

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

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

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50 CENTS

Bombing Raid Isolates Zionist Hegemonism

George Owens

On June 7, eight F-16 and six F-15 jets belonging to the Israeli Air Force intruded over the skies of Jordan and Saudi Arabia on their way to Iraq. Once they reached the capital city of Baghdad, the jets bombed the Osirak nuclear reactor repeatedly. The nuclear reactor, under construction by France and Italy was destroyed and a French technician was killed.

Prime Minister Begin of Israel rejoiced over this act of war, saying he felt like a man "freed" from prison after he ordered this carnage. He claimed that the military invasion was necessary to prevent a nuclear holocaust. His evidence? That President Saddam Hussein of Iraq was a madman and the nuclear reactor would allow Iraq to build nuclear weapons aimed against Israel. But who is the real madman that has lost all his sense of humanity, that has no respect for human life?

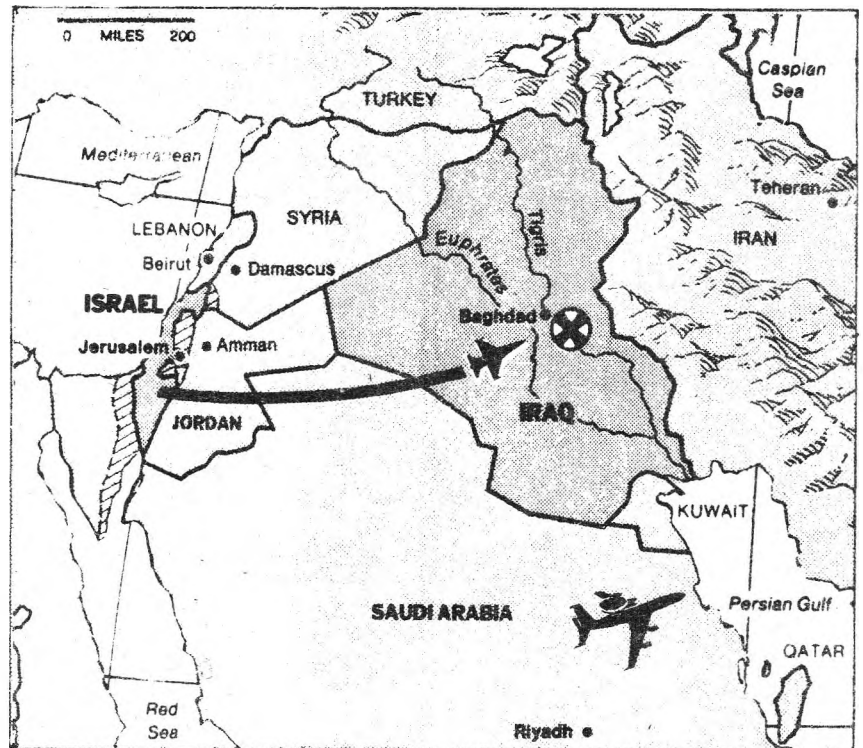
Iraq's Right to Build Reactor

The Osirak reactor was built for research purposes and is a step forward for the Iraqi people to break the Western stranglehold on technology and scientific research. Iraq had signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and accepts international safeguards and inspections on its nuclear facility. In fact, an inspection by the International

Atomic Agency was just conducted in January on the Osirak reactor with no evidence of wrongdoing or foul play.

The 25 pounds of enriched uranium which Iraq purchased from France is commonly used in reactors of the Osirak type. The uranium is dangerously radioactive, making it difficult to convert into a bomb as well as discouraging theft. This uranium will produce rich isotopes in the reactor to be used for industrial, medical and research purposes. Once used in the reactor, the uranium cannot be used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. If Iraq did divert the uranium for weapon production, it would be immediately evident and an international embargo on uranium sales to Iraq would have immediately gone into effect. Would Iraq spend \$275 million to build a reactor just so they could obtain 25 pounds of uranium for the manufacture of one single bomb?

But even if Iraq had used the uranium to make a nuclear bomb, the precedent had been set by Israel herself who introduced nuclear weapons into the Middle East in the first place. Israel has had nuclear reactors for years and never signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet Iraq had never once tried to bomb these reactors and release the deadly radiation over the country. In fact, what really goes on inside the Israeli reactors and what they are used for has never been



Line shows route of Israeli planes to bomb the Iraqi reactor. Plane at bottom indicates U.S. radar plane which conveniently was "too far" to detect the fighters.

verified since Israel does not permit any international inspection of its facilities. Even the CIA admitted that Israel has had nuclear weapons since 1974.

Where are those weapons aimed at and where will the nuclear holocaust actually occur? If Begin can justify bombing a nuclear reactor and dispersing deadly radioactive uranium over the capital of Baghdad, it is but a small step for him to order a nuclear strike against the Arab world.

Begin's Desperate Raid — An Age Old Trick

Begin is cornered and desperate, the raid being his ace in the hole to cling onto power. The Israeli elections are coming up on June 30th. The raid conveniently provides an issue to divert the people's anger towards him. Under his rule, the inflation rate in Israel has crept past 100% a year, unemployment has skyrocketed and more and more Jews are emigrating out of Israel. His Cabinet and ruling coalition has been wracked with dissent and resignations. Last year, both his Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Defense Minister Weissman resigned. Later, the Finance Minister and Education Minister also threatened to quit. Facing imminent defeat, Begin employed the age old imperialist trick of clouding the real issues through military aggression and whipping up chauvinism. Carter tried the same trick with the military raid into Iran last year right before the election. But Carter's tactic

backfired on him last year and Begin, with his rabid, arrogant action has set back the Jewish people's fight against anti-Semitism at least forty years.

U.S. Goaded Israeli's Attack

The two-faced U.S. government, while officially "condemning" the action, is actually encouraging Israeli aggression. Administration spokesman Henry Catto openly gloated that "you cannot but admire their technical proficiency" and their "surgical strike." The U.S. has long been Israel's main supporter, pouring billions of dollars worth of sophisticated weapons to Israel. The F-15 and F-16 jets used in the raid are only two of the most sophisticated jets the U.S. supplies to Israel.

With Reagan, a diehard Zionist supporter, in office, Israel has gotten bolder and ever more aggressive. The U.S. stood quietly by the side lines and watched as Israel supplied arms to Lebanese right-wing groups and aggravated the civil war in that country. When Syria deployed the SAM missiles for protection, U.S. immediately sided with Israel, blaming Syria for the war in Lebanon. Administration's special Middle East envoy Habib immediately flew to the Middle East, presenting Israeli demands and bullying his way through the Arab countries until he was kicked out.

With all this support for Israel, it is irrelevant whether the U.S. had forewarning of the raid on Iraq. The

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Egypt's Sadat and Israel's Begin joke at Camp David Peace Treaty meeting just days before the Zionist raid.

We Charge
Genocide!

Atlanta
Day 693

Line of March's United Front Against
War and Racism —
Strategy for What?

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NATIONAL NEWS

S. Carolina Activist Indicted Free Brett Bursey

Sue Bowman

In a move which may be a classic symptom of the government's crack-down on its critics, a grand jury on May 5 indicted Columbia, S.C. activist and community organizer, Brett Bursey for illegal possession of a firearm. This indictment followed an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Alcohol and Firearms.

Bursey is precluded from owning a gun because of a 1970 conviction for malicious mischief, after he spray-painted an anti-war slogan on a the local draft board wall. The law under which he is charged states that no person convicted of a crime punishable by more than a year in jail may own a gun. Although the conviction was for a state misdemeanor, Bursey was sentenced to and served 18 months for the offense.

The pistol in question has been in his family for 13 years and was acquired by Bursey in a trade before the passage of the 1968 Gun Control Act which instituted gun registration.

Bursey asserts, "I feel there has to be a real stretching of the law to apply it to my situation. The Bureau is going out of its way."

He maintains that he did not know that the conviction for a state misdemeanor precluded his ownership of a gun.

In the fall of 1979, Bursey pawned the gun and later picked it up. His signature on the receipt is, according to the prosecution, evidence that he "received" the gun in violation of the statute. A question arises as to the reason the agency waited so long to bring its case to the grand jury.

In his years of organizing in Columbia, much of it through the Grass Roots Organizing Workshop (GROW), Bursey has been a consistent critic of government repression and inequity. At the same time, he has earned the open respect of many local leaders, from the Sheriff to Methodist ministers. Some of these individuals recently formed the Brett Bursey Defense Fund, on the grounds that it is "a clear case of political harassment," according to Modjeska Simkins, a civil rights leader in South Carolina for over 50 years.

Several factors in the case raise the spectre of harassment and selective prosecution.

Bursey was first notified of the BATF's investigation of his case four

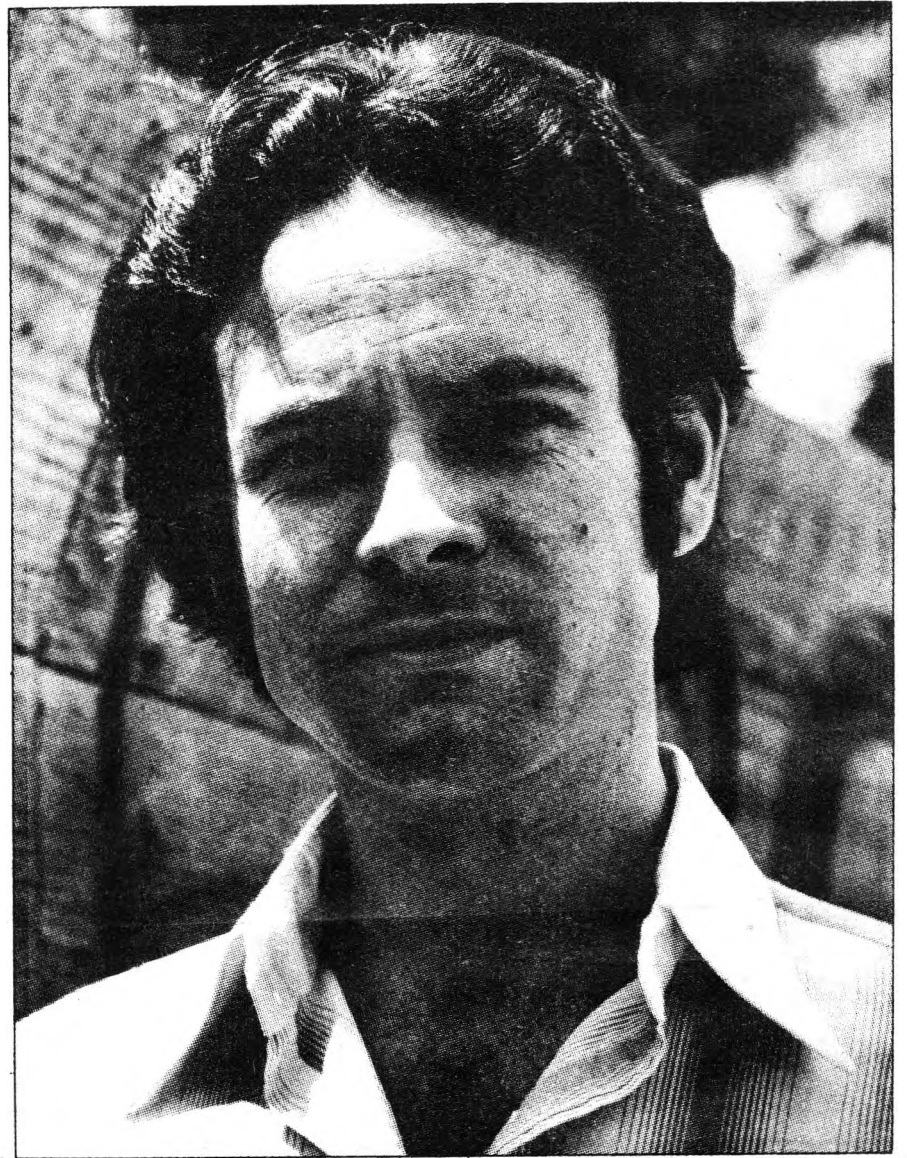
days after he hosted a press conference criticizing the BATF's "criminal involvement" in the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, N.C. The press conference was called as a response to the acquittals of the Klan/Nazi defendants.

In the November 20, 1980 press conference, Bursey called for an investigation of government involvement in Greensboro, particularly the actions of BATF agent, Bernard Butkovich, leading up the November 3, 1979 assassinations. Butkovich worked within the Nazi Party and, in conjunction with an informant working within the Ku Klux Klan, played a leadership role in the development of the United Racist Front in North Carolina and the formation of the caravan which carried the Klan/Nazi assassins. Butkovich disappeared immediately after the killing and was not called to testify against the Klan/Nazi defendants.

BATF officials claim that the investigation of Bursey's case was routine. However, by admission an informer was involved in the BATF's discovery that Bursey had pawned the gun.

At the time of the press conference and since, Bursey has attempted to call public attention to the heavy-handed practices of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in a variety of

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Brett Bursey, a member of G.R.O.W. of So. Carolina is being selectively prosecuted for his political beliefs.

IRAQ

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U.S. must also be held responsible for this military aggression. It is an interesting coincidence that U.S. AWAC planes in Saudi Arabia never detected the Israeli planes. The State Department and Pentagon claims that the radar was focused towards Iran and the Soviet Union, thus missing the Israeli planes. But Saudi Arabia had repeatedly stated that the main danger to peace in the Middle East does not come from the Soviet Union but from Israel instead. Israeli Chief of Staff Lieut. Gen. Rafael Eytan admitted that Israel opposed the sale of AWAC planes to Saudi Arabia precisely because it would have detected the Israeli planes even before takeoff.

Green Light to Terrorist Rampage

U.S. support for Israel has given Begin the arrogance to meet with Sadat of Egypt days before the military raid to talk about the Camp David "peace" treaty. But the Camp David treaty has been exposed for what it really is — a contract to murder, destroy and terrorize the Arab countries by any means necessary. Israeli acts of terrorism have increased by leaps and bounds since the Camp David treaty. In 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon, murdering women and children in Palestinian refugee camps under the pretense of flushing out the PLO to prevent another holocaust. Even though the invasion explicitly violated the U.S. Arms Export Control Act which forbids U.S. arms to be used for "any act of aggression against any other state," Cyrus Vance of the Carter Administration never cut off aid to Israel. Given the

green light, the Israelis went on a terrorist rampage around the world. This includes:

- Bombing a warehouse in Toulon, France where the research reactor for Iraq was being prepared in 1979;
- Assassinating the leading Iraqi nuclear physicist in France last year;
- The bombing and maiming of three Arab mayors in the occupied West Bank;
- Supplying Lebanese fascists with tanks and firearms as well as providing air cover inside Lebanon for their raids;
- The unsuccessful bombing of Iraq's Osirak reactor last year in unmarked Phantom planes and blaming it on Iran;
- Shooting down two Syrian helicopters in Lebanon this year, forcing Syria to deploy SAM missiles for defense;
- Regular spy planes that infringe upon Arab territory. So far this year, Syria has shot down over six spy planes from Israel over Syrian airspace.

If Reagan was serious about fighting "international terrorism," he should start with Israel. Instead of preparing a report on "possible violation" that "may have occurred" as a result of the raid, the U.S. should immediately cut off all aid to the country. The U.S. cut off aid to Turkey in 1975 based on less evidence than this. But beyond delaying the delivery of a few planes, the administration is unlikely to take any

steps against their sidekick in the Middle East. The U.S. is gearing up to veto any resolution in the UN to impose economic sanctions against Israel. It is precisely actions like these by the U.S. government that gives America a bad name around the world where the U.S. is synonymous to oppression and aggression.

Countries United Against Israeli Terrorism

Britain and France openly dispute Israel's claim that Iraq was capable of making nuclear weapons. European countries have been swift to condemn the Israeli raid. The Arab countries have united together to defend themselves against Israel. Iran, engaged in a border dispute with Iraq, condemned the Israeli raid. Kuwait, a neighbor of Iraq, denounced the attack as "another proof of the acts of terrorism practiced by Israel in the region." Syria, despite political differences with Iraq, also condemned the raid and pledged that it "will not hesitate to fight so that Israel's hand will not reach out against any brotherly country irrespective of Syria's difference with it." An Arab World meeting has been called to plan out how to deal with these acts of terrorism. A special United Nations session has also been called to discuss what actions should be taken against Israel. Only the U.S. continues to support Israel. But every terrorist act by Israel only drives another nail into its own coffin as it loses support and credibility around the world. □

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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FOIA Ignored — Bill Introduced to Gut It

Gary Madison

Senator Orrin Hatch's (R-Utah) recently proposed amendments to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), the latest of a series of attacks on people's freedoms, is generating a swell to defend civil liberties and a broad opposition to Congress.

The FOIA, passed in 1976, was the result of growing public awareness and condemnation of FBI and CIA activity. Truman first limited disclosures of government records during the Cold War. In the same year Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed on phony charges of giving away the secrets of the A-bomb, and laws were passed against disclosure of secret intelligence codes and A-bomb secrets. Eisenhower expanded FBI and CIA covert operations. Under his administration MKULTRA mind control experiments were begun. Legalized murder, mind control experiments, and manipulation of the people's trust created the demand in 1955 to know more about what the FBI and CIA were doing.

Fruit of Struggle

Regardless of the "intent" of the law to curb FBI harassment, in practice, the courts and different government agencies have made making requests for information a protracted and difficult struggle. Exemptions to the current FOIA already include secret files covered by Executive Orders, trade secrets and business information and all records of current law enforcement investigations.

The FOIA exposures of FBI surveillance on Martin Luther King, the exposure through the FOIA of Nix-

on's "Enemy List" kept by the Internal Revenue Service and the exposure of the CIA's germ warfare experiments in New York City's subways has resulted in people's heightened political consciousness about U.S. intelligence, its purposes and the forces behind it.

Reversing Verdicts?

In May 1980, the Justice Department announced a "comprehensive review of the Act to assess the need for legislative reform." The Attorney General issued a memo permitting each government agency to fashion "their own release policies, according to their own requirements." This allows the government to reinterpret the FOIA without going through legislative procedure.

Senator Orrin Hatch's proposal, bill S-587, would exempt law enforcement records which expose informants, disclose investigative techniques or "disclose information relating to any investigation of organized crime, espionage, or any conspiratorial activity specified by the Attorney General."

It allows any law enforcement agency to keep investigation records secret until 10 years after the "investigation" is closed. No one would be able to make more than one request a year on any general subject.

The last part of the bill reads: "If a law enforcement agency has serious reason to believe that a prospective employee is engaging or has been engaged in espionage, terrorist or terrorist support activities, . . . the FBI . . . upon a written request which otherwise meets the requirements of this section

by any prospective employer, shall so inform such prospective employer unless the release of such information might prejudice the national security."

Hatch and the Attorney General are trying to create a bogeyman, an increased danger, as an excuse to attack the American people. They hinge their arguments on the shade of argument over the FOIA that the government intelligence agencies have a right to do their job, and with an increased danger that they should do it well.

However, with or without legal permission, the intelligence community has continued its dirty work, further exposing them. After the FBI helped ambush the Anti-Klan rally in Greensboro in 1979, the Greensboro

Justice Fund was denied any government records because the information is "related to an on-going investigation." In San Diego, the FBI denied any records existed at all on the NASSCO 3 though the FBI engineered the set-up and paid informer Ramon Barton \$7,000 for "services rendered."

Despite all this the demand for exposure of the FBI has increased. The result of this was the Privacy Act in 1974 limiting what kind of information may be collected by the government and its use by the government. All the reactionaries will find it hard to reverse the people's well-founded distrusts and hatred of the FBI. And the harder they push the issue, the more people step forward to oppose them. □

TUFF Member Fights Job Suspension

Special to Workers Viewpoint

On March 30, 1981, Beverly Burns, a member of Those United to Fight Fascism (TUFF), was suspended from her job as secretary/bookkeeper at Manchester Middle School in Middletown, Ohio. Reasons cited for the suspension include that she used office equipment and supplies for non-work-related purposes and that she entered school property during non-working hours (allegedly on a weekend). When Ms. Burns was notified of these allegations by the Director of Personnel, Mr. Lewis Hill, he indicated that she had been under surveillance for her political affiliations since her attendance at a recent school board meeting where the KKK was also present. Ms. Burns admitted to the initial charge of using the supplies and equipment for duplicating an anti-racist leaflet.

The leaflet was to be distributed at a march held in Middletown called to show sympathy and support for the families of the Atlanta children murdered. It is common knowledge at this school and other schools in the system that these supplies have been extensively utilized in the past for a variety of non-work-related purposes. For example, duplication of recipes, private use of a laminating machine and even the use of the gym for an employee's private use on a non-school day. The fact that it is a common practice does not justify the Board's drastic measure of a three month suspension. Also, if the Board does not wish to allow this practice to continue, it should inform *all* employees *in writing* as to the specific guidelines for use of school equipment. (And as of yet this has not been done).

At the public school board meeting held on April 14, 1981, Mrs. Mary Rice, a teacher at Manchester for 11 years, maintained that school machines "are used for non-school items all the time" and said she believes a warning to Ms. Burns would have been sufficient at this time. Mrs. Rice called Ms. Burns a "good, valuable addition" to the staff and said she was "one of the most helpful persons, particularly to the children." Mrs. Rice's statements about staff use of school machines were supported by Middletown Teacher's Association President Doug Alder.

Alder said the matter has "far-reaching ramifications" since using school equipment for non-work is not uncommon. As to the second charge of entering the school facilities on a weekend, again no proof exists that this occurred. Also this is a practice that has been allowed. (Also, Ms. Burns had possession of keys to this building as part of her responsibility as

secretary). The flyers that she ran off were done on the Friday before March 30, 1981, during breaks in the work day.

Ms. Burns has been employed by the Middletown School District for two and one-half years. Her personnel file viewed at the time of the suspension hearing showed no previous warnings or reprimands regarding her work performance. In addition, Mr. Hill said to Ms. Burns on March 30, 1981, that there was no problem with her work performance or her relationship with other employees and students. Mr. Paul Kuhn, Superintendent of Schools, commented to Ms. Burns that political involvement of employees would not be tolerated in the school district. Mr. Kuhn recommended to the School Board at the meeting on April 14, to terminate Ms. Burns, but a vote was taken and she has been suspended until June 30, 1981, without pay or fringe benefits.

An appeal was filed to the Civil Service Commission for Ms. Burns by her union representative OAPSE (Ohio Association of Public School Employees) for immediate reinstatement free from harassment or retaliation; all benefits, back pay, former good working conditions and proper salary restored with no loss of seniority. This hearing of appeal was held on May 8, 1981, with the School Board's case being pleaded by City Attorney, Sheldon Stand, who incidentally volunteered to defend the Klan in Butler County Common Pleas Court last spring. Also, a Middletown Police detective testified against Ms. Burns saying that latent prints had been taken from both the mimeo stencil and a leaflet to prove her guilty of what she had already admitted to doing. Decision is still pending from Civil Service Commission on whether to uphold the School Board's decision or for the immediate reinstatement. If the Commission upholds the Board's decision, a suit will then be filed in Butler County Common Pleas Court by OAPSE attorneys.

It is clear from the trivial reasons cited and the supervisor's comments that the suspension of Ms. Burns was politically motivated, based upon her opposition to racism in Middletown and her participation with TUFF. Ironically this action comes at a time when the KKK openly speaks at school board meetings, rallies on tax-supported public property and boasts that Middletown is a Klan stronghold. The chilling effect of this job suspension cannot be underestimated. □

... Bursey

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instances across the country. The BATF was the lead agency involved in the Charlotte 3 and Wilmington 10 cases.

"Were a government agency to be used to intimidate or suppress people, history has shown that the BATF would be the agency that one would first suspect," he comments.

Bursey points out that his possession of the pistol was common knowledge in the law enforcement community. In the late 60's, he was heavily involved in the anti-war and civil rights activities in South Carolina. During his high profile period, Bursey was under constant surveillance; in fact, his closest friend and co-organizer of the University of South Carolina's SDS Chapter, Jack Weatherford, was later revealed to be an agent of the State Law Enforcement Division (SLED) who had for a year and a half infiltrated the student organization. Weatherford and other federal and local agents were familiar with the fact that the gun was in Bursey's possession.

Bursey remains a consistent critic, which makes him a logical target for harassment and selective prosecution. The indictment comes at a time when

four years of legal intervention in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's licensing of the V.C. Summer Nuclear Station near Columbia are culminating in final hearings to begin June 22. The trial date for his gun charge falls on July 13, in the middle of the NRC hearings.

The implications of this case are far-reaching. Bursey has termed the charge "a clear danger because federal agents can use their power of investigation and the grand jury against those who are speaking out against them." □

The Defense Fund urges everyone to send contributions to the Brett Bursey Defense Fund, c/o G.R.O.W. 18 Bluff Road, Columbia, S.C. 29201.

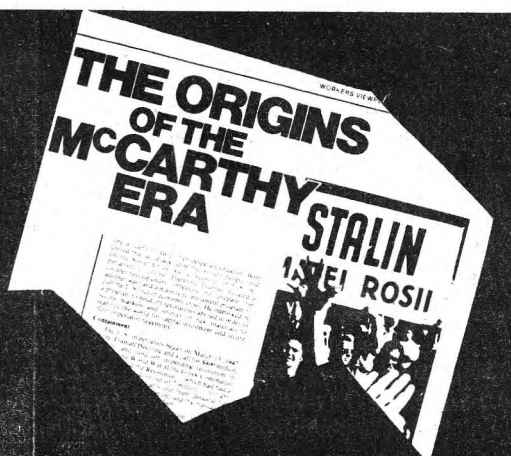
Also send telegrams and letters to the U.S. Attorney's Office, Columbia, S.C.

Sue Bowman is a member of G.R.O.W. and is a staff writer for the Harbinger of Columbia, South Carolina.

NEXT ISSUE

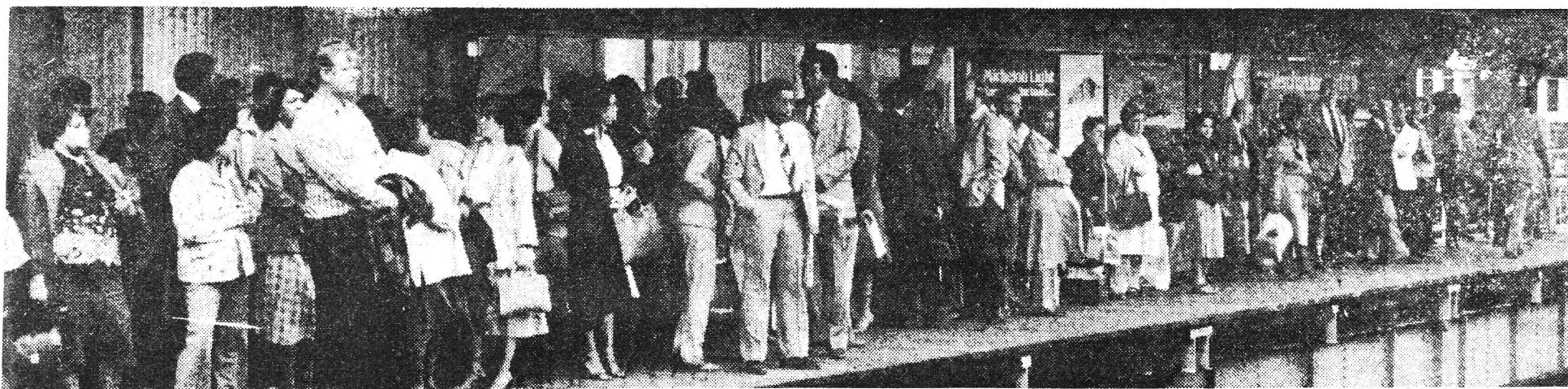
Third in the series

**Origins
of the
McCarthy Era**
by May Quan



Chicago Transit Shutdown

Big Wheels Stop Turning



900,000 Chicagoans and suburbanites are looking down a long stretch of empty tracks as transit shutdown snowballs.

Norman Sadler

On May 23, 1981, the buses in Joliet, Illinois stopped running. The buses operated by West Towns Bus Co. stopped service in 40 Chicago suburbs on May 29. South Suburban Safeways halted its buses on its 43 routes on May 30. Aurora's 16 bus routes were closed on May 31. The Milwaukee Road commuter train service threatened a shutdown on June 6, but extended its deadline one week. On June 8, two unions representing about 3,000 cab drivers in Chicago went on strike for recognition of lease drivers and more pay. The same day, bus drivers for a suburban bus line refused to take a 45% pay cut, and buses stayed in the garages.

The two agencies responsible for mass transportation in Chicago and the surrounding six counties are out of funds, and more than \$400 million in debt. A total shutdown of all buses and trains in the region could happen, leaving 900,000 workers stranded.

The poor, elderly and handicapped in the suburbs where the buses have already stopped running are cut off from jobs, doctors, stores and friends. Throughout the city and suburbs, the main topic of conversation is how to get to work if the shutdown happens. Already, businesses have rented thousands of hotel rooms in the downtown business section, have planned to lease boats to ferry in executives from the suburbs, and workers are sharing information to carpool it.

Although the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA) and the Chicago Transit Authority have been warning

of a crisis for months, actions to prevent the shutdown did not start until the last minute. Political infighting and backstabbing over responsibility for the transportation system, however, has been so fierce that on June 3, the Chicago Tribune printed a front page editorial declaring that "What we have here is an enormous breakdown in the system of government." On June 5, Mayor Jane Byrne of Chicago and several legislators appeared on television for a debate: the furious buckpassing, bickering and confusion was the ugly confirmation of the truth in the Tribune material.

The demand for leadership and a solution to the crisis is strong, as demonstrated by the 12,000 workers who went to Springfield, the state capital, on June 2 to oppose a "right to work" bill and to demand a solution to the faltering transportation system. (See related article in this issue).

Deficit Financing, Inflation

The crisis in Chicago's mass transportation began in 1945, when the Chicago Surface Lines and Chicago Rapid Transit, both private companies, went broke. The CTA was formed to buy out the companies by selling \$145 million in bonds.

Today, the RTA needs a \$200 million loan to cover its operating deficit of over \$175 million. The RTA owes \$90 million to the CTA, commuter railroads and suburban bus lines. In 1970, fares covered 100 percent of the operating costs; today, they cover only 42%. When fare hikes and service cuts were proposed last

December, opposition at public hearings was so strong that the authorities backed down.

Now bus lines are getting as much as 70% fare hikes granted on an emergency basis, without public hearings. Lawsuits have been brought to keep trains and buses from shutting down with formal approval. "It appears to me that the railroads are holding public interest hostage in an effort to force the legislators to pay ransom," said DuPage County State's attorney J. Michael Fitzsimmon.

The banking consortium, led by Rockefeller's First National Bank of Chicago, is holding hostages, too. First National warned that a default on an interest payment would affect the city's already poor bond ratings, and threatened to sue for "court-ordered fare (increases) and service curtailments designed to maximize CTA income for the benefit of the bondholders without regard to community needs."

"Jim and Jane, They Don't Care, They Ride Limos Everywhere"

The interest payment is on \$17.6 million in bonds outstanding since 1952 and 1953. The bank did not have to sue, though; the CTA has a million dollar debt payment account which they used to pay the \$393,525 interest payment.

The transit workers' union did sue, after learning that the CTA was running on \$3.5 million that should have been paid into the pension fund.

Governor Jim Thompson, Mayor Jane Byrne and the legislators, each

pointing their fingers at the other, have all proposed ways to make the workers shoulder the burden of the crisis. They have proposed to raise fares, cut service, renegotiate the union contracts, tax oil companies (called "regressive" taxes because the costs are passed on to the consumers) and increase sales taxes. The bus system in Birmingham, Alabama, which was shut down from February 28 to June 1, was put back in service by similar means: renegotiating the union contract, cutting service by 25% and raising fares to 85 cents, the highest in the nation.

Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics (ICARE), a broad coalition of social service workers, unions and progressive and communist groups, has generally fought against cuts in federal services. There is a motion within the coalition, though, to fight against the cuts as they come down, extending the movement beyond legislative lobbying, mass mailing and hearings. On June 1, they took their opposition and demands to the office of the governor and the mayor, where cops blocked the way and tore up their signs. Demanding "tax the rich, not the poor," they rallied again on June 5. This time, they proceeded to the Board of Election Commissioners. Depositing and counting their ballots, the votes were 73 to 4 not to retain Mayor Byrne, and 88 to 2 not to retain Governor Thompson. One protestor's sign read: "Jim and Jane, they don't care; they ride limos everywhere! The people united will never be defeated — Byrne and Thompson will be unseated!"

LABOR NEWS

Postal Workers, "Don't Procrastinate, Negotiate!"



One issue still not resolved — amnesty for fired workers from the last contract dispute.

NEW YORK, N.Y.—On Thursday, July 11, Postmaster General Ray Bolger came to town anticipating a friendly luncheon meeting to sell corporate executives on the nine digit zip code. What Bolger didn't expect were over 200 very unfriendly postal workers greeting him with signs like "Sit down and talk before we walk" and "Don't procrastinate, negotiate!"

The Postal Service refuses to negotiate a new postal contract and address key worker demands around improved health and safety, uncapped cost-of-living-adjustment and job security.

Explained one postal worker from the American Postal Workers Union, New York Metro Local: "The shots are being called from higher up in the Administration. But we've come too far, fought too hard to stand this bull." A union member from the National Association of Letter Carriers added: "We're here to show them we won't let them shove anything down our throats."

How far will the workers take it? "People still have some fear after 1978 (when 113 postal workers were fired after wildcatting). But this year, it's not just New York. Postal workers from all over see what's happening. We're letting the new leadership know what we want — if they call a strike, come July 20, the people are willing."

**Resolution Passed June 9, 1981
By the San Diego County Central Committee
Of the Democratic Party**

Whereas, the civil liberties of American citizens and the legitimate efforts of labor organizations are vital to the existence of a free and democratic society; and

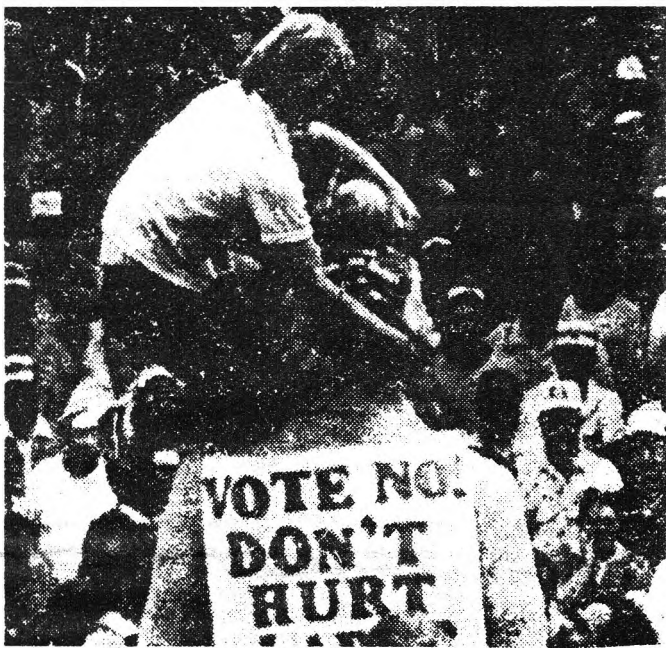
Whereas, Evidence suggests that the F.B.I. and the National Security Administration (NSA) have engaged in practices at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO) which violate the civil rights of various NASSCO employees and which undermine the lawful activity of the unions there; and

Whereas, The Honorable Ronald V. Dellums has requested an investigation by a House of Representatives Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the F.B.I. and N.S.A. activities at NASSCO; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the San Diego County Central Committee of the Democratic Party join in the request for said Congressional investigation, and communicate by letter to Subcommittee Chairperson, The Honorable Don Edwards, support for any action by him to convene such hearings.

Resolved, That the San Diego County Central Committee of the Democratic Party call for active support for these investigations from the Congressional representatives in this area.

Resolved, That the San Diego County Central Committee of the Democratic Party draft and submit a resolution to the California State Central Committee of the Democratic Party in support of Congressional investigations of the F.B.I. and N.S.A. activities at NASSCO.



12,000 Cry Death to Right-to-work

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. — On June 2 over 12,000 union members converged on the state capital to rally against anti-labor legislation proposed in Illinois legislature. The workers demanded death to a proposed right-to-work bill. With plant shut downs and heavy lay-offs, especially in the Chicago area, even the hint of a union busting right-to-work law (a first in any northern industrial state) has union members up in arms. Meanwhile a mass transit crisis is threatening to shut down all buses and trains in Chicago and surrounding counties. Thousands of workers would have no way to get to work in a shut down.

The members of the Building Trades Council of the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers (UAW), United Steel Workers of America (USWA) and other unions swarmed over the Capital grounds. The media reported it was the largest rally at the state capital in recent memory. Signs reading "Quit Playing Politics with our Lives. Provide Leadership!" reflected the disgust with the political infighting and buck passing over the transit crisis and the all-around failure of the capitalist politicians to solve the economic crisis.

This anger from the base forced the state AFL-CIO leadership to call the rally. But they called it only to sidetrack the workers into blaming Gov. Thompson and the Republicans and promoting the Democratic Party as the friend of labor. While workers shouted "Union! Union!" the Democratic hacks harangued the Governor and promoted themselves. But with the transit crisis an urgent and immediate question, workers shouted for the politicians to come up with a solution. There was no way around it — all the speakers had to address the issue — and pass the buck.

In a slick move, "Big Jim" Thompson made a surprise appearance. In spite of his hard hat Big Jim was greeted by a sea of boos and catcalls. He only got the workers' attention when he invited all 12,000 over to the Executive Mansion for free beer. Stunned by the big turn-out and scrambling to turn the rally around, Thompson ordered 82 kegs of beer on half an hour's notice. Then he, too, tried to pass the buck. He told the workers to "get your butts off the grass" and lobby the legislators for a solution to the transit crisis. "Tell them to solve the transportation problem, and solve it quick. Then come over to the mansion for a beer... on me."

While jobs disappear and even the most basic services like transportation collapse, the politicians fiddle. Covering for the political bankruptcy of the capitalist class trade union misleaders like Bill Lee, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor, told workers to put their faith in the old dead donkey — the Democratic Party.

The workers are demanding strong leadership out of the crisis. All the politicians have to offer is *Old Style*. □

NASSCO 3

In Trial's Wake, Resolve Stronger Than Ever

Erin White

Collusion between companies and some Internationals continues as individuals face harassment for their support of the NASSCO 3. People concerned about their fundamental freedoms and the ability of the unions to protect their members are stepping forward to voice their support for the union organizing as well as for the NASSCO 3 or for some of the issues raised in the NASSCO 3 trial.

Support has been flowing into the Committee office since the verdict. People from Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, Peace Research Center and other organizations have come out even stronger in their condemnation of the verdict. Other groups and individuals who at first believed the three were guilty have changed their minds after sitting through the trial and seeing for themselves the "justice" dispensed by the court.

The Committee has declared the verdict as round one in a battle in which they vow to fight to the end. A letter campaign has been mounted and people from all over the country are writing to Judge Schwartz who tried the case, about the verdict and the part government's played in entrapping the three union militants. Letters should be mailed in time to reach the judge for July 14 when he will decide whether to hear the defense motion of outrageous government misconduct.

The Committee also has plans to demonstrate in support of the three and against government interference in union activities before July 14. Further, plans are being formulated to coordinate a campaign to ensure that Congressman Ron Dellums' call for a congressional investigation of FBI activities into NASSCO becomes a reality.

Activists Harassed

Meanwhile, the San Diego County Central Committee of the Democratic Party passed a resolution calling for an end to government interference in union activities and for the Congressional investigation recommended by Congressman Ron Dellums. The investigation would look into the FBI and National Security Agency activities at NASSCO. The Committee also resolved to present a resolution calling for support of the investigation to the California State Central Committee of the Democratic Party.

Rhonda Levine, Chair of the Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers, was injured in a June 1980 accident at Solar Turbines International, where she works as a machinist. From June until January, 1981, she collected workman's compensation. Suddenly, at the end of January, Solar decided to contest the compensation claim and said Levine owed over \$400 which she had received for the month of January. Solar's reason is that they believe Levine is capable of returning to work and that she just wants the compensation so she can do her political work with the committee.

Ms. Levine had to wait until March 1981 before she could undergo a painful nerve operation to correct the injury. Both her own physician and the company doctor agree that she is disabled and hasn't regained mobility in her injured arm yet.

Nevertheless, Solar is going ahead with its demands and has even subpoenaed medical records from all of Ms. Levine's physicians. Those records

have nothing to do with Levine's present condition and are related to past injuries or illnesses.

"They are on a fishing trip," said Levine. "They want to cut off my only source of income, which I earned and am entitled to — under the law and morally. They want to find some excuse to fire me because they don't like my political activities. Really, what they want to do to me is what NASSCO did to the NASSCO 3. NASSCO got rid of them because they didn't like their union organizing and their political beliefs. But NASSCO is not the only corporation who wants to get rid of certain people."

Another strong supporter of the NASSCO 3 has been warned that her union standing is in jeopardy because she dared to speak out against the gross injustice being perpetrated against the three union militants. Her International wrote a letter to her local and included with it a copy of the Committee's newsletter. Apparently, the letter warned the local to watch out for this person.

Strong Drive

Workers at NASSCO are continuing to fight for the right to vote for the union of their choice. A drive to decertify from the Ironworkers International, which represents over 3,000 of NASSCO's 6,500 workers has gotten off to a good start. In reaction to the drive, the International, for the first time in over five months of trusteeship, has finally said something to the rank and file of Ironworkers Local 627.

They slandered the efforts of those who want to set up their own union (United Shipyard Workers) as the sole representative of those workers currently covered by the Ironworkers Union. They claimed they would keep the battle tied up in the court for two years rather than allow members their choice of unions or doing their duty to protect the rank and file from NASSCO. Since the Trusteeship in January, workers say they have no more union representatives, the International won't file grievances, and that the whole union structure is a joke.

"All they are thinking about is their pocket book" said Miguel Salas, Business Agent elect of Local 627 and one of the leaders of the decertification movement. "We talked with attorney Dan Siegal, and he said there is no way this can be tied up in court for that long a period of time. The International is desperate to keep our dues coming in. They'll say anything to try to split the workers and keep us from getting a good democratic organization."

The same coalition of union activists who are leading the decertification drive have won a significant victory by getting arbitrations reopened for 27 workers fired by NASSCO in August 1980. The proceedings will begin on June 19, 1981. Former NASSCO official Michael Contreras who was subpoenaed but couldn't be found for the earlier arbitrations will testify this time. Contreras has stated that NASSCO used labor spies (a violation of Federal law) to find out what the unions were doing, and that NASSCO had policies designed to discredit the leadership of various unions in the shipyard. NASSCO also engaged in other illegal activities and dirty tricks which many expect to be aired on June 19th. □

Lessons of UMWA Contract

Militant Strike Misses Target



Miners voting for contract

Jack Stearns

MADISON, W. Va. — On June 6, the United Mine Workers of America voted to end their strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and return to work. After striking for over 70 days with very little recognition from the rest of the country, the miners accepted a sellout contract, little different than the one they rejected on April 1 by a two to one margin. Why this strike's course was so much different than the one three years ago must be examined.

Cosmetic Changes

There were a few cosmetic changes. The royalty clause on non-union coal is back in the contract, and up from \$1.90 to \$2.23 per ton. However, the

catch is that this section of the contract is still tied up in the courts and the miners could end up losing it. Two, the 45-day probationary period for new employees has been removed. Three, miners' widows covered by the 1950 pension fund will receive a \$95-per-month pension. And four, the all important issue of subcontracting and leasing of coal land under the newly accepted contract, the companies will not be permitted to subcontract outside construction work normally done by members of a mine local if any workers of that local are laid off. This is no protection in the long run at all. Steel workers have long had this provision in their contract and contracting out has only increased in the mills. The com-

panies simply eliminate set jobs and then claim contracting out is permitted since no one is laid off from a job which no longer exists.

Those members of UMW construction locals, who are still bargaining with the Association of Bituminous Contractors, who actually sink the shaft and take care of major outside construction projects, have been sold out by this contract. Under the old 1978 contract, any BCOA company which planned to build a new mine had to do so with UMW members. That provision, plus the 1978 provision requiring automatic union recognition of any new BCOA mine, were struck from the contract by federal court action. As it now stands, the UMW must organize each new mine opened.

The new contract includes provisions which basically eliminate a miner's individual safety rights. In the past, a miner who believed a particular assignment was unsafe refused to do the job, provided he was willing to take another job. Now, he must immediately tell his boss it is unsafe and *specify exactly what he believes is unsafe*. Many more inexperienced miners will die because of this. Also remaining in the contract is language which will allow the company, in some cases, to fire anyone who has nine unexcused absences over a two-year period. In return for a 40-month contract, the miners will receive an additional 30¢ an hour in the last four months; total wage increase will be \$3.60. The new contract will expire at the end of September 1984. Miners prefer a strike in the spring and summer when their own utility bills are

lower and demand for electricity is greater.

Indirect Intervention

Although miners were hurting financially, the tide was beginning to turn in their favor. First of all, utility coal stockpiles were dropping with a one-month supply the most any of them had. Secondly, the larger BCOA companies who are looking towards the export winter market in Europe and Japan were beginning to worry about losing contracts to Australia and South Africa. Their biggest immediate worry was losing utility customers to non-union companies.

The miners knew this, and no one who voted "yes" really liked the contract. Why then did the vote turn around the way it did? The companies did have to give in on a 45-day probationary period, and the royalty clause is back in, at least temporarily. And, everyone wanted the miners' widows to receive a pension, a long-sought goal. And although financial hardship was increasing, this wasn't a real factor in the vote. After all, in the last battle, the UMW stayed out 111 days. And this was shortly after a six-month wildcat in the summer of 1977 over the loss of the UMW health card. The real reason had to do with a shift in tactics by the government and the leadership question.

The government intervened in this strike in a much more damaging, but much more sophisticated, way than in the 1978 strike. The intervention was *indirect*. In 1978 President Carter used the Taft-Hartley law to order the miners back to work. Carter learned the hard way. Never, repeat, never, tell a coal miner when to strike or not to strike. Direct government intervention was an easy target for miners and all workers to hit on and vent their anger on. Carter's Taft-Hartley merely riled the miners. That combined with the widespread support from the whole working class against the Taft-Hartley to force the government to retreat. The effect of the government's intervention was so great that even after 111 days on strike in 1978, five union districts out of 18 still voted to continue striking. Only three voted to continue the recent strike.

This time around the bourgeoisie learned and gave no direct orders. The government learned from Margaret Thatcher in England. Thatcher pulled out of labor disputes, letting the workers and bosses slug it out by themselves. Her philosophy was not to provide the workers with a convenient target for attack, thereby diffusing their fight. But the government did interfere in this strike, but in a hidden way. Through the courts they moved in in such a way that in the long run — though not immediately — the union will be weakened by eliminating the automatic union recognition clause at new mines and allowing non-UMW construction work.

The leadership to oppose union-busting was stronger in the 1978 strike than in this one. In spite of Arnold Miller, district and local leaders were able and willing to hold the strike together and filled the vacuum left by him. But in its latest proposal, the Bargaining Council voted 36-2 in favor of the contract (the two "no" votes came from Districts 4 and 31). The miners knew that no one in the Bargaining Council was going to lead the fight after they voted "no." If some of the district leaders on the Bargaining Council had stepped forward there is a good chance the vote would have turned down the second proposal. But no one did, and Church himself announced that if the miners did vote "no," he wasn't sure what to go back to bargain for.

1199 Initiates Budget Cuts Demonstration

Dave Young

Bronx Lebanon Hospital is a typical inner city hospital serving the medical needs of the ghetto South Bronx community in New York City. Most of its patients receive Medicaid. When the Reagan budget slashes Medicaid funds to the tune of \$300 million, the hospital's doom will be sealed. This reality has pushed District 1199, National Hospital Workers Union members into action. "It hit home when workers did not get paychecks when the State Senate couldn't pass a budget in April," said one Bronx Lebanon Union delegate. "Many of my co-workers want to be assured that they will not lose their raises in July," said another delegate. "I'm not sure what to say. In my mind, if the Reagan cuts go through, Bronx Lebanon could possibly close as early as next January."

The delegates discussed "the need for some sort of action in response to the reality that Bronx Lebanon could possibly close." Realizing that they cannot fight the cuts by themselves, they decided to reach out to community groups and other workers. They got District 1199 to initiate a call for a demonstration on June 30 in the South Bronx.

So far, the demonstration has been endorsed by Councilman G. Gerena-Valentin, Carmen Arroyo of the South Bronx Community Corporation, Dr. Evilena Antoinetty of the United Bronx Parents, Councilman Wendell Foster, the New Alliance Party, United Tremont Trades, the Y. Bonaio Minority Caucus, the New York Committee

for Occupational Safety and Health, Area Policy Boards No. 1 and No. 4, the Coalition to Save Metropolitan Hospital and many others.

Metropolitan is another ghetto hospital threatened with closing. Their endorsement is an effort at unifying the predominantly Hispanic communities of the South Bronx and East Harlem. More than that, it is a breakthrough in uniting workers from District 1199 and AFSCME District Council 37, the New York City municipal workers union, which represents the Metropolitan workers.

In the past, the two unions have bitterly attacked each other, calling for closing down hospitals represented by the other union. In light of the historical animosity between them, this is an important step forward and a good thing for future struggles. Rank and file DC 37 workers have participated actively in mobilizing for the demonstration, committing themselves toward getting DC 37 to endorse it.

First of Many

Organizers stressed that the June 30 demonstration is not the culmination of their efforts to stop Reagan's cuts, but the beginning. At a recent organizing meeting, it was disclosed that many groups have expressed support but wanted to know the purpose of the demonstration and what another demonstration is going to do against the budget cuts. Many of those who asked this participated in the highly successful Charlotte Street "Congressional Hearings," held on the eve of

the Senate budget vote. Charlotte Street is in a totally burned out South Bronx neighborhood visited by both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan.

The South Bronx Coalition against the Budget Cuts was able to mobilize a broad spectrum of people from school boards, P.T.A.s, daycare centers and drug programs like Phoenix House and Daytop. According to Carmen Arroyo, the hearings were pulled together by six days of around-the-clock organizing.

After the Senate passed Reagan's budget, many felt that their exhausting efforts were fruitless and the coalition folded. The South Bronx Coalition's inability to sustain itself left a big void of leadership. Had the coalition continued, the Bronx Lebanon workers would have worked within it. Instead, they now have to set up a new organization from scratch.

This is why the organizers of the June 30 demonstration see it as the first step in building an ongoing organization in the South Bronx. In their view, this is preparation for the day when the full impact of the budget cuts are felt. Then the people will be organized and ready to move. "If we wait till that point, we won't be ready," explained the union organizer. "It must be understood that the people have not yet fully responded to the cuts because they are not directly affected yet. The struggle against the cuts will consist of many demonstrations and actions, just like the struggle to end the Vietnam War." □

Study Marxism

'Left Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder

V.I. Lenin

Lenin wrote *"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder* in April 1920. It was written after the defeat of the first German revolution in 1918 but still in a time of revolutionary ferment throughout Europe. Three years after Lenin wrote this book, Germany was again faced with a revolutionary crisis.

As the first year and a half has already shown, the 1980s will be a time of great mass ferment. The masses increasingly can no longer live in the old way, the way they did for almost 30 years before. They cannot be put to sleep. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie can no longer rule in the old way. Capitalist destabilization has set in, creating a very charged scene. For the first time in several decades it is possible to win over the majority of the American working class and working people. How we take advantage of this historic opportunity is a question of paramount importance. *"Left-Wing" Communism* applies the fundamental lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1917 to the revolutionary struggle in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and America. It is a Marxist-Leninist classic, and it is especially useful to our struggle in the 1980s to overthrow the monopoly capitalist system.

We print here excerpts from chapter VII ("Should We Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments?") and Chapter X ("Some Conclusions"). This edition was published by Foreign Languages Press, Peking. In coming issues we will publish study notes on it.

In Chapter VII, Lenin demanded that Communists immediately begin work in the electoral process. He showed that to mobilize the workers for revolutionary struggle and bring them into position for the final battle against the capitalist class, Communists must start from the level of the masses. For Communists to be successful in drawing the masses into revolutionary activity, it must be activity they consider legitimate, activity they can understand, activity that is "risk free."

Lenin wrote here specifically of electoral work, but this lesson applies equally to all other forms of mass activity. About those that refused to use "backward," "non-revolutionary" forms of struggle, Lenin said criticism should be directed not against the activity, "but against those leaders who are unable — and still more against those who are unwilling — to utilize parliamentary elections and the parliamentary tribunal in a revolutionary, communist manner."

In Chapter X, Lenin discusses the process by which the workers become revolutionized. He discusses the propaganda and practical activities Communists must accomplish to position the masses to overthrow the bourgeoisie. One point he emphasizes is the Party must be "well shod on all four feet." Because Communists cannot know beforehand what exactly will spark the workers into revolutionary action and cannot bank on one path to the revolutionary crisis (like world war), Communists must master all forms of struggle. As the situation gets more aggravated, the Party must advance traditional demands to mobilize the masses; they must also discover the appropriate forms that will mobilize them. "(We) must, therefore, with the aid of our new, communist principles, set to work to 'stir up' all and sundry, even the oldest, mustiest and seemingly hopeless spheres, for otherwise we shall not master all arms and we shall not prepare ourselves to achieve either the victory over the bourgeoisie (which arranged all sides of social life — and has now disarranged them — in its bourgeois way) or the impending communist reorganization of every sphere of life after that victory..."

VII

SHOULD WE PARTICIPATE IN BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTS?

...Parliamentarism has become "historically obsolete." That is true as regards propaganda. But everyone knows that this is still a long way from overcoming it *practically*. Capitalism could have been declared, and with full justice, to be "historically obsolete" many decades ago, but that does not at all remove the need for a very long and very persistent struggle on the soil of capitalism. Parliamentarism is "historically obsolete" from the standpoint of *world history*, that is to say, the *era* of bourgeois parliamentarism has come to an end and the *era* of the proletarian dictatorship has *begun*. That is incontestable. But world history reckons in decades. Ten or twenty years sooner or later makes no dif-



Poster says, "Peasants, if you don't want to feed the landlords, feed the man at the front instead, who are defending your land and your freedom." The Bolsheviks mobilized the peasants based on this demand.

ference when measured by the scale of world history; from the standpoint of world history it is a trifle that cannot be calculated even approximately. But precisely for that reason it is a howling theoretical blunder to apply the scale of world history to practical politics.

Is parliamentarism "politically obsolete"? That is quite another matter...

...How can one say that "parliamentarism is politically obsolete," when "millions" and "legions" of proletarians are not only still in favour of parliamentarism in general, but are downright "counter-revolutionary"? Clearly, parliamentarism in Germany is *not yet* politically obsolete. Clearly, the "Lefts" in Germany have mistaken *their desire*, their political-ideological attitude, for objective reality. That is the most dangerous mistake for revolutionaries. ...Parliamentarism, of course, is "politically obsolete" for the Communists in Germany; but — and that is the whole point — we must *not* regard what is obsolete *for us* as being obsolete *for the class*, as being obsolete *for the masses*. Here again we find that the "Lefts" do not know how to reason, do not know how to act as the party of the *class*, as the party of the *masses*. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. That is incontestable. You must tell them the bitter truth. You must call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices — prejudices. But at the same time you must *soberly* follow the *actual* state of class consciousness and preparedness of the whole class (not only of its Communist vanguard), of all the toiling *masses* (not only of their advanced elements).

Even if not "millions" and "legions," but only a fairly large *minority* of industrial workers follow the Catholic priests — and a similar minority or rural workers follow the landlords and kulaks (Grossbauern) — it *undoubtedly* follows that parliamentarism in Germany is *not yet* politically obsolete, that participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is *obligatory* for the party of the revolutionary proletariat *precisely* for the purpose of educating the backward strata of *its own class*, precisely for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant rural masses... *Tactics must be based on a sober and strictly objective appraisal of all the class forces of the particular state (and of the states that surround it, and of all states the world over) as well as of the experience of revolutionary movements.* To show how "revolutionary" one is solely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opportunism, solely by repudiating participation in parliaments, is very easy; but just because it is easy, it is not the solution for a difficult, a very difficult problem. It is much more difficult to

create a really revolutionary parliamentary group in a European parliament that it was in Russia. Of course. But that is only a particular expression of the general truth that it was easy for Russia, in the specific, historically very unique situation of 1917, to *start* the socialist revolution, but it will be more difficult for Russia than for the European countries to *continue* the revolution and bring it to its consummation. I had occasion to point this out already at the beginning of 1918, and our experience of the past two years has entirely confirmed the correctness of this view. Certain specific conditions, viz., 1) the possibility of linking up the Soviet revolution with the ending, as a consequence of this revolution, of the imperialist war, which had exhausted the workers and peasants to an incredible degree; 2) the possibility of taking advantage for a certain time of the mortal conflict between two world-powerful groups of imperialist robbers, who were unable to unite against their Soviet enemy; 3) the possibility of enduring a comparatively lengthy civil war, partly owing to the enormous size of the country and to the poor means of communication; 4) the existence of such a profound bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement among the peasantry that the party of the proletariat was able to take the revolutionary demands of the peasant party (the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the majority of the members of which were definitely hostile to Bolshevism) and realize them at once, thanks to the conquest of political power by the proletariat — these specific conditions do not exist in Western Europe at present; and a repetition of such or similar conditions will not come so easily. That, by the way, apart from a number of other causes, is why it will be more difficult for Western Europe to *start* a socialist revolution than it was for us. To attempt to "circumvent" this difficulty by "skipping" the difficult job of utilizing reactionary parliaments for revolutionary purposes is absolutely childish...

X

SOME CONCLUSIONS

...The whole point now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account both the main fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and "Left" doctrinarism and the *specific features* which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in conformity with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition (Ireland, etc.), its colonies, religious divisions, and so on and so forth. Everywhere we can feel that dissatisfaction with the Second International is spreading and growing, both because of its opportunism and because of its inability, or incapacity, to create a really centralized, a really leading centre that would be capable of directing the international tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for a world Soviet republic. We must clearly realize that such a leading centre cannot under any circumstances be built up on stereotypes, mechanically equalized and identical tactical rules of struggle. As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries — and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale — the unity of international tactics of the Communist working-class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (that is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an applica-

continued on page 14



Poster says, "Factories for the the workers." This was one of the big demands of the working class. By Nathan Altman, 1918.

Line of March's United Front War and Racism — Strategy

Phil Thompson

There are two ways of viewing the present crises of capitalism and the danger of fascism. One view is to see only the dangers of fascism, which do exist, and to not see the opportunities and prospects of socialism which the present crises offer to us. This is a dangerous view, because it is only by grasping the opportunities presented before us in an all-sided way that communists can rally the masses of people to beat back the danger of fascism and win socialism.

The opposite view sees the present danger of fascism and war growing out of the destabilization of Western imperialism, but also sees the need to grasp the historic opportunity open to us. The capitalist crises have resulted in tremendous and growing impoverishment of the entire working class which has given rise to profound disorientation and frustration among the U.S. working class. The masses are increasingly open to communist leadership which presents us with an historic opportunity; but they are also susceptible to fascist demagoguery of which the bourgeoisie will make use. The question is whether communists will grasp the opportunity and have the strength and determination to beat back the bourgeoisie's influence over the working class and provide a socialist alternative.

Line of March actually gives up the fight from the word go. They argue that:

"First of all, finance capital has succeeded in forging a sufficient ideological consensus among the masses on behalf of a program of militarism, racism and social 'austerity' so that its political representatives are prepared to move with relative impunity towards its implementation."

Does the election of Ronald Reagan signify an ideological consensus among the masses for militarism, racism and social austerity as Line of March postulates? He received 25% of the vote among eligible voters, and most of those voted for him because of his demagogic appeal to their need for economic improvement, not out of "ideological" consensus. Certainly the response of the miners to the first contract does not show any "consensus" for social austerity. Nor is the response of the elderly and soon to be elderly show a consensus for cuts in Social Security. Nor does the response of the 100,000 marchers on May 3, and the majority of workers, students, and the church to U.S. intervention in El

"Line of March's United Front Against Fascism accepts the victory of fascism as a given."

Salvador, which forced the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to an overwhelming vote for restrictions on U.S. involvement in El Salvador, a sign of "ideological consensus" for U.S. militarism. The recent display of green ribbons in different cities on the part of many white workers also shows that there is not a racist ideological consensus either (more on this later).

Our point is not to say that racism or bourgeois patriotism doesn't exist in the working class, or to underestimate its influence, which would be an excuse for not struggling against it in the context of the overall class struggle. Our point is that the election of Ronald Reagan did not give the bourgeoisie a "mandate," nor has the bourgeoisie a "sufficient" ideological consensus among the masses to act with "relative impunity." In fact, the bourgeoisie's proposed cuts in Social Security, tax breaks for the rich, etc., have further isolated the bourgeoisie from the masses. It is important for communists not only to "take note" of this, but to utilize every flaw of the bourgeoisie for political exposure and training of the working class.

On this latter point there would appear to be agreement among all communists, but there is not, particularly not from Line of March. Line of March asserts that, on the issue of fighting high taxes,

"The 'grassroots' populist movements which sprang up with a great clamor for reducing taxes on the middle class were spawned, for the most

part, by groups part of or close to the organized right. This 'tax revolt' was racist in its political objectives (its program for reduced social spending was inevitably at the expense of the poorest sections of the working class, where most minority people in the U.S. are located), its ideological underpinnings ('they' are all cheats or 'too lazy to work,' etc.), and in its composition (the movement was conspicuously white)."

Here is a classic case of throwing out the baby with the bath water. It is the task of communists to grasp the essence of various movements and not get stuck on their forms. It is a gross oversimplification, besides being dead wrong, for Line of March to call the tax revolts a "bourgeois offensive." First of all, the suburbanites, e.g. teachers, skilled workers, office workers, etc., who supported the tax revolt are not mainly middle-class but part of the modern proletariat. They are overburdened with taxes, that is why the movement caught fire. The main political objective of the people who supported the movement was a reduction in taxes. It is to this sentiment that neo-fascists like Jarvis demagogically appealed and offered up solutions which objectively let the bourgeoisie off the hook and pits whites against blacks. The conclusion from this is not that the tax revolt is a bourgeois offensive because it is bourgeois-led, or racist because it is "conspicuously white." The conclusion is that unless communists give bold leadership to the masses against high taxes, crime, destruction of the family, etc., then the bourgeoisie will take leadership of these movements and steer them in a racist, potentially fascist direction. All the more reason then to work in them now. Any other view is anti-working class, a petty-bourgeois socialist abandonment of the working class to the bourgeoisie. It should be noted to Line of March that the "conspicuous" absence of communists in the tax revolt was more significant than the absence of blacks.

Abandonment of Working Class: Strategy or Tactic?

Before getting into Line of March's UFAF (united front against fascism) strategy, it will prove helpful to get a Marxist definition of strategy and tactics as scientific concepts.

"The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution.

"Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle by new ones, by combining these forms, etc..." (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*)

The first striking thing about Line of March's UFAF is that it accepts the victory of fascism as a *given*, it discounts the possibility of socialist revolution although the possibility of achieving socialism is increasing with the downfall of Western imperialism. This pessimistic and one-sided view of the present situation is rooted in Line of March's petty bourgeois disdain for the working class, an underestimation of their suffering and revolutionary potential. Because of this narrowness, their outlook is necessarily tailist and reformist.

The main revolutionary force in the U.S. is the multinational working class. The main bulk of a revolutionary strategy in the U.S. must be the mobilization and disposition of the U.S. multinational working class and its primary reserves: the national movements, the woman's movement, youth, intellectuals, etc. That is, the bulk of a strategy in the U.S. must be Party work among the masses. Nowhere in Line of March's strategy do we have a plan for Party-building, for communist propaganda-agitation-organization in the working class, against budget cuts, against high taxes, crime, Atlanta, and other issues on the minds of the masses. Where is their plan for the disposition of the main force? In their entire article on trade unions there is not a single iota on taking up the

fight against government communists and militant action taking place in the NAACP and an issue for all coming class. Line of March

"There can be no doubt the working class as a vanguard workers and the working class — around the communist is a communist work. But this for united front which tempt to unite *different definite political formation.*" (p.33)

Here we are told communist work among the masses is a prominent feature." But we are told this work is, nor how it

"Line of March's UFAF: the relation between building and

nor how to do it concretely. Communists can "forge" a class movement without. All we get from Line of March's positions, such as:

"In the long run, of course, such a united front will have the capacity to forge our own ability to make the united force among the masses."

This is "of course," the subject of how to build a dependent communist movement. The whole question of how to build the line of the party a movement is treated as though it was the critical question, which Line of March admits. A united front "will come in the case, why doesn't Line of March ask the question of how to build force among the working class, because they liquidate the importance of doing it. It is a reformist strategy but a strategy which Line of March is UFAF is composed of representing different proletarian party cannot front.

While the UFAF is designed to isolate the bourgeoisie against government repression strategy. Communist strategy, not on the vicissitudes of the deepening of the party's allies in the course of the fight against the bourgeoisie's leadership in the united front. The potential for the masses is greatest with a leadership. The stronger the influence of the communist there is for broadening the

Without a strong communist base among the workers, a strong UFAF or any other united front which Line

"There can be no doubt beforehand as to the work in the united front. The work of communists is that both must be made that more particular nature that will require

Line of March's United Front Against Racism — Strategy for What?

part, by groups part of or close to the organized right. This 'tax revolt' was racist in its political objectives (its program for reduced social spending was inevitably at the expense of the poorest sections of the working class, where most minority people in the U.S. are located), its ideological underpinnings ('they' are all cheats or 'too lazy to work,' etc.), and in its composition (the movement was conspicuously white)."

Here is a classic case of throwing out the baby with the bath water. It is the task of communists to grasp the essence of various movements and not get stuck on their forms. It is a gross oversimplification, besides being dead wrong, for Line of March to call the tax revolts a "bourgeois offensive." First of all, the suburbanites, e.g. teachers, skilled workers, office workers, etc., who supported the tax revolt are not mainly middle-class but part of the modern proletariat. They are overburdened with taxes, that is why the movement caught fire. The main political objective of the people who supported the movement was a reduction in taxes. It is to this sentiment that neo-fascists like Jarvis demagogically appealed and offered up solutions which objectively let the bourgeoisie off the hook and pits whites against blacks. The conclusion from this is not that the tax revolt is a bourgeois offensive because it is bourgeois-led, or racist because it is "conspicuously white." The conclusion is that unless communists give bold leadership to the masses against high taxes, crime, destruction of the family, etc., then the bourgeoisie will take leadership of these movements and steer them in a racist, potentially fascist direction. All the more reason then to work in them now. Any other view is anti-working class, a petty-bourgeois socialist abandonment of the working class to the bourgeoisie. It should be noted to Line of March that the "conspicuous" absence of communists in the tax revolt was more significant than the absence of blacks.

Abandonment of Working Class: Strategy or Tactic?

Before getting into Line of March's UFAF (united front against fascism) strategy, it will prove helpful to get a Marxist definition of strategy and tactics as scientific concepts.

"The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution.

"Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle by new ones, by combining these forms, etc..." (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*)

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fight against government and company attacks on communists and militant activists, which is a heated battle taking place in the NASSCO shipyards in San Diego, and an issue for all communist organizers in the working class. Line of March tell us that,

"There can be no doubt that the struggle to unite the working class as a whole — particularly the advanced workers and the broad middle strata of the working class — around the line and program of the communist is a permanent feature of communist work. But this is not the same as the call for united front which explicitly means the attempt to unite *different political tendencies and definite political forces in the working class movement.*" (p.33)

Here we are told that "no doubt" independent communist work among the working class is a "permanent feature." But we are not told what the purpose of this work is, nor how it fits into their UFAF strategy,

"Line of March liquidates the relation between party-building and united front."

nor how to do it concretely. In fact, we are not told how communists can "forge" a united front in the working class movement without any base in the working class. All we get from Line of March on this point are evasions, such as:

"In the long run, of course, our capacity to forge such a united front will correspond directly to our capacity to forge our trend into a party and our ability to make the line of the party a material force among the masses." (p. 40)

This is "of course," all Line of March has to say on the subject of how to build a united front without an independent communist base in the working class. The whole question of how to build a party and how to make the line of the party a material force among the masses is treated as though it was a given, "of course." But this is the critical question, the strategic question, upon which Line of March admits communist ability to forge a united front "will correspond directly." This being the case, why doesn't Line of March's strategy deal with the question of how to build the party into a material force among the working class? The answer is because Line of March does not broadly organize in the working class, because they liquidate the immediate and strategic importance of doing it. Their UFAF is not a real proletarian strategy but a formula for coalition hopping, which Line of March is good at. Precisely because a UFAF is composed of "*different political tendencies*" representing different classes and class interests, the proletarian party *cannot* base its *strategy* on united front.

While the UFAF is a necessary *tactic* in this period to isolate the bourgeoisie and help build a movement against government repression, UFAF cannot serve as a strategy. Communist strategy in this period must be based, not on the vicissitudes of coalition building, but on the deepening of the party's base in the proletariat and its allies in the course of its mobilization and disposition against the bourgeoisie. Communists must fight for leadership in the united front in order to ensure consistent revolutionary direction and stability in the united front. The potential for a united front to rally the broad masses is greatest with a nucleus of strong working class leadership. The stronger the independent mass base and influence of the communist party, the more potential there is for broadening the united front.

Without a strong communist party with a strong base among the workers, it will be impossible to forge a strong UFAF or any other type of united front in this country. This is the relation between party-building and united front which Line of March avoids. Listen to this:

"There can be no ready-at-hand formula beforehand as to the 'proper' balance between the work in the united front and the 'independent' work of communists or other forces except to note that both must be maintained and developed and that more particular questions will be of a tactical nature that will require great skill and political

acumen to handle properly." (p. 42)

But Line of March does already have a "formula," it is a formula for tailism. It is not the UFAF which is strategic and the independent work of communists (which they put in quotes — mind you) which is of a "tactical nature," it's the other way around. Communists' independent work must be on-going and consistent. Communists must become respected to the workers as their foremost fighters and self-sacrificing leaders, on that basis; communists can form united fronts "of a tactical nature." Line of March, whose strategy negates party work in the masses, will lead only to a tailist sect, a loss of any independence and initiative in the united front they hope to build.

Where does the basis lie for Line of March's petty bourgeois disdain for the working class, the strategic loss of faith in the proletariat and certainty in the triumph of fascism? It lies in their idealism and mechanical materialism. Look here:

"But ultimately the crucial strategic question is that of transformation of the U.S. working class into a class which grasps its revolutionary destiny and functions politically with that destiny in mind. This transformation will never occur until the U.S. working class breaks completely with the racist orientation that objectively unites the 'white' section of the class with the bourgeoisie against the non-white section of the class."

Here we have it! The ultimate strategic question is that the U.S. working class must "break completely" with racism before there can be a revolution. The basis of the UFAF *strategy*, as opposed to tactic, is on this question. Line of March's trade union position also boils down to "bringing the line of opposition to war and racism to the labor movement." (p. 88). Line of March has made a fundamental break with historical materialism. The masses make revolution not out of some mystical spiritual transformation, but out of historical and practical necessity. If revolution depended on a "complete break" with racism, there would never be a revolution. As long as capitalism exists, racism will continue to exist. Under socialism racism will continue to exist. If you were to tell black workers that under socialism the working class will "break completely" with racism, none would be so naive as to believe you. You will never convince the majority of white workers to make revolution out of feeling sorry for blacks. You must convince them that fighting racism is in *their own interest*, in the interest of fighting their foremost enemy, the U.S. bourgeoisie. That is why the communist strategy in the proletariat must include *leading* the defense of the interests of white workers *against the bourgeoisie*, be it job security, taxes, crime, or family, precisely those movements Line of March would leave to the fascists and Moral Majority. Communist strategy cannot be fighting racism and militarism alone, because it is precisely in the thick of the struggle of white workers against the bourgeoisie on issues most hurting *to them* that racism and militarism must be exposed as tools of the ruling class. Communists must organize white workers by fighting for OSHA, job security, and other basic economic issues, and win their respect. It is on the basis of fighting in the class struggle that workers will respect and respond to communist leadership to fight national oppression and racism. This is the real challenge which Line of March conveniently avoids. They would rather wage an ideological crusade to purify white workers, make them "break completely" with racism before they start strategically organizing them for revolution. This approach is extremely similar to Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee crusade in the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center which instead of politically analyzing and solving the ways to win over workers and blacks to communism, "solves" it by an ideological crusade to purify and "proletarianize" their cadre. Line of March is even more ambitious, they want to purify and anti-racize the entire U.S. working class "completely." They will have less luck. In fact their line will lead to a weakening of communist influence in the class, and will result (if practiced by those in the plants) to helping the working class to the right.

But why such a ludicrous proposal in the first place? It lies in the fact that Line of March still has not made the "break completely" with the white blind spot, white skin privilege theory. Let us show you what we mean:

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But why such a ludicrous proposal in the first place? It lies in the fact that Line of March still has not made the “break completely” with the white blind spot, white skin privilege theory. Let us show you what we mean:

“... the bourgeoisie’s drive for greater productivity, enhanced capital accumulation and a stronger competitive position vis-a-vis its imperialist rivals must ultimately be at the expense of the entire working class. In this sense, the bourgeoisie’s attempt to forge a ‘white’ consensus is only the opening assault in a heightened class war. But the bourgeoisie’s capacity to cushion materially the shocks of this assault for large sectors of white workers... In the *absence of the capacity of communists to expose the process* lays a foundation for such a ‘white’ consensus actually to be forged.” (p.27)

If Line of March believes (and they do) that large sections of white workers have been “cushioned” from the effects of the crises, then they are missing the boat. Perhaps (more than perhaps) Line of March has not felt any “shocks” but the majority of workers, whites included, certainly have. It is precisely these “shocks” which are disorienting the masses of white workers, presenting both the opportunity for communist agitation and propaganda as well as the danger of fascist demagoguery gaining hold. It is not that the imperialist crises will “ultimately” affect the entire working class and white workers are now cushioned (substitute ‘privileged’ = white skin privilege theory). The crisis is already having its effect and will continue to do so. If Line of March doesn’t see it now they will never see it. If by white workers being “cushioned” Line of March means they are better off than black workers, then white workers will always be cushioned under capitalism. This is because black workers will make sure of that. In that case, in this mechanical materialist conception, white workers will never be revolutionary. But this is mechanical materialism, not Marxism. Marxism holds that impoverishment is culturally relative, meaning, what’s meat to Sam is mush to Sally. For example, the present crisis is in many ways more profoundly disorienting to many white workers than blacks who are

“Saying that white workers are cushioned is only a petty-bourgeois philistine excuse for refusing to take up the fight for leadership in the working class, particularly among white workers.”

more accustomed to such hardship and instability. Saying that white workers are cushioned is only a petty-bourgeois philistine excuse for refusing to take up the fight for leadership in the working class, particularly among white workers. It is this “absence in the capacity of communists” that our *strategy* must address itself to and not more formulas for coalition hopping.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

AFSC Reports

Life in North Korea

The following are excerpts from a report of the American Friends Service Committee Delegation to the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (north Korea). We are printing it for our readers' information about life in a socialist country. Subheads are in the original report. You can order the full report by writing AFSC Korea Program, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA. 19102. They request a donation to cover printing and postage costs.

From September 2-13, 1980 a three person AFSC delegation visited north Korea at the invitation of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Members of the delegation were Stephen Thiermann, Quaker Representative at United Nations headquarters, and Maud and David Easter, Co-Representatives of the AFSC based in Tokyo and specializing on Korean issues. We were told that ours was the first visit of an American public affairs organization to north Korea.

Itinerary

During our stay in north Korea we saw the cities of Pyongyang and Nampo and traveled through rural areas. We visited factories, a cooperative farm, educational institutions, health facilities, homes, stores, a children's camp, and we attended cultural events. In addition we had conversations with officials, including Kim Young Nam, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party and a member of the Politburo, and Hyun Jun Gook, a Vice Chairman of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and Chief Negotiator at the Panmunjon Working Level Talks preparing for a North/South Premiers' meeting. These conversations took 19 hours. Also, we held conversations with representatives of the Democratic Women's Union and the Socialist Workers Youth League.

Political Context

We entered Pyongyang, the capital of north Korea, on September 2, recognizing that we were visiting a communist state in which planning and ownership of the means of production is centralized and that the party is the dominant political force in the country. One of our most interesting discoveries, however, was of a number of distinctive features of socialism as practiced in north Korea.

North Korea's philosophy, *juche*, roughly defined as self-reliance, is often dismissed in the west as mere rhetoric, but we saw that it permeates the society and is of great interest to many developing countries. For example, on our plane from Beijing to Pyongyang there was a delegation from Zimbabwe, headed by the Minister of Information, who was visiting to study north Korea's system of rural mass communication. Its emphasis on basic self-sufficiency has led to a non-aligned foreign policy that means it is much less influenced by the Soviet Union and China than is generally recognized in the United States.

North Koreans have a self-confidence and an optimism for the future articulated as a belief that man is the master of all things. They appeared to us to have a strong faith in the benefits of technological development.

People's Lives

People generally appeared to us to

be in good health, hard working and proud of their society. Family life is

very important. People live in nuclear family units or sometimes in three-generation families. Apparently nearly every adult marries. There is a labor shortage and we are told no contraceptives are available. In Pyongyang most families live in apartment houses ranging from four to twenty stories. Some rural cooperatives have multi-storied housing, but the cooperative we visited had one-story, single family houses. Like most of Asia, housing space is in short supply and many families live in just two or three rooms. We were told that housing is very inexpensive with most families paying 1% or less of their income for rent and utilities.

City Planning

North Korean cities were nearly leveled during the Korean War by U.S. bombing. Consequently Pyongyang has a very new look. It is a carefully planned city with wide streets and numerous beautiful parks. There are many impressive public buildings. Several we saw were lavishly appointed inside. Among the buildings under construction were a large modernistic indoor ice skating rink and a massive central library with traditional Korean style architecture. The city of Nampo appeared similar to Pyongyang with people living largely in apartment buildings. Visitors from a United Nations' agency who had traveled widely in north Korea told us that other cities were modeling their growth on Pyongyang and, while not yet up to the same standard, showed evidence of the same orderliness, cleanliness and a great deal of building activity. We could not help but think that north Korea would be very hesitant to start another war and risk the obliteration of all this construction and the expenditure of human energy it represented, as well as the lives of its citizens.

Standard of Living

North Korea has a considerably higher standard of living than China but still it is a poor country. Relative to workers' income, clothing seemed expensive. Ordinary people were neatly and cleanly dressed but we suspect that they do not have extensive wardrobes. Basic foodstuffs are quite inexpensive but other special foods seemed costly. The homes we visited had color TV's. We saw many TV antennas and were given the impression that most families have at least a black and white TV. The homes we visited also had small refrigerators and sewing machines. The average salary is 90-95 won per month and most families have two wage earners. A refrigerator costs 150 won. When one considers that rent is extremely low, that education, health care and day-care are free, as well as the fact that there are no direct taxes in the country, it seems that most families could afford a refrigerator. We saw such appliances for sale but do not know the amount of actual production and availability. We were told that each apartment house has a telephone, but that most people do not have private phones.

People told us that they had personal savings. Young people apparently prefer to bank in accounts that operate as a kind of lottery. Little or no interest is paid but there is the possibility of drawing a large cash payment. Older people prefer the type of account which gives them regular fixed interest on their savings.

Recreation

Our stereotype of north Korea as a very much nose-to-the-grindstone society had to be modified as we rode the roller coaster in an amusement park, visited the zoo, and walked through a large park where families were picnicking on a national holiday.

Our impression that north Korea had a constant barrage of propaganda polemics was called into question as we watched one of the most popular films in the country, "The Tale of Chunhyong," an extremely sentimental romantic story shot in vivid color with much attention to the beauty of nature. The film opened with a dedication to love, and dealt with the evils of feudalism but did not have a revolutionary theme. The heroine's major strength was her willingness to endure passive suffering to protect her honor and that of her husband. The evil feudal leader was brought down and the heroine saved by an agent of the royal secret police acting in the name of the king!

Education

Eighty percent of the country's pre-school children are in nurseries. The nurseries we saw at a factory and agricultural cooperative appeared very well-staffed, well-equipped and clean. Since 1972, north Korea has provided 11 years of free compulsory education. After nursery school children have two years of kindergarten and then four years of elementary school, followed by five years of upper school. Classes based on textbook learning are in the morning, with no specialization based on ability. In the afternoon, both in elementary and high school, students select "circles" or groups of special personal interest, in a wide variety of areas such as biology, sports, tractor driving or cooking. These classes are

for learning experimental or practical skills.

Similar classes are held at the Children's Palace run by each city and province. The Pyongyang Children's Palace has room for 10,000 students each afternoon, teaching 200 different courses.

After high school some students attend five-year colleges or three-year technical schools, which are also free. Entrance is based on competitive exam. Of a total population of 17 million, about one million have now received advanced training. There also appears to be a very strong emphasis on adult education, with factory colleges, adult classrooms in agricultural cooperatives, and correspondence courses.

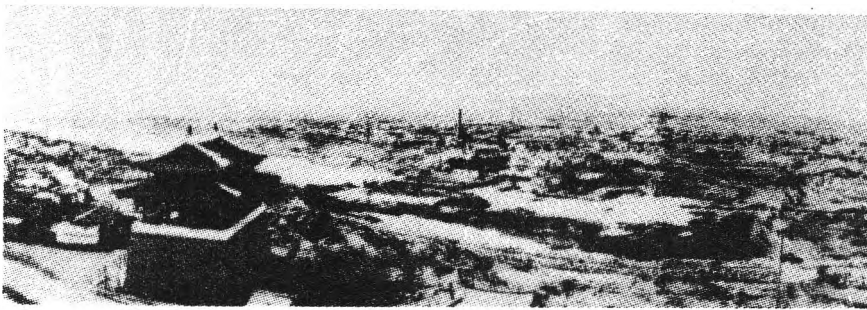
Children in nursery school begin the study of the life of Kim Il Sung, and this continues throughout the educational process. The emphasis on Kim Il Sung, his life and writings seem to be used both for moral education and to gain support for governmental policies and practices.

Health Care

In the health care field, north Korea emphasizes preventive medicine. We were told that every person receives a medical examination at least every six months. While this is excellent, we were disturbed to learn that x-rays are given at each of these exams, with what appeared to us too little consideration for the radiation hazards involved. Each person has two regular doctors: one for the neighborhood and one for the work place or school. All medical care, including what seemed to us to be very sophisticated hospital treatment, is free.

We did notice very heavy smoking by Korean men and were told by doctors, this is a serious problem. They

continued on page 11



Top: The Potong plain in old days. Bottom: Pipa Street built along the Potong River.

"Labor to Power with Socialist Policies"

British Labor Party Tilts Left

William Nishimura

Two thousand members of Britain's Young Socialists met recently at the seaside resort of Bridlington for their annual conference. Singing the *Internationale*, the song of revolutionaries the world over, they shouted "Thatcher out! Out! Out!" between choruses. Among the slogans lining the walls inside the Spa Royal Hall was "Labor To Power With Socialist Policies."

The Young Socialist (YS) are part of a left coalition of Trotskyite and Social Democratic groups that is demonstrating new muscle within Britain's Labor Party. The YS has a seat on the Party's 30-member executive body and their program calls for such things as full employment, a 35-hour work week, guaranteed annual minimum wage of \$9,434, the creation of soldiers' unions, free election of officers, and the forced retirement of all generals now on active duty.

Influencing Labor's National Platform

According to political observers, coalition forces in the Labor Party number some 10,000 people. Although this is less than 5% of the Party's total membership of 220,000, it has been enough to give the left more leverage than ever before. The coalition has influenced Labor's national platform to include demands such as calling for Britain to pull out of the Common Market, unilateral nuclear disarmament, nationalizing all major British industry, and abolition of the House of Lords, Britain's hereditary body of Parliament.

During the last year, the coalition was a big force behind rule changes that give the trade unions more power



Young Socialists demonstrate against Thatcher's immigration policies.

in choosing the Party leader. In local elections held in May, coalition candidates took London's municipal administration and installed 35-year old Ken Livingstone as head of the Greater London Council.

Among the more well-known members of the coalition are:

*Tony Benn, a Member of Parliament (M.P.) from the Labor Party and an ex-Cabinet official. "Capitalism is a spent force," says Benn, although he doesn't call himself a Marxist. Benn defends Labor's position on unilateral disarmament. "We do not believe that an American President, whom we did not elect and cannot remove, should have the power of peace and war by firing missiles from our airfields."

*Arthur Scargill, president of the Yorkshire miners. He is a contender

tioned in Europe. At the same time, Scargill blames the C.I.A. for instigating the workers' rebellion in Poland. "They're trying to overthrow socialism."

*Ted Grant, head of the Militant Tendency, another of the groups within Labor's left coalition. "When the Labor Party and trade unions are for the presidency of the National Union of Mineworkers next year. The 43-year old union official grew up in Yorkshire and met his wife at a Young Communist League debate in 1961. "The last Labor government failed to carry out basic socialist policies," says Scargill. "It failed to impose a wealth tax, failed to abolish the House of Lords, failed to take into common ownership the means of production." He is also critical of U.S. troops sta-

controlled by Marxists, a peaceful transformation of this country will be possible," says the 67-year old Grant.

*Ted Knight, leader of London's Lambeth borough Council. Knight was kicked out of the Labor Party in the mid-fifties for his activity in the Socialist Labor League, but was allowed back in the early 70's.

Conservative Party in Trouble

Because of Labor's left tilt, four former Party Cabinet ministers and a group of Labor M.P.'s split last February to form their own Social Democratic Party. This coming September Labor will hold its annual conference. At that time, members will decide who is to be the Party's Deputy leader. The post is important for those who would position themselves to take on present Party leader Michael Foot, a moderate, at a later time. The top two candidates for Labor's number two spot is the incumbent Dennis Healey, another moderate, and challenger Tony Benn. Benn's support in the trade unions is supposedly concentrated at the shop steward level, while top union officials lean towards Healey.

Under the British political system, the party which wins the majority of seats in Parliament chooses the nation's Prime Minister, usually the head of the party. The British people, angry over Thatcher's economic policies, are turning their backs on her Conservative Party. Conservatives lost 23 of 54 counties to Labor in recent local elections. If Benn is successful in September, it may not be long before Labor has a chance to put its new program to work. Whether it will, remains to be seen. □

...No. Korea

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reported their major forms of cancer as lung, stomach and uterine, and that they are seeing an increase in circulatory diseases.

Self-Reliant Economy

North Koreans are proud of building a relatively self-reliant economy. They do not want to become dependent on other countries. Ninety-five percent of north Korea's energy supply is met by its own coal and hydroelectric resources; given the world energy crisis, the country is in a very favorable position. Trains, the subway and most local buses run on electricity, not gasoline. Automobiles are few. The major synthetic fabric in the country, vinalon, is made from locally available coal and limestone. Fertilizer is coal, not oil-based.

A glass factory we visited in Nampo illustrated the concept of self-reliance. All the raw materials were local. Each province in the country has a similar factory to supply the glassware needs of that area. The Nampo Glass Factory sells half of its production locally and exports the other half to Europe, Asia and Africa.

We were in fact surprised by the amount of foreign trade undertaken by north Korea. While there is much emphasis on locally made machinery, we saw a great deal of imported machinery including highly automated Japanese equipment at a textile factory. We saw a hospital using very expensive computerized medical equipment made by Siemens of West Germany. We saw a beauty parlour using Clairol hair spray and also saw Maxwell House instant

coffee for sale.

In fact when officials talked about *juche* (self-reliance) we were surprised that their main concern was to emphasize that *juche* does not mean an isolated economy. They seem more than eager to trade on the basis of mutual need. In Pyongyang, we discussed north Korea's much publicized trade imbalance and resulting debt problem with a Japanese businessman working for Mitsubishi. He said that from his point of view, business with north Korea is good, the debt with Japan has been renegotiated and it is not a problem.

We were particularly impressed with north Korea's agriculture. Eighty-five percent of the country is mountainous, and what is now north Korea had traditionally been dependent on rice grown in the southern part of the peninsula. We talked with international agricultural experts who support north Korea's claims that it has achieved agricultural self-sufficiency and ranks with Japan as the top producer of rice per hectare in the world. A unique system of transplanting corn is used and the corn average yield per hectare is greater than that in the United States. Both irrigation and electrification have reached throughout the countryside. Mechanization seems to be increasing rapidly. (70-80% of farm work is mechanized-ed.) Some observers cautioned that an excessive amount of fertilizer may be used currently. North Koreans told us that in general life is still harder on the farm than in the cities and that their efforts to close the gap haven't fully succeeded yet. □

IRA Prisoner Wins In Irish Election

Sally Campbell

Patrick Agnew is now a member of the Irish Parliament. On June 11, he was elected by the people of the independent Republic of Ireland. Agnew was one of nine Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) candidates whose names were put on the ballot despite the fact they were currently being held in British prisons in Northern Ireland.

The nine, one of whom is a woman and four of whom are presently on hunger strikes, qualified as candidates because the constitution of the Irish Republic claims sovereignty over the whole island, both north and south. Nevertheless, Sinn Fein, the political wing of the I.R.A., was barred from speaking on Irish television and radio throughout the campaign. Through their spokesmen, the candidates pointed out that British occupation of the six counties in the north is in direct violation to the Irish constitution — a constitution that incumbent Prime Minister Charles Haughey is supposed to uphold. Haughey has yet to condemn British Prime Minister Thatcher for refusing to yield to the demands of the hunger strikers for political

prisoner status.

This is the second time in two months that the Irish people have elected an Irish prisoner of war to high office. A month and a half ago, Bobby Sands was elected to the British Parliament by the people of Tyrone and South Fermanagh, two counties in Northern Ireland. Although Sands won 30,000 votes, the British government refused to let him take his seat. At the time, he was imprisoned at Long Kesh, serving a 14-year sentence for being in the same car with an unloaded gun. Patrick Agnew is also a prisoner at Long Kesh.

The victory of Bobby Sands and now that of Agnew shows how effective the use of electoral tactics can be. The Irish people can express their will in a form that the majority views as safe and legitimate. If Bobby Sands electoral victory expressed Irish sentiment against Britain and for the I.R.A. in the north, then Patrick Agnew's recent victory represents the same sentiments in the south. □

Update: Kieran Doherty, one of the candidates on hunger strike, was also elected to the Irish Parliament.

second opinion

Slow Death on the Job

Dr. Nathan Austin

Every year, 4 million workers contact occupational diseases and at least 100,000 die from them. Death from these job-related illness is most often slow, painful, and frightening — choking to death from black or brown lung, or a cancer eating away from inside.

In almost every case, these murders on the job go unsolved, or even undetected. For example, countless mill workers have gone to their grave believing that their "emphysema" came from cigarette smoking, and not from cotton dust. Thousands of other working men and women die slow deaths from occupational diseases which are still not recognized or understood. And, of course, compensation for the job-related illness is inadequate and harder and harder to get.

Over the last two months, new instances of serious industrial disease in the paint and chemical industries have finally come to public attention. Today we'll talk about one which may affect 400,000 workers.

Dizziness is Early Sign

400,000 Americans make their living by painting or laying carpet or tile. Almost all of these men and women come into contact with coatings or adhesives which contain aromatic hydrocarbons and other solvents. Often there is no ventilation. In total, paints contain more than 300 toxic materials and 150 carcinogens (cancer-causing chemicals).

For many years, painters have complained that they feel dizzy or confused on the job. It is now becoming clear that these complaints can be the early signs of a permanent nervous disorder. Later symptoms include hallucinations, persistent disorientation, and paralysis.

A study conducted by the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades showed its workers' life expectancy to be *eleven years less* than the average American. In addition, serious accidents, such as falling from scaffolding, are higher among workers who are exposed to toxic solvents.

Three Roadblocks to Compensation

No one can put a price on a healthy nervous system. Nonetheless, it is very hard for any worker

who is disabled by toxic paints to get any workmen's compensation. The system has put three giant roadblocks between the worker with disease and even the most basic financial relief.

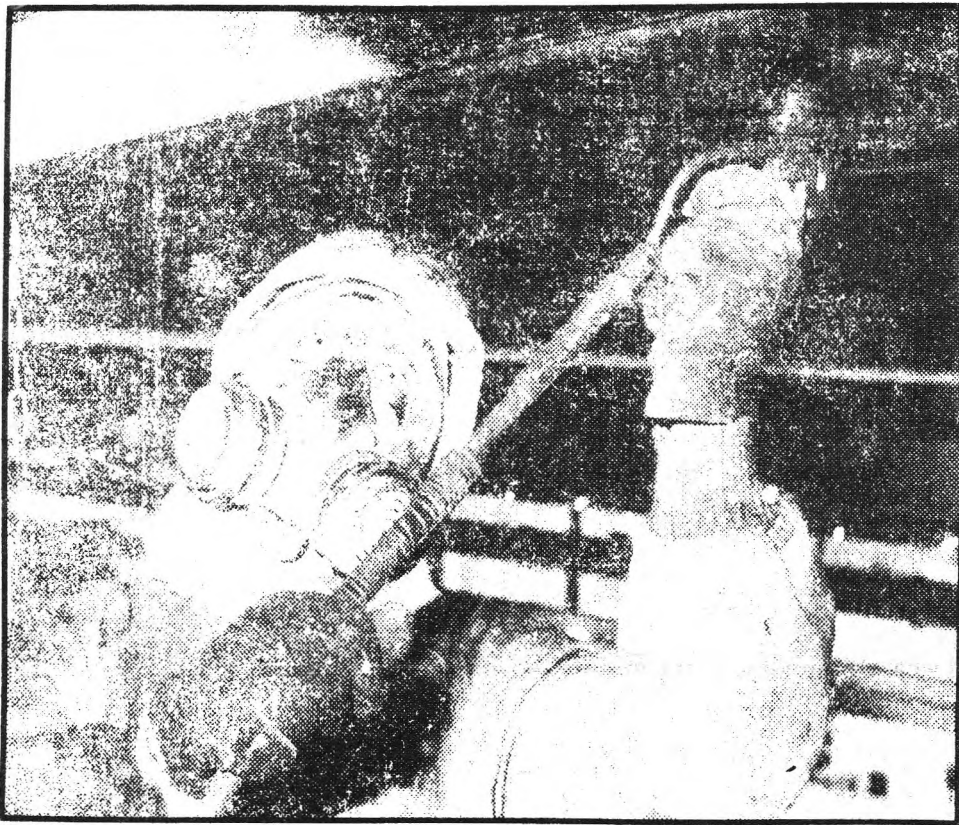
First, the relation between the disease and the longterm use of toxic paints needs to be recognized by both the worker and his doctor. Very often, the first sign of neuropathy is depression — a symptom which makes it hard for a worker to even seek help. Even if he does, few doctors know anything about neurotoxic illness. Most doctors are likely to prescribe a tranquilizer or anti-depressant drug. Only in the Soviet Union are behavioral methods used to diagnose early cases of neurotoxicity.

Second, the worker is often unable to identify

what chemical he is actually using on the job. Have you ever seen a list of ingredients of an industrial chemical or paint? Most often all you get is a list of code numbers — devised to protect trade secrets. And the only health advice on a paint can is "Remove to fresh air."

Recently, a regulation was proposed to clearly label paints and list the treatment for toxic reactions on the can. *At the request of the Chemical Manufacturers Association*, the Reagan administration tabled this proposal. In one of his first presidential acts, Reagan renewed the paint companies' license to kill.

Finally, suppose that the worker and his doctor are convinced that the symptoms of depression, confusion and weakness are due to a particular toxic paint. The worker files for compensation. 96% of claims are denied. The long latent period between the use of paint and the onset of symptoms is used as an excuse to prevent the worker from getting financial relief. How can he "prove" that his problems come from paint? □



Conditions like these makes even a face mask inadequate against toxic fumes.

American Journal

The Great Baseball Rebellion

David Armstrong

As baseball fans gnaw their nails and wonder whether the Boys of Summer will take a powder this season or next, it may be worth recalling that this has all happened before — and then some. Back in 1890, major league baseball players not only walked out, they went a giant step further; they formed their own league. Called, naturally, the Players' League.

The rhubarb between athletes and owners nearly a century ago was strikingly similar to today's conflict in some respects, quite different in others. Unlike today's stars, who earn several thousand dollars a game at the peak of their short careers, top players in the 1880s bumped up against a ceiling of only \$2,500 a *season*. To add insult to injury, players' salaries were determined according to a classification plan that took into account not only their onfield performances, but their behavior out-of-uniform — thus, tying their ability to make a living with a moral code imposed by club owners.

Like today's ballplayers — who have demanded to see the owners' books to check their claim that player salaries are breaking them — yesterday's heroes suspected the sporting magnates of holding out on them. And, like most of today's major leagues, 19th century players were bound by a reserve clause, specifying that a player must perform indefinitely for the team that signed him, until he retired or the team let him go. That prevented players from shopping around for employment, as workers in nearly every other business did, and do.

The reserve clause has since been modified. Now, after six years of work for one club, players can become free agents and sell their labor to the

highest bidder. This has raised salaries dramatically for some players, but owners complain that it is costing them their shirts. Hence, they are demanding greater compensation when a player jumps to another team. The players retort that this would make teams reluctant to hire free agents. As a result, they have threatened to strike.

Major leaguers of 90 years ago, frustrated by their lack of power in the established National League and the fledging American Association, did something at once more desperate and more imaginative when they founded the Players' League. They attempted to fundamentally change baseball as a business, replacing traditionally autocracy with a heady brand of democracy.

Instead of being run flat-out by club owners, for example, the Players' League was governed by a "senate." Half of its members were chosen by the players and half by financiers who backed the new league. The hated reserve clause was done away with entirely. Salaries remained low, as the league struggled to get off the ground, but players were encouraged to buy inexpensive stock in the new teams, and many did.

One thing the Players' League did not challenge was racism in organized baseball. Like the National League and the American Association, the Players' League was all-white. There had been some 20 black players in the early 1880s, actually, but a campaign headed by one Cap Anson, a white star of the day, drove black players from the diamond. It would be 60-odd years until the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson, often mistakenly believed to be the

first black major leaguer.

The great baseball rebellion had several things going for it. First, the Players' League attracted most of the top players from the older leagues, including Charlie Comiskey, later the owner of the Chicago Cubs, and Connie Mack, the future manager. (One of the few stars who didn't join the players' rebellion was Cap Anson). Second, the Players' League was seen by the fans as new and exciting. Finally, Players' League teams frequently played in spanking-new or attractively remodeled parks. The league fielded eight teams, competing head-to-head with established clubs in six Eastern and Midwestern cities.

There were serious obstacles to the new circuit's success, however. The league was undercapitalized, and the press reception to the experiment in diamond democracy was often hostile. Some newspapers refused to print the scores of Players' League games. Due in part, to an avalanche of articles deploring the intrusion of politics into the fantasy world of the "national past-time," fans soon tired of the baseball war, and all three major leagues struck out at the box office.

At the end of the 1890 season, several important investors in the Players' League met with National League and American Association club owners, led by Al Spalding, founder of the sporting goods line. Player representatives were ejected from the meeting. Seeking to cut their losses, the financiers agreed to play ball with the game's oligarchy by merging their clubs with teams from the other leagues — over the protest of the betrayed players. The brave new league was dead, after only a year.

It's impossible to equate the rebellious players of the past with today's well-paid ballplayers in strict monetary terms. However, the remaining restrictions on the right of pro athletes to work where they choose in a country supposedly dedicated to supply-and-demand economics do prove one important point. The name of the game — in baseball, as in other allegedly competitive industries — is still monopoly. □

women hold up half the sky

Ironworker Pres. on Tour N.Y. Women Back NASSCO 3

Sara Anderson

"I don't believe it happened," Gwen Ferguson said as news of the guilty verdict in the NASSCO 3 trial reached her on a speaking tour of the East Coast. "If the International had supported us, this wouldn't have happened." Gwen is president of Ironworkers Local 627 at NASSCO's shipyard in San Diego and a friend and all-out supporter of the three.

Wherever Gwen went on her week-long tour, broad interest in the NASSCO 3 case and respect for her as a union militant and a women's fighter followed. Judy Simmons, a talk-show host on WLIB radio in New York City was so enthusiastic about Gwen, she told her listeners, "We're talking with the only black woman local union president in the world — practically!"

Simmons was concerned that her radio audience hear all the facts behind the events at the shipyard first hand. For an hour and a half, she and Gwen discussed health and safety issues at the yard, the response of the Ironworkers International, and, in particular, the role of the government in framing up the NASSCO 3.

Fighting Fire With Fire

Gwen began by telling about the adjustments she had to make to the everyday dangers on her job as a burner. "I burnt my hair, I burnt so many bras, I just stopped buying them. I had to buy a lot of pants because my pant legs would catch fire."

There was a moment, though, when she thought she couldn't stand it any longer. "I saw my girlfriend get burnt to a crisp. Her hair caught on fire, burning half her face and chest. She continued to work until the company fired her a year later for missing too much time — she had to take off for days at a time for skin grafts."

Asked what the response of the Ironworkers International to the deaths of the workers in the yard was, Gwen said, "Zero. We contacted them to come down and help us start an investigation and we never received an answer." This lack of any action on the part of the International and the local's old leadership brought Gwen, Rodney Johnson, Mark Loo, David Boyd, Frank Hollowach, and Miguel Salas together to build a rank and file movement which could fight the hellhole conditions.

The International — "Too Close"

Simmons said that the NASSCO case reminded her of the 1930s when the government and industry worked hand-in-hand to block union organizing. But, she added, "They added yet another ingredient. The International union apparently has gotten too close to the corporate executives and to a lifestyle which is very separate from the workers who need representation." Decertification of the Ironworkers at NASSCO and the recognition of the new United Shipyard Workers Union, Gwen said, is the only way workers have of fighting the trusteeship that was imposed on their local after the Gwen and the Strongback slate were elected into office.

Of the many groups and organizations which Gwen met with during the tour, it was the women's groups and women union activists which impressed her most of all. "Wow," she said, "the women's movement is strong — I hardly knew there was a women's movement!"

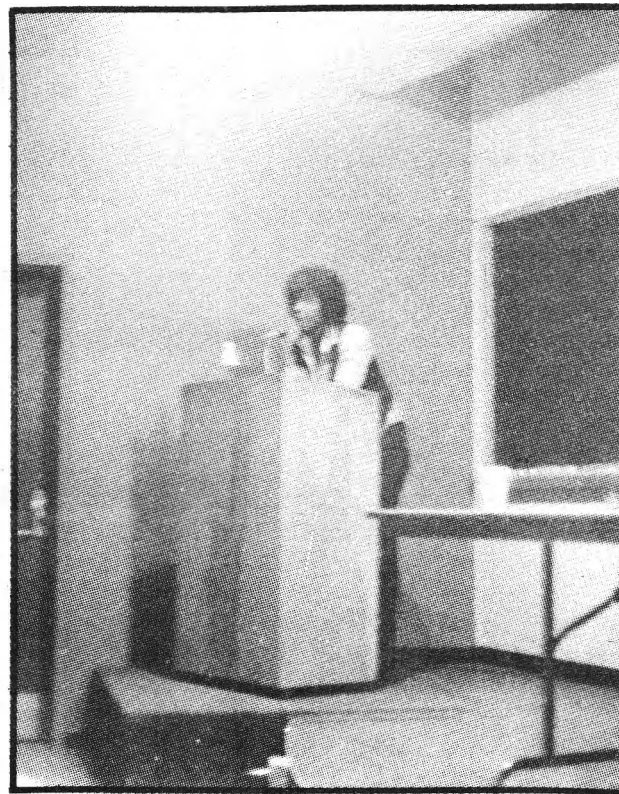
The admiration was mutual. At a reception in New York given by the United Trades Women and Women in Non-Traditional Jobs, she was surrounded by women carpenters, truck drivers and steelworkers who quickly began to debate on how women workers can fight on the job and in the unions.

Although these women have been organizing in the skilled trades along trade union lines, they pointed out that it also played an important role in building the women's movement. Gwen really liked their approach. She agreed that women in these jobs need the support of other women workers to deal with their particular problems.

"If I didn't have the full support of my husband and daughter, I couldn't have made it," said Gwen. Organizing women at NASSCO and the other shipyards, she thought, would really help to strengthen the rank and file union movement. "We can get the whole women's movement to back us up too."

Respect by Fighting

When she was asked how she handled sexual harassment on the job, Gwen was firm. "You can't just keep on reacting to it. You've got to draw a line though, and let them know when they've crossed it." From her experience she found that the best way to



Gwen Ferguson, President of Ironworkers Local 627, drew rounds of applause.

overcome the splitting tactics of the company was to talk with men about the issues that affect everyone. "If you take a stand and fight," she argued, "they'll respect you."

And respect is what Gwen got throughout the week. Flo Kennedy, a long-time black woman activist gave Gwen her full support for the NASSCO 3 during a visit at her home. Scores of petitions were signed at the national conference of the Women's Studies National Association in Storrs, Conn. and at a women's conference held at the New School for Social Research. At a rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund to raise money for the Socialist Workers Party's suit against the government, Gwen received a standing ovation, and the 500 people in attendance passed a resolution demanding freedom for the NASSCO 3.

For Gwen, the tour had been an eye-opening experience. It was the first trip she had taken outside of California. "I had no idea that there were so many good groups and people around fighting so many issues. If we all get together, we can build a powerful movement." □

... Miners

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Church Can't Question Gov't.

In there lies the heart of the matter. What could he bargain for without questioning the whole capitalist framework? The next step in the struggle was to oppose the government itself, to call into question the authority of the government in the courts to side with the capitalists and eliminate union security clauses from the contract.

Even a struggle against Taft-Hartley in 1978 did not develop to the point of calling into question the government's authority to govern. It was opposition to Carter's policy. If Carter had moved against the miners after they refused to obey, the struggle could have gotten to that point.

The March rally against cuts in Black Lung benefits was also opposition to government policy, not its authority. Even if Reagan had not backed down, Church had other avenues of loyal opposition to follow: Lobbying, campaigning for different congressmen, etc. But to have opposed this court order which reaffirmed the capitalists' legal right to do business with union or non-union companies, to do that is to risk a direct confrontation with the government's legitimacy.

This is quite unlike the 1977 health care wildcat which spread in defiance of local court injunctions. In that struggle, the union's tactics were to continue to strike anyway until the company backed down on the economic demands. The demands were

demands aimed at the companies. No such course of action existed this time. To continue this strike would have meant to make demands upon the government itself. Even the genuine forces on the Bargaining Council who held the '78 strike together were thrown off course by the prospect of such a crisis.

New leadership is emerging out of the strike. The construction workers were very well organized in the districts which turned down the contract. Leaflets explaining the contract were well distributed and groups of miners sprung up and took up the fight with them. But they were not yet organized sufficiently to have compensated for the weak opposition to the contract from the Bargaining Council. But the organization will get stronger and the strike will continue in some areas despite the vote. After allowing the miners to work their first day back and thus qualify for the \$150 return-to-work bonus, the construction workers have vowed that they will picket any mine which voted for the contract.

Politically, too, the miners have gained. Church himself assisted in this. To cover up his own treachery, he was forced to target the government as the culprit, saying that "the Reagan Administration is anti-labor." And that was the second time Church was forced by events to put the blame on Reagan. And the miners' true feelings on this contract will come out when sell-out Sam runs for re-election in September 1982. □

... Warfare

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cadre core into a vanguard mass communist party through constant propaganda; 4) We must make all around military preparations for the coming battles ahead.

The relationship between these tasks at the present time is summed up by our slogan, "Political offensive, military defensive." Our military defense serves our political offensive. One example is an anti-Klan demonstration which we led in Kokomo, Indiana. Our military defense against the Klan and the government gave us valuable time to expose the government's support for the fascists, and inspired confidence among the people. In the 80s, workers won't be able to fight effectively unless they are prepared to defend their organization and leadership against the inevitable attacks from the capitalists and the state.

When to turn to the military offensive requires a concrete analysis of the overall political situation. At this time, the majority of American workers do not see the need to overthrow capitalism, much less agree with the need for armed struggle (except in isolated cases like the miners' strike). Guerrilla warfare at this time cannot win over the majority in the U.S.

The struggle in Northern Ireland gives us some valuable insight. Clearly the Irish Republican Army believes in the necessity of armed struggle. But it is also clear that the majority of Irish people are not ready to take up arms

against the British, although they overwhelmingly sympathize with the I.R.A. The strength of "legal" tactics, such as running I.R.A. members for government posts, is that it allows the vast majority to participate in the struggle and demonstrate their support for the I.R.A. Elections are perceived by the people as a safe and legitimate form to voice their grievances. Yet through the elections, the Irish people gain the confidence in themselves that together they are a power force. At the same time, it teaches the people, through their own experience, the inability of the ruling class to satisfy the people's just demand.

Lenin said in "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder: "To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle, before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it, and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would be not merely folly but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of the working people and those oppressed by capital may take up such a position... the masses must have their own political experience."

It is our task today to give the American people forms which they can readily embrace and through which they can learn for themselves the necessity of overthrowing capitalism. Then, we must be ready to carry out this mandate through force of arms.

LETTERS TO THE CWP



Chandelle Markman, 1956-1981. We will always remember her.

Chandelle Remembered

"The way to resolve a contradiction is not only to dissect the parts — but also to move ahead on the aspects you are clearest on."

Chandelle Markman
Feb. 29-March 1, 1980

I had just got in from work on that Saturday morning I found out Chandelle had died. In that grey morning light I sat, unable to sleep, and reflected on her death and most importantly, on her life.

The thing I thought of at first was her eyes. They were deep and dark like black pearls. The second was her earthy laughter, it came from deep within. When she laughed, her eyes would shine and she could light up a whole room.

I worked closely with Chandelle on the newspaper of the African Liberation Support Committee — 'All Africa is Standing Up!' Her experience in publishing the 'Black World' (a college newspaper at Stony Brook, where she graduated in 1978) and writing for several newspapers, made us look up to her. On the AAISU she was involved in every aspect of production, from planning to layout to distribution. When it was time to put the 'paper to bed,'

Chandelle was there until 2 or 3 a.m., though sometimes you knew she was in pain or not feeling up to par.

Chandelle grew up on the Lower East Side of New York — one of the toughest communities in New York. She grew up knowing the pain of a disease that would finally take her life. The disease (Lupus) would flare up, leaving her bloated, and then go into remission. She knew of the severity of the illness and that it would probably kill her. This knowledge gave her a different perspective and attitude towards life and people.

By the time Chandelle was 16, she was 'street-wise.' She saw the poverty which the people of the Lower East Side suffered from and she often asked herself, 'why?' She saw the injustice of the society first hand. She also knew that you had to fight!!

While still in high school, Chandelle joined SOBU (Student Organization for Black Unity). Later she joined the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). In 1975 Chandelle went to Guyana where she met Dr. Walter Rodney (assassinated leader of the Working Peoples Alliance, WPA). Inspired by his revolutionary outlook, Chandelle returned to the U.S., clearer on the necessity of revolution and the

continued from page 7 ... Left Wing

tion of the *fundamental* principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences. Investigate, study, seek, divine, grasp that which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the *concrete manner* in which each country approaches the fulfilment of the *single* international task, in which it approaches the victory over opportunism and "Left" doctrinairism within the working-class movement, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship — such is the main task of the historical period through which all the advanced countries (and not only the advanced countries) are now passing. The main thing — not everything by a very long way, of course, but the main thing — has already been achieved in that the vanguard of the working class has been won over, in that it has ranged itself on the side of Soviet government against parliamentarism, on the side of the dictatorship of the proletariat against bourgeois democracy. Now all efforts, all attention, must be concentrated on the *next* step — which seems, and from a certain standpoint really is — less fundamental, but which, on the other hand, is actually closer to the practical carrying out of the task, namely: seeking the forms of *transition* or *approach* to the proletarian revolution.

The proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically. That is the main thing. Without this not even the first step towards victory can be made. But it is still a fairly long way from victory. Victory cannot be won with the vanguard alone. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle, before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it, and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would be not merely folly but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of the working people and those oppressed by capital may take up such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not enough. For this the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions, now confirmed with astonishing force and vividness not only in Russia but also in Germany. Not only the uncultured, often illiterate, masses of Russia, but the highly cultured, entirely literate masses of Germany had to realize through their own painful experience the absolute impotence and spinelessness, the absolute helplessness and servility to the bourgeoisie, the utter vileness of the government of the knights of the Second International, the absolute inevitability of a dictatorship of the extreme reactionaries (Kornilov in Russia, Kapp and Co. in Germany) as the only alternative to a dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to turn them resolutely toward Communism.

The immediate task that confronts the class-

conscious vanguard of the international labour movement, i.e., the Communist parties, groups and trends, is to be able to *lead* the broad masses (now, for the most part, slumbering, apathetic, bound by routine, inert and dormant) to their new position, or, rather, to be able to lead *not only* their own party, but also these masses, in their approach, their transition to the new position. . .

History generally, and the history of revolutions in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more many-sided, more lively and "subtle" than even the best parties and the most class-conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes imagine. This is understandable, because even the best vanguards express the class consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of thousands; whereas revolutions are made, at moments of particular upsurge and the exertion of all human capacities, by the class consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of millions, spurred on by a most acute struggle of classes. From this follow two very important practical conclusions; first, that in order to fulfil its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms, or aspects, of social activity without any exception (completing, after the capture of political power, sometimes at great risk and very great danger, what it did not complete before the capture of power); second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.

Everyone will agree that an army which does not train itself to wield all arms, all the means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses or may possess, behaves in an unwise or even a criminal manner. But this applies to politics even more than it does to war. In politics it is even harder to forecast what methods of warfare will be applicable and advantageous to us under specific future conditions. Unless we master all means of warfare, we may suffer grave, often even decisive, defeat if changes beyond our control in the position of the other classes bring to the forefront forms of activity in which we are particularly weak. If, however, we master all means of warfare, victory will be certain, because we represent the interests of the really foremost and really revolutionary class, even if circumstances do not permit us to bring into play the weapons that are most dangerous to the enemy, weapons that deal the swiftest mortal blows. Inexperienced revolutionaries often think that legal methods of struggle are opportunist because in this field the bourgeoisie has especially frequently (particularly in "peaceful," non-revolutionary times) deceived and fooled the workers, and that illegal methods of struggle are revolutionary. But that is not true. What is true is that those parties and leaders are opportunists and traitors to the working class who are unable or unwilling (don't say you cannot, say you will not!) to apply illegal methods of struggle in conditions such as those which prevailed, for exam-

ple, during the imperialist war of 1914-18, when the bourgeoisie of the freest democratic countries deceived the workers in the most insolent and brutal manner, forbidding the truth to be told about the predatory character of the war. But revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with *every* form of legal struggle are poor revolutionaries indeed. It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when revolution has already broken out and is at its height, when everybody is joining the revolution just because they are carried away, because it is the fashion, and sometimes even out of careerist motives. After its victory, the proletariat has to make most strenuous efforts, to suffer the pains of martyrdom, one might say, to "liberate" itself from such pseudo revolutionaries. It is far more difficult — and of far greater value — to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle *do not yet exist*, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies and often enough in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. To be able to find, to probe for, to correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will *lead* the masses to the real, last, decisive, and great revolutionary struggle — such is the main task of Communism in Western Europe and America today.

Great Britain offers an example. We cannot tell, and no one can tell beforehand, how soon a real proletarian revolution will flare up there, and *what immediate cause* will most serve to rouse, kindle, and impel into the struggle the very wide masses who are at present dormant. Hence, it is our duty to carry on all our preparatory work in such a way, as to be well shod on all four feet (as the late Plekhanov, when he was a Marxist and revolutionary, was fond of saying). It is possible that the "breach" will be forced, "the ice broken" by a parliamentary crisis, or by a crisis arising out of the colonial and imperialist contradictions, which are hopelessly entangled and are becoming increasingly painful and acute, or perhaps by some third cause, etc. We are not discussing the kind of struggle that will *determine* the fate of the proletarian revolution in Great Britain (not a single Communist has any doubt on that score; for all of us this question is settled, and settled definitely); what we are discussing is the *immediate cause* that will bring into motion the at present dormant proletarian masses and lead them directly to revolution. Let us not forget that in the French bourgeois republic, for example, in a situation which from both the international and national aspect was a hundred times less revolutionary than the present, such an "unexpected" and "petty" immediate cause as one of the many thousands of fraudulent tricks of the reactionary military caste (the Dreyfus case), was enough to bring the people to the verge of civil war!

kind of struggle it would take to change the conditions of blacks and working people. In 1976, she joined the African Liberation Support Committee.

By studying Marxism, Chandelle was able to put her own experience into perspective. She saw the need for socialism and socialist revolution and the need to build the party of the multinational working class. In 1979, she joined the Communist Workers Party. At the age of 22, Chandelle was a seasoned revolutionary.

Chandelle was always concerned about the masses of people and how to make them see the need for revolutionary change. She felt that through her writing, she could change or aid in that process. As a professional writer and conscientious journalist, she put life and meaning into her words.

One cannot express in words what Chandelle contributed to one's life. For us who knew her and saw her wracked with pain and continued to struggle and fight with her last ounce of courage, she is inspiring. Chandelle had a way with people. She did not dwell on their shortcomings, but pushed them on to make things better.

I shall never forget those black pearls or that earthy laughter, or her love of children. She gave so much, especially to the children. I think she was godmother to six children. One in particular, Mecca, brought her so much joy. She will miss her. Chandelle's parents are planning a memorial a year from now at the Schomberg Library in Harlem. It will be dedicated to the children and her writings will be read.

Imoja

unorganized guerrilla actions which really do disorganize the Party. Being powerless to understand what historical conditions give rise to this struggle, we are powerless to neutralize its noxious aspects. But the struggle goes on just the same. It is engendered by powerful economic and political causes. It is not in our power to eliminate these causes or to eliminate this struggle. Our complaints against guerrilla warfare are complaints against our Party weakness in the matter of insurrection. What we have said about disorganization also applies to demoralization. It is not guerrilla warfare which demoralizes, but unorganized, irregular, non-Party guerrilla actions. We shall not rid ourselves one least bit of this most unquestionable demoralization by condemning and cursing guerrilla actions, for such condemnation and curses are absolutely powerless to put a stop to a phenomenon which has been engendered by profound economic and political causes. It may be objected that if we are powerless to put a stop to an abnormal and demoralizing phenomenon, this is no reason why the Party should adopt abnormal and demoralizing methods of struggle. But such an objection would be purely bourgeois-liberal and not a Marxist objection, because a Marxist cannot regard civil war, or guerrilla warfare, which is one of its forms, as abnormal or demoralizing in general. A Marxist bases himself on the class struggle, and not social peace...Pg. 193, Marxism, V.I. Lenin.

L.H. Austin, Tx.

To understand what Lenin is saying we have to know the situation in Russia at the time. A civil war was raging in the country between the White Guard reactionaries and the imperialists on one side and the Russian workers and peasants led by the Bolsheviks on the other. Peasants and even the Cossacks in some areas spontaneously opposed the cruelty of the White Guard forces. Although, they fought the reactionaries, the political aim of these uprisings was often fuzzy. For example, peasants raised the slogan, "Soviets Without Bolsheviks." Also due to their spontaneous character, these revolts could not sustain themselves for long. After a while, some peasant forces became roving bandits, and many peasants and Cossacks refused to fight beyond the boundaries of their own village or territory.

Lenin criticized the Bolshevik's weakness in organizing and giving political guidance to these groups, but in the passage you quote he does not talk about when, under what circumstances, guerrilla warfare becomes the Party's major tactic relative to other ways of fighting such as mass political demonstrations, electoral work, cultural work and so on.

In the Chinese revolution for example, Mao said the principal form of struggle was armed struggle. This was because China was a large, semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. Related to this is the fact that the Japanese imperialists invaded and occupied China. In both China and Russia, the communists mastered all the forms necessary for them to lead the workers and take power.

But in an advanced capitalist country like the U.S. taking power is much more difficult. Our society is a lot more complex and the ruling class has more tricks to keep the people down. Winning over the majority of workers in Russia and China was easier since

the working class there was small and concentrated in three or four industrial centers. According to *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917*, the Russian working class numbered some three to four million at the time of the revolution. The U.S. today has at least 90 million workers, not including children and elderly. At the same time, because our preparation for revolution has to be more thoroughgoing in a complex U.S. society, it will be easier for us to consolidate socialism than it has been for communists in China and Russia.

We know it will take an armed revolution to overthrow the ruling class and we are preparing for it. As was explained in the Jan.-Feb. issue of our theoretical journal, *The 80's*, our General Secretary Jerry Tung synthesized four general tasks for the Party in this period. Briefly, these are: 1) We must reach out to the majority of the American people; 2) We must participate in local and national struggles, and through agitation, swing the mood of the majority and change the political scenery; 3) We must build our existing

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Guerrilla Warfare Now?

Dear Communist Workers Party

I just finished reading your proposals on building Socialism in the U.S.A., Vol. 5, No. 21, June 16, 1980, *Workers Viewpoint*. The problem is that in order for us to achieve "the dictatorship of the proletariat" we have to practice every form of struggle, including but not limited to Guerrilla Warfare. See Pg. 185, *Marxism*, by V.I. Lenin. Your party seems to practice every other form of Marxist struggle but guerrilla warfare. The capitalist-imperialist swines and their running dogs will not turn over the "modes of production" through mere revolutionary reforms or slogans. We have to "deprive" them of the same in the very truest sense of the word. How long are we going to endure the violence that is perpetrated by the state capitalist apparatus and its collaborators, the KKK, Nazis, etc. and so on and so forth. Permit me if I may:

"There are many places where there is national oppression and antagonism, but no guerrilla struggle, which sometimes develops where there is no national oppression whatever. A concrete analysis of the questions will show that it is not a matter of national oppression, but of conditions of insurrection. Guerrilla Warfare is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement has actually reached the point of insurrection and when fairly large intervals occur between the "big engagements" in the civil war. It is not guerrilla actions which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions under its control. That is why the anathemas which we Russians usually hurl against guerrilla actions go hand in hand with secret, casual,

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L.A. Chinatown Fights Budget Cuts and Wins



Militant action by the L.A. Chinatown community forced concession from the city.

LOS ANGELES, Ca.—On June 3, 1981, the Chinatown community marched in force on City Hall for the second time in two weeks, demanding that Councilman Gilbert Lindsay restore full funding for social services in Chinatown. As a result of the strength and solidarity of the Los Angeles Chinatown community, Councilman Lindsay coughed up a total of \$188,000 to fund the two Chinatown service centers. This is roughly \$80,000 more than Lindsay wanted to give Chinatown.

The victory was the product of a relentless two-month struggle. In 1980, Chinatown's two service centers, the

Chinatown Service Center and the Chinatown Senior Citizen Service Center, received a grant of about \$207,000 for social services. This year, Councilman Lindsay originally approved \$196,442 to fund the two service centers. About mid-march, Lindsay reneged on his promise to Chinatown and told residents they would only receive \$110,000 and should look elsewhere for the remaining funds. This represented a 44% cut across the board in social services to Chinatown, endangering the life of the Chinatown Senior Citizen Service Center.

Through the initiative of concerned

individuals, the Chinatown Committee for Social Services was formed. CCSS was a united front comprised of concerned individuals and community organizations, including Asian Americans for Equality (AAFE), Chinatown Teen Post, Chinatown Service Center, the Chinatown Senior Citizen Center, and the Chinatown Progressive Association. The committee was formed to unite and lead the community in the fight for full restoration of the funding to Chinatown's social services.

AAFE was active both in leadership and in the day-to-day tasks. AAFE was active in building the struggle to

broaden out and in mobilizing Chinatown to fight back against government cuts on the people. There were weekly leafletting campaigns and a petition drive which collected over 1300 signatures. This was all part of a united effort to inform and mobilize the community to fight back the government's cuts on the poor and working people in Chinatown.

On May 18 at a mass community meeting in Chinatown, which was called by CCSS, 300 angry and concerned members of Chinatown called for a march on City Hall. The community had gathered to meet with Councilman Lindsay to discuss the cuts in funding to our two service centers. Despite written invitations and a petition of over 1300 signatures, Lindsay chose not to attend. Angered by this disrespect, the community decided, if Lindsay will not come to Chinatown, then Chinatown will go to Lindsay.

On May 28 Chinatown marched on City Hall. At first Lindsay and his aides were conveniently unavailable. However, as a result of the community's strength, Lindsay met with the community. Lindsay disclosed that the \$196,442 figure was the amount on monies accrued from Chinatown for social services and also agreed to respond to the community's demand for full restoration of funding at a meeting on June 3.

On June 3 Chinatown again marched 250-strong on Lindsay's office. Chinatown demanded that the \$196,442 be returned for social services. The demonstrators made it clear that they would not leave until they received a satisfactory response. Mainly senior citizens, they had given up their only entertainment for the week to express their anger and concern over the budget cuts. A garment worker even took off from work to join the seniors at Lindsay's office.

In the face of this strength, unity and determination and in the presence of the major media, Lindsay had no choice but to grant Chinatown's demand for full funding. He conceded and agreed to grant Chinatown \$188,000 and to try his best to obtain the remaining \$8000 for Chinatown. □

Fans the Answer to Baseball's Dilemma

Anthony LaRusso

Play ball! Please? That's my plea. I am, like millions of Americans, a baseball addict. After a while I'm afraid the withdrawal will begin to cloud my thinking.

When the players went through with their threatened strike on Friday, I wasn't surprised. I was shocked. I couldn't believe that in over a year of negotiating, a settlement was impossible to reach. This is now an emergency situation and time for an expert to step in to solve the whole matter once and for all. I, Anthony LaRusso, will now divulge my master plan.

First of all, this plan is not interchangeable with any other labor struggle since baseball as an industry is unique. This strike has probably affected every home in the country. It must be settled in a just and swift fashion. Back to the plan. Each side will write up a position paper on why they think their plan for the free agent compensation clause is the fairest.

It must be in simple terms so anyone can understand it. No big-lawyer words to confuse. It must be less than 100 words. Each opposing side will then approve the wording of each other's claim. Once this is done, both have to put their faith in the *real* people who pay both their expenses and salaries — the American baseball fan.

The players would have to show good faith and return to the ball parks. At all games, beginning with the first after the return, a ballot, just like the ones they give you for the All-Star Team, would be given to every paying fan entering the gate. It would be simple. Vote players or owners.

What it all boils down to is binding arbitration with the fan passing the ruling instead of some jerk who doesn't know a baseball from ball of wax. Most fans at this point don't know all the facts. They're just all plain mad. They want their game back where it belongs — on the TV and in the ball parks. Not in the Doral Inn at some negotiating table.

The season has gotten off to a tremendous start. The rookie phenom Fernando Valenzuela has driven Los Angeles crazy. "Billy Ball" has taken the Oakland A's from doormats to first place in less than two years. Dave Winfield has begun to prove he deserves that big contract he got by swatting 40 RBI's already. And Pete Rose is just one hit away from breaking Stan "The Man" Musial's record for most hits by a National League player.

I know exactly how the average fan feels about this dilemma. I'm one, too. I've waited all winter to see head first slides. My ears have longed for months to hear the crack of the bat of a Reggie home run

(even though he hasn't hit too many yet this year). And to see a Nolan Ryan fastball that you really can't see at all, now that's what summer is all about.

Now I know my plan isn't perfect, but the rough edges can be ironed out. I've already done some ironing myself. The cost of this adventure, printing and counting of ballots, will be shared on an unequal basis. The loser of the decision pays 70% and the winners pay 30%. The counting will be done by a neutral auditing company with the supervision of a fan in each city. I volunteer for New York.

On a more serious note, let's briefly look at free agency. It has without a doubt, been good for baseball. Fan interest has soared since its inception and competitive balance is beginning to show. The salaries that have come from the rule have not been as astronomical as you may think. In the 1940's, Joe DiMaggio was the first \$100,000 ball player. With inflation, that would put him right about at the top of the salary structure today.

The support of the continuation of the free agent clause is the support of the growth of Major League baseball. Its growth can only enhance the already great thrill it gives to millions of fans across the country. So let's hear the umpire scream, "Play Ball!" Please?