

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
SEPTEMBER 2 · SEPTEMBER 8, 1981

VOL. 6 NO. 32

50 CENTS

excerpts

Political Report



To the Fourth Plenary of the CWP Central Committee

by Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP

The economic situation in the U.S. today is characterized by a sort of "deflation." This is not real deflation because inflation is *not* being eliminated. The basic inflation rate in this country is around 10-11% and will remain so.

But right now the Federal Reserve and the bourgeoisie are implementing a tight monetary policy to forcefully limit the money supply, induce recession and cool the economy down.

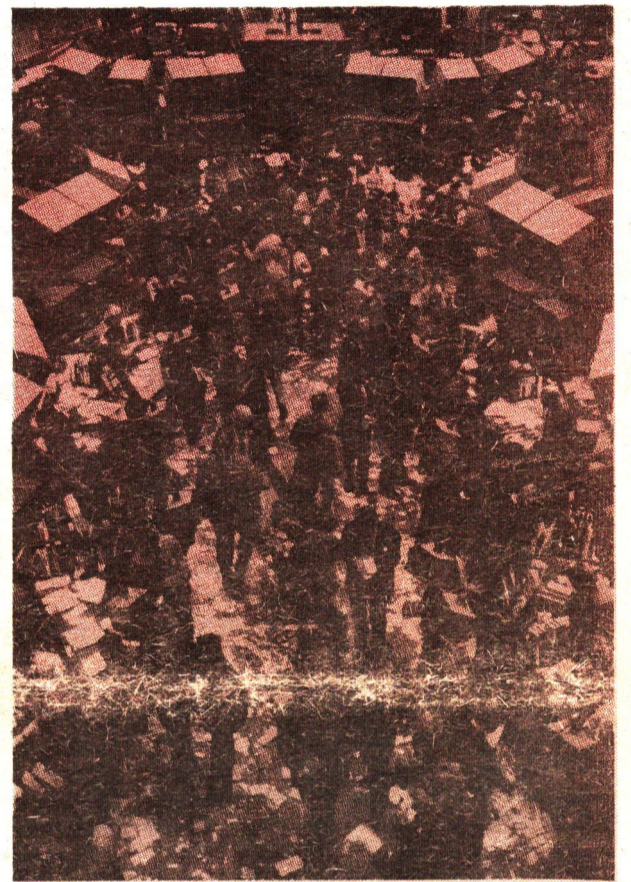
The prime interest rate has been above 17% for well over six months now and will stay there for the rest of the year. This is the highest interest rate sustained for the longest period ever in the capitalist world.

This particular scenario of the economic crisis is something that we had not foreseen at the time of the Founding Congress. We had assumed that the economic crisis would primarily take the form of hyperinflation. Actually there are 3 possible scenarios. One is hyperinflation, another is real deflation, and the third is the continuation of the same stagflation. Now in the main, short of a crash due to hyperinflation or deflation, or a major dislocation leading to the total disruption of the productive forces in this country, the scenario is continuing stagflation. However, the bourgeoisie is consciously steering this stagflation more in the direction of stagnation in order to offset inflation.

This policy is a consequence of the bond market crash several months ago, which we reported in the Workers Viewpoint. We treated it as the most significant manifestation of the economic crisis since the 1929 crash. It is now becoming clear that the significance of the bond market crash is that the U.S. economy can no longer take rates of inflation higher than 20-25% for more than a few months at a time.

The face value of bonds on the U.S. market today is three times the

continued on page 11



Line of March —
Mouthpiece of
Soviet Revisionism

7

Cutting Off the Lights On the Utilities

Jim Davis

Lower electric rates are unheard of in today's age of inflation. Yet in small towns and cities across this country that is exactly what millions of Americans are paying. What's the secret? Basement generators or backyard windmills perhaps? The answer is public power. Statistics for 1979 published recently by the Department of Energy's Energy Information Administration (EIA) show that the average electric rates charged by private owned utility companies (like Con Edison in New York) were 44% higher in residential areas and 31% higher in industrial areas than the average rates charged by public owned companies. While charging less, the more than 2,200 public owned utility companies provided on the average 31.5 percent more electricity to their customers than their larger private owned competitors.

Monopolies Jack Up Rates

"We can expect a 15 to 20 percent reduction. There's no reason in the world why we shouldn't provide electricity at a cheaper rate. People get hung up on the free enterprise idea and it just doesn't fit... We're dealing with and suffering from a monopolistic situation. That's about as far as you can get from free enterprise. The United States is the only modern nation where there is such a preponderance of profit-makers. Most major countries are publicly owned. Canada is almost all public power. We owe it to ourselves to get answers," explained Ted Keller, chairman of the Delaware Citizens Coalition for Tax Reform at a June 25 press conference.

Mr. Keller, along with William E. Alsip, United Auto Workers International representative called in letters to Governor Dupont and other state legislators for the passage of State Senate Resolution 17. The resolution would authorize funding for a feasibility study into the public ownership of the electric production and operating facilities of the Delaware Power and Light Company.

Presently electric rates in Delaware are among the highest in the country. "One of the heavy costs of the electric business," adds Mr. Alsip, "is the cost of borrowing money. A public company raises its funds in the tax free bond market and the lower interest

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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rates save the public company and the rate payers a lot of money. We see no reason for the Governor and members of the State Assembly to side-step this important issue. The cost is only 26 cents per taxpayer. There's nothing we could do or have done to improve the job climate more than to cut the too-high electric bill."

Initial response to the resolution has been extremely favorable. The Wilmington City Council, Newark City Council and the New Castle County Council have all voted to support the study. In addition, the UAW and the Citizens' Coalition for Tax Reform have gathered over 4,000 signatures in support of the resolution. The study would cost an estimated \$75,000. The resolution is scheduled to come up for a vote in the January 1982 State Assembly.

David Vs. Goliath

The fight to take over privately owned utility companies has been going on for years. In November 1979, New York's Westchester County voters defeated Proposition I, a referendum which proposed that the county government take over local electricity distribution facilities that were owned and operated by Consolidated Edison. Supporters of Proposition I waged an intense campaign for its passage. Though they lost, their work still offers us some insight into future battles.

The final vote was 130,192 to 104,708, amazingly close considering that Con Edison and other utility companies outspent their opponents 83 to 1! A pro-referendum group called VOTER received contributions from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and individuals totaling just under \$16,000. In contrast, the Westchester Citizens Against Government Takeover (WCAGT), a bogus citizens group received over \$1.3 million in campaign contributions. Heading the list was a whopping \$1,212,540 contribution from Con Edison and followed by smaller contributions from General Electric Co., Rochester Gas and Electric and others.

Despite local press coverage of the vote and over 50 public debates over the issue, the decisive factor was WCAGT's ability to convince the public that passage of Proposition I would mean higher costs to be passed along to the average taxpayer.

Scott Fitz-Randolph, a chief consultant from Winner/Wagner Associates, a public relations firm hired by WCAGT, best explains this strategy in an interview with the White Plains Reporter Dispatch. "Our [WCAGT's] biggest problem was the fact that the opposition had clearly positioned the issue to be a vote on whether you like Con Ed or not. The other side has consistently tried to make it into a David versus Goliath question. Our position is that it's Goliath versus Goliath. If there's any David it's the taxpayer."

Why Was Proposition I Defeated?

Hitting on a similar argument being used by the Reagan Administration today that there is too much government involvement in our lives, WCAGT and its big business backers were able to successfully divert public outrage away from the high electric rates being charged by Con Edison. Many voters feared they had more to lose than gain in a takeover of Con Edison. Through a carefully orchestrated media campaign, WCAGT was able to convince many local residents to take a stand against "big government."

Who really stands to lose in a takeover of Con Edison? In 1979, Con Edison reported gross revenues of nearly \$4 billion and profits of \$323 million in New York State. If its facilities in Westchester were managed and operated by the local government, these profits would become a new source of public revenue.

Today the Reagan Administration and most government officials conveniently cry out that there is "no money" and then proceed to slash funding for many programs like Social Security and CETA. Again and again the threat is raised that the American taxpayer will be the one to foot the bill if these programs are to be saved. Most of the time the threat works because no one wants to pay more taxes.

At the other extreme are utility companies and other profit-making monopolies. For example in 1979, according to statistics published by the Department of Energy, 205 of the largest private owned utility companies had gross revenues of nearly \$87 billion. Their total net profit reached \$9.5 billion. The amount of federal taxes paid, however, was a paltry \$517 million or just 5% of their total profits.

A government takeover of these utilities (even at the local level such as in Westchester County) would benefit nearly every American. First new revenues would be brought in. Secondly, public ownership of the utilities has proven over the years to be far more efficient and less costly. There would be more money for the government and smaller electric bills for the rest of us. While hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars are wasted in subsidizing Chrysler and Amtrak, the money could be put to much better use in taking over the management of a more profitable operation such as Con Edison. □

SALES TO RESIDENTIAL CONSUMERS¹

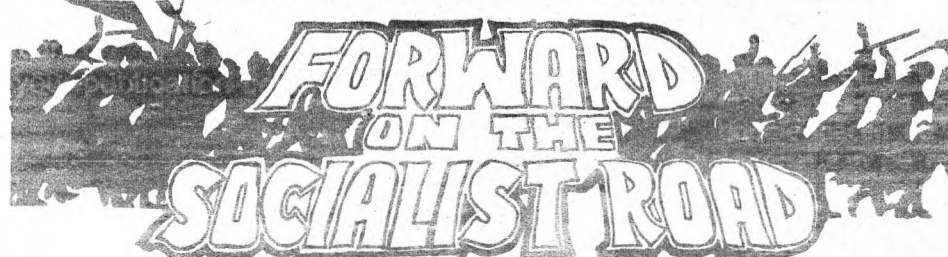
	Average Annual kwh Consumption		Average Revenue Per kwh (cents)		Average Annual Bill (dollars)	
	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public
1946	1,298	1,739	3.29	2.32	42.67	40.32
1950	1,767	2,518	2.95	1.99	52.14	50.06
1955	2,573	3,824	2.76	1.69	70.97	64.63
1960	3,454	5,208	2.62	1.58	90.51	82.46
1965	4,618	6,634	2.39	1.53	110.53	101.26
1966	4,931	7,007	2.34	1.50	115.37	105.13
1967	5,220	7,317	2.31	1.49	120.38	108.90
1968	5,706	7,880	2.28	1.47	128.43	115.93
1969	6,246	8,546	2.21	1.45	137.99	123.90
1970	6,700	9,015	2.22	1.47	148.92	132.89
1971	7,039	9,378	2.32	1.56	163.08	146.47
1972	7,391	9,630	2.42	1.63	178.96	156.95
1973	7,742	10,080	2.54	1.70	196.54	170.80
1974	7,550	9,797	3.10	1.94	233.85	190.54
1975	7,830	10,125	3.51	2.33	275.17	236.19
1976	7,840	9,539	3.78	2.79	295.94	265.76
1977	8,256	10,791	4.06	2.79	334.92	300.91
1978	8,453	11,383	4.31	3.00	364.35	341.23
1979	8,319	10,940	4.64	3.22	385.70	352.43

¹Care should be taken in the use of this data due to year-to-year variations in sample size.

SALES TO COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONSUMERS¹

	Average Annual kwh Consumption		Average Revenue Per kwh (cents)		Average Annual Bill (dollars)	
	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public
1946	28,110	22,475	1.50	1.29	421.55	289.24
1950	33,653	25,124	1.54	1.33	518.55	334.40
1955	49,038	38,329	1.45	1.19	711.04	457.55
1960	61,944	49,421	1.49	1.22	922.71	604.69
1965	79,201	66,396	1.40	1.18	1,109.26	783.93
1966	85,265	70,557	1.37	1.16	1,168.58	818.81
1967	89,347	74,373	1.37	1.16	1,224.13	865.43
1968	96,332	79,687	1.36	1.15	1,307.14	916.71
1969	102,965	85,683	1.36	1.15	1,395.61	983.24
1970	107,041	89,653	1.40	1.17	1,502.43	1,052.87
1971	110,973	92,778	1.50	1.26	1,671.12	1,170.33
1972	117,793	98,384	1.58	1.31	1,863.05	1,294.31
1973	124,082	103,785	1.68	1.40	2,083.46	1,449.28
1974	121,112	102,974	2.19	1.64	2,655.04	1,693.43
1975	119,381	110,076	2.62	1.97	3,127.77	2,178.01
1976	125,296	111,414	2.82	2.38	3,531.09	2,654.90
1977	130,602	124,331	3.12	2.38	4,076.98	2,954.33
1978	132,610	129,874	3.39	2.65	4,497.61	3,444.14
1979	133,355	129,342	3.66	2.88	4,877.69	3,722.15

PHIL THOMPSON
COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY U.S.A. SPOKESMAN, CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Sept. 6, 1981
Sunday, 7 p.m.
Channing Hall
2936 West 8th St.
Los Angeles
\$3.00 Donation

Aug. 30, 1981
Sunday, 7 p.m.
APUMEC Hall
3256 E. 14th St.
Oakland (near Fruitdale)
More Info: (415) 540-0671
Message to # 315

RYL Member Stands Trial

Fighting Nazis Builds Black/Jewish Unity

The trial of Revolutionary Youth League member Carlton Grisson is approaching on Sept. 14, 1981. Carlton is charged with aggravated battery on a police officer, stemming from an attack on Nazis marching in a community of Holocaust survivors in Evanston, Ill. last Oct. 19.

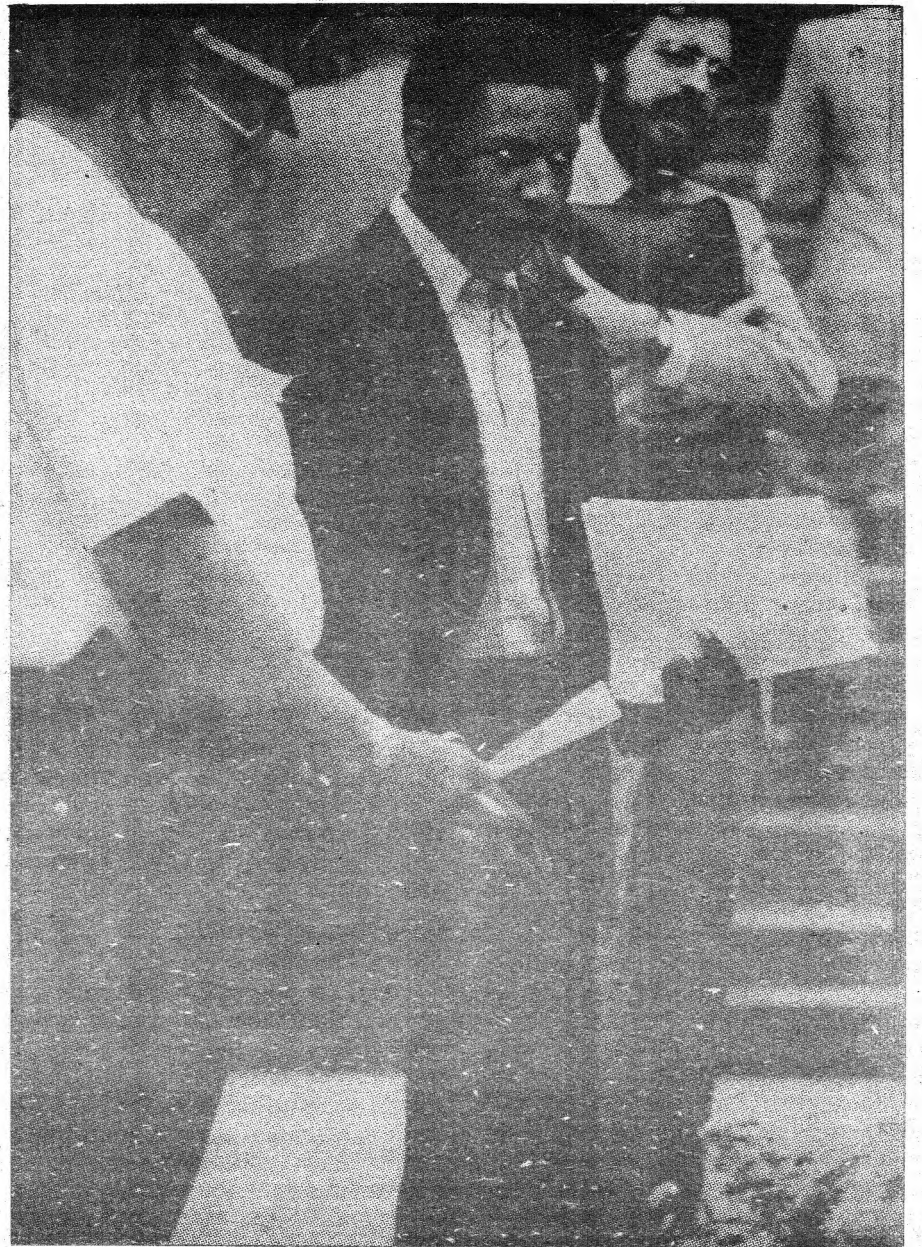
July 1 and July 17, 1981, Carlton went to court on preliminary motions to dismiss the charges based on racial prejudice ("selective enforcement of the law"). He didn't go alone. Each time 30-35 supporters went with him, representing Jewish, Afro-American, progressive and left groups. Two Jewish groups, Chutzpah and the Chicago chapter of the New Jewish Agenda (NJA) are playing major roles in the defense committee initiated by the Communist Workers Party. NJA wrote and is circulating a letter to rabbis and the community-at-large to gather support for Carlton.

Members from a group of Holocaust survivors, who bailed out Carlton before his family and CWP members could get there, the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, Citizens Against

Nuclear Power, Rock Against the Draft, PAM, Workers World, the Revolutionary Socialist League and others came out to support Carlton in court. The glue that holds the defense committee and supporters together is the knowledge that it is not enough to protest the Nazis, but it is also necessary to stand with those who are singled out for fighting them.

Just what had Carlton done to bring him to trial? Last October 19, the American Nazi Party tried to march in Evanston, Ill., a suburb of Chicago. They planned to rally in a park just three blocks from Skokie, where an estimated 7,500 survivors of the Holocaust live. Waiting for them were 3,000 Jews, gentiles, blacks and whites, survivors and youth — all there to express their outrage, anger, disgust and hatred. Keeping the crowd away from where the Nazis were to appear were 275 city, county and state police in riot gear.

Almost everyone entering a cordoned-off area was searched by police. The crowd waited, on edge, some singing, some chanting, some reliving the



Carlton at July 1st hearing

Chomsky Promotes Anti-Semitism

Jerry Gladstone

Between 1939 and 1945 the German capitalists, who were ruling through the Nazi Party, along with their allies in other countries, unleashed a savage war that resulted in the deaths of tens of millions of people. In addition to the millions who were killed as a result of military action the Nazis murdered about twelve million civilians and Soviet prisoners of war throughout Europe. They used assembly line techniques from modern industry. Of these twelve million who were murdered in this way about six million, or half, were Jewish people, members of a relatively small ethnic-religious minority.

In many countries where Jewish people had lived for centuries they were virtually destroyed.

These are facts proven beyond doubt by the testimony of witnesses (both perpetrators and victims), Nazi documents and information that was gathered by intelligence services of the allied powers. A war crimes tribunal consisting of Soviet, British, French and American jurists held a series of trials in the German city of Nuremberg after World War II and concluded that the Nazis had murdered, among others, six million Jewish people, or two out of every three European Jews.

Why is it necessary at this time to repeat these facts?

World Wide Fascist Violence

Over the past two years there has been a wave of fascist and neo-Nazi violence in Europe, the United States and Argentina. This has taken the form of bombings that killed scores of

people in Genoa, Italy and Munich, West Germany as well as the bombing of a synagogue in Paris. In Spain ultra fascists seized the Parliament building and then the central bank.

In the United States the Government organized a Klan and Nazi death squad that killed five members of the Communist Workers Party on November 3, 1979. Two of those murdered were of Jewish background, and the Klan/Nazi murderers shouted anti-Semitic as well as other racist epithets as they did their murderous work. None of these fascists were convicted of any offense.

Ideological Offensive

Every movement has its ideology and generally when a movement takes the offensive physically and militarily it also attacks ideologically. Today the ideological offensive of fascism includes an all-out effort to turn the fact that they committed genocide against the Jewish people into a doubtful subject of debate. Ultimately in order to make anti-Semitism "respectable" again they want to erase this crime from history because it gives them (and capitalism) a bad name.

Although these ideological storm troopers are centered around the fascist Liberty Lobby's front group in California called the "Institute of Historical Review" the first substantial salvo of their attack took place last year in France when a previously unknown professor named Robert Faurisson published a book claiming to prove that the Nazis never committed genocide against the Jewish people. This caused an uproar in France where

unspeakable horrors of the Holocaust.

One man told his story on a bullhorn, full of anger and rage. "They made us dig a huge trench, a hundred feet long and very wide. Then they had us cut logs, put them in and pour gasoline over them. They lit the logs on fire, and into this burning hell, they dumped children from the backs of dump trucks, raising the trucks up so that hundreds of living children slid into the fire, burning them alive. Do you want to see that again? That's why we're here today. Never again!"

Suddenly, the 11 Nazis appeared. Hundreds of rocks, bottles and eggs flew through the air as the Nazis, ducking behind their swastika-painted shields, vainly tried to set up their sound system to spew out their racist filth. Senior citizens, survivors of the Holocaust, were seen knocking each other over to get to bags of bricks that had been smuggled in, to launch them at the Nazis. As the Nazis managed to unfurl their disgustingly sick banner, "Holocaust — Six Million Lies," an angry cry filled the air and the barrage intensified. Seven minutes after they showed up, they scurried away for their lives, with the police doing all they could to hold off the furious crowd.

When it was over, six people were arrested, four for "disorderly conduct" (breaking through police lines). One was arrested later at a hospital, allegedly for throwing flashlight batteries at the cops. The *only* person out of the hundreds throwing things, who was arrested for throwing an object, was Carlton Grisson, the *only* black arrested that day. He was arrested by plainclothes cops who could go anywhere in that crowd, but they chose him, a 19-year-old Afro-American youth.

Broad Support for Carlton

Carlton is a member of the Revolutionary Youth League, and a supporter of the Communist Workers Party. He says, "I know we have to fight the Nazis and Klan wherever they are. The

government uses them to keep us blaming and fighting each other, rather than getting together to fight the government. I went there to take a stand with the Jewish people against the Nazis."

And they are standing with Carlton against the cops, the defenders of the Nazis. The survivor's group even retained a lawyer the day after his arrest, to get him, as well as the others arrested, out of jail. The cops lied to one survivor that Carlton said he was a Communist and didn't need or want their help, but the response was to stand by him anyway. They told a CWP member, "There's no way we're going to let him stand alone. Whatever it takes, he will not spend time in jail. That he is a Communist is not the point. He stood with us against the Nazis."

Stop the Railroad of Carlton

As the motion to dismiss was denied, Carlton goes to trial on Sept. 14 because a cop was allegedly on the receiving end of his brick. Already the unity forged of Jewish and progressive groups is powerful and this is force that can free Carlton. The defense committee will continue to try to rally the broadest possible sectors of not only the Jewish and black communities, but of all progressive people to keep Carlton from being railroaded. While the government spent thousands of dollars for 275 police to protect the Nazis, they're now using our tax dollars to prosecute Carlton. He needs your help: write letters to the Illinois State Attorney demanding the charges be dropped, and contribute for legal fees. Please call (312) 935-6350 to help him out. In the words of a 60-year-old survivor who was arrested that day and who addressed a meeting of 120 other survivors, "We will fight the Nazis wherever they are — if they are in the black community, if they are in the white community. We don't care. Wherever they are." □

This article was sent to the WV by a member of the Carlton Grisson Defense Committee.

continued on page 14

Family Protection Act: Disguised Attack

Norman Sadler

The appointment of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court seemed to sweep aside the protests of Moral Majority's Jerry Falwell. Little noted, however, was Reagan's hour-long telephone conference with Falwell on the day the appointment was announced, or the political strength of O'Connor's strongest backer, Sen. Barry Goldwater.

Another item that has been little noted is a sweeping bill, presented in both the House and Senate which "contains the whole right-wing agenda rolled into one neat little package," as Lisa Desposito of New York City's Planned Parenthood told the National Law Journal.

The Family Protection Act, originally presented two years ago by Sen. Laxalt (R.-Nev.) was presented again in a slicker package this year in the Senate by Sen. Jepsen (R.-Iowa) and in the House by Rep. Smith (R.-Ala.). Among the provisions of the new FPA:

- Exclusion of private schools as employers from the National Labor Relations Act, effectively banning union representation of private school employees;
- A green light for voluntary prayer in schools and on all federal property;
- Prohibition of legal services in litigation involving homosexual rights, desegregation, abortion rights and divorce cases;
- Prohibition of federal funds for educational materials that do "not reflect a balance between the status role of men and women, do not reflect different ways in which men and women live and do not contribute to the American way of life as it has been historically understood;"
- Provide tax breaks to corporations for daycare centers, and to families that save for private school tuition and support handicapped or elderly family members;
- Exclude corporal punishment or discipline by parents or authorized persons from child abuse laws;
- Require parental notification before providing abortion counseling or services.

Government Intrusion into the Family "Left" or "Right?"

Opponents of the FPA have called it an "unprecedented government intrusion" into family affairs, while advocates of the bill say it is designed to counter the government intrusion built up by liberals. The bill's advocates are essentially saying that turnabout is fair play.

The July 20 issue of the National Law Journal quoted Jo Ann Gasper, who drafted parts of the bill and is both editor and publisher of a magazine called Right Woman. "The introduction of legislation to give a forum for ideas is nothing new. The liberals have been doing it for years. I find it interesting that they're upset now that the right is doing it occasionally."

Rep. Lott, speaking in favor of the bill, declared it was a reaction to the individualism of the '70s. "We are told that the seventies were a time of the 'me' generation when the emphasis on the individual... Americans are sick of the family's being shoved aside and its power being given to the bureaucracy, its jurisdiction to the courts, and its resources to the government grantors. Government may be strong enough to destroy families, but it can never replace them."

The genuine desire of the masses for a healthy society and their revulsion against the decadence of the liberals is being twisted into a mandate for the "right." The FPA may call itself a bill for family protection, but it would do

far more to attack women and minorities than to provide protection for the average family.

The FPA is presently in four different committees, a sign that it will never emerge for a floor vote until next summer. But one source said no one considers the FPA to be a serious piece of legislation. The bill seems designed to act as an organizing tool, a shopping list. Laxalt's original FPA was high on the Moral Majority's agenda, which Falwell called a "laundry list for the Eighties" (*Congressional Quarterly*, 9-6-80, p. 2630).

While few expect Congress to buy every item on the shopping list, many of its items are being bought and added onto other legislation. An example of this is the amendment on the Legal Services Corporation's appropriation bill which prohibits advocacy of homosexual rights.

Correcting a Pendulum That Swung Too Far?

Ms. Gasper told the National Law Journal that "there is nothing wrong with portraying women in nontraditional roles... But let us not indoctrinate young children to the point that they're denied the right to be good women and good mothers. The pendulum has swung too far."

How does the FPA read on this question of women's roles? The FPA provides for parental review of all textbooks while, at the same time, it bars extension of federal funds to "purchase or prepare any educational materials which tend to denigrate, diminish, or deny the role difference between the sexes as it has been historically understood in the United States." (*Congressional Record*, 6-17-81, p. 6326)

Lawrence Rosen, professor of family law at the Columbia College School of Law characterized this language as "completely outrageous. It's impossible to know what it means."

Even columnist James Kilpatrick called the FPA "so much junk. It ought to be quietly scrapped." And although the bill may be entirely scrapped, its scraps may survive to be attached as amendments to other bills, as was done with the LSC appropriations bill.

Some of those scraps are non-controversial, others are controversial in Congress. While Congress does its wheeling and dealing and waters down the bill's impact, the thrust of the bill will probably remain to some degree, "correcting" the pendulum's swing. Organized labor, women and minorities are likely to be affected. What does correcting the pendulum's swing mean for these groups?

The Pit and the Pendulum

In the schools, the FPA declares that discrimination on the basis of race, sex, national origin or creed is forbidden. But in the next sentence, it says that there must be a finding of "deliberate or intentional discrimination for at least four consecutive years prior to the filing of an anti-discrimination lawsuit. The legal standard of "deliberate or intentional" would be nearly impossible to prove in any single circumstance, let alone over a four year period. This crude gutting of protection against discrimination is strengthened by the next sentence, which would "prevent the court from considering a school policy requiring the faculty to adhere to or subscribe to certain doctrines or beliefs to be a policy of deliberate and intentional discrimination."

The tuition tax and savings policies will promote private schools at the expense of public schools, and the discrimination policies will protect

their ability to exclude minorities and stifle free speech. The ban on federal funds for textbooks promoting women's equality and for programs protecting homosexual rights extends the repressive measures of the bill far beyond private schools.

Likewise, the exclusion of private schools from the National Labor Relations Act is only a part of the wholesale attack on workers' rights. An amendment to the LSC appropriations bill prevents legal services employees from striking. The FPA also would prevent legal service attorneys from representing a homosexual in an appeal from a denial of unemployment benefits if discrimination resulted in the job loss.

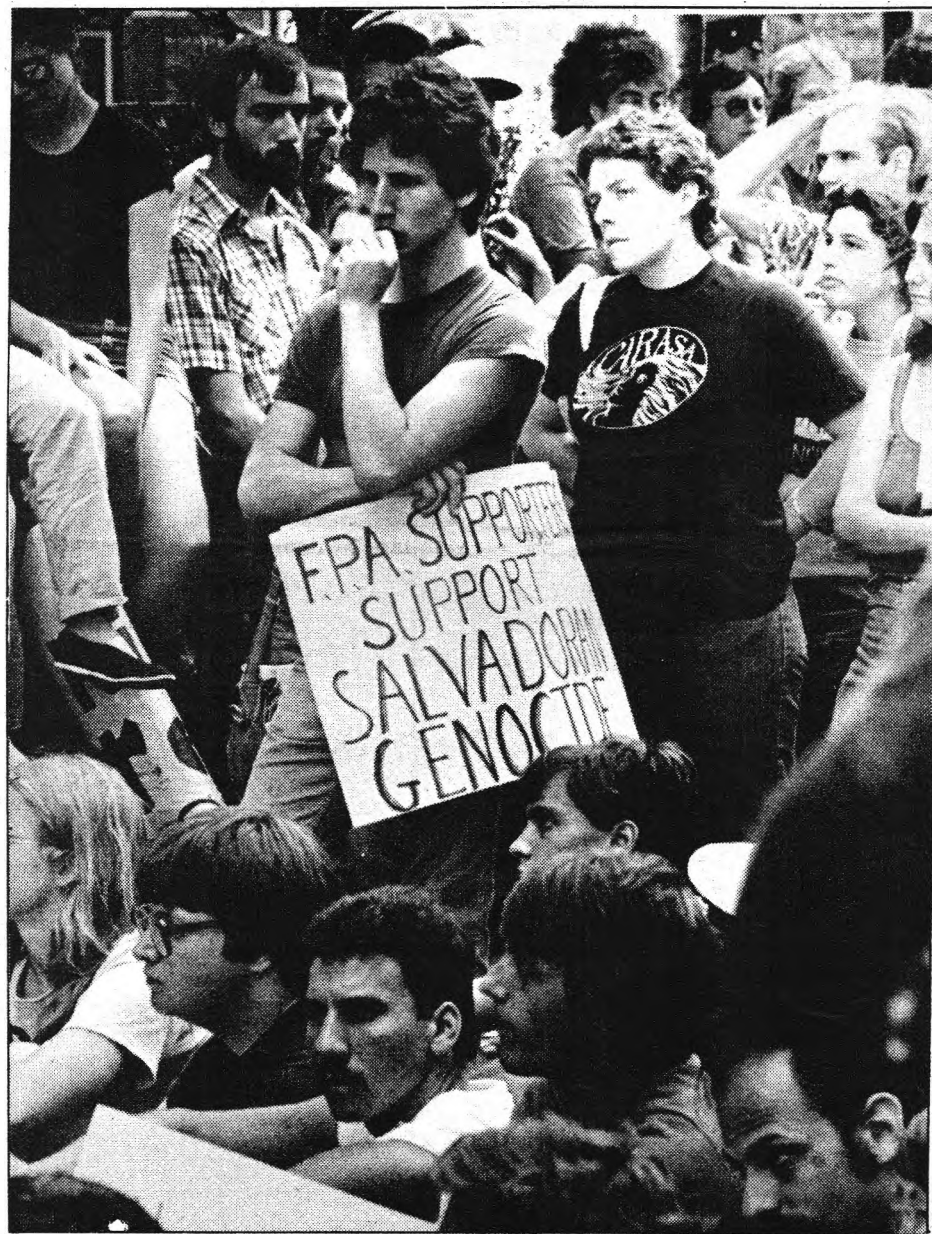
The Legal Services Corporation is often the only legal resource of the poor. Support for LSC has been strong enough, so far, to prevent its complete elimination. The effort now, as one

FPA sponsor said, is to gut it, make it helpless. This would broaden the avenue of attack on rights of women and minorities.

The FPA prohibits legal services involvement in any case of divorce or action arising from a divorce. In many LSC programs, divorce, custody and support make up nearly a third of the caseload. In most of those programs, the demand for divorce work has been so overwhelming that cases are accepted only when the spouse and children are in immediate danger and need a temporary restraining order.

Not only that. You guessed it. The FPA guts existing laws on child and spouse abuse.

Edgar Allen Poe's story, "The Pit and the Pendulum," ends with the wall of the pit crumbling, and the victim rescued. We all must work if the end of the FPA story is to be a happy one. □



Demonstrators outside the office of Senator D'Amato (R-NY) protesting his support of the Family Protection Act

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WON'T YOU PLEASE HELP?

LABOR NEWS

.. PATCO

continued from page 16

workers open to more government intimidation and serious setbacks.

Independently Organized Resistance

The top union leaders' position has made PATCO's job of mobilizing broad based union support extremely difficult. In New York City, even though Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale likened Reagan to Adolf Hitler, a citywide union support rally has failed to materialize. By no means does this indicate a lack of union support. At a PATCO rally in John F. Kennedy Airport, representatives from 30 unions showed up. Unions are also giving PATCO use of their offices as strike headquarters as well as raising financial contributions and selling PATCO T-shirts and buttons. The growing union support for PATCO is reflected in actions like the stewardesses union taking out a full page advertisement in the New York Times and construction workers in Orlando, Florida and Chattanooga, Tennessee walking off their jobs.

Against this background of rising rank and file support and the top union leaderships' stranglehold role, only those places with a strong nucleus relatively independent from the union bureaucrats have been able to pull off militant support actions. On August 10, 300 workers from the San Francisco Airport Labor Coalition staged a demonstration in front of the federal building. The coalition was sponsored by the San Mateo Central Labor Council, which includes mechanics, customs workers, flight attendants, freight handlers and other workers involved in the aviation industry. The coalition stated it "views the Reagan administration's punitive measures against PAT-

CO as an attempt to break the Air Traffic Controllers union, rather than seriously consider the issues. These measures constitute an attack on the basic rights of all working people. We find it ironic that this administration enthusiastically supports the rights of working people in Poland and yet holds a double standard for its own employees here at home."

Five hundred workers demonstrated in front of the White House on August 18. The Washington, D.C. Central Labor Council, which represents a large number of government employees, called on Reagan to reopen negotiations. Among the speakers were Geraldine Boykin from American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) Council 20, Bob Peterson, Central Labor Council president, Ron Richardson from the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Bill Simon from the Washington, D.C. Teachers Union and a representative of PATCO. "At one time all strikes were considered illegal. But now even nurses, teachers and police have gone on strike. Public employees also have gone on strike in Canada, England and Poland just this year," said a leaflet issued by AFGE Councils 1 and 211. "Historically, all employers hate strikes because it puts ultimate limits on their power to abuse and exploit. It was illegal for Rosa Parks to sit in the front of the bus because she was black, but because of her and many like her it's legal now. We must support PATCO to help stop unionbusting, to help stop attacks on our health and safety and to help stop the erosions in our standard of living and quality of life!"

Limitations of Spontaneous Struggle

It is clear that PATCO cannot rely on the top leadership in the AFL-CIO

to mobilize union support. At this time, there is no figure of national stature in the labor movement who is willing to or capable of standing up to the intensified attacks on workers. This leaves a glaring vacuum of leadership at the critical time when pent-up anger among the American people over Reagan's attacks is growing. The 13,000 PATCO controllers have done more to hit Reagan than all the unions and budget cut coalitions put together. By taking the fight into the streets, PATCO has added a new dimension to this struggle.

However, there are serious limitations to the spontaneous way the strike is developing. PATCO President Robert Poli has in the main taken a very strong and firm position. He refused to pay the government's astronomical fines. Poli has said he is not afraid to go to jail and he has called on the government to sit down and negotiate. These actions are good because they have given the PATCO strike a rockhard militancy. Poli's call to the government to negotiate also gives the union flexibility and helps to swing public opinion to its side.

As strong as PATCO's stand has been, their fight has been mainly defensive. This flows from the perception of the strike as solely an issue between PATCO and an employer. The strike reflects the state of the working class movement at this time. Although the strike has hit the government hard, it has been put in the context of the American people's overall struggle against the Reagan Administration's budget cuts and attacks on workers' standard of living. There has not yet been a strong call for labor to rally around a concrete plan of action. Nor has the PATCO strike been linked to

September 19 and other major struggles such as the postal workers' contract and other government workers' fights.

Merely sticking to their guns is not enough. The PATCO strike represents a major fight between labor and the Reagan Administration, a critical test of how far the capitalist ruling class can push its austerity program on the American people. Only by linking the PATCO strike to the American people's life-and-death fight against the Reagan attacks can the strike utilize its many allies among the American people, achieve its full potential and ensure a quicker victory. □



American Journal

NASSCO Conviction — A Dangerous Precedent

David Armstrong

Perhaps it was the death's head tattoo on his arm that should have tipped them off to Ramon Barton. Or maybe the fact that the South African-born drifter was an avid reader of *Soldier of Fortune*, the magazine for rightwing mercenaries. Instead, three San Diego union activists decided to trust Barton, who passed himself off as a tough-talking union man at the shipyard where they all worked. As a result, the activists have been sentenced to prison on a charge of conspiring to plant a bomb, in what prominent defense attorney Leonard Weinglass calls "the first important political case of the 1980s."

Ramon Barton turned out to be a company spy who illegally infiltrated the militant Iron Workers local at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Co. (NASSCO). Perhaps more importantly, Barton — who surfaced as the prosecution's star witness at the recent trial — was also an FBI informer. He was paid, according to sworn testimony, from \$5,000-\$7,000 to spy on the union. Barton admits this, but claims he went to work for the Feds only after the NASSCO 3, as they are

called, plotted to bomb an electrical transformer at the shipyard.

The three unionists — Mark Loo, Rodney Johnson and David Boyd — tell it differently. They describe Ramon Barton as a classic agent provocateur — a big, loud, threatening man who himself suggested that union activists attack company officials and urged them to bomb the transformer. According to the defendants, Barton supplied the parts, the operations manual — a book he ordered from *Soldier of Fortune* entitled *The Poor Man's James Bond* — and a constant, provocative presence, urging violence against the company.

For a while, Boyd, Loo and Johnson went for it. Then, they began to have second thoughts about the bombing. Finally, they said it was no-go. But by then it was too late. The three were arrested as they attempted to ditch the pipe-bomb they had built, on Barton's initiative and expertise. Two of them were arrested in Barton's van, which had been wired for sound. Barton's body, too, was wired, and his discussions with the three were secretly tape-recorded.

Attorney Weinglass points to a

mysterious 25-minute gap in the 30 hours of tape — precisely where his clients told Barton they weren't going ahead with the bombing — as evidence that the tapes were tampered with, ala Watergate. Weinglass also charges that the defendants' political beliefs were the real reason for the trial. Johnson and Loo are members of the Communist Workers Party, which has successfully led organizing drives in San Diego, North Carolina and elsewhere.

The defense also underscored dangerous working conditions and arbitrary company policies as causes of chronic worker discontent with NASSCO. The company's San Diego shipyard is the biggest and most profitable yard on the West Coast. It also pays the lowest wages and has one of the nation's worst safety records. Last September, two NASSCO workers suffocated to death on the job. Worker protests were met by the firing of 27 workers, while NASSCO paid all of \$2,400 in fines for the two deaths.

On June 6 of this year, Loo, Boyd and Johnson were convicted on the conspiracy charge. They were given six-month sentences by a federal judge who described Ramon Barton in court as "a reprehensible character." Rather than being cheered by the light

sentences, however, the defendants are vigorously appealing the verdict. "I'm not so much worried about what will happen to me," Rodney Johnson said after the sentencing. "I am concerned with the precedent the verdict sets."

That's what makes the NASSCO case particularly important. In a time when the entrapment tactics of Abscam are winked at by the courts, and President Reagan pardons two high FBI officials convicted of illegal break-ins, the NASSCO decision represents a further erosion of civil liberties. "It is our belief," said Weinglass, who helped defend the Chicago 7 on conspiracy charges 11 years ago, "that this case may well set the legal precedent defining the extent to which the courts will sanction the illegal acts of government agents."

While the guilty verdict against the NASSCO 3 is being appealed, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D.-Calif.) is calling for a Congressional investigation of the FBI's sub-rosa role in the case. At present, Loo, Johnson and Boyd are free on bail; however, they are also unemployed and faced with prison for making a bomb they did not explode, part of a conspiracy they insist was hatched in the fertile brain of a government agent provocateur.

And the provocateur? He has landed a job in a shipyard in Louisiana, where another organizing drive is underway. Union activists spotted Barton in the yard one day, a curious, energetic newcomer with a striking death's head tattoo on his arm. □

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Controversy Brews Over UNESCO Proposal

What is Freedom of the Press?

George Owens

Freedom of press or government censorship — the choice seems clear. Who can forget the efforts by dedicated and conscientious journalists, putting their careers and lives on the line, to bring us the Pentagon Papers and Watergate? Daring to face up to government harassment and criminal prosecution to present the truth to the public represents the best tradition of the press.

Yet this public sentiment for honest journalism and a free press is frequently manipulated and misrepresented. Publishers of gossip papers like the National Enquirer and smut peddlers are the first to proclaim themselves as defenders of the first amendment right to freedom of speech and press. Recently, the biggest international news agencies — UPI, AP, Reuters and Agence France-Presse — called a meeting in Talloires, France, and also raised the banner of defending freedom of the press.

In a manifesto issued at the meeting dubbed the Talloires Declaration, all the lofty goals of upholding "universal human right to be fully informed" and catch-phrases that "denying freedom of the press denies all freedom of the individual" were thrown around. Their uproar was aimed against UNESCO and its efforts to create a New International Information Order (NIIO). Participants at the Talloires meeting urged

UNESCO "to abandon attempts to regulate news content and formulate rules for press conduct." To this end, they are trying to pressure their governments to withdraw from UNESCO if plans for the NIIO proceed. Thatcher's government in Britain has already asked the rest of the European Common Market countries to coordinate positions at the next UNESCO meeting.

What is the NIIO?

This commotion confused the real issues. The NIIO grew out of efforts by third world countries to strengthen their own independent news structures and coverage so that the international flow of news will not be dominated by the Big Four news services. At the same time, it also seeks to promote fairer and more accurate coverage of a country's problems and achievements through establishing an internationally recognized code of ethics for journalists.

Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, the Director-General of UNESCO challenged the professed lofty goals of the Talloires participants. "Is it indeed logical to preach freedom of the press for all — individual citizens, communities, and nations — freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, the freedom to gather, receive and distribute information, a freedom involving in particular the multiplicity of sources of information, and at the same time to allow a situation to con-

tinue whereby millions of individuals, entire communities and innumerable peoples and nations are unable to enjoy these same freedoms?" he asked.

What the third world is trying to accomplish with the NIIO is similar to the situation that the U.S. faced almost a century ago, just before the U.S. became an imperialist power. At that time, the international flow of news was controlled by a cartel made up of British Reuters, the French Havas and the German Wolff agencies. As a rising world power at the time, the U.S. was developing its own independent news agency — the Associated Press. Kent Cooper, manager of AP, tried to break up the monopoly of this news cartel. He described the necessity to combat the biased news coverage that the U.S. was receiving: "So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about Indians on the warpath in the West. . . . The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America was ever sent. . . ."

International News Through U.S. Bias

Today, neighboring countries in the third world frequently receive news about each other through centers in New York, London, or Paris. Not only does this news reflect the viewpoint of government policies by these Western countries, but the selection of what news is broadcast also reflects that bias. In general, only disasters, coups d'etat, corruption and civil wars are regarded as news. Remember Biafra? The only image that comes to mind are starving children with bloated bellies. What progress has been made since then? The Big Four news agencies don't consider that important enough to report. How about Zimbabwe? Back when Mugabe won the landslide election victory over the apologists for apartheid, all the news agencies made doomsday predictions — the beginning of a race war; massive slaughter of white settlers; collapse of the economy. When none of this materialized, Zimbabwe disappeared from the news. What have been the achievements and continuing problems facing Zimbabwe now? Again, the answers won't be found in the broadcasts by the Big Four.

One of the most glaring examples of this bias is the coverage of El Salvador. While the rest of the world recognized the Democratic Revolutionary Front as a broad-based coalition representing the majority of the Salvadoran people, the U.S.-controlled press, time and time again, portrayed them as "extreme leftists." At the same time, these news agencies gave huge play to the U.S. State Department White Paper on El Salvador that supposedly documented a "textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers."

Yet the document showed several glaring inconsistencies: statements made in the White Paper were not backed up by the allegedly captured documents, authorship of several documents were attributed to guerrilla leaders when it contained different handwriting; arms shipments were extrapolated based on the cargo potential of certain trucks mentioned in a document that was not even delivered. All these inconsistencies, which the U.S. State Department was forced to acknowledge, were hushed up by the news agencies. And so as far as the American public is concerned, the White Paper is still accepted as unquestionable truth and the basis for Reagan's foreign policy today.

An Indian journalist, Narinder Aggarwala summed up that the selection, style, content, treatment and perspective of practically all news flowing in and out of the third world reflect the profile, preference and needs of

Western media. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India put it more bluntly. "The media of the powerful countries want to depict the governments of their erstwhile colonies as inept and corrupt and yearning for the good old days. This cannot be attributed to the human failing of nostalgia. To a larger extent, there is a deliberate purpose. . . ."

The experiences of Martin Luther King, Jean Seberg, Patrice Lumumba all showed that the CIA has used fabricated information fed through the news agencies to create and manipulate public opinion for their own sinister purposes. Alexander Cockburn of the Village Voice quoted Sean Gervase, a consultant to UNESCO on the extent of CIA involvement in the news media. "The CIA is the largest news agency in the world today. They define the climate of opinion. By UNESCO estimates in 1978 they were spending almost \$300 million a year; they had 1,000 men in the field; they had 2,000 people at Langley and other places in the U.S. manufacturing lies into reality." It is to weed out these phoney journalists and promote honest, professional investigative journalism that a professional ethic of journalism was recommended by UNESCO.

A Fight to Control the Airwaves

Another issue that the NIIO is set to tackle concerns the allocation of telecommunication facilities and frequencies. This falls under the jurisdiction of the International Telecommunication Union, the oldest agency of the UN system. Every twenty years, a World Administrative Radio Conference is convened to allocate telecommunication frequencies that affect things like marine communications, airline communications, space activities, radio astronomy, radio/TV broadcasting, satellite communications and so on. When the conference was held in 1959, many third world countries were still colonies of Europe and the U.S. or just newly independent. As such, their interests were not represented and the Western countries divided the frequencies as they pleased.

Since then, much has changed. The third world countries have realized that they are not only continually being inundated by books and movies reflecting the Western viewpoint, but their TV reception is being bombarded by dubbed reruns of Bonanza, Mod Squad, Hawaii Five-O, and their radio by powerful transmitters belonging to the Voice of America and the BBC. Their countries' own culture and traditional values are being drowned by this influx of Western consumerism.

At the 1979 conference, the third world countries came prepared to fight for their fair share of the airwaves. Thus, the real issues raised by the NIIO are not just a simple question of press freedom and democracy. It is an issue that pits the Big Four news agencies and multinational corporations representing U.S. interests who want to maintain the status quo against the rest of the world. As Director-General of UNESCO summed up the real controversy in the NIIO, "Even though some will not admit it, communication is more and more becoming a power and those who possess it often possess the key to power itself in many societies. For this reason, whilst it fascinates some, this power at the same time disturbs others. To believe that the problems of communication should concern only the communicators — owners and workers — now seems to be an illusion. The users, be they of the North or the South, the peoples, to whatever region they belong, the rulers, wherever they may be, scientists, sociologists, economists, financiers, industrialists — all are concerned and will be increasingly concerned in the future." □

1980 UNESCO Resolution

- (1) elimination of the imbalances which characterize the present situation;
- (2) elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, public or private, and excessive concentrations;
- (3) removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better-balanced dissemination of information and ideas;
- (4) plurality of sources and channels of information;
- (5) freedom of press and information;
- (6) freedom of journalists and all professionals in the communications media, a freedom inseparable from responsibility;
- (7) capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations, notably by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures, and by making their information and communication means suitable to their needs and aspirations;
- (8) the sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives;
- (9) respect for each people's cultural identity and the right of each national to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations, and its social and cultural values;
- (10) respect for the right of all peoples to participate in international exchanges of information on the basis of equality, justice, and mutual benefit;
- (11) respect for the right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively on the communication process.

on the Cultural Revolution

Line of March — Mouthpiece of Soviet Revisionism

Cynthia Lai

"The Historical Necessity of the Cultural Revolution" which appeared in the last issue of WV was excerpted and edited from a comprehensive sumup of the history of the Chinese Communist Party written by Cynthia Lai. It will be published in The 80's — the theoretical journal of the Communist Workers Party. This article is Part Two of that excerpt and deals specifically with the Line of March's opportunist line on this question. —ed.

The one-sided reversal of the Cultural Revolution and Mao's contribution by the present leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has given revisionists around the world a new lease on life. Dancing in glee at this event is the Line of March (LM) who has gone even further by trying to polarize the U.S. communist movement into Maoism and anti-Maoism. In doing this, LM has not only become the mouthpiece of the Soviet revisionists; they also reveal their utmost ignorance of the Chinese reality, as well as their chauvinist contempt towards third world countries' struggles to build a better society.

Proceeding from the fact that the present CPC leadership lumped the trial of the "Gang of Four" with Lin Piao's associates, LM concludes that there was a line difference between Mao and the Deng group, meaning Liu Shaoqi's faction. ("The Trial of the Gang of Four and the Crisis of Maoism"—May-June issue, 1981) Asserting that the trial was carried out in such a manner mainly to avoid a question of Mao's line which Deng continued to carry out, LM said that the historic struggle between Mao and Liu Shaoqi and others "was not a struggle between a revolutionary proletariat line and counterrevolutionary bourgeois line. . . . Rather, it was a struggle in the context of steady degeneration of an opportunist line, one characterized by a fierce battle between voluntarism on the one hand and pragmatism on the other." This line, according to the Line of March, is the "nationalist policy of attempting to develop China at the expense of the world revolution and in collaboration with imperialism."

With this idealist conception, they portray the history of the CPC since 1956 as merely a history of power struggles, factional fights and concessions and counterconcessions from the two factions. And since the LM's conclusion is so at odds with reality, they have to resort to the opportunist and idealist method of consciously ignoring any of the concrete content of this "factional fight" in their analysis of the Cultural Revolution (CR). By ignoring all facts, they conclude that the Cultural Revolution was incorrect because it was based on Mao's incorrect theoretical assumption that capitalism could be restored easily, that the Cultural Revolution was an ideological and political campaign aimed at the capitalist roaders to prevent the restoration of capitalism. Since there is no such thing as capitalist roaders, the LM argues, the Cultural Revolution unfolded on that basis was unnecessary, and the method antagonistic. To people in LM, class struggle, especially one on the scale of the Cultural Revolution, was merely an experiment to prove the correctness of one theoretical assumption or another, rather than a concrete result of real issues regardless of what was the line guiding it.

To idealists like the LM, unless workers have a correct line of the theory of capitalism, the correct line on strategy and tactics, the main enemy or secondary enemy, and so on, their struggle against their immediate boss has to be wrong because the action is not based on a correct line. This is turning reality upside down. Though LM's assertion that it is not that easy to restore capitalism in socialist societies is correct in general, they are wrong in their conclusion that there are no capitalist roaders in China. Reality refutes them. By stretching their argument to its limit, LM's method of analysis becomes metaphysical, idealist and opportunist.

Furthermore, even the theoretical basis (incorrectness of Mao's capitalist restoration thesis) LM uses to support their reversal of the Cultural Revolution is full of holes. First of all, at the time of the Cultural Revolution, the restoration thesis was still not that developed. The arguments used in the ninth polemic on Khrushchev's Phoney Communism were mainly common sense arguments with little theoretical justification. The two quotes LM uses to substantiate their claim that Mao was wrong were not even from Mao's writings, and they appeared years after the Cultural Revolution had already subsided, in 1973 and 1978 respectively. Using a later, incorrect line to prove that a previous action was incorrect doesn't even pass as bourgeois logic. It is rationalism through and through. To draw an analogy, it is tantamount to calling someone who lied once in his old age a liar all his life. This rationalist methodology bypasses the process of development of things.

However, LM's gravest mistake and the biggest flaw in their argument lies in not seeing that the Cultural Revolution was a concrete struggle unfolding around a set of concrete circumstances, as the existence of the two-line struggle between Mao and Liu on almost every question testifies to. It was not a game to prove the correctness or incorrectness of a particular view. The Cultural Revolution was a struggle unleashed to resolve real problems in China. To ignore these circumstances and get hung up on one or two ideas that might be incorrect in order to prove a point only shows the depth of LM's idealism. Thus with the stroke of a pen, LM not only reduces the struggle between Mao and Liu as nothing but factional fights, they also write off the struggle between

by quoting Lenin's teachings on the three sources for the danger of capitalist restoration: the old bourgeoisie, petty commodity producers and international capital. But, LM fails to mention under what kind of leadership and lines will these three social sources prosper. These three sources for the restoration of capitalism gain life only when revisionist lines dominate the party and society. If the Polish Workers Party (PWP) had taken up head-on the task of consolidating and mobilizing the peasants to collectivize agriculture, one major source of capitalist restoration would have been cut or tremendously weakened. If the PWP's lines were correct, Poland would not be so indebted to western imperialists, thus increasing the danger of western penetration and domination.

As a logical conclusion of LM's line on revisionism to prevent the restoration of capitalism, the masses under socialism should focus on the old bourgeoisie (which is insignificant since they no longer own the means of production), the imperialists (which are not directly present in most socialist countries) or the peasants (the most likely and immediate target since they are visible and the most numerous) as their target of attack. What would be the consequences if LM's line were put into practice? Politically, it would disintegrate the worker-peasant alliance, which is the social basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat in most socialist countries. Secondly, it puts the blame where it doesn't belong, and totally liquidates the role and responsibility of the party leadership in correctly tackling problems with a set of correct lines and policies that correspond to the concrete conditions of their countries. In addition LM's position denies the absolute need to cleanse the party's ranks when leaders fail to work in the long-term interest of the masses.

There is nothing original about LM's charge that the Cultural Revolution was a voluntarist attempt aiming at the wrong target. The Soviet revisionists made that accusation a long time ago. They said, "The 'great proletarian cultural revolution' in China was in no sense directed against the national bourgeoisie and the remnants of the other exploiting classes. None of those who have been 'exposed' as being opponents of the 'thought of Mao Tse-tung' were capitalists or received unearned incomes." (A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conception, 1972, Progress Publishers, Printed in USSR). If Moscow is where they get their line from, then LM should at least have the courtesy, if not the guts, to say so, and not take the credit for themselves.

LM's view on how to prevent capitalist restoration is a concentrated expression of mechanical materialism. While pretending to disagree with the revisionist view that "the development of the productive forces will automatically lead towards communism in an economically determined fashion," LM actually champions that line themselves. Here's what they say about inequality under socialism:

Today, there is no international event of any importance to which the Chinese leaders have not openly taken a Great-Han chauvinistic approach. Take the unity of the countries within the socialist community in the fight against imperialism, the international communist movement, the national liberation struggle, Afro-Asian solidarity, the movement of the peoples for peace, etc.—to each of these the Chinese leaders have not taken a class, internationalist approach, but a narrowly nationalistic, Sinocentric approach, in the light of their chauvinistic and hegemonistic interests.

This abandonment of proletarian internationalism theoretically and practically rested ultimately on a strong anti-Soviet Chinese nationalism, a deviation principally centered, we believe, with Mao himself. The entire thrust of the Cultural Revolution's international line was to advance the interests of China in opposition to the Soviet Union. If this

There is no difference in substance between these reprint statements, one from the Line of March article (left) and the other from a Soviet publication (right), A Critique of Mao Tse-tung's Theoretical Conceptions. The LM is merely parroting the line of the latter.

the CPC and Khrushchev as unfounded. And by attributing all the success of Chinese economic construction and the first eight polemics to Liu Shaoqi, LM has not only distorted history, but actually bent over backwards to give the revisionists a good image.

As a result of their capitulation to revisionism, even though they said "revisionists leave the door open to capitalists to penetrate and threaten socialism," LM opposes the very movement, the Cultural Revolution, that attempted to deal with revisionism and its concrete representatives. In essence, LM doesn't believe in the danger of revisionism. This is why they accused the Polish workers struggle against the Polish Workers Party as "false consciousness."

LM justifies their sympathy towards revisionism

"Social relations between town and country, administrative and executive, manual and mental work, hierarchy of the job, etc., are secondary relations of production, framed of course by the underlying property (class relations), but stemming more directly from social division of labor, which is determined by the prevailing level of productive force." According to LM, since under socialism there is public ownership of the means of production (and therefore no classes), differences in society are only a question of division of labor, and everybody should be content with their social status and inequalities that exist. According to LM, all prejudices, unequal distribution allocated to people in different divisions of labor will automatically vanish as soon as the productive forces develop enough (perhaps because there will be

no division of labor then?).

With this invention, LM totally rejects Engels' teaching that socialism is a transitional society built on the basis of the old, and is inevitably stamped with remnants of capitalism in all spheres of life, including the production area. While we recognize and uphold the necessity for unequal distribution and the inevitability of social differences under socialism, it isn't only a question of division of labor, which, by the way, Liu Shaoqi saw it as. To resolve this problem, we not only have to step up the development of the productive forces. It must be combined with ideological and political campaigns to raise people's socialist consciousness to resolve these differences. This combination of economical/practical, theoretical and political measures is what Engels called "concentric attack" under socialism.

Instead, LM's line justifies stratification between

Cultural Revolution and confuse the situation. By branding the millions of Red Guards as all reactionary, LM reveals their deep disdain towards the masses' participation in this earthshaking event. However, this isn't LM's main example of how "undemocratic" the Cultural Revolution was.

They cite the abandonment of parliamentary procedure, ignoring majority vote as other examples of no democracy. This did happen, and we would be surprised if they hadn't. One of the big objectives of the Cultural Revolution was to get rid of obsolete forms and organizations as well as rules and structures that legitimized stratification in society. Even if this was not the goal, one cannot expect orderly parliamentary procedure to function business-as-usual during war time, a case of great social upheaval as the Cultural Revolution was. This is how much LM is infatuated with "legitimate" channels of for-

however, held that democracy be extended by rebelling against the party." While we agree with LM on the essential need for raising the consciousness of the masses and the essential role of the party in this respect, we want to pose this question: What if the party itself has so degenerated that it can't even raise its own consciousness anymore, what are the masses supposed to do as far as democracy is concerned? It doesn't take too much effort to think of parties like that — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish Workers Party are good examples. Do the workers in these situations have the right to rebel against the leadership to force changes, or should they just sit and wait for the leaders' eventual transformation at some future time?

By talking about some idealist principles about what the party should be, LM liquidates the need for a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, that is, what was the state of affairs in the CPC prior to the Cultural Revolution? The situation was that the revisionists in the party refused to raise the ideological and political consciousness of the masses, and took the revolutionary soul out of the party, thus rendering the party impotent. Therefore, it was totally legitimate for the Chinese masses to rebel against these "leaders" and to remove these obstacles to future progress so that the party could once again assume its leading role.

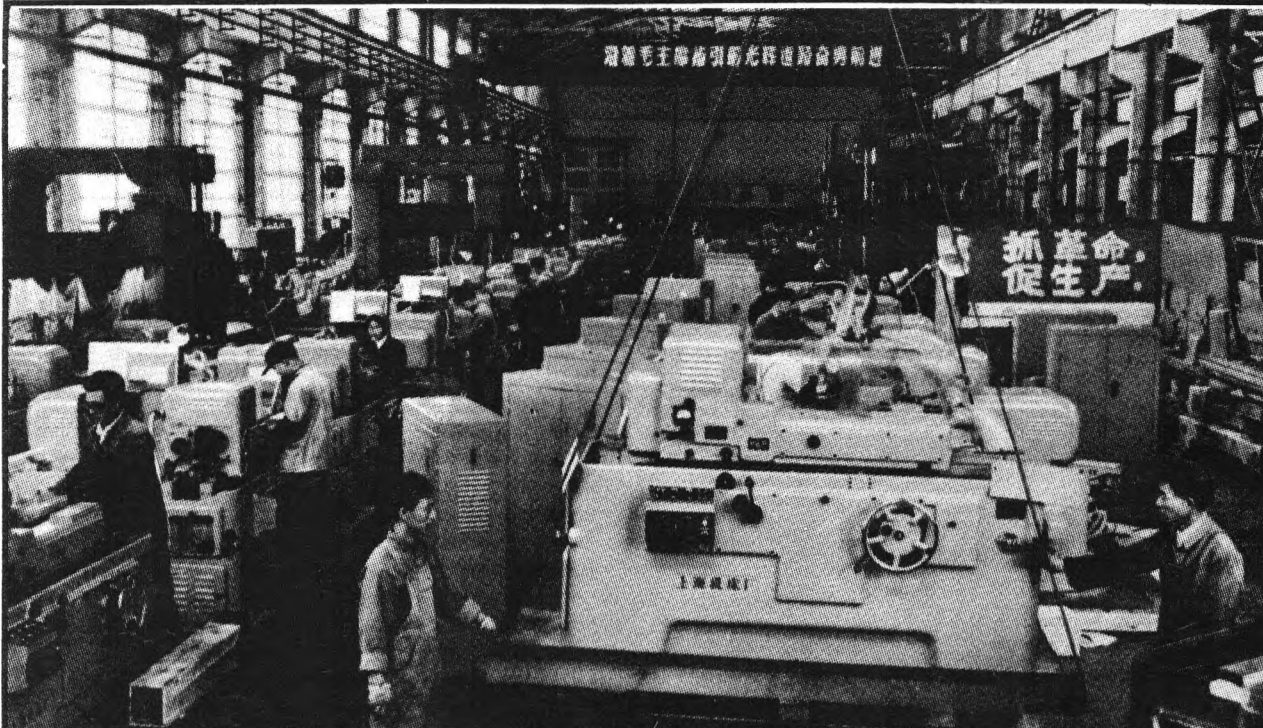
Again, this view is not LM's own invention. They picked up wholesale the line of the Soviet revisionists who say, "Mao and his followers paid lip-service to the Communist Party's leading role, but their practical activity testifies to the contrary. Mao does not regard the party as the leading and directing force of society but as an instrument of the regime of personal power, as the most important means for carrying out his adventurist and chauvinist policy." "That is why one of the basic tasks of the 'cultural revolution' was to change the composition and ideological-political face of the Communist Party of China and also its function within the system of society's political superstructure." (*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61)

By echoing the CPSU's line, LM makes a serious theoretical error. They equate the leading role of the party in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat with the full content of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On this question, Stalin said, in his article, "Concerning Questions of Leninism," "The directing force is the advanced detachment of the proletariat, its vanguard, which is the main guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Without the Party as the main guiding force, it is impossible for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be at all durable and firm." However, Stalin also warns against the tendency to equate the leading role of the party with the whole content of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Although the Party carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat, and *in essence* (original emphasis) the 'dictatorship of the Party,' this does not mean that the 'dictatorship of the Party (its leading role) is *identical* (original emphasis) with the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the former is *equal* in scope to the latter." The dictatorship of the proletariat includes not just the party but all kinds of mass organizations under socialism. Talking about the experience in Russia, Lenin said, "Taken as a whole, we have a formally non-Communist, flexible and relatively wide, and very powerful proletarian apparatus, by means of which the Party is closely linked with the *class* and with the *masses*, and by means of which, under the leadership of the Party, the *dictatorship of the class* is exercised." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, p. 192, quoted by Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Printed in the People's Republic of China, 1976, pp. 178-206.)

So the relationship between the Party and the masses is both one of unity as well as contradiction. When the party's lines and policies are correct, reflect the interest of the masses, the leading role of the party coincides with the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the party leadership turns revisionist, it contradicts the interest of the masses. Under this condition, the masses have the right to rebel and struggle to supervise their leaders. Mistakes, excesses and other problems can arise due to the lack of leadership from the party, but these acts are justified and have to be supported. The pressure from below can bring about qualitative changes in the lines and policies of the leadership who, if still genuine, will take the initiative to cleanse itself. And consistent with this principle, Lenin supported the masses' participation in cleansing the party ranks.

He said in 1921, "In appraising persons, on the negative attitude to those who have attached themselves to us for selfish motives, to those who have become 'puffed-up commissars' and 'bureaucrats,' the suggestions of the non-party proletarian masses and, in many cases, of the non-party peasant masses, are extremely valuable. The working masses have a fine intuition, which enables them to distinguish honest and devoted communists from those who arouse the disgust of people earning their bread by the sweat of their brow, enjoying no privileges, and have no 'pull.'" "In some places the



The fundamental way to eliminate inequality under socialism is to develop the productive forces. China under Mao's leadership had made tremendous progress in this sphere. The Shanghai Machine Tools Plant which designed and manufactured about 60 kinds of grinding machines per year without any foreign help is one good example of this accomplishment.

masses and leaders, bureaucratism and all other social injustice under socialism. This is why they oppose all measures to transform the mass consciousness and any measure that brings about more equality within a given level of productive forces. To the LM, the productive forces will automatically bring about these changes. In the course of the U.S. revolution, they would simply liquidate struggles for all minimum programs of the fight against national oppression because there is no material basis for these programs under capitalism, and when socialism comes, all problems of national oppression and other ideological problems will automatically vanish. This is the only logical conclusion that can be drawn from LM's reasoning.

With this mechanical materialist view, LM pits the need for structural reforms (that is organizational measures) against the need for ideological/political campaigns, charging that "Mao displayed little faith in any (structural) solution, however democratic or based on the masses..." LM is wrong even on this. Prior to and after the Cultural Revolution, Mao did try various structural reforms, such as workers' participation in management and vice versa, the three-in-one combination, the revolutionary committees. There probably were tremendous weaknesses in these reforms, and many even fell apart. Anyone has the right to disagree with these reforms, but one can't just ignore these attempts. In order to substantiate their claim that Mao is voluntarist, LM has to screen out the facts and line that don't fit into their argument. This only shows the depth of LM's opportunism.

LM Pits the Party Against the People

The thread woven through LM's justification for stratification, is their theoretically bankrupt line on the role of the party under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its relationship to the masses. This is also the basis for LM's slander against the Cultural Revolution being too anarchistic and "one of the most undemocratic and arbitrary episodes in the history of the international communist movement." It was anarchistic, LM claims, because it was based on Mao's anarchistic line of "the right to rebel." It was undemocratic because workers and cadres were attacked by Red Guards led by "sons and daughters of the recently expropriated Chinese bourgeoisie." Factually, this is false. All major works on the Cultural Revolution reported that the only Red Guards of that background were the Peking United Action Committee, formed after they were refused membership in other groups. The United Action Committee was consciously promoted and egged on by the revisionist party leaders trying to sabotage the

mal democracy under the bourgeois system. It is no wonder they consider Reagan's election a real mandate from the American people. To LM, the fact that a minority participated in the formal electoral process to vote for Reagan far outweighs the sentiment of the majority who didn't vote at all and the fact that even those who did vote for Reagan did so out of a desire for change.

Again, the accusation that the Cultural Revolution was anarchistic is nothing new. The Soviet revisionists say the same thing.

"The methods used in the 'cultural revolution' show that its organizers intended not only to defeat their opponents, who held Party and government office in accordance with the CPC rules and the Constitution of the CPR (People's Republic of China—ed.), but also to create a totally different machinery of political power, which would make the apparatus of power and the broad masses of the population absolutely subservient in their activity to the implementation of Mao's political line." (*Ibid.*, p. 156)

"With the barrack-room as their ideal, the leaders of the 'cultural revolution' have no need for normally functioning democratic organs or socialist legality. No wonder then that in the course of the 'cultural revolution,' central and local organs of power were disbanded, trade unions and young communist organizations were broken up and a massive purge of Party bodies carried out." (*Ibid.*, p. 119)

However, what was wrong with the Cultural Revolution was not that it overthrew the old organizations, legal systems, rules and regulations. Many of these were revisionist in content and needed to be overthrown. What went wrong was Mao's inability and lack of consciousness to establish new institutions and rules to replace the old. To charge that the Cultural Revolution was undemocratic because it dared to overthrow the existing order only reveals LM's faith in the old order and fear of mass movements. This unreserved faith in the established order also underlines LM's incorrect line on the party and its relationship with the masses.

They say, "the key to proletariat democracy is to raise the political and ideological level of the masses..." which "requires first and foremost, leadership by a revolutionary party based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, systematically striving to bring revolutionary theory to the masses. For Marxism and Leninism, there is no antagonism between the existence of a disciplined vanguard and the broadest workers' democracy, in fact, the one is diametrically linked to the other." To the LM, the Cultural Revolution violated this cardinal principle because "the guiding line of the Cultural Revolution,

Party is being purged mainly with the aid of the experience and suggestions of non-party workers. . . . "If we really succeed in purging our party from top to bottom in this way (Lenin's emphasis), without exception, it will indeed be an enormous achievement for the revolution." (Lenin, "Purging the Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 39)

Having full confidence in the masses and the majority of the party membership, Mao unleashed the Cultural Revolution to cleanse the revisionists from the party ranks. LM's line on the relationship between the party and the masses is bureaucratic and fascistic, having nothing in common with Marxism and Leninism. In practice, their line leads to repression against the masses that have grievances under the pretext of safeguarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. That's exactly what the LM advocates in regards to the Polish workers struggle, and in regards to the Cultural Revolution.

To prove that Mao was only interested in manipulating the masses, LM charges that, "While the party was locked in bitter factional struggle over the nature of revisionism's relations with the CPSU and the USSR, the masses were manipulated into struggle and shallow debate over such questions as whether the party work teams were under the control of 'capitalist roaders.'" This is LM's proof that the CPC "largely ignored" the task of "systematically raising the scientific and cultural level of the masses." There were problems in this sphere caused by the limitations of both the subjective and objective factors we presented earlier. But these debates and struggles in workplaces and campuses were definitely attempts to do that. And typical of intellectual idealists, LM can't see any value in these campaigns, because to the LM, the struggle against revisionism is only a debate of ideas with no meaning to actual class struggle and socialist construction. They slander struggles by the masses against immediate effects of revisionism on their work — the only correct way to train Marxists — as "shallow." To the LM all theories and lines are not for class struggle, but only for self-cultivational academic debate to satisfy one's prejudices. This is why they take no interest in responsible theoretical work.

Blinded by their idealism, mechanism and chauvinism, LM claims that "Maoism . . . is a proven failure at constructing socialism where it has state power, at leading revolution to victory where it does not, and at directing the struggle of the world's workers and oppressed people against their real common enemy — U.S. Imperialism," and that Maoism is the same as Trotskyism. This assertion parrots the

Chinese Revolution, objectively a great blow to imperialism, succeed?" Of course, LM can't give any reason. If anyone still has doubts about LM's idealism, this question should shatter them all.

Chauvinism on the Sino-Soviet Split

The Nine Polemics and the Sino-Soviet split in the 60's was the biggest event in the international communist movement. Now that the Chinese leaders have unofficially reversed the verdict on the correctness of this big event, Line of March has taken this line to its logical, chauvinist conclusion that China should never have fought the Soviet Union, and that all that Mao did during that period and afterwards were all nationalist deviations. Before we point out the fallacy of LM's line, we will let history speak for itself. Facts speak louder than words.

In 1953, Stalin died. He was succeeded by Khrushchev, who was proven by history to be a coward and a loyal descendant of Bernstein and Kautsky, an unworthy leader of the party started by Lenin. Threatened by the seeming might of U.S. nuclear weapons and motivated by careerism, Khrushchev called the infamous 20th Congress during which he dismissed all of Stalin's contributions to socialist construction in the Soviet Union, leadership in the international communist movement, and Stalin's struggle against fascism. Stalin was denounced as a dictator. This denunciation was to serve Khrushchev's sinister objective of pushing out his revisionist program of the three peacefuls — peaceful transition to socialism, peaceful competition and peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism. Alleging that the international situation had developed favorably to the socialist countries, and that U.S. imperialism had grown reasonable in the face of the strength of the socialist camp, the thrust of Khrushchev's program called for unconditional support for world peace. The price for this unconditional support was to give up armed struggle against the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. It meant giving up struggle for national liberation by third world countries, for a single spark could provoke the imperialists into starting a nuclear war bringing destruction to the whole human race. And it meant giving up political struggles under socialism in order to engage in production to compete with capitalism, and so on. The logical conclusion of this program was for a communist party to stop supporting national liberation struggles and other revolutionary struggles as they all encouraged the possibility of world war.

The thrust of Khrushchev's revisionist program

make sure that the Moscow Declaration that came out of the conference did not reflect only the Soviet programme. Though some elements of the Soviet programme were there, China was able to force through the thesis upholding the necessity for armed struggle, that "U.S. imperialism is the center of world reaction." The Moscow Declaration also established the principles for equality between fraternal parties, that they should resolve their differences through mutual consultation. There was also agreement that socialist countries should mutually support one another.

Then came the Quemoy incident in 1958. Chiang Kai Shek, with the support of the United States, transferred approximately 200,000 troops to Quemoy Island, within a stone's throw of the Chinese mainland. China asked for support from the Soviet Union against this threat. Khrushchev arrived in Peking in July, and laid out that the condition for support was to let Soviet naval and air bases be established at the principal Chinese port cities. Mao flatly rejected this extortion attempt to infringe on China's territorial sovereignty.

But Khrushchev told Hubert Humphrey in a public interview that the Chinese commune system was "old-fashioned and reactionary." This was an open violation of the Moscow Declaration and open interference in China's domestic affairs. It showed that Khrushchev would not hesitate to do anything to appease the U.S. imperialists whom he considered as the partner for world peace.

Then in September 1959, egged on by the U.S. imperialists, India attacked China's border. The Tass news agency put out an open statement condemning China in support of Nehru. In the following month, during the 10th anniversary of China's liberation, Khrushchev openly attacked China's platform, and in his private meeting with Peng Teh hai, he complimented Peng as the most courageous person. This was after Peng had already been purged from CPC's leadership due to his attack on the Great Leap Forward. In the Bucharest meeting of representatives from Fraternal Communist Parties, held in 1960, Khrushchev once again lashed out at the Chinese delegates, calling them "madmen" who wanted to unleash a new world war. He labelled the Chinese as nationalists in the Sino-Indian dispute and characterized the Chinese Communist leaders as "left-adventurists, pseudo-revolutionaries and sectarian." It was during this same year that Khrushchev extended the party-to-party conflict over ideological questions to the state-to-state level by abruptly withdrawing 10,000 Soviet scientific personnel, tearing up the contracts for over 200 industrial projects in China, and terminating all economic trade, and military/nuclear assistance. This caused tremendous hardship to the Chinese economy.

China took all these incidents more or less quietly, resorting mainly to private negotiations with the Soviet Union to resolve the problems. The open Nine Polemics started only when Khrushchev began circulating a letter to his party organizations and party members openly attacking China, on July 14, 1963.

Khrushchev's hostility towards socialist China continued even after the Sino-Indian clash in 1962 by supplying military aid to India in conjunction with the United States. Last but not least, the Soviet Union signed a treaty with the United States to ban nuclear tests, trying to deprive China of the opportunity to develop its own nuclear weapons to defend herself. Thus, the open Nine Polemics from the summer of 1963 to the summer of 1964 were an inevitable response to Khrushchev's revisionism, which had already been put into practice in the Soviet Union's relationship with China.

The Proposal Concerning the General Line in the International Communist Movement was considered one of the most important theoretical works against modern revisionism. The General Line and the Nine Polemics affirmed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on proletarian internationalism; on the correct outlook towards war and peace, towards imperialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The General Line, which calls for "workers of all countries unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man," has been considered by all genuine revolutionaries as the hallmark of a proletarian internationalist program.

China in 1964 was a country surrounded by hostile forces. Describing the intense situation, David Milton and Nancy Dall Milton wrote, "China in the fall of 1964 was a nation under the gun. The American Seventh Fleet lay in wait off the coast as the United States actively engaged in the aerial and naval bombardment of China's neighbor and socialist ally, North Vietnam. To the Southwest, India was once again building up her shattered forces with the help of the United States and the Soviet



The development of productive forces alone will not take the human race to communism. It has to be complemented by high socialist consciousness. Under Mao's correct line, the Chinese people systematically studied Marxism and criticized revisionist manifestations in their workplace as a concrete way to raise their political consciousness. Today, the revisionists consider this practice a waste of time.

line of the Soviet revisionists that "The Trotskyists and Maoists have also much in common in the methods they advocate for socialist construction, for these are based on subjectivism and voluntarism and lack of any scientific understanding of the laws governing the development of the socialist economy." (p. 283).

Clearly this lie cannot explain how China under Mao's leadership developed from a tremendously backward country into a country with a self-sufficient economy and a developed infrastructure. Nor can it explain how "Maoism" has inspired many third world countries to wage victorious struggles for national liberation (while Trotskyism has done none of that) and why China even succeeded in its own liberation to begin with. Sensing that they can't get by on these questions, LM, at the end of their mumbo-jumbo article full of countless self-contradictory facts and analysis, asks a seemingly naive question, "If Maoism constituted a backward ideological and political viewpoint, how did the

opposed every Leninist doctrine on war and peace, on proletarian internationalism, on the nature of imperialism and class struggle.

It was a sad thing that the party that made the first socialist revolution in the world turned revisionist. Worse still was Khrushchev's attempt to use this prestige to force other communist parties to adopt his programme as the general line for the international communist movement. When the CPC, and particularly Mao, resisted this corrupt programme and Khrushchev's high-handedness, Khrushchev embarked on the most ugly and chauvinist policy towards China.

On Nov. 17, 1957, in order to gain China's support for his programme, Khrushchev made a friendly gesture by signing an agreement with China to develop her own nuclear weapon system. But this did not mean that the two parties' differences were resolved. During that year, when representatives from socialist bloc nations and other communist parties met in Moscow, China had to struggle hard to

Union." But because of China's correct foreign policy of relying on the small friends who were fighting imperialism, China gained many friends. These friends proved to be real allies who helped China gain back its legitimate seat in the United Nations in 1971. The extent of the friendship China had with third world countries and friends in capitalist countries was described again by the Miltons on the occasion of China's national day in 1964. Talking about the 2,600 guests representing countries from all over the world, they said, "China was welcoming to her revolutionary celebrations a heterogeneous group of nations and individuals, allied in no formal way, sharing, however, the elusive but compelling interest in standing up to one of the two superpowers. There came together in Peking the fraternal parties of Vietnam, Korea, Japan, and Indonesia, drawn together in their varying degrees of anti-revisionism by the American superpower's Southeast Asian war; Rumania and Albania, the small resistors to the Eastern European policies of the other superpower, and the tiny pro-Chinese splinter parties which had appeared in Ceylon, Belgium, Australia, and New Zealand." "Prince Sihanouk, still successful in his long struggle to maintain Cambodia's tenuous neutrality, turned comfortably and confidently towards his giant neighbor." "His presence was a triumphant component of China's policy of uniting all those threatened by U.S. imperialism. So, too, was the presence of the brilliantly robed representatives from the hopeful nations of Africa. Chou Enlai's trip to fourteen African nations earlier in the year had carried with it the hope for a second Bandung Conference, and increasing Sino-African solidarity seemed a not unreasonable expectation." So, it was no coincidence that China objectively became the center of support for national liberation struggles and other people's struggles, and that many parties especially in Southeast Asia called themselves Maoist parties. It was not just what the CPC said, but what it did in support of their struggles that earned their respect. Only the revisionists, trying to cover up their increasing isolation in the world for their chauvinist policies would shamelessly charge China's policies as nationalist policies.

Line of March's opportunism and revisionism is blatantly seen in the article, "The Trial of the Gang of Four and the Crisis of Maoism," May-June, 1981. Trying to substantiate the idealist scheme that China — from Mao to Deng — had always been reactionary nationalist, they pay lip service to the General Line and the first eight polemics, but do not for a moment address the correct lines in these documents. Nor do they acknowledge any chauvinist action Khrushchev took towards China during that period. As if denying the existence of these internationalist lines isn't enough to fit LM's scheme, they try to credit the first eight polemics to Liu Shaoqi and his followers. This is in spite of the fact that LM is unable to explain why these so-called "authors" are today practicing exactly the same policies which they allegedly criticized the Soviet Union for before.

LM's opportunism can be seen in the totally different methods they use in analyzing China's Cultural Revolution and China's foreign policies. On the Cultural Revolution, they ignore all the real struggles Mao had against the revisionists and the concrete problems of stratification, polarization, and bureaucracy which brought about the Cultural Revolution. Instead they repudiate the Cultural Revolution based only on Mao's incorrect "restoration of capitalism thesis" which was systematically developed only after the Cultural Revolution.

On the other hand, since LM cannot find anything wrong with China's clearly stated foreign policy, they ignore all the correct lines that were written, as well as the countless other examples of support for national liberation struggles. Instead, they pick out a few isolated examples just to prove their point.

First of all, the validity of the facts is questionable. Even if they were all correct, LM still could not use them to generalize that Mao's policies have always been nationalistic. The facts cited by LM can at most only be considered a mistaken response to the pressure of a much more powerful, chauvinist Soviet Union. For the same reason, we cannot put Stalin on the same level as Khrushchev, even though Stalin made chauvinist mistakes, like trying to force the CPC to unite with Chiang Kai Shek, instead of risking a civil war prior to China's victory. LM flip-flopping and changing their methodology 180 degrees in analyzing different events, even in the same article only shows their opportunism. Since they are only interested in their idealist preconceptions of what the CPC and Mao are (ideas Khrushchev originated), they resort to any method, isolated facts or partial arguments just to prove their points.

Blind to reality, LM claims that "In 1965, China refused to join a united front (with the Soviet Union—C.Lai) in defense of Vietnam." They hope that his lie will once again "prove" Mao's reactionary nationalism. Afraid that people won't believe them, they even use Edgar Snow's writings as one source to support their assertion. But what did Edgar



Chairman Mao in the midst of friends from Asia, Africa, and Latin America in 1959.



Khrushchev presents a gift to President Eisenhower during a meeting at the White House on Sept. 15, 1959.

Snow really say in the book LM mentions? He said, "By 1965 the U.S.'s bombing attacks on Vietnam, close upon China's border, threatened China with invasion. Liu wanted to send a Chinese delegation to the Soviet Twenty-third Party Congress to reactivate the Sino-Soviet alliance. Mao resolutely refused to be drawn into a position of dependence, as in Korea, and a possible double cross. Instead he insisted upon a posture of complete self-reliance on a people's war of defense — while continuing to build the Bomb — and heavy support for, but not intervention in Vietnam." (*The Long Revolution*, Vintage Books, 1972, p. 19) Does this quote prove Mao's nationalism? Only the revisionists would think so. And China gave a total of 200 RMB (Chinese currency) to aid Vietnam during the Vietnamese struggle, not a small sum for such a poor country.

We may criticize Mao for tactical inflexibility for not wanting to join the Soviet Union in any united front, but his criticism of the Soviet Union was valid: the Soviet Union had then already sold out the national liberation movements of the world; it had pressured Vietnam to conciliate to U.S. imperialism; and its objective in the little aid it gave (incommensurate with its strength) was mainly to gain a foothold to influence the direction of the Vietnamese struggle. If anybody should be criticized for lack of proletarian internationalism then, it is the Soviet Union, not China. Nor can proletarian internationalism be reduced to an absolute united front with the Soviet Union.

Obviously, LM also knows that using China's refusal to form a United Front as proof that China abandoned internationalism for nationalism is a shaky argument. So while slandering and lying about China's role towards Vietnam during the Vietnam War, they are also forced to admit that "Whatever the theoretical positions being articulated in CPC leadership, and despite some serious political errors, China did not break the ranks of those combatting imperialism during the height of the Vietnam War. Instead the fierceness of the confrontation in Vietnam served to highlight the vacillating character of the modern revisionists, as the Soviets were constantly cautioning the Vietnamese and stressing moderation and compromise..." Then, why does LM make such a big fuss about China's refusal to unite with the Soviet Union if the Soviet Union played such a destructive role as far as the anti-imperialist struggle is concerned? To the LM, keeping a formal united front in words is more important than actual support for liberation. Thus, they defend the Soviet Union by qualifying at the end of the above paragraph with the phrase, "though the Soviet Union did not abandon the anti-imperialist forces defending Vietnam." This again is typical of LM's methodology in looking for anything just to prove their prejudice that China is nationalist, regardless if these facts and words are correct or even self-contradictory.

In fact, there is nothing new in LM's lie that "China refused to join a united front in defense of Vietnam, and there were a number of incidents over the next few years of interference with arms being shipped across China to Vietnam." The Soviet revisionists said this in 1972 in the book, *Critique of Mao Tse Tung's Theoretical Conceptions*. "The Maoists have not only failed to give the fighting Vietnamese people adequate military and economic assistance but also in every way hampered the other socialist countries in their efforts to do so." (p. 75). If this is where the LM got their line, they should have said so. Instead, they apparently hope to get credit for their "creativity."

Furthermore, by accusing China of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union, LM is objectively echoing the theme of the CPSU revisionists who charge China with responsibility for the U.S. attack on Vietnam. The CPSU said, "The U.S.A. would never have dared to launch its aggression had the CPC leadership not pursued its anti-Soviet line and not attacked the unity of the socialist countries. When escalating their aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists undoubtedly reckoned with the Great-Han chauvinism of the Chinese leaders and stubborn refusal to accept any proposals on concerted action by China, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries in helping the Vietnamese people beat back the U.S. aggression." (*Ibid.*, p. 75)

A fundamental question at stake here is does a socialist country have the right to political and economic independence from a more powerful socialist country, or should all socialist countries give up their national distinction since they all have the same economic base? Or does any country have the right to utilize the contradiction between the imperialists and a hostile chauvinist country even though the latter may be socialist?

Modern revisionism uses the pretext that the principal contradiction in the world is between socialism and capitalism, to liquidate support for national liberation struggles. Using the same theoretical basis, modern revisionism ignores the contradiction between big nations and small nations, and denies individual countries' national particularities through big nation chauvinism. Consequently, this view sees all moves to build up one's economy through self-reliance and political independence from other socialist countries as reactionary nationalism. This is LM's line of thinking, nothing new in the history of modern revisionism.

To the chauvinists in LM, the answer to both questions is a resounding NO. To them, all national contradictions don't exist and it is one big happy family. So, the international division of labor among the socialist camp is correct. Why should one country have to worry about building machines since the Soviet Union will give these to them? Because all socialist countries are one happy family without antagonistic contradictions in their fundamental interest, the Soviet Army has the right to go into every country if the situation there needs to be straightened out. So the invasion of Czechoslovakia was revolutionary, because it was to preserve its socialist course. Likewise, the invasion of Afghanistan was a victory for the Red Army, and Soviet tanks should roll into Poland when the PWP can't deal, or into China because China's reactionary. To the LM chauvinists, the powerful Soviets should be the policemen of the socialist countries to make sure they fall into line, just as the U.S. imperialists police their allies and puppets. The same threat underlies LM's line to liquidate all national questions and national oppression under the banner of class struggle. What they fail to see is that these chauvinist moves not only have nothing to do with class struggle, but they actually hinder class struggle. The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan and the possible invasion of Poland not only antagonize people in those countries and raise fear among all people struggling against foreign domination, but also give the imperialists the biggest ammunition in their fight against communism and socialism. This is exactly what the LM is aiding in their support of revisionist, chauvinist policies wholesale, as evidence in their article, "The Trial of the Gang of Four and the Crisis of Maoism." □

Political Report

continued from page 1

value of all stocks. Bonds are issued by the different levels of government to raise capital for various federal, state or local projects. They are also issued by private industry to raise funds for long term projects such as buying plant equipment, or building roads or railroads — projects which would require decades to pay for themselves. Bonds typically mature in 10, 20, or even 30 years.

The reason the bond market crashed is that people know that with inflation at 20% a long-term investment is too vulnerable to crisis and breakdowns. Anything can happen in the next 10, 20, 30 years. People want to put their money into things that have immediate returns, such as money funds or various kinds of speculative activities where they can get their money back in a matter of months or even days.

One of the things we did not understand clearly before... is that the U.S. economy, with its highly developed productive forces, and the sophisticated, long established bond market which financed the development of those productive forces, simply cannot devalue or debase its currency as third world countries, or even war-based economies like Israel's can. In these countries, where the market does not include such a heavy volume of long term financing bonds, the majority of financial trading is in stocks representing only the immediate value of the various companies. In these cases, the currency can be debased by printing new currency and setting up an exchange, for example, of ten old dollars for one new dollar. But in advanced capitalist economies such as in the U.S., Europe and Japan, where the bond markets are thoroughly developed, debasing the currency would lead to a total collapse of the economy.

This is also why the scenario of a breakdown through continuous hyperinflation is metaphysical and one-sided. The reality that the bond market crash has shown us is that there is a limit to how much inflation can be sustained in an advanced capitalist country. And that there is a limit structured in. When the limit is reached, the only way to save the bond market from total collapse is to put a brake on inflation. That is why Paul Volker, chairman of the Federal Reserve, started implementing a very tight monetary policy in October 1979. That is why the last two years have seen a tightening of credit unequalled in the period since World War II. Mortgages are the highest ever, averaging close to 17 percent. Personal credit is hard to get. It's nearly impossible to get bank loans.

However, because of the relative independence of finance capitalism, trying to slow down inflation is difficult. Due to speculation, the price of things like housing and other commodities has increased dramatically. Since the real value of these things has remained the same, the surge in prices has created a greater demand for money, and there's much circulation of a higher volume of money through the economy. As a result, inflation increases, nevertheless, despite the bourgeoisie's attempt to tighten up the monetary supply.

By slamming the brakes on the nation's money supply over the past year or so the Federal Reserve has finally been able to begin cooling down speculation. This fact, along with the slower rise in gasoline and food prices, has slowed inflation to about 10 percent. Yet interest rates remain in the 17-20 percent range. This shows the bourgeoisie's lack of confidence that inflation will continue to drop. They know the recent dip is only temporary

and that there's a liquidity crisis structured into the economy. And what this means is that the scarcity of goods and the high volume of money that has been developed by decades of Keynesian economics is trying to realize itself.

One of the reasons we have said that the 1930's economic crisis was not as extensive as the present one is precisely that the 30's crisis was triggered off by the collapse of the 10 percent margin of the pyramid in the stock market. But right now, this playing by margin has extended beyond just the stock market to every home in America, and to every level of government — county, city, state, and federal. All sectors of the economy are deeply in debt. In fact, ever since World War II, from the Truman Administration to Reagan's, the U.S. government has piled up its deficits. U.S. state monopoly capitalism has increased its spending by 270 times. And credit in the private corporate sector has also grown rapidly.

The liquidity crisis, and at the same time the high vulnerability of various businesses, shows that fundamental economic crisis is trying to realize itself. One of the forms this takes is that small and medium businesses are either going under or being swallowed by big businesses. Most businesses in the coming years will have problems financing their day to day activities, inventories, and production. They really have no chance in hell.

For the last 30 years, business in this country has run on credit. Capitalists don't really need a lot of capital to start a business. They use a small amount of capital to leverage a tremendous amount of credit. It is through this credit that business is done. However, they then have to prepay it day to day, and to pay the cost of the credit. But because of the impoverishment of the American people, and the crisis of relative overproduction (for example, because people cannot afford to buy anymore, goods are stocked up and not sold), the capitalists are no longer able to pay their debts. The auto industry is more complicated because there you have competition, foreign markets. Foreign auto with superior technology is competing with U.S. auto. But this applies to all sectors of the U.S. economy with the exception of oil.

Right now, small business is going under. Annually three-fourths of all small businesses don't make it. Over a long period of time, 95 percent of all small businesses fold. Small businesses either can't get credit or even if they do start their businesses, they can't repay their debts. There is a process of very rapid consolidation going on. Even Wall Street brokerage firms are being consolidated by larger insurance and brokerage houses.

In the past, savings banks issued large amounts of credit, particularly 7 and 8 percent mortgages. Now they are paying 14 to 15 percent to the Federal government. The savings banks are losing, and as a result, the savings and loans institutions are collapsing. About 80 percent of the savings and loans institutions will be forced into bankruptcy or will be taken over by others through mergers. That's the process of consolidation going on right now. You also see a lot of larger merger motions.

The key to the merger epidemic is the question of liquidity. The companies that are taking over other companies are generally the insurance companies, brokerage firms, and oil corporations. The oil monopolies are very liquid—they have a lot of ready cash. Oil and gas are commodities which are very liquid. You can sell them right away and take over other companies. That's because credit is so hard to get. The whole new ball game is: the more cash you have (the less credit you owe) the better chance you have to survive and to take over other companies. This is one of the major side effects of the liquidity crisis and the deflation policy

of the bourgeoisie.

This is a variation from the hyperinflation scenario that we talked about two years ago. It is the continuation of the economic crisis, and in fact, a more severe and more extensive economic crisis. The class effect of this variation of economic crisis is very high unemployment. The unemployment rate during the 30's depression was only 25 percent. The soup lines you see in pictures were basically background to that 25 percent unemployment. Today the social structure is different. There is a permanent unemployed strata of youth and elderly workers. Among minority youth the unemployment rate is already 25 percent, and even up to 50 percent for Afro-American youth.

The bourgeoisie's deflation policy is sacrificing a lot of businesses (mostly small and medium ones) in order to save the bond market and prevent the collapse of the entire industrial base. But 70 percent of the workers in this country are hired by small businesses. This means unemployment will go up a lot higher. The official unemployment rate, this is the people who are still drawing unemployment checks, could go up to 25 percent in a couple of years.

That's not all. In order to get out of the economic slump caused by "deflation," sooner or later (probably in about two years) the government will have to relax its controls over the monetary supply. The collapse of too many businesses, and the increase in rebellions due to excessive unemployment, will eventually force the bourgeoisie to try to revive the economy once more. But this will only fuel inflation again, and the continued high interest rates in the financial

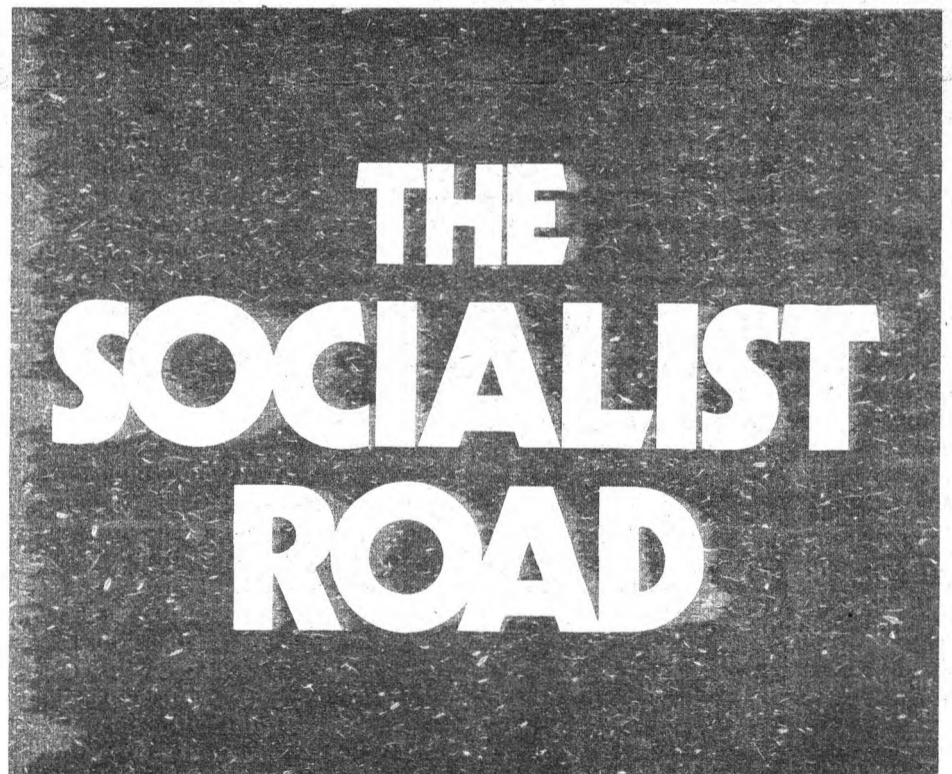
market are clear testimony of what that sector of the bourgeoisie anticipates will happen. We can expect inflation on a higher level than before — above 20 percent again, with interest rates rising above 30 percent at least temporarily. Long term financing will simply be unavailable at those rates, and even large corporations will go under. Government deficits also will go still higher.

In other words, attempts to get out of recession will fuel another round of inflation. That is how volatile the economy is. And that is why the U.S. and the whole Western capitalist world is running out of options.

The Most Likely Scene in 1983-84

In the third year of Reagan's Administration there will be a high rate of unemployment and very high inflation. As a whole the economic crisis will be on a lot higher level than under the Carter's Administration. Politically the conclusion will become obvious that Reaganomics will not work. Even Senator Baker, one of the most racist and hawkish senators right now and the minority leader in the Senate, has said that Reaganomics is nothing but "a riverboat gamble."

One way to make Reaganomics work is the tax cut. But right now the Reagan Administration's deficit is already much higher than was the Carter Administration's. Carter's projected deficit was \$25 billion. Under Reagan's Administration, despite all the cuts in social services, the deficit at this point is already over \$60 billion. Reagan's deficit is more than twice Carter's because he's a high spender in the military area. It is no wonder that Wall St. and the spontaneous market have



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

by Jerry Tung, General Secretary, CWP

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no faith in Reagan's "deflationary" policy.

Reagan's policy is three pronged: (1) budget cut; (2) tax cut; and (3) military spending.

Military spending is designed to back up American foreign policy so that the U.S. can continue to exploit other countries, especially in the face of a politically more independent third world and the Soviet Union. At the same time, one third of the jobs in this country is either directly or indirectly related to the government and government contracts. That itself keeps the country working. That's the military aspect.

One way to revive the economy and at the same time to cut down inflation is to increase productivity, increase investment in real production and, most fundamental, the masses' purchasing power. The tax cuts favor the rich. Reagan hopes the rich will reinvest their tax savings. Investment would lead to more production. As a result, more goods would be produced, and more jobs would be available. This, Reagan hopes, would create more consumption power — the ability for workers to absorb back the goods — and there would be more goods while the money supply would be limited. As a result, inflation caused by less useful goods compared to money would go down. That's Reagan's philosophy on tax cuts.

But as Baker put it, this is nothing more than "a riverboat gamble." Most of the money saved by the bourgeoisie will not be put back into stocks and bonds (i.e., into production). You can see that in the depressed stock and bond market now. They will put their money into speculative activities or money funds, which are safer and have a faster return on investment than production. So the assumption that the tax cut money will go into reinvestment in the productive sector and create more jobs and more goods is a pipe dream.

A second problem with the tax cut is that, although they're hiding the immediate impact of it through book-keeping tricks, after 1984 the tremendous deficit will be felt. They'll try to average out the deficit from tax cuts over a period of years, and they're doing it in such a way that it won't be felt during Reagan's election year. But right after 1984 the chickens will be coming home to roost. Inflation will go up like crazy because suddenly the deficit will jump many times, making Johnson's and Carter's deficits look like nothing.

There is sufficient indication on Wall Street today — in the suppressed character of the bond market (i.e., the lack of confidence in long term investments) and the continuing high interest rates — that Reagan has already lost the "riverboat gamble." In the last few days the U.S. Treasury's 5 to 6-year bonds went to record heights of close to 15 percent, while the bonds of some of the larger utility companies are at 17 percent. Those are the Triple A-type bonds. Even the broker's loan went over 20 percent; and the prime rate is staying up in the 20 percent range. What this means is that the market (i.e., the finance capitalists) doesn't believe Reaganomics will work. In fact, the spontaneous market is predicting disaster.

What other political implications are there besides the implication of high unemployment? I think the second one is that in two years there will be higher inflation, a lot higher than what we've seen.

The third implication is that the petty bourgeoisie is becoming a class that we can increasingly unite with, even though they will withdraw themselves

into tighter and tighter survivalist types of things. The Klan and Nazis — the bourgeoisie will try to use them to become the backbone of a fascist

movement in this country. But the economic basis for us to unite with the petty bourgeoisie, particularly small farmers and shopowners, is actually a lot better than before.

Some Features of the Present International Situation

The Ottawa summit conference of the Big Seven imperialist countries shows this. In the 70s, the inter-imperialist contradictions stepped up because of the weakening of U.S. hegemony in many parts of the world. The European countries differ with the U.S., for example, on the question of the PLO. They recognize the PLO. The European countries urge detente with the Soviet Union to create a better atmosphere for them to trade with the Soviets, as well as to defend themselves — to get the pressure off their borders. Of course there is a classic contradiction economically, between the U.S. and the second world, in terms of contention for markets. In the era of imperialism, this mainly takes the form of export of capital. But the new feature of imperialism is the question of interest rates. Because the U.S. cannot beat Japan and Europe in technology and quality of products, the higher form of contention now is over interest rates.

In the past, when the U.S. could not beat the second world countries on the commodities produced, the U.S. would just join them and invest in Europe and Japan. The new feature is that the U.S. is pulling its investment out of the second world, again due to the interest rate. The U.S. dollar had declined over the last 10-15 years because of Nixon's dissociation of the U.S. dollar from the gold standard, and later on, the breaking down of the Bretton Woods agreement which pegged the dollar to other currencies. In the last few years, the U.S. dollar has not been pegged to the other currencies in terms of the limits of the fixed rate of exchange. Now all currencies are floating. This again weakens the dollar, an economic symbol and basis of U.S. hegemony in world affairs.

Now the U.S. dollar is back on top. It's not because U.S. imperialism has suddenly developed greater productivity. On the contrary, it's weaker than ever before. Rather, this has happened because of the tight money market, the tight money policy and the U.S. Federal Reserve pushing a high interest rate. The European, Japanese and American investors are pulling money out of Europe and Japan back to the U.S. because it is a lot safer and gets a 20 percent return. They would rather do this than risk investing in European and Japanese industries. Instead of capital export, there is a temporary phenomenon of capital coming back to the U.S. However, this capital is not used to invest in productive industries as the export of capital often is. It is parasitic, used, for example, for speculation on the money market. This has hurt Canada the greatest. The Canadian dollar has come down to its lowest point ever; it is worth 80 cents for every U.S. dollar, and it was a very rapid drop.

At the summit, the main concern raised by the European and Japanese leaders was how the U.S. high interest rate was hurting them. There is no way the U.S. can give in on this question because they have no control over the renewed danger of the U.S. bond market collapsing. As a result, the contradiction becomes sharper. After the summit meeting, West Germany cut their real defense spending by 10%, contrary to U.S. wishes to raise their spending as a frontline state against Soviet pressure. The U.S. also wants the European countries to be less dependent on energy from the Soviet Union. That was one item on the summit agen-

da which the U.S. tried to use to wrest concessions from the other countries. But afterward, the Soviet-West German gas line deal was finalized. This is as strong a rebuttal as the Europeans can give to the U.S. for its monetary policy, which is also independent of its will.

The long term U.S. Treasury bond rate indicates that the U.S. interest rate is not about to come down in the next 5-10 years. This will have a disastrous effect, not only on the U.S. economy — and its small and even larger businesses — but also on the European and Japanese economies which have smaller businesses.

Japan's prime rate is only four to five percent. France's and Germany's prime rate also is much lower — about half that of the U.S. The reason they can keep the interest rate so low is because Keynesian economics in Europe and Japan, particularly in Japan, has been more developed than in the U.S. They are even more susceptible to crisis due to being more heavily dependent on borrowing. In other words, the role of state monopoly capitalism in the second world is larger and more thoroughgoing than here. The way they get the economy and even foreign trade going is to borrow, in the form of government subsidies and from the much more centralized monopoly capitalist groupings like Japan's Mitsubishi.

The danger of a trade war has taken a new form. It's no longer just dumping commodities. In a way, the U.S. is getting back at them by jacking up interest rates. Not only is the U.S. exporting inflation as they did before with the inflated dollar. But now, with the higher interest rate and the higher exchange rate for the dollar, it is draining money away from Europe and Japan, thus depressing their economies and forcing them to be more parasitic. This is a new feature of the same old inter-imperialist contradiction.

Politically, instances like West Germany's policy toward the Soviet Union after the summit and France's policy toward El Salvador mean that these countries will steer a more independent course in foreign policy, and away from the U.S. In some instances, they will move closer towards the Soviet Union, in other cases they will ally with each other and with third world countries.

What about the effect of this particular form of economic crisis on third world countries? What are the political implications?

The biggest infight within the U.S. bourgeoisie has been over the question of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, over whether the budget for the World Bank should be cut down in view of Reagan's slashing all other budgets. Robert McNamara came out strongly against it. He said the people who don't want to allocate money are basically ignorant. He's right! The excess dollars printed during the Keynesian period in the last 30 years need to be "recycled" by lending them to third world countries. This has two effects. One, it keeps the U.S. inflation rate down and strengthens the dollar internationally. Two, it is used for economic control (neo-colonialism). Ever since the U.S. was defeated in Vietnam, it became clear that the U.S. could not contain the rise of third world countries and communism by brute force. Since third world countries have a slow rate of capital accumulation and formation and have weak economic and agricultural foundations, they need a lot of capital and are thus very susceptible to this form of control.

The economic relationship (i.e., trade and finance) between imperialism and third world countries is unequal. Therefore that kind of money-lending does not lead to the development of real productive forces. In fact, in most third world countries, this kind of investment is used to siphon off their

natural resources and make them more dependent technologically on western goods. As a result, more third world countries are unable to pay back the loans to the World Bank. Defaults by Brazil, Argentina, or even Poland can lead to a collapse of one of the two biggest pillars of the U.S. dollar, the recycling of dollars in third world countries.

This episode reveals again that Reagan is short-sighted. No, it's not a conspiracy among the bourgeoisie as a whole; there's no one think tank with a unified policy behind it. Rather there are different interests and think tanks and the bourgeoisie's ruling coalition picks what seems to them the most expedient policy.

Reagan wants to slash the budget. He even wants to chop the money for the World Bank. That will lead to collapse right away. The struggle gets really sharp and the mainstream bourgeoisie is able to sway Reagan into not cutting the World Bank, but in fact, into increasing its budget. The article on the International Monetary Fund in *The 80s* (October 1980) talked about how using that kind of trick to delay the impact on the U.S. will actually make the problem more extensive. The world economy, because of imperialism, is a lot more vulnerable to crisis. Default in any part of the world can trigger a total collapse. Even though in most cases they will extend the deadline on the loans, or re-finance them, there's really no way out. The institutions that are affected by western imperialist countries, like the World Bank, become more vulnerable to crisis. That's why in Poland, the offer to extend credit and renegotiate the debts by U.S. imperialism is far from being a concession. Actually, it's independent of the will of the western countries to lend the Polish government more money through the debt-serving of existing loans. The economic and monetary problems of imperialism become more widespread and extensive. Overall this leads to a greater susceptibility to any crisis that can trigger it off. That's another feature in the 80s which didn't exist in the 30s.

The U.S. bourgeoisie tries to peg the IMF and World Bank's funding pool and credit to OPEC dollars so as to decrease its vulnerability. That is still the largest pool of money that can shore up the IMF in case there's a crisis. Politically, that means Arab countries will have more say in the IMF. This would contradict U.S. foreign policy toward Israel and the PLO. The Middle East is probably the most vulnerable spot for the U.S. in its relationship to Japan and Europe, because second world countries are so energy-dependent on Mideast oil. The difference arises over how to handle Israel.

Israel itself was set up by the imperialist countries, using Zionists as the local police, as a junior partner to the imperialists. As long as all the Arab countries are lined up against the imperialists, then Israel is necessary. Right now there is a differentiation of class forces within the Arab countries, as the traitor Sadat of Egypt shows. He unilaterally signed an agreement with U.S. imperialism and broke the united front among the Arab countries against imperialism and Zionism. Under Carter's leadership, the U.S. was able to sign the Camp David agreement. It was significant that it was able to use the threat of the Soviet Union and revolution in Arab countries to drive some of the Arab leadership to align with the U.S. on most of the other issues.

On the other hand, certain factions of Zionists have relative independence. Their bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq, the invasion of Lebanon, and other actions have affected the U.S.' strategic position of using Israel as a junior partner in the region and of co-



opting some countries towards the U.S. and away from the Soviet Union. Zionist fanaticism has caused a tremendous amount of strategic difficulties for the U.S. There are obvious differences within the U.S. bourgeoisie on how to handle it. This is another item which sharpens the contradiction among the U.S. bourgeoisie. Carter and Brzezinski have come out calling for recognition of the PLO after Sadat's recent visit to the U.S.

Sharpen Contradictions Among the Bourgeoisie

During the second session of the Founding Congress I showed why inter-imperialist contradictions are a condition for the development of a revolutionary situation. When the contradictions sharpen, it means they become entangled among themselves. The more they're entangled, the harder it will be for them to come down on us with a unified understanding, policy and force. The sharper their contradiction, the more time we have to prepare, given our concrete situation in the U.S. today. It gives the vanguard more time to pull itself together, get the masses ready and use the bourgeois crises to educate the masses.

A lot of comrades believe a lot of the bourgeois press reports about Reagan having a mandate. Especially after his budget cut and tax cut programs went through Congress like a blitz, there's a feeling that Reagan has succeeded in forming a new coalition and therefore he has unified the main wing of the bourgeoisie and thus the official policies of the mainstream bourgeoisie. Both conceptions are far from the truth. As we said before, he has no mandate. That's becoming clearer and clearer. Secondly, in terms of his leadership among the bourgeoisie, it is also becoming obvious that the appearance of his programs blitzing through Congress is far from the truth. In fact, contradictions are developing for the U.S. presidency in the hottest and most rapid way ever in the last several decades.

In order to get his budget cuts and tax cuts passed, Reagan had to steamroll them through. He handled Congress with intimidation and strong-arm tactics. This caused a lot of contradictions to come up, and they are coming up early, inflicting a deep wound among the bourgeoisie. Take, for example, Tip O'Neill's opposition in the House. This kind of opposition is spreading. A good example is the attempt, barely six months into the Reagan presidency, to get rid of one of his cronies, William Casey, the CIA director. Not only were the liberal Democrats behind this, but even conservative Goldwater. Mainstream Democrats like Moynihan, who's in the Senate Intelligence Committee which oversees CIA activities, came out and tried to play on the contradic-

tion. Scoop Jackson, one of the leaders of the Senate Democrats, also supported firing Casey to punish Reagan. Remember Watergate came out in the second, third years of Nixon's rule. Unlike the Casey controversy, it didn't become an issue that fast and that early. Nor did the Billy-gate incident during Carter's administration. It took quite a while to warm up. That's one signal of the sharpening contradictions. There are many others which show the deep, irreconcilable contradictions among the bourgeoisie. Earlier I talked about the IMF and, in that case, clearly the mainstream bourgeoisie won.

One of the populist conceptions of the Workers World Party is about "right-center-left" in politics. It leads them to think that Haig is a maniac, a fanatic, a "right-winger." That's why WWP calls for the impeachment of Haig and kicking him out. That was their main slogan and they tried to make it the main slogan for the May 3 demo. Yes, there is a military-industrial complex and there is a relatively independent interest. But Haig is a mainstream representative of the bourgeoisie. He's a moderate within the Reagan administration. He represents the mainstream bourgeoisie's line. For example, on detente, Soviet Union, and SALT III, Haig's appointees came out with a definite schedule way before Reagan committed himself to it.

They are beginning to change the slogan of their foreign policy from big stick back to the old deceptive slogan of "human rights." He is starting to put on some cosmetics like punishing the soldiers who killed the nuns in El Salvador. Another, bigger manifestation came out in the difference between Haig and Reagan over China and Taiwan. The bourgeoisie need China to play off the Soviet Union, to keep the Soviet Union off the Mideast and Europe. China is very strategic to the bourgeoisie. They want to tie down and lure the Soviet Union toward China. Haig came out with an agreement to sell weapons to China which is against that policy. Vance came out strongly against Haig, saying that's a hell of a way to play the China card by revealing your own trump card, and that it would vastly minimize the U.S.' leverage over the Soviet Union. So this shows clearly — Vance, being one of the old boys from the network of the Council on Foreign Relations, one of the old guard of the blue-blood U.S. bourgeoisie's line — the sharp differences there. On the question of Taiwan, Haig was negotiating in China, trying to play up the contradiction between China and the Soviet Union. While he was still in Peking airport, Reagan made a statement to the effect of upholding the right of the U.S. to sell arms to Taiwan. This prompted the Chinese foreign ministry

to send a protest right to Haig's airplane in Peking airport, pretty much reversing his efforts during the talks. It's clear there's a sharp contradiction.

The Reaganites represent the diehard views towards Taiwan. This shows Reagan doesn't understand the global view. He doesn't represent the interest of the whole bourgeoisie in terms of their global interests, in Europe and other places. It's interesting to observe that Scoop Jackson, who came out strongly on the firing of CIA Casey, represents Boeing in Seattle, Wash. And Boeing right now isn't getting enough of the military contracts they want. They are still in the main a civilian aircraft manufacturer, about 10 percent of their production is military. McDonnell-Douglas, on the other hand, which has most of its plants in California and the Southwest, represents the interests of certain groups that Reagan historically has in California, the West and the Southwest, and which are tied to the interest of military outfits there. About 85 percent of McDonnell-Douglas' production and business comes from the government and military hardware. So Scoop Jackson's opposition to Casey definitely reflects the contradiction there.

The same thing applies to the fruit flies in California. Agribusiness has succeeded in triggering off an incident such that it rolled over Jerry Brown, who has to worry about his populist-liberal image of being environmentally conscious. Again it shows the contradiction among the bourgeoisie with Reagan siding with the Bank of America where he was from originally and where agribusiness controls agriculture.

So in terms of foreign policy, the mainstream bourgeoisie, the Rockefeller camp, worries more about their global interests, like Europe and third world countries. Reagan's foreign policy has been drifting towards the old Carter foreign policy which would delay the crisis and is more in the long-term interests of the bourgeoisie. So, far from Haig being a right-winger, and the military-industrial complex being in control, there is an infight among them, and it is the mainstream bourgeoisie's line that is prevailing.

But on the other hand, on the economic front, I think the contradictions are a lot more difficult to resolve. In fact I don't think even the mainstream bourgeoisie is clear which way out. They are all clear that they need to lower the inflation rate by pumping the brakes on the money supply, even to the extent of leading the country to deeper and deeper stagnation. But there is no agreement on the supply-side policy; that is, the tax cuts.

Although there's agreement on

lowering inflation, in the long-term sense, I think there is still disagreement. For example, Felix Rohatyn, who is a financial genius for the mainstream bourgeoisie, and Kennedy, have all put forward the line of "reindustrialize America," to get things going. This line is closer to the social-democratic view which is actually more sinister. While they do not openly come out in the long term, there's no other way to delay the crisis without resorting to more Keynesian financing strategy — by stimulating demand and by state intervention into more and more sectors of U.S. economy to enlarge the realm of U.S. state monopoly capitalism. And they laugh at Reagan's supply-side laissez-faire capitalism, saying it does not work. And of course it does not work.

Reagan's intervention into the auto industry, for example, by trying to limit imports, already shows the state intervention. So instead of doing away with state regulation and letting the free market play itself out, Reagan is clearly intervening in the market. And even though Reagan slashed some of the money to develop synfuel energy from the budget, there are increasing signs that he will back it again just like Carter did.

But I think there is a certain wing of the bourgeoisie with ideologues such as Felix Rohatyn, Kennedy and others. They want to give Reagan's supply-side economics a try although as a whole the bourgeoisie is not clear. Volker is not just a Reaganite. He's been there since Carter. So they all have agreement on putting a brake on the monetary supply. But in terms of supply-side they are all waiting to see what happens. If it doesn't work, Reagan will pay for it. People like Rockefeller, Rohatyn and Kennedy are waiting in the wings, watching to see if Reagan's program will flop and bring about an even greater upsurge of inflation. Then they'll make a comeback.

And that's the main basis for the vacuum in 1984. In the third year of Reagan's presidency, when inflation will go up again in a big way, and supply-side fails, then the Democrats will be ready to come back. There will be a backlash of liberal Democrats who historically represent the interests of the mainstream bourgeoisie. That's why somebody like Felix Rohatyn is quietly selling his program of reindustrialization and not giving up on that, and defending the long-term interests of the bourgeoisie, waiting in the wings for Reagan's program to flop.

According to this view, unlike the simplistic view that Reagan represents fascism and fascism is taking over, the dominant bourgeoisie are represented in Reagan's coalition, even though in most cases the immediate advisors go towards Reagan's Southwest interest

United Trades Women Picket



NEW YORK, N.Y.—Women construction workers demanding jobs on the Convention Center building site picketed the office of the Urban Development Corp., the city's contractor, on Aug. 5. United Trades Women, a New York-based organization, called for the protest after officials of the corporation failed to hire even enough women to fill federal guidelines of seven percent employment of women.

City council members and minority groups were among those who joined the women on the picketline. Since negotiations have begun, 12 women have been hired, including four on the Convention Center site, without any layoffs of male workers.

"Of course our goal is to have more than seven percent," said a UTW member, "but we have to start somewhere. Right now the city is having a building boom and there should be enough jobs for everyone. We want to get women on these sites and keep them there." □

Chomsky

continued from page 3

the people experienced Nazi rule first hand.

Faurisson came under attack, so he wrote a second book. Shockingly this book carried an introduction written by Noam Chomsky, an American Jew who has a reputation as a progressive of some sort. This American was also among the first to sign a petition defending Faurisson, and due to the respect he had in France as a "libertarian socialist" the petition was known as the "Chomsky petition."

The petition claimed that Faurisson had made "findings" based on "extensive independent historical research." What were these so-called "findings?" That the Nazis never committed genocide. That the Nazis never were a threat to human civilization. That the Jewish people are not a people at all but a vast conspiratorial network that managed to convince the world that the Nazis killed six million of their number in order, Faurisson says, to advance their alleged plot to rule the world!

And here was an American Jewish "progressive," a professor at M.I.T., whose specialty is language and its relationship to thought, writing an introduction to this book! In this introduction Chomsky said that Faurisson is a scholar, a liberal, and not at all an anti-Semite!

Early this year the New York Times reported on these events. Chomsky was attacked in the social-democratic journal, In These Times, and in The Nation. The Liberty Lobby's racist newsletter "Spotlight" defended Chomsky as a victim of the alleged Jewish conspiracy from which he is presumably excluded or has defected.

Chomsky refuses to admit he has aided the neo-Nazi ideological offensive and says that his defense of Faurisson is only concerned with his

supposed civil right to attack the Holocaust survivors with slander and his supposed right to help the fascists organize more murderers as long as he only comes up with the words that they need to have in order to organize their actual material terror.

Even a naive person who can't see any connection between fascist propaganda and actual fascist murder would have to admit that Chomsky did not only defend some abstract right to say or write anything at all regardless of the consequences, but put across a strong message that he feels that Faurisson's slanderous and murderous lies are a legitimate point of view that people ought to consider.

This becomes a matter of concern for communists not only because we do not believe fascists have any right to organize mass (or individual) murder but because in France last year and now in the United States capitalist media have used Chomsky and Faurisson to try to prove a supposed closeness between Marxism and fascism. In the June 10-16 issue of the Village Voice a front page article entitled "Gas Chamber Games: Crackpot History and the Right to Lie" uses the fact that Chomsky calls himself some kind of socialist (as does Faurisson's publisher) to make this attack.

Neither Chomsky nor any of Faurisson's supporters are Marxists and none of them call themselves Marxists. They claim to be part of a "libertarian 'socialist'" tradition closer to anarchism than to Marxism. Faurisson doesn't even consider himself any sort of a leftist.

Chomsky's record as a leftist has been compromised before and he is proud enough of his anti-communism to have summed up his anti-communist and his really anti-leftist history for us

EXCERPTS

continued from page 13

group's line. But the New Deal so-called "working class" coalition is far from collapsing. The New Deal Roosevelt bourgeoisie, the mainstream bourgeoisie is intact. They transcend party lines. Some of them are Republicans and some are Democrats, or even third party.

So, besides the fact that Reagan does not have a mandate among the masses, there is no realignment among the bourgeoisie. There is only a failure of the old policy. Therefore there is realignment of the old forces, of the old way to play it — represented by a set of liberal policies which manifested themselves in the past 30 years, that is, imperialist-liberal policies. The new alignment, in terms of a stable form that will last for another 10-20 years into another period of capitalist stabilization, will not happen, because fundamentally they have not formed a strategy to deal with that.

But the fact that the old policy has failed and the sharp line drawn between the Democrats and Republicans in the last few months, with Reagan

leaning toward the Republicans, does not mean at all that the New Deal bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie that backed Roosevelt, and the policy which led to the stabilization of capitalism over the past 30 years, has withered away. They are still there. They're waiting. If he flops then they'll reassert themselves in another form. In that sense there's realignment, but that is not real realignment because that is not possible yet. All are watching.

The so-called consensus among the bourgeoisie, so-called Reagan's success in building a new coalition among the bourgeoisie is only a very superficial phenomenon. In fact, the attempt to fire CIA Director Casey and differences over foreign policy — show the pent-up contradictions that are already heating up only six months into his presidency. That is unprecedented. And it is a feature. We have to differentiate appearance from the essence. The essence is that the contradictions are actually sharper than ever before. There's a lot more that will come out. The fundamental contradictions of capitalism are so sharp and the lack of solution in sight basically reaffirm our five-year framework. It gives us more time. □

in the February 28 issue of The Nation.

For example, Chomsky is remembered as an opponent of the Vietnam War. He reminds us that his writings during the war were against the particular anti-insurgency strategy that the Pentagon was carrying out in Vietnam. Actually, he tells us, he was warning that the bombings in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (before the U.S. defeat) were going to lead to a communist victory. He pointedly in this article does not refer to the terror bombings of socialist North Vietnam, because his articles during that time were about how the Pentagon was pursuing the wrong strategy to defeat the socialist

Chomsky also recalls in his article in The Nation how he opposed student anti-war activists on questions that aroused the deepest feelings among the youth of the late 60's. "At the height of the Vietnam War," says Chomsky, "I publicly took the stand that people I regarded as authentic war criminals should not be denied the right to teach (!)... I even wrote in 1969 that it would be wrong to bar counterinsurgency research in the universities, though it was being used to murder and destroy..."

This pompous defender of counterinsurgency research such as is used to develop chemical-biological warfare and electronic battlefield techniques says of Leninists: "I am unimpressed with their recent conversions and unwilling to join in their new crusades, which often strike me as morally dubious and intellectually shallow." So, for Chomsky Leninism is morally dubious, not Nazi apologists like Robert Faurisson, whose morality Chomsky doesn't question, nor his intellectual integrity.

The question of why Chomsky chose to aid the fascist propaganda campaign is a fair one to ask. Plainly it goes beyond defending their "right" to spread their poison, because he's gone on a limb to say that their words are not poisonous at all.

It's consistent with his defense of an alleged "right" to develop terror weapons and techniques on campuses. Yet Chomsky never defended chemical or electronic warfare as such, only some sacred right of university professors to take money from the Pentagon to develop things like that on campuses like his own M.I.T.

It's significant that up till now the attack on Chomsky has been mainly from non-Marxist circles because he stands on common ground with them.

In the most detailed of these exposures in the Village Voice the author proves that Chomsky is a liar and that he's covering up for forces who want to put Hitler in a "not so bad" light after all. What was Hitler about more

than any one thing but the destruction of what he perceived to be Jewish Marxism?

The Voice shielded the anti-Communist "left" by fully admitting what Chomsky had done then leaping to the illogical blame of Marxism. Chomsky, Faurisson, and the others are anti-Marxists! Berman, in the Village Voice also concluded that Chomsky's after all not so bad, (perhaps confused), and that his history is quite honorable.

Harder to explain is a recent article in the radical Guardian, which considers itself to be Marxist. The article attacked the notion that the Nazis didn't commit genocide and exposed the Institute for Historical Review as a front of the Nazi apologist Liberty Lobby. The Guardian failed during this expose to mention anything of the controversy in France, or the Liberty Lobby's reprinting of Faurisson's anti-Semitic pseudo-history or their championing of Noam Chomsky. It's easy to see why liberals and other anti-Communists want to blur the whole issue of the Holocaust and the Chomsky fiasco, but hard to understand why a self-proclaimed Marxist publication protected Chomsky by omission.

Contrary to the Village Voice, Chomsky and Faurisson's anti-Semitism have nothing to do with a crisis in Marxism. What it is a sign of the ideological crisis in anti-Marxism, from Nazism to social democracy to anarchism. These ideologies can't explain reality and can't chart a course for humanity's future. It is they and their system capitalism who need scapegoats, not Marxism.

The question of the way Zionism and the western rulers have used the Holocaust to try to justify the oppression of the Palestinian people and the attempted domination of the whole Middle East ought by right be part of this discussion, and hopefully this and other aspects can be gone into in appropriate detail in the future. Suffice it to say here that Communists are not the supporters of either the Israeli state or their more obnoxious policies today, and we state our position regardless of any slander of being accused of anti-Semitism. It is we communists who are the staunchest opponents in principle of any scapegoating or blanket attack on any nationality, language or ethnic group. The best hope of the Jewish people is a final victory of a socialist society where the problems humanity faces can be attacked rationally rather than scapegoats being found to hide an inability to solve the problems of the day. □

Jerry Gladstone is a Jewish activist and a contributor to the Workers Viewpoint

LETTERS TO THE CWP

Motown Auto Activists Fired

In the past two months, two workers have been fired by the Chrysler Detroit Tank Plant for organizing against the speed-up at the plant. Comer McNeil and Brian Detloff were both discharged shortly after circulating a petition to the UAW Local 1200 union leadership demanding action against the speed-up. Chrysler management at the Tank Plant has been attempting to eliminate resistance to the speed-up through a campaign of firings and intimidation which pose a serious threat to the strength and the very existence of the union itself. Support is urgently needed now to win back the jobs of McNeil and Detloff, and to back management down from its campaign of sowing divisions and intimidation.

In early April, Chrysler management attempted to arbitrarily raise production on the hull line at the Tank Plant by 25%. Detloff and McNeil immediately began organizing against the speed-up: calling in union officials, talking to workers on the line, circulating the petition. When management discovered this they first tried to break up the organizing by telling McNeil (a black worker) that Detloff (a white worker) was a Ku Klux Klansman or a Nazi. McNeil didn't back off. Two days later he was fired for "refusing a direct order." The direct order was to do a job which his light duty medical exception ruled out. That is, he was set up.

Two weeks later, Detloff was framed up and fired for "sleeping on the job." Management waited until no witnesses were around and Detloff was sitting down, then came in with four foremen and general foremen to act as "witnesses" and accused him of sleeping.

Chrysler management wants to get rid of Detloff because he is a militant and a socialist. (Detloff has been openly supporting the Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee and the Revolutionary Socialist League for the past several years). Over the past few years, Detloff has been unjustly fired several times. Last year he was fired for distributing leaflets calling for resistance to the first round of contract concessions and layoffs being forced on Chrysler workers. Each time management's scheme has been exposed and they have been forced to back down.

But more is involved this time than just another attempt by management to get Detloff. Chrysler management is gearing up for production of the new XM-1 tank, scheduled to begin October 1981. Tank production is the one extremely profitable area for the Chrysler bosses. They are investing a lot of capital in new robots and numerical-controlled machinery. And they need very much to have a passive work force. So management is trying to run militant workers, like McNeil and Detloff, out of the plant. They are beginning the campaign by attacking people who they think other workers won't defend — a black worker in a largely white plant, and a socialist.

Chrysler management is getting help in pushing this campaign from the FBI. Two days before Detloff was fired, the FBI came into the plant with much publicity in the local newspapers. They claimed to be there investigating a right-wing religious cult (The Way, International) that no one at the plant has ever heard of. The real purpose was to intimidate the workers at the plant — the same reason that management had for quadrupling plant security on some shifts recently. So far, management's plan has been somewhat successful. People have been hesitant to step forward in the defense of Detloff and McNeil for fear of coming under the eye of the FBI.

The firings at the Tank Plant are part of a nationwide campaign by the FBI and the government to drive militants and socialists out of the defense industry. These firings are occurring at a time when the U.S. defense industry is gearing up towards war production and the ruling class wants to root out any opposition to their plans of speed-up, layoffs and automation.

At Lockheed Aircraft in Georgia, 14 supporters of the Socialist Workers Party have been fired. 27 workers at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego, California have been fired for participating in a demonstration against health and safety violations by the company. Three of these workers, including 2 supporters of the Communist Workers Party have been framed up by an FBI agent-provocateur and convicted on bomb charges. The list goes on across the country. The whole picture looks very much like the opening rounds in the McCarthyite witchhunts of the 1950s.

The firings at the Tank Plant, along with the other attacks on militants and socialists across the U.S., pose a very serious threat to the unions in this country and to the working class as a whole. They are the opening shots in a nationwide campaign by the capitalists to divide, intimidate, and beat down the working class. We must all stand together against the ruling class' moves to strip us of all our rights.

The last Local 1200 union meeting passed a motion giving full support to Brian and Comer and all workers fired since the last contract. Their grievances are now in 4th step (Detloff) and arbitration (McNeil).

Your support is needed now to force Chrysler to back down on the firings of Comer McNeil and Brian Detloff. We request your support in the form of signing and circulating the enclosed petition and/or sending letters of protest of the firings, demanding the rehiring of Comer McNeil and Brian Detloff. Send letters to Max Wilson, Labor Relations, 28251 Van Dyke, Warren, Michigan 48093. Please send copies to Tank Plant Defense Committee, P.O. Box 8373, Detroit, Michigan 48213. For further information, write or call (313) 921-8398.

Thank you for your support.

Tank Plant Defense Committee

European Petitions Against Greensboro Massacre

Dear Comrades,

I am writing on behalf of K.N., a citizen of Denmark, myself an American residing in Denmark, as well as thousands of Europeans who sympathize with your struggle against racist oppression and fascism.

Last year, K. and I sent you approximately 2,000 signatures on petitions of the "Appeal Against Racism and National Oppression," directly relating to the November 1979 attack against comrades by the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, N.C. Since, we have continued collecting signatures, and herewith send another 5,267 from Den-

mark, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, and Switzerland.

We do regret they are being sent at such a late date, but collecting them has been such a time consuming affair. We sincerely hope you can still use them. (Some have been translated into German.)

The thick packet of signatures arrived safely. Thank you for your unceasing efforts in keeping the spirit of the five alive in the hearts of thousands of Europeans. Time has not lessen their sacrifice.

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:

Bay Area: (415) 540-0671
1442 A Walnut St. #315
Berkeley, Ca., 94709

Greeley, Colo: (303) 356-9951
Hawaii: (808) 947-1821
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NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

VOL. 6 NO. 32

SEPTEMBER 2 - SEPTEMBER 8, 1981

50 CENTS

AFL-CIO Leaves PATCO on the Limb

Dave Young

Which way will organized labor go in the Professional Air Traffic Controllers strike? Will it rise to the challenge of Reagan and the government's unprecedented unionbusting attacks? Or will it hang like a dying albatross around American workers' necks, incapable of mounting any resistance other than muted outcries of injury? Now that the initial flurry of activity has settled and PATCO is digging in for the long haul, much of this decisive question has been conclusively answered by the sabotage by the top leadership in the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

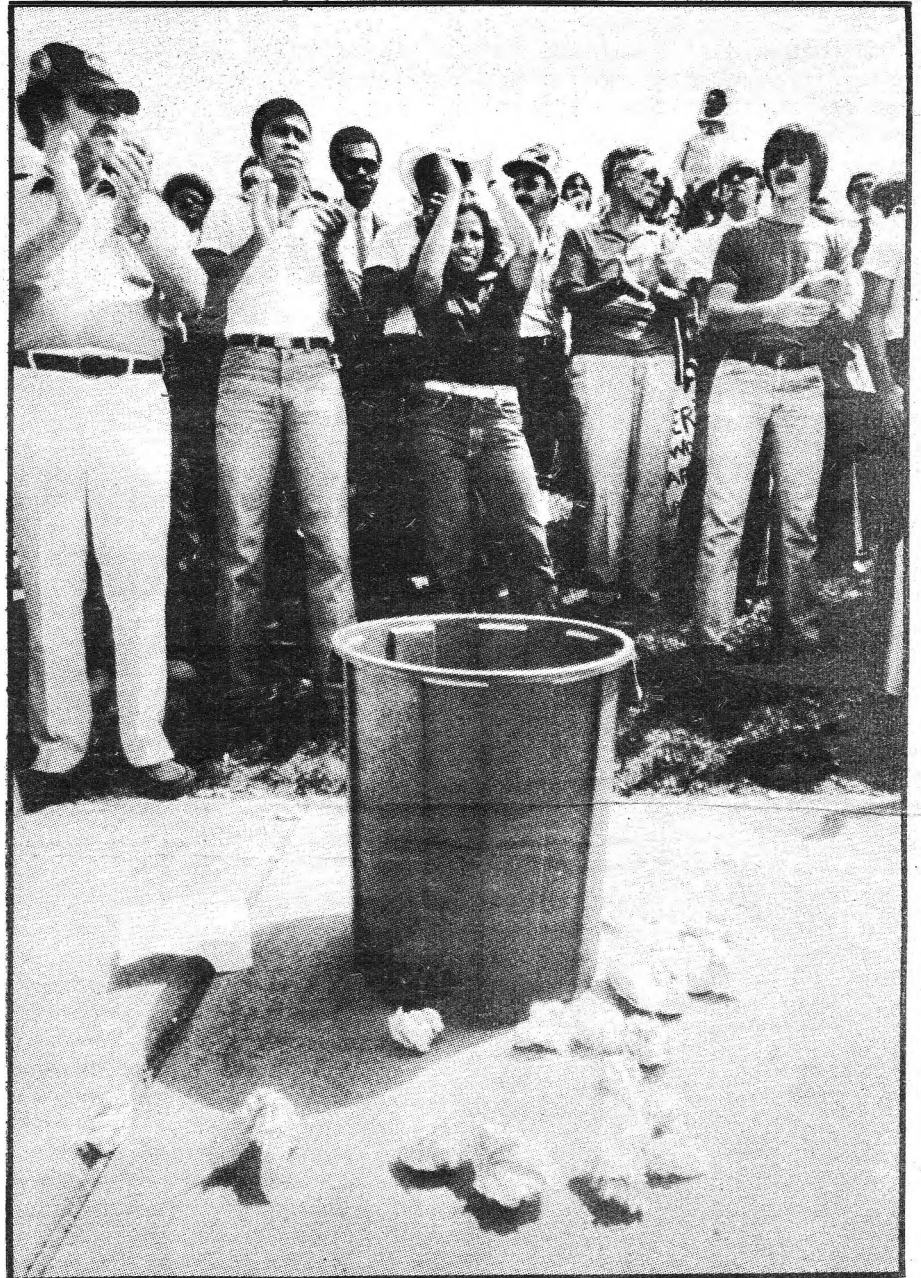
Although the nation's top labor leaders acknowledge the grave historic implications of Reagan's attacks against PATCO, they refuse to openly support the strike. In the first major confrontation between labor and the Reagan Administration, the AFL-CIO leadership punked out. The labor federation's executive council was holding its summer conference in Chicago when the strike broke out on August 3. The council concluded its meetings without any resolution on actions to support PATCO, saying that such decisions should be deferred to individual unions. It also refused to link the PATCO strike with the upcoming AFL-CIO Solidarity Day on September 19, the first nationwide union demonstration in over 5 years. Some union heads like Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers Union tried to explain away this nonaction by saying that PATCO acted irresponsibly and should have consulted them before going on strike.

Trying to shift the burden of responsibility onto the strikers cannot cover up the labor bureaucrats' responsibility

for the low morale and disorganization which pervades the labor movement today. They have consistently stuck to their self-fulfilling prophecy that the fight is lost even before the first shot. When Reagan announced his massive budget cuts in February, the AFL-CIO executive council was holding its winter executive meetings in Bal Harbor, Florida. They washed their hands of any responsibility to come up with a fighting program against the attacks by saying that the American workers got what they deserved in electing Reagan. Behind this treacherous abdication of leadership is the union leaders' fear of directly challenging Reagan and the government. They cite the fact that PATCO is conducting an illegal strike and supporting it will subject their unions to the same kind of reprisals. "It's all very well to stand up and be a Midnight Jim Militant," said AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. "But if you stand in a position of responsibility toward your union, you have to appraise the potential consequences."

Such a cowardly stance bears out why organized labor has fallen into an overall retreat during the past few years. New York City municipal workers' union head Victor Gotbaum backed down in the '74 fiscal crisis by giving big business' Municipal Assistance Corporation the workers' pension funds. UAW President Fraser and the railroad workers union heads followed suit by advocating wage cuts. Now, the union leaders have refused to use the PATCO strike to hit Reagan and build on the growing anti-Reagan mood in the country. Instead of using the PATCO strike to change the upcoming September 19 demonstration into a militant response to Reagan, the AFL-CIO heads chose to leave the

continued on page 5



Members of more than a dozen unions held a rally outside Baltimore-Washington Airport to show their support for striking controllers. Some are throwing their back-to-work orders into the trash.

Asian-Americans for Equality Chinatown Group Fights Eviction

Jim Davis

NEW YORK, N.Y.—In the last five years, rents in New York have risen a phenomenal 119 percent. Nationally, over the same period there has been a 25 percent increase. With the chance to make big profits overnight, real estate investors in the city are spending millions of dollars left and right to buy up property. This widespread speculation has led to worse housing conditions for most New Yorkers. For the people of Chinatown, the recent real estate "boom" has forced many of them to choose between higher rents or eviction.

The Only Choice is to Fight

"We want to set an example for the people of Chinatown that if we're determined and organized we can fight to stop evictions," explained Doris

Koo, a spokesperson for AAFE (Asian Americans For Equality). At an Aug. 18 press conference, Ms. Koo, along with other members of AAFE's steering committee, announced plans to launch a local campaign against evictions.

Large parcels of land in Chinatown are rapidly being bought up by land developers. Certain areas such as around Henry and Market streets have been singled out as prime building sites for expensive high rise condominiums. Meanwhile tenants and small businesses on Mott, Division, East Broadway and other streets in Chinatown are also being forced out. Government-funded programs such as the Chinatown Senior Citizens Center and Manpower Project already threatened with cuts by the Reagan Administration also face the possibility of evictions from their present location at the

old P.S. 23 building.

AAFE itself is facing eviction from its office on the second floor of One East Broadway. Though the building was assessed at \$39,000 ten years ago, it was recently sold to the Tong Real Estate for \$440,000. Within months of the sale it was resold to the Tze group for \$550,000, a quick \$110,000 profit.

The new owners moved immediately on court proceedings to evict AAFE and other tenants in the building. Caught off guard, AAFE and the others were coerced into accepting an agreement to move, along with \$2,000 in relocation expenses. Since the eviction notices were first served, AAFE and other tenants have faced daily harassment. Necessary repairs on the building's plumbing continue to be delayed. Several times the hot water was unexpectedly cutoff. Recently a damaged water heater on the fourth floor fell and broke the foot of a 60-year-old tenant.

"We Won't Move"

At the AAFE news conference, a middle-aged Chinese woman who has herself faced eviction three separate times and had her heat and hot water

cutoff in the middle of the winter, encouraged AAFE and the other tenants to stand their ground. AAFE members have already begun to take the issue into the streets. Thousands of leaflets have been handed out at busy street corners, while an AAFE member explains the eviction fight to the passing crowd. Posters and flyers about the eviction have gone up on walls everywhere. Several groups such as the Brooklyn Hispanic Organization, the Lower East Side Housing Coalition, "It's Time" (a Lower East Side community group), and the city-wide Met Council on Housing have pledged their support in the eviction fight. Endorsements from progressive politicians such as mayoral candidate Frank Barbaro and city council candidate Nancy Ross are also being sought.

Since its founding in 1973, AAFE has organized and led community struggles against discrimination, police brutality, unfair labor practices and other forms of national oppression. Here in New York, AAFE led the struggle for construction jobs for minorities at Confucius Plaza. Once again AAFE is mobilizing the people of Chinatown to fight. □