health Alert, "Inhaling cotton dust over a period of time can cause a variety of health problems and, in many cases, can lead to a severe respiratory disease called 'brown lung.' Over 35,000 cotton workers have already been crippled from cotton dust exposure and thousands of others show some signs of brown lung."

The brochure was intended to educate workers about the following things:

- The dangers of cotton dust.
- Your employer's responsibilities under the (cotton dust) standard.
- Ways your employer can control cotton dust and protect you from exposure.
- Your rights under the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

On its cover is a portrait of brown lung victim Louis Hammell, who worked at a J.P. Stevens mill for 44 years and died in 1978.

When he announced this action on March 27, 1981, newly-installed Undersecretary of Labor for OSHA Thorne G. Auchter said he was also reviewing two other government pamphlets, three films and two slide shows about cotton dust.

While Auchter admitted that he could not question the contents of the Brown Lung booklet, he felt the cover picture was "offensive," "anti-business" and "clearly favorable" to labor. "The photo makes a dramatic statement that clearly establishes a biased viewpoint on the cotton dust issue," said Auchter.

Cost-Benefit Analysis: Rolling Back Gains

Burning the Brown Lung pamphlets is part of the Reagan Administration's shameless plans to subject all government safety regulations to "cost-benefit analysis" and to gut OSHA's proposed cotton dust safety standard. Auchter announced that the standard will be reviewed under a February 17 Executive Order 12291 which established cost-benefit analysis as the cornerstone of the U.S. monopoly capitalists' new regulatory policies.

All government regulations in areas of occupational, environmental and consumer protection will be axed unless the economic benefits can be proven to match the financial costs of implementing them. These are code-words for the capitalists to put maximum profits before safety and roll back gains made under agencies like OSHA and the Environmental Protection Agency.

The Reagan Administration has also reversed the federal government's position in the pivotal cotton dust standard case now being contested in the U.S. Supreme Court. As recently as January 21, 1981, government lawyers argued that the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 did not give enough weight to cost-benefit factors and allow them to override safety standards.

Workers' Health "Economically Unfeasible"

OSHA requires that textile companies maintain the level of cotton dust lower than 200 micrograms per cubic meter in cotton mills and 750 micrograms per cubic meter in slashing

and weaving areas. It also requires that engineering controls to maintain these standards be installed by March 27, 1984. These represents the *minimum necessary measures* to prevent an entire new generation of brown lung victims among textile workers. The American Textile Manufacturers Association and the National Cotton Council of America challenged this as economically unfeasible.

Since there is no longer any difference between OSHA and the textile manufacturers' position, Auchter requested that the Supreme Court delay its decision while OSHA formulates a new ruling. In other actions, OSHA has shown it intends to use "cost-benefit analysis" fully as a way to strip safety regulations.

Three weeks after the brown lung announcement, OSHA held up regulations around a safe level of lead exposure. Besides a review of the cost of compliance, OSHA will look at the medical-removal provision. This allowed workers with a certain level of lead in their blood to stay off the job at full pay until the lead level of their blood returned to normal.

Textile Industry Whitewashes

One legacy of the textile industry is hundreds of thousands of brown lung victims. Last year, an appeals court estimated that 250,000 to 800,000 workers are exposed to cotton dust. The number of brown lung sufferers is somewhere between 35,000 and 100,000.

Some end up like Grover Hardin. "Since I've had this brown lung I have come to the point where I can't do much of anything. It cuts my breath down to where I have trouble, difficulty even changing clothes, shaving or taking a bath. Even talking I can't do sometimes—I have to stop to catch my breath; it's that bad. I haven't been able to work a lick at nothing since 1962. I had to leave the mill at age 54. I tried to keep working, but I just couldn't." The more severe victims end up like Landrum Clary, a textile worker for 38 years who cannot survive without the constant aid of a liquid oxygen machine.

Brown lung, medically known as bysinnosis, results from inhaling microscopic specks of cotton, flax or hemp dust. It begins with a mild breathing disturbance such as shortness of breath. A worker can exhibit initial symptoms on his first day at the job. The disease was extensively described in medical journals in Great Britain as far back as the 1930's. There was a sharp increase in the incidence of brown lung symptoms in the U.S. during the 1950's when there was a period of intense mechanization in the textile industry.

However, the textile industry brutally tried to suppress knowledge of the disease's existence. In 1969, the American Textile Reporter, a trade publication, called bysinnosis "a thing thought up by venal doctors who attended last year's International Labor Organization meetings in Africa, where inferior races are bound to be affected by new diseases more superior people defeated years ago."

Court Cases Block OSHA

The passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970 did not make a big dent in the problem. Since its inception, OSHA's effectiveness has been stymied by the government's inaction and fierce challenges from industrial associations. The U.S. ruling class merely gave lip service to OSHA's goal of assuring "safe and healthful

working conditions for every working man and woman."

But, even during its heyday, OSHA had no more than 3,000 compliance officers. It would have taken them at least 25 years to get around to every workplace in the country. "Depending on OSHA to clean up the workplace," complained a steelworker from East Chicago, "is like relying on the minimum wage law to get you a pay raise."

It was not until 1974 that OSHA made its first cotton dust inspection at a J.P. Stevens plant. In 1975, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union sued OSHA to issue new strict standards for cotton dust. A secret memo was found which revealed that Richard Nixon delayed the issuance of a cotton dust standard after receiving campaign contributions from the textile industry. Jimmy Carter held up new standards again in 1978. The White House said that the cost of meeting such a standard would be inflationary. Only after stiff opposition from labor groups did Carter issue them in June. Since then, they have been virtually ineffective because the textile companies took OSHA to court.

These setbacks and delays show how difficult it has been for American workers to realize any gains in health and safety. OSHA has managed to adopt health and safety standards for only 21 toxic substances, even though the government officially lists 28,000. Nonetheless, they represent one of the greatest achievements of OSHA's first 10 years.

OSHA Head: Some Example

Even before Reagan ran for the

presidency, the U.S. ruling class brought in its verdict on safety regulations. As the economy sank deeper and deeper into permanent economic crisis in the 70's, the government began to talk about the economic costs of concessions like OSHA and the Environmental Protection Agency. In 1973, the Ford Administration ordered "economic impact statements" for new regulations. In 1978, Carter signed another "regulatory analysis" executive order. By the end of his administration, the White House "Regulatory Analysis Review Group" looked at and made the final decision on all new regulations.

Reagan set up the Interagency Task Force on Regulatory Relief, aimed at abolishing all government regulations which "discourage productivity." It is headed by Vice President George Bush and run by executive director James C. Miller III, an ardent foe of health and safety regulations when he was an advisor to Nixon and Ford. In the future, this task force will directly supervise all OSHA actions.

The Reagan Administration chose "management-minded" Thorne G. Auchter as the new head of OSHA. Like Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan, Auchter is a former construction executive with little experience in labor affairs. His main experience with health and safety comes from five years as the executive vice president of the family-owned Auchter Company in Jacksonville, Fla. During that time, it was cited by the U.S. Department of Labor 48 times for safety violations and fined \$1,200.

Dead End for OSHA, NIOSH

Severe cuts in OSHA's enforcement budget are planned. \$3.7 million will be slashed for the remainder of the fiscal 1981 budget and a 9% decrease from \$235 million to \$221 million is planned for fiscal 1982. Two hundred and sixty staff people will be eliminated, 100 compliance officers who conduct workplace inspections and 160 officials who monitor state health and safety progress.

Cuts totaling 30% will cripple on the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), the federal agency which provides scientific data to set new standards. The NIOSH funds for training health and safety professionals in schools of public health will be reduced from \$114 million to zero.

NIOSH's ability to help formulate safety standards will be next to nothing. Such decisions will rest solely with government and industry economists whose only concern is profits for the company. This reflects the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's present view that top OSHA priorities for the next four years will be their positions on Supreme Court cases and health standards.

Cost-benefit analysis means reducing factors around safety standards to purely economic factors. The safety of workers, clean air and water for communities around industrial plants, and the burden and pain borne by families of maimed and killed workers will be ignored. This approach has been widely criticized by trade unionists, doctors and OSHA economists. According to Ruth Rutenburg, a senior OSHA economist, "To date, it (cost-benefit analysis) has been an effective industry tool which has left out most of the benefits which are the entire reason for the OSHA Act to begin with... One need not be an economist to know that some things have no dollar value." □



Cover of brown lung pamphlet recently burned by OSHA head Throne G. Auchter.

May Quan

"If there is any one paramount characteristic of books on American history, it is that they are not histories of the people. Histories of the generals, the diplomats, and the politicians there are plenty; histories of the people — the plain people — there are few.

"This is no accident. It is part of the great conspiracy which consists in drawing an iron curtain between the people and their past. The generals, the diplomats, and the politicians learned long ago that history is more than a record of the past; it is, as well, a source of strength and direction for the future. At all costs, that sense of strength and direction and purpose must be denied to the millions of men and women who labor for their living. Hence, the record of their past achievements is deliberately obscured in order to dull their aspirations for the future."

George F. Addes and R.J. Thomas in introduction to *The Many and The Few*, Henry Kraus, 1947, as quoted in *Strike!* by Jeremy Brecher

In the six months since Ronald Reagan's November victory, the capitalists have been marshalling their reactionary forces, and readying their arsenal of governmental weapons to launch a new McCarthy era. The government has stirred up a wide range of reviews and verdicts on the intents and purposes of the McCarthy era, the breadth and depth of its attacks, its successes and the conduct of all who claimed to fight it. However, the general sentiment to McCarthyism, and it is one learned through suffering, is that the litany of McCarthyism — "That I am not, was not, and never have been . . . I swear, I do affirm . . ." — was "sweatdrenched in fear." In fact, it has been named "The Great Fear." This is a good lesson, firmly planted in the people's minds, that we will not allow another McCarthy era.

However, some have taken this even further, saying that today's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism "has the capability and support to move this country back to the dark ages of McCarthyism." The most popular misconception of McCarthyism is that Truman's Cold War "style" was an overreaction and unnecessary; that the domestic situation did not warrant such virulent anti-communism (the CPUSA was "a flea on a dog's back," wrote David Caute), that the liberals, Truman's domestic opposition, were the real targets of McCarthyism; and that it went too far, with Truman, coming under red-baiting attacks himself, and falling into a trap of his own making. In other words, the people are weak, and therefore we must pin our hopes on the liberal bourgeoisie.

Nothing could be further from the truth. If we only examine the government, then we are frozen into immobility, victims mesmerized by the snake. We fail to see that all the U.S. capitalists, liberal and conservative, launched McCarthyism on the U.S. people out of weakness and fear. It was a trial of strength then, between the imperialists and the socialist world. If we misassess the situation then, we cannot see that the situation today is fundamentally different in that the capitalists are even weaker and in more disarray, while the people have grown even stronger. It is a trial of strength again, and we must seize the opportunity to stop McCarthyism and government repression by overthrowing capitalism.

In 1948, when McCarthyism in the U.S. was being wound to fever pitch, Mao Zedong said, "the victory of the anti-fascist second world war has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed people of the world, and has opened up still more realistic paths to it. . . It will be a very great mistake to overestimate the enemy's strength and underestimate the strength of revolutionary forces." A 65 year old garment worker from Brooklyn said it this way: "Do you know how strong we were in 1946? We had the country in the palm of our hands. Only we didn't know it!"



1952 Czech cartoon comments on Marshall Plan, and depicts card sharks who cynically cheat their allies.

PART I: THE U.S. CAPITALISTS

A New Balance of Forces

The aftermath of World War II ushered in a fundamental change in the balance of forces internationally in favor of the people of the world. It was a time of great revolutionary upsurge, of fluidity, which set the stage for a dynamic which continues to operate today.

Before World War I, only one socialist country, the Soviet Union, existed. But after World War II, an entire socialist camp emerged. David M. Elias, in *The 80's*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Workers Party wrote, "The socialist system had grown beyond the confines of one country. With the assistance of the Soviet Red Army, the people of several Eastern European countries drove out the German fascists and local reactionaries who collaborated with them. These countries broke from the path of capitalism and established people's democracies that embarked on the path to socialism. The following countries became socialist republics: Albania in 1945; Romania in December 1947; Bulgaria on December 4, 1947; Czechoslovakia in 1948; Poland in 1947; German Democratic Republic on October 7, 1949; Yugoslavia in 1949; and Hungary on August 20, 1949." Socialism emerged in the third world after the war with the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945 and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Europe was in a wave of revolutionary upheaval. The communist parties of France and Italy were on the brink of taking state power and had won tremendous prestige in the war of resistance against fascism. Their membership rose dramatically. They were rooted among the industrial proletariat and led the largest trade unions. In the 1936 election, the French Communist Party won 72 seats in parliament. By 1956, they had won 166 seats out of 584, while the Italians won 131 out of 574.

Most of all, out of any country to rise to eminence in the fight against fascism was the Soviet Union. So strong was the people's respect for the Soviet Union, it forced the most rabid anti-communist bourgeoisie to applaud them. On February 23, 1942, General Douglas MacArthur said, "The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as study-

ing in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated army, followed by a smashing counter-attack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement of all time."

Even though the Nazis wrought immeasurable destruction on the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union did not suffer the same economic chaos as Europe after the war. Immediately after the war, the Soviet Union began to rebuild, investing in heavy industry, moving on a mass scale to produce consumer goods. By December 1947, they reformed their currency. Workers received a new incentive, production rose



The smiling Big Three — Churchill, Truman and Stalin, July 31, 1945, while less than a year later, March 5, 1946, Truman invites Churchill to his hometown, Fulton, Mo. Churchill delivers his "Iron Curtain" speech and speaks of "Communist fifth columns" "in a great number of countries."

swiftly, partly because rationing was abolished in the same decree and prices of consumer goods were reduced. Inflation that plagued the post World War II world, was effectively countered in the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, economic chaos reigned in Europe in the 1946-47 years. The capitalist parties were very discredited for creating the conditions that had led to war. In the 1945 election, the British people had not forgotten the Tories' treacherous policy at Munich in 1938; they ousted Churchill and voted Labor in the hopes of an improved life.

But in 1947, in a snowstorm which froze Britain's economy for weeks, it became clear to the entire imperialist world that Britain's great power role was broken.

The superiority and the moral authority of the socialist system stood in stark challenge to the capitalist system, which had predicted that due to its "inherent weakness," the Soviet Union would fall to the Nazis in one to three months. People of the world, seeking to rebuild their countries and their world after the devastation of war, looked to new socialist ideas — to the Soviet Union — to provide them with a model.

Much to the dismay of the imperialists, they were the losers in the war. The loss of Eastern Europe alone, formerly the economic hinterland of Western Europe as a place for investment, for providing cheap food and resources, was now socialist, independent and beyond their manipulation. This exacerbated Europe's post war crisis. The imperialist world had shrunk and lost much moral authority. The socialist world had grown in prestige and size, and revolutions were imminent in France, Italy, and Greece.

The Hollow Shell of the "American Century"

For the U.S. imperialists the world was a threatening, unpredictable, and terrifying place. Yet U.S. imperialism emerged as the strongest imperialist power. They alone were virtually untouched by the war. They controlled three-quarters of the world's invested capital, and one-half its industry. Yet they were also mired in internal post-war contradictions.

It was World War II which brought the U.S. capitalists out of the Great Depression. In 1939, U.S. industrial output dropped to 80% of the 1929 level. Workers' living standards dropped even lower as unemployment rose to 11.5 million, or one-third of the workers. By the end of the war, corporate profits however, had zoomed to an all-time high, 250% higher than pre-war levels, because the government had pumped them with \$117 billion worth of war

THE ORIGINS OF THE MCCARTHY ERA



depicts Truman and Acheson as

contracts. The war, which bled the taxpayers white, brought a blood transfusion to U.S. monopoly capital.

There were more government handouts to the corporations. In June 1949, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation underwrote the construction of new factories which were then rented on favorable terms to private enterprises. 62% of all new capitalist investment during the war years in industry and transportation were made at the expense of the taxpayers. Whole branches of industry — nuclear energy, aluminum, synthetic rubber — were funded gratis by the government for the monopolies to take over. In total, the U.S. government poured \$306 billion into the coffers of American business.

The government expenditures exploded. In 1932, government expenditures were 7% of the Gross National Product. By 1944, it was 50% of the GNP. Inflation ran rampant. The main indication of this was the rise in the cost of living, which according to the American Federation of Labor, was 45% by the end of the war. And as price controls weakened after the war, prices rose still higher, while the workers were systematically impoverished.

An indication of how far the economy had broken down was that barter was common. An apartment was exchanged for a car. Soap and sugar were as good as money. The black market, instead of disappearing after the war, expanded. Up to 75% of all passenger cars were sold off the books.

Anticipating the loss of war production and a recession, the U.S. ruling circles greeted the end of the war in Europe without marked enthusiasm. They were clearly troubled by the future. For these reasons the government feared to lift the wartime control mechanisms for a full two years after the war had ended.

Right after the war's end, monopolies began agitating for an end to controls, and for an attack on the New Deal and the workers in order to give themselves room to maneuver in the impending economic situation. Redbaiting attacks on the workers stepped up while in-fighting among the bourgeoisie sharpened, blaming each other for the failure of their policies. This became clear in the 1945 Congressional elections. This Congressional election, declared Republican National Chairman B. Carroll Reece, would offer a choice between "Communism and Republicanism," while House Republican leader, Joseph W. Martin said, "The people will vote tomorrow between chaos, confusion, bankruptcy, state socialism or communism and the preservation of the American way of life."

The entire bourgeoisie, both conservative and

liberal, came to realize their desperate situation. Both united that an attack upon the world's people, and on the Soviet Union was a necessity for U.S. imperialism to survive. Therefore Truman initiated a counter-revolutionary offensive to prepare for another war, and a massive re-armament program to pull the U.S. out of economic crisis. He embarked on a program to hold off revolutions abroad in order to secure markets and sources of raw materials to stabilize the world for capital investment and secure their imperialist hegemony.

Containment

The U.S. imperialists began on March 13, 1947 with the Truman Doctrine and a call for \$400 million to subvert and hold off impending revolution in Greece. During World War II the Greek Communist mobilized and led the Resistance — which had had a membership of 2 million out of 7 million — to fight the fascists. Now, to carry out their demand for democracy, to stop the inflation, and the massacres, they had to fight U.S. imperialism.

With this hammer blow from the Greek people, U.S. imperialists were forced to prop up the Greek royalist government which turned death squads loose on the Greek people. It exposed the reactionary nature of the U.S. "democratic" system.

This policy became more systematic with the Marshall Plan, laid out by Secretary of State George C. Marshall at Harvard University on June 5, 1947. This was a \$17 billion plan to stop the communists from seizing power in France and Italy, and to bring all the European countries under its own control, instead of doing it "piecemeal" or crisis by crisis. Far from the humanitarian aid to wartorn Europe painted by Marshall, it meant giving free merchant ships to Italy to subvert their elections to stop the communists from winning.

By July 1947, George Kennan published his famous "containment" article in Foreign Affairs which laid out that antagonism between capitalism and socialism was innate, that the Soviet people were "physically and spiritually tired," and which called for the "adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points." First the U.S. would aim to bring Greece under control, then anywhere in Europe, Latin America, Asia or Africa, to stop revolution and install their imperialist hegemony. The U.S. aimed to be the policeman of the world.

Conclusion

Right after the people of the world defeated the Nazis' drive for world domination, U.S. imperialism launched its own crusade to dominate the world through war.

Their call for war, for a "showdown," reflected their fear of their own doom, and the decay of their system. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the independent third world countries provided a bright path for others to throw off the darkness of imperialism and colonialism.

In order for the U.S. capitalists to get out of crisis and to prepare for war, they first had to attack the U.S. people. They had to destroy all internal opposition to their war plans. From this fragile and weakened position, the U.S. imperialists launched the McCarthy era.

Part II will discuss the state of the U.S. working class after the second World War. Part III will discuss the role of the Communist Party, U.S.A., its capitulation in the 1950's and the political situation and political tasks in the 80's. Look for Part II in two weeks.



Bucharest, Rumania: Crowd cheers Red Army parade.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Dedicated Soldier, Living Legend Francis Hughes, 1956-1981

Sally Campbell

On Tuesday, May 12, Francis Hughes died on the 59th day of a hunger strike. He followed Bobby Sands by one week, the second hunger striker to die as a result of Britain's refusal to grant political status to jailed Irish Republican Army (IRA) liberation fighters. Ray McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara, two of the original four hunger strikers, are near death. Joe McDonnell and Brendan McLaughlin have taken the places of Hughes and Sands. Word of both deaths brought thousands of people out into the streets to battle British troops with a renewed vigor. One young girl, Julie Livingstone, was killed by a plastic bullet fired by a British soldier.

Turning Point

Bobby Sands' death marked a turning point in the fight of the Irish people to end British domination of their lives through discrimination in jobs, housing, education, etc., and for reunification with the Twenty-Six Counties (Irish Republic) to the south. As an Irish Republican Army (IRA) Volunteer, and elected by 30,000 little over a month ago to the British Parliament, Sands' death represented the thwarting of the wishes of tens of thousands in the Six Counties that make up Northern Ireland.

But Frankie Hughes, though the second in what promises to be a grisly string of murders by the British government of hunger strikers, rallied the spirits of the oppressed communities of Irish nationalists. He has long been a folk hero and a legend, having outwitted the British on numerous occasions, as a daring and fearless IRA soldier. He is an example for fellow and future revolutionaries: self-sacrificing, sharp, a leader by example, and dedicated, to the end, to his goal of political prisoner status for the IRA prisoners at Long Kesh and Armagh (the women's prison), and national liberation for the Irish people.

The following profile of Francis Hughes is based on an article in the Irish People, Voice of Irish Republicanism in America, by Sean Delaney, (May 16, 1981).

From A Republican Area

Francis Hughes was the youngest of ten in a family that wholeheartedly supports the fight for a united Irish republic. His cousins, Thomas and Benedict McIlwee, are on blanket protest (wearing only a blanket instead of a prison uniform to show they are not Thatcher's "common criminals"). The fierce resistance that the area where the Hughes family lives has led the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC—British paramilitary police) to call it "bandit country," where they could be certain of an ambush. Twenty prisoners of war are from Bellaghy alone.

When Francis was seventeen, he and a friend were on their way home from a dance when a British patrol stopped them and hauled them out of their car. They kicked them so badly that Francis could not get out of bed for several days. When he did, it was with the conviction that the British would pay for their oppression of the Irish people, with being driven into the sea and back to England.

Led By Example

As he was growing up, Francis was well-liked, as he was so happy-go-lucky, generous, and forever optimistic, in spite of difficulties. He did not change, even when he became an

IRA volunteer.

After becoming fed up with the "officials" for a unilateral ceasefire in 1972, Francis left and set up an "independent" military unit in his home town, which mainly protected the people from a loyalist assassination campaign, but which also staged several ambushes. In 1973, the whole unit was recruited by the Provisional IRA—the fighting vanguard of the Irish people.

Francis was always in combat uniform, with a black beret. Though he spent years on the run, he never complained while living in fields and sometimes stopping at a "safe house" for a hot meal and a rest. ("Safe houses" were where sympathizers would risk raids, arrest, or shooting on the spot for harboring the RUC's "most wanted men"). He was a strict disciplinarian who demanded as much from the Volunteers he commanded as he gave. But he commanded them with an enthusiastic spirit that was catching, an all-important ingredient in a prolonged guerrilla struggle. Francis Hughes lived by example. For this he has been called "one of the most outstanding Irish revolutionary soldiers this war has produced, and a man enormously respected in his native countryside."

Quick-Witted

One of the ways Francis Hughes was able to survive as a soldier from 1972 to his capture in 1978 was by relying on his cool head and quick thinking in tight spots.

Once, after "wanted" posters made his face familiar to all, he was painting window frames of the house in which he was staying when several British soldiers drove by. Even though everyone else in the house was scared stiff, Francis smiled and waved at them as they drove by, and went on with his work.

His daring, too, showed no bounds. He and another IRA Volunteer were once stopped as they crossed a field. Francis gave the story that they were avoiding the main roads because they had heard the IRA was active in those parts. After the soldiers allowed them to go on, Francis ran back and got a cigarette and a light from one of them!

On another occasion, soldiers staked out a house where he was staying, in one of fifty raids made to capture him. Francis looked out and saw them surrounding the house and moving in. Uniformed and rifle in hand, he stepped out and in the darkness walked right though their dragnet by mumbling to the soldiers as he passed, who believed him to be one of their own.

Caught

For six years Francis Hughes was able to frustrate the British soldiers who occupy his country and who enforce the persecution and discrimination of native Irish people. But one night he found he had to shoot a British soldier who had discovered him. However, even after Francis was shot, captured and in great pain, his staunch resistance never wavered.

As he and another comrade were walking along the edge of a field they were sighted by two SAS soldiers (SAS—the hated equivalent of the U.S. Green Berets), who assumed them to be loyalist paramilitaries. But he and his comrade seized the opportunity to ice two of the enemy. One was killed. The other, though badly wounded, managed to hit Francis in the thigh with submachine-gun fire.

The British, in their determination to get rid of one more freedom fighter, sealed off the area within three minutes. But they didn't find Francis until 15 hours later, despite a massive search that began the morning after.

Francis Hughes had, with a shattered thigh and having lost much blood, crawled 300 yards across fields, and hidden himself in a large bush. During this arduous crawl he had fallen into a sharp drop between fields, which caused his leg—muscle and bone completely gone—to come up over his shoulder. He worked it back into position before crawling on, and hid silently all night before he was captured.

He knew the Brits and the RUC were ordered to shoot him on sight, so he gave a false name which was not discovered until he was in the hospital, the second one to which he had been brought.

Unyielding Resistance

Throughout the ordeal of his operation which shortened his leg by an inch and a half and left him dependent on crutches, Francis never complained, and amused himself by telling tall tales to his guards. About a year after his capture, he was taken to the notorious Castlereagh interrogation center. (Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, anyone suspected of a "crime" can be held for seven days without charge or a lawyer, while being questioned under torture.) Hughes spent six days at Castlereagh before he was charged. His dedication to Irish freedom was shown in that he would not eat or drink for four days for fear of being drugged to make him talk. Under questioning Francis repeated, "I'll have to see my solicitor (lawyer) before I'll answer that," and even found cause to laugh, which could only further infuriate his captors. He like to challenge them with, "You're some smart outfit if you don't know the answer to that."

Even though Francis Hughes refused to answer questions (which in itself is a crime under British law in Northern Ireland), he was found guilty and

continued on page 13



Francis Hughes, who died on the 59th day of a hunger strike for political status for IRA prisoners, received the support of his father, Patrick, 72, during his years as an IRA soldier and throughout his hunger strike. Above, during military funeral march for Hughes, his father (center) helps to carry his coffin, covered with the orange, white and green Irish flag.

Excerpted from: **The Socialist Road — Character of Revolution in the U.S. and Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union and China.**

Are the Soviet Union's and China's Foreign Policies Concentrated Expressions of Their Domestic Policies?

Lenin said, "Foreign policy is a concentrated expression of domestic economy." This statement expresses the general relation between material basis and ideology. It applies accurately in the long run, but not deterministically in every case. The fact that the Soviet Union and China are socialist by no means precludes their having particular reactionary policies and lines.

The Soviet Union has many incorrect, even social-imperialist, lines, and a chauvinist line towards many countries. In particular, their invasion of Afghanistan and opportunist practice in Angola (supporting one liberation group against another) have held back the revolutionary process rather than helped the internal basis for revolution in those countries. The Soviet Union's promoting Vietnam into a militarist economy is a reactionary line which locked them into a situation prolonging the suffering of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean people. And China's foreign policy is essentially a reaction to the Soviet threat to them. The Chinese have a bourgeois nationalistic foreign policy which is dangerous for China and is doing great harm to the revolutionary cause around the world.

If foreign policy is a concentrated expression of the domestic economy, doesn't it mean that something has gone awfully wrong in the Soviet economic base? This, I think, was the trend of thought of the majority of Marxist-Leninists internationally.

Interestingly enough, this argument is mechanical materialist. It presupposes a mechanical, one-to-one automatic relation between the economic base and foreign policy. It negates the relative independence of ideology. It does so especially given circumstances where spontaneous economic forces have ceased to drive the policies and where the role of men's leadership and consciousness — good or bad — obtains an unprecedented degree of freedom.

It is interesting because it was the CPC which propagated this argument and also was the champion of dialectical materialism. To many of us, they seemed to have gone beyond the poverty of revisionism based on a vague brand of materialism, which was the basis of the notorious Khrushchev's "goulash communism."

We referred to the above quote by Lenin to conveniently explain away the fountainhead of the reactionary aspect of Soviet foreign policy as capitalism. Since those foreign policies were the only aspects we could see and most of us did not know the internal economy of the Soviet Union, an opportunist way to explain many incorrect practices of the Soviet Party prevailed. We should go back to Lenin's *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. When he said that foreign policy is a concentrated expression of domestic economy, he was referring to a country's foreign policy that is a necessary outgrowth of its export of capital.

After the merging of industrial and bank capital, the new feature of capitalism in the highest stage is the export of capital. This is independent of the will of any president or any leader. So an aggressive foreign policy, the cause of colonial plunder, inter-imperialist war and world war, is inevitable.

But, the Soviet Union and China, like third world countries, do not have capital surplus; rather they have shortage of capital. So their incorrect foreign policies cannot be explained in terms of capital export, just as we can't explain the Tanzanian invasion of Uganda and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in those terms. If anything, the Soviet Union's and China's foreign policies will necessarily be internationalist, working towards world peace. If they are genuinely socialist, their economic base will force them to correct themselves over a period of time, moving from their present deviations to a genuine internationalist foreign policy.

It is true that the principle "foreign policy is a concentrated expression of economics" applies also to socialist countries. But there is a crucial difference between the operation of a socialist foreign policy and an imperialist one. Imperialist countries are driven, regardless of the will of human beings, by economic necessity to export capital, to carve up and re-carve up the world, and to unleash wars of aggression. In a very real sense, imperialists are slaves to spontaneous economic forces beyond their control. While they may accelerate or retard certain features of their foreign policy — such as carrying out wars of aggression — inevitably and usually very quickly the powerful forces of capitalism drive them to carry out its "will." In a historical sense, they have no options.

Socialism frees human beings from the shackles of capitalism. For the first time, humankind has the ability to consciously direct its activities, rather than bow to the spontaneity of economic forces. This also applies to the realm of the foreign policy of a socialist state. For the first time, the question of line and consciousness comes to the fore in the direction and implementation of international relations. Humankind has to directly confront the question of what course of action to take, facing many more options in reality than the imperialists can even dream of.

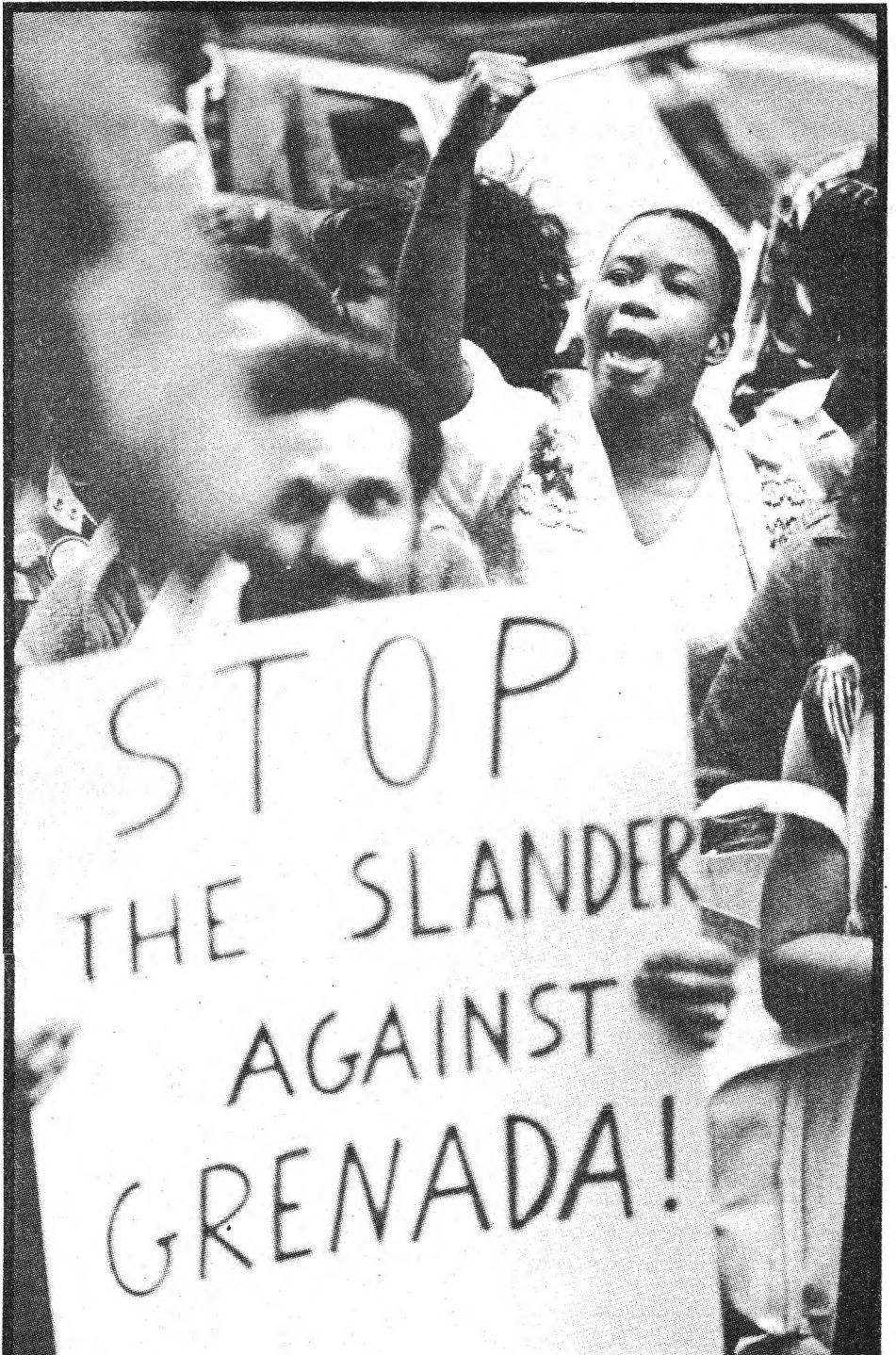
This higher realm of freedom, freedom from the realm of capital-driven necessity, however, does not mean that people and particularly leaders will automatically have the consciousness to take the correct course of action. The freedom and responsibility for humans to shape a socialist country's foreign policy also *must* mean the possibility of doing it incorrectly, making mistakes, stumbling and falling — to try, fail, try, fail, and try again until final victory. This process reflects the limitation of humans, of leaders responsible for policy decisions, in contrast to the spontaneous economic

necessity of capitalism. And because the development of the socialist economy is actually a qualitative jump in freedom, unleashing the subjective factor from the binds of capitalist necessity — the direct opposite of the effect of imperialism — socialist foreign policy becomes more and more dependent on the consciousness of individual leaders and the political system that supervises them on the correctness of subjective factor expressed in the ideological and political line.

Only by understanding the particular dynamics of socialism in the realm of freedom and necessity can you understand the seemingly contradictory aspects that exist in any socialist country's foreign policy, particularly the Soviet Union's and China's. Under socialism, mistakes can be corrected, while under imperialism there are, in

the final analysis, no mistakes; there is only the driving force of imperialist necessity.

For this reason, the appearance and form of imperialist foreign policy is almost a direct expression of its imperialist essence. A socialist foreign policy's appearance, however, is most of all an expression of the abilities and limitations of its existing leaders, to which socialism gives a much broader scope of freedom than imperialism. At any point, the essence of socialism's possibilities can only be glimpsed. In the long term, however, the mandate of socialism will prevail, developing the leaders and political system to the point where its essence will shine out. And at that time the glorious banner of "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" will be realized. □



Angry demonstrators marched to the CBS headquarters last Saturday to protest a "special" on the island of Grenada. Entitled "The Prisoner and the Police State," the three-part news special slandered the Grenadan people, claiming that people were afraid to speak, prisoners were tortured and the whole country had been turned into one mass police state. This presentation totally ignores the achievements the people of Grenada have made since the New Jewel movement (the ruling party) came to power two years ago, and more dangerously sets conditions for the U.S. government to interfere in yet another third world country.

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CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE

Rocking Against Racism Steel Pulse

Angela Brown

*Rock against Racism, smash it
Rock against Fascism, smash it
Rock against Nazism, me say smash it
I've come to the conclusion that
We're gonna hunt... The National Front
... cause they believe in apartheid
For that we're gonna whip their hides
For all my people they cheated and lied
I won't rest till I'm satisfied...
Said we gonna hunt the National Front...
Jah Pickney, Rock Against Racism
Steel Pulse
Tribute to the Martyrs*

finally got a chance to check out Steel Pulse, the six-man reggae band from England, at a local club last week. Their reggae beat with strong rock overtones turned out over 250 people — black, white, young, old, students and Americans of West Indian descent. The audience stood, dancing, singing, and cheering throughout the four-hour performance.

The musical influences of Steel Pulse include reggae king Bob Marley, jazz singer Billie Holiday and rock guitar virtuoso Jimi Hendrix. Their reggae beat exhorted us to boogie while the political messages in the lyrics challenged America to do something about the situation in the world today. Some of the lyrics were hard to make out because of some problems with the sound system and a couple of songs where the driving beat covered them.

But overall the concert was a different experience. The smaller clubs allow you a certain closeness and oneness with the artists that stadiums or auditoriums make almost impossible. After attending the concert it's easy to see why Steel Pulse is one of the hottest small club bands around.

Rocking Against Racism

With the Steel Pulse, revolutionary politics are tightly interwoven with the reggae beat. Steel Pulse — Selwyn, David, Ronnie, Basil, Phonso, and Steve — got together in 1972 in Handsworth, England. Handsworth is a large West-Indian working class district of the highly industrial city of Birmingham. With the racism, abject poverty, and unending unemployment of the thousands of immigrants and national minorities there, the Pulse's revolutionary lyrics really hit home.

One song they performed that night — "Handsworth Revolution" — forsee more Brixtons, Chattanooga, and Miamis. The Pulse show great political insight in stating the inherent weakness of a system founded on the blood and sweat of labor and national oppression:

*We find society putting us down
crowning us, crowning us, crowning us...
it's a long, long way we're coming from
To send this message across, across
it's been hidden, forbidden, concealed,
unrevealed
it's got to come out in the open that
Babylon is falling
Babylon is falling
It was foolish to build it on the sand
Handsworth shall stand firm — like Jah rock
—fighting back
We once beggars are now choosers
No intention to be losers
Striving forward with ambition
And if it takes ammunition
We rebel in Handsworth Revolution.*

Seeing the oppression increasing around them, the Pulse joined with groups like the Clash, Gang of Four and Tom Robinson Band in forming the Rock Against Racism movement in the late 70's. These concerts, called carnivals, attracted as many as 100,000 people at the height of their popularity in 1978 and 1979. These concerts proved a powerful weapon against the racist, fascist National Front (England's KKK) and government attacks on minorities and the poor. Their song "Jah Pickney, Rock against Racism" became the theme song of the movement. At the concert last week, the song "Ku Klux Klan" riled up the crowd:

*Blackman do unto the Klan
As they would do unto you
In this case hate thy neighbour
those cowards only kill who they fear
That's why they hide behind*

*the hoods and cloaks they wear
I hoolla and I bawl, Ku Klux Klan
Dem maw let me fo no, ... Oh no, Oh no
Here to stamp out blackman yah
Rape, lynch, kill, maim
Things can't remain the same, yah
No, No, No, No.*

Imperialism (Babylon) and their henchmen never give up holding down the people and trying to keep them split up. Their message: Never reason with oppression, you have to fight back and,

*...join hands my brethen
Make the way for our children
(our children our children)
And their children (their children, their children)
Ensuring that they get life's fair share of...
Equality...
Doesn't justice stand for all
Doesn't justice stand for all
Doesn't justice stand for all mankind*

Reggae Fever

Filling out the set were other songs like "Babylon Makes the Rules," which indicts oppression all over the world. In the song "Soldiers," Steel Pulse attacks militarism in Africa. Selwyn, the lead guitarist does a rock-like solo and performs some rapid-fire sound effects simulating machine-gun fire.

This creativity evoked screams from the crowd who see increasing militarism here at home. "Uncle George," "Biko's Lament," and "Tribute to the Martyrs" all exposed the imperialists' fear in murdering our leaders like Malcolm X, Steven Biko, and George Jackson. In "Biko's Kindred Lament," The Pulse says

*The night Steve Biko died I cried, I cried
Biko died in chains, moaned for you...
Blame South African security
They provoke, they arrest him
They took him life away
but can't take him soul
Then they drug and ill-treat him
till they kill him,
And they claim suicide...
I'll never forgive, Ill always remember
Him spirit they can't control
cannot be bought or sold
freedom increases one hundred fold...
The system something's got to be done —
straight away
The system is destroying my nation
The system kill him...*

In "Tribute to the Martyrs," the Pulse extol the martyrs who died to save our lives, they had an early grave, sacrifice has taken place, for the chosen race. Leaders from Toussaint L'Overture to Malcolm X taught us that "a nation without its past history is like a people without roots..." and the "martyrs golden text is bondage never again, If not by free, will it then by force, Break the Bondage plot the course."

The get-down music of "Reggae Fever" and "Sound System" had the club rocking as we brought the Pulse back for three encores. If you get a chance, check out Steel Pulse, presently on an East Coast tour. □

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
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women hold up half the sky

Review of: *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*

Pornography: Bourgeois Culture of Violence

Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography, 352 pages. Edited by Laura Lederer, William Morrow and Co., Inc. New York, 1980. \$14.95 Hardcover, \$7.95 Paperback.

Sara Anderson

During the past week, the highest court in New York State told the flesh peddlers of America the court would protect their "right" to sexually abuse and sell the bodies of children. The New York Court of Appeals overturned sections of a 1979 state law which banned the use of children in pornographic materials. In its opinion handed down on May 13, the court said the portions of the law would "prohibit the promotion of materials which are traditionally entitled to Constitutional protection from government interference under the First Amendment." Why did the Court side with the child porno racket against public outrage at the spread of a now public form of child molestation?

In a recently published book, *Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography*, the question gets rapid-fire answers from 26 women who have been studying, educating and organizing against pornography across the country. They conclude that pornography is used as a deceptive form of violence to justify and perpetuate the oppression of women and children in a capitalist society. They charge pornography is a concentrated form of male supremacist ideology — the "natural" right of an oppressor to dominate and control the lives of the oppressed.

Two sections in the book, "What is Pornography?" and "Pornography: Who is Hurt?" shows that pornography is not a victimless crime. In an interview with a former "model," she describes the physical abuse and mental anguish inflicted on women and children who are trapped into these "jobs" by poverty and despair. But pornography has spread beyond the sleazy photo studios into our communities and neighborhoods. Porno has become both widely available and harder-core.

Laura Lederer, editor of *Take Back the Night*, says, "Recently we noticed a 'ripple effect.' Violent pornography has moved from special hard-core magazines and shops to the larger mass media. Along the way it may be airbrushed and spruced up but although the form changes, the content remains the

same. Thus, in the last decade, consumers, fashion-minded women, and musically inclined youngsters all have been subjected to this new form of media." Pornography has definitely become mass-porno. It is regular fare in popular magazines, movies, newspaper ads, even on cable and cube TV.

One contributor in the book, Irene Diamond, draws a parallel between the growing crisis of capitalism today and the increase of pornography. She says, "The contemporary proliferation of pornography must also be understood as forming part and parcel of the 'commoditization' of sexuality in the capitalistic economy at large." Using a quote from Pamela Hansford, she emphasizes her point. "When the Nazis took on the government of Poland, they flooded the Polish bookstalls with pornography. This is a fact. Why did they do so? They did so on the theory that to make the individual conscious only of the need for personal sensation would make the social combination of forces more difficult..."

No matter how hard the defenders of pornography try to hide behind the First Amendment and the "right to privacy," pornography remains a social vehicle for decadence and a driving wedge between men and women, husband and wife. It is antagonistic to a society that values the welfare of women and children, families and social relations based on equality.

Women activists condemn pornography as a social and political crime against women and children. Through working with battered wives and rape victims, these women realized that these crimes are not isolated incidents of brutality. Lederer says, "We began to make connections between media violence to women and real-life violence to them, to recognize the threat which pornography poses to our lives and livelihood, and to speak out against it."

But women activists are not only talking, they are taking action. The first action to win national attention was the protest staged at the 1968 Miss America contest in Atlantic City. This was followed by protests against Playboy Clubs in Chicago and New York. These protests used "guerrilla tactics" called "zap actions." Since then, porno movies and shops have been bombarded with picketlines, spraypainting and window display busting. "Snuff," one of the most vicious porno movies ever made, was closed down in cities around the country by demonstrations

organized by women.

A member of the Rochester, N.Y., Women Against Violence Against Women, speaks of her experience in these struggles in the article, "Fighting Pornography." She says, "Connecting pornography to all forms of woman-hating, we demand its elimination. At the same time we recognize the deeper, long-term transformation that must occur in order to abolish misogyny. Legislative solutions will not do. We advocate militant and direct action by feminists."

Taken as a whole, the views of women in *Take Back the Night* are an important statement from women on pornography. The only conclusion to the facts behind pornography is that it's all bad. But the main weakness in the book, its overall lack of a comprehensive analysis of the politics and economics of the porno industry, would have made this conclusion stronger.

Pornography is one of the business fronts of organized crime. Its gross receipts are estimated at \$4 billion a year. At least \$1 billion comes from child pornography. Not only does it get official protection from the government under the First Amendment, it also gets protection at the local level through bribes and payoffs. Whenever community groups organize to close the shops, the cops show up to arrest the leaders. While some articles in the book dig into the relation between lawmakers, the courts and the pornography business, the conclusion is a superficial attack on them as men.

Another weakness is the relationship between pornography and other forms of women's oppression. In only one article is this point made. A Danish woman writes, "I accuse the government for supporting the pornography industry and for continuing to exploit women economically so that women still have very limited possibilities to control their own lives. I believe that only by overthrowing this society will the violence against women cease."

In a footnote in this same article, Lederer says, "It is interesting to note that in several countries where capitalism has been overthrown by workers' socialist revolutions, organized crime was driven out and pornography and the exploitation of women as prostitutes virtually eliminated." This is more than an interesting note. These are real-life advances and the only solution to women's oppression. □

...Ireland

continued from page 10

sentenced to life imprisonment for killing the SAS soldier, 14 years for attempted murder of the other, 20 years for a 1977 bombing attack, 20 for causing the explosion, and 15 years for possessing arms and ammunition.

Volunteered for Original Hunger Strike

On October 27, 1980, seven men in the H-Blocks at Long Kesh went on a hunger strike to press for the same five demands for political status that are the object of the current hunger strike. (This second one is necessary because Britain acceded to their demands but then reneged once the momentum of the hunger strike was over.) Francis Hughes was one of the men to volunteer to be among the first seven, but he was not picked for the task. He was, however, one of thirty men who joined the hunger strike near its end as Sean McKenna's condition greatly worsened.

On May 5, Bobby Sands died. One week later, Francis Hughes died. Like Bobby Sands, he has not died in vain. His sacrifice is tightening the screws of international public opinion against British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her government. He died for political status: the right to wear his own clothes, to refuse to do prison work, to receive mail once a week, to

associate with other political prisoners, and a 50% reduction in sentence.

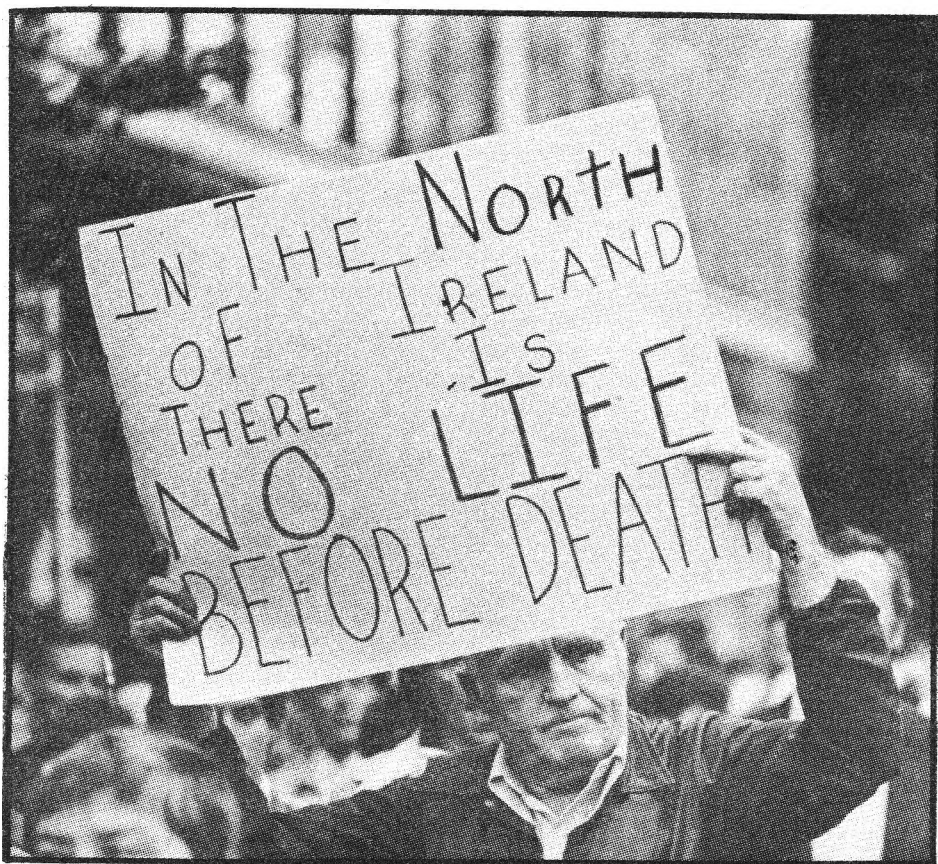
Recognition of political status would expose British occupation of Northern Ireland for what it is, and not its sham excuse of "peacekeeping force," when it sanctions and participates in the murder of Catholic (nationalist) citizens. Britain does not want anyone to realize it is continuing its centuries-long policy of genocide of the Irish people and culture. Thatcher's cry of "a crime is a crime is a crime" rings hollow, as does her statement that IRA prisoners are "common criminals," when one sees that they are "convicted" in non-jury "trials" on the basis of forced confessions after torture.

Various organizations in the United States are breaking through the censored and biased news reports from Belfast and Britain (UPI, an international wire service, is 70% British-owned). Iran has named a street outside the British Embassy for Bobby Sands. International pressure will continue to put Margaret Thatcher on the spot. But it is the unyielding Irish will to throw off 800 years of British oppression that will triumph in the end.

Ten thousand people (N.Y. Daily News estimates) attended Francis Hughes funeral in Northern Ireland. Many more will rise up as an organized

force to drive the British out once and for all. There are 400 more men willing to follow in the footsteps of Bobby

Sands and Frankie Hughes. Their sacrifice has called world attention to the Irish struggle for freedom. □



Demonstrators in New York City after death of Bobby Sands.

... Socialist Road

continued from page 1

understanding the impact of the superstructure and the relations of production on the base and productive forces respectively, it is impossible to understand the need to struggle against revisionism in the party as part of the working class leadership demanded on all three fronts — practical/economic, political and theoretical spheres — under socialism, and understand why revisionism can have a devastating effect on the transition from socialism to communism.

A sharp line has to be drawn, not only with Khrushchev, who made a caricature of proletarian internationalism, but also with the many metaphysical practices represented by Chiang Ching and the Four in combatting modern revisionism.

A major pitfall of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was that it destroyed a whole generation of very precious, rare and able cadres. The target of the struggle — bourgeois ideology and bourgeois right in general — was too broad when it was not put in the context of developing productive forces, which is the only basis to reinforce socialist consciousness in a constant and massive way. Even with Mao urging that the target should be clear, the dynamics of revolution from below, without a core of Marxist-Leninists guiding it, was to "overthrow it all." This inflicted deep wounds which have not healed and blocked the consolidation of the gains of the Cultural Revolution.

Consolidating the gains of the Cultural Revolution in all spheres through establishing new laws, codes, policies and institutions, was not accomplished. The Ninth Congress call by Mao to "Unite to Win Still Greater Victories" could not be implemented. The training of a new generation of revolutionary successors was done too late. It is no wonder that as a result, weeks after Mao's death, a rightist backlash occurred which is still causing tremendous disorientation among the Chinese people. The problem of the left deviation compounded by the rightist backlash leaves the Chinese people cynical towards the Communist Party of China and its great cause.

Mao and the Four, like the comrades who made anarcho-sindicalist mistakes in the Third International, cannot be equated with the modern revisionists.

There is opportunism. But in the main the mistakes are deviations in the course of making proletarian revolution, the result of tackling new problems that never before existed. These are deviations made by pathbreakers. That is our view towards the errors made in the Cultural Revolution.

The Cultural Revolution was both necessary and timely. That's an historical verdict not to be disputed. Bureaucracy, problems of the separation between the party and the masses, and revisionism are objective developments that drag down all socialist countries. Dislocations developed in Hungary, Czech-

slovakia, the Soviet Union, China and now in Poland, with workers spontaneously taking control, or the imperialists taking advantage of the situation. The workers demand changes in their party. The revisionists refuse and stubbornly hold onto their routine, calcified ways. The workers without their vanguard party behind them can't make it in the long run, even though they certainly will rebel. That's a monumental problem of socialism crying out to be resolved.

Mao's initiative in calling for and leading the Cultural Revolution was not just something he wanted to do. It was a response to a problem that demanded a solution in history, after the problems became obvious in Hungary, the Soviet Union, and China itself. Mao tried different things. After contributing to Marxism by solving the peasant agriculture question in China, in the political sphere he tried the "Let A Hundred Flowers Bloom" and Socialist Education Movement campaigns, all attempts to address the problems that Hungary and the Soviet Party couldn't solve. He tried again in the last 10 years of his life and that attempt was the Cultural Revolution. The verdict of the Cultural Revolution can't even be gauged by the simple "three parts bad, seven parts good" method, as Mao suggested. The Paris Commune failed, too. Judging aspect by aspect, we can't give it even a "three-seven" verdict, because obviously there the errors outnumbered the successes.

You can lose the war even winning most battles and vice versa, you can lose most battles and still win the war big. This military analogy applies even more to political struggles of an historical nature such as the Cultural Revolution.

The historical necessity of the Paris Commune, of the working class taking state power, is what made the Paris Commune great, glorious and correct. Its victories are the many lessons of its failure. And even though it failed, it's a clarion call, a salvo that charts the road ahead. We must look at the Cultural Revolution in the same way, for the problems of transition from socialism to communism are inevitable. The Cultural Revolution has universal significance for the parties of the advanced capitalist countries as we consistently show in illustrating the problems of preparatory work in our revolution here.

The Three Worlds Theory is wrong, as is the two worlds theory, because both assume that the Soviet Union is capitalist. The third world is the focal point and storm center of struggles against imperialism, especially during the last two decades of capitalist stabilization. We uphold the line of the third world countries' right to use contradictions between the United States and the Soviet Union, especially given the latter's chauvinist policies in cases where they clearly abandoned the stand of proletarian internationalism and gave into bourgeois power hegemony. Every rift and contradiction between the smaller imperialist countries and U.S. imperialism is an indirect reserve for the revolutionaries and oppressed around the world. We welcome every anti-U.S. measure taken by the European countries and Japan, for each disintegrates the system of world imperialism and benefits socialist and oppressed nations and workers of all countries. We see the great danger of World War III. We do not see, however, war between the Soviet Union and the United States as inevitable. The Soviet Union is a socialist country without spontaneous economic forces and needs driving it blindly towards war. The CWP upholds the policy of detente. We regard the struggle for detente as one major struggle for world peace. Policies of detente, independent of U.S. intrigues, lessen the danger of World War III, creating favorable conditions for

peace, national liberation and the course of workers' revolutions in all countries.

Finally, we address the foreign policies of the Soviet Union and China from the angle of Lenin's statement that "foreign policy is a concentrated expression of the domestic economy." The Soviet Union's chauvinism and the narrow nationalist reaction of China have a material and historical basis. But we see that policies and actions flowing from these contradict their socialist base and further aggravate their present problems in economic growth and ideological vitality. There will be more squabbling for years to come, but on the basis of materialist historical forces of internal necessity, we are confident of a rapprochement between socialist countries both in unity against U.S. imperialism and in the historical mission of the transition from socialism to communism.

Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP, wrote this in his forthcoming book: *The Socialist Road: Character of Revolution in the U.S. and Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union and China*.

"This line change is consistent with the character and thoroughness of proletarian struggle: we seemingly succeed, but then regroup, arise once again, and mercilessly evaluate the whole process of our experience gained both in class struggle and the party internal life and line struggle. We re-examined our line, reviewed all the past lines, noted all the recurring problems, and it led us to reexamine our fundamental political lines. I don't propose any instant solution. It's not instant coffee. Basically we have to continue what we've been doing, but also deepen our study, critically analyze and use the international proletariat's experience to better understand the basis.

"I want the Central Committee to lead the CWP to tackle new responsibilities of class struggle in this country. This is not a luxury, but a life-and-death struggle and an absolute necessity. I don't think we can take on the heavy historical mission of the 80's without repudiating our line on the restoration of capitalism in China and the Soviet Union. I take this position not out of consideration for the Party or for myself. It's for the working class and the world proletarian struggle.

"The achievements of the CWP are undeniable. That the Party is the sole effective vanguard, pacesetter the fight against the monopoly capitalists, is undeniable. The fact that we possess the core of some of the strongest comrades who will shoulder the leadership responsibility of overthrowing their criminal rule is undeniable. The CWP's fighting character and militant tradition are undeniable. However, as communists, as historical materialists, we must at all times reevaluate our work. There are times for minor adjustment and times for major reorientation. As we make this major reorientation, the future is indeed bright.

"The fact that the CWP has saved an entire generation of revolutionaries from being burnt out in the 70's, forged them into a party and trained them so they are now the actual leaders in the class struggle, giving the U.S. people a real fighting chance in the 80's against war and fascism and for peace and socialism, are accomplishments that cannot be arbitrarily denied in any evaluation, even in our own most critical self-dissection. The line change will only affirm the truly vanguard and advanced character of the CWP. As Lenin said, a hallmark of a great party is not that it doesn't make any mistakes. This is impossible for a real party in a real world. The ability to make self-evaluation, self-criticism and sum up the basis the conditions for its mistakes is the sign of a great party. Only such a party is capable of shouldering our great historical responsibility." □

...DENTON

continued from page 3

pose their activities as an excessive use of government power, we could not divulge it to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence."

Under the proposed law CWP members and supporters, for instance, could risk a three year jail term and a \$15,000 fine for calling NASSCO Ramon Barton an FBI informer, or for naming Dawson and Butkovich as the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) and FBI agents who organized the Greensboro Klan and Nazi ambush of the CWP.

Gap Widens Between the U.S. Government and the American People

The gap between the U.S. govern-

ment and the people is getting wider every day. Whether it is cuts affecting Social Security recipients, cutbacks in the black lung and brown lung benefits, or breakins like the black bag jobs ordered by Felt and Miller, the increased attacks show the real role of the government and the ruling class who benefits. Spying on war protesters, murdering civil rights leaders and revolutionaries, and now attacking the

First Amendment to cover its trail is the way the government has set its course for the 80's. As the government continues to expose itself, it will be the resistance of the American people that they will not destroy — only strengthen in the 80's. □

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LETTERS TO THE CWP

The People Kept Boston Schools Open

Dear WV,

I was very glad to see an article on the Boston school struggle which is tearing the city apart. However, I felt some criticism and clarification was needed.

1. Newell Cook, the city auditor had *nothing* to do with keeping the schools open. He is a political appointee who serves at the pleasure of the mayor.

2. The main point, as I see it, is that a fighting organization of black, white, and Hispanic parents, teachers, students, and community supporters have united to demand free quality desegregated public education. They have done this in spite of the climate of racial violence. They have also laid the responsibility for the recent attacks squarely on the shoulders of local government — especially the mayor.

The March 1st rally at prestigious Faneuil Hall also generated support from representatives and members of the Boston Teachers Union, Massachusetts Congress and the Boston City Council. With this broader representation, the demand for quality public education could not be ignored. The march past School Committee headquarters, the State House, and within sight of the mayor's house (a cordon of cops blocked the street to keep us away) helped to emphasize the political points of the issue. CWP members and supporters have done consistent work around the fight.

The momentum and support developed by the Campaign To Support Public Education (CSPE) are the main reasons the schools stayed open. Previously the mayor and his financial backers viewed the rights of public school children as expendable because: a) Parents and teachers comprise only 10% of the electorate, therefore he does not "owe" them and b) The public schools mainly serve racial-national minorities (who are now the numerical majority) and working class whites. Mayor White is not likely to get many campaign contributions from this group. He always manages to have money tucked away in special accounts etc., but without public pressure, there sure would not have been any public funds for schools.

3. The School Committee voted to close Roxbury High School after this year. Located in the heart of the black community, it is the only high school among the 27 schools being closed this year.

4. The so-called tax reform law is locally referred to as Proposition 2½ not 2.5.

5. Regarding the quote from the CSPE organizer — some clarification is needed. Before issuing a final decision on school closings, the School Committee held open hearings in the various school districts. There were attended by capacity crowds of 500 or more. *None* of the CSPE meetings I have attended had 100 people present at any one time.

Sincerely,
Don James,
Boston, MA

Thanks for the clarifications and criticisms. The people of Boston faced with the virtual elimination of public education have drawn the line. For many parents, the right to a free education for their children has always been a cornerstone of the elusive "American dream." Now it is being taken and with it whatever hopes parents may have that the "future will be better" for their kids. While my article includes many of the facts on the fight to save Boston's schools, it fails to point out that the driving force was the organized resistance of the community. If there was no pressure on the city it would have never come up with the emergency funds. The continuing struggle in Boston is a pacesetter one which we need to closely follow. With your help and the help of other readers in the Boston area we can improve coverage and analysis of it.

Jim Davis

A Correction

Dear CWP,

Frankly, when I first read Workers Viewpoint, I found it to be very enlightening and a people's eye-opener to what is really happening around us and to us. But in your April 6-12 issue, you ran an article on the May 9 Demonstration written by Jim Davis. In this article you mentioned the march in Jersey City, N.J., which I personally want to thank you for, it was more interesting than our own paper.

That march was not led by the Communist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Youth League. Also on that same day, Chimurenga Jenja (of the Techwood Tenants Association in Atlanta) spoke at Tucker's Inn and he stated that it is not 21 children, but 39 people dead in Atlanta. Since the purpose of your paper is to give people the real facts, how come you never mentioned about the seven black women that were found slain in Atlanta?

I sincerely hope your paper isn't an opportunist paper, and the error will be corrected in your future issue. Also we need more papers like yours. The concerned citizens of Jersey City led the vigil for March 29, 1981.

J.E.,
C.C.J.C.
Jersey City, N.J.

Jim Davis replies:

First, we aren't sure who Chimurenga Jenja is referring to when he

spoke of 39 people killed in Atlanta, likewise the seven black women you mentioned. All the figures we heard at the time, including the number used by mothers of the murdered children, put the death toll at 21 (now 27). But we will check this out.

Second, it wasn't my intention to say that CWP and the RYL led the Jersey City march. What I meant was that the CWP and RYL were at the rally and helped to lead the chants which targeted the government for the Atlanta murders. Looking over the article, I realized that this could easily have been misread, and I apologize for any confusion this might have caused.

Jim Davis

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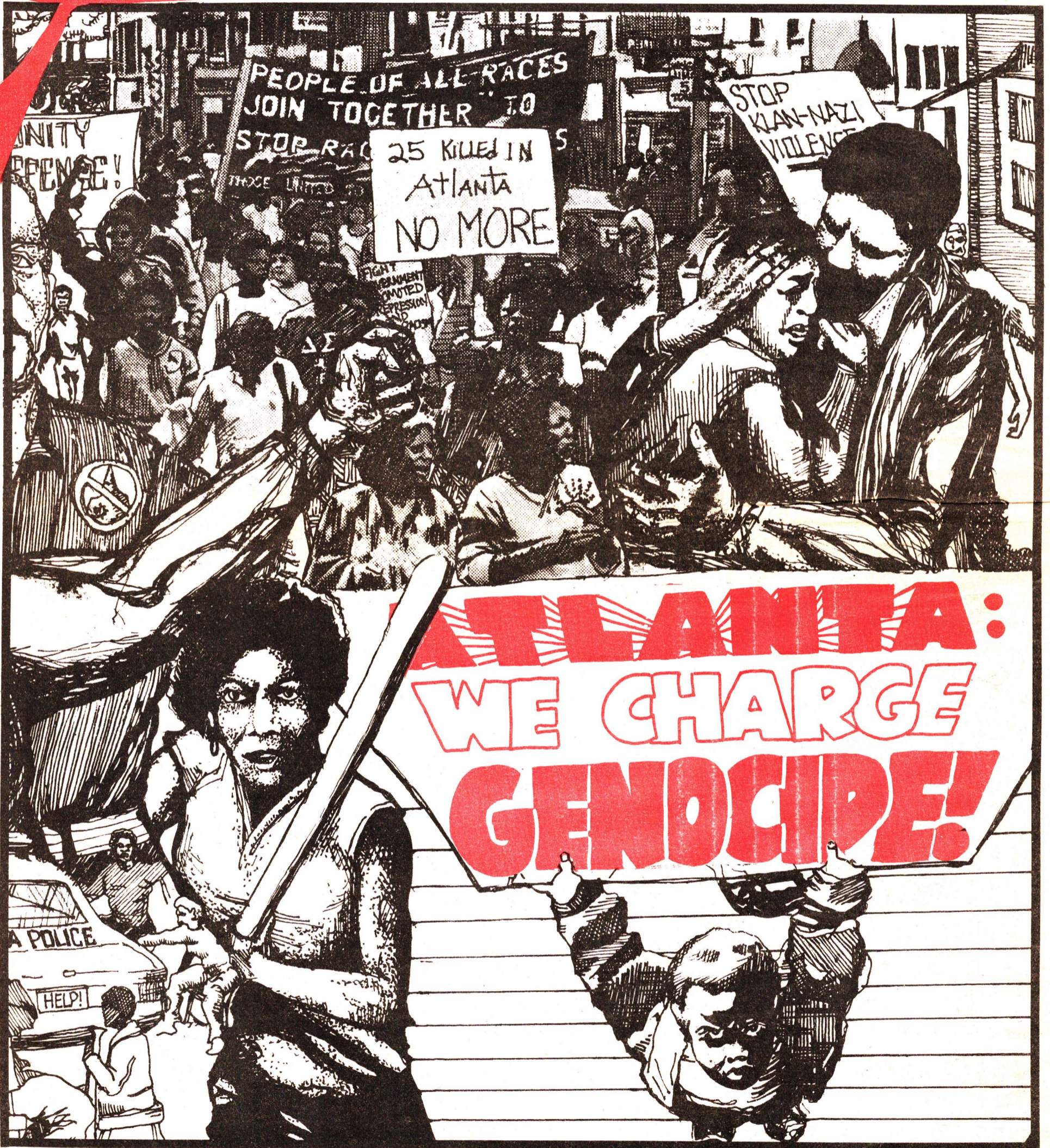
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