

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!

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY, U.S.A.

VOL. 6 NO. 28

JULY 22-JULY 28, 1981

50 CENTS

MUTINY ON THE H.M.S. THATCHER

Reagan's Sneak Preview

William Nishimura

The crisis of Thatcherism in Britain today is an omen of doom for the Reagan Administration. "A specter is haunting the Reagan Administration: Thatcherism," wrote Leonard Silk in his July 8 economic column for the New York Times. "The riots in Liverpool this week, stemming partly from the worst unemployment Britain has experienced since the Depression of the 1930's, are grim evidence of the failure of what was once regarded as a brilliant innovation in economic policy.

"When Mrs. Thatcher became Prime Minister in May 1979, she was the darling of conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic. Today, she faces a revolt in her own party and has been disowned by the Reaganites in Washington, who say she departed from and made a mess of what initially was a correct solution to the twin problems of inflation and industrial stagnation.

"But was her fault one of execution or were there inherent inconsistencies and contradictions in the Thatcher program that the Reagan Administration is on the way to repeating?"

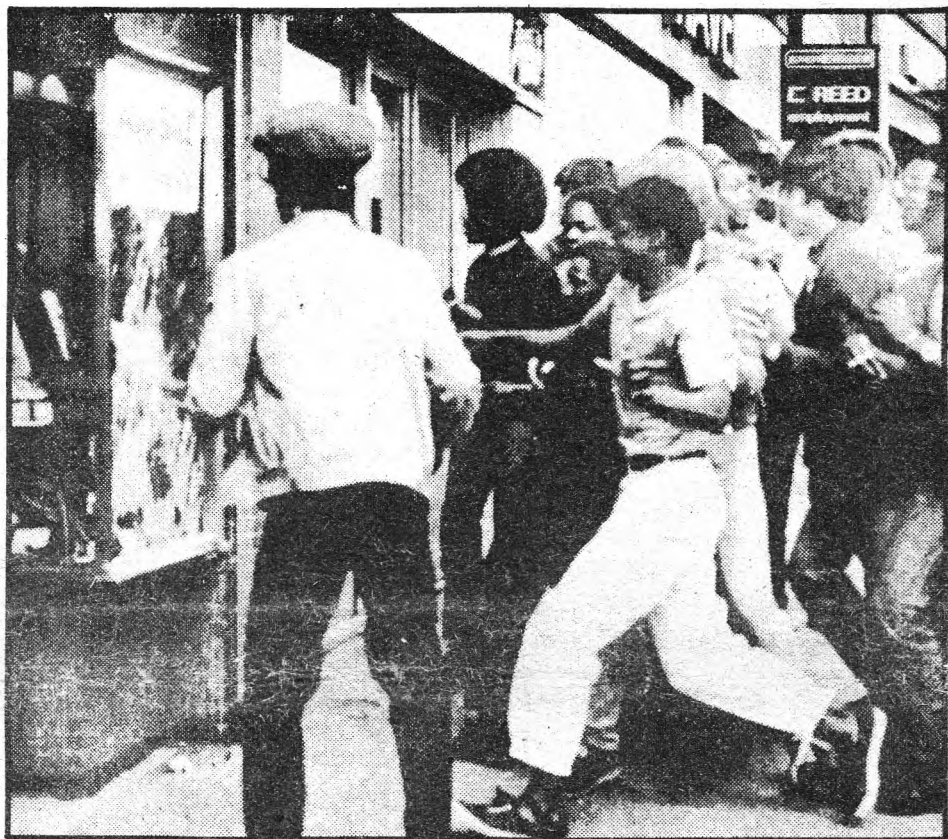
The "supply-side" economic policies that Thatcher has practiced in

Britain for the last two years are the same policies that Reagan is applying here. Their political method is also similar — talk tough to intimidate opposition. The rebellions in Britain show the dangers of such a tack, and that is what the ruling class fears.

Racists Provoke Southall

The uprisings began during the evening of July 3 in the large Asian community of Southall. The West London district is composed mainly of clerks, artisans and workers from the nearby airport. Early that morning, Mrs. Parveen Khan, 28 years old, her young daughter and two sons were killed when a fire swept through their home. Mr. Kahn was hospitalized with severe burns. Gasoline had been poured into the mail slot of the Khan residence and lit. Many blamed the arson on "skinheads," the name for the followers of Nazi groups like the National Front because of their shaven skulls.

That night, a band associated with the Front performed at Hambrough Tavern in Southall. Busloads of skinheads from all over the city attended. Afterwards, gangs of them roamed the area asking residents where the Asians lived and declaring they were on a "Paki-bash," a racist term for beating Pakistanis. One group entered a Pakistani shop, attacked the owner's wife and broke the shop windows. Asians defended themselves and fighting started. People stormed the



Birmingham was one city where black and white youth expressed their frustration over the lack of jobs by taking to the streets.

Hambrough pub and burned it.

During this time, few police were seen. The police later admitted that they had been expecting trouble because of the concert, but claimed that an informant had phoned in a bad tip and diverted them. When the police did arrive in force they sided with the racists. "The skinheads were wearing National Front gear, swastikas everywhere, and National Front written on their jackets," said a spokesman for the Southall Youth Association. "They sheltered behind the police barricades and threw stones at the crowd. Instead of arresting them, the police just pushed them back. It's not surprising people started to retaliate."

The crowd turned against the police, and a police van was upended and torched. The battle escalated as police called in reinforcements and more residents joined in.

Toxteth Explodes

At the same time in the Toxteth section of Liverpool, police stopped a black motorcyclist. They accused him of stealing the cycle which he owned. A fight began when black and white youth came to his aid, and one was arrested.

Skirmishes with police continued through the next day. Then on July 5, a full-scale rebellion broke out and raged for two nights. Black, white and Asian youth of all ages, some as young as 10 years old, battled the cops. Protestors armed with bricks, gasoline bombs, spades, cleavers and machetes faced off lines of riot-equipped police beefed up with bobbies from nearby.

continued on page 6



British police on the run in Liverpool.

Thatcherism Politics of No Return



8

ATLANTA Day 721

NATIONAL NEWS

Agee Decision Menace to Free Speech

Stewart Klepper

On June 29 the Supreme Court decided the case of *Haig v. Agee*, revoking Philip Agee's passport and in the process setting back the right to travel by twenty years and starting what may become the most serious assault on the right of free speech in this century. The immediate result of this decision is to return passport law to its state in the bad old days of the 1950's, when the State Department routinely denied passports to critics of American policy such as the black actor and singer Paul Robeson, whose passport was cancelled for eight years precisely because of his support for the liberation struggle which was beginning in Africa. A more subtle aspect of the opinion is its threat to First Amendment rights of free speech. George Will, the rightwing columnist, summed it up by praising the court for, "acknowledg[ing] that restrictive government action can 'rest in part upon' the content of speech..." In other words, freedom of speech can now be restricted depending on what is said.

Justice Rehnquist had this aspect of the case in mind during the oral argument of the case when he asked Solicitor General Wade McCree if it was the government's position that the Secretary of State could deny a passport to someone who wanted to travel to El Salvador and there denounce U.S. policy. "I would say, yes he can," was the reply. Under the *Agee* decision, the government can prevent Americans from going abroad to attend international conferences, conduct research, deliver speeches or cover

"Gone Fishing"

During the publication dates of August 12-18, 1981, and August 19-25, 1981, members of the Workers Viewpoint staff will be on vacation. We will resume with publication date August 26-September 1, 1981.

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

Workers Viewpoint welcomes contributions on all topics. WV will respond to every contributor. Written materials should be submitted typed, double-spaced on 8 1/2" X 11" paper. Material can be returned only if accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

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

Send all correspondence to:

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

news stories — this in direct violation of the guarantees on freedom of travel which the U.S. insisted on writing into the Helsinki Agreement of 1977 as a rebuke to the Soviet Union.

Facts of the Case

Phil Agee worked for the CIA from 1957 until 1968, rising quickly in the agency to become a senior field officer in Latin America. One major focus of CIA activity was (and is) destroying independent labor unions, and Phil became particularly adept at planting forged documents to discredit or incriminate the CIA's various targets, in one instance sending innocent trade unionists to prison under twenty year sentences for a concocted "Cuban connection." Torture was a problem for Phil from the beginning, and today he talks about it in explaining why he turned from CIA hotshot to implacable opponent of the Agency. Unable to justify the brutal repression of the almost openly fascist client-states he had been working to support, Phil quit the agency in 1968, and by 1974 he was actively opposing the agency. In 1975 he published *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, a classic text on the CIA's methods, front groups, and activities around the world. He also named names, exposing all the agents he could remember in an effort to "drive them out of the countries where they are operating." As it developed his campaign was largely unsuccessful in driving agents out of their host countries; over 60% of publicly identified agents remain at their assignments. The identities of the local CIA personnel, at least those under official cover as employees of the U.S.

Embassy are generally well known to local journalists, government officials and diplomats who care to find out, not to speak of rival intelligence services. The CIA frankly admits this problem, which is compounded by the fact that the State Department has regularly published a *Biographic Register* in which a short biography of all U.S. diplomats appears, and spotting CIA people is easy, as their service classifications and the phony assignments concocted to fill the holes in their records all follow the same unimaginative pattern. Although CIA pressure forced the State Department to stop circulating the *Biographic Register* after 1974, many copies from 1974 and earlier exist, and form the basic research tool for identifying CIA agents abroad.

Phil has been living in Hamburg for several years; his passport was revoked in December of 1980, during the Iranian hostage crisis, to prevent him from going to Iran and possibly examining captured documents from the Embassy. He immediately began suing in federal court to have the passport returned, his case being captioned *Agee v. Vance*, then *Muskie*, and finally *Haig*.

Although Phil ran out of names long ago, and hasn't exposed an agent for at least two years, a number of researchers around the world continue to work. His unique and continuing contribution to anti-CIA efforts comes from an intimate knowledge of CIA

methods of operation. His most recent work is an analysis of the administration's "White Paper" on alleged communist involvement in El Salvador, now available in a German edition and being published in the U.S. under the title *White Paper? White Wash!* (Available for \$6.50 from *Deep Cover Publications*, P.O. Box 677, N.Y., N.Y. 10013).

It is Phil Agee's informed and effective exposure of CIA abuses which has made him a target for the intelligence establishment and their political and journalistic allies. The difficulty facing the Supreme Court was how to "get Agee" for his speech and writings. Two lower courts had sided with Phil, and ruled that his passport should be restored. "You can't take away a person's passport for what he says," was the thrust of the lower courts' rulings. "Oh yes you can," ruled the Supreme Court.

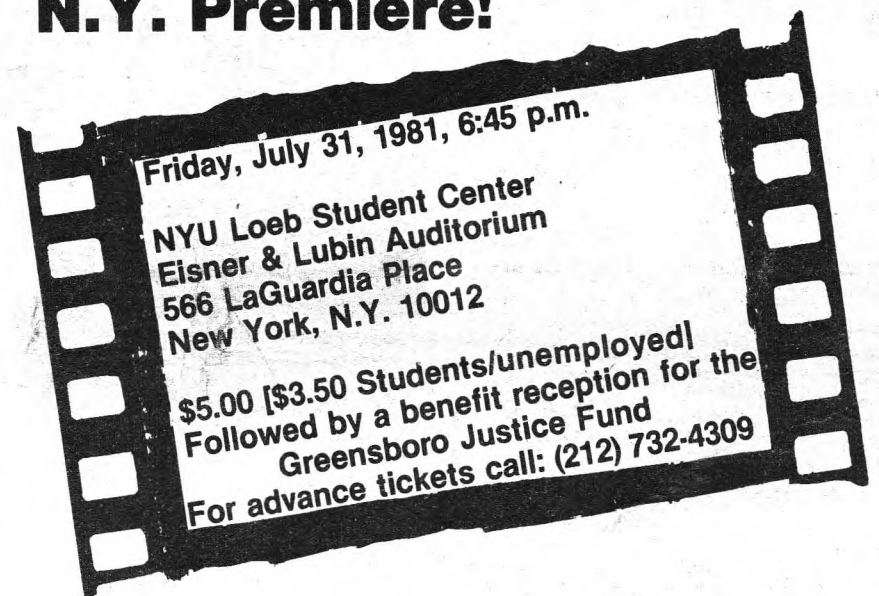
The Decision

While most observers suspected the Supreme Court would find for the Government, the broad scope of the decision came as a shock to many, including the establishment press. The Washington Post criticized the decision in an editorial titled "Revoking Liberty," and the New York Times joined in the next day with its editorial, "Trashing the Right to Travel." The theme was that the Court should have "gotten Agee" with a specifically targeted decision rather than returning passport law to its state during the McCarthy period.

Chief Justice Burger, writing for the Court in the 7-2 decision, clearly went further than was necessary if the purpose had been simply to revoke Phil's passport. Under Burger's ruling anyone's passport can be revoked — without a prior hearing — if the Secretary of State thinks the person is

continued on page 14

N.Y. Premiere!



RED NOVEMBER BLACK NOVEMBER

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

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

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

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

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

For rental information write: REELWORKS, INC.,
39 Bowery, Box 568, New York, N.Y. 10002

Look For Showings In Your Local Area

LABOR NEWS

Laura Johnson

NEW YORK, N.Y.— On Friday, July 10, the New York Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers sponsored a cocktail fundraising benefit. Other endorsers of the event included Haywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Juan Gonzalez of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Abe Feinglass, an International Vice-President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen Union, William Kunstler, Stuart Kwoh, an attorney for the Greensboro civil rights suit, Manning Marable of the National Black Independent Political Party, Flo Kennedy of Black Women United for Political Action, Abbott Simon, Secretary-Treasurer of the Center for Constitutional Rights, Margaret Ratner, Executive Committee of the Center for Constitutional Rights, and Francis Hubbard, an activist with the Sophie Davis School.

The 90 supporters attending included members and representatives from an unusually wide range of progressive organizations: the National Lawyers Guild, the National Association of Legal Aid Attorneys, CCR, the New York Marxist School, the Communist Workers Party, Trade Unionists for Democratic Action, Peoples Anti-War Mobilization, the New Alliance Party, Covert Action, Workers World Party, the Socialist Workers Party and others.

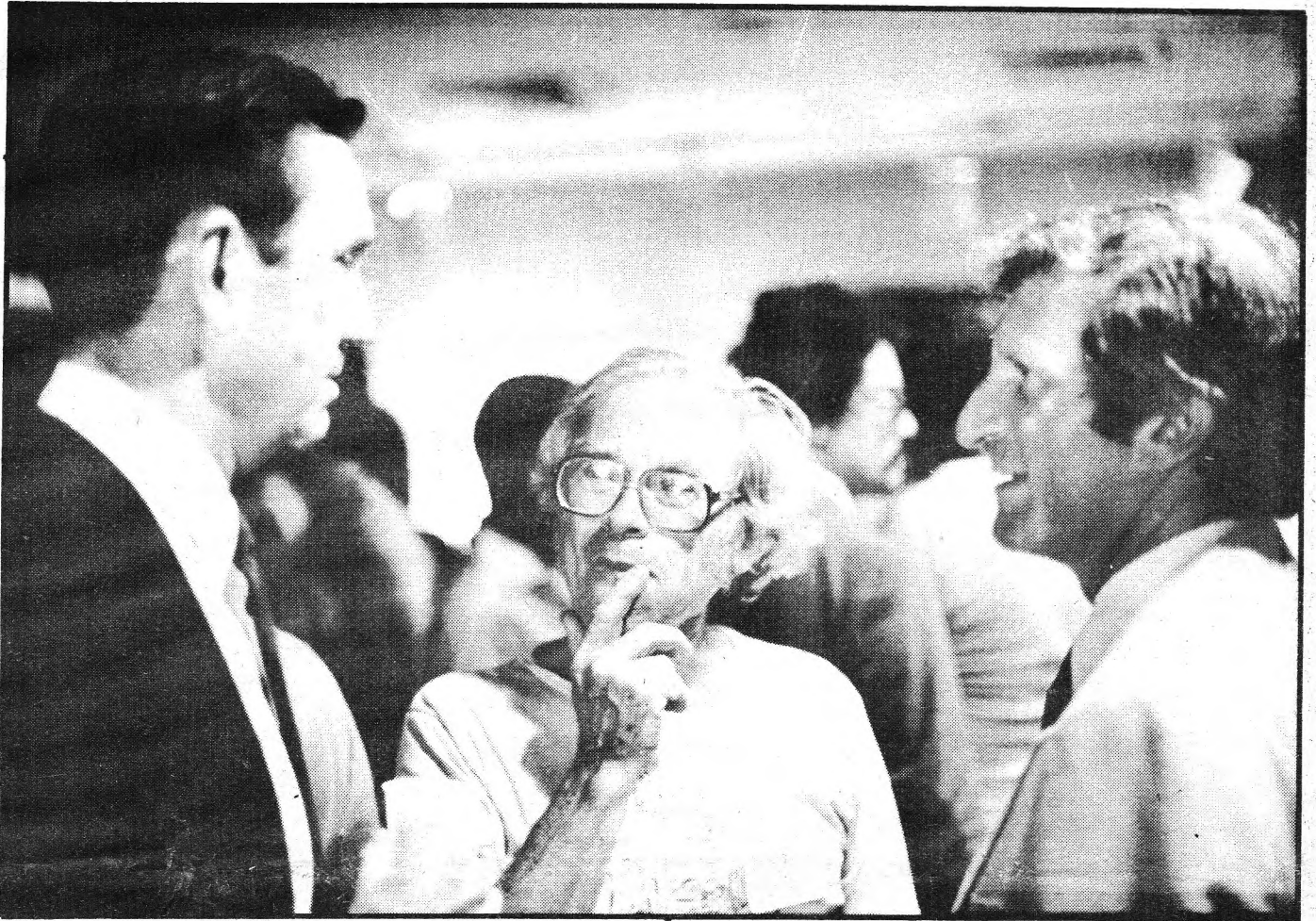
Guests watched video tapes documenting last summer's demonstration by NASSCO workers at the launching of the U.S.S. Cape Cod, the August wildcat in defense of 11 fired union activists, and the actual FBI arrest of the NASSCO 3.

A short program featuring Leonard Weinglass, defense attorney for the NASSCO 3, and Frank Hollowach, Vice-President of NASSCO Ironworkers Local 627 and key organizer for the new United Shipyard Workers

continued on page 4

New York NASSCO Benefit a Success

"No Barton, No Book, No Bomb"



Ramsey Clark, Morton Sobell and Leonard Weinglass share views at the NASSCO 3 fundraiser in Ramsey Clark's office.

... United Shipyard Workers

continued from page 16

step, union organizers exhausted every possible alternative. Petitions with over 1,300 signatures were presented to the International. At an internal union hearing, several hundred workers participated in thoroughly demolishing the charges against the local. Court action was taken but the judge refused to issue an injunction.

Meetings were held to work out a compromise solution but this was rejected by the International bureaucrats. Pressure was applied in many ways. Finally, a union meeting called by local leaders, an overwhelming decision to decertify was made. The only other choice would have been to submit to 18 months of International dictatorship. A decertification drive can only be held three months before a new contract.

Ever since the activists were fired last August, harassment has stepped up with firings, speed-ups, and elimination of union rights, while safety continued to deteriorate. The deaths of two workers, Kenneth King and Michael Beebe, last September were seen as a prelude to what workers would continue to face. NASSCO's dream of a company contract rubber-stamped by the International officials looked certain. The International Association of Machinists, the second largest local at NASSCO is also under trusteeship. The fighting tradition of Local 627 stood in danger of becoming a fond memory.

Since the formation of the USWU, all this has changed. The International, scared of losing its gold mine at NASSCO, has removed shop stewards identified with the USWU despite the fact that no other workers would volunteer to take the position. It asked for and got the cooperation of the six other unions at NASSCO, even though the decertification is limited to Iron Workers.

Using redbaiting and scare tactics, it tried to block support by threatening to tie it up in litigation for years. This propaganda has had some effect. Fears of having no contract has caused some workers to hesitate. The USWU does not expect such a lengthy period of legal haggling.

However, a large segment of the yard sees that a strong union with militant leadership can deter such moves. One lead man stated, "I've been here 10 years and the International has done nothing for me. Even if it takes two years, it will be worth it to control our own affairs." Older workers remember the 1970-75 contract, negotiated by the International, which gave them a 19 cents raise each year for five years. Almost everyone expects a similar sweetheart deal will be signed again if the International wins. A heated debate is going on every day over this — do the risks of going independent outweigh the fighting chance offered by breaking away or vice versa?

Opposition Flotsam & Jetsam

The company is taking a wait and see attitude. NASSCO Vice-President John Murphy stated that it will negotiate with whichever union is certified as the bargaining agent. But it clearly favors retaining its control through the International.

A third party has also emerged. Calling itself the NASSCO Workers for a Better Contract (NWBC), it is a numerically small group headed by an assortment of ex-Marxists who lost the last election. At first it tried to appear "neutral," opposing both trusteeship and decertification. Now it is solidly in favor of, and actively supported by, the International.

As liberal critics, these opportunists spread fear and demoralization. The International uses them, appointing them to the so-called negotiating committee and giving them publicity. People do not respect them, as they have historically played a splitting role, but their backing by the International does make them a force.

Nationally, the revisionist Communist Party, U.S.A. has seized on these developments to push their line. A recent article in People's World, the CP's West Coast weekly, slanders the CWP's work at NASSCO, and even tries to resurrect the old Business Agent, Cherokee, as a model leader. Cherokee is regarded throughout the yard as a sold out snake. The International rewarded him by giving him an

\$18/hr. job at a nuclear plant. The CPUSA, like the NWBC, pushes the International's line. But it can never explain why so many workers support the militant leadership. Perhaps the workers don't read People's World.

As one can see, the USWU faces a stiff fight. But the fact that 500 people signed cards in two days and that the USWU does enjoy widespread support are indications of where people are at. In these times of economic crisis, workers are reluctant to take actions that jeopardize their jobs and security. But those same pressures are causing people to search for the best way to fight back. As one welder put it, "I don't have any personal loyalties to either side. I'm looking at it economically, what's best for me and my family. I figure you guys (USWU) offer the best chance. We have to look at the long run, not just week by week. I know you guys won't sell us out... And I know the International will."

Still, good ideas and a proven record alone will not sway the majority. The USWU must also present a tight organization capable of dealing with matters in the yard and of tapping national support to win the election and force NASSCO to negotiate. Such an organization coupled with the workers determination will make victory certain. □

Let's Unite to Stop Gov't Repression

Ernest Charles McCray

SAN DIEGO, CA — On June 6, in Judge Edward Schwartz's federal court room, a jury returned a guilty verdict against the NASSCO 3. That verdict warns us loudly and clearly that our government will stop at nothing to keep working people from organizing labor unions and political movements. One can read the court records for more than enough proof of that.

And while the NASSCO 3 were losing their rights before our eyes Ronnie Reagan was writing an essay for Parade praising the government of the "greatest Nation on earth." A government formed by "honorable men" who signed the Declaration of Independence amidst cries of "treason, the gallows, the headsman's axe." Many of those fifty-six "soft spoken men of means and education" gave their lives and fortunes so that freedom might ring from sea to shining sea.

So what happened during the last two centuries? What happened to those "God-given rights" that the founding fathers decided "man" is born with? According to the president our government is only a convenience created and managed by the people with no powers of its own except those voluntarily granted to it by the people. "We sometimes forget that great truth and we never should," he said.

Great truth? I don't know any people who have voluntarily given our government the power to make a mockery of their rights. Who among us gave the police, the FBI, and NASSCO the go-ahead to shatter the lives of Mark Loo, David Boyd, Rodney Johnson, and their families?

The great truth is our government

isn't the least bit interested in our civil liberties. The great truth is we must all work together non-stop in order to protect our Constitutionally guaranteed human rights. Along those lines the Coalition to Stop Government Repression is asking all concerned people and organizations to join together around the following three demands:

- (1) STOP GOVERNMENT REPRESSION AT HOME AND ABROAD! It wasn't too long ago when our government collaborated with the KKK to deny the rights of union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina. The activists were shot down in cold blood and their murderers were set free. And internationally it's obvious to the naked eye that the U.S. is helping the governments of El Salvador and South Africa to put down the struggles of their citizens.
- (2) UNITE TO FIGHT FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS! JUSTICE FOR THE NASSCO 3! Before the NASSCO 3 trial began the defense moved that the charges be dismissed on grounds of outrageous government misconduct. On July 14 this motion will at last be heard. The key to justice in this case is in Judge Schwartz's hands. If he fails his duty the NASSCO 3 will then be sentenced, and the question then will be: Who's next?
- (3) STOP GOVERNMENT/CORPORATE LAWBREAKING AND UNIONBUSTING! We must never forget that while the trial was in session the work sites at NASSCO remained dangerous to the health of its employees — and the local Ironworkers Union, which worked so

diligently for safe working conditions, was held in trusteeship by its national office. And Ramon Barton who played a key and violent role in busting the union is walking around free like the North Carolina Klansmen. Is this what the founding fathers ("a little band so unique we have never seen their like since") fought for?

On June 29, at a NAACP Conven-

tion in Los Angeles, Ronald Reagan said: "My administration will vigorously investigate and prosecute those who by violence or intimidation would attempt to deny Americans their Constitutional rights."

Well, don't hold your breath, but do fight for the NASSCO 3. There we can pursue truth and justice for all. For real. □

...No Bomb

continued from page 3

Union, highlighted the evening of informal discussion about the need for united resistance against political attacks directed at labor and other progressive movements in the 1980s. Both Weinglass and Hollowach put the case of the NASSCO 3 firmly in the framework of the struggle of NASSCO workers for a fighting, democratic union.

Hollowach spoke to the history of NASSCO and government collaboration including the little-known fact that Morrison-Knudsen, the owners of NASSCO, built the infamous tiger cages used by the U.S. government for torture during the Vietnam War. "The prime worry for NASSCO in 1980 was to stop and discredit the union," he said. "That's why they recruited spies and tried to hire goon squads."

Hollowach described just what kind of union the workers were fighting for and what the Navy, FBI and company wanted to destroy. "Union democracy distinguishes the Ironworkers Local 627. Because of long work days and overtime, many workers didn't want to spend time at meetings outside. So we took the meetings into the yard, department by department to involve the people in it."

Weinglass similarly detailed the dynamics of the struggle for a fighting union and the government's set-up of the NASSCO 3. "When I took this case, I knew little about NASSCO. I

was amazed at what I saw. The union represents the most cohesive multinational workforce I have seen. They have pitted themselves against the largest shipyard on the West Coast. The results were predictable."

Weinglass spoke of the clear case on entrapment. "We have a slogan, 'No Barton, No Book, No Bomb.' If Barton had not instigated and supplied both manuals and components, there would have been no 'bomb plot.'"

Because of a media blackout, many of the guests who attended the benefit knew only bits and pieces of the case of the NASSCO 3 and the struggle of NASSCO workers to control their union.

Margaret Ratner, an early supporter of the case, summed up the views of many in her support message. "Many more would have given early support if the information had been available. I am here to give support because we are reaching a critical time where the legal system is changing. All trials today are based on entrapment and informants — no facts, no one side, another side."

Martin Sobell, a co-defendant with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and who spent 18 years in jail, praised the evening for the "breadth of support and the foundation laid down that can be carried to others after, as this government embarks on a new road. It's good to see so many of such diversity." □

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

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

Partial List of Endorsers:

(Organizations listed for identification purposes)

United Domestic Workers of America
Trade Unionists for Democratic Action,
Peter Fisher
Joseph E. Cook, AFGE, Local 41,
Washington, DC
Dave Johnson, BA-Financial Sec., Toronto
Building & Construction Council, AFL-CIO
John Donaldson, President, Int'l Assoc. of
Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Workers,
Local 721, Ontario, Canada
James E. Miller, Pres., Bakery
Confectionary & Tobacco Workers, Local
205, Madison, Wisconsin
Louis Gates, Pres., UAW, Local 600, Frame
Plant, Detroit
Rick Martin, pres., UAW, Local 600
Walter T. Corey, Pres., USWA Local 210
Sidney Lens, Labor writer
Jim Miller, Institute for Labor Studies,
Cornell U.
Mike Macguire, Organizer, IBM Workers
United, Johnson City, NY
Josephine Garris, Brown Lung
Association, Garysburg, NC
James Blackstone, President, USWA Local
3522, Baltimore, MD
Gil Dawes, coordinator, Theology in
Americas Project, Clinton, IA
Dan Luria, UAW Research Dept, Detroit
John Reiman, Recording Sec., Carpenters
Local 36, Building & Construction Trades
Council, Oakland, CA
Manual Sunshine, IAM Local 68 delegate,
SF Labor Council, San Francisco
Margie Clauser, Exec. Bd., CWA, San
Francisco
George Wong, Graphic Arts Union, Central
Labor Council, San Francisco

James Romanoff, People's Democratic
Club
Frank Wilkinson, Exec. Dir., National
Comm. Agst. Repressive Legislation
David McDonald, Hotel & Restaurant Local
2, San Francisco
Nancy Baker, IAM Local 685, Central Labor
Council Delegate
Jerry Newport, Seafarer Union, San Diego
Wren Osborn, Probation Workers Union
Local 2702, San Diego
Anatole Zachs, Hotel & Restaurant
Workers Local 2, Grievance officer, Bay
Area Coalition to Bust the Union Busters
Jeanne Tai, UAW 900 delegate to Nat'l
Ford Council
Raoul Teilbet, President, California Federa-
tion of Teachers (AFT, AFL-CIO)
Walter Lippman, Chair, Human Rights
Committee of Service Employees
International Union, Local 535
Los Angeles
Bay Area Women's Caucus of the United
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of
America (San Francisco)
Teamsters for a Democratic Union
Steering Committee (San Francisco Bay
Area Chapter)
Kit Hanzo, President, Glass and Bottle
Blowers Association, Local 15 (Oakland,
California)
Ron Teninty, Business Representative,
Teamsters, Local 315 (San Francisco)
Jerry K. Foster, Executive Board Member,
Chemical and Atomic Workers,
Local 4-227 Workman's Committee
(Houston, Texas)
Patsy B. McMichael, Committeewoman,
OCAW, Local 4-227 (Houston, Texas)
Ben Blake, Teamster Local 705
Abe Feinglass, International Vice-

President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters &
Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO
State Executive Board, Local 535 SEIU
Local 465, International Union of
Operating Engineers, Duke Bargaining
Unit, Durham, N.C.

Jerry Tung, General Secretary,
Communist Workers Party
Lieut. Colonel C. L. Grieg,
Sacramento, Ca.
Anti-Repression Resource Team, Jackson,
Miss.

Martha Leslie Allen, Assoc. Director,
Women's Institute for Freedom of the
Press, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Benjamin Spock
Gerald T. De Rosa, Astoria, N.Y.
Tom Hampton, Durham, N.C.
Jean Wagner, Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom,
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Sy Landy, League for Revolution/Socialist
Voice, N.Y., N.Y.
Prof. Bertell Ollman, Dept. of Politics, New
York University, N.Y.

Harvey Niebulski, M.D., Rochester
Havurah, Rochester, N.Y.
American Civil Liberties Union,
Los Angeles, Ca.

Nation of Islam Inc., Abdul-Malik
Lumumba Shabazz, Los Angeles, Ca.
Mari Krieger, Berkeley, Ca.
Charles P. Finn, Charlotte, Va.

Workers' Right Committee, ACLU,
Southern California chapter
Citizen Commission on Police Repression,
Los Angeles, Ca.

State Exec. Board, Local 535 SEIU
Flo Kennedy, Black Women United for
Political Action, Coalition Against Racism
and Sexism

Norma Becker, Nat'l Chairperson, War
Resisters League
Anne Braden, Activist in the southern
movement

Michael Meeropol
Morton Sobell
Ben Margolis, Attorney, Los Angeles
Samuel Paz, Attorney, Los Angeles

L.A. Action Coalition Against Budget Cuts
and Government Repression
National Lawyers Guild, National Ex-
ecutive Board, Detroit, Mi.

Marvin Joel Rubin, Nursing student, Min-
neapolis, Minn.
Ramsey Clark, N.Y., N.Y.
Hunter John, Attorney, Seattle, Wash.
Juan Gonzalez, President, National Con-
gress for Puerto Rican Rights
Manning Marable, National Black In-
dependent Political Party

NASSCO 3 Defense Team:

Leonard Weinglass
Daniel Siegel
Alan Yee
Eugene Iredale, Federal Defender
Tom Ono

NASSCO 27 members

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

WOMANCARE, San Diego
Rosaura Sanchez, Director, UCSD Third
World Studies
Ernest Charles McCray, Educator & col-
umnist, San Diego
Prof. Robert Russel, Mesa Community
College

Dena S. Anderson, Grey Panthers, San
Diego
THE PROGRESSIVE COALITION, San
Diego
UCSD Student Cooperative Union
UCSD Associated Student Government
Ken Overton, President, Black Student U.
Ricardo Sanchez, Musician, Los Alacranes
Mojados
Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Council

Auto Workers Speak Their Mind

“We contribute to this country . . . There’s certain things we expect and they’re not doing it.”



Clair Holland

Second in an occasional series on opinions of some autoworkers.

What do I think of the two political parties?” Al, an autoworker, set his mouth and stared straight ahead. His opinion is unprintable.

American auto workers used to be better off than most industrial workers. After World War II the United Auto Workers fought for and won wages and benefits that substantially improved the workers’ lives. People who came to Detroit from the hills of Tennessee, off Mississippi farms or out of the sweat shops looked forward to building a future for their kids that would be a step above what their own lives were. Chevies and Fords were king — U.S. Big Auto owned the world market.

That was the ’50s and ’60s. Today, strangled by the capitalists’ own greed, the American auto industry is dying. The dying industry is pulling the workers’ stability and dreams for the future down with it. The last decade has been a political eye opener.

Bernard, for example, a black worker with 20 years at GM, is disgusted with the political system. “I liked Kennedy but I didn’t know what was beneath the surface until later. . . I did a little reading and I found out Kennedy was not what he was supposed to be. His brother certainly was an opportunist and he exploited black people. We have been a victim, time after time, of these kind of circumstances. So it gets to the point where you sure don’t trust anyone. You know? So I would just like to vote for my own politician, my own black politician. By the same token you can’t trust them. You just can’t trust politicians.”

“I Expect A Drastic Change”

White workers, like Al, are also fed up and have no confidence that either Democratic or Republican leadership can solve the crisis. They anticipate a showdown. Al’s view of the potential of a race war also points to the dangers of the 80’s. “Something’s going to have to give or there will be (a drastic change). Everybody’s at everybody’s throat. Life’s getting rougher. People are rude as hell to each other. The American people against the American people. If we stop voting they’re going to start appointing people. Hundreds of thousands of people are buying arms and storing food. As for revolution against the government, I

don’t know how the people feel. I can hear them complaining but I don’t know if they would actually take up arms against them.” His wife, Diane, laid off from her job at Ford, put in, “Eventually people will get fed up. It takes a while but eventually they will.”

Scott, also a white worker, is a Vietnam vet. Laid off from Chrysler, he’s now working at GM. In the late ’60s and early ’70s he thought there might be a revolution, but he’s since become discouraged with what he sees as a lack of leadership. Yet he sees the extreme crisis in the country. “I see more of ’67 happening in the cities the way things are going. Rebellions. I can see that happening and not just in the black communities.

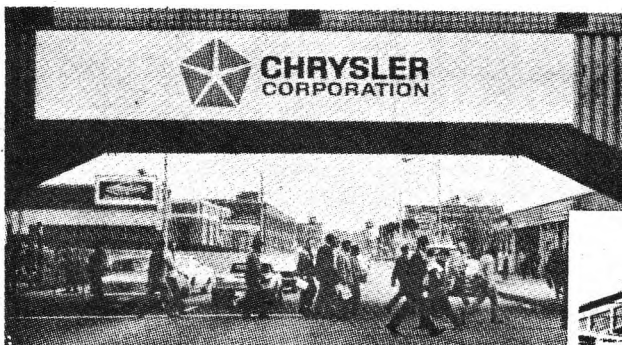
Barb and Larry have been laid off from Chrysler for over a year. Even Larry’s father is predicting a revolution. “The last time I saw him he sounded like he was kind of hoping for it. He said the people should go let it all out and just take all the damn politicians and hang ’em all. He’s about 63 years old.”

People are fed up with the system and feel drastic change coming, but socialism is not yet a concrete alternative. Al put it this way, “As Clint Eastwood says, ‘The system stinks,’ but until something else comes along and proves itself better I’m going to stick with it. The people over the years have been burnt and they don’t want to venture into something that’s not been seen. But the way the capitalists are going they’re getting the people to want to turn to something else because the capitalist system stinks.”

Al’s wife Diane is skeptical because of abuses she sees in socialist countries like the Soviet Union. “Unfortunately, there’s only a few people who are for socialism the way you talk about it. It’s like everything else. When you get a head man in power, he’s going to turn like everybody else. That’s why I say it’s the people that have to do it.”

Bernard pointed out that American people don’t know what socialism is. “I’m not sure I have a total definition of socialism. I don’t know in depth facts about it. I have just some fringy ideas about it. To answer the question of what socialism would mean to my family would be purely speculation.”

Workers who probably never before in their lives considered seriously a socialist U.S.A are today open to discussing it. Al set down his glass to emphasize his point. “If you’re going to have a socialist country, it shouldn’t run by just one man. All the people have to. Like the Polish workers. I’m all for them over there. I know they’re Communist but still I’m for them. They want their rights. They want their voices heard.” Diane added, “Eventually that’s what’s going to have to happen here.”



(Above) Workers going to work at Chrysler’s Dodge Main plant in Detroit during the better times. (Right) Partially demolished Dodge Main earlier this year.

“A Whole Lot Should Be Changed”

Everybody has some ideas about what needs to be changed in this country. Diane said, “The basic idea of the United States being democratic and having freedom and everything is fine, but it’s just gotten out of hand now. You’re controlled by one thing or another. You’re controlled by company or you’ve got the government telling you what to do.”

Al said, “I would like to have a little more money. I wouldn’t want it to be such a struggle.” And Diane interrupted, “Change the judicial system. Greatly! The judicial system does stink. If you’ve got money behind you, you can get a speedy trial. If you don’t you could sit there and rot.” Her husband continued, “Just like the politicians. . . Nixon — he committed treason to the United States and now he’s collecting our money.”

Bernard turned over the question, before he spoke. “Well, that’s going to be hard,” he grinned. “That’s like finding the square root of 60 million! I think first of all it has to start in the municipal government because what we produce in the municipal government is actually what goes to Washington eventually, and that’s the start. We’ve got to pick these candidates very carefully — I am a black man, a black man that’s been done wrong quite a bit. I am for the poor class of people, but first we’ve been left out of it. We have to be included.”

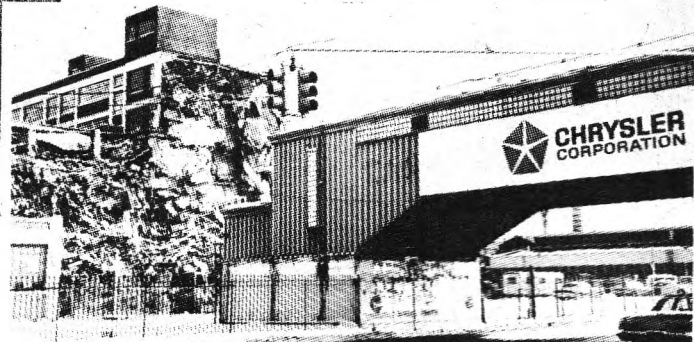
The consistent theme is that any real change must put the decisions back in the hands of the people. “Take the power away from the tin gods,” Scott said. This is a profound vote of no-confidence in the capitalist politicians to lead. Diane: “I really feel that the people should have a very strong voice in whether governors, senators, whoever, get raises or not.”

“And I think the people should be able to vote on the laws instead of just the politicians. There’s a lot of things that need to be changed. A whole lot,” Al shook his head.

This cynicism about politicians carries over to a third party, or people’s candidate. “The way everything is it would be awful hard because that particular person is not going to get the politicians or rich to cut their wages in half. A politician cannot promise nothing!” Yet these workers will believe in elections that are honest and offer a real choice. Scott summed up this view: “I like the idea of electing people but I don’t think enough people are given the chance to run effectively. It so much leans toward the guy with the money or the guy that can come up and be the flash in the pan as in Jimmy Carter’s case. But it doesn’t lean toward electing the best man.”

Both Bernard and Scott are enthusiastic about a third party candidate as a means to express what they really want from government. Bernard: “There’s a very big need for a third party in this country because the other two are not doing a very good job. It would depend on their philosophy and I’d have to weigh it, consider it but I need the freedom to change to more than what we have now.”

continued on page 13



"Reagan's cuts are telescoped Thatcherism. The same policies will trigger a reaction here sooner than they did in England."

—N.Y. Gov. Carey, July 9

continued from page 1

Manchester, Lancashire and Cheshire. The police lines were repeatedly breached as youth seized milk trucks and a cement mixer and rammed them through the ranks. A fire hose was used to try to control the crowd. But when the water pressure dropped, the people charged and the cops fell back. The abandoned hose was turned on them. Police were driven a half mile out of Toxteth, and on Princes Road a bank burned. Only the use of CS riot gas prevented a total rout, the first time the gas has been used in Britain outside of Northern Ireland. In Liverpool alone, 255 bobbies were injured.

During this time, riots also flared in the Wood Green neighborhood of London and in Bristol, a city on England's southwest coast. On Monday, July 6, the Moss Side area of Manchester erupted. With forces tied down in Liverpool, police had no backup and protestors fought them to a standstill.

Two days later, 600 attacked a police station and were barely beaten off. At a news conference, the Manchester Chief Constable said, "We believe a kind of military strategy was used, with lookouts and the use of citizen's band radios to pass messages. In the height of the troubles, vehicles were being used, including vans, to carry petrol bombs and to manufacture them as they traveled around the streets."

On July 9, riots again broke out in Liverpool and London. In the capital city, they spread to even the so-called "middle class" neighborhood of Fulham, next door to wealthy Chelsea and South Kensington. Scotland Yard announced that all police leaves had been cancelled and the government ordered a one month ban on marches in the city.

The next day, Brixton, the center of riots last April, exploded. Over 400 black youth rampaged after Lloyd Coxson, a black owner of a record shop in the area, was arrested by police when he tried to intervene on a friend's behalf. Released on bail, Coxson said he had been clubbed by police while handcuffed. Near Lambeth Town Hall, 1,000 youth hurled brick and firebombs at police.

Riots In 12 Cities
By July 11, riots swept through 19 localities in 12 British cities. In East London's Walthamstow area, 500 youth struck after a memorial service for the Khan family. In Southall and South London's Battersea, fire stations were attacked and had to be evacuated. Big cities and small cities, major metropolises and country towns — Liverpool, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Ellesmere Port, Sheffield, Nottingham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Hull, Chester, Smethwick, Birmingham, Preston in northern Lancashire, Blackpool on the Irish Sea, Leeds, Doncaster, Bradford, Huddersfield, Maidstone in Kent, Cirencester in Gloucestershire, Knaresborough in Yorkshire — all Britain seemed in flames.

The next day scattered outbursts continued in London and five midlands cities. When dawn broke on July 13, rioting had reached Dundee in Scotland, and the Labor Member of Parliament (MP) from Wales warned of "social disintegration" in his area.

After just ten days, over 30 cities and towns had been hit with riots, arson and looting. Hundreds of police were injured, hundreds of thousands of protestors arrested, and property damage is estimated in the hundreds of millions.

The Causes

Among the causes of the rebellions these stand out: national oppression, joblessness and police repression. All three have been aggravated by the policies of the Thatcher government.

In many areas, minorities were the first to take to the streets. Mainly West Indian and Asian, these emigrated to England from the ex-colonies that now make up the British Commonwealth. This was in the early 1940's when the capitalists needed labor to man the wartime factories. The 30,000 Asians who make up less than half of Southall's 70,000 population come mostly from India and Pakistan where many had served the British government for a generation or two.

Thatcher's election campaign was based on demagoguery that scapegoated minorities and workers for Britain's economic crisis. Her budget cuts have hit minorities especially hard. Her government has encouraged and protected fascist groups like the National Front, whose attacks on minorities have escalated.

The MP from Ulster even blamed non-whites for the riots. But the fact is, non-white minorities make up only 3.6% of Britain's population, two million out of 56 million people. In Toxteth where the fighting was most intense, less than 40% of the rioters were black. Since 1962, Parliament has

The lives of Britons are being torn apart by economic crisis and continuing double-digit inflation, problems compounded by Thatcher's naked pro-big business, anti-labor, anti-minority program. Frustration born out of this backdrop can easily turn into rage.

Ironically, a shift in police tactics after the first three days of rioting helped to spread the rebellion. On July 6, police officials said, "We are going to have to take the offensive by trying to break up crowds as they form instead of offering ourselves as targets for rioters." Previously, the police had taken a wait-and-see attitude and concentrated forces only to contain major rebellions. Now, they cracked down at the first sign of unrest. But while the riots that followed were not as intense as the first days in Liverpool, the police "offensive" served to inflame more communities faster.

Business-As-Usual for Thatcher

Yet despite ten days of the worst rioting the country has seen in 200 years, as some observers said, the Thatcher government has maintained its hard-line, business-as-usual attitude. Thatcher still argues that the riots are the product of "naked greed" and not a protest against widespread joblessness. She has stonewalled the issue of national oppression, saying, "The law has no color." Thatcher admits no weakness in her policies, and instead blames the British people's failure to "obey the laws and teach our children to do so." "Law and order" is a feeble posture in the face of the challenges of the 80's, but that's apparently all Thatcher knows.

Thatcher met with local officials in Liverpool on July 13. Afterwards, she was pelted with tomatoes and toilet paper as she left town hall. Summing up the meeting, Thatcher said, "We have to try to get over it. As any woman will tell you, life has to go on and we have to pick up the pieces and build afresh." Wally Brown, chairman of the Merseyside Community Relations Council, summed up the meeting differently. "She listened very intently but just didn't grasp what we were saying."

The only concrete measure the government has taken is to strengthen the police by issuing better helmets, flame-proof pants, plastic bullets, armored vehicles and water cannons.

a Labor MP. When Thatcher said that the experience of other countries shows "no direct connection between poverty and violence," Eric Heffer, another Labor MP and a resident of Toxteth, screamed, "You stupid woman!" He had to be physically restrained by colleagues.

Top members of Thatcher's own party are also rejecting her. Edward Heath, former Conservative Prime Minister, called the riots a "direct result of Thatcherism." James Prior, Thatcher's Employment Secretary, admitted that "undoubtedly the present high level of unemployment is a fruitful breeding ground for the sort of thing we are seeing," on July 10 at the opening of a youth training center. The next day, the Conservative leader in the House of Commons reaffirmed the government's view that joblessness had little to do with the riots.

Within the Cabinet, Prior is rumored to be pushing a youth employment program that would guarantee either a job or a place in a training course for all youth leaving school before Christmas of the year they're to graduate. Arch Conservatives have vowed to block Cabinet approval of the plan.

The British imperialists are having nightmares thinking about how far Thatcher will go in gambling with their rule. The government has announced plans to layoff 58,000 civil servants. 42,000 have already lost their jobs. When next week's jobless figure is released, the level is expected to top a record 3 million.

The British people have done Americans a great service. The gusts from their struggle have crossed the Atlantic. Even before the rebellions, some sectors of the ruling class were beginning to line up against Reagan. The fact that tax cuts were bogged down in Congress is one indication.

Lining Up Against Reagan

Congress is starting to realize that Reagan never had a mandate from the American people. Fearing the inevitable popular backlash against the President, some politicians have begun covering their tracks. Witness New York Senator Moynihan's almost "liberal" opposition to Social Security cuts. Now after the riots, this trend will accelerate.

New York Governor Carey has even predicted riots in the U.S. this fall. "Some people say they see great distinctions between what Margaret Thatcher has done in England and what Reagan has done here," Carey told syndicated columnist Richard Reeves on July 9. "I can't see any. And I don't see a different result."

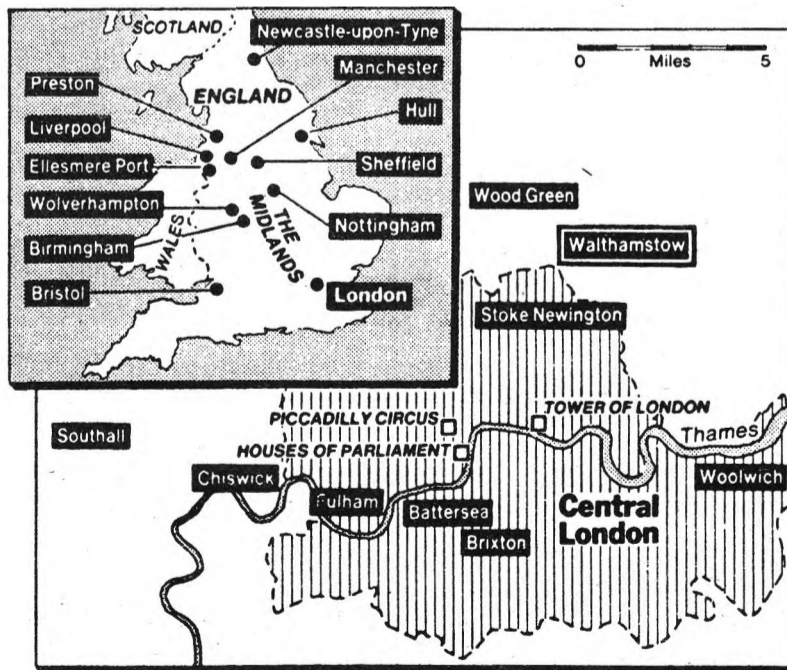
When asked about Reagan's performance as President, Carey replied, "Liverpool!"

"Liverpool?" Reeves asked. "The British riots? You think there will be riots here?"

"Yes," said Carey. Reagan cuts in social services are "telescoped Thatcherism," he said. "The same policies will trigger a reaction here sooner than they did in England." Carey picks October when the budget cuts take effect. "However Thatcher or Reagan define what they're doing, it translates into sacrifices for too many people and into no capital improvements in most of the country."

While other politicians like New York City Mayor Koch has criticized Carey's remarks as "harmful, counterproductive and out of character for him," they too are starting to hedge support for the President. "But that doesn't mean an incident couldn't trigger a riot," said Koch. "I'm not defending the Reagan reductions, some of which I've opposed."

By intensifying the contradictions among the U.S. ruling class, the British rebellions have given the American people time to organize grass roots resistance to Reagan. At the same time, their struggle can imbue all of us with the daringness to fight and the will to win. □



Map shows some of the neighborhoods in London and cities hit by rebellions.

steadily closed the door to non-white immigration.

Though minority youth provided the initial resistance, it was because of the involvement of Britain's white, working class youth that the riots burned so intensely and spread so far. Thatcher's economic policies have resulted in record joblessness. For example, the unemployment rate in Liverpool is 25%. For white youth it is 40% and for black youth 60%. Stepped-up police harassment in neighborhoods where thousands of youth have nothing to do has made the poor areas tense.

Among die-hard Tories in Parliament there is talk of even more repressive measures such as special courts with more powers and laws to make parents financially responsible for their children's acts.

"You Stupid Woman!"

Thatcher's blind arrogance in the face of this major crisis has brought the contradictions among the British ruling class to a head. In the July 9 session of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister was accused of "ripping away the fabric of our society" by

Britain Chokes on Hunger Strike Compromise

Sally Campbell

In an effort to resolve the four-month old hunger strike which has led to the now five deaths of Irish nationalists, the remaining hunger strikers called for talks with the British government on July 4. A group organized by the Irish Catholic Bishops Conference, the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, spoke two days with the government before beginning talks with the prisoners. But Britain has once again backed off on a possible compromise, causing the commission to charge it with "crawling back," and sparking the first official comment from the newly elected Irish government. The talks collapsed after a last-ditch try by the commission to get the hunger strike called off.

officials began backing off," they said. That same day Joe McDonnell died after 61 days without food. In a statement read at the prison later that day, Britain returned to its position of no negotiations.

Since then, Martin Hurson, the sixth, has died after 45 days without food. At the funeral of Joe McDonnell July 10, British troops attempted to capture the three masked IRA members firing a military salute over his coffin. Hundred of the 10,000 mourners stoned the troops, who reportedly caught the IRA members changing clothes at a nearby house. Two men were wounded, the troops taking the more seriously injured. This unprecedented disruption of an IRA

called for the "eventual unification" of Ireland, ending bipartisan agreement that the north should remain part of Britain as long as the majority there willed it. Too many people are now aware of the British casting aside the results of a 1918 all-Ireland election in which 80% of the people decided to end the union with Britain and be one nation; and that Britain gerrymandered the whole island in 1920 to achieve partition, using gestapo tactics for good measure.

The newly elected government of the Republic of Ireland has also issued a statement on the crisis in the six counties, which are under its jurisdiction according to the Irish Constitution. This is in contrast to the former Premier Haughey, whose "special relationship" and secret talks with Thatcher produced four hunger strike deaths. Dr. John Kelly, acting Foreign Minister, and James Dooce, Foreign Minister-designate, met in London with Ian Gilmour, Britain's Deputy Foreign Minister, and Humphrey Atkins, Secretary for Northern Ireland. Dr. Kelly warned that relations between Britain and Ireland "were bound to suffer from any action or lack of action on the British side which exposes us to difficulties at home."

The coalition government of Garrett FitzGerald barely unseated the incumbent Charles Haughey in the recent election. Failure to take a strong position on the hunger strikers' demands would jeopardize FitzGerald's already shaky hold. Two members of its Parliament are prisoners in the H-Blocks, one of whom, Kieran Doherty, is on hunger strike. Seven other hunger strikers also did well in the elections, showing the new government that sentiment in the south is moving to support the nationalist prisoners. Dr. Kelly pleaded, "We are anxious to impress on the British Government a sense of urgency and our sense of impotence... We think there is a great deal of room within the prison regime for accommodating with the demands the prisoners make."

At the same time, the two H-Block prisoners elected to the Irish Parliament have not been allowed to take their offices, and the Irish government has yet to address this issue publicly.

Advisory Council Shunned

The prisoners' demand for talks came just days after Britain proposed a Catholic/Protestant advisory council, which was denounced as another bankrupt "solution." Its proposed membership, 11 members of British Parliament from the six counties, their delegates to the European Parliament, and their local district councillors, would be almost totally politicians loyal to the British government. Even if it were to propose something

beneficial to the Catholic minority, its decisions are not binding on the British government.

Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, called it "the latest in a long round of maneuvers by the British government." The organization is illegal in Northern Ireland, and it is thus barred from participation in the Council. As elections are consistently gerrymandered to produce unionist politicians, the Catholic population would have no real representation.

Unionists, however, rejected even this token attempt to pacify the Irish people. Peter Robinson, a British MP and deputy leader of the reactionary Democratic Unionist Party, said, "We don't see it as a process towards



anything... We would like to be at the council to strangle the misshapen child at birth."

The Social Democratic and Labor Party waffled on the question. On the one hand, they "will be consulting members on whether to attend" the council's first meetings, which will convene around the end of the year. On the other hand, they and the Alliance Party which will also participate, admit that "The people of Northern Ireland give no credence to appointed councils."

The nationalist prisoners' hunger strike, with now six deaths, has exposed the British government as a callous imperialist whom the Irish have defeated politically. There have been acts of protest, conferences and demonstrations all around the world, including West Germany, Denmark, Portugal, Austria, Australia, the United States and Canada. Islamic students held a demonstration for the hunger strikers in Washington, D.C. June 6. The Massachusetts House of Representatives called for the removal of the British consulate from Boston, and the city council of Philadelphia has passed a resolution calling on Reagan to pursue British withdrawal from the North. Several major trade unions in the U.S. have formed the Irish American Labor Coalition to pressure the government as well.

Public opinion internationally, in Ireland and in Britain itself for the Irish struggle is growing. Thatcher's latest blunder of rejecting the agreement worked out by a commission sent in by the British government and the attack on Joe McDonnell's funeral by British troops will further isolate her regime. □



Campaigning for Kiernan Doherty, a hunger striker elected to the Irish Parliament while in prison at Ulster.

"...give back to all prisoners the dignity as human beings of which they are robbed at present..."

Britain Reneges

The Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (ICJP) began calling for a compromise on both sides in the first weeks of June. It was pleased with the prisoners' response on June 27. But the Irish Catholic Bishops Conference, which sponsors the group, attacked the IRA as "evil" and in the main responsible for the situation in the north. Its statement, which did not represent the views of all the bishops, was used by the British anti-IRA propaganda campaign.

But the views of the Bishops Conference apparently did not coincide with those of the ICJP. The group, which the British government thought to use as "honest brokers" for negotiations, believed Britain was willing to make concessions. When Britain backtracked, the commission was outraged.

Goretti McDonnell, widow of Joe, the fifth hunger striker to die, said, "They tricked us the last time, and this time they've tricked the commission." She was referring to a settlement reached in a hunger strike last December before any deaths occurred, on which Britain then reneged. According to commission members, one of whom is a cousin of hunger striker Thomas McIlwee, they were "convinced" July 6, "that the British were prepared to offer changes in dress, work and free association rules acceptable to the protestors." But as of the 8th "British of-

funeral by British troops will only clarify the sides, the Irish people against the British government, instead of so-called internal, "sectarian" conflict.

Prisoners Broaden Demands

The hunger strikers' five demands, are the right to refuse prison work, to refuse to wear prison clothing, to receive one letter and one parcel a week instead of once a month, to associate freely among themselves, and a 50% reduction in sentence for good behavior.

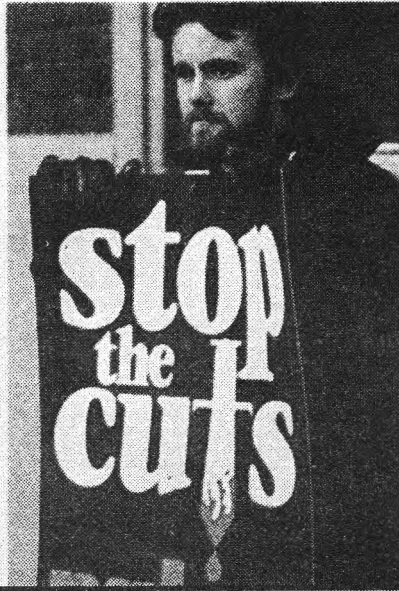
On July 4, the prisoners released a statement saying, "We have outlined what should be the basis of a solution without loss of principles to either side in this conflict." "The five demands which we are committed to obtaining would go far to give back to all prisoners the dignity as human beings of which they are robbed at present and we would welcome their introduction for all prisoners." This would have achieved their demands for themselves, as well as moot Britain's refusal to grant "special category status" to the nationalist prisoners. The hunger strikers also said that work routine should not be "a major point of contention." As for free association, they said, "We do not envisage ourselves running around the block as we please in large numbers."

Heat on Thatcher

Labor Party leader Michael Foot has



Widow of Joseph McDonnell, Goretti, attends funeral for her husband. At her side are their children, Joseph Jr. and Bernadette.



Anti-Thatcher signs in all sizes and shapes dot the British political scenery.

Introduction

When the rebellions sweeping Britain first began, Edward Heath, former Conservative Prime Minister, called them the "direct result of Thatcherism." Such strong criticism of Thatcher's policies from a top member of her own party is one indication of how deeply divided the British ruling class is.

More important is the significance of the crisis of Thatcherism to the United States. "The Reagan Administration is haunted by a spectre: Thatcherism," observed Leonard Silk, New York Times economic columnist. Reagan's program is modelled after Thatcher's crude political tactic of bulldozing popular opposition and her "supply-side" (meaning pro-big business, anti-worker, anti-minority) economic policies. The political storm engulfing Thatcherism in Britain is seen as an omen of what's to come here.

In the following article, Lynn MacWilliams examines the record and prospects of Thatcherism. Mr. MacWilliams is a writer on political economy for *The 80s*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Workers Party, U.S.A. — ed.

Lynn MacWilliams

What is new about the 1980s is the lack of answers. There is no John Maynard Keynes to propose a temporary solution to the chronic problems of capitalism. There are no respected schools of intellectia grouped around policy decisions to prop up the economies of the western world. Instead, there is cynicism, mass disrespect for the institutions of society. Mainstream thought and politics are floundering. In America the Democratic Party is fragmented and melting. In Britain the Labor Party is split.

Into the vacuum has rushed Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservatives and Prime Minister of Britain. Criticizing the "creeping socialism" of past governments, attacking the "pocket money society," she is leading an attack, as best she can, against the working people of Britain. But the outlook for her is not good. For one, she is contributing to the very process she is trying to prevent, the political destabilization of the United Kingdom. For two, she is charting a course of slow death for the British economy. For three, she is contributing to the disintegration of the economic ties within the Western alliance.

Her rise to power has been watched carefully in this country. Her program is essentially Reagan's program, but she is almost two years ahead of Reagan in implementing her policies. She has made

Britain a laboratory, an island to watch for signs of the future. But where many, including *Fortune Magazine* conclude "she may still succeed," we will provide a more thorough analysis.

The Polarization of Great Britain

By early 1977 the British currency — the once-almighty pound sterling — was on the edge of a catastrophic collapse. Only a new austerity budget and an emergency loan from the International Monetary Fund prevented a national bankruptcy.

For the next two and a half years the austerity was presided over by the Labor government of James Callaghan. Wage and price controls were the main element, while monetary policy continued an indecisive pattern of easing and restricting monetary growth. Not only did the controls fail to stem inflation, they brought the government into direct and ever more violent confrontation with the most organized sections of the working class. In fact, the weaker unions along with the unorganized, looked on the wage guidelines as minimums guaranteed by the government and refused to take less. The stronger unions looked on them as the starting point in negotiations and sought to break through them. In the words of a prominent Thatcher supporter, the crisis which resulted was such that "many in England wondered whether we might not be on the edge of an abyss. At least, I remember a most distinguished lawyer closely associated with the (government), saying that we were on the 'knife-edge.' People wondered whether society would break up, or power pass to the hands of strike committees." (Hugh Thomas, "The Exhilarating Mission: Margaret Thatcher's Philosophy," *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn, 1980)

The bitterness of these strikes — including a coal strike which paralysed the entire economy for weeks — made it irrelevant whether the government won or lost. The main issue was the credibility of the British government and economic policy in the eyes of the world financial markets.

In May 1979, after this "winter of discontent" the people of Britain demonstrated their strong desire for change. The election of the Conservative Party, and Margaret Thatcher, signaled a major shift in the nation's direction both politically and economically. It was heralded by business leaders both here and in Britain as a great day. It was the confirmation of a "shift to the right." *Business Week* wrote in April 1978, a year earlier, "the vocal and obstreperous left wing of the Labor Party finds itself in such serious trouble that the future of the party itself is open to question. The crux of the Labor left's dilemma stems from changing class attitudes among that part of the electorate that has, until now, backed it through

thick and thin — the working class trade unionists." "Public opinion polls and test samples by election analysts indicate that the majority of the working class...now disagrees with the left wing socialist tenets upon which the credo of the Labor party has rested since the famous 1945 election manifesto. That called for the nationalization of basic industry and heralded a new era in British politics. Today the polls indicate that many working class voters no longer believe in nationalization of basic industry as a panacea, nor for that matter, in a continuing class relationship between trade unions and the Labor Party."

"That kind of shift within the Labor Party would have an enormous effect outside of Britain as well. For most of the post-World War II period, British left wing rhetoric has inspired social democratic and labor parties in English speaking countries — Australia, New Zealand, Canada — and has heavily influenced the thinking of environmentalists and anti-nuclear power lobbies of the New Left in the U.S."

But the dissolution of Callaghan's social contract, the loss of faith in the tenets of the impotent Labor Party, are not the historical summation and negation of government policies that *Business Week* imagines. It was and still is, the process of the people of Britain learning politics through their own experience. It is the process of bourgeois politicians being sorted out. Thatcher and her backers, despite their rhetoric, are clear on this question. They know they have a limited amount of time to produce some positive economic results. They know it is less than a couple of years. What they don't know is how dynamic public opinion is today, but they are in the process of finding out. Today, the capitalists in Britain are still in control, but they are running scared.

The bourgeoisie of the United Kingdom are a sorry sight. Fat and complacent from the "easy money" of world domination, they seem unable to cope with modern times. Samuel Brittan, assistant editor of the London-based *Financial Times* writes, "...there is a longstanding gap between the growth rate of the United Kingdom and that of other industrial market economies that goes back over a hundred years. Alfred Marshall remarked that by the 1860s and 1870s, 'many of the sons of manufacturers' were content to follow mechanically the lead given by their fathers. They worked shorter hours; and they exerted themselves less to obtain new practical ideas." (Samuel Brittan, "How English is the English Disease?," *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1980, p. 151)

Brittan goes on to say that the British were able to ignore any special problems in their economy until the 1970s when the British rate of inflation jumped to double the average inflation rate in industrialized countries. "It was in the second half of that decade, from 1972 to 1977, that the British inflation rate really soared. This was a highly inflationary period for the 'world economy.' But while the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) price level rose to 60 percent in five years, the British level rose 120 percent or twice as much." (ibid.)

In looking for the explanation of Britain's troubles, the so-called British Disease, a disease affecting to varying degrees the entire western world, Brittan is drawn to Professor Mancur Olson.

"The central conclusion that Olson draws is that 'the longer the period in which a country has had a modern industrial pattern of common interest and at the same time democratic freedom of economic organization without upheaval and disorganization, the greater the extent to which its growth rate will be retarded by organized interests.' Thus it is not surprising that the British disease should have come first to the country that both pioneered the industrial revolution and has had the largest record of civic freedom and settled institutions. On the other hand, countries 'where common interest organizations have been emasculated or abolished by foreign occupation, totalitarian governments or political instability' experience rapid rates of growth." (ibid.) German post-war growth, aside from the Marshall plan, and the rebuilding of the factories, is explained by the inability of the German working class to resist industry in speed-ups, job combinations, and other pressures.

Today, the British bourgeoisie is relatively poor. Its members have been deprived of the great benefits of unequal trade from colonial conquest. They have been caught on the increasing inflation and unemployment that comes from government deficit spending financed with printed money. They are pushed by events face-to-face with their enemy, their "own" workers. Brittan's prescription, then, is Thatcher's prescription. All this democracy in Britain, all of the ability of the British to voice their political aspirations through their trade unions, is immoral (because it is not individual) and irresponsible (because Britain cannot afford it). Thatcher's great desire is to scare the trade unions into subservience.

But clearly she moves against a democratic tradi-

Thatcherism Politics of No Return

tion among the working class in Britain. She moves against a class which, however shackled by moderates and other hacks, does consistently defend itself against attacks. And by attacking the unions, she puts the moderates in limbo.

Frank Chapple, general secretary of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union since 1966, writes, "If the function of trade unions can be defined as protective and democratic, the former guarding against exploitation and the latter enabling people to have a say about their working lives, there is little point in government touchiness when trade unions respond true to character. Rather, it is the responsibility of government to foster the circumstances conducive to a constructive response by trade unions.

"It is a criticism of our government that its policies have quite the opposite effect and that its abrasive style encourages resistance rather than promoting partnership. These failures are compounded by the government's extravagant championing of inequality and its crude praise for higher unemployment, and apparent glee when it forecasts a heavy dose of falling living standards.

"Such statements are hardly likely to inspire confidence in change or promote industrial contentment. On the contrary, they lend credibility to the exaggerations of the extreme left and add to the problems of moderate trade union leaders who are increasingly ignored as polarization accelerates." (Frank Chapple, "British Labor and Conservative Economics," *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1980, p. 123)

In spite of warnings against too heavy an attack on labor from businessmen and the Prime Minister's own cabinet, Britain is losing social cohesion. One glaring aspect is the split of the Labor Party. By the summer of 1980, a schism in the Labor Party had

who writes for the New York Times, complained of Britain's polarization. "The Labor Party is going so much further left because Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is going so much further right because the Labor government before her was tugged leftward, and so on. 'We're not fooling ourselves,' Mrs. Williams keeps saying as she outlines the hopes and plans of her still small group to reverse the trend towards extremes, 'but even if we fail, we will have forced both Labor and the Conservatives to reconsider and move back towards a sounder course.'" (*New York Times*, April 2, 1981, p. A27)

Whom they seem to be forcing most are Britain's bankers. The *Militant*, the newspaper of the Militant Tendency in the Labor Party, says, "Indeed Roy Jenkins has close contact with big city financiers, many of whom are now bitterly disillusioned with Thatcher's brand of monetarism.

"With open splits appearing in Thatcher's government and the Tory party, it is not hard to see why big business is now keen to build up the Social Democrats. The strategists of the ruling class see the Social Democrats as a safety net to catch disillusioned Tory voters who will defect from the Tories in their millions." (*Militant*, March 27, 1981)

The question for the Conservatives is how long does Thatcher have. With the next election as far away as 1984, some still hope she can have restored public confidence by then. But she might not survive that long. In February 1974, a massive steel strike brought down the Wilson Labor government and forced new elections. And the election that brought Thatcher in was held after the most severe strikes in recent British history, when water, coal and steel were out simultaneously. No one wants to talk about it now, but just before Thatcher came to power, Britain looked over the edge. "The whole thing is going

very slow these days, but there are signs of a leveling out. Particularly, the inflation rate, which had hit 22 percent in 1980 is now believed to be under 13 percent.

Samuel Brittan describes his hopes for the economy, "The part of the Thatcher experiment that is of special interest to me is the attempt to tackle the problem of inflation and unemployment through market forces rather than controls or corporatist pacts with employers and unions. This means relying on monetary and fiscal policy rather than income policy. It should also involve action to improve the workings of hosts of individual markets such as labor, housing and credit. It is questionable whether enough is being done in such areas. But politics is in large part an act of damage limitations. If we can get through the mid-1980s without either runaway inflation or lasting mass depression and unemployment, and we can do so without wage and price controls, or widespread import controls, or other actions severely detrimental to personal liberty or economic sanity, this will be triumph enough." (Samuel Brittan, *ibid*)

He puts his finger on the sole "innovation" of monetarism, the market forces. In the short run, the hope is that by mystifying the attack on working people as "market forces," they will not resist the government, but resist the individual companies in a scattered and ineffective way for a long enough period of time to allow the closing of excess capacity and the reduction of wage rates. In the long run, the hope is to muddle through without dousing the economy altogether, or allowing it to self-destruct in runaway inflation. It is a holding action, buying time while the bourgeoisie figures out what to do. It is the policy of stagnation and increasing unemployment.

So far Thatcher has had great difficulty in pulling it off. Already this year she has had to back down from her desire to close 23 state-owned mines and lay off 13,000 miners. And she let "market forces" drag out a steel strike in January until management agreed to a 15 percent increase. Her party's trampling in the May elections show that the mystique of Thatcherism is gone.

In terms of her monetary and fiscal program, she is having more difficulties. After pledging to cut taxes, she simply rearranged them for most Britons, although millionaires now get a discount. Her money supply targets were greatly exceeded, mostly because business borrowed at any cost to stay alive through the Thatcher collapse. Her public spending targets have been missed so badly that she has raised taxes to help cover them. With spending up 21 percent, mostly the result of the industrial collapse, the deficit has widened to 6 percent of the gross national product, or some six times the comparable U.S. level. Pet projects like increased defense spending have been scraped to hold the line.

The economic crisis of capitalist is worldwide. The Thatcher solution hits a peculiarity at the point of international trade, the foreign-exchange rates.

When the price of money, or the interest rates, are artificially raised through a monetarist tight money policy, then that particular currency becomes more speculative as against another currency. Foreign investors can get a greater return because of the higher interest rates. The demand for the currency pushes up its exchange rate.

For a country like Britain, stable politically compared to some European and third world countries, and self-sufficient in oil, this phenomenon is exaggerated.

There are a couple of implications. One is Britain's exports are expensive while its imports are cheap. In fact, much of the increased demand over the 1970s has been met by imports. This has helped to deepen the industrial collapse of Britain, where one-third of its manufacturing output is exported, and some claim things won't pick up until exchange rates come down.

Second, it makes British capital export more attractive than domestic re-investment (that is buying up profitable companies). Even though British oil and banking industries have been booming — oil, because of the North Sea, and banking, because of the high interest rates — British Petroleum bought 53

continued on page 10



Thatcher has plenty to worry about as youths in town after town rise up to voice their discontent.

started. Anthony Wedgewood Benn, leader of the left-wing, announced a campaign to oust James Callaghan, the former Prime Minister and moderate leader of the party. The left-wing platform framed the question. In three demands — the nationalization of North Sea oil, the banning of U.S. cruise missiles based in the U.K., and the pulling out of the European Economic Community — it put forth the beginnings of a transition program, and clearly demarcated itself from the moderates who could agree to none of the demands. It put the moderates on notice. Roy Jenkins proposed a new centrist social democratic party, but he got little sympathy. Shirley Williams, a well-known moderate and cabinet minister under Callaghan, claimed the third party would have "no roots, no principles, no philosophy." (*Newsweek*, June 23, 1980)

But Williams' prediction was precisely the position of the moderates within the Labor Party. They could not defend themselves. By the spring of 1981 the split was complete, and Shirley Williams was building the Social Democratic Party. Flora Lewis, a columnist

to go," said one observer. It didn't. But no one says next time won't be different.

Slow Death

The monetarist experiment in Britain has produced the most dramatic economic collapse recorded anywhere in the world during the postwar period. Manufacturing output is down 18 percent since Thatcher took office. Unemployment has risen from 1.26 million in September 1979 to 2.38 million now and is expected to reach 3.0 million next year.

Manufacturing output went down 15.5 percent in 1980 alone, textiles and cloth down 21 percent, metals down 20 percent, engineering down 17 percent, chemical and petroleum down 16 percent. Auto production, 1.6 million units in 1970 is at 924,000 today. Construction is three-fourths its 1970 level. Even Imperial Chemical Industries showed a drop in dividends for the first time since 1938. With an average age of equipment at 35 years, manufacturing investment is down 8 percent.

The death of the British economy doesn't look

...NASSCO

continued from page 16

engage in acts which could be dangerous to innocent third parties," said Leonard Weinglass, defense attorney. "A dangerous precedent was set by the jury's decision. The entire case absent Ramon Barton, would not have happened."

How far government agents can go in conducting their dirty work for the U.S. capitalists is now undeterminable. This decision, combined with the pardon of those agents who conducted the black bag break-ins during the Nixon Administration makes it clear that the government is willing to go to any lengths to stop unions that are too successful and popular movements that have gained too much support among the American people.

In court, the defense presented motions calling for dismissal of the charges due to outrageous government conduct and prosecutorial misconduct, and motions for a new trial because jurors were forced to decide on a matter of fact a question that is really a matter of law — when Ramon Barton became a government agent. It was clear that the judge had already made up his mind to deny the motions, as he denied them one after another. But he did allow Eugene Iredale to present the motion for outrageous government conduct.

Legal Precedents

Historically, the government has used legislation and legal cases ostensibly designed to counteract hated groups like the KKK, or Mafia or dishonest politicians to attack all the American people. The Smith Act was originally passed because it purported to investigate the Ku Klux Klan. However, the McCarthy era saw it viciously used against the very people who had devoted themselves to fighting the KKK, other fascist organizations, as well as the government. Thousands of communists, progressives, and liberals were persecuted or scared into silence by the McCarthy campaign.

The McDonald Amendment, which has yet to become law, is ostensibly focused against the legal rights of homosexuals. However, should the amendment be passed and gay people denied the right to legal aid, the government has set the precedent to decide who in society is fit to receive

legal aid or other services on the arbitrary basis of sexual preferences. As in Hitler's Germany, when laws were passed to deny Jews rights because of their religion, this act points the way to depriving other groups of people in society their rights because of their religion, color or creed.

Abscam was used in the same way. Most people consider almost all politicians corrupt and don't like them. Thus it was easy for the government to get over with entrapping crooked politicians and convicting them of accepting bribes in a situation the government set up. But now, those precedents are being used against labor activists and trade unionists.

The NASSCO 3 were entrapped by a government agent who was paid over \$7,000 in cash and services by the FBI and San Diego police to get the NASSCO 3 to make bombs. The sentences imposed on the Three are only an attempt to diffuse and break up the struggle to free the Three. The bourgeoisie, in a highly sophisticated move, hoped that people would be so relieved by the relatively light sentences, they would forget the deeper implications of the verdict and be willing to give up the fight.

While supporters, friends, and relatives of the Three were glad that the men would not have to spend much time in jail, and that they would be able to be with their families, outrage and grief were visible in the courtroom as people filed out after the sentencing. "The only justice would have been no trial at all. The only good sentence would be no sentence," said one supporter.

Judge's Hypocrisy

Dissociating himself from the prosecution and NASSCO, and admitting the political nature of the case, Judge Schwartz said, "I have no particular grief for NASSCO. It's not my purpose to defend or castigate them. In areas where safety procedures need re-examination, I hope they take action in that regard. I have no arguments with the defendants. Everything that happened was the result of their deep concern and their involvement and probably was affected and aggravated by the deaths of Beebe and King."

But no matter what the judge's closing remarks were, which indicates the effect the trial had on him, he will still go down in history as the judge who set the precedent which allowed the government agents to engage in illegal and dangerous activity which could harm third parties. He was still an active participant in the government conspiracy to frame the NASSCO 3 and stop the union struggle at National Steel.

March & Rally

Support for the NASSCO 3 has reached such broad proportions that people like former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Dr. Benjamin Spock have endorsed the Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers. Group after group in San Diego has come out to show their support. In a march and rally held July 11, over 100 people marched and over 170 people rallied to demand that the judge listen to the motions on outrageous government conduct. Speaker after speaker representing labor, gays, women, health care workers, supporters of the Irish struggle against England, anti-nuclear activists, and churches, called for justice for the NASSCO 3 and stop government repression.

"We are just beginning to fight," said Paulette Miller, a state executive board member of Service Employees International Union Local 535 and a local organizer for her union. "All around we have to stand together to survive. The government is out to bust us. They don't care what it costs. You're the public and you've got to pay for it. They use your own money to fight you. We have a long way to go, and we have to start right here with the NASSCO 3. It's vital to our cause and vital to our country that these men don't go to jail."

Kevin O'Connor, President of the Irish Rights Committee, noted that Reagan's economic policies closely parallel Prime Minister Thatcher's of England. He also warned that increasingly people would be arrested and tortured for union organizing and political beliefs.

Support Stays Full Weight

Local supporters also conducted a 24-hour justice vigil the day before the

hearing and sentencing, again calling public attention to the mockery of justice and the persecution of labor unionists standing up for workers' rights. People packed the courtroom all day long, watching the government expose itself more and more as it rushed to sentence the three. Scores of letters were sent to the probation department by friends and acquaintances of the Three attesting to their good character and strong desire to improve social conditions. A statement of support was sent by Dan Luria from the UAW research department. "Today's NASSCO defendants are victims of an obvious frame-up. This tells us something about how threatening a strong movement of organized workers is to NASSCO and other corporations, not to mention the police and FBI that protects NASSCO's interest."

NASSCO 3 Speak

"We all have to be more careful," said defendant Mark Loo. "Barton is the exception that proves the rule. We shouldn't let what happened intimidate us or cause us to stop. Which is what certain people wish would happen."

"Another thing which really concerns me," said Rodney Johnson, "is what happened to us. A precedent was set with Ramon Barton. It has tremendous implications for other trade unionists. It is a dangerous precedent in terms of my own political beliefs and personal beliefs. I'm concerned about what it means for all of us."

When asked by the judge if he had anything to say David Boyd's strong stand with the working class and continued concern for workers at NASSCO shone through. "The media asked me what I would do differently. That's always a hard question to answer. But when I went home in August to bring my fiancée back here, I should have stayed. If I'd come back a week after the strike, I'd still have my job, I'd still be shop steward. I'd have run that safety check like I always do and maybe they would (Beebe & King) still be alive today. I don't think that's beside the point. I think that is the whole point. The working class is *the* class. We should have our rights and be able to stand up for our rights." □

...Thatcherism

continued from page 9

percent of Standard Oil of Ohio, and the Midland Bank in London bought the Crocker National Bank of San Diego.

These two factors threaten the Western alliance. The first one means international trade will develop a stop-and-go characteristic based on the monetary policies and political climate of a country, throwing production into ever deeper anarchistic up and down swings. France recently discovered that electing a socialist president would upset the exchange rates of the franc. The franc fell in value presumably because foreign exchange traders fear an increase in French inflation.

As the United States keeps its interest rates high, a schism develops in Europe. It's fine for Thatcher, whose pound is holding against the dollar, because her policies are threatened by cheaper European goods, but to other European countries with lower interest rates, it's something else. *Business Week* says, "The most massive currency-support operation the world has seen in three years is failing. After spending nearly 11 billion dollars in eight weeks to bolster the French franc, the German mark, and other Continent currencies, many European central bankers are resigning themselves to the fact that tighter monetary policy — meaning higher interest rates and even slower growth — is the only option left to stop their money from sliding.

"The move away from a failing intervention policy towards a tighter monetary policy to stabilize the currency markets comes at a time of extremely high unemployment and rising social tensions in Europe — tensions that can be exacerbated by any new deflation exacerbated by any new deflationary actions. In fact, the growing strength of the left means that the moves toward higher interest rates and slower growth arising out of the currency turmoil may force abandonment of deflationary policies by the fall. With European Community unemployment 35 percent higher than a year ago and with youth unemployment topping 38 percent, the creation of jobs will be a priority for all governments over the next 12 months." (June 8, 1980)

Some analysts fear that instability in the exchange rates will delay the economic and political unity of Europe creating strong and weak blocks of nations instead. Clearly Britain will not keep its membership in the European Economic Community if such a state comes to pass. "The Germans will not spend 50 percent of their exchange reserves to defend the French franc in the interests of political unity," says one European analyst even though Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has promised to defend the French currency.

Leonard Silk wrote recently, "Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany has again declared that high interest rates in the United States are undermining Europe's economies and could lead to a world depression. . . . What Chancellor Schmidt is worrying about is that the United States, by relying so heavily on the control of the money supply to curb inflation and by allowing interest rates to soar, is worsening Europe's problems of stagnant economic growth and

high inflation.

"High interest rates here cause the dollar to strengthen and European currencies to weaken, forcing costs of imports to Europe upward. To defend their currencies, the Europeans push their own interest rates up, threatening their economies with worse unemployment. But the Reagan Administration cleaves to its hands-off policy on both interest rates and foreign-exchange rates. A worsening European slump could damage the market for American exports and exacerbate pressures for protectionism." (*New York Times*, June 5, 1981)

Prognosis

The outlook for Britain is clearly not healthy. Thatcherism will not breath new life into a dead horse. The most likely events are the assumption of power by Labor, which will start the deficits again just to get the country going. The main problem will be — can the U.S. and its allies pull together the money to loan Britain to cover the debts, or will they let Labor print money and follow the Weimar Republic path of social disintegration?

Our sincere hope is that the British Labor Party will be able to mobilize its supporters and contain the opposition sufficiently to embark on socialist reconstruction, using the power of government to guarantee the employment of its citizenry. If this is not done, or can not be done, then the danger of a backlash, and the fascization of Britain will become real.

As the revolutionary situation develops in Britain, the task of postponing socialist construction becomes harder and harder. □

Mao, China and Class Struggle

The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) official resolution on the late Chairman Mao Zedong and the cultural revolution is a mixture of correct and incorrect criticisms, in our view, reflecting the continuing struggle between two lines that has characterized the party's history.

One of those lines — represented by the forces in power today who follow the leadership of Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping — clearly prevailed, but the long-awaited verdict was also the product of compromise, indicating that the legacy of Mao and his ideological and political contributions still have currency among the people and to a degree within the party.

The resolution (see page 1) was the result of a nearly 5-year struggle carried out by Deng and his forces since Mao died in October 1976. This crusade started with the arrest of the so-called "gang of four" (Mao's closest associates in the party leadership) and ended with the replacement of CCP Chairman Hua Guofeng by Deng's longtime protege, Hu Yaobang. Hua had earlier been replaced as prime minister by another Deng supporter, Zhao Ziyang.

While sharply criticized, Mao was also highly praised in the party document, which was released June 30 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the CCP's founding.

"Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist," the resolution stated. "It is true that he made gross mistakes during the cultural revolution, but if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary."

This overall estimate, coupled with the fact that Hua was not removed from the CCP's leading Politburo, suggests that the Deng forces did not wish to jeopardize their position by moving too strongly against Mao and his hand-picked successor for fear of the impact this would have among the people and within the party. This was a smart decision.

At the same time, Deng, Hu and Zhao are firmly in power and are pursuing many policies that sharply contradict Mao's "activities as a whole," not just his proclaimed errors during the cultural revolution.

Mao's 'Errors'

The party document had nothing but support for Mao in the period up to the latter 1950s. At that point, it is said, he developed ultra-"left" views which became rampant during the 1966-76 cultural revolution.

During the late 1950s, the resolution said, Mao's "theoretical and practical mistakes concerning class struggle in a socialist society became increasingly furious, his personal arbitrariness gradually undermined democratic centralism in party life and the personality cult grew graver." This led to the cultural revolution, which the party now describes as "the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the party, the state and the people" since liberation.

Mao's biggest error, the resolution implies, was his theory on the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the campaign launched to rid the party of revisionists in power, particularly the late Liu Shaoqi and Deng. "The cultural revolution was defined as a struggle against the revisionist line or the

capitalist road," the resolution said. "There were no grounds at all for this definition. It led to the confusing of right and wrong on a series of important theories and policies."

Even during the period of his shortcomings, the resolution said, Mao made positive contributions, including his foreign policy (about which we disagree), emphasis on study, restoration of purged officials and his own criticism of ultra-"leftism," among others.

The *Guardian* does not have the space in this Viewpoint to put forward its full view of Mao and his era (though we hope to do so in future), but following are some thoughts about the CCP resolution:

We agree with the CCP that Mao's "contributions . . . far outweigh his mistakes." We also agree that he made errors during the cultural revolution, but believe that on the whole this extraordinary political upheaval was a positive phenomenon and that most of the shortcomings concerned the methods employed in carrying out the cultural revolution, not the theories upon which it was based.

Cultural Revolution Correct

In our view, the cultural revolution was a generally sound mechanism for waging the struggle for socialism after the assumption of state power by the working class. It was an application of the correct theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, principally by mobilizing the masses of people to rise up against revisionism within the party and the state apparatus. The 1966-76 manifestation, however, was seriously flawed by ultra-"leftism," thus failing in its objective strengthening the power of the masses. Indeed, the errors of ultra-"leftist" dogmatism enhanced the development of a more advanced form of revisionism, as evidenced by certain developments in China today.

The cultural revolution was based upon one of Mao's greatest contributions to Marxism-Leninism — the idea of the continuing class struggle under socialism. Lenin took note of this problem but did not live long enough to devote much attention to it. Further developed and expanded, the idea that the proletariat must continue the revolution in its new phase because classes and class struggle still exist after

the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production became one of Mao's foremost political preoccupations.

It's no coincidence that the Deng leadership picked the late 1950s as the period when Mao went "wrong" and concentrated on the cultural revolution in defining his errors. These are the times he broke most sharply with Soviet theories of socialist development.

In the first years after liberation, China followed the Soviet model with its emphasis on heavy industry at the expense of light industry and risked alienation of the peasantry in the process. Mao convinced the party to abandon this model in the late 1950s. Likewise, Mao also challenged the prevailing (and largely Soviet inspired) idea that following the transfer of power, the most important task of communists is to develop the productive forces. Mao argued that the most important task was the development of ideological consciousness and social participation by the masses, in the process creating conditions for the fullest development of the productive forces.

In addition, Mao held that the class struggle which continues under socialism was not only against the remnants of the old ruling class, but also against the continually persuasive ideas of this class and, most importantly, against what he termed the newly engendered bourgeoisie, by which was meant managerial and bureaucratic elites at the decision-making levels of party and state.

Masses Mobilized For Struggle

The struggle between the Mao group had Liu and his followers (who basically adhered to the Soviet development model, advanced the theory of productive forces and subscribed to class struggle only in its most limited application) set the stage for the cultural revolution.

Mao's method of conducting the struggle against this "revisionist headquarters" and its theories was to organize a campaign from below involving the mobilization of the masses against "those party persons in power taking the capitalist road."

Although the cultural revolution officially continued for 10 years, it had largely run its course by the end of the 1960s. The Mao group, now in com-

mand, began to take measures against the ultra-"left" excesses of the earlier period (including Deng, for instance) were returned to power, in keeping with Mao's policy of stressing rehabilitation rather than punishment.

By 1975, some of the policies which led Mao to initiate the cultural revolution were again being advocated. Once again, Deng was promoting the Liu line of productive forces, subordination of class struggle to production, reliance on material incentives and introduction of certain capitalist-type market mechanisms which would have compromised China's march toward socialism. After Premier Zhou Enlai died in early 1976, Deng was purged a second time because he was in a position to replace the late premier. Hua Guofeng, a party middle force on the fringe of the Mao group, was chosen Zhou's successor in a compromise move. A few months later, Mao died and Deng began his comeback.

The cultural revolution scored many accomplishments: It stopped, for a time, the policy advocated by party rightists which would have taken China down the revisionist Soviet road. It mobilized the masses in an intense, nationwide ideological struggle to determine the future course of Chinese socialism. It correctly stressed the need for politics (class struggle) in command without neglecting production ("grasp revolution, promote production"). It fought to restrict bourgeois right, prevent the development of small governing elites, reduce differences between mental and manual work, between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture.

Mao devised the cultural revolution because he did not believe the Liu-Deng policies would lead to the classless society which is the objective of the long-range transition period from socialism to communism. Mass participation and the elimination of class distinctions based on trimming the power of the leading elites (or the new bourgeoisie, as he called them) was seen as the correct method and the cultural revolution was a preliminary embodiment of this idea.

Ultra-"leftism" undid many of the good aspects of the cultural revolution. Serious mistakes were made in elevating elements of the struggle that were contradictions among the people into contradictions between the people

continued on page 15



During the Cultural Revolution, millions participated in the struggle to continue the revolution.

Busting Loose —

The State of Contemporary Black Films

Angela Brown

Busting Loose, the new Richard Pryor film, is turning out to be the comedy hit of the year. This film, originally titled *Family Dreams*, stars Pryor, Cicely Tyson, and Robert Christian. Pryor wrote the original story which was scripted by Roger L. Simon (*The Big Fox*) and adapted by Lonnie Elder III (*Sounder*). Oz Scott, stage director for Ntosake Sange's "For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf," makes a successful screen directorial debut in this movie. And William Greaves, the recent recipient of an Hommage by French audiences during the Festival of Black Independent American Cinema from 1920-1980, is the executive producer. Pryor's characterization in this film strays little from his album persona. Though the movie lacks the aggressive energy of his *In Concert* film or his albums, the movie does allow Pryor a fatherly sentimentalism absent from his recent screen portrayals as sidekicks in the popular *Silver Streak* and *Stir Crazy*. Despite the R rating (there's a lot of cursing in the film) it is

Culturally, the Harlem Renaissance reaffirmed the strength and fighting will of the black man.

great family entertainment. The vulgar language, part of the Pryor wit, only adds to the realism and humor of the movie. And in a period when the black film is practically non-existent, *Busting Loose* may turn out to be the most successful black film ever made.

In *Busting Loose*, Richard Pryor plays Joe Braxton, an ex-con. Braxton is a small-time crook who cons to survive. His worst crimes include impersonating a truant officer and counterfeiting of Christmas seals. The beginning of the film shows poor Joe threatened with imprisonment after botching a components robbery. But his parole officer, Donald (well-played by Robert Christian) forces him to drive eight rowdy "emotionally disturbed" kids and their teacher, Miss Perry (Cicely Tyson) from Philly to her parents' small farm outside of Seattle. The friendships forged and relationships developed on this trip take up most of the movie.

The best part of the film is the interaction of Pryor, the eight kids (all nationalities from about eight to early teens) and Cicely Tyson. The mishaps and chronic lack of funds force them to band together, learn from each other, and eventually trust each other. These ten people, at first strangers, become a family. And Braxton becomes a father to the kids. The kids all have different problems. There's the little white blind kid who has to learn to be self-sufficient. Tony, a Puerto Rican, is a pyromaniac blaming himself for the death of his parents. And Annie, who has survived by prostituting herself, is told by a fatherly, streetwise Pryor not to confuse sex with love. He comforts all the kids through their bad times. The movie shows people struggling, changing, developing — not as

deeply as in *Ordinary People* or even the TV show *Mash*. Yet the audience does get involved with these characters.

If there is a weakness in characterization, it is the Miss Perry character. She is so prim and proper — with those white gloves — at the beginning of the movie, we can't really believe she can relate at all to the kids. Yet we can believe in her relationship with the stuffy Donald. She and Braxton together are believable at the end since both have changed for the better. Actually, after seeing Tyson portraying stong, long-suffering women like Jane Pittman and Rebecca in *Sounder*, it's a welcome change to see her in a comedy as a person quite vulnerable.

Busting Loose is very much in line with the times. The only reason Miss Perry and the kids have to make the trip to Seattle is because their own center has its funding cut off. Cutbacks in social welfare programs endangering the livelihood and security of youth and adults is an everyday occurrence. Working people hopping on get-rich-quick schemes like the trapezoid (like the pyramid) scam happens often these days. Everyone looks for a way out of economic hard times. Braxton even sees conning the trapezoid scam artists as a way to defray the \$15,000 mortgage on Miss Perry's family farm. But here fantasy overtakes reality in a fairytale ending as the good-hearted banker and his wife, who had once refused Miss Perry a loan, decide to grant her the funds to set up a home for the kids. Private industry and finance comes through again. But I must admit I enjoyed the happy ending.

Another funny scene that was funny — if a little unrealistic — was Braxton's encounter with the Klan. When he cons the Klan into pushing the bus out of the mud, he displays his bad, streetwise cool in the face of crisis. The kids feign blindness to support his "I'm taking them to the Ray Charles school of the blind" story. When the creaky old bus blasts off splattering the Klansmen with mud, the whole audience cracks up. We all enjoy a laugh at the expense of the Klan. But the Klan are more treacherous and murderous goons than are cowardly buffoons. Their history of lynching, bombings of a church in 1964 murdering four small children, and shootings maiming and killing people in Chatanooga and Greensboro, attest to their inherent savage brutality.

But the rise of the Klan, Braxton's continuing joblessness spurring a life of crime, Miss Perry's school for homeless youth closing up, the aimlessness of youth like Anne, the townpeople's gobbling up of get-rich-quick schemes — all are symptomatic of a dying capitalist system. And the cultural malaise accompanying these social and economic problems has produced a dearth of black films. This signals a return to the racist stereotyping of early American cinema.

Early Black Film

Ben Vereen's black face act on the televised program honoring the inauguration of Ronald Reagan reminded me of a period in American history and cinema that I hoped would never occur again.

The years 1900-1922 were a period of unprecedented violence against the blackman as Klan terror caused the deaths of thousands of blacks. Over 239 blacks were lynched from 1919-1921 alone. Films like D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1914) provided the rationale for the debasement and extermination of the blackman. The only view most white audiences had of blacks in film was whites in black face. Invariably, these films perpetuated racist stereotypes of blackmen as sex-crazed animals lusting for white women, ignorant people led around by carpetbaggers, and so on. It was not until after WW I that the image of blacks began to change.

During the war years over half a million blacks migrated to the North. These blacks joined with the returning soldiers to make up part of the working force in the North. The capitalist economic crisis of the early 1920s led to the slashing of wages of many black workers. It led to "race riots" in Chicago and other cities. It led to a spirit of Black Renewal with the growth of the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) formed by Marcus Garvey and other organizations like the NAACP to fight politically the attacks on blacks by the government and the Klan.

Culturally, the Harlem Renaissance reaffirmed the strength and fighting will of the black man. And finally blacks were viewed favorably in films with the birth of black-owned film-making. For over 30 years and 34 pictures, black director, producer, and writer Oscar Micheaux examined the plight of the black middle-class. But mainstream Hollywood still adhered to classic stereotypes of black people. The depression years of the 1930s and early 1940s saw blacks as maids, butlers, entertainers, for example. Black nannies like Hattie MacDaniels and Louise Beavers appeared in movies like *Gone With the Wind* (1939) and *Imitation of Life* (1934). Entertainers like Bill Robinson, the Nicholas Brothers, Lena Horne, Ethel Waters, among others, all starred in all-black productions like *Stormy Weather* (1942).

The war years had Hollywood discovering blacks as heroic fighters for democracy worthy of everyman's respect. Films like *Lifeboat* (1944) and *Home of the Brave* (1947) with black actors Canada Lee and James Edwards respectively were used to show the world a united front against fascism.

At the same time, Communist screenwriters, directors, producers, and actors helped put out films like *Intruder in the Dust* (1947) scripted by Albert Maltz and *Cry the Beloved Country* (1952) scripted by John Howard Lawson. Black characters like Louis Beauchamp (Juana Hernandez) in *Intruder in the Dust* never bowed to any man and commanded the respect of the audience. Later, films like *Pinky* (1949) and *Lost Boundaries* (1949) showed blacks trying to pass as whites played by white actors and actresses as Mel Ferrer and Jeanne Crain.

Throughout the 50's HUAC harassment of actors Robeson, Edwards, Canada Lee took away some of the most imposing black actors and activists from the screen. Newer actors like Sidney Poitier and Harry Belafonte; Dorothy Dandridge and Diann Carroll portrayed blacks trying to make it using intelligence and in Dandridge's case sex. The growing Civil Rights Movement and the liberalism of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations brought a slew of movies respectful and some patronizing of the black man. But there were good films like *Raisin in the Sun* (1961) *Nothing But A Man* (1964) and *Learning Tree* (1968) written or directed by blacks that showed black family's struggle to change their lives.

Black Films — 70's and Today

The Black Liberation Movement and anti-war

Throughout the 50's HUAC harassment of Robeson, Edwards, & Canada Lee took away some of the most imposing black actors & activists from the screen.

movements of the late 60's and early 70's precipitated a change in perception of blacks in films. The government (under the Nixon years) responded to these movements with no-knock laws and assassinations as well as co-opting leadership in the movement. And the big execs at Columbia and other studios could not ignore history in the making. The Black Panthers, Fred Hampton, and Mark Clark had a great impact on the black community. So Hollywood experimented with turning out films flowing with the language and style of the BLM. The first noteworthy movie of this period with blacks involved in all stages of movie-making and set in the heart of the black ghetto was *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1970) directed by Ossie Davis. But it was not until they saw the great financial success of the Melvin Van Peebles' written, produced, directed, scored, etc. *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971) that Hollywood execs went all out to capture

continued on page 13

continued from page 12

the newly found black market. *Sweetback* grossed over \$10 million. A whole slew of movies made on B-picture budgets and reaping huge profits followed. There was *Shaft* (1971) written by Ernest Tidyman, a white writer who won the academy award for his screenplay for the *French Connection*, and directed by Gordon Parks, director of the autobiographical *Learning Tree* (1968). *Shaft* grossed millions and is credited with saving MGM. *Superfly* (1971), directed by Gordon Parks, Jr. and distributed by Warner Brothers, cost less than one half million to make but grossed over \$12 million. Other so-called Blaxploitation pictures followed including, *Come Back Charleston Blue* (1973), *Slaughter* (1971), *Shaft's Big Score* (1973) etc. These films appealed to a lot of blacks since for once they were allowed to win against the Man — whether the syndicate (white) in *Shaft* or the cops in *Sweetback*. Groups from CORE to local community groups denounced these movies for glamorizing pimps, police informants, etc. — the worst elements in the black community. Soon the masses of people grew tired of films exploiting the strivings of black people, transforming their militance and anger into individual getting over. In *Superfly*, Ron O'Neal's character tells people in the community who are trying to fight for the peoples' rights, "come back when you are ready to Deal, when you have guns." Meanwhile he seeks an individual deal for survival that involves hiring a hit-man to waste syndicate bigwigs who harass him. This cynicism, get-mine attitude transmutes the militance and unity engendered by the BLM into selfish individualism of do your thing.

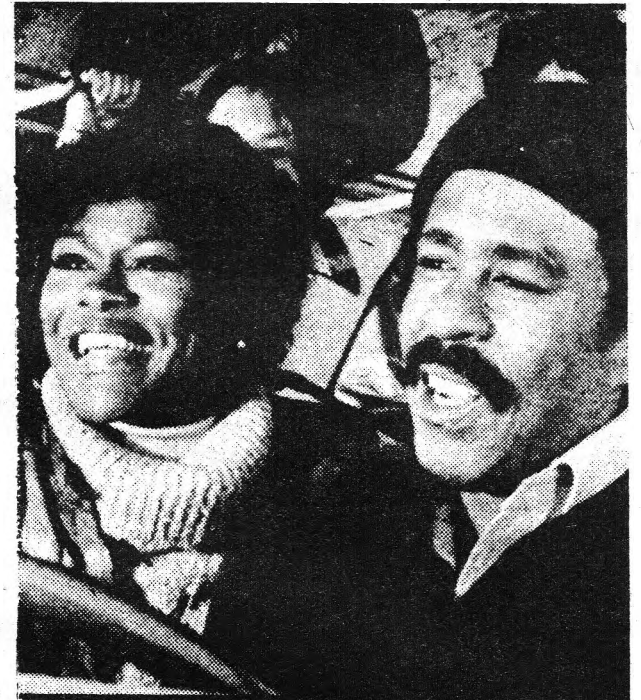
At the same time there were films coming out of Hollywood upholding the black family and attacking racial prejudice. *Sounder* (1972), adapted by Lonnie Elder III and directed by once-blacklisted director Martin Ritt; *Buck and the Preacher* (1972) erased the whitewash of western history and starred director Sidney Poitier and Harry Belafonte; and *Black Girl* (1972) directed by Ossie Davis. These films stand out as the best out of Hollywood of the early 70s.

The mid-70s saw the ebb of the BLM. It brought us such comedies as *Uptown Saturday Night*, *Let's Do*

It Again, etc. But black actors have had a hard time getting roles not derogatory to blacks. Recently, black actors, producers, directors, etc., have organized to fight for more black films with better images for blacks. There are precedents for this. The great actor, singer, and activist Paul Robeson left Hollywood in the 1940s because of industry stereotyping of blacks as "plantation Hallelujah shouters." Cicely Tyson refuses to act in any production as a whore, maid, or any other stereotype. Poitier has admitted in his autobiography that he turned to directing because of the lack of quality roles for blacks. And now The Association of Black Motion Pictures and Television Producers has been formed by people such as Ivan Dixon, Alfred Foster, Durville Martin, etc. to fight for more blacks in the industry. Media Artists Against Discrimination, Inter-Cultural Media Action Guilds, and Concerned Black Artists For Action demonstrated outside the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion to protest the increase of racism in Hollywood. As Dorian Harewood (who portrayed Simon Haley in the mini-series *Roots II*) noted:

It's no coincidence that roles are not only dwindling but shifting too. A TV network had me under contract to develop a series for me. ... They came up with 'Siege,' a television movie I was in. It would star me as a drug crazed criminal who beats up old women, goes to jail, gets off the dope and is put on parole — but only under the condition that he goes back out to fight crime. They couldn't even show a black doing good for its own sake but only so he wouldn't go back to the slammer. Pretty positive, huh?"

But it is the climate created by the Reagan administration's budget cutting, the provoking of the Klan by letting them off for murder and harassment of union organizers and blacks throughout the country, etc. These same conditions are bound to strengthen a core of artists upholding their social responsibility to their audience. Movies like *Fort Apache* (1980) and television shows like the *Jeffersons* and *Hill Street Blues* that reinforce racist stereotypes will continue to be criticized by these ar-

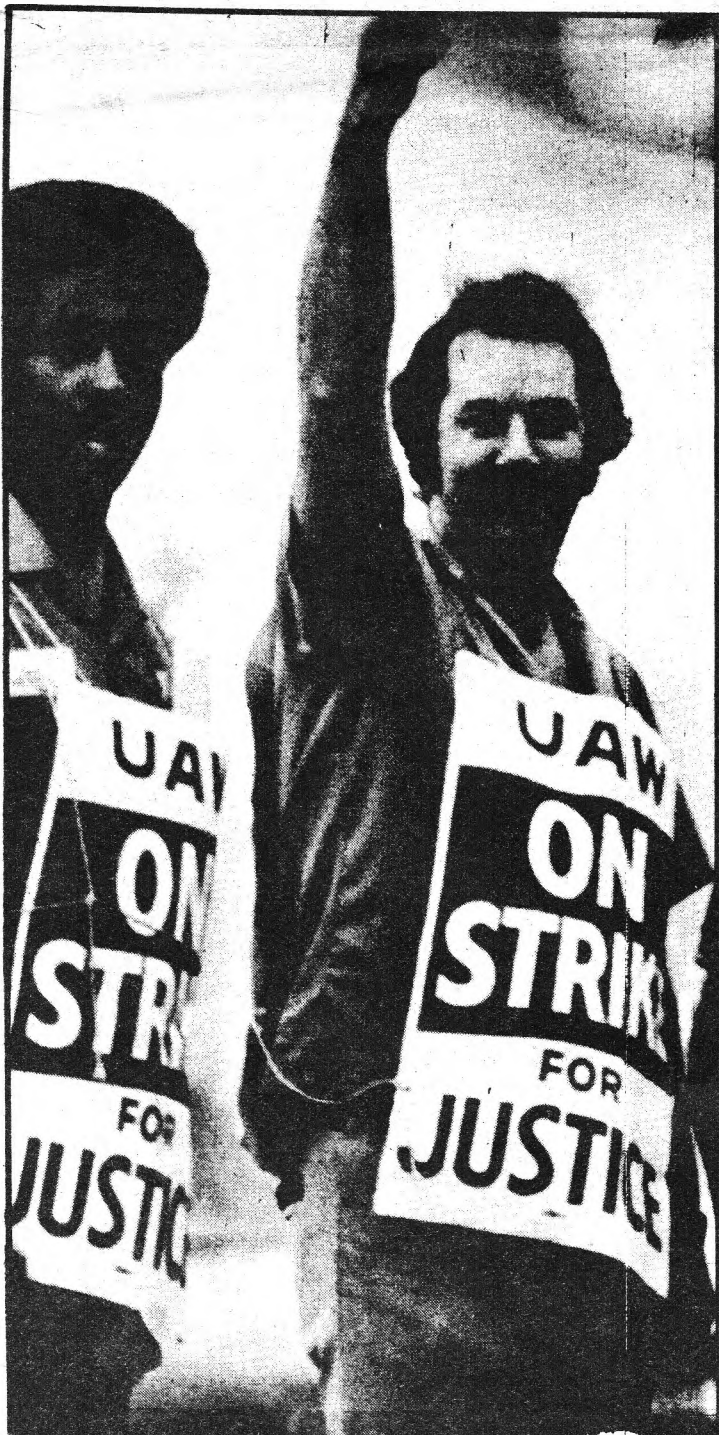


Richard Pryor and Cicely Tyson in "Busting Loose."

tists. This is a good sign for a community of artists recognizing the role of visual media in particular in shaping public opinion.

Busting Loose — A Hit

Like I said before, check out this movie. The kids are great, Pryor is great. Black movies — independent and Hollywood productions need a lot of support in this period. □



... Autoworkers Speak

continued from page 5

Scott: "What we need is a coalition party. The smaller parties should get together. A lot of people would go for a third party. I voted for Ed Clark. An opposition party would be a great thing because it could bring things out into the open."

Toehold for Scapegoating Minorities

The government scapegoat politics, attempting to blame the Iranian people, Cubans, and minorities for the economic crisis and polarize them to the side of war and fascism is a significant feature of the political scene. Auto workers are frustrated by the sharp downswing in their lives and there is a certain openness to the capitalists' scapegoating. The UAW's "blame the Japanese imports campaign" has brought many autoworkers out to take a swing at a Toyota. Al is quick to agree, "They're bringing Cubans in here, taking our jobs." The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Asia and Latin America and the isolation of the United States among the countries of the world have left Americans with a sense of helplessness and shame. This is being played up by the capitalists to build up the military, whip up chauvinism and prepare for war.

"I wouldn't let no two-bit country tell me what to do," Al shook his fist. But at the same time, lack of trust in the government undercuts the chauvinism campaign and people see another side. "I think Iran was just a political thing," Al continued. "I think both political parties had a lot to do with it because it couldn't hurt either one of them... I didn't see a single one of the hostages come back that was hurting. Diane talked about who was actually held hostage. "The American people's minds were. By who? The government, ours."

The lack of trust in the government leads white workers like Al to agree with Bernard that the government is behind the Klan and the Nazis. "I think the government is sort of backing the Nazis so they will uprise against other groups. Let the people fight against each other so they can carry

on what they want to do." Bernard: "There's no question about it; the U.S. government is behind all this. Because if all the people in this country, all the poor people, would come together to find out what the United States is doing to them, then a revolution would be unavoidable."

"You'll Have Your Change"

Bernard sat back to make predictions about the next few years. With 20 years in the plant and union and experience as a GI and a civil rights activist, Bernard brings a sober perspective to the 1980s. The clarity of workers like Bernard will be invaluable to other autoworkers as the capitalist economic and political crisis deepens.

"To get back to something that I'm more familiar with, the civil rights movement. On a hot day, a certain black lady said that she wasn't going to the back of the bus. From that, the American continent was never the same. This is what will happen again. There's no other point in history that this could have happened. It shall come again that at a certain given time, a certain given situation will happen and it will be set off and nothing will be the same again. Then you'll have your change. People get out of work, and you're black, and you're white, put into the same position, they you start thinking alike. So we better start putting our heads together and find out what's going on here. I'm not going to sit by and let somebody beat the hell out of me. No way! because I figure the rights I'm asking for is a God-given right... There's certain things we contribute to this country, our taxes, our labor. There's certain things we expect this country to do for us. And they're supposed to do it and they're not doing it... This guy up here (Reagan) is doing more good to substantiate that than anybody else who's been up there to this point. He's going to bring it to pass. He's creating the right atmosphere and the right situation... and he's going to get it going sooner than you think." □

SPORTS

Soviets Give Cosmos, S. Africa a Boot

Anthony LaRusso

Being black and living in South Africa is something like being Jewish and living in Germany in 1940; if you call that living. Try to fathom that. What you would consider barbaric treatment for a dog is common practice in dealing with blacks. The laws are written to exclude all blacks from any social justice, rights or freedoms that the white settlers have. And this is in their own country! It is called apartheid, meaning separate, to keep apart. Keep white apart from black.

You must understand all this to understand why the Soviet Union refused to play in a scheduled soccer match July 12 against the New York Cosmos. The Cosmos have a player on their squad by the name of Steve Wegerle. Mr. Wegerle was born in South Africa. The Soviet team, the Donetsk Shakhtyor Soccer Club, said they would compete if the South African didn't. Krikor Yepremian, Cosmos General Manager said, "Steve is a member of our team and I expect that he will play." So much for a Soviet-U.S. confrontation on the soccer field.

The tournament is called the Trans-Atlantic Challenge Cup. It was supposed to provide us with the best from the North American Soccer League against the best from the other side of the ocean. It would have, too.

I tried to get the Cosmos' and Steve's side of the story. It's possible, I thought; he might want to publicly denounce the policies of apartheid. Maybe the team would come out against this brutal system of rule. No such luck. The team would not give a statement. They said they were very busy trying to get a replacement for the Russians. As for Steve Wegerle, he wasn't taking any calls.

If Mr. Wegerle will not tell his side, we must judge, then, by the only facts we have. Steve Wegerle is still a citizen of South Africa. He has been silent throughout this entire incident. The boycott of the Cup competition was the only course of action left to the Soviet team. The action is based on a multi-

nation agreement that any event with a South African participant was to be boycotted. As simple as it sounds, as honest as it sounds, as just as it sounds, the Soviet Union is being heavily criticized for it. It is being accused of mixing politics with sports. These are the same people of the press who said the U.S. Olympic hockey team victory was especially sweet because it kicked ass on the Soviets. The same people of the press who hailed Jimmy Carter's Summer Olympic boycott. Now the Soviet Union has no right to bring politics into sports.

For the icing on the cake, the State Department is now claiming they "think the reason is fake." An unnamed spokesman for the Department is speculating that the Russians are fearful of defections. Of course, the gutless press being true to form has aped them all the way. The Soviet team's only

words were in reference to no South Africans, period.

Historically, outrage has followed any event that would allow a South African team or player to compete. The Davis Cup Tennis Tournament drew demonstrations a couple of years back. When Callie Conotze of S. Africa boxed in Florida last year, people took to the streets and even filed for court injunctions to stop it. In the 1976 Olympics, many African nations refused to attend because the New Zealand rugby team broke a nation-to-nation agreement and played the South African team, breaking a boycott. When the New Zealand team was not suspended from the Olympics, the African nations withdrew.

Many athletes have refused to compete in South Africa, and turned down huge amounts of money in so doing. American athletes. This sort of story is usually swept under the rug, put in the etc. column. If I'd have known last week that John McEnroe turned down \$750,000 to play Bjorn Borg head on last year because it was in South Africa, I would have been rooting for him to win Wimbledon. Instead, I wasted my cheers on the loser. Well, at least I'll have been rooting for a winner Sunday. One loud boisterous yell for the Soviet Union for telling South Africa NO. □



The Cosmos in less controversial times: The 1980 Soccer Bowl against the Strikers.

THE SOCIALIST ROAD

**Character of Revolution in the U.S.
and Problems of Socialism in the
Soviet Union and China**

**Jerry Tung
General Secretary
Communist Workers Party**

Send \$4.95 plus 70¢ for postage and handling to:
Cesar Cauce Publishers and Distributors
Box 389, 39 Bowery, New York, N.Y. 10002

... Agee

continued from page 2

"likely to cause serious damage to the national security or foreign policy." Since articulate criticism of an aspect of foreign policy might damage the credibility of the policy, the Court effectively ruled that a person can be denied a passport for criticizing foreign policy!

Equally ominous is Burger's analysis of the freedom of speech issue. "Agee's disclosures, among other things, have the declared purpose of obstructing intelligence operations and the recruitment of intelligence personnel. They are clearly not protected by the Constitution," states the opinion. With this ruling the Supreme Court has elevated the efficiency of the CIA's operations above the First Amendment rights to free speech and travel.

For Phil Agee the decision, while a setback, is hardly a surprise. In Hamburg, where he lives with his wife, a German national, he expressed determination to continue his "serious scholarly work analyzing the activities of the CIA." For Phil this decision is just another variety of harassment, more serious than many he has experienced over the last seven years, a blow but certainly not a knockout. After years of effort, the CIA and the Justice Department succeeded in convincing seven Justices of the Supreme Court to mutilate the Constitution out of a desire to silence Phil Agee. They haven't succeeded. □

Stewart Klepper is a contributing journalist.

... Mao, China

continued from page 11

and the class enemy, thus violating Mao's own seminal contributions on the question of contradiction. The notion of socialist legality was severely threatened as a result. Terms such as bourgeoisie in reference to political opponents were scientifically incorrect and led to bad practices and persecution.

In addition, Mao permitted the development of an unseemly cult of personality around himself. The slogan "politics in command" was so dogmatically interpreted that it hampered production, education and the development of science and technology. Voluntarism, that is, attempting to move too quickly toward communism when objective and subjective conditions were not ripe, was a characteristic of the period, as was idealism, dogmatism and elitism on the part of the leading group. These policies contributed to the political instability in China and a degree of disillusionment among the masses.

Another big shortcoming of the period, though the current CCP leaders regard it as a virtue, was the development in the mid-1970s of the class-collaborationist "Three World Theory," which calls for a tacit alliance with U.S. imperialism to aim the main blow internationally at the

USSR. During the early part of the cultural revolution, China was sharply critical of the USSR while regarding the U.S. as the main enemy. Over the years, however, Mao came to identify the Soviet Union, quite mistakenly, as a capitalist country and ultimately as the principal enemy. In our view, even if the CCP left eventually regains power (and the pendulum is still swinging), China cannot be restored to the front ranks of the world revolutionary movement unless it abandons this bankrupt thesis.

Don't Forget Class Struggle

There were undoubtedly more errors committed in the cultural revolution. And, of course, it failed. Our point isn't that the cultural revolution was without very serious errors but that the basic ideas behind it contained many important positive aspects that Marxist-Leninists will dismiss only at their own peril.

If it was correct to launch the cultural revolution against revisionism in power, it was also correct to struggle against ultra-"leftism" in power. Confronted with the need to clothe, shelter and feed a billion people, it was essential to develop a better balance between class struggle and production and bet-

ween ideology and theory on the one hand and practice on the other.

Unfortunately, in attempting to correct these imbalances, the CCP under Deng's leadership has tilted much too far in the direction of subordinating class struggle to production and ideology and theory to practice. Indeed, practice is now said to be the sole criteria for determining truth, a pragmatic error of the first order when separated from the class struggle,

ideology and theory.

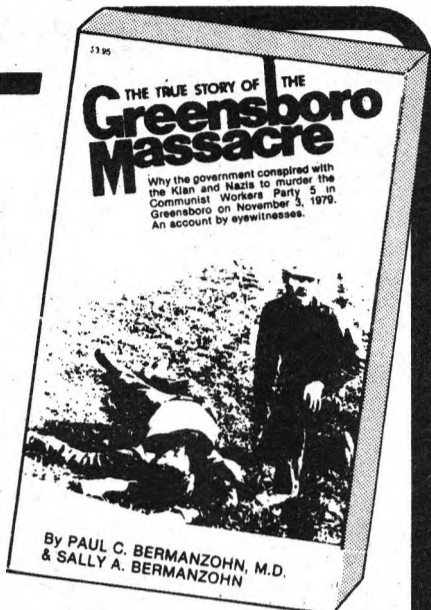
There are many unanswered questions concerning the correct road toward socialism and communism. No one set of ideas, including Chairman Mao's, have solved the problem. But Mao's contributions, including many of the ideas that formed the basis of the cultural revolution, constitute an important part of the solution needed in the development of a classless society. □

From El Salvador to Greensboro The U.S. Gov't Backs Right Wing Death Squads

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

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

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



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

Send \$3.95 in Check or Money Order To:
(Include 70¢ for postage and handling)
César Cauce Publishers and Distributors, Inc.
P.O. Box 389, 39 Bowery, New York, N.Y. 10002



Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

HOW TO CONTACT THE CWP

Hawaii: (808) 947-1821
Los Angeles: (213) 748-7741
San Diego: (714) 223-5566, x. 560

SOUTH:
Durham: (919) 682-1014
Greensboro: (919) 275-6589
Houston: (713) 523-7441
Birmingham: (205) 595-5716

BOOKSTORES

Michael Nathan Bookstore
402 E. 25th Street, 2nd Fl.
Baltimore, Md. 21218
(301) 235-3853

Cesar Cauce/Michael Nathan
Memorial Bookstore
951 E. Main Street
Durham, N.C. 27701
(919) 682-1014
Hours: M 6-9 pm
W 12-2 pm
Sat. 10-2 pm

Bill Sampson Memorial Bookstore
2307 South Maple
Los Angeles, Ca. 90011
(213) 748-7741
Hours: Tu-F 2-7 pm
Sat. 12-5 pm

Cesar Cauce Memorial Bookstore
919 A Street
Greeley, Colorado

CALL OR VISIT:

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

OR CALL YOUR LOCAL OFFICES

EAST:

Baltimore: (301) 235-3853
Boston: (617) 364-5813
New York: (212) 732-4309
Philadelphia: (215) 848-8565
Pittsburgh: (412) 682-3619
Washington, D.C.: (202) 678-1851
W. Virginia: (304) 595-6447

MIDWEST:

Chicago: (312) 935-6350
Columbus: (614) 268-0783
Detroit: (313) 834-9636

WEST:

Greeley, Colo.: (303) 356-9951



Try Workers Viewpoint!

Send for a subscription today!

- 1 year — \$20.00 (50 issues)
- 6 months — \$12.00 (25 issues)
- Unemployed Students — \$5.00/year
- Prisoners — \$1.00/year
- Sustainers — \$25.00/year
- Exchange (Please list your publication below)

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

WORKERS VIEWPOINT
(GPO BOX 2256, NY, NY 10116)

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!

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY, U.S.A.

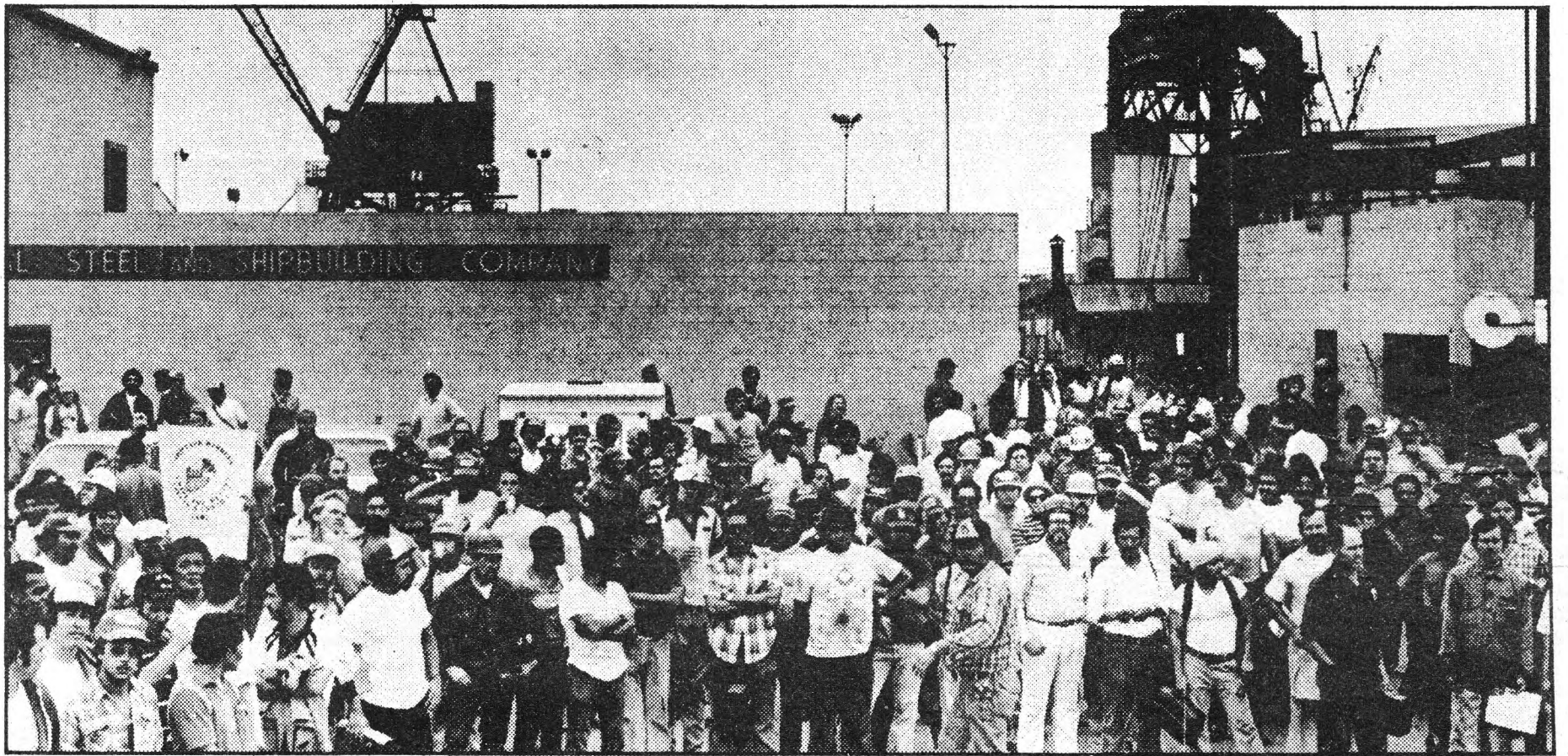
VOL. 6 NO. 28

JULY 22-JULY 28, 1981

50 CENTS

NASSCO Representation Election Set

United Shipyard Workers- The New Challenge



NASSCO workers outside the shipyard's gates listening to organizers from the United Shipyard Workers and other organizations on July 7.

Greg Elwood

SAN DIEGO, CA — On July 8, six months and a day since trusteeship was imposed on their union, NASSCO workers filed papers for a representation election. The United Shipyard Workers Union has achieved its goal of getting over 30 percent of NASSCO's Iron Workers Local 627 members to sign authorization cards. There will now be an election, conducted by the NLRB to see which union will represent the 2,400 bargaining unit employees. The Labor Board has set a tentative date of July 30.

The day before the filing, the USWU held a rally at the main gate of the giant shipyard. Organizers stood in the bed of a pick-up to address the crowd. "Now you got a choice," shouted JR, a Black USWU activist. "The International steals your \$10 a month and gives you nothing. It's time to kick them out and vote in the United Shipyard Workers."

This battle has shaped up over the dictatorial actions of the Iron Workers International. One of the most reactionary unions, the International has consistently sold out the members at NASSCO. They refused to aid the strike last August when the workers went out for three days to protest the firing of their union leaders. International Vice-President Lon Goodwin was quoted in the Los Angeles Times then as saying the strike was communist-led and for workers to re-

ject the CWP. They did nothing for the NASSCO 3.

During the election for officers last December, the International endorsed the incumbent Business Agent, Cherokee, who had turned against the workers. When the strike leaders won the election in spite of tremendous red-baiting, the International clamped the local into trusteeship, suspending all internal democracy.

What Trusteeship Means

Since the trusteeship, people have seen what International control means. They appointed a biker named Ed Troxel to the position of Business Agent. Troxel had lost the previous election when he ran on the International's slate. Known company spies and Klansmen have been appointed as shop stewards.

Except for the deduction of union dues, most people would not know it is a union shop. What makes this period especially crucial is the upcoming contract; the agreements between NASSCO and its seven unions expire Sept. 30. The victors of this representation election will negotiate the labor contract.

Gains Through Big Debate

Why have NASSCO workers embarked on this course? People ask: isn't there a better solution? The decision to build a new union is not one that is made lightly. Before taking this

continued on page 3

NASSCO 3 Sentenced to 2 Years

A Miscarriage of Justice

Erin White

SAN DIEGO, CA — On Tuesday afternoon, July 14 at 3:30 the NASSCO 3 were sentenced. The three defendants were given two years for each of the four counts they were convicted on. They will have to spend six months in jail and spend three years on probation. They all remain out on probation pending appeal.

The sentencing shot home to supporters of the three men and to supporters of constitutional and political rights the implications of the case. While the broad support which has been generated for the three forced the government to back off the maximum sentence of 35 years, the fact that they were convicted at all is still the deepest travesty of justice.

The probation department recommended that the three be barred from union politics for the duration of their probation. Again, it was the pressure put on the judge by the broad support which kept him from imposing that condition.

Set up and entrapped by the government because of their success in organizing their unions at National Steel & Shipbuilding Company, their conviction and verdict has implications for all those who work to organize militant trade unions and for all those involved in organizing people for their basic rights and needs. "This is the first time that we know of where the government has used an agent to

continued on page 10