

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

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

VOL. 6 NO. 23

JUNE 15-JUNE 21, 1981

50 CENTS

Justice Demands Free the NASSCO 3!

Erin White

SAN DIEGO, CA — On June 5, at 4:30 p.m., a verdict was returned in the case of the NASSCO 3. After a day and a half of deliberation, the jury found David Boyd, Rodney Johnson and Mark Loo guilty of three counts of possession of explosives and one count of conspiracy to firebomb National Steel and Shipbuilding Co. (NASSCO) power transformers. The verdict against these three union leaders was totally unexpected as experienced courtroom reporters and even the prosecutor and judge expected a hung jury. The conviction, which goes against all the facts in the case, is igniting a fire which is not likely to be extinguished for years to come.

Judge Leaves No Choice

The prosecution's redbaiting legal strategy, Judge Edward Schwartz's suppression of vital evidence about the FBI's, NASSCO's and the San Diego Police Department's union-busting activity and the judge's vague instructions to the jury concerning the meaning of entrapment all combined to produce a conviction. According to Cindy O'hara, a paralegal aid to the defense who interviewed nine of the jurors, the jury tried not to discuss the Three's political beliefs despite Prosecutor Michael Lipman's constant references to them throughout the trial and in his final arguments. Their verdict hinged on when Ramon Barton became a government agent. Was he an agent when he informed on a 27 August 1980 picket line at a NASSCO official's house, that is, before the alleged bomb plot? Or was he an agent only after he was paid by the FBI on September 3, after Barton initiated the alleged plot? According to the jury, when Barton became a government agent determined whether Boyd, Johnson and Loo were entrapped.

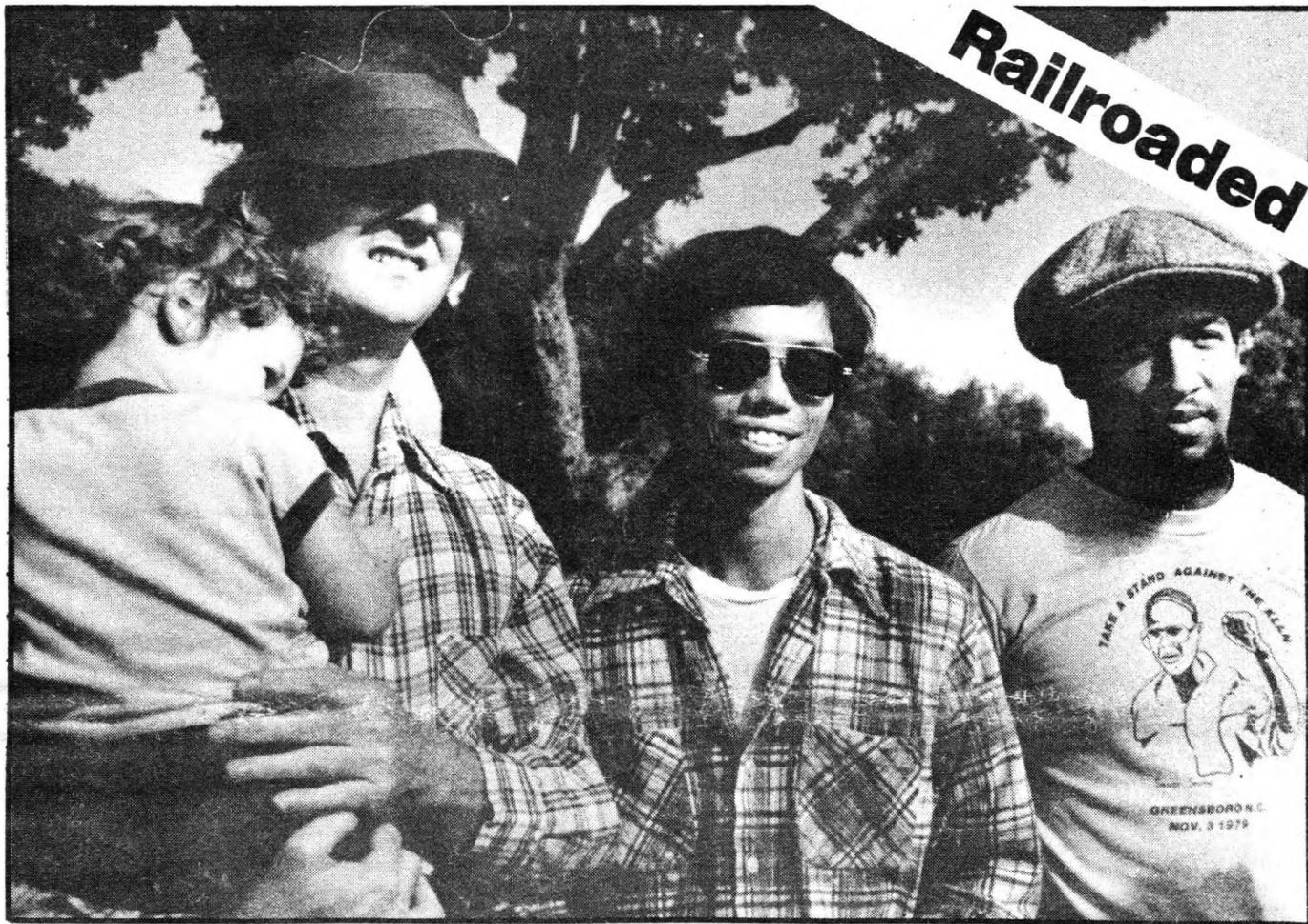
The judge left it up to the jurors to decide, not telling them of a legal precedent which supports the NASSCO 3's contention of entrapment, and the jurors decided Ramon Barton was not a government agent when he initiated his alleged bomb plot.

But the jurors were uneasy with their decision. As the verdict was read, three women jurors cried. One juror, a Mr. Vaughn, said that, although he thought the Three were guilty, Ramon Barton was a bounty hunter and the Three should do no jail time. Four jurors initially thought the NASSCO 3 were entrapped, but without knowledge of the legal precedent they could not back up their opinion.

Tons of Files

The government and NASSCO coverup has not been unraveled in this case yet. Many facts are not yet available to the defense and may never be. Some things came out in the course of the trial, and their partial nature indicates that there are many more skeletons hiding in the government's closet.

Prosecutor Lipman argued in his



The NASSCO 3, from left to right, David Boyd, Mark Loo and Rodney Johnson

closing statements on June 2 and 3 that the defense was "throwing up smokescreens to confuse the issue in the case." An examination of the facts shows who is hiding behind smokescreens and who is fighting to clear the air. Lipman revealed in the fourth week of the trial that contrary to previous testimony from the FBI and NASSCO, that indeed, NASSCO, the FBI and the San Diego Police Department met on August 22, long before any alleged bomb plot was discovered. Lipman admitted it had taken him one whole week to fix a date on the meeting.

His revelation contradicted FBI agent Schneider, supervisor of the NASSCO 3 frame up. NASSCO labor relations manager Carl Hinrichsen perjured himself when he denied knowledge of meetings among the three parties. Both Schneider and Hinrichsen attended the August 22 meeting.

The FBI claimed it was "not particularly interested" in the Communist Workers Party in San Diego, and had denied the existence of files on union activists, particularly CWP. Files surfaced later. They were explained away during the trial as "dead files" and "routine." A file was opened November 1979 to investigate the CWP. A file on one of the defendants, Mark Loo, was also begun in 1979.

Another file was opened in July 1980, and in a third file, which began in August 1980, the "disinterested" FBI compiled a list of 32 "possible" members of the CWP in San Diego.

Militant Solidarity

The government is running scared — scared of the strong rank and file movement that has been going on in the NASSCO shipyard. The workers persist despite firings, arrests, trusteeship, and other acts design to break unions at NASSCO, especially Ironworkers Local 627. The government is frightened of the growing support for the NASSCO 3, and the issues which the case hinges on.

While it may have felt confident that they could stop a militant labor struggle, the government is panicked by the fact that the public is steadily developing awareness of the real NASSCO situation and that more and more people and organizations from American society are stepping forward to protest the outrageous violations of justice and rights by the companies and the government. Bob Hansen of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee said, "while they unjustly convict the NASSCO 3 of the conspiracy to bomb, the government is building bombs everyday."

On 4 June 1981 program held to celebrate what many thought would be a victory and over \$800 was raised. Over 150 people turned out to express their support for the three. Many who did not attend bought tickets. People who had not worked together for years put aside their differences to support each other and to build a movement against further attacks on trade unions and democratic rights, of freedom of association, speech and political beliefs.

Solidarity statements were given by other organizations who are under government attack. Karen Hopkins from the American Indian Movement; Deborah Fleming of Womenscare, a feminist health collective; Hector Marroquin, Socialist Workers Party leader facing deportation to Mexico; and Laura Zwezkbronner representing Lesbians for Political Action; all related this case to attacks on their own organizations. They pledged continued support for the NASSCO 3.

New endorsements are flowing into the defense committee's office. The state Executive Board of the Service Employees International Union Local 535, a statewide local has endorsed the Committee to Defend NASSCO workers. Abe Feinglass, International Vice-President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkman, AFL-CIO, has also endorsed the committee. Larry Holms of Workers World Party and David McReynolds of the Socialist Party have endorsed the committee. Margaret Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights have endorsed the committee. □

continued on page 2



Rodney's wife Diane with their children. Left to right, Michael 8, Zakya 3 and Patrick 10

NASSCO

continued from page 1

These files have been partially released to the defense. There are indications of many more files stuck somewhere behind the scenes, and much of the known files were held back to "protect the identity of another source."

Immediately after the NASSCO 3's arrests in September 1980, defense lawyers filed subpoenas for NASSCO's records on active unionists, Ramon Barton and others. NASSCO refused. At the time, they said they had no records (a familiar company theme in this case). And even if they did, they said they would rather destroy them than turn them over. To this day, no NASSCO files outside of standard application and termination forms on agent provocateur, the NASSCO 3 or any other union activists were turned over to the defense.

NASSCO took 400 photos of union activists leafletting the company's front gates, speaking at rallies or of different political groups selling their papers to NASSCO workers. NASSCO sent copies of the photos to four different law enforcement agencies (suspected to be the FBI, San Diego Police, National Security Administration, and Naval Intelligence) and the Todd Shipyard in neighboring Los Angeles. The FBI, "disinterested" in labor militants and political activists at NASSCO, never returned any of the photographs.

Judge Suppresses Truth

Witnesses who have detailed firsthand knowledge of NASSCO's activities through last summer's heated labor battle, have either had their testimonies severely limited, have been kept out of court altogether, or have disappeared from sight. Michael Contreras, former NASSCO labor relations officer had evidence that NASSCO planned to hire a goon squad

to beat up labor militants in an effort to stop them. He himself hired labor spies (a violation of labor law) and told defense attorneys outside of court that recruiting spies was a policy of the labor relations office. The judge only allowed Contreras to testify about his personal actions and not about company policy.

A former NASSCO security department manager, Richard Bradford, stated in a sworn deposition that he knew of at least 17 incidents when NASSCO attempted to recruit different workers as company spies. His deposition was not allowed as evidence in the court. The judge refused to subpoena him, stating that the deposition "did not have enough evidence" in it to warrant a subpoena. Bradford currently resides in another state, which is why the judge has to approve a subpoena.

NASSCO vice-president Joe Flynn, who personally hired Barton and was also present at the August 22 FBI/SDPD/NASSCO planning meeting is on an "extended vacation." FBI agent Debra Findlay, the FBI agent in charge of compiling the list of "possible" CWP members in San Diego and a conspirator at the August 22 meeting, has been transferred to an undisclosed FBI office on the East Coast.

Ironworkers International union officials who seized all Ironworkers Local 627 records, have also been "out of town." The International has consistently refused to back the NASSCO 3 and fight union busting in the yard. The records it holds and refused to make public help prove there was no alleged bomb plot.

Lipman: "We'll Use Archbishops"

Countering this weighty evidence of an official frame up, Prosecutor Lipman said that if the government had really been involved in a plot to frame the NASSCO 3, it would have used a real agent or someone more reliable than Ramon Barton, someone "like an archbishop." Actually, Ramon Barton is a very likely candidate for the leading role in a government plot. He worked in the yard and had contact with all the workers and their leaders. Without any feelings of remorse or regret — "I'll say anything when I'm playing a role," he testified — he lied to union leaders and to people who considered him a friend. Furthermore, he prostituted himself to the government for \$7,000, a new identity and a new job at another shipyard. Barton was working under the alias Ray Dixon at Louisiana Avondale, a New Orleans shipyard.

During the great industrial union drives of the 1930s it was common practice for companies to use spies cut from the same mold as Barton. To keep their workers from organizing, the Ford Motor Co. had one spy for every ten workers on the line. During the McCarthy Era the government used the Catholic clergy and religious

continued on page 4

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 Macquire, 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
Walter Lippman, Chairman, 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.
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
Asian Americans for Equality,
Los Angeles Chapter
National Lawyers Guild, UCLA
Student Chapter
Larry Holmes, Workers World Party
Dennis Serrette, President, National
Black Communications Coalition,
New York Chapter
Haywood Burns, Director, Center for Legal
Education and Urban Policy, N.Y.C.
Dorothy Healey, KPFK radio commentator
and New American Movement activist
(Los Angeles)
Rev. Philip Zwerling, First Unitarian
Church (Los Angeles)
Michael Parenti, author, lecturer and
adjunct professor, University of Maryland,
College Park (Washington, D.C.)
Ruth Gage Colby, U.N. Representative of
the Humanists (New York, New York)
Eqbal Ahmed, fellow, Institute for Policy
Studies (New York, N.Y.)
Mark Lemie Amsterdam, attorney
(New York, N.Y.)
Abbott Simon, Secretary-Treasurer, Center
for Constitutional Rights
El Sentimiento del Pueblo (Riverside,
Calif.)
Gloria Romero, co-editor, El Sentimiento
del Pueblo
Maggie Swenson, president, Legal Aid
Working Union (Louisville, Kentucky)
Ken Lawrence, Director, Anti-Repression
Resource Team and Organization
(Jackson, Miss.)
Murv Glass, Vice-Chairman, Board of
Directors Legal Defense Center
(Santa Barbara, Ca.)
Elmo Doig, political activist, N.Y.C.
Sanford M. Katz, attorney for National
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee,
N.Y.C.
Alan Rosenthal, Citizens United Against
Police Brutality
Joe Heath, attorney, Syracuse
John Marshall Kilimanjaro, Publisher
and Editor of Carolina Peacemaker
Rev. Henry Atkins, Episcopal Chaplain,
Univ. of Carolina, Greensboro
Robert Williams, professor, Guilford
College, Greensboro
David Dopkin, North Toledo Area Corp.
Debbie Weisman, attorney, Syracuse
Frances Borden Hubbard, activist, Sophie
Davis School, CUNY
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

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

NATIONAL NEWS

Father Berrigan Honored

"Have Courage to Act Decisively"

Eliot Chun

LOS ANGELES, CA—On May 24, a reception was held to honor Father Phillip Berrigan, a long-time antiwar activist and crusader for social justice. Father Berrigan was recently convicted, along with seven other Catholic

priests and lay people for participating in a courageous antiwar protest in King of Prussia, Penn. where they destroyed the missile cones at a nuclear arms facility. The event was also a fundraiser for the defense of the Plowshares

8 and the Greensboro Justice Fund.

The living room was filled with college professors, ministers, student activists and veterans of the antiwar movement.

The program was emceed by the Rev. Phil Zwerling, minister of the First Unitarian Church and advisory board member of the Greensboro Justice Fund. He explained that both the defense of the Plowshares 8 and the civil rights suit against the Klan, Nazi and FBI murderers in Greensboro would both have tremendous implications for justice-loving people. He recalled his close friendship with Bill Sampson, one of the CWP 5 martyrs with whom he had attended divinity school.

"When I realized that the William Sampson they were talking about on the news was the same William Sampson I went to school with, and went to demonstrations with, I realized that it

could easily have been me in Greensboro, and for that matter it could have been any of us here in this room. We have to understand that as we sit here tonight, the murderers of these five young people in Greensboro are walking the streets free. And that's why we're here tonight."

Greensboro attorney Tom Ono narrated a shocking videotape which chillingly recounted the Nov. 3 assassination and detailed the subsequent tidal wave of protest.

As the videotape ended, Father Berrigan rose slowly to speak. His face was lined and drawn, his eyes troubled. As he began to speak, his eyes remained lowered, as though he were thinking out loud. But his words were clear and penetrating. "After seeing that, there's very little to say..." But unfortunately, he explained, it was nothing new. He described society as being divided into "two groups."

continued on page 14

Marty Nathan Response to Wire Release

The following is an AP wire release sent over the service on May 28 and the response of Marty Nathan of the Greensboro Justice Fund.

RALEIGH, N.C., May 28 (AP) — State officials say some of the five major extremists groups in the state could end years of bickering and unite, and they say that if the groups ever find a way to put aside their differences...there could be violence. State Attorney General Rufus Edmisten says North Carolina may have more than its share of extremist groups because the state has long had a tradition of rugged frontier justice...and because North Carolinians respect differing views. The major extremist groups on the right are the National States Rights Party, the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis and the Liberty Lobby. The major group on the left is the Communist Workers Party.

Dear Mr. Edmisten:

Recently we of the Greensboro Justice Fund were informed of a cryptic message over the Associated Press wire service stating that unmentioned state officials expected "some of the five major extremist groups in the state could end years of bickering and unite." If such happened, those officials predicted that violence would ensue. The Communist Workers Party was mentioned at the end, along with the Klan, Nazis, and other right-wing groups. You were quoted as saying that the reason these groups exist was because the state had a "tradition of rugged frontier justice."

We think that this short piece, especially your comment, was enlightening, and we believe that other justice-loving people will find it an eye-opener. Although I am sure it was not intended that way, it has shed a little more light on the question: Who are the real terrorists?

We find ourselves thinking back to the events of November 3, 1979, in Greensboro, and remember just *who* got together, "settled their differences," and planned and carried out violence. Yes, it was the Klan and Nazis that formed the United Racist Front, and later planned the November 3 shootings that ended in the death of a Cone Mills union president and shop steward, two other union organizers and a pediatrician. What you failed to mention in *your* equation was that the other parties in this fragile coalition of hatred were at least one federal agent and a Greensboro police informant, both active instigators of the right-wing unity and the right-wing violence.

It is interesting that you should have failed to remember the participation of the government agents.

Moreover, I am sure that a lot of people would like to know just what you were referring to as "rugged frontier justice." Do you perhaps mean the

outlaw actions of the state militia working with the Klan, scabs, and the company at the Loray Mills in Gastonia in 1929? Or maybe the arson, shootings, and killings by racist groups against black students trying to get a decent education in Wilmington in 1971? Or more recently the paramilitary ambush of unarmed demonstrators in Greensboro that left my pediatrician husband dead, his face destroyed by a Klansman's shotgun blast.

Yes, these were outlaw acts, but the common thread of government permission, promotion, and protection runs through them all. I guess that what we can read in your statement is that law enforcement agencies have believed in "rugged frontier justice," acting outside the law of the land to attack and murder those who stood for justice, decent living conditions, and the right to an education for all.

We believe that this short piece may be prophetic — that right-wing extremists may be getting together. It is very likely, too, that once again they have the knowledge and consent of agents and officials of government. We and most of the people of North Carolina then ask, What do you plan to do about it, Mr. Edmisten?

Our guide once again must be the Greensboro Massacre, in which the Greensboro police sat and watched the shootings, the courts freed the killers, and state and federal officials could find no wrong-doing anywhere. With this as our model for the "protective" activity of government, the citizens of North Carolina should truly beware!

We should think about who you are really selecting as targets for the proposed anti-paramilitary training camp law. Will it be the Klan and Nazis who plan murder and race war, or will it be those who try to defend themselves against right-wing attack?

Who are the real terrorists? We must ask ourselves this question. Are they those who stand up for unions, against racism, for quality education, and risk losing their lives for it? Or are they perhaps the government agents and officials who promote acts of violence by right-wing groups, and then condone and cover-up after the fact? Who are the terrorists, Mr. Edmisten?

I believe that we shall find out the answers to many of our questions in the Greensboro Civil Rights Suit, which you have tried to dismiss as "revolutionary rhetoric." I believe the facts of the Greensboro Massacre will be an education to us all.

Sincerely,
Martha A. Nathan, M.D.
Co-Executive Director
Greensboro Justice Fund



Phillip Berrigan (right) spoke at the Greensboro Justice Fund benefit.

"Fast to the Death" for Vets' Rights

Julia Santiago

LOS ANGELES, CA. — About 600 Vietnam veterans are staging a sit-in in a "fast to the death," at the local Veterans Administration Wadsworth Hospital since May 21. They are demanding better medical treatment for all vets. The death of a veteran, James Hopkins, is strengthening the vets' resolve to continue.

James Hopkins was a Vietnam vet suffering from side effects of Agent Orange. He had been denied medical and psychological treatment because of the bureaucracy of the VA hospital and their initial claim that Agent Orange was harmless. Upset by the hospital's lack of concern for his health, he drove his jeep through the lobby glass doors and shot up the walls and ceilings. Two months later, on May 16, he was found dead in his home from a drug overdose.

Forced to take action against the VA, the hunger strikers have vowed to "fast to the death" as their last alternative. Their demands are (1) a non-veteran administration investigation of the death of Hopkins, a non-veteran

evaluation of VA hospitals of VA hospitals nationally. (2) Adequate research concerning health problems from exposure to toxic herbicides, including Agent Orange. (3) Implementation of a delayed re-entry program for medical examinations of all 4.2 million Vietnam vets for current disabilities. (4) Meeting with the President of the United States. One veteran terms the last demand "a non-negotiable issue."

The Reagan Administration has been forced to recognize the vets' demands because of massive support and sympathy. It has sent them two letters. One stated that there will be no reduction of medical care for vets. The other confirms that "an outside investigation" of the Wadsworth and Brentwood VA hospitals is under way.

However, the veterans remain firm on their position until all their demands are met. They said they have been lied to ever since they came back from the war. The hunger strike continues. □

Comrade Chandelle Markman died on June 6, 1981 in New York City. She was a member of the Communist Workers Party and a staff writer for the Workers Viewpoint newspaper. Born in 1956, Chandelle died of Lupus, a devastating disease which she had endured for a number of years.

Her constant struggle against the effects of the disease attests to her courage. Her unceasing concern for her family, friends and Party up to the very end attests to her selfless devotion to the people and principles she believed in. The countless articles and poems she wrote for All Africa Is Standing Up newspaper, Workers Viewpoint, and the Daily Challenge is testimony to the creative talent of our comrade. Though she was confined to a hospital on her last months, she went out fighting as he had lived.

The following is a reprint of a pamphlet prepared by the Markman family for Chandelle's funeral. The family is also planning a memorial service for her a year from now and asks that her friends help in the preparations.

Chandelle's name means female light or candle in French.

In a family that was politically active in the late 50's, it was evident that Chandy at the age of 3 was the best politician.

Throughout her life she continued her love for people as well as an intense struggle against social and economic injustice. Chandy attended Hunter College and received a B.A. degree in Political Science from Stony Brook in 1978. She enjoyed writing, and did hold jobs as a writer for community based newspapers in Brooklyn.

She was drawn to Brooklyn, as she said that many people there were deeply hurt by life, but were willing to work together as a community. Chandy received great satisfaction from writing and published stories about their struggles. She found that doing so lifted their spirits and encouraged them to go further.

Chandell was a leader, was fiercely independent, had the ability to confront injustice wherever she found it with poise and good effect. She loved children as fiercely as she loved life and she loved and accepted her family and her dear friends.

Chandelle was not afraid of death and though her life was short in years, she had a profound and moving effect on many people.

For us it is important that with time we transform our grief into a joy that we were fortunate to have had her. And as befits her name, she lit a candle that will glow forever.

Chandelle Markman 1956-1981



Sing to me a love song
Blue and mellow
Lift the grey from over my
Shoulder
Create for me the illusion of
a mind at peace
Erase for a moment the
day to day challenge
Place us high on a pedestal
where we
might see the coming of
the glory of thee —
And watch through our
four eyes the world turning
spinning on an axis —
never yielding — never
yielding

C.M.. 1980

... NASSCO

continued from page 2

figures from other denominations to break the workers' resistance. Today, considering the opposition to the U.S.'s role in El Salvador and the rest of the third world, the FBI would have an extremely difficult time finding a reliable archbishop.

No archbishop would participate in a dishonest scheme like the NASSCO 3 frame up, and any worker with even an ounce of principles would be ashamed to entrap their union leaders, who were responsible for saving literally countless lives in the yard. That is why, during the trial and despite government harassment and pressure, only one out of 6,000 workers at NASSCO testified for the prosecution.

Union Busting Up

"If they can do this to us," said David Boyd, "It can happen to everyone out there. We are just the first dominoes falling. If we don't stop it, all of us will tumble, one after the other. Keep up the spirit, watch out for your backs. Anyone could be next."

Government union-busting has sharply increased over the last few years. In the shipbuilding industry alone, there have been four major instances. At General Dynamic's Electric Boat Division in Groton, Ct., Peter Fisher was fired for opposing nuclear weapons. A leader of Trade Unionists for Democratic Action and a member of the American Friends Service Committee, he fought for his job and fought to keep his security clearance. His case is in limbo now and the in-

vestigators of his case have labeled the AFSC "communistic." At the Todd Shipyard in Seattle workers were fired for passing out leaflets outside the gates on their own time. At the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York, friends and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party were battling for their jobs as they were fired for their political beliefs. At the Louisiana Avondale yard, the company called in Ramon Barton to stop a union drive. Two workers suffocated in the hull of a ship there because of unsafe working conditions, much the same way that Michael Beebe and Kenneth King met their deaths at NASSCO soon after union leaders were fired.

The government has for years been going for the United Mine Workers of America's throat. When in 1977, President Carter failed to break the will of the union with the Taft-Hartley Act, it tried more covert methods. Court decisions against the union scrapped the automatic union recognition clause in the contract, giving the operators a free hand to hire scabs. The FBI admitted to spying on the union during the height of the rank and file reform movement. Supposedly the Feds were looking for communist influence and have stopped their investigation, but the informers' names have never been revealed and they are still in the coalfields.

The NASSCO 3 case is another link in a long chain of government sorties on the workers and oppressed. Cuts in Social Security which will put the elderly on a dog food diet, cuts in food stamps which will take food out of strikers' families' mouths, cuts in federal protection of workers' safety and health, cuts in education, trans-

portation and unemployment benefits — all this plus inflation and layoffs have the working class boiling. Spontaneous unrest is abundantly evident as is shown in the gigantic May 3 protest at the Pentagon and the mushrooming budget cuts coalitions around the country. The only way this unrest can sustain itself is if the workers and their trade unions get involved. The fighting leadership of the fighting Ironworkers Local 627 at NASSCO showed what the workers' organizations are capable of. That is why NASSCO, the police and the FBI conspired to bust the unions in the yard (particularly 627) and frame the NASSCO 3.

Support Blossoms

The NASSCO 3 will be sentenced on July 14. The judge may also consider a motion to dismiss the charges due to "outrageous government misconduct" on that day. Should the motion be denied, the defense team will file an appeal on the case. The 3 may be in jail for about a month until all the formal papers on the appeal are processed. The judge also has the option to double the bail for each defendant. Currently, the bail stands at \$40,000 each.

At a hastily organized press conference on Saturday, June 7, close to 100 people came out to show their shock and outrage at the unjust conviction. Gunnar Waage, a member of the NASSCO Workers Defense Committee expressed the sentiment of the community. "The depth of my concern is expressed by the fact that I hate to speak publicly. I view the August firings and September arrests, not just with the sense of disbelief, but with *deja vu*. It seems that whenever the voice of change burns strong and effectively,

the opposition will react, becomes desperate. In all good conscience, I feel obligated to speak here today because 3 union leaders face 40 years in jail when in fact it is the government and NASSCO who should be found guilty of a bombing conspiracy in the trial."

The supporters of the NASSCO 3 are determined to continue the fight to recruit more and more people in the struggle to free the NASSCO 3. The workers at NASSCO are continuing to fight for their union. In only one week, 700 of the 800 needed signatures have been collected so they can vote to decertify sell-out Ironworkers International they are stuck with bringing in the newly formed United Shipyard Workers Union.

The Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers calls on all supporters for the three defendants, all people opposed to government interference in labor disputes, and all those concerned about the deterioration of our democratic and constitutional rights to write Edward Schwartz expressing your concern about the trial and union busting.

Address letters to, the Honorable Edward Schwartz, c/o Eugene Iredale, Federal Defenders Inc., Central Federal Building, 225 Broadway, Suite 855, San Diego, Calif. 92101.

The Committee to Defend NASSCO workers originally anticipated \$50,000 in legal costs. Now they estimate it will take at least \$150,000 to go through the appeal. Tax deductible donations can be sent to the Clarence Darrow Foundation/NASSCO, c/o the Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers, P.O. Box 8383, San Diego, Calif. 92102. People who wish to get direct contact can call the Committee at (714) 563-0149.

LABOR NEWS

Bolger Stonewall Contract Talks

Will Postal Workers Stop the Mail?

Laura Johnson

NEW YORK, N.Y.—On July 20, the national contract for the two largest U.S. Postal Service (USPS) unions runs out. Last spring, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU, representing 250,000 workers) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC, representing 200,000 employees) established a joint bargaining committee in preparation for contract talks. But with less than six weeks to go in what could be a major contract fight in 1981, negotiations haven't even begun!

Last April 15, — just six days before the federally-mandated start of bargaining — Postmaster General Ray Bolger torpedoed the talks. Claiming USPS could not negotiate under the "chaotic" situation of dealing with seven unions, Bolger filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board to intervene in determining "the appropriate bargaining unit or units into a single entity."

The Post Office petition is a crude sleight of hand to delay negotiations and stone-wall contract talks. Their strategy is to push through a lousy contract at the last minute. Calling in the NLRB to decide the "appropriate bargaining unit," Bolger is attacking the unions right to bargain collectively for their membership.

This latest development has full backing from the Reagan Administration. Bolger bellowed he wants to take back the postal workers' uncapped COLA, a key provision the unions are determined to keep.

It is no accident that Bolger is playing hard ball with postal workers from

the beginning. The contract expires at a time Reagan is shoving massive budget cuts down the throats of public service employees. The Post Office's federal subsidy is slated for an \$800 million hatchet job.

How the postal contract fight goes can help define the path for public employees in months to come.

Background to Contract

Over the past decade, mechanization claimed the jobs of 80,000 postal workers. If plans for the nine digit zip code goes through, further automation will zap another 80,000 at the minimum.

The "move the mail at any cost" productivity drive has taken its toll on the working conditions, health and safety and lives of postal workers. Job combination, speed-up, and time-motion studies are the order of the day. Over 57,000 out of 673,000 postal employees suffered job injuries in 1979 alone. Fifteen postal workers die in job-related accidents a year. The USPS occupational injury rate is twice as high as private industry, the highest in federal government employment.

First Major Test

Still stinging from the 1978 contract sell-out, the APWU membership last fall kicked out the old-guard leadership of Emmet Andrews and overwhelmingly elected Moe Biller (former head of the pace-setting New York Metro local) as new General President. Biller gained a reputation as a militant union officer by backing the 1970 national wildcat and has been at logger-heads with Andrews since.

Although he failed to back a 1978

wildcat against the Andrews give-away contract, Biller later gave official backing to rank-and-file demands for amnesty for 113 workers fired after the action.

Biller came into office on a platform promising to fight to the end to retain uncapped COLA. This is a key demand of the rank-and-file. Base-pay wage increases have averaged only 3%, but due to a relatively strong COLA provision, postal workers average gross pay has tripled over the last 10 years, from a low of \$6,000 in 1970 to an average of \$18,000 by 1980. The new union administration also vows a fight for stronger health and safety provisions, including the right to walk off dangerous jobs. Under mandate from the national APWU convention, Biller will take the remaining amnesty questions to the bargaining table.

The 1981 contract will be the first test for the new leadership as well as the reform slate now heading up the NLCA, with Vince Sombrotto as president. The national APWU convention called on national leadership to stick

firmly to a "no contract, no work" resolution. Under law, postal workers do not have the right to strike.

One APWU shop steward explained, "At this time, the membership is giving its support to Biller and the new administration, who for the first time, is in a position to unify the APWU throughout the country and has a clear mandate from membership to negotiate the strongest contract possible. We're waiting for the next step."

A New York official underscored, "If there is no contract by July 20, you won't see one piece of mail being boxed by postal workers." The New York Metro Area Postal Union, Branch 36 Letters Carriers Union and Brooklyn N.Y. Local plan a demonstration June 11 to greet Bolger when he comes to New York selling the nine digit zip code to business mailers. Similar actions by other locals across the country are scheduled over the next weeks in "joint efforts to get postal workers throughout the country together to demonstrate our solidarity for a good contract." □



Postal workers demonstrate for decent contract in 1978. Over the next few weeks, postal locals in major cities will hold rallies demanding uncapped COLA, better health and safety, job security, and amnesty for workers fired in a 1978 postal workers' wild-cat.



OSHA inspector conducting a safety inspection. OSHA dropped requirement that companies pay workers for participating in these inspections.

OSHA Revokes "Walk Around Pay"

Dave Young

On May 29, 1981, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration revoked its requirement that employers pay workers who accompany the Occupational Safety and Health Administration officials on safety inspections. "This is just another nail they are trying to drive into the coffin of OSHA," said George Taylor, Director of Occupational Safety and Health of the AFL-CIO.

Trade unionists and health and safety activists condemn OSHA Thorn G. Auchter's assertion that "walk around pay" was unnecessary for effective workplace inspections. Since it is only the workers who are familiar with working conditions, they play a vital role in pinpointing safety violations. This process will be sharply curtailed by the threat of loss of wages when this rule is revoked. Most safety inspections take at least three or four days and can last over two weeks for large plants.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce ap-

plauded OSHA's move as a turn away from an "adversary" relationship between labor and management. In most cases though, OSHA inspections are responses to workers' complaints about a particular hazard.

However, companies are more fearful of a full scale inspection than a singular violation. Due to the generally unsafe conditions at most workplaces, these inspections often reveal dozens of safety violations. Safety violations and hazards and industrial accidents will multiply with the death of "walk around pay."

This is the issue behind "walk around pay." The capitalists are saying that either the workers themselves or their unions should bear the burden of participating in safety inspections. Companies rip off tremendous profits by cutting corners and neglecting the safety of its workers. They, not the workers should bear the costs of cleaning them up. □

Detroit Autoworkers Speak their Minds

The following is the first in an occasional series of interviews and articles WV will be publishing over the next few weeks. The series focuses on autoworkers and examines how workers' lives have changed in the 80s and how this has affected their way of thinking. Claire Holland prepared for this installment by having indepth discussions with several Detroit auto workers and their families. In this interview they summarize how they see the economic crisis and Reagan's economic program.

Clair Holland

"I'm Just Down on the Gov't."

Al, a white worker in his late twenties, is a native of Tennessee. He's been working at GM for five years. His wife, Diane, is laid off from her job in auto and is in school right now.

Al: When the TVA came in in Tennessee the people didn't get anything for their land.

What did it come down to?

Diane: About 30¢ on the dollar.

Al: It was very little. I don't know that much about it. I'm just down on the government. You know. What I hear people talk about, they got very little. About like the people in Poletown. They might pay \$50,000 for their home and the government's giving them \$15,000. . . That's like a man and woman might work all their lives for a farm and they die; they have kids and they will their farm to the kids. The kids have to turn around and sell the farm to pay the inheritance tax. So they're taxing us to death.

Bernard is an Afro-American worker with nearly 20 years at GM. He was a founding member of his local.

Bernard: I do not, under any circumstances like what is going on in this country because I do believe that the U.S. government has a master plan to annihilate the black race and it's being practiced. It's awful hard for me to understand that the FBI can go to El Salvador and pinpoint a certain group of people that killed those nuns and by the same token they can't go to Atlanta and pinpoint people that killed 26 black people. . . I get so burned up about these things.

Reagan getting into office has radically changed my thinking.

-Bernard

Was it being in the service and going through the experience of so much discrimination at the same time you were expected to fight for your country — was that what changed your thinking? Or has your thinking changed a lot in the last few years because of the way this country's going now?

Bernard: I would say it was both. I was born in a southern state and I remember seeing things as a child that nobody had to tell me were wrong. I basically knew it. . . But I would say yes, being in the service and being segregated against and the way I was segregated against had a great deal to do with it. By the same token Reagan getting into office has radically changed my thinking.

Scott is a Vietnam vet. Laid off from Chrysler, he's working at GM now. He and his wife live in a comfortable white working class area of Detroit and they have a 3-year-old child.

Scott: My wife's got six years in at her job. In that same six years I've had three jobs. And I've taken every one of them jobs with the intention of keeping it. I don't get fired from these jobs. I just get screwed. I've got five years of seniority at Chrysler. I'm still accruing seniority, but they're never going to call me back. I don't need a job just today, I need a job long term. I'd like a guarantee I'm going to have a job. . . I worked over here at Ecorce. They came up one day and said, "You've got a contract coming up

this fall. If you take this contract right here we'll leave the plant here. If you don't take this contract right here, the hell with you." And they moved the plant to Wilmington, Delaware and they knocked guys with 25-30 years on the street. Where do you go 50 years old looking for a job?

Barb and Larry have been laid off from Chrysler for over a year. Before Barb worked in the plant she was a waitress. Like many women who have least seniority in the plants, Barb knows she won't be called back. Recently all their benefits ran out and Barb is working as a waitress again.

Economic Crisis

How has the economic crisis affected your family?

Al: It's made us uptight. I'm making top dollar and we can't have stuff we'd like. I can't afford a decent car. I had to buy a used car and sink \$700 dollars into it. It makes it rough on us. We have our spats. When you go to the grocery store and spend \$60-70 a week for food, then pay your rent, your lights, insurance, child support, stuff like that, you've got very little left.

Bernard: Just pay higher prices for everyday getting by. Thank heavens I haven't had to make any drastic changes. My kids are all grown, and I can get by on a lot less than a lot of other people. . . I'm not complacent, but I'm not up in arms about my economic status.

Are your friends harder hit?

Bernard: Oh yes. Definitely. It's a disaster — no question about it. You get used to a certain lifestyle. You don't want hand-outs. That's another fallacy I'd like to correct too, that black people just love getting something for nothing. I want to tell you I hate like hell to ask anybody to do anything that I can do for myself. . . A proud person, proud of being who he is, it could affect a man's life. I had friends that were laid off during the same time I was. These people were very good fathers. They loved their families. There was this man who was so affected that he had to wait for his wife to get home from work for a hand out every day that it destroyed the man. I know four guys that drank themselves to death. Drank themselves to death right here. They just couldn't cope with it.

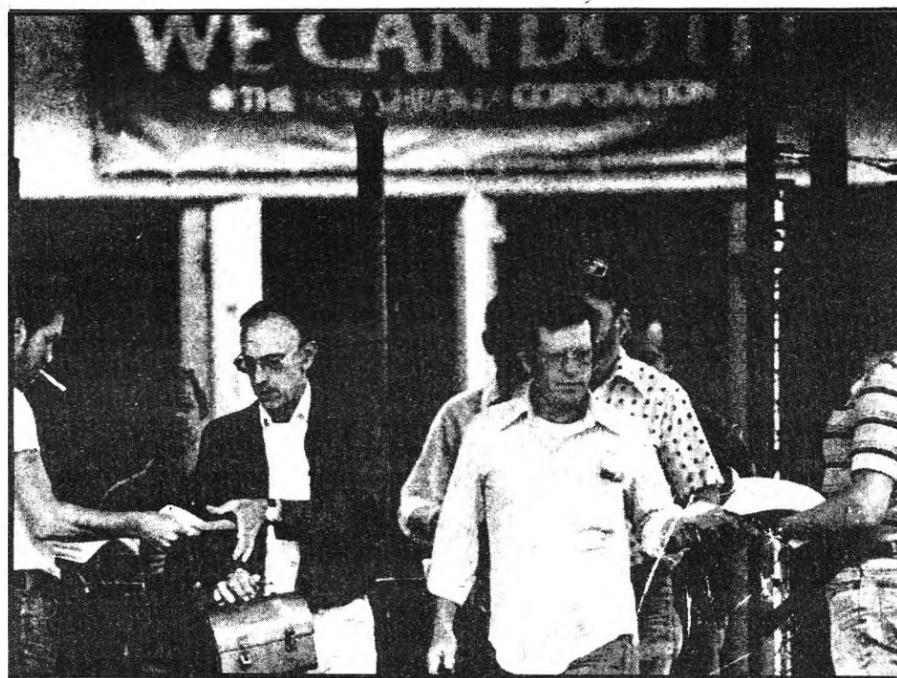
Scott: When I was working at Chrysler, only eight miles from home, I was taking \$40 a week out of my family's budget to go to work. But now with everything being so high and driving all the way out to Ypsilanti I still can only afford to take 40 bucks but I have to take more. I can make it but I can't say I can live a good life. . . [Recreation] that's the stuff that gets cut out first. And that stuff's gone.

Barb: This one friend of ours works for Chrysler. He's got three kids, and they can't afford anything. They're struggling week by week to get by. He's working but he works for Chrysler so his wages have been cut. It's really hurting the family. . . Mostly, they were always able to give the kids whatever they wanted. They could take vacations. They can hardly even take vacations because of the gas it takes to haul a trailer up north. . . I think especially for auto workers recreation is a necessity because if you've ever seen the inside of a plant, it's dirty, monotonous, loud. You need a break. I think 40 hours is too much in an auto plant really.

Reagan's Economic Program

Do you think Reagan's economic program will turn the economy around and improve your standard of living?

Al: Personally? No. He's cutting the wrong people. He's not hitting the corporations. He's not having them to pay more taxes. It came out in the newspaper when Nixon was president that he paid, I believe, \$740 in taxes for that year. I might have paid that much when I worked in the factory for \$1.60 an



hour. And he's the yoyo of the country. And I'm paying more than that now. . . it figures out to about 34-35% in taxes.

Bernard: It will. It'll turn it around. By extreme suffering among the poor class of people. He definitely will balance the budget. Of course he's cutting out food stamps and what have you. People are just going to be without. Period. His program definitely will work, but what I'm saying is what are the after affects? You're going to be balancing the budget, but by the same token people are going to be spending more for food stamps by cutting these things.

Scott: No. I think it might have a tendency to keep it where it is right now, which is an improvement over going down.

Auto workers I know that voted for Reagan are sorry now.

-Barb

How do you think it will affect your family?

Scott: The tax cuts might give us a few more bucks to spend. Taxes are killing us. The military, I don't know. Maybe, the military will make more work for more people and ease up on credit, so if you want to go out and buy something on credit you can get a loan. I don't think it's going to affect it significantly except I think if Reagan can work it out the way he wants he can keep it from declining. It's just been shooting down.

Barb: I don't know anyone who thinks it will.

Larry: I think most of it is hoping. It's wishful thinking.

Barb: The only auto workers I know that voted for Reagan are sorry now. One guy has an 18-year-old son and he's worried about the draft. Another man, I think he expected the country to be turned around right after Reagan got in, and he sees that things are falling apart now.

Inflation

What do you think is the main cause of inflation?

Al: Well, for one thing, politicians making 100 grand a year while sitting on their buns up there. President making \$4-500,000. Everytime you turn around prices go up.

Diane: There's no price control. There's nothing to protect the people. Companies can put up the prices as high as they want. You have to pay them. Your dollar's worth about 25¢ right now. Regardless of what the government says, that's exactly what it's worth.

Al: Inflation is not that bad now. The businesses are what's making it that bad. Just like the auto companies said, "Well, since we put a freeze on the Japanese, limited their imports, we're going to raise our car prices."

What do you think military spending's got to do with inflation?

Al: Well, they have to get the money somewhere or other and they're taking it off the people.

Diane: I think that the military's good. I think we've got to keep up. I'm for the draft. Number one, I think it builds better people. . .

Al: We have to have the military. It's inflationary but we have to have it.

Do you think military spending has anything to do with inflation?

Bernard: I think, yes, it does. It has damn near everything to do with it because what poor class of people or what sector of the country gets, say \$80 billion, just to give a figure, for this one particular

project? Look at how much money we spend on the space shuttle for instance. I was proud to see it happen because I believe in progress, but not at the expense of the poor people. Like the moon shot. What do we really gain by it? Actually, the space shuttle. That's what we gained from that. This arms race which is insane.

We often hear that workers' high wages are to blame for inflation. As a matter of fact, auto workers are used as an example.

Al: I don't agree with that because when we take concessions next year in '82 — I know we will — a year later the car prices won't be the same. We will be taking a cut in wages, lower our standard of living. They'll probably put more work onto us and they will still be bitching they're paying too much money. . . inflation will continue no matter if we went down to \$4 an hour. The price of cars will still stay at \$10-20-30,000 a piece.

Do you think OPEC is the cause of inflation?

Al: Which OPEC? Arab OPEC or U.S. OPEC? We don't know what they're saying. All we have to listen to is what our radios and TV's are saying.

Diane: They're saying it's the Arabs when really it could be the U.S. We have no way of knowing.

Bernard: I don't think it's any one particular thing that causes inflation. With the capitalist government, the big wigs that have all the money they refuse to invest it. That causes inflation. They don't spend money to create jobs for people.

One thing the press says is that OPEC is to blame for inflation, that oil prices are driving up the price of everything else. They also say high wages are the cause. What do you think?

Bernard: We have oil men here and the raise is in accord with these people over here. I think when an OPEC nation says it's going to raise the price of oil it comes from this country. At one time they said we were short on gas and every American ran for a small car, and people had to line up for gas. Well you don't have to line up for gas any more, but the price is still up. So somebody's lying to somebody — right? Who's fooling who? So I'm saying to you here, now, that when those people raise prices it's the oil that comes from this country to keep everybody making the almighty buck.

Scott: I think high wages are part of it. I don't think OPEC's that bad because before all that oil was nationalized the companies were taking all that oil out of the countries and they weren't giving anything back. So I don't think you can blame OPEC for anything. I think the unions are partially to blame for it. See, the unions can't show us anything like "here we've improved your working conditions. Here we've made it so you've got a decent grievance system," anything like that. All they can show you is more money. And it's easier for the company to concede money than it is for them to give up anything like "we'll treat our workers like human beings," decent overtime provisions, stuff like that. So all they can do is keep throwing in money and the car manufacturers don't care. All they'll do is just jack up the prices. "They're our customers anyway." Taking the money out of this pocket and put it in this one.

You say it's wages, but you say prices are killing you. In other words, prices are going up much more than your wages. So how can it be your wages that are causing the prices to go up?

Scott: It's more than just wages. There's so many things. Military spending — I don't know about that. Sure they're making obscene profits. . . Still the union has a lot to do with it.

Unemployment

What do you think is the main cause of unemployment?

Al: In my opinion the American industry messed around with their vehicles building gas guzzlers. Then all of a sudden gas started going up. The Japanese kept pouring in their vehicles getting good gas mileage. What do you think the people are going to turn to?

I know the UAW officials and the company are promoting "Buy American." What do you think about that whole campaign?

Al: I think it's a bunch of bull. Why buy American when a Ford Maverick's got a transmission made in Japan? You can go out here to the docks and watch truck load after truck load of bumpers, motors come from overseas. You can't get anything that's made in America.

Why do you think the union is pushing the Buy American campaign then?

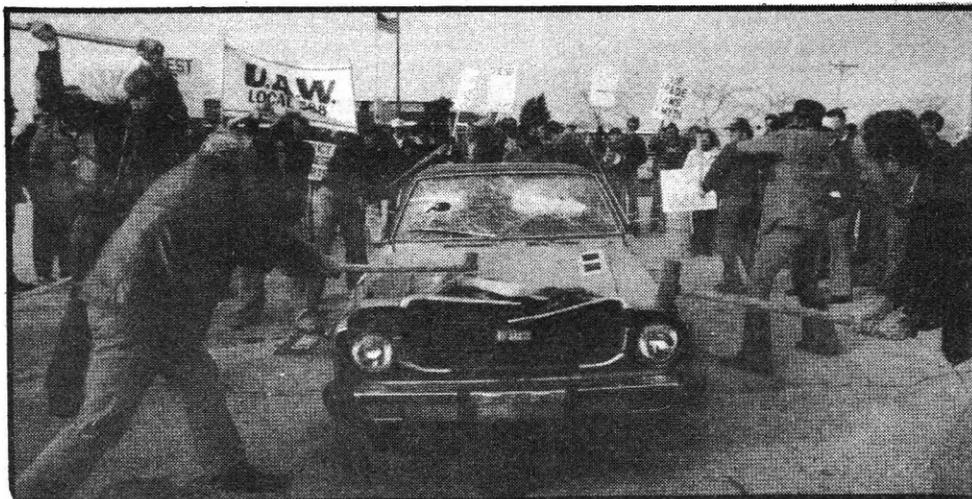
Al: To get pressure off of them. Cover their mistakes up.

We read a lot about how supposedly Cubans are taking our jobs or Mexicans are taking our jobs. Do you think that's something a lot of people think?

Bernard: Sure. There's a lot of people that are quick to blame. Our union made some of the most ridiculous accusations against Japan — like "Remember Pearl Harbor." And asked me to put a bumper sticker like that on my car. I said, "No, I

won't put one of those on my car because I don't think the Japanese are the reason for this." The Japanese get everything from us. Nobody told these people to go out and buy those cars. It was us that bought them, not the Japanese so how are you going to blame the Japanese?

Scott: Reason for no jobs? I think the government is still apologizing to the Japanese for World War II. . . I don't know; it's really hard to say. One big reason? I think it's got to do with the government not making it profitable for the companies. If it's not profitable they're not going to put people to work making it. Then there's the advantage that was given to the Japanese after World War II. All their factories are state of the art. So they can make steel so much cheaper. They can make cars cheaper. I think the Japanese still want to control the Pacific and the world.



So you think imports do have something to do with unemployment?

Scott: I think it does in that the Japanese are building what the American people want. Unemployment and inflation both — a lot of it has to do with the auto industry and other industries too, being too stupid to see the forest for the trees. They don't plan for the future. And I think that has to do with they're so concerned with showing a maximum profit right now rather than building a company that could be a good company with good loyal employees where the whole thing is a partnership. . . They have a responsibility to plan, not just for their own profits, but to plan for the good of the country, for the good of their workers, and for the good of the company. And when you're sitting there on the line you can see it. They're juggling your job, your livelihood.

Reagan's Budget Cuts

Reagan has slashed the federal budget and said these programs are wasteful and serve only "special interest groups." Do you agree with the cuts that have been made in welfare?"

Diane: I think if they do it in the right places, it's good.

Al: Welfare cuts would be good if they cut the right people. The food stamps would be good if they cut the right people. The handicapped, mentally retarded — they should be able to get welfare. People who know how to work — I would cut them off in a minute. Cut the lazy people off.

a fortune. She tried to get a government grant and they turned her down. They even refused her on a government loan.

Scott: I think the special interest group is mainly — well, when you give a guy the Dept. of Energy or something. His status in Washington is determined by how many bootlickers he can have walking behind him.

But when Reagan's talking about special interest groups, he's referring to people on welfare and food stamps, and in social programs.

Scott: He's talking about people who are getting it and aren't supposed to be. But it can't get past the bureaucrats. . . because their budget is their status. A little tin god here, a little tin god there. I'm not totally opposed to welfare for people who need it but I think they should work. . . Cheating the system I guess is cool but with everybody out cheating the system somebody ends up paying the money and it ends up being the middle class. It ends up being me! There's a lot of auto workers in Detroit area who've reached the end of their benefits. Those guys aren't just laying on it. But a guy can always pump gas. Working for less is better than not working at all.

Reagan says the American people have to sacrifice to turn the economy around. What do you think about that?

Bernard: I think it's a bunch of bunk! There's a certain class that's been suffering all the time so this is compounded suffering. We aren't going to get anything out of it one way or the other. So I guess what he's concerned about is these corporations getting these lousy large tax cuts. If he wants everybody to shave, why doesn't he shave his salary?

Scott: Yes, I'd be willing to sacrifice if I thought it would mean some real change in the economy, if we could get this thing straightened out. Sure, if it would mean things would get better for my family in the future. But I don't know. □

Reagan's Got NO Mandate!

When Reagan speaks at the International Mayors' Conference in Columbus on Sunday, June 21, thousands will demonstrate to show that we don't support the budget cuts, aid for El Salvador's junta, the "Family Protection" act, the draft, increased racial violence, or more government restrictions on democratic rights.

Join us! Call TUFF 221-1670 or call 268-0783.

JUNE 21 COALITION (Those United To Fight Fascism, National Abortion Rights Action League—Columbus Chapter, Latin American Solidarity Committee/El Salvador, Communist Workers Party and others) in cooperation with the Campaign for Human Needs.

China What Went Wrong at Boshan

by Cynthia Lai

Construction of the second stage of the Boshan Steel Mill in Shanghai has stopped. Boshan is the much-talked-about steel mill which the Chinese government imported from Japan. China's economic policy over the last two years in general and the decision to build Boshan in particular has been declared a failure caused by "leftist thinking." Boshan is one of many ambitious projects that were previously conceived of as being vital for the modernization of China's economy. Now they are all being cut back as Chinese leaders embark on a readjustment program.

The reasoning behind the present readjustment was presented by Yao Yi-lin, Vice Premier and Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission, in his Feb. 25 report to the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress. Readjustment is necessary to correct the economic imbalance revealed by the 1980 budget deficit of 12,000 yuan (Chinese currency). The deficit, financed by printing more money without being based on real production, led to an average 6% increase in retail prices per year. Store prices for foodstuffs alone have jumped 13.8%.

What is the root of the problem? According to Peking, "under the guidance of a 'left ideology,' the scope of capital construction was over-extended and over-high targets were set for industrial production" (Beijing Review, 3/16/81). "The aim of the ongoing major readjustment is to free our economic work further from the influence of 'left' thinking" and to "reduce the scale of capital construction as much as possible" (BR, 3/23/81). This way "the 1981 appropriation for capital construction will be reduced from the originally planned 55,000 million yuans to 30,000 million yuans." "Projects which lack suitable conditions for production, or projects which, if built, would lack the conditions for production (including imported projects)" will be suspended. This means Boshan, among others.

Serious mistakes have been made concerning the Boshan steel plant and the economy as a whole. But it is totally one-sided for China's leaders to sum up the errors as ultra "left." Far from strengthening China's economy, an incorrect evaluation could have disastrous effects. A brief review of the Boshan incident — the heart of the controversy that led to the readjustment plan — shows what's wrong with the sumup.

History of Boshan Steel Mill

According to an article in the Oct. 1980 issue of the Trend, a pro-China magazine published in Hong Kong, the decision to build Boshan was first made by Deng Xiaoping, China's top man. This was in early 1978 when the head of New Japan Steel visited the country. The buying of a complete steel mill was deemed necessary to reach China's production target of 60 million tons by 1985. The building of the giant Boshan mill was part of a long-term trade agreement between the two countries.

To a poor country like China, the investment — projected at 27 billion yuans — was huge. Nevertheless, the decision to go ahead stirred national excitement. Scores of top scientists and over 20,000 skilled workers from all over the country were transferred to work on the project. When construction started at the end of 1978, Li Sen-ni, a Vice Premier and Vice Chairman of the Communist Party of China, personally surveyed the site in order to promote its significance. Many top officials of the central government attended the ribbon-cutting ceremony, and Boshan became the symbol of the modernization of Chinese society.

Then last November, Vice Premier Gu Mu suddenly announced that "the state department had decided to delay the second stage construction of Boshan Steel in Shanghai." Why? Because "to China, improving the standard of living of its people, to resolve the problems of clothing, eating, living is the first item on the agenda. To the government, the main thing is to induce people's confidence towards the government." Boshan must be delayed "even if it could lead to loss of credit internationally" (as quoted in the Trend, Dec. 1980).

Criticism of Boshan Steel Mill

This decision was in response to the Chinese people's severe criticism of the Boshan steel project.

First, the site for the mill was chosen without any scientific consultation. The ground under the site was too soft to provide a strong foundation. Several hundred million yuans had to be spent to put in

a steel foundation. At the same time, the port near the site was too shallow to allow ships of over 50,000 tons to pass through. Imported minerals from Australia and Brazil (part of the mill's design) had to be unloaded mid-route in Japan and transported to the site in smaller vessels. This was an extra 8 yuans per ton in transportation costs alone. In addition, China had planned on eventually using domestically-produced minerals from its Northeast region. But traffic congestion around Shanghai made this impossible.

Second, people criticized the high production costs. Boshan Steel had to use imported minerals since it was designed along Japan's most advanced model. This would raise the cost of producing steel at Boshan far above that of steel produced at domestically-built mills and immediately raise the price of steel products.

"The ability to readjust the economy through...conscious planning is one aspect of superiority of a socialist system."

Also, China could not guarantee Boshan's supply of raw materials. Because of its design, Boshan not only needed minerals from Australia, but also supplemental materials from five other countries. This would put the huge Boshan enterprise at the mercy of foreign countries who could cut off supply at will and blackmail China. Furthermore, Australia has already stopped producing the minerals needed at Boshan and no alternate source has yet been found in China. This was the people's third criticism.

Fourth, critics said it was cheaper to import steel than build new steel plants. Supporters of the Boshan project claimed that building Boshan and other mills would be cheaper than paying \$2.22 billion to import the 55 million tons of steel needed by late 1985. But others said that at best Boshan's total steel output in the 1980's would only provide half of the amount China needs. With the interest payments, equipment purchases and minerals, the mill would not be as economical as importing steel from abroad.

Boshan also presents a pollution problem. Environmentalists said that Boshan pumps 200 tons of carbon monoxide into the air each day, raising Shanghai's air pollution level by 25%. The accumulated effect of this would be to plague Shanghai, with the country's largest population, with acid rain.

Another criticism is that people feel China was cheated by Japan in the deal. Initially, New Japan Steel agreed to design 19 items for \$27 billion (400 billion Japanese yen). But in the contract, Japan was only obligated to design 10 items for that amount. The other nine had to be done by other companies, costing China an extra 1,300 billion yen — 30% more than she had planned. In the Japanese press, even Japanese economists and industrialists have criticized the blatant greed of the companies involved. Chinese critics fear that the vagueness of both the contract as a whole (costs are not itemized) and the terms of Japan's guarantee towards the mill is unfavorable to China.

Last but not least, critics of the Boshan project blame the whole mess on the guiding ideology and the way decisions were made. The decision was based on an over-zealous attempt to modernize China, they say, and on the casual word of one leader. They have called the project "irresponsible," wasting the precious resources created by the blood and sweat of the Chinese people.

Boshan Lesson — Better 'Right' Than 'Left'?

Many of the criticisms of the Boshan fiasco are valid. If taken seriously and summed up comprehensively, there are precious lessons (even in money terms) here for future economic work. However, China's leaders have apparently been so burned by the mistakes that they've become gun-shy. In a major article, "Further Economic Readjustment: A Break With 'Leftist' Think-

ing," that appeared in the March 23 issue of Review, the Chinese leaders advocated a "better than 'left' view in economic construction. The economic program of 'no capital construction, no livelihood is guaranteed."

The article quoted Chen Yun, Chief Economist, who in 1956 said, "When the scale of construction is larger than what the financial and material resources can afford something rash that is sure to lead to economic crisis. Of course, conservatism is just as bad because it slows back the right speed for construction. But (emphasis) conservatism can be remedied much more than a hasty advance can be remedied. In the former, more items of construction can be added when there is plenty of materials on hand;

in the case of the latter, it will not be that easy to correct the scale of construction which has grown larger than the financial and material resources can afford. A big waste will have resulted in the process."

Both Left and Right Mistakes Wrong

While this argument may seem like common sense, it is wrong on several counts. First, Boshan was the result of ultra-leftist thinking. Of course, in any analysis, all ideas that run too far ahead of reality are "left." But the decision to import the Boshan project was based on the idea that "it is better and easier to import whole plants than to build our own." This did not proceed from the concrete conditions of China but rather from a pre-conceived, doctrinaire notion that China should adopt wholesale the Western model of development. This is doctrinairism coming from the right that betrays the correct principle of self-reliance. The argument that it is cheaper to import steel than to build its own mills is also a rightist mistake. Apart from serving the political aims of discrediting the "gang of four" — though the result could be the opposite — no constructive purpose is served by this kind of sumup. It is at best naive or worse, opportunistic.

Second, conservative errors are not "more easily remedied" than mistakes due to rashness. To use an analogy, if revolutionaries were to make a premature call for insurrection and the uprising was defeated, there would be tremendous casualties among the revolutionary forces and the people. At the same time, if an opportunity arises for fear of defeat or other reasons, then the masses could be condemned to several decades of suffering under capitalism. It could even be more bloodshed and casualties since the revolution would have the initiative.

The "better-right-than-left" view inevitably leads to reformism since this is always less "risky" than revolution. But this is still the era of imperialism. The imperialist economy is still dominant in the world. China is still surrounded by hostile powers all around its borders. Not seizing the time to build up its own strength could do tremendous harm to socialist construction in China. It could leave China dangerously far behind and ill-prepared.

While all ultra-left errors must be defeated, right mistakes are not a better alternative. Both are antagonistic to Marxism. The main thing is that the revolutionaries must have the daringness to try and not be afraid of making mistakes. As Lenin summed up the Russian people's revolution, "The Communist movement exerts every effort to direct the workers' movement and social development in general along the straightest and quickest road to the universal liberation of Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat." "But it is enough to take one little step further

What's Wrong at Boshan Steel

...ation. At the same time, the port near the... shallow to allow ships of over 50,000 tons to... gh. Imported minerals from Australia and... t of the mill's design) had to be unloaded... n Japan and transported to the site in smaller... is was an extra 8 yuans per ton in transporta-... alone. In addition, China had planned on... using domestically-produced minerals from... ast region. But traffic congestion around... ade this impossible.

...l, people criticized the high production costs... el had to use imported minerals since it was... long Japan's most advanced model. This... e the cost of producing steel at Boshan far... of steel produced at domestically-built mills... iately raise the price of steel products.

...ing," that appeared in the March 23 issue of Beijing Review, the Chinese leaders advocated a "better right" than "left" view in economic construction and an economic program of "no capital construction before livelihood is guaranteed."

The article quoted Chen Yun, China's top economist, who in 1956 said, "When the scale of construction is larger than what the country's financial and material resources can afford, it means something rash that is sure to lead to economic chaos." "Of course, conservatism is just as bad because it holds back the right speed for construction. *But* (our emphasis) conservatism can be remedied much more easily than a hasty advance can be remedied. In the case of the former, more items of construction can be added easily when there is plenty of materials on hand; but in the

that might seem to be in the same direction — and truth becomes error." (*"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*). It is in this context that we must view the errors that result from trying, Boshan included.

Capital Construction and Importing Technology

Furthermore, there is nothing inherently wrong with capital construction or importing foreign technology. The mistake at Boshan was not that China tried to do capital construction. In trying to break with the "gang of four's" total ban against imported technology, China's leaders went too far. Due to inexperience, China was outwitted in its hand-to-hand combat with the imperialists, who are more skilled in maneuvering and have a long history of cheating. Though the results are bad, the attempt to engage the imperialists is nevertheless valuable. Now China should be wiser in its future relations with the imperialists and shake off whatever illusions it might still have about the capitalists.

The idea of undertaking "construction only when the livelihood of the people has been well-arranged," though a correct orientation, can have dangerous consequences if it is applied to all situations at all times. This is a mechanical "stages" approach to economic construction that pits the long-term interests of the people against their immediate interests. This view ignores the fact that people's standard of living changes and is relative to time, place and conditions — it can always be improved. Looking to improve only the production of consumer goods in the short run can actually hurt the betterment of the people's livelihood in the long run.

The relationship between people's long term interests and their immediate needs must be handled correctly. Like harnessing the power of fire, it can be destructive if it is handled wrongly, as well as provide tremendous benefits if tackled correctly. The same goes for the question of using foreign technology. China's view of "importing less complete sets of equipment, buying instead technology and software so as to combine the import of technology with the transformation of the old enterprises" is a relatively more correct sumup of one of the lessons of the Boshan mistake.

Inaction Can't Solve Planning Problems

The mistakes made at Boshan and in the Chinese economy as a whole over the last two years are the result of problems in socialist planning. They stem from the gap between objective reality and man's subjective thinking. The cause and effects are both ultra-left and ultra-right errors. By summing up lessons and correcting previous mistakes — thus better planning — China can achieve a more balanced economy.

This ability to readjust the economy through conscious planning is one aspect of the superiority of a socialist system. However, the incorrect sumup of the present Chinese leadership justifies inertia, bureaucracy, inaction and reformism. Using rightist thinking to "cure" leftist thinking means trying to use one imbalance to correct another. This leads to greater economic instability all around. Mistakes can kill and so does inaction. The harm done through doing nothing may not be as rapid or as obvious, but that just makes it that much more deadly. □

"The ability to readjust the economy through... conscious planning is one aspect of the superiority of a socialist system."

China could not guarantee Boshan's supply... rials. Because of its design, Boshan not only... erals from Australia, but also supplemental... om five other countries. This would put the... n enterprise at the mercy of foreign coun-... ould cut off supply at will and blackmail... hermore, Australia has already stopped pro-... inerals needed at Boshan and no alternate... et been found in China. This was the peo-... riticism.

... critics said it was cheaper to import steel... ew steel plants. Supporters of the Boshan... med that building Boshan and other mills... eaper than paying \$2.22 billion to import... on tons of steel needed by late 1985. But... hat at best Boshan's total steel output in the... d only provide half of the amount China... the interest payments, equipment purchases... ls, the mill would not be as economical as... eel from abroad.

... also presents a pollution problem. En-... ists said that Boshan pumps 200 tons of car-... de into the air each day, raising Shanghai's... 1 level by 25%. The accumulated effect of... be to plague Shanghai, with the country's... ulation, with acid rain.

... r criticism is that people feel China was... (apan in the deal. Initially, New Japan Steel... esign 19 items for \$27 billion (400 billion... n). But in the contract, Japan was only... design 10 items for that amount. The other... be done by other companies, costing China... 00 billion yen — 30% more than she had... n the Japanese press, even Japanese... and industrialists have criticized the blatant... e companies involved. Chinese critics fear... ueness of both the contract as a whole (costs... ized) and the terms of Japan's guarantee... mill is unfavorable to China.

... it not least, critics of the Boshan project... hole mess on the guiding ideology and the... s were made. The decision was based on an... attempt to modernize China, they say, and... al word of one leader. They have called the... esponsible," wasting the precious resources... he blood and sweat of the Chinese people.

son —
t' Than 'Left'?

... of the criticisms of the Boshan fiasco are... en seriously and summed up comprehensive-... icious lessons (even in money terms) here... conomic work. However, China's leaders... ntly been so burned by the mistakes that... me gun-shy. In a major article, "Further... eadjustment: A Break With 'Leftist' Think-

case of the latter, it will not be that easy to reduce the scale of construction which has grown larger than what the financial and material resources can afford; besides, a big waste will have resulted in the process.'

Both Left and Right Mistakes Wrong

While this argument may seem like common sense, it is wrong on several counts. First, Boshan was not just the result of ultra-leftist thinking. Of course, in the final analysis, all ideas that run too far ahead of reality are "left." But the decision to import the Boshan steel mill was based on the idea that "it is better and easier to import whole plants than to build our own." The decision did not proceed from the concrete conditions of China, but rather from a pre-conceived, doctrinaire notion that China should adopt wholesale the Western mode of development. This is doctrinairism coming from the right that betrays the correct principle of self-reliance. The argument that it is cheaper to import steel than for China to build its own mills is also a rightist mistake. Apart from serving the political aims of discrediting the "gang of four" — though the result could be just the opposite — no constructive purpose is served with this kind of sumup. It is at best naive or worse, opportunist.

Second, conservative errors are not "more easily remedied" than mistakes due to rashness. To make an analogy, if revolutionaries were to make a premature call for insurrection and the uprising was defeated, then there would be tremendous casualties among the revolutionary forces and the people. At the same time, if revolutionaries refuse to call for insurrection when the opportunity arises for fear of defeat or other reasons, then the masses could be condemned to several more decades of suffering under capitalism. It could mean even more bloodshed and casualties since the enemy would have the initiative.

The "better-right-than-left" view inevitably leads to reformism since this is always less "risky" than revolution. But this is still the era of imperialism where the imperialist economy is still dominant in the world. China is still surrounded by hostile powers all around its borders. Not seizing the time to build up its economy could do tremendous harm to socialist construction in China. It could leave China dangerously far behind and ill-prepared.

While all ultra-left errors must be defeated, ultra-right mistakes are not a better alternative. Both are antagonistic to Marxism. The main thing is that communists must have the daringness to try and not be afraid of making mistakes. As Lenin summed up from the Russian people's revolution, "The Communist movement exerts every effort to direct the working class movement and social development in general along the straightest and quickest road to the universal victory of Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat." "But it is enough to take one little step further — a step

**THE
SOCIALIST
ROAD:**

Boshan Steel

of Beijing
ter right"
and an
on before

na's top
e scale of
country's
it means
c chaos."
e it holds
(our em-
ore easily
ase of the
ded easily
out in the

my
the

duce the
an what
besides,

on sense,
not just
the final
ality are
steel mill
er to im-
decision
f China,
tion that
mode of
rom the
reliance.
than for
mistake.
liting the
just the
with this
ortunist.
re easily
make an
remature
ted, then
e revolu-
time, if
when the
reasons,
ral more
ld mean
e enemy

ably leads
y" than
m where
e world.
round its
economy
uction in
hind and
ed, ultra-
h are an-
at com-
d not be
up from
mmunist
ing class
along the
ictory of
etariat."
— a step

that might seem to be in the same direction — and truth becomes error." (*"Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*). It is in this context that we must view the errors that result from trying, Boshan included.

Capital Construction and Importing Technology

Furthermore, there is nothing inherently wrong with capital construction or importing foreign technology. The mistake at Boshan was not that China tried to do capital construction. In trying to break with the "gang of four's" total ban against imported technology, China's leaders went too far. Due to inexperience, China was outwitted in its hand-to-hand combat with the imperialists, who are more skilled in maneuvering and have a long history of cheating. Though the results are bad, the attempt to engage the imperialists is nevertheless valuable. Now China should be wiser in its future relations with the imperialists and shake off whatever illusions it might still have about the capitalists.

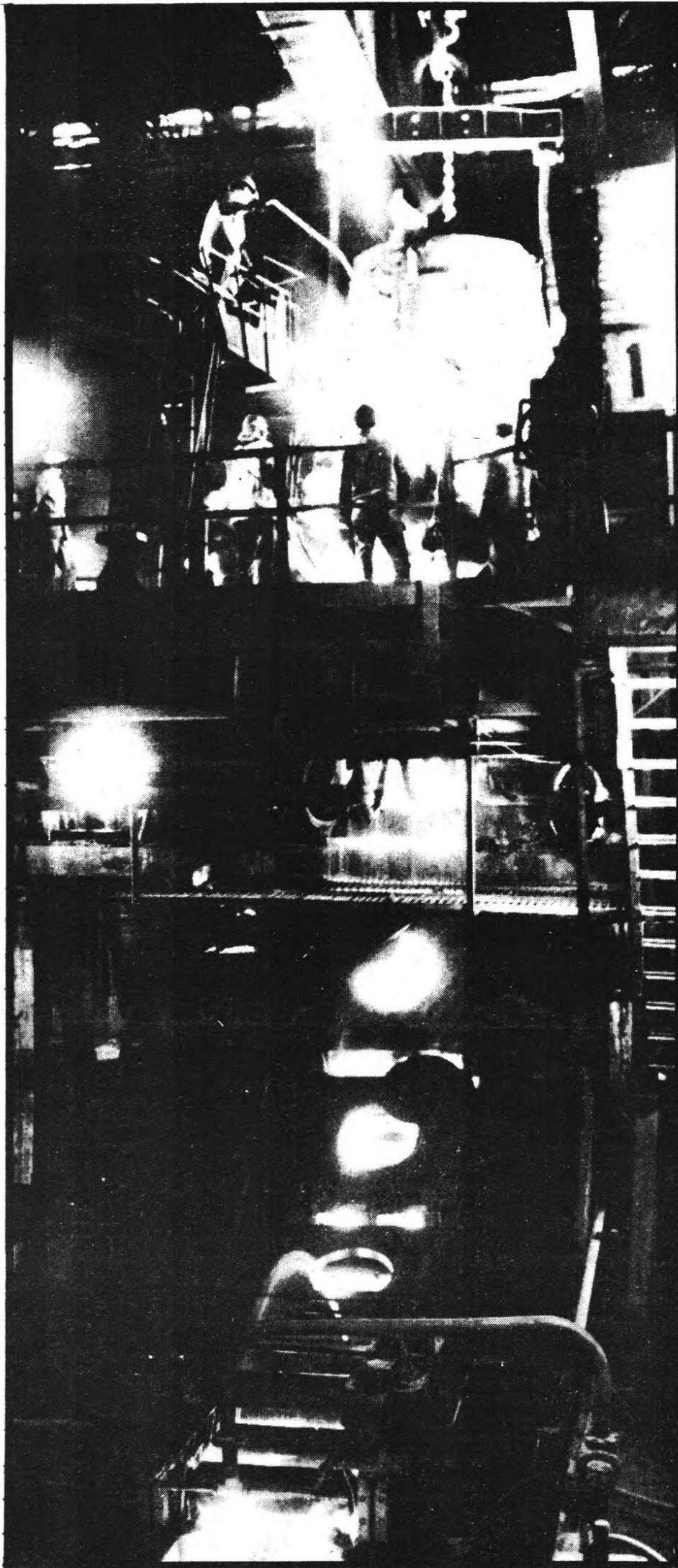
The idea of undertaking "construction only when the livelihood of the people has been well-arranged," though a correct orientation, can have dangerous consequences if it is applied to all situations at all times. This is a mechanical "stages" approach to economic construction that pits the long-term interests of the people against their immediate interests. This view ignores the fact that people's standard of living changes and is relative to time, place and conditions — it can always be improved. Looking to improve only the production of consumer goods in the short run can actually hurt the betterment of the people's livelihood in the long run.

The relationship between people's long term interests and their immediate needs must be handled correctly. Like harnessing the power of fire, it can be destructive if it is handled wrongly, as well as provide tremendous benefits if tackled correctly. The same goes for the question of using foreign technology. China's view of "importing less complete sets of equipment, buying instead technology and software so as to combine the import of technology with the transformation of the old enterprises" is a relatively more correct sumup of one of the lessons of the Boshan mistake.

Inaction Can't Solve Planning Problems

The mistakes made at Boshan and in the Chinese economy as a whole over the last two years are the result of problems in socialist planning. They stem from the gap between objective reality and man's subjective thinking. The cause and effects are both ultra-left and ultra-right errors. By summing up lessons and correcting previous mistakes — thus better planning — China can achieve a more balanced economy.

This ability to readjust the economy through conscious planning is one aspect of the superiority of a socialist system. However, the incorrect sumup of the present Chinese leadership justifies inertia, bureaucracy, inaction and reformism. Using rightist thinking to "cure" leftist thinking means trying to use one imbalance to correct another. This leads to greater economic instability all around. Mistakes can kill and so does inaction. The harm done through doing nothing may not be as rapid or as obvious, but that just makes it that much more deadly. □



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

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Reagan's S. Africa Policy Doomed to Fail

Ron Ashford

After six months of proclaiming that they didn't have a "set African policy," the Reagan Administration's strategy for the southern Africa region is finally being flushed out. Two days after TransAfrica, a black lobbying group that does work around Africa, had gone public with the Administration's secret "briefing papers" for President Reagan's meeting with South African Foreign Minister Botha, the Administration revealed their strategy to the New York Times. To no one's surprise, the focal point is closer relations with South Africa.

This strategy comes a time when South Africa is more isolated than ever before. Newly-elected President Mitterand of France has gone on record as saying that he will reverse the country's prior position of support for South Africa. This is especially significant because only last month France, along with the U.S. and Great Britain were the only countries to vote down economic sanctions against South Africa in the UN's Security Council. The Netherlands — a country which shares historical ties with the Boers of South Africa — recently broke their cultural agreement with South Africa, an agreement that stretched back some 30 years. And the Organization of African Unity has again resolved to push for economic sanctions at the UN, a move sure to gain the support of an overwhelming number of the world's nations.

Reagan Links Namibia, Angola

The Administration's plans basically call for closer relations with South Africa in exchange for a settlement on Namibia, which in turn is linked to the removal of Cuban troops in Angola. The documents released by the State Department to the New York Times were drafted mainly by Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs designate, who only last month returned from an extensive trip throughout the southern Africa region.

The scenario that the Administration sees for this region has four distinct parts to it: 1) a Namibian settlement; 2) the removal of Cuban troops from Angola and the inclusion of Jonas Savimbi in the Angolan government; 3) obtaining the backing of the

Frontline states for both of the above; 4) even closer relations with South Africa in all spheres, including the nuclear area.

The starting point for the Reagan proposal is that South Africa agree to take part in a U.S.-initiated settlement on Namibia. This settlement will *not* be the same as the one that the UN has been calling for, which has as its main points an immediate ceasefire and UN-sponsored elections soon thereafter. This proposal — called UN Resolution 435 — has consistently been opposed by South Africa, primarily because they realize that their puppets in that territory, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), would be swamped in any election by the extremely popular South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

A SWAPO victory would inevitably mean a strong anti-apartheid government on the borders of South Africa. In its place, the Reagan Administration — after extensive consultation with the South Africans — has proposed that elections be held *after* a constitution has been drawn up. The stated reason for this is to give the minority whites in Namibia "guarantees," but the real motive is somewhat different: to dilute the strength and militancy of any new government in Namibia, and to stall for time in the hopes that the DTA might somehow be able to win more support for their party.

Blatant Interference

A crucial second part of the Reagan plan is to link the Namibian settlement to changes in Angola. Angola would be forced to include Jonas Savimbi of UNITA in their government, and at the same time made to promise that Cuban troops who are now based in Angola be removed. This is a key part of the Reagan plan, and what comes out in the recent documents is that the U.S. is anxious to be the initiator of a successful Namibian plan for fear that some other deal might be made regarding Namibia that would not include pressure on Angola for the removal of Cuban troops and the participation of Savimbi in the Angolan government.

The Reagan Administration is extremely concerned about Angola. They see it not only as an important strategic area where the Soviet Union has a good deal of influence, but also as an independent country moving in a

socialist direction. South Africa shares this fear of Angola, and over the past year alone have mounted numerous raids into that country, attacking both SWAPO bases and vital economic centers. According to New African magazine, Savimbi and UNITA have also had a hand in this sabotage of the Angolan economy, primarily through its attacks on the vital Benguela railway. "Most of the UNITA attacks



Young SWAPO militants at a hidden refugee camp in Angola.

are small-scale affairs, involving the ripping-up of railway tracks. But more serious incidents, usually involving mining of the track and consequent derailments, have been reported about twice a week," said the magazine.

The State Department document stated the U.S. believes that Savimbi will support the Reagan proposal because "he is dependent on supplies from parties we can directly influence" — obviously referring to South Africa.

This attempt to link the independence of Namibia — a territory that has been under South African control since the end of World War I — to a "deal" in Angola is outrageous. Moses Garoeb, a spokesman for SWAPO, immediately denounced the plan, saying that any attempt to tie the two questions was "unacceptable." This so-called "linkage" is designed by Reagan to shift people's attention away from Namibia and make the issue Angola, a plan that would have the effect of blaming Angola for any failure to achieve a Namibian settlement and would let South Africa completely off the hook.

There can be no doubt that Angola and the Frontline states will reject this plan outright. The presence of Savimbi and the struggle being waged between UNITA and the government of Angola is an internal affair of the Angolan people, an affair that U.S. imperialism has no business interfering with.

And as for Cuban troops, Lucio Lara, Secretary of the Angolan ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola Party, stated some five months ago that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola now is a *result* of the South African military presence in Namibia and the constant raids that Angola has been subjected to by the South African armed forces; a Namibian settlement would take away their reason for being there.

In an article in the New York Times last January 23, Lara said, "The problem of the Cubans is the problem of

South Africa... Every day they kill our people... Naturally, if we have an independent Namibia, if the South African situation is peaceful, and as we develop our own forces we don't need the Cuban forces forever."

The third element in the Reagan plan is to then force the Frontline states to agree to the other parts of the Reagan "solution." In a typically arrogant statement, a Reagan Administration spokesman put it this way: "African leaders would have no basis for resisting the Namibia-Angola linkage once they are made to realize that they can only get a Namibia settlement through us, and that we are serious about getting such a settlement."

The final part of the Reagan plan,

supposedly to be implemented *after* a Namibian settlement, is to then improve relations with South Africa in virtually every sphere, including the military. The documents specifically call for an easing of export restrictions, entering into consular agreements, exchanging defense attaches, and "moving ahead on our stalled nuclear relations" (New York Times, June 1). That this "improving of relations" has already started is evident by the visit last month of South African Foreign Minister Botha, along with the earlier visits of a team of military intelligence experts who met with a host of U.S. government officials, including UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick.

"Constructive Engagement"

The policies of the Reagan Administration with regard to the internal politics of the South African regime have a new name also: "constructive engagement." This policy calls for the U.S. to "recognize" the steps that the racist South Africans have made in lessening the effects of apartheid, and to refrain from openly criticizing their racist policies.

This policy has at its core two basic assumptions. First, that the expansion of capitalism will change the face of South Africa, as the need for black skilled labor will more and more force the authorities in South Africa to involve black people in all aspects of South African society. Second, that there is no immediate threat to white racist rule in South Africa and that therefore any changes that have to be made can be done so over a fairly long period of time.

Chester Crocker stated in a *Foreign Affairs* article earlier this year, "the black communities of South Africa do not possess the means for a direct assault on white power, and there is little likelihood that this will change soon." With these assumptions as the starting point, it is no wonder that the Reagan Administration has thrown the

continued on page 11

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA (PAC) AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM)

Invite you to a
Commemoration of the
5th Anniversary of

Sat., June 13th, 1981 at
Convent Avenue
Baptist Church,
420 W.145 St., NY 10031
(A train to 145th St.)

Endorsements: Communist Workers Party (CWP), Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, El Salvador Democratic Movement, Resistance Publications of Chile, TransAfrica, African Section of National Council of Churches, John Brown Anti-Klan Committee

SOWETO!

Donation Requested
For further information,
call: 986-7378
866-6507
234-6767

Huge May Day Protest in the Philippines

By UGNAYAN (Alliance for Philippine National Democracy) & Resource Center for Philippine Concerns

In an unprecedented display of militancy, several thousand workers and youth marked International Labor Day in Manila with a protest march described by sources as the biggest since the imposition of martial law in 1972.

The slogan-chanting demonstrators, estimated by police as ranging from 15,000 to 30,000, marched through the streets of Manila on May 1 behind the coffin of a young worker killed earlier while manning a picket line. Union officials said 19-year-old Virgilio Hebron, shot by a company official during a strike at a Chinese spoon fac-

tory on April 26, was the first worker to die on strike in more than a decade.

The marchers, who condemned the killing of the young worker, called for the full restoration of the right to strike, the total dismantling of the dictatorship, and the ending of U.S. imperialist domination of the Philippines.

Predictably, police kept a close watch on the funeral march, spearheaded by the militant PMP, *Pagkakaisa ng Manggagawang Pilipino* (Solidarity of Filipino Workers), a coalition of several labor groups and unions claiming two million members among the Philippines' 15-million-strong workforce.

Among these groups are two big labor centers or federations, the Trade

Union of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS) and the KMU, *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement), together with eight other labor federations not affiliated with the pro-government Trade Union of the Philippines (TUCP).

May 1 last year saw the birth of the *May 1st Movement*. Launched by over 25,000 workers at the Araneta Coliseum in Quezon City, the KMU has since drawn support from labor unions critical of the anti-labor stance of the TUCP.

The funeral march originated from the Araneta Coliseum where an indoor rally, attended by some 40,000 people, was previously held. Among others, the workers demanded the scrapping of

the presidential decree banning strikes in vital industries; an increase of the minimum wage to at least P50.00 a day; the nationalization of all industries controlled by foreign monopoly capitalists; the release of all political prisoners and imprisoned labor leaders; the implementation of a true land reform program; and the genuine lifting of martial law.

Workers who receive a minimum daily wage of P26.30 (U.S. \$3.50) have been reeling under the impact of steep increases in the prices of basic commodities. According to the government Statistics Office, the daily earning requirements of a family of six (as of 1980) is P63.22 or U.S. \$8.50.

The latest increase in oil prices has provoked widespread protest from the workers, students, professionals and other concerned citizens. Expected to rise even higher are the prices of essential goods and services including food and transportation.

The indoor rally was highlighted with speeches delivered by labor leaders from various labor organizations. Representatives from church, urban poor and student groups — among them, Youth for Nationalism and Democracy, PEOPLE (People's Opposition to the Plebiscite-Election) — reaffirmed their unflagging support for the workers' movement. Felixberto Olalia, chairman of the PMP, warned government authorities of a "general strike" if the strike ban was not totally lifted. Workers of MERALCO, an electric company under Marcos also warned of nationwide blackout. □



Mass demonstration in the Philippines. Their liberation is not far off.

continued from page 10 . . . South Africa

concerns of the black majority of South Africa out the window.

Ford's "Better Idea"

Only a week before the Reagan plan was leaked out to the press, the Ford Foundation came out with a study entitled "South Africa: Time Running Out," that had some different recommendations. While the Reagan view is to let the South Africans move at their own pace with regard to changing apartheid, the Ford Foundation proposed that U.S. policy should be to lobby for and push the South Africans to make substantial changes, including "genuine political power sharing."

Some of their recommendations for forcing these changes were the downgrading of diplomatic representation, the barring for export of certain U.S. materials, and the suggestion that "those corporations in South Africa should not expand their operations, while those not already there should stay out."

This view of the Ford Foundation comes from an entirely different assessment of the strength of the black masses of South Africa, *not* from any intrinsic love for oppressed people. While the recommendations of the Ford Foundation appear to be at odds with the Reagan proposals, what is common to both is that they share the same long-term view: to keep South Africa out of the hands of anti-imperialist and socialist leadership.

The Ford Foundation very plainly put that out; claiming that the continuation of South Africa's policy of apartheid would produce a violent race war, they went on to warn that if substantial changes were not made it offered "a target and an opportunity

for the growth of Communist influence."

The Ford Foundation has typically represented the views of the more far-sighted bourgeoisie. While Crocker and the Reagan Administration are blind to the explosive capability of the South African masses, the people at the Ford Foundation are all too aware that the hatred of the South African people for apartheid and the longing for genuine self-determination could change the balance of forces there, at any moment.

To prevent the U.S. from being iced out of the whole southern Africa region, Ford has adopted the strategy of winning the support of the third world and African peoples by their "concern" for the welfare of the South African masses. At the same time of course, they do not negate the need for U.S. imperialism to be militarily prepared: their solution to the need for South African mineral resources is to stockpile them!

Neither Reagan nor Ford Foundation

Neither strategy will sidetrack the South African masses off their path towards self-determination. Just as these various proposals and counter-proposals were filling the U.S. media, the South African people were taking matters into their own hands. Refusing to participate in the so-called Republic Day celebrations which mark the withdrawal of South Africa from the British Commonwealth 20 years ago, the South African masses held huge demonstrations that ended in pitched battles with the police. Once again the South African fascist police force reacted by attacking demonstrations, hurling tear gas at a funeral proces-

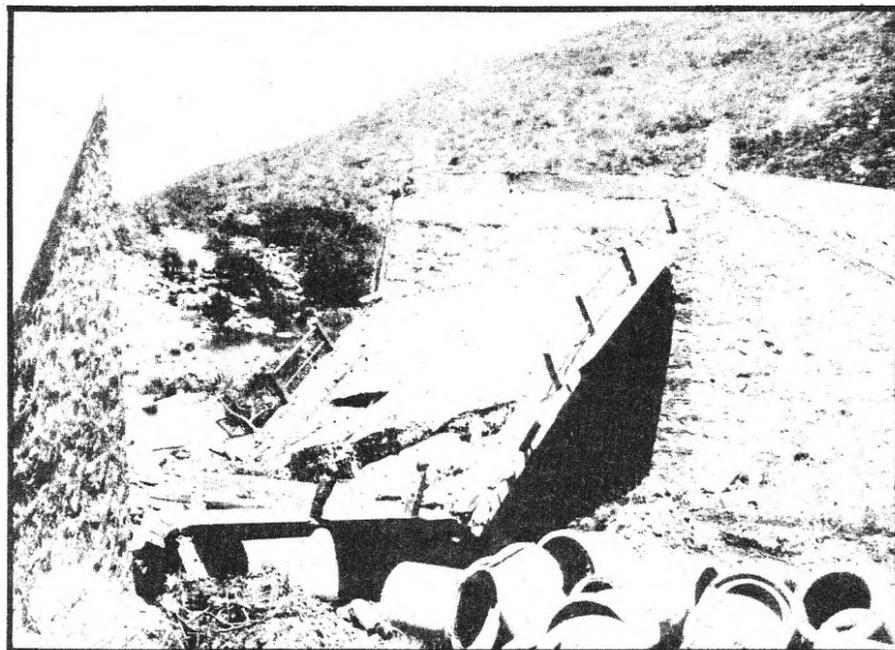
sion, beating women who came out of their houses to witness the commotion, and charging into classrooms to drag out protesting students.

And while the spontaneous anger of the masses is being aimed at every symbol of apartheid, the two main organizations leading the struggle in South Africa have begun to show increased signs of strength and organization, the African National Congress (ANC) by its most recent campaign inside South Africa where they carried out several military actions successfully, and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) by their tightening of their organization, including the election of

a new chairperson, Comrade John Pokela.

It has been a mere five years since the Soweto uprisings — June 16, 1976 — and the balance of forces in the world have changed remarkably. The victory of the Zimbabwean people. The overthrow of the Shah, with his oil shipments to South Africa. The liberation of Nicaragua, of Grenada. A deepening world economic crisis in the Western World.

With all of this, the liberation of not only Namibia, but of South Africa as well, has become a force that no one — Ronald Reagan included — can stop. □



Angolan bridge destroyed by South African Army. Angolan officials claim South Africa carried out 22 aerial bombardments, 7 artillery bombardments and 23 helicopter assaults between July and September of last year alone.

CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE

Greatest American Hero

Stoolie As Hero

Angela Brown

Faster than a speeding bullet
More powerful than a locomotive
Able to leap tall buildings in a single bound
Look, up in the sky
It's a bird
It's a plane
No, it's Superman!

Well, not quite. Actor William Katt's Ralph Hinkley is an awkward, reluctant superhero. Ralph is the chief character in Stephen Cannel's Greatest American Hero. A spoof of dramatic super-hero series like Superman and the Six Million Dollar Man, the Greatest American Hero is sentimental and appealing precisely because he's not Superman. At the same time the show reinforces old studio hero myths glorifying "crimefighters."

Ralph's No Superman

All Ralph wants to be is a high school special education teacher and a good father. So when aliens from another planet choose him to save mankind from itself, he doesn't want anything to do with them. But the crime-ridden, crisis-filled 80's and the persistence of gung-ho FBI agent Bill Maxwell press him into service.

The aliens give him a flame red and black caped costume enabling him to fly, turn invisible, have superhuman strength and be bulletproof. Ralph slams into billboards, crash lands, turns invisible at awkward moments often embarrassing his girlfriend Pam. It seems Ralph's inability to master his new powers is the source of most of the show's gags!

Like Superman's Clark Kent, Ralph is mild-

mannered. Unlike Superman, Ralph's not perfect. He lacks confidence and has many family problems. He's a divorced man trying to gain custody of his son. At the same time he's trying to build a relationship with a career woman, Pam Davidson (played by Connie Selleca), with a lot of smarts. She's very loyal to him despite all the embarrassments he causes her. I guess every superhero needs a girl; I'm sure the writers will be working her rescue into later episodes. With Ralph's likeable personality drawing us to identify with his personal problems and fears we never see Ralph's real role in society.

"All My Heroes Have Always Been Cowboys..."

Ralph is fervently non-violent and honest. Like his hero the Lone Ranger, he uses violence as a last resort. He tries to get his class of teenagers, troubled delinquents of all nationalities, to have someone to look up to like he did growing up. His dream, the show's message is that we all need heroes.

But look at what we are offered — FBI agents, cops, private eyes, etc. Although Ralph dislikes Bill Maxwell (Robert Culp) for being so gung-ho and violent he still teams with him on case after case after case. Bill is his backbone, the man who actually brings the criminals to justice.

The villains are all reprehensible — a tycoon who plans to murder the President and take over the country; malicious Russian spies taking over a weapon systems plant; an embittered cop gone crooked, etc. At times they even fight with CIA, FBI and IRS bureaucrats.

But as with all TV cop shows mistakes and abuses are the result of an individual going crooked. In a recent episode, Maxwell's idol and war buddy



The Greatest American Hero and friends.

Tracy Winslow (Jack Ging), a policeman decides to pull off a major jewel heist. Winslow is embittered by the "breakdown of law and order, the liberal courts letting criminals off the hook, the breakdown of moral standards and common decency, and the lack of respect for authority like policemen." Bill acknowledges the rightful anger of his hero but turns him in at the end. Actually he and Winslow are both the same servants of the government.

Ralph is different — he is not directly hooked up to any government agency. And he is not a gung-ho superpatriot like Bill. He is the unlikely hero. Unfortunately, his affable characterization sucks the audience into the personality obscuring his purpose as an informer of sorts for the FBI.

The Informer, Cop, and P.I. as Hero

Yes, Ralph has a certain decency that is part of the American spirit. Like others in his position (writers, teachers, lawyers, and other professionals) he wants to do something about the crime, the despair, and the lack of purpose haunting today's youth. But when watching this show, these honest feelings, these good intentions we all have get twisted into something quite ugly — informing.

Ralph has lots of good intentions — but they turn into spying, investigative super-exploits for the FBI. When you think of it all of our lives we've been taught to hate snitches. At school tattletales quickly get ostracized by the other kids. In jails, snitches are hated by other prisoners. And at the workplace, the snitch is detested as a brownnoser or, even worse, a scab. Snitches and informers are seen as the scum of the earth.

But they've always been an integral part of our government's attempts to maintain its declining power and influence. At home the government has always attacked the opinion makers first to control all the images seen by the American people — HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) was an example of this.

During the late 40's and early 50's, informers were exalted as heroes and saviours when they were actually used to destroy the lives of countless dedicated artists. Later it was informers who helped engineer the murders of civil rights fighters in the South and Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in 1969.

Yet in Greatest American Hero, creator Stephen Cannel develops a character who makes it seem okay to snitch. In the Rockford Files he gave us James Rockford and Angel Martin, both colorful characters. We liked Rockford, bad knees, his penchant for fishing and low-life hustlers like Angel. Like Ralph's, their exploits range from espionage to burglary.

But Cannel's latest series has more charm in its appeal to kids. The slapstick is basic comedy and hides the insidious nature of the show. Pushing informers and cops as heroes on little kids is the end result of the show's characterization. Once again the stoolie is hero.

Hero's Future

Cannel's series was originally scheduled for just 13 episodes. Its ratings have been so high that it has been put on the fall line-up. Already there have been changes made in the show to keep its all-American image. The hero Ralph Hinkley has had his name shortened to Ralph H because it sounded too much like John W. Hinckley, Jr., the man who shot President Reagan.

Next fall it should have pretty good company on the fall line-up as a new FBI series supposedly under the watchful eyes of the FBI is due to premier starring ex-private eye Mannix (Mike Connors). But then PI's, cops, agents, informers, and superheroes always did travel in the same circles. □

American Journal

Coming Right Up: Designer Warheads

David Armstrong

The way I see it, there are two significant trends in American life today. One is the push for ever-bigger, costlier, more lethal nuclear weapons with which to "rearm America." The other is the mushrooming popularity of designer jeans, sales of which have reached \$6 billion a year. To reveal the true nature of each trend, I suggest taking both of them to their logical conclusion, producing a devastatingly chic new product: designer warheads.

An impeccable source, who wishes to remain anonymous (we'll call him Deep Pockets), told me that this eminently sensible idea is, in fact, in the works. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger is reportedly even now preparing an announcement that the latest nuclear weapons, "each with its own unique capabilities," will be named after celebrities and "deployed on the far-flung frontiers of freedom."

"This will accomplish two things," Deep Pockets confided. "One, it will give nuclear warheads clearly identifiable personalities, making it easier for President Reagan to sell the American people on a larger military budget in his next dramatic television appearance. And two," he smirked, "it'll completely bamboozle the Russians. MX missiles in moving boxcars they can deal with, but compact tactical nukes in gift-wrapped boxes from Macy's?"

I had to admit he had a point. My informant showed me the advance text of Weinberger's announcement (sorry, I can't let you see it — just trust me), describing the warheads being readied by Research and Development. Here is an abridged version of the statement, carefully edited to ensure that this newspaper doesn't compromise national security. The new designer warheads include:

The Alexander, a.k.a. *The Commander*. This clever weapon is programmed to seek out enemy sources of power, such as hydroelectric projects, nuclear power plants and high-level executive suites. Planners are worried about the weapon's tendency to self-destruct under pressure, but are confident that

kinks can be worked out by the next election. A versatile metal container, available as an accessory, is handy for storing precious bodily fluids when weapon is not in use.

The Warhol. A combination radioactive/hallucinogenic agent that causes opponents to drop in stupefaction shortly after exposure, the Warhol is deployed in cinemas and at parties of the enemy elite. For precision strikes only.

The Jackie O. Developed as a stylish companion to the Warhol, the Jackie O is programmed to attack enemy discos, dinners, galleries and the embassys of foreign countries that abuse human rights. Since Pentagon planners have recently acknowledged that most such countries are U.S. allies, this weapon is expected to see only limited action. Not for use in South Africa or South America.

The James Watt. Named after the reigning Secretary of the Interior, the Watt is a variation of the neutron bomb. Kills trees, birds, fish and animals, while leaving corporate executives unharmed.

The Carter. Originally prized for its ability to vacillate and shimmy past enemy defenses, scientists were forced to reevaluate the weapon when it failed, in repeated tests, to explode on impact.

The Pundit. Suggested by political commentator George F. Will, this weapon impairs the reasoning powers of opponents, leaving its victims able to think only in the past tense. Effectively foils their diabolical plans for America's future.

The Nancy. Inspired by the First Lady, the Nancy is a dainty little atomic device that exposes enemies to small but sustained bursts of radiation. Ruffles optional.

The Chief (as in "hail to..."). The most popular item of the new season. Slays by paralyzing opponents with a sense of well-being, then explodes when least expected, inflicting maximum damage. Should be the leading weapon in the nation's arsenal for four more years. With technical adjustments, could be operational throughout the eighties. □

SPORTS

Toughman: Unlimited Boundaries of Desperation

Anthony LaRusso

What is it about desperate situations that make people take desperate actions? What is it that drives a man with a family at home to do something he's never dreamed of doing before, just for a shot at \$1,000? What kind of society is it we live in that would encourage a man to risk life and limb for some money? Please don't be surprised if the answer to all three questions is the same.

Specifically, what I'm driving at is something called The Toughman Contest. About three years ago, a man named Art Dore began staging fight tournaments in Bay City, Michigan with some pretty peculiar rules. No pros. No more than five amateur wins in the last five years. Must weigh at least 175 pounds. Must pass a physical. No more rules. To win the overall tourney, a fighter must win one fight the first night and FOUR the second night! And get this: 30 minutes rest between bouts.

Since the first bell sounded three years ago, there have been 52 tournaments staged in over a dozen states. An estimated 300,000 people have paid as much as \$10 for a ticket. The ads read, "Bar bouncers, professional athletes, bar brawlers, lumberjacks, construction workers, truck drivers, policemen, etc.," but most are unemployed workers. All are welcome. You just have to be willing to lay your life on the line for a chance at a grand.

Last year's champ was 7-foot, 305-pound Mike White. That means if I, at 176 pounds soaking wet, wanted to win the \$1,000, I would have to fight someone nearly twice my weight to do so. If you think no one would consider that suicidal mission, guess again. Eight thousand in the last three years to be exact. Let's look at the Toughman hall of fame.

Those Who've Paid the Price

Ken Meylan, a 41-year-old farmer and father of six, collapsed last January after fighting once on a Friday and three times the next Saturday. He complained he was "awfully tired." Ken is now paralyzed on the left side. He is blind. He cannot speak. In

the last few months, he has lost 32 pounds from eating through tubes. So far, the tournament "insurance" hasn't paid a dime of the astronomical medical expenses. To top it off, Meylan was a friend of Art Dore. Ken's father and partner on the farm, Mr. Werner Meylan said, "A good friend wouldn't put a man in a slaughterhouse."

Jesse Cortez, a 35-year-old man from Des Moines is still in serious condition following brain surgery for injuries suffered in his last fight.

Ronald Miller was a 23-year-old Marine, probably in better shape than Jerry Cooney. But Ronald is dead now. He suffered severe head injuries in a bout in Johnstown, Pa. and died a month later.

Desperation Spreads Like Plague

Economic and political instability is here to stay in America as long as cancerous capitalism is the law of the land. The social consequences of this cancer are more devastating than an earthquake. When a worker with a family, regardless of whether or not he has a job, sees that family longing for the necessities of life he can't afford, he will take desperate measures.

Promoter Art Dore is nothing more than a vulture. He's jumping at the opportunity to make a bundle off of the desperation of the poor and working Americans. This merchant of misery is just waiting around for things to get bad so he can make good on others' suffering. In the state of Iowa alone since April 1980, Dore made good to the tune of \$357,694.

When Ken Meylan was a kid, he boxed in the Golden Gloves. His father thought that was the end of boxing for his son. It very well should have been. But from that time until now, the price of feed and other farming needs were never so high as they are now. The small farmer has never been so threatened by uncertainty as today. If this was 15 years ago, not only would most men shun such an adventure as Toughmen, but fifteen years ago, capitalism was in relatively stable condition.

Similar to 30's

I can think of one more period in time that such a "game" did exist — the years of the Great Depression. A recent movie with Charles Bronson as a bare-fisted fighter made romantic light of brawling for enough money to eat. Its' title, "Hard Times," unfortunately would not suit today. More realistically, it would have to be called "Desperate Times."

Similarly, in the Great Depression was the marathon dance contest. People with no jobs, no money and nothing to eat competed in a dance contest to see who would be the last to drop off their feet. Many actually died from exhaustion while the sponsors and producers made some piece of pocket change.

Again to the movies, in "They Shoot Horses, Don't They?" after Jane Fonda and her partner had won the contest, the promoter gave them peanuts for a prize. After deducting "expenses," there was nothing left for the winners. Wanting to die for all the misery that had followed her since the Depression began, she asked her partner to shoot her. Although he held the gun, aimed and squeezed the trigger, it was the desperation caused by the collapse of the economy that actually killed her and many others in the real world.

A person can do crazy things without being crazy at all. People lash out and reach out, desperately searching for the solutions to their problems. The problems many of us face now are problems we've never faced before. Over the last few years the crisis has reached a devastating pitch and people's reaction has been what was once unthinkable. Children turn to drugs at ages that were reserved for bicycle riding and playing ball. Fathers step into a boxing ring with John Henry type opponents. Like most avenues available in a society of dying capitalism, the odds of survival are on the side of the house stacked against you. □

women hold up half the sky

Labor Leaders, Workers and Feminists Meet

Fighting for Our Lives

Sara Anderson

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Government attacks on women's lives, livelihoods, and rights was the issue that brought 180 women activists to a conference, "Women and the Political and Economic Crisis," held here on May 30-31. Trade union leaders, healthcare and daycare advocates, community and reproductive rights organizers were among those who participated in workshops and plenaries at the New School for Social Research.

This broad cross-section of views was as exciting as it was informative. It was also an indication of why many women's leaders believe that building a united front effort against these attacks is the number one agenda item for all women's groups.

Working Women — Labor's New Force

The emphasis in the first day of meetings was on women in the workplace. A workshop led by two organizers from the Communications Workers of America and two from the Working Women organization debated approaches to organizing clerical workers, the largest sector of unorganized workers. According to the CWA organizers, health and safety conditions are fast becoming just as important to clerical workers as higher wages and benefits.

Among the Bell System workers whom the CWA primarily represent, the use of computers and word

processing systems has not only increased workloads — speed-ups — but has also resulted in a proliferation of stress-related illnesses and hazardous work areas. Ma Bell wants to impose a three-shift system which will create even more problems for workers with children. During this discussion, a daycare worker pointed out that free daycare provided by employers should be a demand in union contracts.

The convergence of issues affecting women as workers and as mothers is just one example of why limiting women's struggles to one single issue, whether it is reproductive rights, unionization or democratic rights, won't capture all the anger and frustration women are feeling, nor will it build a movement that can fight on all fronts.

A speech by Gwen Ferguson, president of Ironworkers Local 627 at San Diego's NASSCO shipyard, brought out the political character contained in all these issues. Since NASSCO's main customer is the U.S. Navy, the government is the boss-behind-the-boss in the yard.

Gwen Ferguson — Leading by Fighting

She began working as a burner seven years ago when federal contracts stipulated quotas on minority hiring. "They got a double bargain with me — I'm black and a woman," she said laughing. But when she began working with other union militants to build a strong steward system to fight the terrible

continued on page 14



Word processing has turned the office into a factory.

... Fighting for Lives

continued from page 13

health and safety conditions, workers saw her as a leader — a real fighter.

NASSCO had been given a fist full of OSHA violations, she said, but conditions kept getting worse. "Naturally, the government wasn't going to enforce any of those regulations because it would have delayed production of its ships." It was only after the rank and file got into action led by the new leadership that conditions began to improve.

A researcher and organizer for the Women's Occupational Health Resource Center, agreed with Gwen. She said workers organizing in their unions is the only way to improve health and safety in the workplace. She pointed out that the Labor Department is steadily attacking what few advances have been made. An example is the case of cotton dust in the textile mills. OSHA has quietly withdrawn its court case to set standards in the mills, banned two films and burned 30,000 pamphlets on brown lung

disease, the fatal result of cotton dust.

The second day of the conference focused on government cut-backs in funding social programs and attacks on women's rights. In a workshop on reproductive rights and the proposed legislation to outlaw abortions, the discussion centered on the right-wing and building coalitions to beat back their attacks on women. Some of the women from third world countries thought that women's groups in this country hadn't made a strong enough attempt to unite with medical professionals and men who support abortion rights.

A student who is researching the reproductive rights issue, added that men are also affected by this issue. Her studies have shown that the increased use of chemicals and toxins in the workplace have resulted in a large increase of sterility in both women and men. "The men I've interviewed are just as concerned about the lack of safe and effective birth con-

trol as women," she said.

Broad Front — The New Agenda

The consensus was that this is an issue which has the support of the majority of people in the U.S., and that by linking it with a broader agenda of women's issues, the women's movement can avoid being backed into a corner by the "pro-life" forces.

The sponsors of the conference thought it had been successful in bringing together groups and organizations that need to begin debating views and working out of a common approach to the attacks on women. This was definitely the conference's main success. Members from the Women's Caucus of the New School for Social Research, which was instrumental in pulling the weekend meetings together, thought one of the weaknesses was a lack of a sharp focus to the discussion and resolutions which could have provided a basis for further work. □

... Incentives

continued from page 15

This inequality can be totally erased only when the material and spiritual conditions for communism exists. Meanwhile, with the development of the productive forces of society, there must be a rational policy that gradually narrows the differences in income and restricts the operation of bourgeois right in distribution. Otherwise, people's initiative will be undermined and the development of socialist production held back.

On the other hand, the second danger is to try to impose absolute equality as the rule. This contradicts the socialist principle of "to each according to work," and also hurts initiative and hinders production. It blocks the use of material rewards as a very important part of the necessary incentives used under socialism.

One of the idealist mistakes made by the Communist Party of China after the Cultural Revolution was one the use of material incentives. This was a reaction to the Soviet Union's one-sided view. The U.S.S.R. saw spurring production through material rewards but ignored all-rounded political and ideological work among the people. But the CPC went too far. They pit the need for spiritual incentives like political education against the need for material incentives and ended up blaming the people for not having advanced communist consciousness.

This idealist view contradicts the socialist principle of from each according to ability, to each according to need — the more you contribute, the more you get. There must be *both* material and spiritual rewards to spur productivity.

As long as the socialist principle of

distribution applies, those who have high consciousness and who work harder should be given both material and spiritual incentives. Above and beyond the basic guarantee to have job tenure, monetary incentives are correct and necessary. But this should be done in combination with social and spiritual incentives. Monetary rewards alone can allow the capitalist spirit to win out. People will become selfish and this will hold back the development of the productive forces. And in the final analysis, highly developed productive forces is the foundation upon which the spiritual conditions for communism are built.

There are two forms of material incentives in operation in the Soviet Union and China today. One is payments in individual paychecks. The other form is what's called the "material incentive fund" in the Soviet Union and the collective social welfare fund in China. How does this work?

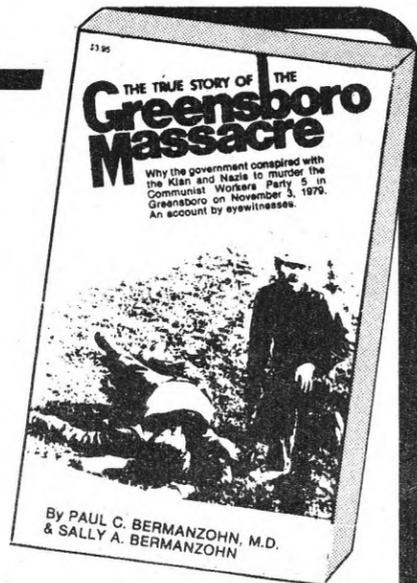
The profits made by an individual plant, for example, are divided into three parts. The first part goes to the workers' and peasants' government to be used for the needs of society as a whole. The rest is kept by the plant. Part of this goes to production, particularly on buying new equipment. The other part goes into the incentives fund. This money is spent on improving workers' housing and building cultural and service establishments, as well as for bonuses for the workers at the end of the year.

We hope this begins to answer your question. Again, we urge our readers to order Jerry Tung's book. We look forward to debate and more questions from our readers on our new position.

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 _____

... Father Berrigan

continued from page 3

"The first group are the monopolies, the multinationals, the Ronald Reagans and their whole intelligence apparatus. The second group is the rest of us, the majority of people who work and sometimes reap some of the riches and goodies this country offers us. But in the coming years, some of us are going to have to give up some of those goodies.

"Some of us are going to have to live a little uncomfortably and maybe even spend some time together in jail for what we believe in. But believe me, there are a lot worse places to be than in jail. I've spent four and a half years of my life in jail, and let me tell you, it's nothing. When you compare it to the sacrifices being made by brothers and sisters around the world for the cause of justice, believe me, it's nothing."

He chose not to talk about his own trial or the case of the Plowshares 8. Instead he spoke admirably of the

heroic people of Ireland and El Salvador and the personal responsibility each person has to resist the forces behind war and fascism. He asked everyone in the room to consider the alternatives before them and have the courage to act decisively. He ended by saying, "Thank you for coming, and God bless you all."

Some people were moved to tears. Hearing the stories of men and women dying or being jailed for their deep convictions was overwhelming. What did it all mean? And the lingering question: What would the future hold in store for socially conscious people? What could they do to help?

Many took the first step that night. Nearly \$800 was raised to further the work being done. Some people left the reception pensive and deeply troubled. Many left inspired by the Rev. Berrigan's haunting words. Nor one left untouched. □

CWP FORUMS

SATURDAY, JUNE 27th 4P.M.

Topic: The Palestinian Struggle Today

SATURDAY, JULY 25th

Progressive Arts Festival
2nd Anniversary of Bookstore

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6th 7:30P.M.

Topic: Socialism: What Is It?

What Will It Mean In the U.S.A.?

ALL FORUMS WILL BE HELD AT THE:

**Cesar Cauce/Michael
Nathan Memorial Bookstore**

951 E. MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
(Corner N. Elm Street - in Edgemont)
Phone: (919) 682-1014

LETTERS TO THE CWP

Material Incentives Needed Under Socialism

Dear Workers Viewpoint,
First of all, let me complement you on how much the paper has improved over the past few months. The majority of the articles have been well written, topical and have broad appeal.

But after reading "Capital is the Root of All Evil" in one of the recent issues, I felt compelled to write and ask you to elaborate on a few points.

Political economy is something that the bourgeoisie always tries to mystify. They tell us in school or on the news that economic crises, inflation, soaring interest rates are so complicated that no one can explain them. And because economics is so confusing, we have to live with the system the way it is.

So I was really pleased to see another article on political economy to really break it down. But I read the section with all the formulas three or four times and I was still lost. What the article really needed was a couple of concrete examples to explain these concepts. A good example of an article that did this was "Capitalism is the root cause of World War," several months back. Brief reference to "material incentive" as being a necessary part of a socialist economy.

Now the CWP has historically held the leading role in the struggle against revisionism, particularly the exposure of the coup in China and upholding the line of Chairman Mao. But with no further explanation, how does this statement demarcate the CWP's line from the line of Deng Xiao-Peng and Co.?

Particularly at such a critical juncture in the developments in China, it is essential that W.V. paper be crystal clear in its presentation of the CWP's position on "material incentives," bourgeois right and upholding the Cultural Revolution.

Yet, with the exception of one brief article, there has been virtual silence on the issues raised by the sham trials in China. The American people are watching the trials and the media is doing its best to slander Chairman Mao and confuse us on the basic issues.

Please clarify the Party's line on material incentives so we can better understand what's going on in China and its implications for revolution in the U.S.

A.S.
Los Angeles, CA

Revolution and the trial of the four in China? These are important questions, but we don't have the space here to do them justice. All of these topics and more are addressed comprehensively in a book written by Jerry Tung, our General Secretary, and will be published soon. There is an ad for the book in this issue of WV, and we urge you and all our readers to order a copy. Also, our Central Committee is preparing a separate publication on the Cultural Revolution and Mao's contributions.

However, we would like to talk a little about material incentives. Material incentives are connected with the way society distributes its wealth under socialism. In any society, whoever owns the factories, mines and mills (the means of production) determines how the wealth produced by society will be distributed.

Under capitalism, the capitalists own the means of production. Workers are forced to sell their labor power and the capitalist exploits and oppresses them. Under socialism, the main means of production are owned by the working class. Thus, the distribution of products and the social surplus created by the workers is in their hands and favors

the working class.

From the total wealth produced by society in one year for example, a certain part has to be set aside to further develop the country. Such things as what's needed to replace worn-out plants and used up sources of raw materials and for new technology to produce more goods cheaper has to be set aside. Other deductions for schools, hospitals, national defense, the cost of running the workers' government and so on are also necessary.

After these things have been taken care of, the rest of society's wealth can be divided up among the people for personal consumption. Under socialism, the principle for distributing the wealth is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" — those who can work and don't, don't eat. The difference between this socialist principle and how wealth was distributed in previous societies should not be underestimated. It is an historic change from the past where a minority lives off the sweat of the majority.

At the same time, this socialist principle is not the same as communism where "from each according to ability, to each according to need" applies. For this communist principle where people see working for society as a pleasure. Socialism is a transition period between capitalism and communism where the material and spiritual conditions are built up.

But in putting this socialism principle to work, there are two dangers. One is the problem of an increasing gap between those who have a higher standard of living and those who have a lower standard. Socialist distribution leads to greater equality than capitalism because no one can get rich at the expense of others, but there is still inequality. From each according to ability, to each according to work "is still bourgeois legal right," Marx said. An equal amount of labor brings an equal amount of compensation, but people face different conditions and have differing abilities. For an example, some only have to support themselves while others have families to support.

continued on page 14

HOW TO CONTACT THE CWP

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

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

OR CALL YOUR LOCAL OFFICES

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
Hawaii: (808) 259-5730
Los Angeles: (213) 748-7741
San Diego: (714) 223-5566, x. 560
Seattle: (206) 762-6109

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-F 2-6 pm
Sat. 1-5 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

Missed any parts of our series?

Polish Workers Fight Revisionist Line Part 1

Which Way Out for Poland?

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

The vicious cycle of the Polish revisionist line

The origins of the McCarthy-Stalin era

Get a reprint by sending 50¢ (postage and handling).

Better yet, why not send in 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)
VOICE OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY
NEWSPAPER FOR THE 80's

6.29

Your letter raises good questions. Although we received the letter months ago, we weren't able to print it and answer your questions until now that our new understanding is public. Before we believed that the Soviet Union had turned away from socialism and gone back to capitalism. We also believed that China has been in the process of restoring capitalism ever since the coup against the four after Mao's death. But through our study of political economy, and most important, critically looking at the problems raised by our practice in trying to make revolution in this country, our understanding has changed. The Soviet Union, China and many others are socialist countries. We now have a deeper understanding of the fundamental strength of socialism as well as a more mature perspective on the weaknesses socialism inherits from the old society.

What is our position on material incentives, bourgeois right, the Cultural

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

VOL. 6 NO. 23

JUNE 15-JUNE 21, 1981

50 CENTS

Reagan's Raw Deal for the Elderly

Jim Davis

"Even with our Social Security checks my son still has to help us out," said 66-year-old Rose M. from Brooklyn. "I hate to think about all those people who won't make it. But I guess those are the hard choices we have to make, if we want to keep Social Security." "My daughter gets upset everytime I ask her for money. I know she's got enough bills to pay," added the woman sitting besides her on the park bench. "Sometimes I wish I didn't need to ask her for help." "I can live with these changes" explained Sam K., a 67-year-old retired teacher. Sam retired early several years ago at the age of 62. "But if they cut my benefits, well my wife and I might have to just sell our house and move."

The Reagan Administration's proposal to make cuts in the Social Security program, unveiled several weeks ago, has been greeted with mixed anger, fear and much skepticism by most older Americans. Under the pretense of saving the program, the plan represents the first step towards dismantling it. Altogether \$46.9 billion would be cut from the program in the

next five years, \$9 billion in the first fiscal year. The hardest hit would be most Americans forced to retire before the age of 65.

Is the Future Worth Sacrificing For Now?

While the Reagan Administration is "concerned" with the uncertain future of the Social Security program in the next 30 years, many Americans who are retired or near retirement are more concerned with their own uncertain future in the next several years. As Sol Finkelstein, a 72-year-old retiree from Florida pointed out "The question is whether to sacrifice for now to save it later. In ten years there may be a nuclear attack. We need the money now. That's what we must worry about. When the wife and I came down here seven years ago, 23 cents we were paying for a loaf of bread. Today it's 85 cents."

Runaway inflation has forced many of us to change our lifestyles. For the millions of retired Americans on a limited income, the situation is even

more desperate.

On the average Social Security benefits replace only 42 percent of pre-retirement income. The annual Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA) increase of 11.2% which Reagan has criticized as excessive, provides little relief to inflation. It represents in real dollars and cents three times less than what the average American receives.

The Real Fraud

Inflation hits hardest in medical care, usually a major expense for many older people. A report published by the Health Care Financing Administration last December, pointed out that the average American paid \$863 in medical bills in 1978. It rose to \$1,078 in 1980 and predictions are that it will rise to \$1,846 in 1985 and \$3,057 in 1990.

Henry B. Brotman, a consultant to the Senate Special Committee on Aging, concluded that Americans over the age of 65 spend 3.4 times more on medical costs than those under 65. In 1985 older Americans could expect to pay nearly \$5,000 and \$8,250 in 1990.

Presently Medicaid and other federally subsidized programs pay nearly two-thirds of these expenses. Even if these subsidies are continued at their present rate (which is unlikely given the plans of the Reagan Administration), the average American 65 and older can expect to pay \$3,000 of his own income on medical bills in 1990. Those Americans forced to retire early for medical or other reasons would only receive \$4,176 a year in Social Security benefits in 1987

Reagan Mandate?

"I voted for Mr. Reagan because he promised to cut out all the money that was being wasted and give it to the poor people who needed it the most. I guess he made fools of a lot of people," laments Ida L., who also retired early. In last November's election, nearly 60% of older Americans had voted for President Reagan. "I've voted for the Democrats the last 40 years, because my father was a Democrat. I changed last year because the country needed to be turned around and I thought President Reagan was the man to do it," explained another man.

Unable to reverse the steady decline of the American people's standard of living, Carter and the rest of the Democratic Party were ousted by voters last year. For the many people who refused to vote or voted for Reagan over Carter it was an act of resistance to the uncontrolled inflation, growing unemployment lines and sorry state of the country's economy.

Behind all the campaign issues inflation, virtually non-existent in the days of relative capitalist stabilization in the 60's (when it was only 2%), was the real issue in the Presidential race. The real strength behind the Reagan mandate was his ability to play on these genuine concerns to attack Carter and the Democrats.

While it took several years for most Americans to learn about President Carter, many are learning even more quickly about President Reagan. In a recent Washington Post/ABC poll done shortly after the announced Social Security cuts, nearly 50% of the 1,003 people surveyed disagreed with the proposed cuts. (33% agreed.)

Half of those questioned were 50 and older. The same number expressed fears that they would be hurt by the cuts. While the recent opinion polls for President Reagan's popularity are not yet released, chances are that his support has fallen from the temporary boost he received following the attempt on his life.

Inflation Victim

President Reagan cannot stop inflation, any more than Jimmy Carter could. The cause of inflation is rooted in the tricks of Keynesian economics developed in the days of the Great Depression. Borrowing on tomorrow, spending what wasn't there was how some of the largest monopoly capitalists together with the help of the government pulled themselves out of the Great Depression. Between 1940 and 1970, taxes increased 16 times. Taxation, the printing of more money and the sale of government bonds (which pay high returns to the wealthy buyers) were the principal ways to generate the money to finance these schemes.

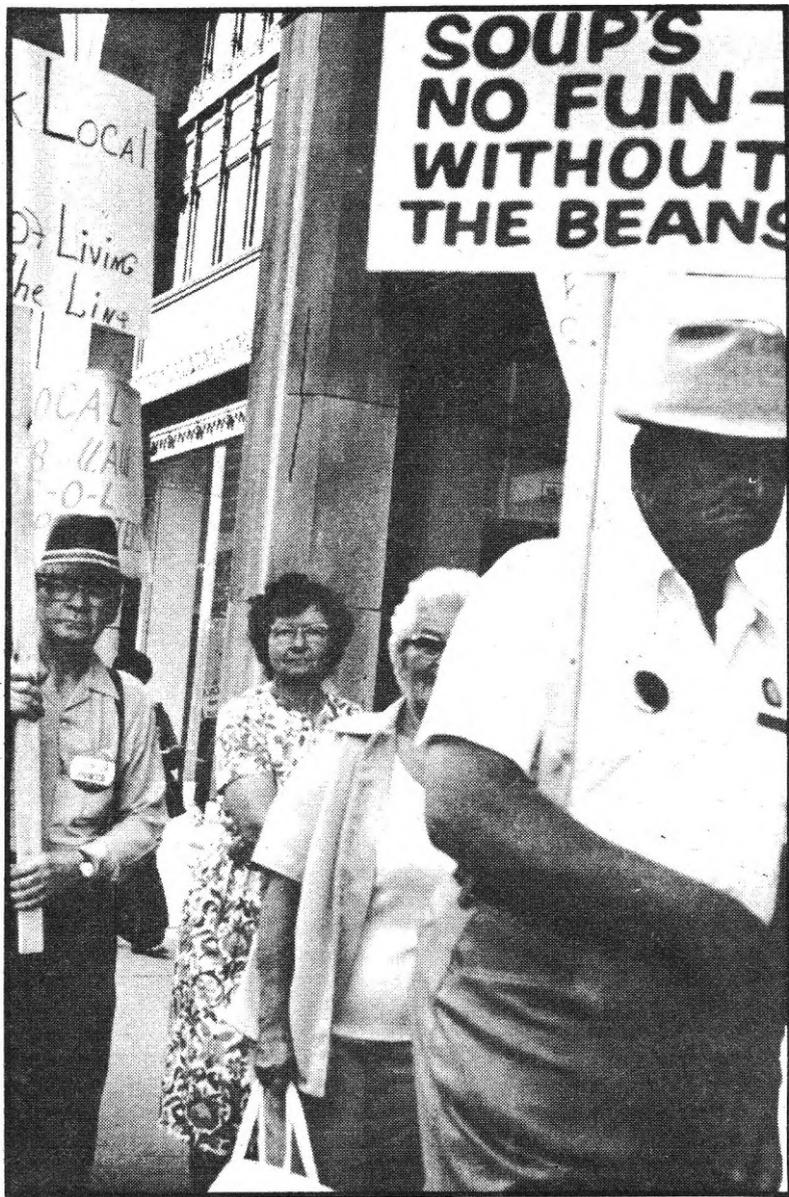
Some of the money was diverted into programs such as Social Security and other programs under Roosevelt's New Deal and Johnson's Great Society. The biggest portions without a doubt were invested into the military budget.

"The military budget, well, it's too high but we shouldn't cut it and we shouldn't raise it either. That's why the cuts are such a hard choice. Something has got to go," said Rose M. "If we don't raise it any more, maybe the money could be used to help Social Security." Ida L. added, "Don't we have enough bombs and guns?"

Since World War II, the growth of the military budget has been unprecedented. During the war, \$3.25 billion was spent on the military which accounted for nearly 80% of the total budget at the time. In 1981, it is \$162 billion, more than 50 times what it was 40 years ago.

The Reagan budget plan proposes to raise it to \$189 billion in 1982. With steady increases in the following four years, it will reach \$343 billion in 1986. The unchecked growth of the military budget is one of the biggest factors contributing to inflation today.

For years, millions of Americans could count on Social Security and some measures of financial security in their later years. Now the days of economic prosperity and security are forever gone. And like a worn-out record, Reagan's promises that the good times are just around the corner if we can sacrifice now are becoming less and less believable for many of us. □



After a lifetime of hard work, the elderly must also have to fight for a decent retirement against cuts in Social Security