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

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

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50 CENTS

Government Workers Stop NIOSH Move

Dave Young

The Reagan administration recently backed down on its plans to destroy the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, a move that would have devastating consequences for the American people. Opposition from NIOSH workers, major unions and the United Steelworkers, and Congressional representatives forced the Department of Health and Human Services to "postpone indefinitely" a proposed relocation of personnel from NIOSH's Washington, D.C. headquarters to Atlanta, Georgia and Cincinnati, Ohio. American Federation of Government Workers Local 41, which represents NIOSH employees, condemned this move to dismantle the agency. The union said it "will cripple the agency's capacity to carry out its statutory Congressional mandate."

NIOSH was created by the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 to conduct research and promote the application of research results to prevent workplace hazards. It conducts studies into toxic substances such as cotton dust, asbestos, benzene and lead. When workers at a Texas plant became so dizzy they could not tie their shoelaces, NIOSH investigators traced the problem to a chemical the company was using for spray coating. NIOSH also studies stress, noise and radiation. Its studies have linked industrial exposures to an increased rate of cancer, respiratory ailments, reproductive failure and death.

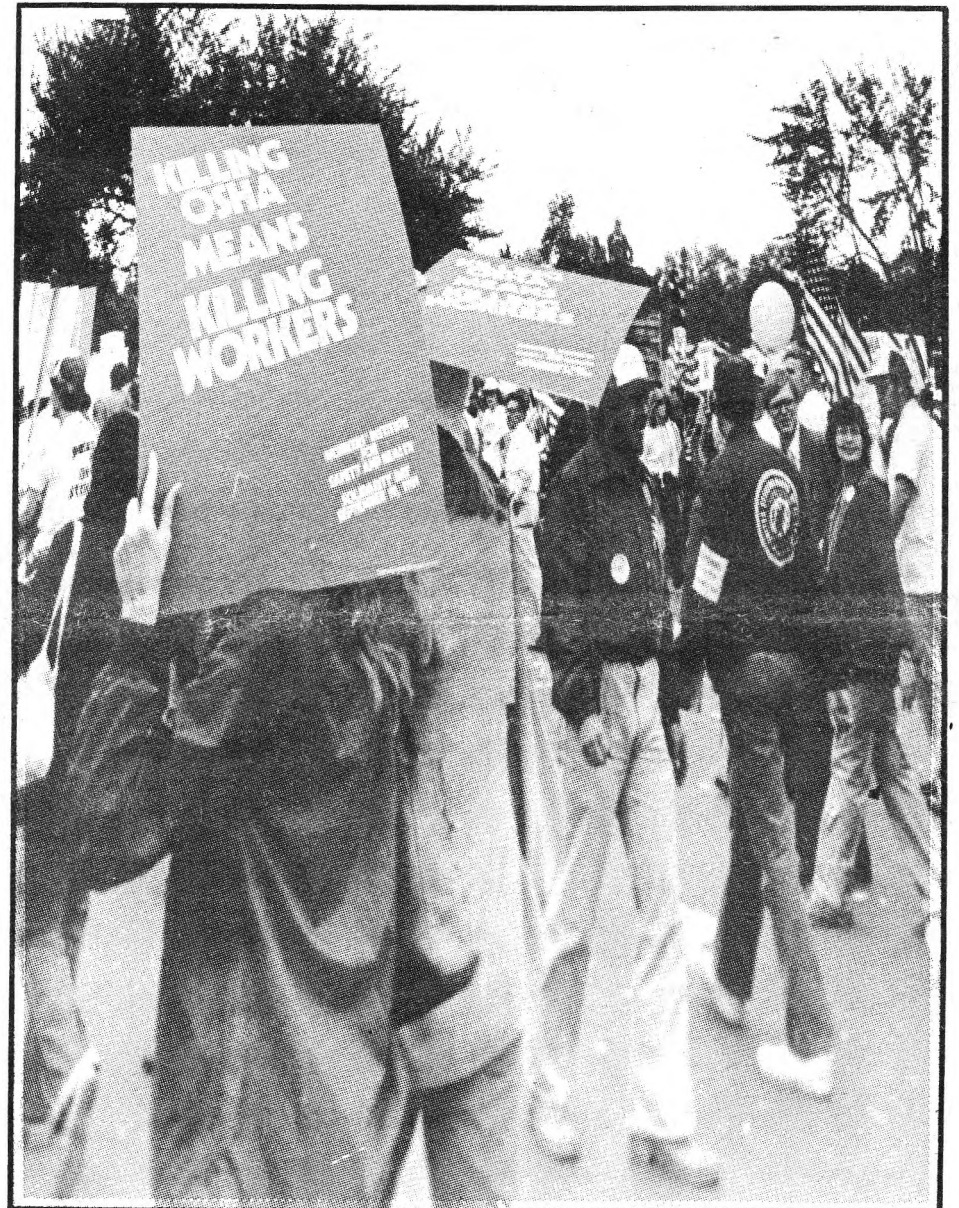
The immensity of NIOSH's legislated tasks can be seen by the following figures. Of the 45,000 identified toxic substances, NIOSH has recommended critical threshold values for 110. OSHA has adopted 20 for enforcement. Four million workers

have contracted occupational diseases and 100,000 are dying from them each year. More than 20 percent of all cancers are determined to be job related. And with estimates that this figure will rise as high as 40 percent in the next decade, the work of NIOSH not only needs to be continued, but strengthened.

Blocked Funds for Move

The issue quickly became a rallying point for those who opposed Reagan's attempts to gut health and safety regulations. Union officials, Congressional representatives, health and safety experts and organizations have called on HHS Secretary Richard Schweiker to reserve his decision or urge Congress to take legislative action to prevent the move. The proposed NIOSH reorganization has been criticized by three former NIOSH directors, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor for OSHA and three industry representatives who testified before Congress. In testimony before the House Subcommittee on Health and Safety, AFGE Local 41 President Joe Cook said, "Health and safety is a non-partisan issue that runs deep in the hearts and minds of the American people." Dr. Lorin Kerr, UMW Health and Safety Director, called for a renewed national effort to strengthen occupational health and safety research and treatment. He pointed out that worker health and safety has reached crisis proportions, inflicting several hundred thousand unnecessary deaths a year.

A House subcommittee voted five to four to prohibit the use of funds for the transfer of NIOSH. One week later on September 16, its Senate counterpart did the same with a nine to four vote. As the Senate vote was taking



WV photo by George Montano

place, NIOSH workers staged a noon-time rally in front of Schweiker's office. "There should be no party lines when it comes to life and death, no Democrat or Republican, only American," NIOSH worker Bill Blume told the crowd. "You don't bury a Democrat or Republican, only an American."

Even though Congressional intent was clear from these two votes, HHS Secretary Schweiker still wanted to push ahead the move. For Schweiker, the vote was a harsh personal defeat. He was formerly a member of the Senate Human Services Appropriations Subcommittee and considered it his personal domain. Only after the full House Appropriations Committee voted 26 to 16 to block funds did Schweiker finally back down.

Pattern of Attacks

HHS uses "administrative efficiency" to defend the proposed abolition of NIOSH headquarters and merging its functions with its parent agency, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta. "Combating government bureaucracy" has been repeatedly used by the Reagan administration to justify

a series of attacks on health and safety. These attacks include the following:

- **Burning of 100,000 Brown Lung pamphlets ordered by OSHA head Thorne Aucher because he felt the cover portrait of an ill worker was "offensive, anti-business and clearly favorable to labor." Aucher's family business was cited 48 times for safety violations and fined \$1,200 when he was its vice-president.
- **Abolition of walk-around pay for workers who accompany OSHA inspectors on plant tours.
- **Firing of Dr. Anthony Robbins as NIOSH Director after he was branded a "social activist" and "champion of the working class."
- **Firing of Dr. Peter Enfante after the formaldehyde industry criticized his statements that government research showed that formaldehyde is a carcinogen. Public pressure forced OSHA to back down.
- **New OSHA enforcement policies which will, among other things, eliminate on-the-spot inspections by giving employers ten days notice, exempt so-called safe manufacturing workplaces for general schedule safety

Continued on page 6

NEXT ISSUE

The hunger strike in Ireland is over now after nearly seven months. As a result of the British imperialists' intransigence, ten brave hunger strikers lost their lives. Next week we assess the results of the strike and the road forward for Irish Liberation.

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

We welcome contributions on all topics. WV will respond to every contributor. Written materials should be submitted typed, double-spaced on 8½ X 11 paper. Materials will be returned if accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Send all correspondence to Workers Viewpoint, GPO Box 2256, New York, N.Y. 10116

WHAT'S INSIDE

Reagan's Budget cuts took effect on October 2. What will be the real impact of these cuts in real, human terms. page 6

United States imperialism is on the run throughout the whole world. In Europe and the third world, the U.S. faces tremendous obstacles to its continued domination, and it is being rapidly weakened there. page 7.

What are some of the elements upon which the CWP is founded? Lenin, in "Left-Wing Communism" sums up some of the historical experiences of the Russian Communist Party. Our new series "Study Marxism" continues this week with excerpts from that Marxist classic. page 12.

The importance of the Holywood 10 case in the 1950s stretches far beyond those courageous individuals. It affected the way film companies are run and the way films are made today. page 14.

LETTERS TO THE CWP**NY Elections, Barbaro and United Front Work**

Dear Workers Viewpoint,

Good luck in your efforts to support the paper financially. I'll continue to buy the paper, and when I get back more on my feet financially in the future, I hope to do things like buy some gift subscriptions as Christmas presents for friends.

I hope you can make it through these hard financial times and continue publishing weekly because the paper is very high quality now. Your economic analysis has always been one of your strong points and by analyzing what is behind the high interest rates, how the merger movement is a sign of weakness of capitalism, and why supply-side economics won't work, it gives me a deeper understanding of why capitalism doesn't work. I always enjoy the columns on sports and movie reviews.

Your optimism for the situation in Iran and support for the left and other progressive forces helped me to understand the recent chain of events which was, to say the least, beginning to bother me. Also, I thought you made a good point in your article on Solidarity Day in issue number 35 when you said, "What is setting the labor leaders into a particular state of motion today? It's not simply rank and file pressure on them from below. The gloomy economic situation means the capitalists still need the labor misleaders in their pockets, but can afford them less. They are losing position with the bourgeoisie — the economic crisis means business and government has less flexibility to support and buy off labor parasites."

However, I do have some questions on the article on Barbaro in issue number 35, page 5. I didn't like it that much.

First of all, I think it is fine to support Barbaro as he takes some progressive stands, no matter to what degree. But you say that "his campaign has provided a vehicle for revolutionary and progressive forces to carry out political education and exposure among a broader audience than normally possible." (last paragraph of the article) This is true in general, but shouldn't your article be part of that vehicle? I don't think it does.

The party has such an excellent analysis of the national and international economic situation, but the article in supporting Barbaro benefits from very little of that analysis. Wouldn't it have been helpful and educational for the masses of people to realize that there are some larger forces that are beyond the control of Barbaro, Koch, or any mayor? That way, someone could support the progressive stands of a local politician without having illusions about the system. For example, isn't it true that even when the MTA takes a half-step to repair part of the subway system, it may run

into problems in financing its plan because it has to sell bonds to raise some of its money, and the bond market still stinks because of the crisis of capitalism? To say, "Admitting that the city's future depended more on outside forces, Mayor Koch told the Times, 'I don't believe government can do very much on a local level to enhance prosperity.'" (2nd to the last paragraph) doesn't seem to be a very clear statement.

Perhaps in future articles, you can elaborate on Barbaro's statement that win or lose, "the main thing is to continue to build and strengthen this political movement we have started." That way, it is possible to take progressive parts of his program and build on that.

To me this is a united front type of issue which requires independence and initiative as well as unity. This article shows me the unity — which should be there — but I don't see the independence and initiative.

I'll look forward to future follow-up articles on this issue.

A good friend

At the heart of any kind of united front work that the Party engages in is the question of our independence and initiative. That is, what does the Party stand to gain from its involvement. In different situations of course the independence and initiative of the Party will be defined differently. In the early years of the Party it was simply (and somewhat crudely) defined as whether or not we had a speaker, or could sell our papers or had the right to air our views in coalition meetings. This was in a period of capitalist stabilization where the American people as a whole were not as open politically as they are today.

Today, primarily because of the deepening economic crisis, there is greater opportunity for the Party to reach out to, influence and lead broader groups, strata and classes of people. What was impossible in the past is entirely possible today. The key is the Party's ability to boldly capitalize on a rapidly changing political scenery where different groups and organizations are more open to unite. Take for example, the recent Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington D.C. Driven by the growing attacks from the Reagan Administration and the fermenting anger among the rank and file, the AFL-CIO bureaucrats had to take action. The degree to which we could use this opportunity to reach out to a broader cross section of American workers depended on how well we used our existing work and influence in the labor movement.

This holds true for the Barbaro campaign. Recently a community organization that we work in endorsed the Barbaro candidacy. The move was *mutually beneficial*. Barbaro welcomed the



WV photo by George Montano

endorsement because it was the only group in a community which had otherwise been branded "Koch territory" to stick its neck out to support him. The endorsement gave him the chance to reach out to a new segment of voters.

It also helped to put the organization in a better position to reach out and influence on a city-wide basis other progressive forces supporting the Barbaro campaign. All too often the respect and prestige that the group had earned over the years in leading struggles against police brutality and for more jobs and better services remained within the community. The campaign endorsement presented the opportunity to go beyond the confines of the neighborhood.

The move also helped the group's work in the community by forcing several social service agencies to back off from efforts to isolate it in a local coalition against the Reagan cuts. The agency heads were afraid of a possible Barbaro victory in November and the consequences of being on the "wrong" side when it came time to decide funding for different city programs. By getting involved in the elections and successfully fighting on new "turf," the group was able to accomplish what it had previously not been able to with its grassroots organizing alone.

To shed some more light on the opportunities as well as the potential dangers of working in electoral politics, we should examine the experience of the Communist Party, U.S.A. in the 1948 Wallace Presidential campaign on the independent Progressive Party ticket. The Communist Party mistakenly banked on the Progressive Party to spearhead the opposition to the monopoly capitalists, throwing its full weight into it.

"Yet the Wallace movement was hardly the anti-monopoly coalition which the Communists had projected. It did not conform to what Foster himself had enunciated as essential: namely, that a third-party movement would have to be led by the organized working class, and enter into a firm alliances with the organized farmers, the Negro people, and the progressive

middle class. No major labor leader, no labor federation, no prominent Negro organizations (but many important local leaders), and very few of the spokesman for the middle class previously associated with the New Deal supported the Wallace movement once it took shape as a third party. The communist were aware of this. Instead of admitting that no real coalition had been built, they rationalized their plight by drawing upon an earlier arsenal of ideas and experiences. They evoked the "united front from below" (American Communism in Crisis 1943-1957, pages 178-79).

The Communist Party was unsuccessful in using their influence and leadership in the labor movement and other sectors of the American public as leverage. Instead, the Communist Party lost initiative in the Progressive Party scheme. "The inner rift between the Party and its influentials widened by the 1948 campaign. Those who had left the labor movement to run as Wallace candidates or who gambled their positions in so doing were among a larger body that turned against the Party's policies in subsequent years. Those who followed the Party afterwards did so reluctantly." (Ibid. 179-80)

Despite all the shortcomings and setbacks in the campaign, the Communist Party was still able to apply tremendous pressure on President Truman and the U.S. government. "Even at the last moment, Wallace himself rejected a chance to make a safe harbor. The most sensational but largely unknown aspect of the 1948 campaign is that as late as July 1948 the Democratic High Command intensely worried that the Wallace votes would succeed in defeating Mr. Truman, offered negotiate with Wallace himself. This offer was rejected... It is conceivable that by trading off a third party (which was in any case in severe difficulties), Wallace could have materially altered the nature of the Democratic Party's campaign. This might have easily included a relaxation of the pressure on the Communist Party. If the grand jury indictments under the Smith Act

NATIONAL NEWS

Greensboro Justice Fund Releases

Independent Study Shows Conspiracy

The Greensboro Justice Fund welcomes the Institute for Southern Studies' independent investigative report on the murders committed on November 3, 1979. We agree with the report's documented conclusion that the Greensboro police at the very least knew in advance that a large Klan-Nazi caravan intended to attack the anti-klan demonstrators, but consciously and intentionally refused to warn the demonstrators, or to stop the caravan, and allowed the murders to proceed unhindered.

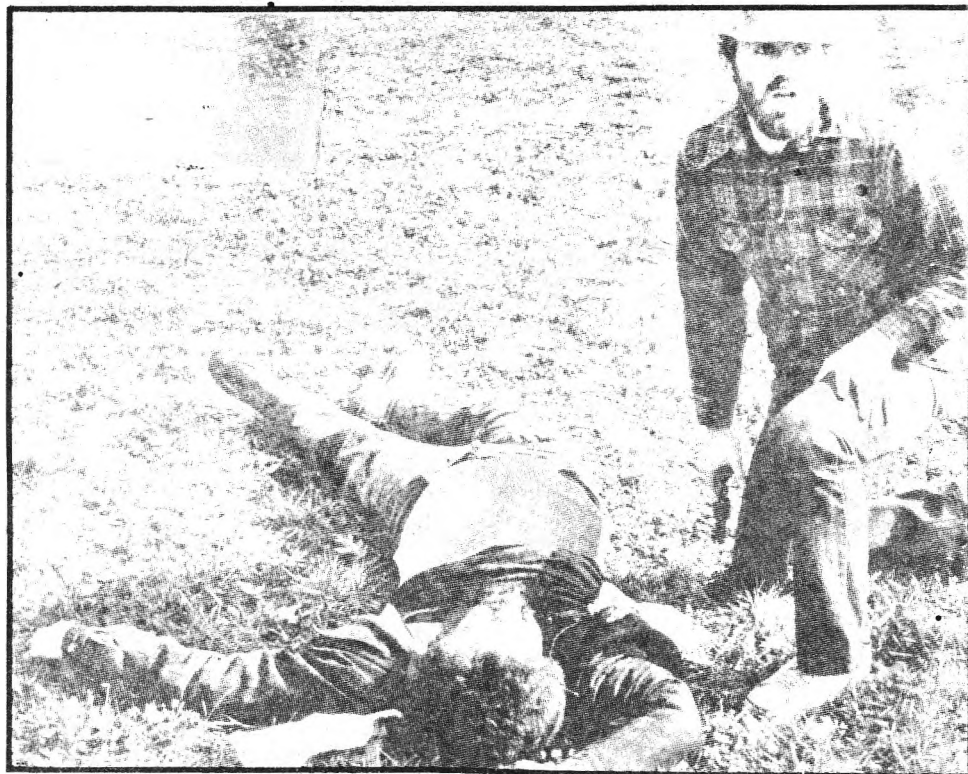
The Greensboro Justice Fund takes this opportunity to announce that last Thursday, October 1, a full five months after U.S. attorney Michaux strongly recommended to the Dept. of Justice in Washington that it bring Federal indictments for conspiracy, the Justice Dept. finally called our attorneys to set a date to interview two survivors of November 3rd. The fact that this call coincided with the release of this report is no accident. The report criticizes the Justice Dept.'s claims that even if the FBI and BATF agents knew in advance of the planned attack and even if these federal officials knew in advance that the Greensboro police would not intervene, they had no legal responsibility to stop the murders. The report also criticized the Justice Dept. for not prosecuting the Klan and Nazis for the Greensboro murders.

We agree with the conclusions of the Institute for Southern Studies that 1)

Government agents and informers including Bernard Butkovich, an agent for the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and Edward Dawson played a key role in planning and leading the murder caravan. 2) District Attorney Schlosser consciously and systematically weakened the prosecution of the Klan-Nazi trial. 3) The local Greensboro officials working with the media in Greensboro tried their utmost to distort the facts to create the impression that November 3rd was a "shoot-out" rather than murder and thus further the cover-up.

The only way the Justice Dept. will be forced to prosecute is if the American people continue to pressure the Justice Dept. We urge all groups and individuals to support the massive petition campaign now underway to demand such federal prosecution. The petition campaign is sponsored by the People United Against Government Repression and the Klan/Nazis, the North Carolina National Lawyers Guild and Those United to Fight Fascism, Charlotte, N.C.

This study has raised a host of questions about government complicity in the massacre which must be answered. Since the only legal channel whose persuasion is completely independent of the government is the Greensboro civil rights suit, we ask for the support, both moral and financial, to the Greensboro Justice Fund so that we may continue the search for the truth.



A survivor of the Greensboro Massacre leans over the body of Cesar Cauce, one of the CWP.

Ashville Nazis Convicted

The Greensboro Justice Fund applauds the jury in the Asheville trial for its conviction last week of the six Nazis indicted for planning to bomb sections of Greensboro. According to the evidence, we agree that the Nazis were guilty of conspiracy.

However, we would like to raise the obvious question: Why was it possible for the state to convict this time on the basis of only taped plans and no overt activity, when in Greensboro, men seen on videotape shooting unarmed demonstrators in broad daylight are set free? The convicted nazis were some of the same as those who participated in the Greensboro Massacre. The involvement of government agencies in plotting appears to be the same, specifically the participation of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. And yet on the one hand all are convicted, and in the other case in Greensboro they are let go.

The obvious discrepancies in the handling of the two cases begs attention. In the case of the killings, the conspiracy charges were dropped despite the prosecution's knowledge of previous planning meetings. The agents Butkovich and Dawson were never called to testify, and their tapes never subpoenaed. The prosecution made public prejudicial statements about the victims of the Greensboro attack. And the all-white jury was headed by an anti-Castro Cuban who stated under oath that the nazis were "a very patriotic organization."

We believe that in light of all this, the Greensboro acquittal was not an illogical outcome, whereas, in the recent trial, there was a serious attempt to prosecute. This conviction points to the need to continue to pursue justice in the Greensboro Massacre, to have a full airing of the facts before a court dedicated to prosecuting the guilty.

Further, we reiterate our demand that all those responsible for setting up violence in both cases be brought to justice. This includes Agent Sweat and compatriots in the Asheville affair, and agents Butkovich and Dawson in the case of the Greensboro Massacre. It is to this end that we will continue our Civil Rights Suit and encourage all to demand Justice Department Prosecution of all those involved in the murders according to the recommendations of former U.S. Attorney H.M. Michaux.



10,000 people attended a march and rally on Feb. 2, 1980 in Greensboro to stop Klan/Nazis terror. It was part of a wave of reaction to the klan, nazis and government murders of the CWP 5.

Klan Leader Wilkinson: FBI Informant

On August 30, *The Tennessean* (Nashville, Tenn.) revealed that Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson has been a secret FBI informant continuously since 1974. Wilkinson stated that he had held several lengthy, clandestine conversations with FBI agent Bill Doyle. Wilkinson's group, the Invisible Empire, proclaimed by most to be the most violent of the klan factions, and the one participating in the Nov. 3, 1979, slayings of five anti-klan demonstrators in Greensboro, N.C., advocates arming of its members for race war. Wilkinson himself has been arrested at least once for weapons charges linked with klan activity during his years as FBI informant.

The FBI documents concerning its relationship with Wilkinson expressed concern over the possibility of the klansman "embarassing" the Justice Department, presumably by publicizing his status as informant.

This revelation of government links with leading klansmen came as no surprise to members of the Greensboro Justice Fund, the organization filing a civil rights suit against klansmen, nazis, and government agents and officials alleged to have been involved in the planning and cover-up of the Greensboro

Massacre. "Federal agent cultivation, promotion, and protection of right-wing, racist groups is nothing new," stated Dr. Martha Nathan, Director of The Fund and widow of Dr. Michael Nathan of Durham. "FBI informant Gary Thomas Rowe was deeply involved in the klan killing of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo and the beating of freedom riders in Birmingham in the early 1960's. The FBI admitted in the mid-1970's that it had enough agents in the klan to elect the Imperial Wizard, and that it had created more than 40 klan klaverns in North Carolina alone! In the Wilkinson case, its informant developed the most vicious klan faction in the country today, promoting the genocide of black people and Jews, and responsible for the murder of labor leaders in Greensboro.

"It is obvious that the government's claim of ending involvement of its agents in klan activity is a lie," continued Nathan. "This story only underscores the need to know more about the role of government agents Butkovich and Dawson in Greensboro, and arouses people to demand an end to government complicity in klan violence."

Koch Win No Victory

Jim Davis

NEW YORK, N.Y. — "The election will not be taken for granted by me," admitted Mayor Koch several days after winning both the Democratic and Republican Parties' nominations. He had run in the Republican primary to ensure he would have at least one slot in the general election. Despite predictions of a landslide in November's general elections from most of New York's news media, aides to Koch still plan to go ahead with a full-scale publicity campaign, complete with television commercials to ensure a victory. Mayor Koch received just over 344,000 votes or 58 percent of the 1.8 million registered Democrats voting in the Sept. 22 primary. Mayor Koch won the Democratic nomination with a little more than 17 percent of the registered Democrats in the city. The turnout in the Republican Party primary was even lower with only 80,000 or 22 percent of the 360,000 registered Republicans voting.

Koch Punks Out

On the day before the primary, Mr. Barbaro declared to reporters, "If Mayor Koch gets anything less than 75 percent of the vote, it's a defeat for him." The assemblyman never expected to win but did set out to achieve certain goals in his campaign. The first was to use the electoral machinery and the city's media to build on and amplify the existing anti-Koch sentiment among New York voters. The second goal was to go into and organize the minority communities where Mayor Koch and the traditional Democratic Party machinery had little influence.

Throughout his campaign, Barbaro made skillful use of the media to blast the Koch Administration's policy of surrendering huge tax breaks to real estate developers at a time when city services steadily deteriorated. Koch forced to defend himself against the charges, agreed to face Barbaro in three separate television debates. Originally only one debate on NBC's



WV photo by George Montano

Demonstrators boo Mayor Koch during recent labor day parade.

"Meet the Press" had been scheduled. The maneuver backfired when reports surfaced in the press that the Koch campaign received \$175,000 in contributions from Helmsley and Associates and other corporations that benefited from \$700 million in tax abatements by the city. In announcing the strategy for November's election, John LoCicero, Koch's campaign manager, retreated from the debate format used in the primary races. The reason given in a recent New York Times article was that the debates made the mayor too much of a target for his opponents.

Barbaro's decision to run in the primary even though his chances of winning were slim was a shrewd one. Boycotting the race would have ac-

complished nothing. Given the opening by Koch's politically short-sighted decision to go after both party nominations, Barbaro billed himself as the "real Democrat" in the race. The move helped to swing the support of a number of Democratic clubs throughout the city into the Barbaro camp.

Grassroots Campaign Pays Off

While Mayor Koch spent millions in contributions from big businesses on major television and newspaper advertising, the Barbaro campaign, with only \$150,000, focused on day-to-day organizing in poor and minority neighborhoods. What Barbaro campaign workers lacked in funds, they more than made up in hustle and persistent door-to-door canvassing. The strategy of organizing where Koch was the weakest yielded results. The final vote count showed that black districts voted in favor of Barbaro by a smashing margin of two to one. In North Harlem for example, he received 7,608 votes to just 2,670 for Koch. Earlier, Koch had arrogantly predicted that he would sweep the city's black vote.

The overwhelming black vote against Mayor Koch did help Elizabeth Holtzman, a progressive former congresswoman, win the Democratic nomination for Executive Assistant District Attorney in Brooklyn. Her opponent, incumbent District Attorney Norman Rosen, received backing from Koch and other key figures in the Brooklyn Democratic organization. In the 53rd, 54th, 55th and 56th assembly districts, which cover the predominantly black communities of Bedford Stuyvesant and Brownsville, Ms. Holtzman garnered 5,791 more votes than Mr. Rosen. The large margin was enough to swing the election in her favor. With all but five of the borough's 1,519 precincts counted, Ms. Holtzman had 8,959 vote lead. In those same four districts, Barbaro received 4,085 more votes than Koch.

In looking ahead to November, Barbaro campaign organizers have to seriously examine why Koch won the borough of Brooklyn by such a large margin. The final tally showed the Mayor with 114,451 votes to Barbaro's 64,146. Even more surprising was Barbaro's defeat in his home district of Bensonhurst by a margin of 6,140 to 4,316. Brooklyn, a predominantly working class borough with a large minority population will be the key one

to win (or at least make a better showing in) for the general elections.

Labor Party Splits Anti-Koch Votes

Melvin Klenetsky, the third mayoral candidate in the Democratic primary and also a leading member of the U.S. Labor Party helped to take away votes from Barbaro. Although he received only 25,000 votes, he succeeded in demagogically playing on several genuine concerns of New Yorkers. In much of Klenetsky's campaign literature, Koch was consistently hit for the widespread drug and crime problems in the city. The U.S. Labor Party, an anti-semitic group, ran Klenetsky as its gubernatorial candidate in Illinois several years ago. In this election, the only one benefiting from his candidacy was Mayor Koch.

Charges of Racism

On Sept. 19, city council races were postponed by a last minute ruling from the Justice Department. All elections that were originally scheduled for Sept. 10 were also unexpectedly cancelled by a federal court order. In both incidents, the city was charged with several violations of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in its re-districting plan for council seats.

In a lawsuit filed in federal court, Ms. Nancy Ross, a candidate for the city council-at-large seat for the Borough of Manhattan, challenged the legality of the decision to go ahead with the city council-at-large races in spite of the Supreme Court ruling. In a separate but related suit, Councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin from the South Bronx is contesting the City Corporation Counsel's use of city funds to hire the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkin, Wharton and Garrison to defend the re-districting plan. "They're trying to defend an undefendable plan," concluded Mr. Valentin.

Birth of an Independent Political Movement

Mayor Koch's victory in both the Democratic and Republican parties' primaries is no mandate from the people of New York. Instead, it shows that there is little difference between the two parties. From the outset of his campaign, Barbaro made clear his intentions to still run in November elections on the Independent Unity Party slate. In conceding defeat in the Democratic primary, Barbaro vowed that this was "the birth of an independent political movement in the city." □

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LABOR NEWS

LEGAL SERVICE WORKERS

NO BURN OUT HERE

An overwhelming contract victory was won by the Gary Organization of Legal Workers (GOLSW) on Sept. 1, just as the Congressional recess ended and a new round of even deeper budget cuts threatened all social welfare programs once again.

The Legal Services Program of Greater Gary (LSPGG) is the smallest Legal Services Corporation-funded program in Indiana, and it is the only unionized program in the state. During the year-long union struggle, eleven unionizable employees left, five were hired, and fourteen remained: that is only a slightly higher than normal turnover rate. The possibility that 1981 would be the last year for legal services influenced the decision of perhaps three of the eleven to leave. The main reasons for all of them to leave were mismanagement, high caseloads, low pay and no incentives to stay. In short, they were burn-out victims.

Get Fired Up Before You Burn Out

Burn-out has become a widely recognized problem among clerical, technical and professional employees. The recognition does not come from a concern for the workers' welfare, but from a fear of union drives to combat burn-out. The term "burn-out" has come to replace "job stress" as white-collar workers realized that, like assembly line workers, they were also subject to productivity drives, to speed-ups and that management was responsible. White-collar workers are increasingly unwilling to shrug off job stress as something that "comes with the territory."

Deciding to get fired-up instead of burned-out was a major decision for the professional staff at the LSPGG. Ethical obligations of attorneys, and their understanding of professionalism, at first led them to approve only of unionization for the clerical staff, as they were the lowest paid workers in the office. Because of this attitude that unions were unprofessional, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) signed up a majority of the secretaries and paralegals, but few of the attorneys. This prompted the union organizers to take a second look at the National Organization of Legal Services Workers (NOLSW).

In sharp contrast to SEIU's single brochure, NOLSW flooded the staff with information. Its democratic organization structure particularly appealed to the attorneys. SEIU was dropped, and the staff unionized as an independent, with a view toward affiliating with NOLSW. NOLSW was itself studying the question of affiliating, eventually voting to affiliate with District 65/UAW. Affiliation is a very democratic relation between unions, providing locals with a high degree of independence and initiative. It appealed to attorneys and others with realistic concerns about big union corruption and bureaucracy.

Legal Services: The Working Poor

There are 5,000 workers in Legal Services Corporation funded programs, and 3,000 are unionized, many in affiliation with NOLSW. The affiliation with Dist. 65/UAW helped form a powerful lobby in Washington to protect and expand legal services. Reagan and Stockman want to completely eliminate the program, claiming that the poor are not entitled to free legal services, even if it costs only \$321

million a year. Congress was not united on the proposed elimination, and the lobbying had impact. The Senate allotted \$100 million, the House of Representatives more generously provided \$241 million, but also attached amendments restricting the services LSC could provide, particularly where government agencies are involved, and prohibited LSC program employees from striking. These separate bills were not included in the budget resolution package, and will come to the vote when Reagan is seeking billions more in budget cuts to accommodate the huge tax cuts.

Attempts to win support from local unions were late, but probably doomed to failure anyway. The AFL-CIO's local Central Labor Council was actually boasting that it had donated \$100 to PATCO!

The union's ace in the hole was the threat of defunding. "Defunding" is the termination of all future LSC funds to a program if there is a strike. This threat gives management a clear choice of either settling with the union, or putting everyone—including management—out of work. The tactic worked well for the United Legal Workers of Chicago, who walked out at noon last April 1. They returned a few hours later, after the LSC had told management that a defunding letter was about to be put in the mail unless the contract was settled.

News of the GOLSW strike vote reached the LSC national office within hours. Jim Braude, NOLSW president, called GOLSW to tell them that LSC has just told him of the vote and its potential for bringing down the whole program, nationally, because of the timing. Telling GOLSW that they held the big stick, he gave them his full support. On Aug. 28, the GOLSW and LSPGG received a letter from the LSC that threatened defunding and widespread publicity fixing the blame on the party responsible (read: management) for the strike. Over the weekend, the union gained sign-off after sign-off, and agreed to extend the strike deadline from midnight, Aug. 31 to noon, Sept. 1. They would follow the ULW's tactics.

At noon, the union membership walked out as negotiations continued. Suddenly, there was no one to answer the telephones, and no one to take care of the people in the waiting room. But, as in Chicago, the workers came back inside after a few hours, smiling and laughing with pride, joy and a contract.

NOLSW told them they may have won the best legal services contract in the country. The small local had now entered a third stage of its struggle: enforcement of its contract. This stage was clearly marked when, after the Board of Directors had ratified the contract, the Executive Director withheld the union recognition language which included supervising attorneys in the bargaining unit.

When the union tried to hold him to his signed agreement, it was learned that the director had erased all of the bargaining session tape recordings. This Nixonian episode was skillfully resolved by the bargaining team. The contract language ratified by the union allowed for the question of supervising attorneys to be settled through legal channels if the Board of Directors upheld the Executive Director's decision on the issue.

An Urgent Task

Unionizing clerical, technicals and professional workers is an urgent task in the '80s. During the past 30 years, unions have made little progress among the ranks of the white-collar workers, the percentage of those who belong to unions remaining fairly constant, around 11 per cent of all unionizable white-collar workers. The National Industrial Conference Board began studying the situation in 1949, when unions were claiming to be on the brink of making major inroads. As of 1968, however, there were only 3.2 million white-collar union members out of an estimated 23.3 million unionizable white-collar employees. (Curtin, Edward *White-Collar Unionization*, Personnel Policy Study No. 220, 1968)

The Department of Labor has estimated that the clerical work force alone will increase by 28 per cent in the next ten years, from nearly 17 million

"It's a wide-open field that is ready to be organized."

On Aug. 26, the SEIU announced plans to merge with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) to bring together 143,000 hospital workers. This would give the new union the largest bloc of unionized hospital workers in the country (50,000 are represented by other unions), and make it "the fifth largest (union) in the AFL-CIO, (with) plans to use its muscle to lead a national hospital workers organizing drive." (*The Guardian*, 9/9/81)

Young Blood in the Labor Movement

The Legal Services Program of Greater Gary serves two counties in Indiana. The rest of the state is served by unorganized programs, and half of those workers are being laid off in October in anticipation of fewer, or no, funds in 1982. In St. Louis, all of the legal services programs's paralegals



workers to almost 22 million. Less than 2.5 million clerical workers are unionized now. The April 13, 1981 issue of U.S. News and World Report ran an article called "Unions Woo Office Workers in Earnest," in which it was pointed out that the UAW has lost more than 300,000 dues-paying members since 1979 from auto-plant layoffs."

Quoting Jerry Dale, a UAW spokesman: "It's obvious that the blue collar work force is going to shrink even more. Organizing white collar workers is going to become increasingly important to us." Reporting that "the 675,000-member Service Employees International Union joined forces in March with Working Women, an association of 10,000 female office workers, in a nationwide campaign to organize clerical workers," USN&WR was told by SEIU's president, John Sweeney, that

have been laid off. The entire staff of the Southeast Missouri legal services program received layoff notices when they demanded union recognition.

In October, 2,400 families in Lake County will be cut off the welfare rolls because of the budget cuts. Largely because of the GOLSW, those families will have a chance to put up a legal fight, where elsewhere they will find the doors closed.

A new militancy is entering the labor movement as rank and file white collar workers, such as PATCO, the American Federation of Teachers, AFGE, NOLSW and others form the front line against the new wave of attacks on American workers. Just as the stagnation of basic industries like steel and auto, and the weakening stranglehold of union misleaders open up the industrial unions for new blood, so does the vacuum among white collar workers provide the opportunity for awakening the labor movement. □

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NIOSH

Continued from page 1

inspections and eliminate on-site federal monitoring of state plans. This follows many of the provisions from a 1980 bill to gut OSHA enforcement powers which Schweiker introduced when he was a Senator.

The Reagan administration has little qualms about the disruption in occupational health research that the proposed reorganization will create. CDC officials admit that it will set back NIOSH work for at least two years. Vitrally needed interaction with unions, OSHA and other government agencies in the Washington, D.C. area will be impossible. Last year alone, NIOSH personnel attended over 1,000 interagency meetings in Washington, D.C. to exchange information and coordinate activities. To say, as CDC does, that this function can be accomplished by phone is ridiculous.

Defenders of the move such as newly appointed NIOSH Director J.D. Millar make no pretense of claiming that the move is cost effective, rather saying that "Programmatic changes are the overriding concern, whatever the costs." Although the cost was initially placed at \$1.7 million, the amount estimated by Congressional representatives after the costs of relocating employees, severance pay for those who quit and transfer of jobs will add up to \$16 million. The use of such large expenditures shows how hypocritically the Reagan administration talks of budget controls. Their real concern in gutting health and safety is to save corporations, not to streamline government and save taxpayers' dollars. They are willing to go to the extreme of wasting \$16 million to accomplish this.

But these costs go along with the government's belief that workers would be happier not knowing the dangers they face. The August 24 Washington Post stated that federal agencies and industry know the names of hundreds of thousands of people who have been exposed to cancer causing chemicals on their jobs, but have made no effort to tell them about the risk. Nor has any effort been made to name or notify 21 million workers — one in every four — who are known to be exposed to hazardous materials regulated by OSHA. "The Administration does not wish to be reminded that hundreds of thousands of workers are injured, killed or poisoned on the job each year," said Dr. Robbins. "As long as NIOSH continues its mission, it will reach the conclusion that workers need to be protected. Thus, they silence NIOSH."

Millar's Moral Insensitivity

To oversee the dismantling of NIOSH, HHS could have found no better person than J.D. Millar. He was the director of CDC's venereal disease branch in 1972, when facts about the

controversial Tuskegee project broke out in public. (See WV Sept. 9-15) Since 1932, some 400 black men were denied treatment for syphilis as part of an experiment to determine the long-term impact of the disease. Even though penicillin has long been found to be a cure for syphilis and the project had no medical value, Millar refused to condemn it. James H. Jones, author of a book on the Tuskegee project "Bad Blood," says Millar shared "a profound sense of moral insensitivity." In a recent reference to Tuskegee, Millar said, "I think I did draw attention to the fact that the ethical considerations that were operative in 1930 were different from 1972."

The same Dr. Millar headed the Swine Flu program when 38 people died within 48 hours after receiving the vaccine. He stated there is "no evidence whatever" to link the Swine Flu vaccine to the deaths and there were no reasons to curtail the program.

Millar himself admitted to having no experience in occupational safety and health. In 20 years at CDC, Millar has held 12 positions and now he is appointed NIOSH director. "He's just a troubleshooter," said Darlene Christain. "They're putting him up front to take all the criticism."

When Millar and other CDC officials held a meeting at NIOSH headquarters to drum up support for the move to Atlanta, every single NIOSH worker refused to attend. The only people present were a handful of management and CDC personnel and an unidentified woman in black dress and veil who handed Millar a funeral wreath.

Reagan's False Logic

The NIOSH fight is a major roadblock in the Reagan administration's plans to give big business a free hand in pushing productivity and reindustrialization at the expense of health and safety. If Schweiker and company continue to press to dismantle NIOSH, the Reagan administration will only get more politically exposed and isolated. The American people are becoming increasingly clear that gutting health and safety protections and giving tax breaks to the corporations are part of the same game.

The struggle to save NIOSH is another example that Reagan has no mandate to subsidize corporate profiteers with workers' lives. During this fight, NIOSH workers and union supporters were able to win because they forcibly proved that the move will cost money, not save taxpayers' dollars. They also showed the traumatic social consequences of the destruction of NIOSH. In this way, they were able to expose the false logic behind Reagan's program of streamlining government and deregulation. □

Zap Action Women Win



WV photo by George Mantano

K.A. Berger

District of Columbia Judge Harriett Taylor fined six feminist activists, known as the Women's Liberation Zap Action Brigade, \$100 each after a jury of seven women and five men found them guilty of disrupting a Congressional hearing on the S.158. S.158 is an anti-abortion act, called the Human Life Bill, the hearings were held April 23, 1981.

Two factors influenced the relatively light sentencing. First, prosecutor Bruce Peterson was faced with a spirited picket line on the opening day and supporters present in the courtroom throughout the 5-day trial. He told the judge before sentencing that a jail term would be inappropriate and only called for the fine. The women faced a six month jail term and a \$500 fine. Second, the D.C. Courts have grown tired of Dixiecrat (John East is from North Carolina and pushed for the prosecutions), Presidential and Capitol Hill's interference in city politics. D.C. residents don't have voting representation in Congress. Also, many feel the top prosecutor's job should go to a local resident, and not to the New Yorker chosen by President Reagan.

The six were charged for involvement in two sixty second disruptions of a sub-committee hearing on the Separation of Powers, chaired by Senator John East (R.—N.C.). They chose to act after learning that CARASA (Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse), Planned Parenthood and the American Medical Association were denied permission to present a pro-abortion viewpoint at the hearings.

Chanting "A Women's Life is a Human Life" and "What about the lives of Women?" the six were loudly applauded by spectators as they were removed from the hearing by Capitol Police.

Lois Yankowski, attorney for the women, conceded that her clients may have delayed the hearings, but said that "they wanted their views heard." She also accused the government of "over-reacting" in not simply removing the women from the Senate hearing room. The defense was handled by Yankowski, a criminal law professor and Claudia Wayne, a clinical fellow in Women's Rights at Antioch School of Law. While accepting responsibility for their actions, the women's defense centered around their lack of criminal intent: they acted not to disrupt Congress, but because without their actions, the pro-abortion viewpoint would not have been presented at all.

The strong stand of the six was clear through the trial. Before sentencing, Zap member Sarah Shulman stated that as a result of Zap's actions the Human Life Bill was shelved, and the lives of thousands of women were saved. She also noted that the court system reflected contradictions inherent in a patriarchal society and that no sentence should be imposed, because the HLB was itself a crime against women.

As noted in a *Washington Post* survey, nearly three out of every four Americans support a woman's right to choose abortion. This attitude was reflected in jury selection, when several prospective jurors resigned from the jury pool in support of Zap's actions. Zap received thousands of dollars in defense contributions from feminist organizations nation-wide.

The HLB, would have imposed a murder penalty for all women choosing abortion, even those made pregnant by rape or incest. Women using the mini-pill or the IUD also would be prosecuted for murder. The implications for government interference in personal events such as pregnancy or miscarriage (which would be investigated as a possible crime,) are implicit in the HLB. □

LETTERS

Continued from page 2

could not have been halted, at least the Department of Justice could have decided that the Smith Act was indefensible under the terms of the First Amendment." (Ibid. pages 188-90) Even if Truman had backed out of a compromise with the Progressive Party, the Communist Party could have then gone ahead and further exposed him.

Finally I want to address the criticism that the Barbaro article fails

to sufficiently draw out the Party's differences with the Barbaro platform and that our lack of criticism fosters illusions that New York City's financial problems can be solved in the framework of capitalism. This first point of the article was to bring out that Barbaro's emergence was no fluke but the product of a certain set of historical circumstances. More importantly we support the main thrust of Barbaro's platform because it can potentially unite the majority of New Yorkers against the biggest, profit-hungry monopoly capitalists in the city.

Barbaro's program of increased taxes on corporations is one that must be supported. At the same time, the article lacked a deeper analysis of New York's current fiscal crisis. New York is a prime example of the bankruptcy of the strategy of Keynesian economics, that is, the city's growing inability to raise revenues through the sale of municipal bonds for both operating as well as capital improvement expenses. In future issues of Workers Viewpoint we are planning a series of articles analyzing more extensively the state of the economy and political scene in New York and the im-

plications for the rest of the nation.

It is however, wrong to pose the lack of this analysis only, or even mainly, as a matter of independence and initiative on our part. At all times during the Barbaro campaign we have reserved the right to raise criticisms or differences. We have raised our differences on crime, for example with Barbaro and will continue to in the course of his campaign. But our support for him is based on analysis of his program and on the potential to unite the majority against the monopoly capitalists. It is not based on our putting out an independent analysis.

Jim Davis

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Part I

U.S. Scrambling in 80s World Alignment

George Owens

Barely nine months in office, Reagan is already being challenged both at home and abroad. Tens of thousands demonstrated their opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Hundreds of thousands more marched on Solidarity day in the biggest showing by the unions against the budget cuts and union-busting this decade. International, the Ottawa summit meeting exposed sharp differences between Western European countries and the U.S. over questions of high U.S. interest rates and views on disarmament. The U.S. veto of the United Nations resolution condemning South Africa also further jelled world opinion against the U.S.

Reacting to constantly erupting contradictions from all corners of the globe, Reagan has so far been unable to come up with a comprehensive foreign policy. He is beating on a hollow war drum with a splintered stick — a lot of noise without any substance. With new political developments and sharp twists and turns occurring almost daily, what is the balance of forces in the world today? What are the emerging trends and lessons that affect the task of revolution here in the U.S.?

Europe — Old Alliance Cracking, Revolution Brews

Although the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe share many common interests with the U.S., new contradictions are threatening to crack the seams of this alliance. The high U.S. interest rate is plunging Western Europe into a deepening recession as capital pours out. Traditionally, the summit meeting between the U.S., Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Canada and Japan has been a time to reaffirm common goals and interests. But the Ottawa summit this year continued the recent trend of the meeting becoming a forum for airing grievances against the U.S.

Forced to scramble for markets and resources themselves, European countries are increasingly cultivating independent political relations with the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. From rejecting the Camp David accord and de facto recognition of the PLO to the barely paid lip service on the Iran economic blockade, Western Europe is finding itself on opposite sides of the fence with the U.S. on a whole spectrum of issues. While the U.S. pushed for stepped up war preparations with Europe assuming a larger share of the cost, country after country announced plans to cutback military spending because of the economic crisis. As the U.S. put all their backing behind the fascist military dictatorship in El Salvador, Europe was leaning the other way towards support of the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

At the same time, the deep economic crisis has also precipitated a deep political crisis as the people begin to challenge the capitalist systems in their own countries. The clashes between the youth and police over jobs, squatter rights etc. have become increasingly sharp and intense in Holland, Switzerland, Germany and England. These trends offer a preview and valuable lesson for the crisis that will confront the U.S.

England offers the best glimpse of this crisis at this point. Not even the

pomp and pagantry surrounding the royal wedding can hide the stark and grim reality of England. Thatcher, Reagan's mentor in supply-side economics, has pursued her policy to its logical conclusion. Britain's unemployment rate has soared to the level of the Great Depression while every major industry sinks deeper into the red. Thatcherism has been exposed and all the queen's horses and all the queen's men cannot put Britain's economy back together again. Her vicious strike-breaking actions and cuts in social services caused a temporary disorientation but the resistance is once again flaring up. The youth, tired of empty promises of jobs, vented their anger a few months ago with full scale riots throughout the industrial cities of England. While England burned, Thatcher called for law and order and blamed the parents for not restraining their children. In response, dozens more cities lit up that night. The traditional prestige and authority of the friendly neighborhood "bobby" was shattered as the people entered into pitched battles with these symbols of authority.

This crisis came at a time when Thatcher's government was paralyzed with the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland. The hunger fast by IRA member Bobby Sands focused world attention once again to the cause of Irish national liberation. As the hunger strike continued, and with the victories at the polls by the IRA members and sympathisers, Thatcher got backed into a corner. Unable to come up with solution to the Irish national question, she relied on a hard line stand that became increasingly unpopular. Losing the political initiative as world opinion became increasingly sympathetic to the IRA, Thatcher is unable to devote time to the domestic economic crisis.

This domestic crisis is looming ever larger. The labor unions have finally been stirred into action after three years of relative inaction. A series of nationwide strikes is planned to symbolize "a winter of discontent" against Thatcher's policies. The miners, electrical and transportation workers have vowed to spearhead this strike wave. It was these same militant workers that brought all England to a standstill and toppled the Labor Party government before. The same fate may await Thatcher.

As Thatcher's government crumbles, the Labor Party is still recuperating from splits and divisions that had wrecked the Party. After three years of internal struggle and turmoil, the right-wing of the Labor Party formed their own split-off. The remains of the Labor Party were forced to adopt a radical platform by militant caucuses that include demands for no nuclear missiles and disarmament. If they are to pose as an alternative to Thatcher, the Labor Party might have to adopt transitional demands into their program like Mitterand did in France. Unable to deliver on these promises without overturning the whole capitalist system, the exposure of the bourgeois parliamentary system will be accelerated.

Events are moving so rapidly and the traditional layers of social props are being torn away faster than they could be replaced that another scenario is possible. Dissatisfied with the Labor Party alternative, the British workers could reject it and develop into an independent political force similar to Solidarity movement in Poland. Yet

the capitalist government in England is not as resilient as the socialist system in Poland and the imperialists would be forced to put it down with force of arms, probably with U.S. help. This could well trigger off a crisis that will bring about the collapse of the whole imperialist finance system.

The situation on the European continent itself is just as bleak for the imperialists. In France, the Socialist Party of Mitterand just took power with Communist Party members in government. Mitterand's election platform of nationalizing the banks and opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan shows the French people's stand against both U.S. imperialism and Soviet hegemonism. Whether the Communist Party of France will be able to break with their revisionist positions and use their position in the government to lead the masses forward or remain as the loyal opposition and retard the movement remains to be seen. In foreign affairs, Mitterand has already exerted his independence from the U.S. by signing a joint declaration with Mexico to recognize the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador and calling for negotiations. At the same time, his Foreign Minister flew to the Middle East and met with the PLO, hoping to come out with a new political initiative for the Middle East to challenge Camp David. Both moves aid the liberation struggles and deal a blow to U.S. imperialism.

In Germany, the anti-nuke and disarmament movement are a mass issue. The Social Democratic government had to back down on their pledge

to deploy nuclear weapons for the U.S. Reagan's announcement to go ahead with deployment of the neutron bomb further added fuel to this fire of protest. Anti-U.S. sentiment is at an all-time high. So far, there have already been five cases of bombings and attacks against U.S. military installations and personnel in Germany. While Germany is moving away from the U.S., they have increased their economic ties with the Soviet Union. Germany recently closed a deal to develop a pipeline from Siberia to Germany in return for a steady supply of natural gas. This would alleviate the pressure of steadily rising oil prices and help the German economy. As the western imperialist economy steadily stagnates and pressure from the U.S. to dump the inflation on Europe, this type of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union would only increase. If this situation develops, Germany could become another Finland, economically dependent on the Soviet Union and neutralized, lessening the danger of war.

Due to these crisis within their own country and the contradictions they have with the U.S., the possibility of a land war in Europe has decreased. At the same time, any cracks among these countries could threaten to topple the whole imperialist finance system.

A more significant factor lessening the danger of world war is the weakness of the U.S. imperialists themselves, particularly the depths of the economic crisis. Reaganomics sought to slow the rise in inflation as a basis to build up the U.S. military mus-

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British workers at a recent demonstration against Thatcher.

Jews Without Money

Over the next several issues we will serialize *Jews Without Money*, by Michael Gold. Gold wrote this book in 1930, and portions of it appeared in the *New Masses* magazine, which he edited.

Jews Without Money is more than an autobiographical work about growing up as a son of immigrants on New York's East Side. It is also a powerful example of working class literature which flourished in the 1930s and 1940s. At that time a whole generation of left-wing writers gathered around the then-revolutionary Communist Party and the *New Masses*, which it led. Writers such as Ernest Hemingway and Albert Maltz (of Hollywood Ten fame) became prominent members of this movement. An analysis of the conditions which gave rise to this movement is the subject of a future article.

Once again, with the call for an American Writers Congress, the prospects are better than ever for a new progressive, left-wing writers' movement. We hope that, by bringing *Jews Without Money* to our readers' attention, we present one positive model of what can be accomplished by progressive writers.

Chapter 1

FIFTY CENTS A NIGHT

I CAN never forget the East Side street where I lived as a boy.

It was a block from the notorious Bowery, a tenement canyon hung with fire-escapes, bed-clothing, and faces.

Always these faces at the tenement windows. The street never failed them. It was an immense excitement. It never slept. It roared like a sea. It exploded like fireworks.

People pushed and wrangled in the street. There were armies of howling pushcart peddlers. Women screamed, dogs barked and copulated. Babies cried.

A parrot cursed. Ragged kids played under truckhorses. Fat housewives fought from stoop to stoop. A beggar sang.

At the livery stable coach drivers lounged on a bench. They hee-hawed with laughter, they guzzled cans of beer.

Pimps, gamblers and red-nosed bums; peanut politicians, pugilists in sweaters; tinhorn sports and tall longshoremen in overalls. An endless pageant of East Side life passed through the wicker doors of Jake Wolf's saloon.

The saloon goat lay on the sidewalk, and dreamily consumed a *Police Gazette*.

East Side mothers with heroic bosoms pushed their baby carriages, gossiping. Horse cars jingled by. A tinker hammered at brass. Junkbells clanged.

Whirlwinds of dust and newspaper. The prostitutes laughed shrilly. A prophet passed, an old-clothes Jew with a white beard. Kids were dancing around the hurdy-gurdy. Two bums slugged each other.

Excitement, dirt, fighting, chaos! The sound of my street lifted like the blast of a great carnival or catastrophe. The noise was always in my ears. Even in sleep I could hear it; I can hear it now.

2

THE East Side of New York was then the city's red light district, a vast 606 playground under the business management of Tammany Hall.

The Jews had fled from the European pogroms; with prayer, thanksgiving and solemn faith from a new Egypt into a New Promised Land.

They found awaiting them the sweatshops, the bawdy houses and Tammany Hall.

There were hundreds of prostitutes on my street. They occupied vacant stores, they crowded into flats and apartments in all the tenements. The pious Jews hated the traffic. But they were pauper strangers here; they could do nothing. They shrugged their shoulders, and murmured: "This is America." They tried to live.

They tried to shut their eyes. We children did not

shut our eyes. We saw and knew.

On sunshiny days the whores sat on chairs along the sidewalks. They sprawled indolently, their legs taking up half the pavements. People stumbled over a gauntlet of whores' meaty legs.

The girls gossiped and chirped like a jungle of parrots. Some knitted shawls and stockings. Others hummed. Others chewed Russian sunflower seeds and monotonously spat out the shells.

The girls winked and jeered, made lascivious gestures at passing males. They pulled at coat-tails and cajoled men with fake honeyed words. They called their wares like pushcart peddlers. At five years I knew what it was they sold.

The girls were naked under flowery kimonos. Chunks of breast and belly occasionally flashed. Slippers hung from their feet; they were always ready for "business."

Earth's trees, grass, flowers could not grow on my street; but the rose of syphilis bloomed by night and by day.

3

IT was a spring morning. I had joined, as on other mornings, my gang of little Yids gathered on the sidewalk. There were six or seven of us.

Spring excited us. The sky was blue over our ghetto. The sidewalks sparkled, the air was fresh. Everything seemed hopeful. In winter the streets were vacant, now people sprang up by magic.

Parades of Jews had appeared in these first soft days, to walk, to talk. To curse, to bargain, to smoke pipes, to sniff like hibernating bears at the spring.

Pushcarts appeared. Pale bearded peddlers crawled from their winter cellars, again shouted in the street. Oranges blazed on the carts; calico was for sale, clocks, sweet potatoes, herrings, potted geraniums and galoshes. Spring ushered in a large, ragged fair.

We spun tops on the sidewalks. We chased street cars and trucks and stole dangerous rides. Nigger, our leader, taught us how to steal apples from a pushcart. We threw a dead cat into the store of the Chinese laundryman. He came out, a yellow madman, a hot flat-iron in his hand. We ran away.

Nigger then suggested a new game: that we tease the prostitutes.

We began with Rosie. She lounged in a tenement hallway, a homely little woman in a red shawl.

Ready, go. We spurted before her in short dashes, our hearts beating with danger and joy.

We screamed at her, making obscene gestures: "Fifty cents a night! That's what you charge; fifty cents a night! Yah, yah, yah!"

Rosie started. A look came into her sleepy eyes. But she made no answer. She drew her shawl about her. We were disappointed. We had hoped she would rave and curse.

"Fifty cents a night! Fifty cents a night!"

Rosie bit her lip. Spots appeared on her sallow face. That was all; she wouldn't talk. The game didn't work. We tried again. This time she turned in her heel and walked into the gloomy hallway. We looked for another victim.

4

A FAT haughty prostitute sat on a chair two tenements away. She wore a red kimono decorated with Japanese cherry trees, mountains, waterfalls and old philosophers. Her black hair was fastened by a diamond brooch. At least a million dollars' worth of paste diamonds glittered from her fat fingers.

She was eating an apple. She munched it slowly with the dignity of a whole Chamber of Commerce at its annual banquet. Her lap spread before her like a table.

We scampered around her in a monkey gang. We yelled those words whose terrible meaning we could not fully guess:

"Fifty cents a night!"

Aha. This time the plans of our leader worked. The game was a good one. The fat prostitute purpled with rage. Her eyes bulged with loathing. Sweat appeared on her painted cheeks. She flung her apple at us, and screamed: "Thieves! American bummers! Loafers! Let me catch you! I'll rip you in half!"

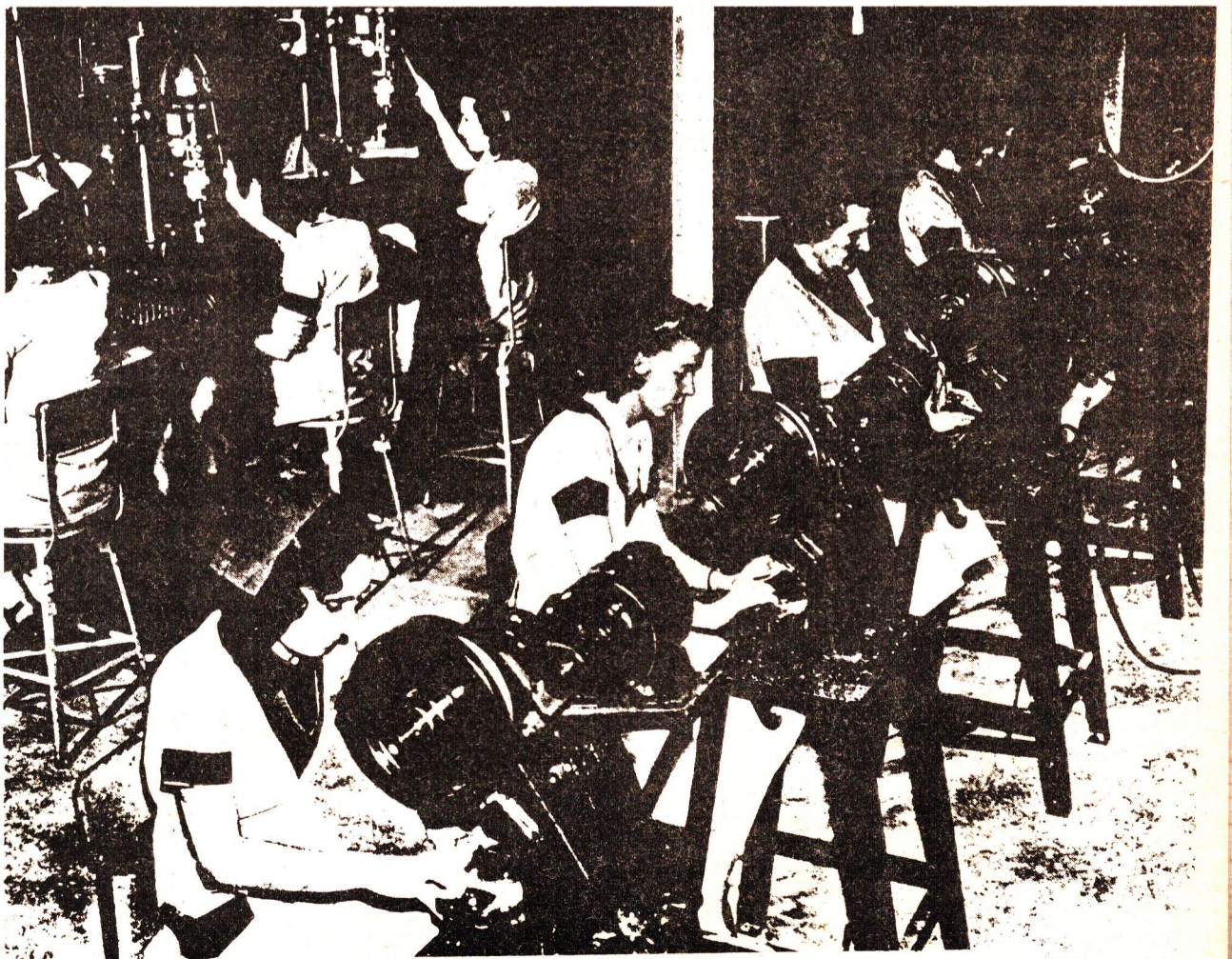
She spat like a poisoned cat. She shook her fist. It was fun. The whole street was amused.

"Fifty cents a night! Yah, yah, yah!"

Then I heard my mother's voice calling me from the tenement window. I hated to leave the fun, just when it was good. But my mother called me again and again. So up I went.

I entered blinking from the sunlight. I was surprised to find Rosie sitting in our kitchen. She was crying. My mother pounced upon me and slapped my face.

"Murderer!" she said, "why did you make



ey

Rosie cry?"

"Did I make her cry?" I asked stupidly.

My mother grabbed me, and laid me across her knee. She beat me with the cat-o'-nine-tails. I howled and wriggled, but she gave me a good licking. Rosie stood there pleading for me. The poor girl was sorry she had gotten me this licking. My mother was in a rage.

"This will teach you not to play with that Nigger! This will teach you not to learn all those bad, nasty things in the street!"

Vain beating; the East Side street could not be banished with a leather strap. It was my world; it was my mother's world, too. We *had* to live in it, and learn what it chose to teach us.



5

I WILL always remember that licking, not because it humiliated me, or taught me anything, but because the next day was my fifth birthday.

My father was young then. He loved good times. He took the day off from work and insisted that I be given a birthday party. He bought me a velvet suit with lace collar and cuffs, and patent leather shoes. In the morning he insisted that we all go to be photographed. He made my mother wear her black plush gown. He made her dress my sister in the Scotch plaid. Himself he arrayed in his black suit that made him look like a lawyer.

My mother groaned as we walked through the street. She hated new shoes, new clothes, all fuss or feathers. I was miserable, too. My gang saw me, and snickered at my velvet suit.

But my father was happy, and so was my sister, Esther. They chattered like two children.

It was solemn at the photographer's. My father sat stiffly in a dark carved throne. My mother stood upright beside him, with one hand on his shoulder, to show her wedding ring. My sister rested against my father's knee. I stood on the other side of the throne, holding a basket of artificial flowers.

The bald, eager little photographer disappeared behind a curtain. He snapped his fingers before us, and said, "Watch the birdie." I watched, my neck hurting me because of the clamp. Something clicked; the picture was taken. We went home, exhausted but triumphant.

In the evening the birthday party was held. Many tenement neighbors came with their children. Brandy was drunk, sponge cake and herring eaten, songs were sung. Every one pinched my cheek and praised me. They prophesied I would be a "great man."

Then there was talk. Reb Samuel the umbrella maker was a pious and learned Jew. Whenever he was in a group the talk turned to holy things.

"I have read in the paper," said my father, "that a Dybbuk has entered a girl on Hester Street. But I don't believe it. Are there Dybbuks in America, too?"

"Of course," said Reb Samuel quietly.

Mendel Bum laughed a raucous brandy laugh. He had eaten of everything; the sponge cake, the herring, the quince jam, the apples, *kraut knishes*, fried fish and cheese *blintzes*. He had drunk from every bottle, the fiery Polish *slivovitz*, the *wishniak*, the plum brandy, the Roumanian wine. Now his true nature appeared.

"I don't believe in Dybbuks!" he laughed. "It is all a grandmother story!"

My father banged on the table and leaped to his feet. "Silence, atheist!" he shouted, "in my house we want no wisdom from you!"

Mendel shrugged his shoulders.

"Well," said Reb Samuel quietly, "in the synagogue at Korbin, a girl was once brought. Her lips did not move. From her belly came shrieks and groans of a Dybbuk. He had entered her body while she was in the forest. She was dying with agony.

"The Rabbi studied the matter. Then he instructed two men to take her in a wagon back to that forest. They were told to nail her hair to a tree, drive away with her, and cut off her hair with a scissors.

"This they did. They whipped the horses, and drove and drove. The girl screamed, she raved of fire and water. But when they reached home she was cured. The Dybbuk had left her. All this, my friends, I saw myself."

"Once," said my mother shyly, "I myself saw a Dybbuk that had entered a dog. It was in Hungary. The dog lay under the table and talked in a human voice. Then he gave a long howl and died. So it must be true about the Dybbuks."

6

SOME ONE broke into song. Others marked time with feet and chairs, or beat glasses on the table. When the chorus came, there was a glorious volume of sound. Every one sang, from the venerable Reb Samuel to the smallest child.

My father, that marvelous story-teller, told about a Roumanian ne'er-do-well, who married a gravedigger's daughter that he might succeed to her father's job, and bury all the people who had despised him.

Mottke the vest-maker attacked Jews who changed their names in this country.

"If his name is Garlic in the old country, here he thinks it refined to call himself Mr. Onions," said Mottke.

The mothers talked about their babies. A shy little banana peddler described a Russian pogrom.

"It started at both bazaars, just before the Passover," he said. "Some one gave vodka to the peasants, and told them we Jews had killed some Christian children to use the blood. Ach, friends, what one saw then; the yelling, the murder, the flames! I myself saw a peasant cut off my uncle's head with an ax."

At the other end of the table Fyfka the Miser was gobbling all the roast chicken he could grab, and drinking glass after glass of beer. It was a free meal, so he was stuffing himself.

Some one told of a pregnant mother in Russia who had been frightened by a Cossack, and had borne a child with a pig's head.

Leichner the house painter drank some wine. He told of a Jew in his native village who had been troubled by devils. They were colored red and green and blue. They rattled at the windows every night until the man could get no sleep. He went to a Rabbi and bought six magic words which he repeated until the devils retreated.

The hum of talk, the tinkle of glasses, all the hot, happy excitement of the crowded room made me sleepy. I climbed on my mother's lap and began to fall asleep.

"What, too tired even for your own party?" said my mother affectionately.

I heard Reb Samuel talking again in his slow kind voice.

Bang, bang! Two pistol shots rang out in the backyard! I jumped to my feet, with the others. We rushed to the windows. We saw two men with pistols standing in the moonlit yard. Bang, bang! They fired again at each other. One man fell.

The other ran through the hall. A girl screamed in the bawdy house. The clothesline pole creaked. In the moonlight a cat crawled on its belly. It sniffed at the sudden corpse.

"Two gamblers fighting, maybe," said my father.

"Ach, America," Reb Samuel sighed.

All of us left the windows and went back to the singing, and story-telling. It was commonplace, this shooting. The American police would take care of it. It was discussed for some minutes, then forgotten by

the birthday party.

But I have not forgotten it, for it burned into my mind the memory of my fifth birthday.

Chapter 2

HOW BABIES ARE MADE

I REMEMBER another morning in spring. I had always wanted to know what happened inside a whore's room, when she went in with a "customer." That morning Nigger showed me.

One of the girls, Susie, had hailed a truck driver, a giant with red hair. He reined in his horses, climbed from the high seat, and talked to her. Then they went to her room.

Nigger and I followed them. It was on the ground floor of my tenement. Stealthy as detectives, we stared through the keyhole. What I saw made my heart beat, my face redden with shock.

Nigger snickered. He saw I was hurt and it amused him. The couple rose. We sneaked through the hall back to sunlight.

"You got scared," said Nigger.

"No," I said.

"Hell," said Nigger, "every one does it. That's the way babies are made."

"No," I said with unaccountable bitterness. "That's not the way!"

"Yes," said Nigger, "what do you want to bet?"

"But that's like saying my mother is like that! You're a liar, Nigger."

Nigger pushed his face close to mine. "I dare you to say that again!" His eyes burned with pugnacity.

"You're a liar! My mother isn't like that!"

Nigger swung at me, and I punched back. In a minute we were a scramble of fists and feet. My gang of little East Siders gathered to watch. They marveled at my courage; Nigger was the tough kid of the gang. But it was not courage; it was the willful suicide of one who has lost his faith.

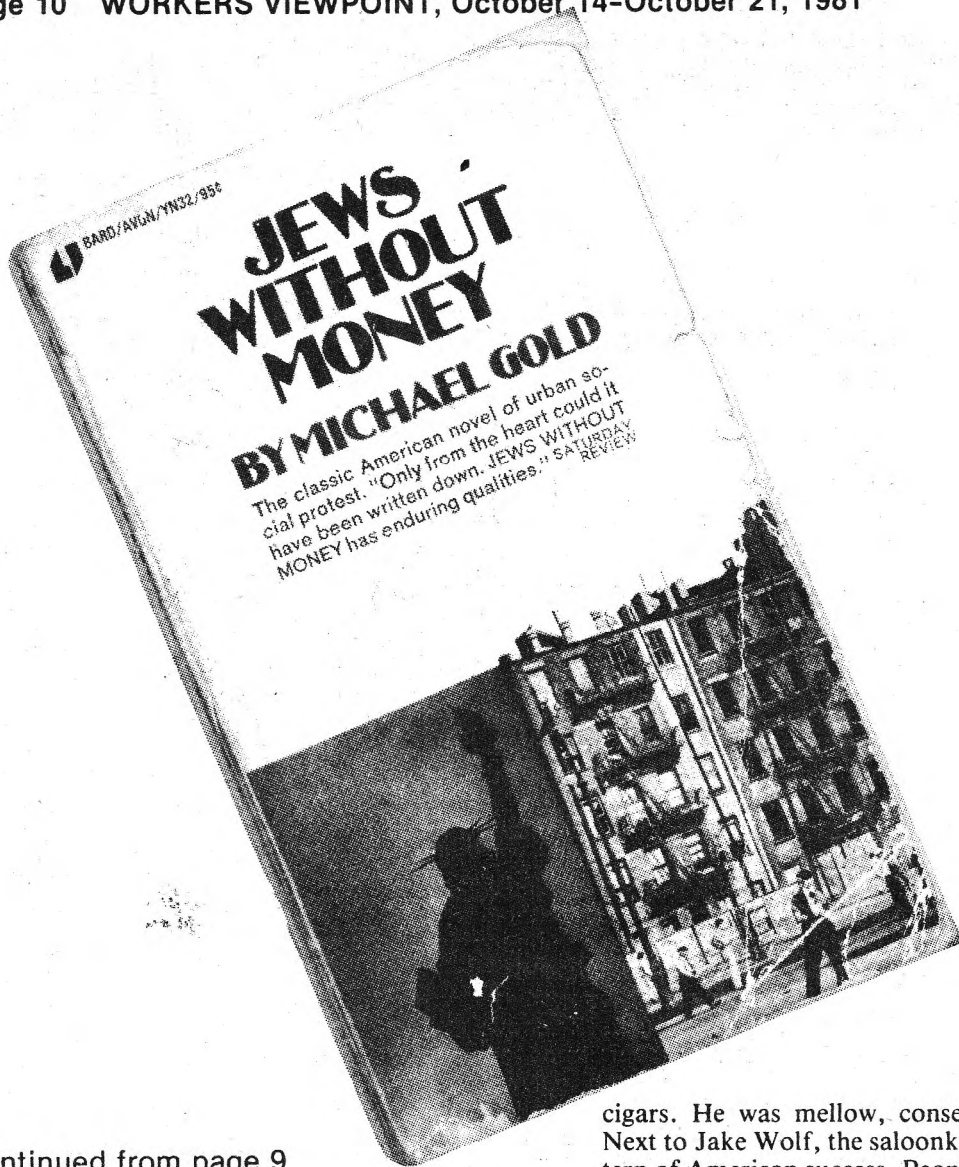
The battle was swift and one-sided. I was gouged, jabbed, kicked and outpunched. Blood poured from my nose. One eye swelled. At last I ran away. I escaped from the circle of grinning faces. For hours, I brooded by myself in the backyard on a pile of old brick. When it was night I crept up to my home.

My mother scolded me and asked me what had happened. I would not tell her. I could not bear to look in her face. I felt as if she had betrayed me in some way. It took me years to learn that sex can be good as well as evil; more than the thing truck drivers bought for fifty cents on my street.

2

The worst thing on our street was a certain gang of young loafers. Every East Side street had such a gang at its corners. In the East Side school of crime and poverty these were the apt pupils. They never worked. They played pool all day, or drank in saloons. Some were cheap pimps, others cheap thieves or gunmen. They fought and quarreled with

Continued on following page



Continued from page 9

the world, and with each other. There was always a bloody brawl.

They seduced young girls. Every one knew about this. They maintained a flat in one of the tenements. There was no furniture except a dirty old bed. This place was known as the "Camp." Here they brought unsuspecting girls.

It was a kind of sport. I heard them brag about it, and joke. The leader in this fun was Kid Lewis. He was a slim dandy. He had been a pugilist, and had a flat nose and cauliflower ear. Many East Side girls thought him handsome. He swaggered. He was a little crazy. He had been pounded so hard in the ring that he was "punch drunk," and could fight no more. His chief pleasure now was to pick up young girls.

He would meet them on the street or at a dance hall and win their friendship. He would bring them up to the "Camp," and pass the signal to others.

"Barlow, just say Barlow to Shorty, Truck, Fat, and the others," he once commanded me. When I said "Barlow" to the gang, their exuberant comments made it clear. I was ashamed of myself. I refused the nickel one of them offered me, and ran away.

Kid Lewis would take a girl's clothes from her, and lock her in the "Camp." Then the other men went in, one after the other. Sometimes all of them went in together; this was a "line-up." It is a popular sport wherever men live in brutal poverty.

One day a tragedy occurred in the "Camp." Kid Lewis took a girl up, and fourteen men attacked her. An ambulance had to be called. The police looked for Kid Lewis for a week or two. Then everything was forgotten. The "Camp" flourished for years.

3

HARRY THE PIMP was not one of these brutes. He had twenty girls working for him. It was his proud claim that he had seduced not one of them. He looked upon himself as a kind of philanthropic business man. Strangely enough, there were others who regarded him the same.

Yes, the girls came to him, because he was so wise, so good and so strong. They begged for his protection.

"They come to me from the gutter," he explained to an admiring saloon friend. "They are lousy, and I bathe them. They are hungry; I give them food, and clothes. I teach them manners; I teach them to be sober and to save their money. I make something out of them. Many of my girls have saved enough to bring their parents from the old country. Many of them have married wealthy men. I tell you, they are grateful to me. When I tell a girl I won't have anything to do with her, she cries, and wants to kill herself.

"I never beat my women. I don't need to; they know my value too well. A word from me is sufficient."

Harry was considered handsome. He was pleasingly fat and shiny, and had a curly mustache. He wore good clothes, clean linen, and smoked good

cigars. He was mellow, conservative and fatherly. Next to Jake Wolf, the saloonkeeper, he was our pattern of American success. People envied him. He had a big pull with Tammany Hall. He owned a gambling house, and spoke perfect English.

His favorite advice to the young and unsuccessful was to learn English.

"America is a wonderful country," Harry would say, "really a wonderful country. One can make much money, but first one must learn to speak English; become an American. Is it any wonder you must go on slaving in the sweatshops? Look at me; if I hadn't learned English I myself would still be buried in a shop. But I struggled — I fought — I learned English."

It was Harry the Pimp who gave me my first book to read. "Here, study English," he said. It was a book of fairy-tales, and my sister Esther stole it, of course, and I had to fight her to get it back.

Harry had a wife and two children, of whom he was very proud. He showed the whores pictures of his children to be admired. Harry spent part of the day on our street, but every evening he walked home solemnly to supper. His family waited every night for their poppa to come from business; I am sure they were proud of him.

4

MY parents hated all this filth. But it was America, one had to accept it. And these were our neighbors. It's impossible to live in a tenement without being mixed up with the tragedies and cockroaches of one's neighbors. There's no privacy in a tenement. So there was always some girl or other in our kitchen, pouring out a tale of wretchedness to my mother, drinking tea and warming herself at my mother's wonderful heart. That's how I came to know some of the stories of those girls.

Most of the girls were simple people. They were like peasants who have been drafted into an army. They lived in the slime and horror of the trenches, knowing why as little as soldiers. They made the best of it.

They were crazy about children, and petted us and gave us nickels. Some of them loved their pimps with a dog's devotion. They thought it a privilege to visit my mother, and to drink tea in a decent home. They brought my mother presents, to her embarrassment. My mother disapproved of their life, and told them so with her usual frankness. But she was too kindhearted to keep them out.

Susie worshiped my mother. She was the prettiest girl on the street, vivid and slim, with the dark fanatic beauty of a prophet's daughter. She had gay little gestures, and was affectionate and unselfish. She should have been popular, but she was the most hated girl on the street.

She was always drunk. She made scenes; she fought with all her men, and abused them and cursed them. Her pimp beat her often. She had no friends.

After one of her scenes, she would rush into our kitchen hysterically. She'd throw herself on my mother's shoulder, and passionately kiss her hands.

"Momma, momma, please be kind to me!" she wept. "Tell me what to do, tell me how to save myself!"

"Leave this business," my mother said patiently. "Get a job in a factory, and be a good girl."

"Yes, yes, yes," the girl wept. "I'll do it tomorrow morning, momma." But she never did. My mother tired of these hysterical scenes. She tried to shake Susie off, she acted coldly to her.

One night as we sat at supper we heard groans outside. My father opened the door, and there lay Susie, writhing like a cut worm. She had taken carbolic acid.

"See, momma," she gasped. "I am getting out of the business at last." The ambulance came for her, and she died the next day in the hospital.

5

IDA was an exception. She was one of the Madams, and ran an establishment. She had hired an empty store, and put up curtains to screen the windows. Then ten cubicles were built with beaverboard. A cot was placed in each cubicle, and the store was ready for trade.

Ida was hard-boiled. She was big, fat, aggressive; she wore a big diamond ring and knew how to make money. She liked to drink bucket after bucket of beer. Foaming with beer, she'd brag about the tenement houses she owned, and her youthful prowess as a whore. She bragged that once she had taken on sixty men in a day.

She despised the weak little girls, who worried; and had romantic scruples, and remembered their fathers and mothers.

Masha was one of her girls. Masha was a Russian-Jewish girl who was blind. She had lost her eyes and her family in a Russian pogrom. How she had drifted in the "business" no one ever learned. She had a meek face, and was always quiet. She played songs of Kiev, and accompanied herself on a seven-string guitar. The other girls liked her. But they teased her about a certain incident, when they had nicknamed her "Sweetheart of the Yellow Cholera." It was when a Chinese laundryman had stayed with her. He had come in drunk, wanting a girl. All the girls refused him, because of his race. He insisted. For a joke, the girls sent him into Masha's cubicle. She was blind, and didn't know the difference.

So they made a lot of fun of it afterward. They called her "Sweetheart of the Yellow Cholera."

Many nights I fell asleep to the melodies of Kiev she sang to her seven-string guitar. We could hear it in our home. She sang between "customers."

6

The pimps were hunters. A pretty girl growing up on the East Side was marked by them. They watched her fill out, grow tall, take on the sex bloom. When she was fifteen, they schemed to trap her. They ruined Nigger's sister when she was fifteen. Louis One Eye did it.

Pimps infested the dance halls. Here they picked up the romantic factory girls who came after the day's work. They were smooth story-tellers. They seduced the girls the way a child is helped to fall asleep, with tales of magic happiness.

No wonder East Side parents wouldn't let their daughters go to dance halls. But girls need to dance.

I have never heard of a millionaire's daughter who became a fifty-cent whore, or who was "ruined" by dance halls.

7

MANY of the whores were girls who had been starved into this profession. Once in, they knew no way out. They were afraid of starving again if they left.

Rosie worked for years in the sweatshops, saving money to bring her parents from Europe. Then she fell sick. Her savings melted. She went to a hospital. She came out, and could not find a job. She was hungry, feeble, and alone. No one cared whether she lived or died.

She was ready for the river. A pimp met her. He took her to a restaurant, and fed her her first solid meal. He made her a practical offer. Rosie accepted. She never regretted her choice; it was easier than being in a sweatshop. She saved money to send for her parents, and was never sick with asthma again.

Thus Tammany Hall grew rich. Our landlord, Mr. Zunzer, grew rich. My mother once complained to him about some whores who held noisy drunken parties late at night.

Mr. Zunzer was a pillar of the synagogue. He wore a long frock coat spotted with grease, and a white boiled shirt, but no collar or necktie.

"Yes," he said, stroking his bushy beard, "those girls are whores. But they pay three times the rent you do, and they pay promptly. So if you want to move out, please do so. A black year on it, but a landlord must live!"

All these things happened. They were part of our daily lives, not lurid articles in a Sunday newspaper.

To be continued

The Labor Movement: Born Again

David Armstrong

Like 80 percent of American workers, I do not belong to a trade union. Writers are notoriously difficult to organize for so much as a barbeque, since we usually work at home alone. Not so, most other working people. Yet they, too, remain unorganized, in a country where, only 25 years ago, more than half of American workers carried union cards.

I reflected on these statistics after attending a Solidarity Day rally in San Francisco, called as a companion demonstration to the event that drew 250,000 people to Washington to protest Ronald Reagan's economic and social policies. Similar rallies were held in a number of other cities. Organizers said it was the first time labor had taken to the streets in such numbers since the fifties, when membership in U.S. labor unions reached its peak.

The rally I attended was held on San Francisco's historic waterfront. There, in 1934, striking unions, led by Harry Bridges and the Longshore union, shut down the city to win decent working conditions. The old battleground has

changed a lot since then. Once-busy piers have been remade into tourist tinker-toys, working men's bars replaced by singles bars with hanging plants in the windows, seaman's lodgings razed for expensive highrise hotels — monuments to both the gentrification of our cities and the decline of traditional blue collar culture.

The image and character of labor changed over the years, along with its stomping grounds. In the sixties, some workers became super-patriotic hardhats who beat up peace demonstrators and voted for George Wallace, souring many activist members of the younger generation. Many unions were glacially slow to admit women and minorities. Several unions became playgrounds for gangsters. And, increasingly, unions traded in workplace organizing for sweetheart contracts and no-strike pledges. In short, the very organizations that had once been in the vanguard of progressive social change seemed more like the rude rear-guard of the establishment.

Today, however, labor appears to be reaching out — if still gropingly — trying to build a working coalition of the

disenfranchised. The catalyst of this change, of course, is the terrible, swift sword the Reagan administration is using to hack away at 50 years of social reform — Social Security, food stamps, school lunches, affirmative action, abortion rights, occupational health and safety, disarmament, the environment. The capper is Reagan's bald attempt to bust PATCO, the striking air controller's union. The Solidarity Day demos, therefore, invoked the sentiments of Franklin: We must hang together, or we will surely hang separately.

This outreach was much in evidence at the rally I attended. Oldline union officials in windbreakers and CAT caps mingled with gay activists on roller skates. Anti-nukers set up information booths next to those of women's groups. Latinos and their allies protested U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Leftist groups on the fringes of the podium from which they had been barred — the outreach didn't extend very far left — booed Walter Mondale and other Democratic Party bigwigs. Some called for the creation of an all-labor party, and one speaker

said that the defiant spirit of the crowd reminded him of the early days of the civil rights and antiwar movements.

The next several years will show whether he was a seer or a blind optimist. As for myself, I'm looking at the labor movement in a new light. The single-issue groups of the seventies succeeded mainly in isolating themselves from one another and from the nation as a whole. Most adult Americans hold down jobs, however, and this, despite many differences, is our common denominator. A born-again labor movement, drawing on its tradition of social activism, could provide the organizational expertise and the numbers to derail the Reagan juggernaut now running over the rights of the majority of Americans.

Paralleling the possible rebirth of the labor movement, I might add, are stirrings among American writers that may ultimately have profound effects on the ways information is gathered and disseminated in this country. On Oct. 9-12, *The Nation* magazine will host an American Writers Congress in New York — the first since the 1930s — to take up questions of censorship and the growing monopolization of ownership in the mass media. One announced task of the Congress is the creation of a national Writers Union.

Like most working people, American writers have not wielded real political power since the thirties and forties. The Celluloid Cowboy in the White House, however, may yet do what no one else has been able to do since then — unite strongly individualistic writers, and scare the labor movement as a whole into double-timing it back to the battlefields of social change. □

Statement of the **National Council of Resistance** concerning execution of nearly 200 political prisoners in Iran

The "National Council of Resistance" for the "Independence" and "Freedom" of the "Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran" hereby notifies the entire people of the world of the executions in the past two days of nearly 200 more Mojaheds and combatant children of the people of Iran. Among these martyrs were teenaged girls arrested by Khomeini's mercenaries for protesting against repression, suppression and participating in recent demonstrations. So, it seems that in response to people's mounting protests and demonstrations, the criminal regime of Khomeini finds no alternative but further executions. Apparently, this is a suitable preparation to face the new academic year and fraudulent presidential elections in coming weeks. Since June 20, the officially acknowledged number of the executed has gone beyond 1400 and this is while there are quite reliable reports concerning the secret mass murder of 150 people's Mojaheds two weeks ago who, at mid-night, were transferred from Evin prison to an unknown location and later their bodies were delivered to Behesht-e-Zahraa Cemetery collectively. Despite all this, the new murderous prosecutor of Khomeini, issued an order two days ago, by which Khomeini's mercenaries can try on the spot and execute innocent people on the streets. Hence, the "National Council of Resistance," while asking for support from all democratic forces of the world, as well as from the governments, parliaments, parties, organizations, unions, councils, and also international organizations, demands condemnation of Khomeini's crimes and

respectfully emphasizes:

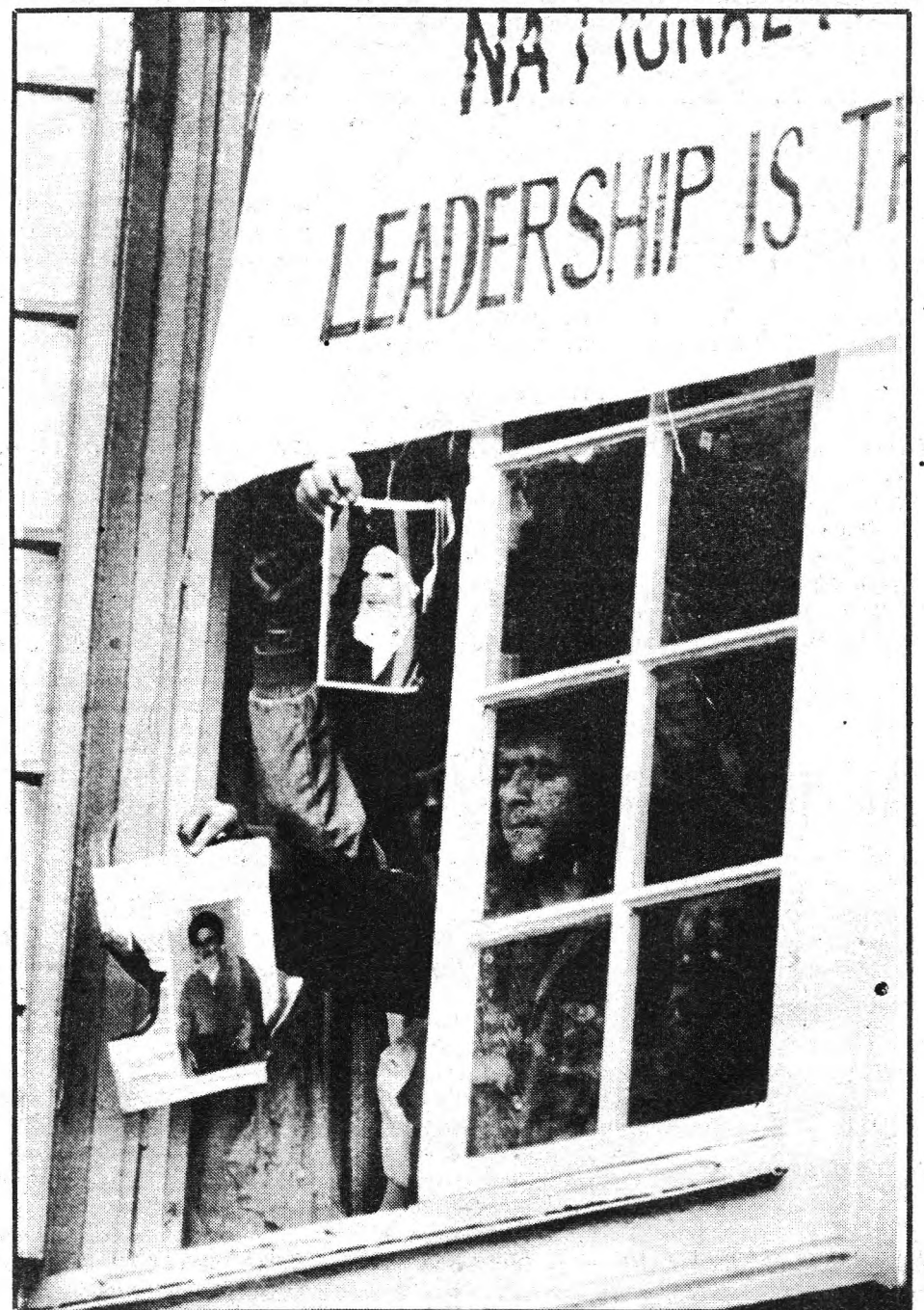
1. The people of Iran and the "National Council of Resistance," while dismissing the competence and popular legitimacy whatsoever of the ruthless regime of Khomeini, declaring that as from now on, they will not recognize any contract or treaty which is signed with this regime or its agents.

2. Any relation of support whatsoever with such a blood-thirsty regime, whose executions and tortures remain unprecedented in contemporary history, will inevitably cause serious repercussions upon future relations of Democratic Iran with various such governments, organizations and parties. Since supporting the regime means nothing but clearly ignoring the blood of the bravest children of the Iranian nation.

3. As the new academic year begins, the legitimate resistance of the people of Iran, particularly of their Mojahed and combatant children against all those responsible for executions and tortures, will increasingly continue so in every possible dimension whether by strikes, demonstrations, or by the punishment of criminals until the blood-thirsty Khomeini is toppled and the new democratic system is established.

4. As before, the fraudulent presidential elections is already condemned to scandal and failure, while it bears no national and international recognition and legitimacy.

In Charge of the
National Council of Resistance
Mas'ud Rajavi
Sept. 20, 1981



Iranian supporters of the Mojaheden burn pictures of Khomeini after they occupied an Iranian official's residence in Norway last August.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE

In the last issue of the *Workers Viewpoint* we initiated a new, bi-weekly feature, "Study Marxism." Its purpose is two-fold. First, we want to help our readers to study the basics of Marxism-Leninism, and second, to help focus our readers on the important theoretical and practical questions of the communist and workers' movements.

Its format will generally be excerpts from the Marxist classics with study questions, followed two weeks later by a commentary on the excerpts. Of course, we welcome comments on this series, including the format, and suggestions for future topics.

Beginning with this issue of the *WV*, we begin a series on "Left-Wing" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*, by V.I. Lenin (Foreign Languages Press, Peking). Below are excerpts of the first four chapters; chapters five through 10 will be studied in one month.

I

In What Sense Can We Speak of the International Significance of the Russian Revolution?

In the first months following the conquest of political power by the proletariat in Russia (October 25 [November 7], 1917), it might have seemed that the tremendous difference between backward Russia and the advanced countries of Western Europe would cause the proletarian revolution in these latter countries to have very little resemblance to ours. Now we already have very considerable international experience which most definitely shows that certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance which is not local; not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but international. I speak here of international significance not in the broad sense of the term: not some, but all the fundamental and many of the secondary features of our revolution are of international significance in the sense that the revolution influences all countries. No, taking it in the narrowest sense, i.e., understanding international significance to mean the international validity or the historical inevitability of a repetition on an international scale of what has taken place in our country, it must be admitted that certain fundamental features of our revolution are of international significance. ~~Of course, it would be to exaggerate this truth and to apply it not only to certain fundamental features of our revolution. It would also be a mistake to lose sight of the fact that after the victory of the proletarian revolution in at least one of the advanced countries things will in all probability take a sharp turn, viz., Russia will soon after cease to be the model country and once again become a backward country (in the "Soviet" and socialist sense).~~

But at the present moment of history the situation is precisely such that the Russian model reveals to all countries something, and something very essential, of their near and inevitable future. Advanced workers in every land have long understood this; and more often they have not so much understood it as grasped it, sensed it, by revolutionary class instinct. Herein lies the international "significance" (in the narrow sense of the term) of Soviet power, and of the fundamentals of Bolshevik theory and tactics. This the "revolutionary" leaders of the Second International, such as Kautsky in Germany and Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler in Austria, failed to understand, and therefore proved to be reactionaries and advocates of the worst kind of opportunism and social treachery. Incidentally, the anonymous pamphlet entitled *The World Revolution* ("Weltrevolution") which appeared in 1919 in Vienna (Sozialistische Bucherei, Heft II; Ignaz Brand) very clearly reveals their whole process of thought and their whole circle of ideas, or rather, the full depth of their stupidity, pedantry, baseness and portrayal of working-class interests — and, moreover, under the guise of "defending" the idea of "world revolution"...

II

One of the Fundamental Conditions for the Bolsheviks' Success

Certainly, almost everyone now realizes that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, unless the strictest, truly iron discipline had prevailed in our Party, and unless the latter had been rendered the fullest and unreserved support of the whole mass of the working class, that is, of all its thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements who are capable of leading or of carrying with them the backward strata.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and, whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

I repeat, the experience of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has clearly shown even to those who are unable to think, or who have not had occasion to ponder over this question, that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat constitute one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie...

...And first of all the question arises: how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers — primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses have been convinced by their own experience that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party that is really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end in phrase-mongering and grimacing. On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise all at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement...

...On the one hand, Bolshevism arose in 1903 on the very firm foundation of the theory of Marxism. And the correctness of this — and only this — revolutionary theory has been proved not only by world experience throughout the nineteenth century, but particularly by the experience of the wanderings and vacillations, the mistakes and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia. For nearly half a century — approximately from the forties to the nineties — advanced thought in Russia, oppressed by an unparalleled, savage and reactionary tsardom, eagerly sought for a correct revolutionary theory and followed with astonishing diligence and thoroughness each and every "last word" in this realm in Europe and America. Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, through veritable suffering, through half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of un-

precedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, disappointment, verification and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the enforced emigration caused by tsardom, revolutionary Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century possessed such a wealth of international connections and such excellent information on world forms and theories of the revolutionary movement as no other country in the world.

On the other hand, having arisen on this granite theoretical foundation, Bolshevism passed through fifteen years (1903-1917) of practical history which in wealth of experience has no equal anywhere else in the world. For no other country during these fifteen years had anything even approximating to this revolutionary experience, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement — legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, underground and open, circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country was there concentrated during so short a time such a wealth of forms, shades, and methods of struggle of all classes of modern society, and moreover, a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the severity of the tsarist yoke, matured with exceptional rapidity and assimilated most eagerly and successfully the appropriate "last word" of American and European political experience.

III

The Principal Stages in the History of Bolshevism

The years of preparation of the revolution (1903-1905). The approach of a great storm is felt everywhere. All classes are in a state of ferment and preparation. Abroad, the press of the political exiles discusses the theoretical aspects of all the fundamental problems of the revolution. The representatives of the three main classes, of the three principal political trends, the liberal-bourgeois, the petty bourgeois-democratic (concealed under the labels "social-democratic" and "social-revolutionary"), and the proletarian-revolutionary trends, anticipate and prepare the approaching open class struggle by a most bitter battle on programmatic and tactical views. All the issues on which the masses waged an armed struggle in 1905-07 and 1917-20 can (and should) be studied in their embryonic form in the press of that time. Between these three main trends, there were, of course, a host of intermediate, transitional, halfway forms. Or, more correctly, in the struggle of the press, parties, factions and groups, there were crystallizing those political and ideological trends which are actually class trends; the classes were forging the requisite political and ideological weapons for the impending battles.

The years of revolution (1905-07). All classes come out into the open. All programmatic and tactical views are tested by the action of the masses. The strike struggle is unparalleled anywhere in the world for its extent and acuteness. The economic strike grows into a political strike, and the latter into insurrection. The relations between the proletariat, as the leader, and the vacillating, unstable peasantry, as the led, are tested in practice. The Soviet form of organization is born in the spontaneous development of the struggle. The controversies of that time over the significance of the Soviets anticipate the great struggle of 1917-20. The alternation of parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, of tactics of boycotting parliament and tactics of participating in parliament, of legal and illegal forms of struggle, and likewise their interrelations and connections — all of this is distinguished by an astonishing richness of content. As far as teaching the fundamentals of political science — to masses and leaders, to classes and parties — was concerned, one month of this period was equivalent to a whole year of "peaceful," "constitutional" development. Without the "dress rehearsal" of 1905, the victory of the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible.

...The revolutionary parties must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they have to realize that this knowledge must be supplemented with the knowledge how to retreat properly. They have to realize — and the revolutionary class is taught to realize it by its own bitter experience —

PARTY

Excerpts from "Left Wing An Infantile Disorder"

that victory is impossible unless they have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly. Of all the defeated opposition and revolutionary parties, the Bolsheviks effected the most orderly retreat, with the least loss to their "army," with its core best preserved, with the least (in respect to profundity and irremediability) splits, with the least demoralization, and in the best condition to resume the work on the broadest scale and in the most correct and energetic manner. The Bolsheviks achieved this only because they ruthlessly exposed and expelled the revolutionary phrase-mongers, who refused to understand that one had to retreat, that one had to know how to retreat, and that one had absolutely to learn how to work legally in the reactionary parliaments, in the most reactionary trade unions, and cooperative societies, insurance societies and similar organizations . . .

. . . Contrary to the views that are today not infrequently met with in Europe and America, the Bolsheviks began their victorious struggle against the parliamentary (factually) bourgeois republic and against the Mensheviks very cautiously, and the preparations they made for it were by no means simple. We did *not* call for the overthrow of the government at the beginning of the period mentioned, but explained that it was impossible to overthrow it *without* first changing the composition and the sentiments of the Soviets. We did not proclaim a boycott of the bourgeois parliament, the Constituent Assembly, but said — and from the April (1917) Conference of our Party onwards began to say officially in the name of the Party — that a bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly is better than a bourgeois republic without a Constituent Assembly, but that a "workers' and peasants' " republic, a Soviet republic, is better than any bourgeois-democratic, parliamentary, republic. Without such careful, thorough, circumspect and prolonged preparations we could not have obtained victory in October 1917, nor have maintained that victory.

IV

In the Struggle Against What Enemies in the Working Class Movement did Bolshevism Grow up and Become Strong and Steeled?

Firstly and principally, in the struggle against opportunism, which in 1914 had definitely grown into social-chauvinism, had definitely sided with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Naturally, this was the principal enemy of Bolshevism within the working-class movement. It remains the principal enemy internationally too. The Bolsheviks devoted, and continue to devote, most attention to this enemy. This aspect of Bolshevik activities is now fairly well known abroad too.

Something different, however, must be said of the other enemy of Bolshevism within the working-class movement. It is far from sufficiently known as yet abroad that Bolshevism grew up, took shape, and became steeled in long years of struggle against *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*, which smacks of, or borrows something from, anarchism, and which falls short, in anything essential, of the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle. For Marxists, it is well established theoretically — and the experience of all European revolutions and revolutionary movements has fully confirmed it — that the small owner, the small master (a social type that is represented in many European countries on a very wide, a mass scale, who under capitalism always suffers oppression and, very often, an incredibly acute and rapid deterioration in his conditions, and ruin, easily goes to revolutionary extremes, but is incapable of perseverance, organization, discipline and steadfastness. The petty bourgeois "driven to frenzy" by the horrors of capitalism is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, its liability to become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, fantasy, and even a "frenzied" infatuation with one or another bourgeois "fad" — all this is a matter of common knowledge. But a theoretical, abstract recognition of these truths does not at all free revolutionary parties from old mistakes, which

always crop up at unexpected moments, in a somewhat new form, in hitherto unknown vestments or surroundings, in a peculiar — more or less peculiar — situation.

Anarchism was not infrequently a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement. The two monstrosities were mutually complementary. And the fact that in Russia, although her population is more petty bourgeois than that of the European countries, anarchism exercised a relatively negligible influence in the preparations for and during both revolutions (1905 and 1917), must undoubtedly be partly placed to the credit of Bolshevism, which has always combated opportunism ruthlessly and uncompromisingly.

. . . Today, when we turn back at this completed historical period, the connection of which with subsequent periods is fully revealed, it becomes particularly clear that the Bolsheviks *could not have* in 1908-14 preserved (let alone strengthened, developed and reinforced) the firm core of the revolutionary party of the proletariat had they not upheld in strenuous struggle the viewpoint that is *obligatory* to participate even in a most reactionary parliament and in a number of other institutions restricted by reactionary laws (sick benefit societies, etc.) . . .

. . . Today, when I hear our tactics during the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace assailed by the "Socialist-Revolutionaries," for instance, or when I hear the remark made by Comrade Lansbury in conversation with me — "Our British trade union leaders say that if it was permissible for the Bolsheviks to compromise, it is permissible for them to compromise too," I usually reply by first of all giving a simple and "popular" example:

Imagine that your automobile is held up by armed bandits. You hand them over your money, passport, revolver and automobile. In return you are relieved of the pleasant company of the bandits. That is unquestionably a compromise. "Do ut des" ("I give" you money, firearms, automobile, "so that you give" me the opportunity to depart in peace). But it would be difficult to find a sane man who would declare such a compromise to be "inadmissible on principle," or who would proclaim the compromiser an accomplice of the bandits (even though the bandits might use the automobile and the firearms for further robberies). Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was a compromise of such a kind.

But when the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia, the Scheidemannites (and to a large extent the Kautskyites) in Germany, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler (not to speak of Messrs. Renner and Co.) in Austria, the Renaudels and Longuet and Co. in France, the Fabians, the "Independents" and the "Labourites" in England, in 1914-18 and in 1918-20 entered into *compromises* with the bandits of their own, and sometimes of the "Allied," bourgeoisie *against* the revolutionary proletariat of their own country, all these gentlemen did act as accomplices in banditry. The conclusion is clear: to reject compromises "on principle," to reject the admissibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness, which it is difficult even to take seriously. A political leader who desires to be useful to the revolutionary proletariat must know how to single out *concrete* cases when such compromises are inadmissible, when they are an expression of opportunism and *treachery*, and direct all the force of criticism, the full edge of merciless exposure and relentless war, against *those concrete* compromises, and not allow the past masters at "practical" Socialism and the parliamentary Jesuits to dodge and wriggle out of responsibility by disquisitions on "compromises in general." It is precisely in this way that Messrs. the "leaders" of the British trade unions, as well as the Fabian society and the "Independent" Labour Party, dodge responsibility for *the treachery they have perpetrated*, for having made *such a compromise* that is really tantamount to the worst kind of opportunism, treachery and betrayal. . . .

. . . So as to leave no room for misinterpretation, I shall attempt to outline, if only very briefly, a few fundamental rules for analyzing concrete compromises.

The party which concluded a compromise with the German imperialists by signing the Brest-Litovsk Peace had been working out its internationalism in action ever since the end of 1914. It was not afraid to call for the defeat of the tsarist monarchy and to con-

demn "defence of the fatherland" in a war between two imperialist robbers. The parliamentary representatives of this party took the road to Siberia rather than the road leading to ministerial portfolios in a bourgeois government. The revolution that overthrew tsardom and established a democratic republic put this party to a new and tremendous test: the party entered into no agreements with its "own" imperialists, but prepared and carried out their overthrow. Having taken over political power, this party did not leave a vestige either of landlord or capitalist property. Having made public and repudiated the secret treaties of the imperialists, this party proposed peace to *all* nations, and yielded to the violence of the Brest-Litovsk robbers only after the Anglo-French imperialists had frustrated the conclusion of a peace, and after the Bolsheviks had done everything humanly possible to hasten the revolution in Germany and other countries. That such a compromise, entered into by such a party in such a situation, was absolutely correct, becomes clearer and more evident to everyone every day.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia (like all the leaders of the Second International all over the world in 1914-20) began with treachery by directly or indirectly justifying the "defence of the fatherland," that is, the defence of *their own* predatory bourgeoisie. They continued their treachery by entering into a coalition with the bourgeoisie of *their own* country and fighting together with *their own* country. Their bloc, first with Kerensky and the Cadets, and then with Kolchak and Denikin in Russia, like the bloc of their *confreres* abroad with the bourgeoisie of *their respective* countries, was a desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. From beginning to end, *their* compromise with the bandits of imperialism lay in the fact that they made themselves *accomplices* in imperialist banditry.

Study Questions:

1. What does Lenin mean by the international significance of the Russian revolution? Why is it that revisionists like Kautsky, no matter how revolutionary they pretend to be, inevitably betray the workers because they do not grasp the significance of the October Revolution?
2. Why is iron discipline necessary to prepare for and to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat? Why is it a most important part of winning the majority of the American people to the side of socialism and workers rule?
3. Lenin enumerated three aspects of developing the communist party's discipline. How are the possibilities opened up during capitalist destabilization to develop iron discipline and strict centralization?
4. During times of capitalist stabilization, when the possibilities are more limited, how does a communist party forge that necessary discipline?
5. Why is a "granite theoretical foundation" an integral part of discipline? Explain how the CWP's historical respect for theory and the "last words" of socialism has helped the party grow and maintain its bearings in the class struggle during capitalist destabilization. What happened to those who, four and five years ago, criticized the Party for "dogmatism"?
6. Lenin writes of the preparation for revolution in the communist press, and we, too have gone through something similar a few years back. What is the connection between the instability of principle displayed by the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Line of March, the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center and all other opportunists during those years and their disintegration today?
7. Why must the Party and its cadre core be trained all-roundedly, in all methods and forms of struggle? What is the connection between theoretical recognition of this task (which the CWP always fought for against the opportunists) and its implementation? Why, now that the possibilities to utilize all forms of struggle are widening, is the Party in an excellent position to realize this task?
8. Why is it ridiculous to reject compromises on principle? What is the touchstone for determining when a compromise is necessary and when it is treachery?

CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE



THE HOLLYWOOD 10 PART II

In *Naming Names*, author Victor Navasky comments that HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) forced actors, directors, and other entertainers to choose between its political positions and their livelihood. Entertainers Lionel Stander and Pete Seeger refused and subsequently were blacklisted. HUAC even destroyed the careers of some who did name names like the late actor Larry Parks. But equally devastating is how HUAC accomplished a lowering of artistic standards in Hollywood that was to run into the 1960s.

Cultural Setbacks

According to John Cogley's *Report on Blacklisting*, the number of social issues decreased drastically between 1947 and 1954 even though more than 35 anti-communist films were produced. In a recent article in the *Nation*, cultural critic Norma Sayre observed that anti-communist films like *Iron Curtain* (1948), *Red Menace* (1949), *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951) were "shot on low budgets with non-stars indicating that the studios did not expect them to be profitable; instead they were intended to rinse the film industry's image of radicalism during the Cold War. Perhaps in no other period have such dismal creations been launched as a form of public relations."

One of the few memorable films of the 1950s was the Columbia film *On the Waterfront* (1954) written and directed by radicals-turned-informers Budd Schulberg and Elia Kazan. This film defied the cult of the informer during the McCarthy era. The movie equated unionism with corruption at a time when the U.S. government was arresting militant union leaders (communists and non-communists) and intervening in the internal affairs of the Teamsters. The workers are shown as helpless before the mob and only getting "justice" by government intervention through grand jury hearings. Yet it was the long, often violent struggle of the Conference of Studio Unions against the studios and their scab union (the mob-run International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees) that exposed this film on every count. The CSU, one of the most democratic and militant unions in Hollywood, was destroyed by government intervention on the side of the studios and the IATSE. The CSU leadership was imprisoned and the membership blacklisted before and during the McCarthy years.

Other Academy Award-winning films of the '50s included works by blacklistees using pseudonyms. In 1956 Dalton Trumbo won Best Motion Picture Story for *The Brave One* under the name Robert Rich. Later fellow blacklistee Nedrick Young won the screenwriting Oscar for *The Defiant One*, using the pseudonym Nathan E. Douglas. However, most of the rest of the '50s movies consisted of lightweight comedies and Doris Day-type fluff. So the blacklisting and removal of films with any social content resulted in '50s films showing ours as a splendid society undeserving of criticism.

Hollywood: The '50s, '60s, '70s

The lack of an organized community of leftists stamped its imprint on the films of the next two decades. The film community produced no strong movement against the Korean or Vietnam War, in support of the Rosenbergs, on the fight for civil rights, and other political issues. The battling working class spirit of the '30s and '40s movies — *Grapes of Wrath* — largely disappeared in the films of the '50s and early '60s.

Albert Maltz once noted that "Political activism in the entertainment industry skipped a long beat because of the blacklist. As a result of the interruption old blacklistees know little about those who are continuing their fight ... and Hollywood's young leftists have only a vague understanding of their legacy ... if there had been a continuing movement ... if the Communist Party had remained one that was of interest to younger people, there would have been continuity." Even the once progressive Screen Writers Guild degenerated into what anti-communist Allen Rivikin admitted is "nothing more than a residual collection agency."

But regardless of government interference and earlier suppression of the film industry, American art has always reflected the changes in American society. The civil rights, women's and anti-war movements radicalized and galvanized actors, directors, and writers independently to do socially conscious films. From "liberal" films like *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1961) to the '70s film *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, Hollywood covered subjects from racial injustice to wrongful mental institutionalization. Progressive filmmakers and actors found that while on TV advertisers controlled the documentaries and the news, in the movies it seemed "you can say anything you want in a feature film, provided," (as Michael Douglas producer of the *Cuckoo's Nest* and *China Syndrome* puts it) "you're into profits."

Today's Hollywood has independent producers (including bankable movie stars-turned-producers like Jane Fonda or Warren Beatty) bringing packages to the studios. No longer can screen writers be told what to write, or directors exactly what stars to get. Today independent producers like Coppola seemingly have more freedom than the longterm contract-bound directors and producers of the '30s, '40s, or '50s.

Despite the anti-trust legislation dissolving most of the big eight studios' control of 80 per cent of the first-run movie theaters and destroying the old-time studio system, no really radical films have come out of Hollywood. Production companies formed as a result of this legislation, namely American International pictures, and today Lorimar, Filmways, and others, have largely dealt with the same topics as the "majors." The films most critical of American society and intervention in other parts of the world such as Michael Gray's *The Murder of Fred Hampton* (1971), *Red November*, *Black November* (1980), by Reelworks Productions, or *Soledad* (1971) are made outside of Hollywood.

Hollywood in the '80s

The film industry has wide influence. Movies are viewed by 20 million homes Americans each week. And during prime time over 40 million homes tune into TV programs. Both TV and movies are largely controlled by the big studios like Universal and Paramount. Today both also have the range and opportunity to change minds and help shape history. And this fact looms ever more important in our government's attempt to create a climate acceptable to war.

The need to prepare the American people to accept even more hardships, inflation, chronic unemployment is on every front. Culturally the Reagan Administration is taking the offensive to eliminate progressive artists from accessibility to the public. In an early campaign speech in which he called for the elimination of federal funds for the National Endowment of the Arts, Reagan stated, "there is no question that the arts enhance the quality of life and this is something virtually everyone seeks. But the arts unlike some other activities demand excellence and discipline. There are no shortcuts. Artistic creativity cannot be bought, but it can be encouraged and should be without contamination by any governmental body. Overall, the arts should concentrate on what they do best and leave the broader social problems to others, lest standards of excellence be lowered." But what is really behind Reagan's cry for "art for arts sake"?

Art always reflects life — the political and social events of the day. Without the courage of the Hollywood Ten, the contradictions between the larger and smaller studios resulting in "anti-trust" legislation during the '50s, directors like Coppola and Scorsese would not have the "freedom" that they have today. Without the HUAC attacks playwright Arthur Miller probably would not have written the allegorical play *The Crucible* on the Salem witch hunts. And without the anti-nuclear movement there could be no *China Syndrome* (1976). Art (especially movies and plays) always has a political viewpoint. And today movies have even more sophisticated storylines and techniques to draw the viewer in. Look at two recent movies praised throughout the film community for cinematic and technical excellence. In *Apocalypse Now* there is the haunting yet majestic scene of helicopters descending on the beach to the tune of Wagner — the whole scene implies the utter superiority of the U.S. to Vietnam. In the *Deer Hunter* we grow up with Savage, Walmen, and De Niro's characters. We know them: their dreams are our dreams. So when we journey

Continued on following page



Paul Robeson being guarded during his concert in New York State. He had received constant death threats as part of a wave of anti-communist, McCarthyite activity.

Hollywood 10

with them to Nam to kill the National Liberation Front fighters the director sets up a choice between decency and our American way of life and these animalistic Vietnamese people to whom life is cheap. No unity is possible between these people and ourselves. The fact that all these people are held down by the same criminal system is covered with lies. With these two movies the verdict on Vietnam is clear — the U.S. role was honorable, only our lack of will prevented victory!

Who Will Spearhead Fascism in the Arts?

In the May/June issue of Film Comment, film critic Richard Schickel attacks Victor Navasky, the author of the excellent book *Naming Names*, and Hollywood Ten screenwriter Albert Maltz, for honoring those who resisted the HUAC witch hunts of the '40s and '50s. He tries to hide behind the rubric of "apolitical objectivity" and really attack the political stances of the Ten, namely their belief in communism. So too is Reagan's demand for return to "art for art's sake" an attack on progressive artists and activists. At the same time it is a rallying cry for those the government seeks to recruit to repress the American people. It serves the government's need to draw in respected independent producers and directors like Frances Ford Coppola who are rightfully disgusted with the same movies coming out with different names. Coppola in calling for a return to a studio system claims to want to create a "community of artists...a repertory system in which the talent is held together as a team, where actors, producers, directors, and writers are encouraged to work and socialize together, and out of that fraternization can achieve the same sort of craft you find in a theater company or a ballet company." Coppola observed further in a Newsweek article that, "it's going to be the survival of the fittest, and the long established studios will be brought down." But it is the small independent producers who could not contract out to the talent to maintain their production companies. Yet in Coppola's case he has no problems obtaining funding for his projects from the conglomerates. Recently, Paramount agreed to bail him out on a picture, *One From the Heart*, made by his own Zoetrope Studios. The content of his films

(from glorifying the worst aspects of this society like the mob in *The Godfather* to the already noted *Apocalypse Now* shows he is rapidly moving into the camp of the allies of the government.

But it is the film industry moguls at Paramount, Columbia, and other studios who have traditionally stifled creativity because of their drive for profits. In Hollywood, the capitalists have always controlled the pursestrings. The major studios are corporate conglomerates operating like any other big business. Each big studio gets 55 cents (just to start) of each dollar ticket sold at the movie theaters.

Look at Paramount Pictures, producers of the *Godfathers I and II* and *Ordinary People*. Paramount is a subsidiary of Gulf and Western, a multinational corporation with interests in everything from candy to coal mines. In the Dominican Republic G&W owns sugar cane operations, a major tourist complex, a local film company, and manages an industrial free zone — a place for foreign companies to operate free of export duties, income taxes, strikes, and minimum wage laws. As David Roderick, Chairman of U.S. Steel, admitted in talking about his own industry, "it is return on investment that will dictate where the money goes." Film formulas that prove profitable — space war fantasies like the blockbuster *Star Wars*, to women in danger films like De Palma's *Dressed to Kill* — get made again and again without respect for creativity or artistry. And now, using the excuse of the *Heaven's Gate* overbudgeting fiasco, financing for movies tightens up more and more. And it will be the progressive actor, director, screenwriter that will suffer. The extensive monopolization of the movie industry means tighter financial control, thus stricter ideological control over what type of films are produced.

The Progressive Artists' Choice

In the '80s Hollywood artists will be forced to take sides. Certain actors and filmmakers like Fonda, Redford, and others are still able to encourage the major studios to finance some of their progressive projects. Fonda has even developed her own production company — IPC. During the late '60s and '70s these stars were able to build their careers so that they became bankable stars. Their activism told all of us that most of their films would involve some political questions of the day. The film corporations knew that a Fonda film would turn a box-office profit. Also, after Vietnam, Watergate, Billygate, the

American people will no longer swallow movies showing America as the best of all possible worlds. But Hollywood, as in the past four decades, is still closed to the majority of progressive artists. The old Communist Party worked within and outside of Hollywood in the '30s, '40s, and '50s. Communists, radicals, and liberals angry over the Depression and disgusted with the stifling Hollywood studio system built independent movie-making companies — the New York Workers Films and Photo League formed in 1931; Nykino formed in 1935; and Frontier films formed in 1937. Film artists Pare Lorentz, Willard Van Dyke, Leo Hurwitz created documentaries like the *River* (1937) which told the story of the cotton-pickers, farmers, and others along the Mississippi. *The River* beat out Nazi Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympiad* to take first documentary prize at the Venice International Film Festival in 1938. These radical independent productions will never have the access to the public that the Hollywood produced and distributed films have. More people will see *China Syndrome* than *We Are Not Guinea Pigs* (the new movie of the aftermath of Three Mile Island), yet the independent productions outside of Hollywood offer positive alternatives to the sterility and lack of working class perspective of Hollywood.

The recent Congress-initiated witch hunt around drugs is forcing actors to reevaluate the lessons of the '50s blacklisting of the McCarthy era. Then the call was crude — straight anti-communism. This new cover fooled no one but the struggle against it lacks an organizational form to hook it up with other repressive attacks on the American people by our government. Independently actors like Ed Asner and others hit the committee as the new McCarthyism. Actors because of peer pressure or political beliefs refused to name names.

Although the studios and the government will now clamp down culturally to control public opinion as they have done before in times of economic crisis, the rich struggles and striving of everyday people must be championed by the progressive artist in and out of Hollywood. And despite the weaknesses and mistakes made by the old Communist Party and in socialist countries today (to be discussed in a later article), the attempt to create working class art should be saluted. In the '80s, we again need a community of socially committed artist (backed by political organization) to spearhead the cultural attack against the "New McCarthyism" and for a strong working class culture. □

World Alignment

Continued from page 7

cle. But the supply-side tax cuts, coupled with greater military spending, threaten to widen the canyon between Federal income and spending. And this is in spite of massive cuts in social programs. The depressed state of the bond and stock markets show how little faith Wall Street has that Reaganomics will work, as well as the effects of high interest rates.

The depth of the economic situation will force Reagan to hold down military spending, thus undermining the attempts to project a tough U.S. image such as the violation of Libyan territorial waters and the shooting down of that country's planes. At the same time, the crisis forces the U.S. to move to arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union, greatly furthering the cause of world peace.

Middle East: Dilemma for the U.S.

Due to the recession in the European and U.S. economies, demand for oil has decreased while oil supplies and prices have stabilized. Yet OPEC still controls the oil lifeline. This combined with their leverage of petrodollars to gain political concessions has stymied U.S. foreign policy. At the same time, the ever present threat of an abrupt cutoff in oil supplies, as in the 1973 boycott or the Iranian revolution, makes the Middle East one of the most volatile areas for U.S. foreign policy.

U.S. policy in the region is summed up in the Carter Doctrine which concludes that the Middle East must be placed on the same strategic parity as Europe. The U.S. is willing to go to war to preserve this oil lifeline. But being willing and being able are two separate questions. Until the U.S. can militarize and establish the Rapid

Deployment Force with supply bases throughout the region, Israel must continue its role as the U.S.'s main policeman in the region. At the same time, U.S. must try to win new friends in the region and divert the Arab-Israeli conflict to focus on isolating Soviet influence. Carter's Camp David treaty between Israel and Egypt was this attempt to split Arab unity and gain initiative against the Soviets.

But Camp David failed to recognize and address the PLO and only managed to woo Sadat of Egypt. The rest of the Arab world rejected Camp David and stood solidly behind the PLO and its platform. OPEC, especially Saudi Arabia, has demanded the recognition of the PLO by the International Monetary Fund as a precondition to larger contributions. This combined with the diplomatic and political offensive by the PLO has won them de facto recognition in many European countries. Without any support from the rest of the world, Camp David became a political liability rather than an asset. The U.S. has been forced to admit that they have no alternative but to recognize the PLO and negotiate with them directly. Former National Security Advisor Brzezinski openly declared that the U.S. must go ahead and recognize the PLO now.

Yet when Andy Young met with the PLO before, the hue and cry raised by the bourgeois press forced his resignation. Until the U.S. can whip their own media and public opinion into line, all they can do is maintain a tough talking, war mongering attitude as a warning for the Soviet Union to stay away. The Sixth Fleet wargames in Libyan waters and shooting down of Libyan jets are part of this get-tough image.

This policy of aggression not only

drew a round of condemnation and added to the distrust of the U.S. by the Arab states, but it also further emboldened Israel. Trying to coverup their domestic problems through military expansionism, Israel saw the U.S. policy as a green light for repeated raids into Lebanon and bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor. These moves made the Arab country unite even more firmly against any political settlement with Israel. It confirms the Saudi position that Israel, not the Soviet Union, is the main threat to peace in the region. Reagan's special Middle East envoy tried to repair the diplomatic damage by conducting a round of shuttle diplomacy in the region to resolve the Lebanon conflict, but was repeatedly denounced at every stop. Jordan, which was considering a U.S.-sponsored negotiation with Israel for a West Bank settlement now won't touch the issue.

As the U.S. policy backfired, Alexander Haig fired the U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia for his inability to improve relations between the two countries. One example of the chill in U.S.-Saudi relations is the current

debate over the sale of AWAC planes. The sale of this military hardware to Saudi Arabia is crucial to maintain U.S. credibility in the region and affirm U.S. promises to defend the region against attack. After delaying the issue for five months, the sale is still stuck in Congress through the tremendous lobbying effort by Israel and diehard reactionaries with their anti-Arab chauvinism. Failure to go through with the sale would put U.S. efforts to maneuver in the region all but out of reach.

Even in the sale is successful, U.S. problems in the region has only just begun. The U.S.'s policeman in the region, Israel, is collapsing under its own weight as inflation and unemployment run wild due to decades of war economy. Contradictions among the Zionists themselves are sharpening and Begin just barely managed to form a coalition government with a one-vote majority in parliament. The U.S.'s other partner, Egypt, is also faced with a political crisis. Sadat had to disband the opposition parties and take over the mosques to quell increasing nationalism and unrest at home. □

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WORKERS VIEWPOINT

Reagan's War on Crime: More Political Repression

Gary Madison

Just one month after the Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime announced its war on crime, Reagan declared crime "an American epidemic" in a major speech before the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Yet the content of both the Task Force's report and Reagan's speech strongly suggests that there is little Reagan or the Task Force is willing to do, or can do, about the everyday crime which affects the average American. What Reagan and the report do say, is that they intend to step up repression of selective targets and they seek to expand nationally police powers over the rights of the American people.

Extension of McCarthyism

Since Reagan's inauguration, we have witnessed many of the government's attempts to impose a new McCarthyism. The Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism intends to call "unfriendly" witnesses to its hearings. The El Salvador issue raised the ghosts of another Cold War accompanied by the draft and world war. These campaigns are in reality, the beginning of a wave of political repression. The Administration's War on Crime is just another extension of the same anti-terrorism, pro-war campaign. The crime issue is just another way to enact the same politically repressive legislation but, they hope, with popular support.

"There has been a breakdown," Reagan said, "in the criminal justice system in American." But isn't crime more than a "problem of the human heart," as Reagan demagogically stated? If we merely reduce the crime problem to one victim and one criminal, of course there is a bad individual and a good individual. But a crime "epidemic" obviously goes beyond the question of bad individuals. A crime "epidemic" in Reagan's own words is a pervasive society-wide problem which takes it beyond the hands of an individual and makes it a problem of the entire system.

In Britain, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated that poverty and crime had no relationship. She said this because populations of entire cities were rioting against her policy of recession and high unemployment which was supposed to bring Britain out of

economic crisis. It is no accident that both Thatcher and Reagan, who is pursuing similar economic policy, have both had to address the same crime problem.

The ruling class' economic policies will lead to budget cuts and greater impoverishment of the people while, through deregulation and tax breaks, it will line the pockets of the rich. For the American people, the lifestyle of the '50s is no longer a possibility. Not only has the criminal justice system "broken down" but trust and faith in other branches of government is increasingly fragile. The American people expressed this view in the vote for Ronald Reagan; it was one of the first signs, although shallow and crude, that they wanted change, and a vote for Carter meant keeping things the same. As time went on, however, and Reagan produced no solutions, the people's involvement picked up steam and became coherently anti-Reagan. First the May 3 march against intervention in El Salvador and then Solidarity Day, which drew the mainstream of the working class into action.

Threatened by growing political activity by the people, the government is trying to set up the repressive machinery to squash this resistance and to suppress rising progressive leadership that would challenge their rule.

A Hoax

Crime today affects everyone. It has eaten away at people's lives, from petty theft at the office to the brutal rapes and assaults that shock friends and relatives as much as they traumatize the victims. Fear and apprehension are never far from kids playing in the school playground, subway riders in New York City or rural families alike, wary of the next attack, the next outburst or the next break-in where one could lose everything.

But the bourgeoisie cannot stop crime no matter how many Task Forces it sets up or laws it may pass. The bourgeoisie cannot implement a program on the same scale of magnitude of the crime we will witness in the '80s.

Reagan's talk about fighting crime is pure demagoguery. The Task Force refuses to address the cause of crime because crime is a social consequence of the economic crisis of capitalism and the impoverishment of the working class. With high inflation, high interest rates and high unemployment, naturally people look most to the

economy as the issue they are most concerned about and they look to the government to do something about it. Public opinion can be polarized very easily as the contradictions of capitalism sharpen.

Some of these contradictions have been used by the bourgeoisie to their political advantage like the hostage situation which drew out a lot of national chauvinism, or the anti-communist rhetoric that has poured out in the hearings on the huge defense spending increases that have been held recently. A War on Crime can act politically as a safety valve to vent the frustration of the masses at their collapsing American Dream, as well as scape-goat the crisis off onto the "criminals" and away from the bourgeoisie and their monopoly capitalist system.

Tools for Repression

While the government is not going to allocate money to fight crime or to aid crime victims, it has chosen targets for selective repression which warrant the attention of the Federal Government. Page 10 of the Attorney General's report says, "Serious crime is a national problem which should be attacked by all levels of government. While ordinary street crime falls in the province of state and local governments, certain interstate crime and criminal activity with national implications are the responsibility of the federal government." Therefore, the crime proposals do not even address local street crime. Yet the recommendations do carefully set up a more centralized federal prosecution system. Who is this system aimed at?

Using the catch-phrase "violence-prone" which was used following the Greensboro Massacre to describe the Communist Workers Party, the report said, "The Attorney General should direct that the highest priority be given to the apprehension of violence-prone fugitives, major drug traffickers and others who have committed similarly serious offenses." After the 1968 Chicago convention and the CWP's militant demonstration at the 1980 Democratic Convention, the Task Force asked for more funds "to prepare for potential crises such as those that can occur at national political conventions or other anticipated emergencies."

Another Task Force recommendation included direct financial assistance

to local governments suffering "criminal justice disasters." Such criminal justice disasters could mean mass demonstrations like Diablo Canyon and Liberty City.

The outlook is that political dissent will broaden out to encompass many people like strikers and union activists, anti-nuke and environmental activists and so on. The "revision" of the exclusionary rule, which gives protection against "unreasonable search and seizure" will give the police sweeping powers to charge and possibly convict people on evidence obtained through general searches and raids.

So called preventive detention would allow police the power to pick up organizers and mass leaders and to hold them in jail to prevent them from organizing. Plus thousands of other people on petty crimes could be held in jail for a long time without trials or convictions.

Conclusion

Will the government be able to enact these "revisions?" Right now the biggest concern of the Administration is the economy and pushing economic policies. Without detailing all the immediate economic problems, a big push on crime legislation would be difficult.

First, they are limited by money. The only proposal for money to fight crime has come from the Attorney General's Task Force for \$2 billion four year construction program. This is the cornerstone of the new policy. Yet the proposal has already been called useless by many people in the corrections field. Maximum security prisons cost \$80,000 per bed to build. Medium security prisons cost \$50,000 per bed to build, plus funds for maintaining the prisoners at \$20,000 per year. Today, state and federal prison systems are overflowing. This does not even take into account the replacement costs for prison rebellions that take place throughout the oppressive prison system.

It could be possible to push this legislation through piecemeal or as a little noticed rider on another bill. But the main obstacle would be mass resistance to the legislation not only among the people but also among different "crime experts" who do not agree Reagan's proposals will work. We need to unite all and make war on the War on Crime now so none of this legislation is passed. □