

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

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

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ANTI-DRAFT PROTESTS SWEEP THE COUNTRY

"We're not going to fight a war for imperialism... we're going to march and tear this system down," shouted Rev. Ben Chavis, bringing everyone to their feet cheering in the Greensboro Coliseum on February 2.

Anti-Draft Protest Sweeps the Country

A new generation of fighters against the draft was born as soon as Carter announced the start of draft registration in his State of the Union speech. Like a rock dropping into a quiet pool, the announcement stirred up thousands of students from campuses and high schools. In Long Beach, California, 2,000 students rallied against the draft. 7,000 youth poured out in Los Angeles. 20-25 high school students rallied in Pittsburgh with the Revolutionary Youth League (RYL). Rallies, conferences and teach-ins attracted thousands of students across the country—Princeton University, Yale, Nassau Community College and Queens College in New York, Williams, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Colby, Oberlin, Berkeley, Michigan State, University of Pennsylvania, Brown, Northeastern, Stanford, Washington University in St. Louis, Rice Institute. All

the protestors are 18, 19, 20 years old, and the reasons and feelings that brought them to protest are as broad and diverse as the campuses they come from.

Draft Registration Jolts Students Out of Apathetic 70's

Draft registration is sobering students up. It has jolted them out of the "me generation" apathy of the 70s. Because it af-



Princeton University students. The anti-draft movement today springs from broad and diverse sentiment. But unlike the early 60's where most supported the Viet Nam war, today people don't support a war.

fects their lives and careers directly, the question of the draft is forcing them to ask questions and to take political stands.

"I'd go to Canada, I'd go to

jail if I had to fight," commented one New York City high school girl. Some put out signs saying, "We won't go to war for Exxon," other students are say-

ing they are for draft registration as a way of fighting the Soviet Union but if they were drafted they wouldn't go. Still others say they want to be patriotic but they'd like to show it in other ways.

While youth's gut feeling is against the draft, there's a lot of confusion about how to look at the question of world war. "We have no historical perspective as to why we should fight or have any vital interests at all in the Middle East," said one student in response to Carter's call to defend U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf with military force. The Middle East is one of the hottest topics in high schools with students asking teachers to point it out on the map.

Carter Forced to Push Registration and Draft

Carter is trying to exploit students' confusion and use chauvinism to rally support for draft registration. He recently gathered college students from across the country in Washington, D.C. to tell them that registration is only a "symbol" of standing up to the Soviet Union and protesting their invasion of

Afghanistan. Registration now, he said, "will make the draft more avoidable" in the future.

This big lie was exposed when National Security Advisor Brezinski let the cat out of the bag. He asked the students how many would join the volunteer army. When less than 10 hands went up out of 250 people, Brezinski commented, "That's why we need registration." Said one student leader, "They insist that registration won't lead to a draft, but it will, and Brezinski made the point." "The President's appeal for support was something I resented very much. It was my-country-right-or-wrong type of thing," said another student at the meeting.

World war is inevitable as long as imperialism exists, and the danger of World War III is greater than ever before. But there's no way the U.S. can fight a world war today without registration and the draft, not with the bad public image the armed forces has and the rock-bottom morale in the military. Carter knows this and that's why he has no choice but to push hard for the draft, even if

Federal Report: Feds Barred Prosecution of Klansmen F.B.I.'s Dirty Laundry Revealed

According to the New York Times report, (Feb. 17, 18, 1980) the Justice Department refused to release a 302 page document on the FBI's role in Klan attacks on the Afro-American liberation movement and civil rights fighters in the early 60's. The Justice Department has withheld it for the last seven months until well after the murders of the Communist Workers Party 5 by the same agencies. The New York Times, who got an edited copy of the document by the Justice Department, lays out detail after detail of how the FBI went into the Klan and led, plotted and carried out killings, beatings and murders of civil rights marchers and activists.

Dirty Jobs of FBI and Klans in the 60's

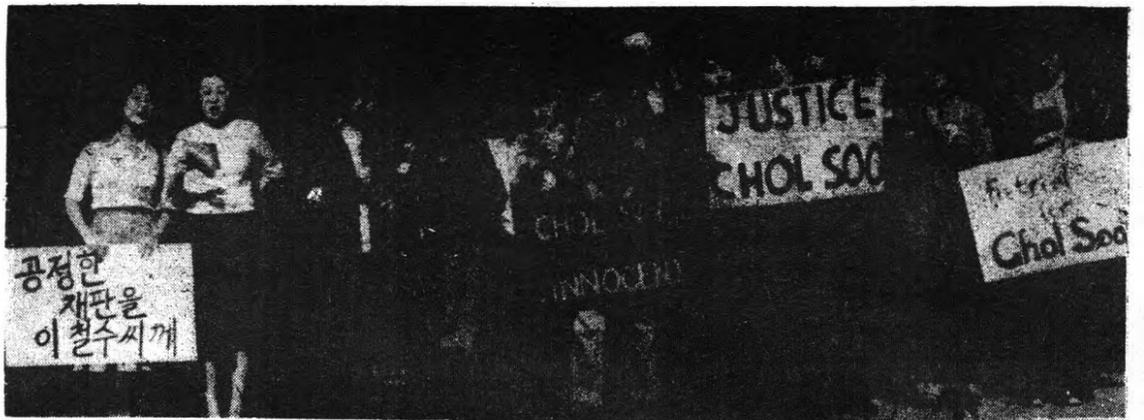
According to the report: In 1960, the FBI sent Gary Rowe into the Klan. In 1961, Rowe,

after coordination with J. Edgar Hoover (former FBI director) and the Birmingham police department beat up and ambushed Freedom Riders in Birmingham. In 1963, this same FBI agent who held "veto power over all Klan violence" helped to blow up the church in Birmingham and killed four little Afro-American girls. In 1965, according to other Klan witnesses, he murdered Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights marcher. In 1965, he killed Thomas Lyman, a black man. The Justice Department document also reveals that in 1961, Mr. Hoover was informed "in advance that the Birmingham police and the Klan, with Mr. Rowe as a go-between, were plotting to ambush the Freedom Riders." They quoted the Police Commissioner who said that "he wanted the riders beaten until it looked like a bulldog got a hold of them." And that the police promised the Klan 15 to 20 minutes to beat the riders. The report also lays out

Continued on page 6

Continued on page 2

Chol Soo Lee Still Fighting for His Life



Chol Soo Lee is fighting for his life. Convicted last year for "Murder Under Special Circumstances" and jammed away on death row at San Quentin, Chol Soo will be dragged into a court room. This time, his legal battle for life moves to a new stage.

The latest court battle taking place on Feb. 20, is over the state's attempt to take back the victory the masses won fighting for Chol Soo. After

two big concerts in Los Angeles and the Bay Area, sponsored by the Chol Soo Lee Defense Committee, a writ of habeas corpus was won. This clearly showed that Chol Soo's first conviction was unjust. But the prosecutor immediately appealed our victory, setting it aside and went ahead to convict Chol Soo in the second case in Stockton. But since they had appealed the writ, they were able to go

into that second trial as if Chol Soo was already convicted of murder.

Now this criminal maneuver by the prosecution comes for a legal test. If their appeal is turned down, the state will certainly appeal to the California State Supreme Court. Because to let matters end there would be to call Chol Soo's entire conviction and sentencing into question. This they cannot do. □

Anti-Draft Protest...

Continued from page 1
it costs him votes.

Carter's already pressuring Congress to budget money for draft registration. And he's gone to the notorious bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Union for support. (This is the same strata who the bourgeoisie used in the 60's to keep the student anti-war movement from linking up with the trade union movement. From this strata came the "hard-hats" who stoned the anti-war "hippies".)

Bourgeoisie's Rule At Stake

But if Carter has no choice

but to bring back the draft, why is he so desperately concerned about student support? The reason is that there's a lot more at stake for the ruling class. Today, the bourgeoisie has less and less options for getting out of the economic crisis other than world war and fascism. Any movement, like the anti-draft movement, which resists this trend endangers the bourgeoisie's rule.

The ruling class is watching the anti-draft movement carefully. Carter is trying to use American apple-pie chauvinism to turn the movement around. At the same time, Kennedy and

Brown try to ride on youth's sentiment against the draft and the abuse of nuclear power under capitalism to serve their own careers. They want to co-opt youth's anger into "legitimate" channels—deadends like bourgeois elections. That's how Kennedy and Brown were able to get high percentages of the vote in the Maine presidential election caucuses, and election analysts have been pouring over the results to sum up the lessons ever since.

Key Difference Today— People Don't Support A World War III

But the anti-draft movement today is different from the

movement at the beginning of the Viet Nam war. Then, the majority of American people supported the war, and the student, anti-draft movement played a big role in turning public opinion around. Today, the key difference is that people aren't supporting a World War III. Most are confused and uncommitted because, after Viet Nam, Watergate and so on, the U.S. government has lost its legitimacy in the people's eyes.

Draft registration and the draft is a broad issue which affects all classes and stratas of society. This is the anti-draft movement's strength. It has the potential to help educate and mobilize a vast movement against the draft and block imperialist war preparations. Although there are pacifist leanings in the movement, it's objective effect is a blow to world war and fascism.

Oppose the Draft and Preparation for World War and Fascism

While students' spontaneous resistance to the draft is a good thing, we must broaden the movement's political scope to meet the larger challenges of the 80s. The narrow view of "just opposing the draft" must be defeated in the anti-draft movement and hatred for the draft must be linked to the growing danger of World War III and fascism. Otherwise, pimps like Kennedy and Brown will continue to ride on the movement, all the while supporting U.S. imperialism's vicious war preparations, and Carter's chauvinist appeal cannot be hit head on. With the correct orientation, the anti-draft movement can be an even more effective force in beating back the draft and the danger of world war and fascism. □

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Breaking the Chains of Wage Slavery



OCAW STRIKE STAND-OFF AT ASAMERA

DENVER, Co.—On Jan. 31, workers at the Asamera refinery voted overwhelmingly to ratify the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers contract agreement. The same as the Quaker State proposal (the first one reached), it included \$.55 wage increase on top of 5%, \$125 family medical coverage and full for individuals, starter dental plan, and vacation improvements. But the 128 refinery workers refused to go back to work until the 13 truck drivers got the same contract agreement. They forced the company to settle with the drivers and went back to work the next night.

MACK TRUCK WILDCAT PROTESTS TIME-STUDY

ALLENTOWN, Pa—Demanding union representation on company time studies, 700 United Auto Workers members at Mack Truck wildcatted for three days. The strikers swelled to 4,000 after the Jan. 15 walkout. Working under an extended contract that expired Oct. 20, workers said this walkout had been brewing a long time.

CHICAGO INDEPENDENT UNION SETTLES CONTRACT

CHICAGO, Il.—Workers at the Stewart-Warner auto parts plant voted 1,117 to 1,007

to accept a 10-month contract with a 9% raise retroactive to Dec. 1. This is the first contract negotiated by the UWA (United Workers Association), an independent union formed last November when the workers decertified the IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers). The UWA gained union dues check-off, more steward positions, and dropped the anti-communist clause, but didn't get a cost of living.

BACKPAY WON FROM ANTI-UNION AMERICAN CYANAMID CO.

MARRERO, La.—On Dec. 28, 1979, American Cyanamid workers got nearly \$12 million backpay after nine and a half months on strike and 36 more months locked out. The 441 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Local 4-447 members won \$24.1 million altogether, the biggest National Labor Relations Board settlement ever.

Iran Shifts Tactics to Deal With Soviet Threat New Conditions for Release of Hostages

On Feb. 13, President Abolhassen Bani-Sadr of Iran put forth a proposal to free the 50 U.S. hostages. In an interview published in *Le Monde* on Feb. 11, Bani-Sadr laid out three conditions the U.S. must meet. First, the U.S. must admit its crimes in Iran during the quarter century of the Shah's rule. Second, the U.S. must pledge not to interfere in Iranian affairs again, and third, the U.S. must declare that Iran has the right to obtain the return of the Shah and his wealth. (*New York Times*, Feb. 14) This proposal to free the hostages was approved by a consensus of the Revolutionary Council and in principle by the Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iranian People Already Won A Great Victory

Even though the Iranian government is not demanding the immediate return of the Shah now, the Iranian people have already won a great victory.

* Under the pressure of the Iranian people, the U.S. people, and pressure internationally, the U.S. government had to officially ask the Shah to leave the country as soon as he got out of the hospital.

* Carter deployed a naval carrier into the Arabian Sea to blackmail the Iranian people, as well as whip up a lot of chauvinism and war cries at home. But when the Iranian people and government stood up to the blackmail, Carter backed down.

* Faced with strong opposition from third world countries, the U.S. dropped the resolution calling for economic sanctions against Iran in the U.N. Security Council.

* The U.S. had to agree to an International Commission being set up by Secretary General Waldheim to investigate the crimes of the Shah. Previously, the U.S. government had insisted that the hostages be freed before the U.S. would agree with any international commission.

* In Carter's State of the Union speech, he had to acknowledge that the U.S. hostages was a secondary issue now since the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. The U.S. had to ask to build ties with the Iranian government again to contend with the Soviet Union in the area.

All these facts show clearly that Iran pushed the U.S. up against the wall, and that a third world country can stand up to U.S. imperialism by asserting real political and economic independence. Iran's shift in tactic comes from their position of strength.

Disengagement on Shah's Return Is Correct Tactic

Is it correct for the Iranian

government to disengage on the Shah's return or is Bani-Sadr's proposal a sell-out move like some Trotskyites say?

The Soviet invasion changed the balance of forces facing the Iranian people. Although U.S. imperialism is still the main enemy for the Iranian people and they have to continue to fight, the danger of a Soviet invasion is real. There are three Soviet divisions stationed now right across the Western Iranian border inside Afghanistan. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan is part of the overall plan to control the oil resources in the Middle East in order to control the second world countries—Western Europe and Japan. Faced with this new danger, disengaging on the demand for the Shah's return now is a correct tactical move to conclude Iran's victory against U.S. imperialism and not take on both superpowers at the same time.

The position of the Iranian people is clear. In his anniversary message for the Iranian revolu-

tion (Feb. 11), Ayatollah Khomeini said, "I have said time and time again and I repeat now that Iran continues its decisive struggle against the ruthless expansionist United States until the breaking of all economic, military, political and cultural dependence." At the same time, the Ayatollah condemned Soviet military inter-

vention in Afghanistan, saying "We totally support the brave and Moslem people of Afghanistan." President Bani-Sadr also declared openly that the Iranian government was going to supply aid to the Afghanistan revolutionaries. The Iranian people stand firm against both superpowers. □



Members of U.N. commission are, clockwise from top left, Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria; Louis-Edmond Pettiti of France; Harry W. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka, Adib Doudy of Syria and Andrés Aguilár Mawdsley of Venezuela.



Carter: Bloody Coup Is 'Ancient' History

While the Iranian government made a new proposal for freeing U.S. hostages, Carter showed the disgusting character of U.S. imperialism in a recent interview. When a United Press International reporter asked, "Do you think it was proper for the United States to restore the Shah to the throne in 1953 against the popular will in Iran?" Carter answered, "That's ancient history, and I don't think it's appropriate or helpful for me to go into the propriety of something that happened 30 years ago."

This showed how sick the U.S. bourgeoisie is. With all the exposure of the U.S. coup and backing of the fascist Shah, they still shamelessly try to cover up their crimes against the Iranian people. □

FROM THE MASSES TO THE MASSES Our Readers Speak Out!

Contributing to Greensboro Justice Fund Best Investment!

January 26, 1980
To Greensboro Justice Fund's Directors—

The 1970's has been characterized by the bourgeois media as a time of complacency and a resurgence of their "traditional" values. This is what they would have us believe. Rather it has been a time of world wide third world revolution and struggle against U.S. imperialism and the rising threat of Soviet social imperialism. At home the bourgeoisie has reacted to these trends by increasing attacks against the entire working class and especially oppressed minorities. The working class has, as a result become more militant and disillusioned in their everyday lives. The exposure of the hypo-

crises of Watergate has led to increasing realization of the futility of working within "their system".

The decade ended with an astonishing increase in the efforts of the right to usher in fascism. In the face of these rising threats a revolutionary party of the working class has been formed—the Communist Workers Party. Coincident with the formation of the CWP was the massacre of the CWP 5 by KKK/Nazi henchmen with the direct complicity of various branches of the state's police. The CWP is turning these attacks around, turning their profound grief into revolutionary strength in the manner of a true communist party.

I am a physician completing training in Charleston, S.C. This

city is a pillar of right reaction and old south ideology. There is no pretense of a 'New South' in Charleston. It is a difficult place to live with dignity and there is virtually no activity by any sort of left community. Prior to my arrival here I lived in Durham, N.C. for almost 10 years. While in Durham I became acquainted with many segments of the American left and was involved in numerous struggles by the various progressive movements in that area.

While in Durham I came in contact with the correct line struggles of the WVO. The leaders of the WVO there were instrumental in whatever political development I have achieved to this point. I counted many victims of the Greensboro massacre as my friends and as examples of unselfish dedication to the interests of the working class. My outrage and grief at the crippling blows which they received was immense. Since then I have been in contact with several CWP members/supporters in that area, including Jean Chapman and Marty Nathan.

I have added to my schedule the dedication of one night's work to my fallen comrades' memory. As a physician I am able to moonlight for obscene fees. I have found a job one night a month in a

small town 100 miles from Charleston. The money that I earn I am sending to the Greensboro Justice fund to enable the CWP to continue both its political and legal offensive. The demand for justice for the CWP will require much support. The more important task of development of the party will also be furthered. This is more important especially now as it seems that superpower imperialism will inevitably lead to world war. To support the CWP is to invest in socialist revolution this, the third time around. Let the bourgeoisie invest in gold, I know where my earnings will yield the greatest interest—by contributing to the CWP-Greensboro fund!

My contribution will range from \$250-300/month. I have already sent my first \$300.00. Enclosed please find \$275.00, my January paycheck. I am saving the U.S. taxes to cover these donations from my regular paycheck. If this fund achieves tax exempt status these funds will be the CWP's! If there is any manner in which I may be of further assistance do not hesitate to contact me.

In struggle,
D.F.
Charleston, S.C.

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Hawaii's "Statehood-Style" Democracy Busts U.P.W. Strike

HONOLULU, Hi.— On Oct. 22, 1979 Hawaii's 7,700 blue collar public workers went on strike for 40 days in the biggest and longest government workers strike in the history of Hawaii. They went out for a decent wage increase in a state with a 25% inflation rate and where the cheapest three-bedroom house costs \$150,000.

This strike showed the state government's true colors as a reactionary dog of the U.S. imperialists.

Government Forces People To "Take Sides"

Caught flat-footed, Governor Ariyoshi was forced to cut short his trip to China. While Ariyoshi was traveling using workers' taxes, Lt. Governor Jean King called out the national guard in preparation for a sympathy strike from UPW's unit 10 prison workers. His lackeys in the state's Health Department declared a health emergency and closed down the schools.

They blamed the UPW workers for denying education to Hawaii's youth. When Ariyoshi returned, he went on TV, making an appeal for parents to volunteer to clean up the schools and break the

strike. The truth was most of the schools were nowhere near a health emergency, and many parents could not understand why their schools were being closed.

Union president Epstein did nothing. And the state's all-out media blitz succeeded in shifting the issue from Cost-of-Living-Adjustment (COLA) which all workers could easily support, to keeping the schools open, which pitted people's desire for their kids' education against the strike. In bourgeois and petty-bourgeois communities like Kahala, parents organized and demanded that the schools be reopened. The state even threatened to call out the national guard to "protect" the strike-breaking parents. Other schools in working class neighborhoods, where support for the strike was stronger, remained closed.

Wage Demand Lost, Government's "Neutrality" Exposed

Though many workers wanted to continue the fight, they couldn't see how it was going to happen.



When Epstein settled for a \$100/month raise for each of two years (after demanding \$240/month), the contract was ratified.

Was the strike a defeat? That's how many workers, including some of the most militant, felt because the demand for wages was lost. But the strike resulted in a very

clear lesson—that the state is the servant of U.S. imperialism, not the workers.

Politically, the State Hides Colonial Rule

Before WW II, the government was small, directly controlled by Big Five agents in the territorial

Responding to Hawaii government workers' 40-day strike last year along with massive protests against Carter's wage guidelines, the state government called out the national guard and called for repeal of the right-to-strike.

legislature and by the governor who was appointed by the U.S. president. (The Big Five were five monopoly corporations which totally controlled the islands through their ownership of sugar, pineapple and transportation industries, then the heart of its economy.)

In the 1940's and 50's masses of workers rose up against the Big Five, demanding the right to unionize and receive wages equal with U.S. workers. To sidetrack this struggle and promote its image as the heartland of democracy and freedom, to aid its penetration of the third world, the U.S. was forced to change its tactics. Creating a whole stratum of misleaders and bureaucrats, the U.S. allowed the state to grow. But in the name of fighting the Big Five, these misleaders turned the masses' fight upside-down, into a fight to demand statehood. Maintaining the masses belief in democracy and statehood is crucial to keeping their fights confined to legal struggles and from becoming clear that U.S. imperialism must be overthrown.

Economically, The State Intensifies Workers Oppression

The average Hawaiian worker pays 41% of his income to the state in taxes. Some of this money is used to directly fund groups

Continued page 5

Right to Strike -As Long as You Don't Use It

HONOLULU, Hi.—In May, 1979, angry public service workers shook the halls of the state capitol building with shouts of "We Want More", "We Want COLA", and "Carter's guidelines mean peanuts!" 2,500 members of four unions spearheaded the nationwide resistance against Carter's 7% wage guideline.

In October, 1979, government workers froze Hawaii with a 40-day strike, the biggest ever there.

These and other militant actions by Hawaii's public workers have the state gov-

ernment worried. That is why the state legislature is now considering repealing the Collective Bargaining Act. The state aims to get rid of the right to strike altogether for public workers.

Hawaii is one of three states in the U.S. where public workers have the right to strike. But even in this showcase of American democracy to the third world, the workers in Hawaii have found you can have the right to strike only as long as you don't use it. Otherwise, the state enacts laws like New York State's Taylor Law, which can fine unions exten-

sively or fire workers for striking; or West Virginia's proposed Criminal Code Revision, which can give jail terms of up to five years for organizing and striking for union representation.

Taking away the right to strike for public workers is just the first step in taking away the right to strike for all workers. For example, in New York State, the Long Island Railroad Workers were re-incorporated on Feb. 8 as a "public-benefit corporation employees performing a public service" (to change them from private to

public workers). Hoping to stop a scheduled strike on Feb. 14, the state can now invoke a "no-strike" clause because they are now covered by the state's Taylor Law which prohibits public employee strikes.

The repeal of the right to strike in Hawaii, just like the S-1 bill sponsored by the so-called "liberal" Kennedy, is on the local level an example of the reactionary face of capitalism hiding behind the mask of bourgeois democracy. It is part of the larger trend of the bourgeoisie's streamlining its repressive machinery in preparation for fascism and world war III. □

Mandatory Wage Controls - Latest Capitalist Bandwagon

U.S. workers begin the 1980's with mandatory wage controls looming on the horizon. "Get-tough" Edward Kennedy has been crying out for mandatory wage controls. In agreement, Barry Bosworth, former head of Carter's anti-inflation program, dismissed Carter's "gradualism" in dealing with inflation as ineffective. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Bosworth is "far from alone in advocating mandatory wage controls." Bruce K. MacLaury, president of Brookings Institution (bourgeoisie's think tank) and Bosworth's boss, lashed out, "People have built up a resistance to government statements about battling inflation. They need to be shown by some tough

new measures." His accusation is an attack on workers' right to fight for a decent standard of living.

Conscious of the upcoming 1980 elections, Carter recently raised wage "ceilings" from 7% to 9½%—a sham compared to the 13.3% inflation rate. At the same time John Dunlop of the Pay Advisory Committee announced it will pay special attention to "monitoring and enforcing the wage restraint program."

Why don't the capitalists simply impose price control? It sounds like common sense that if they control prices, the bills would go down. But the bourgeoisie has a big fundamental problem. When the state imposes

price control—direct state intervention on prices—they eliminate a lot of small capitalists who cannot afford it. They use price mechanisms to eliminate competition, to swallow each other up, so they will merge into a bigger capitalist. The way they squeeze each other out is by lowering the prices.

That's why they can't get agreement on wage-price control. Because who's going to volunteer to get swallowed up? That's why you still have people like Mondale responding to Kennedy's speech arguing against mandatory wage-price controls. And since they can't agree on price controls, they will keep on trying to make the workers pay for it all. That's

why in reality "wage-price controls" is only wage control. Because the capitalists can only agree on one thing: that the workers have to "sacrifice."

But wage controls has been no solution.

In 1979, the Carter administration suffered a tremendous defeat and widespread political exposure after imposing the Taft-Hartley law and not backing it up against the United Mine Workers' strike of 1978. As a direct result they backed down from a major confrontation on wage controls. The government did this through "flexible" wage guidelines and the collaboration of union misleaders. Doug Fraser of the United Auto Workers skirted the issue with the stand: "What guidelines?" Peter Bonmarito, United Rubber Workers president, claimed that Carter's guidelines "self-destructed", extended the old contract and held off a strike. International Teamsters president Frank Fitzsimmons

backed down on a demand of no less than the 37% won by the miners after the government cooled down its corruption investigation of him.

Meanwhile, inflation kept shooting up, and the bourgeoisie could not hide it. Despite misleadership, scores of long and bitter strikes erupted against the wage guidelines. With the striking paper mill workers, farmworkers, United Airlines workers, East Coast tugboat workers, Hawaii's public workers and many local strikes, "flexible" and "voluntary" guidelines have not stopped the workers from fighting for a decent wage.

As long as the crisis continues unresolved, the move from "voluntary" controls to mandatory is inevitable (see *WV*, Nov. 1978, *Wage Controls Aimed at Stronger Unions*). And this will only focus the workers resistance more sharply against the U.S. government. □

Teamsters Slam the Brakes on U.P.S. Redbaiting

Steward Jan Sunoo Stays On!

SAN FRANCISCO, Ca.—Early Thursday morning, January 1st, 4 weeks after writing a trumped up discharge letter to UPS driver and Teamsters Steward Jan Sunoo, Division Manager Bob Dubansky was forced to withdraw the letter from his file. He admitted to Jan in front of another driver and the union secretary treasurer that he had absolutely no proof to back up the charge that Jan spray-painted "Avenge the CWP 5" on the company facilities. He also admitted that he "never had any intention of letting the letter get to the grievance panel..." and that he had just written it to "... get your attention." A clear admission of the company's guilt in framing and harassing Jan for his political beliefs as a member of the Communist Workers Party, this represented a significant victory in beating back the wave of redbaiting attacks on militants and supporters of the Communist Workers Party in the labor unions.

How did the workers win Jan's job back? Instead of waiting passively for the results of a grievance hearing in Sacramento, Jan and other union fighters be-

gan organizing. 500 issues of *The Second Trip*, a popular UPS shop paper that Jan and other active workers founded three years ago, were distributed to the San Francisco, San Mateo and Daly City

Hubs (UPS distribution centers) in two days through the Stewards Caucus network. A petition linking Jan's discharge letter to another trade union fighter who was fired 3 times in 2 weeks for going

to the bathroom was circulated at the 3 hubs. Jan was heard in a joint one hour interview on KPOO with Cathy Scolieri, another CWP supporter and president of IUE local 853, who was fighting expulsion from the union for being a Communist.

During this fight, several visits united the union executive board around the need not to

allow UPS to divide its members and dissipate its strength through redbaiting. Letters were written to the Japanese American Citizens League, the American Civil Liberties Union, churches and other civic groups. Carbon copies were also sent to UPS.

A militant worker wrote a strong letter defending Jan's record of fighting for the workers and condemning UPS's attempt to railroad him. "Let's face it. If UPS gets away with firing someone over politics then what'll be next—race, religion, age, work-pace, non-conformity, they'll keep going until all we have left is the Bob Dubansky master race, look-alike, think-alike, expendable, disposable robots... We must stay behind our stewards and outspoken workers. They're putting their time and their jobs on the line to make conditions better for everyone. Let's start by sticking together and backing each other up... Remember, AN ATTACK ON ONE IS AN ATTACK ON ALL."

Because the workers and union stood firm against the redbaiting and trumped up charges against Jan Sunoo, the company was forced to openly back down and admit their guilt. This is a very significant victory for UPS workers, the struggle of all workers and for the Communist Workers Party.

The capitalist ruling class has singled out supporters and members of the Communist Workers Party to redbait and assassinate precisely because they are leaders of the working class. Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Bill Sampson, and Sandy Smith were union presidents or rank and file leaders. Like the case of these comrades who were assassinated by government-instigated Klan and Nazi Party members in Greensboro on Nov. 3, an attack on Jan Sunoo and other supporters of the CWP is an attack on the entire working class.

As workers' resistance rises to the shock of economic crisis, and as part of preparation for fascism and World War III, the bourgeoisie is opening up a vicious anti-labor, anti-communist, racist and chauvinist assault among the workers. When the redbaiting attack against Jan Sunoo was turned around at UPS, it was a victory for the Party and the masses' fight in beating back the whole capitalist tide of redbaiting attacks. □



UPS workers and the Communist Workers Party scored a victory against redbaiting as they force UPS to withdraw a frame up discharge letter against Steward Jan Sunoo, a CWP supporter.

Workers Tell NLRB They're Behind Dori

MARTINSVILLE, Va.—Using every arena and weapon to struggle, Dori Blitz has filed

charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) against Budd Co. and the Teamsters

Local 22 officers. She has charged that the company really fired her for union activity rather than the pretext of falsifying her application or making disparaging remarks against the company. She also charged that the union did not represent her fairly.

For over two years Dori was a thorn in the side of Budd Co., a trailer manufacturer in Martinsville. She, along with other militant shop stewards, in six months from June to Dec. 1979 filed 72 grievances, more than 5 times the grievances filed in the previous two years. When Dori handed out an anti-Klan leaflet at the plant just before the Nov. 3 Greensboro Massacre, the company and union hacks moved in with a torrent of redbaiting. At first they tried to isolate her working outside and then used a few backward workers to invoke the anti-communist clause to remove her from union office and her job. The union executive board never gave her a reason for their illegal and anti-rank and file actions.

Even after the uproar that developed when Martinsville city officials called a state of emergency at the union meeting called to oust Dori, worker after worker gave testimony to the NLRB for her. The NLRB had to spend three days listening to the dozen workers who stated that because Dori led the struggle for a fighting rank and file union, Budd had to fire her. They testified about the long pattern of harassment against union activists by Budd. They

exposed how the three workers circulating the anti-communist petition against Dori could be seen going in and out of the personnel office for instructions.

Although the NLRB cannot be depended on to issue a complaint against Budd Co. and the union (it dismisses about 90% of the charges filed), the mass support shown for Dori is going to make it harder for the NLRB to lightly dismiss her case.

One worker who testified said, "Well I told them people that they were making a mistake by putting out that petition. Because I knew that it would stir up things and just confuse more. Then it would be easy for the company to do whatever they wanted to any one of us." But the confusion of the workers could only be temporary. A wave of layoffs hit the Budd plant. The remaining workers are being sped up, moved around from job to job with their bidding rights not being honored. Other fighting shop stewards are being red-baited, and another has already been suspended. Things got worse after a leader was removed from their ranks.

The workers are rebounding by organizing around the the NLRB case. By clarifying the questions people had about what really happened to Dori, the workers are getting clear that an attack on one is an attack on all. This has led to a growing sentiment by the shop stewards to once again put out their newsletter "Union Watchdog" to continue the fight inside the plant. □

U.P.W. Strike...

Continued from page 4

like the Hawaii Visitors Bureau which serves the tourist industry, owned and controlled by some of the largest U.S. monopoly capitalists like ITT-Sheraton, Hyatt Corporation and the Hilton Hotel. Indirectly, the State aids these very same capitalists by building the roads, sewers, traffic lights, that allow tourism to grow. Whatever services the State provides (like welfare and education), it makes the workers and their future generations pay by going into debt to the banks. It is no acci-

dent the third largest item in the State budget is payment for interest on this debt.

Make the U.S. Imperialists Pay

The 40-day strike is long over, but it teaches a very important fact. The state and the present-day Big Five stand directly opposed to the workers. In their economic battles for C.O.L.A. and the political struggle for the right to strike, Hawaii's workers must focus their attack directly against U.S. imperialism. □

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CORRECTION:

Corrections for the article "End UPS Harassment—Defend Jan Sunoo" (WV, Jan. 28, 1980), 1) The UPS facility is located in San Francisco, not Berkeley. 2) Jan was not elected a delegate to the Teamsters for a Democratic Union Convention. Everyone who went was a delegate. 3) Strike support was done for Teamsters Local 315 at Safeway, not Local 351.

While trying to print this article as soon as we got news of it, we should have more thoroughly checked details. To produce a weekly paper, we need timely articles from every area, especially from people directly involved in the struggles who know the facts well. We need more writers, contributors from everywhere to help accomplish this!

"C" PML WORKS WITH COPS IN FEB 2nd DEMO

Calling for "Peaceful Transition to Socialism"

The February 2nd Anti-Klan/Nazi demonstration in Greensboro proved an overwhelming success that welded together diverse progressive groups. It was historic in launching the struggles of the masses into the 80s. The Communist Workers Party worked tirelessly to rally the broadest sectors of the U.S. people for a peaceful, non-violent demonstration. At the same time the Party fought successfully for the masses' right to armed self-defense in the period of the growing danger of fascism and World War III. The bourgeoisie attempted to disarm the demonstration as part of stepping up its repressive measures for the 80's. Even more, it saw Feb. 2nd as a trial of strength. On the bourgeoisie's side, it was a fight to maintain its rule by having the masses rely on its police apparatus. On the revolutionary forces' side, it was a fight to smash all illusions in bourgeois democracy and train and rally the proletarian forces for the final countdown when the question of armed force to seize and consolidate state power against the U.S. bourgeoisie becomes immediate and practical.

"C" PML Calls for Peaceful Transition to Socialism

Under the cry of not being "sectarian" and "divisive", the "Communist" Party (ML) worked for the bourgeoisie inside the people's movement by demand-

ing that workers and other progressive people disarm on Feb. 2nd and rely on the bourgeoisie's police and the good nature of the Klan/Nazis. The "C" PML argued that in general, they agreed with the people having the right of armed self-defense, but for Feb. 2nd it was a "tactical question". This is exactly what the bourgeoisie said: "Groups have the right to uphold their own ideologies and in general, North Carolina citizens have the right to armed self-defense. But due to the particular circumstances of the threat of violence, that right has to be taken away." This is the line the North Carolina state and city officials put out for denying the masses this right on Nov. 3rd, Nov. 11, Nov. 18, and Feb. 2nd.

Thus, despite all of "C" PML's rhetoric of attacking the "Communist" Party, U.S.A.'s cruder political aspects of revisionism, like its open call for "peaceful transition to socialism"—despite the years of struggle to draw firm lines of demarcation against the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union and the urgent need to build a new anti-revisionist communist movement—the "C" PML are themselves revisionists under the cover of Mao Tsetung Thought. For them, just as the communist principle of upholding the right of armed self-defense is a "tactical" question, so is the need to use armed force to overthrow U.S. monopoly capitalism a

"tactical" question. Their revisionist "tactics" extend to a whole system of views that longs for a "peaceful transition to socialism" through the ballot box. This is the same line they pushed when they called for the national guard to "protect" black children in the Boston Forced Busing Plan. This is the same betrayal they pushed when they supported Kennedy and Senator Ervin against Nixon during Watergate.

Political Speculators Break Coalition Unity

On the weekend of Dec. 14 to 15 at the Atlanta Conference of the Anti-Klan Network, it was agreed as a *tactic* not to make the right of armed self-defense an issue for the coalition. This was done because there were hundreds of groups in the united front who held different ideologies; and if it became an issue for the united front, the state would use it to try and provoke violence and use scare tactics. A *package* tactical unity was reached: 1) the coalition would not discuss the issue of arms; 2) there would be no searches of anti-Klan/Nazi demonstrators, and; 3) groups would privately encourage members not to bring arms. This agreement constituted a "peaceful, non-violent demonstration". It hinged on point one, "no public discussion of arms by the coalition". Several weeks later, Joe Lowery of the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) broke all the agreements by calling an individual press conference, and in it, trying to impose his reformist, turn-the-other-cheek philosophy on the *entire* coalition. This gave the bourgeoisie and other political speculators in the coalition (ie. "C" PML) the green light to attack the CWP as the *source* of violence. This is the same pro-fascist view of the bourgeoisie and the Klan/Nazis on the assassinations of the CWP 5 on Nov. 3, and on the CWP since then.

Bribed by Bourgeoisie, "C" PML Sells Out Working Class

The limp-wristed "C" PML tried to make the CWP swallow (!) disarming the masses. They shouted in a petty bourgeois frenzy that we have to keep in the national leadership of the SCLS, NAACP and the Urban League, so CWP has to hold a public national press conference calling for the masses to be disarmed and rely on the National Guard and the good will of the Klan/Nazis. The "C" PML gnashed their teeth and whimpered "disarm the masses, so the state won't have an issue to split the people's movement!" They, along with other political speculators, threatened (!) the CWP in an attempt to force it to make the public statement then and said, don't worry about it because communists can maneuver around it! In defeating those who were better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves, Lenin wrote, "An opportunist will put his name to any formula and as readily abandon it, because opportunism is precisely a lack of definite and firm principles" (*What Is To Be Done?*).

Cringing at the strength of the CWP's mass support, the "C" PML demanded the CWP be purged from the Feb. 2nd mobilization committee because Party sympathizers smashed Ted Kennedy with rotten eggs. "C" PML shamelessly stated that they couldn't get money from white liberals if CWP continued to attack the liberals' national symbol! First of all, exposing bourgeois politicians (both "liberal" and conservative) is the Party's independent work and the united front has nothing to do with it. Second, if "C" PML's work depends on not antagonizing the Kennedy family and other bourgeois liberals, they may as well drop "communist" from their name. This is precisely what revisionism is—being bought off for a few crumbs by the bourgeoisie in exchange for selling out the long term interest of the working class. "To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism." (Lenin, *Marxism and Revisionism*)

Despite all their posturing as anti-revisionist communists, the "C" PML are just sons and daughters of their mother, the "C" PUSA. Serving the right wing strata among the petty bourgeoisie and leading the bourgeoisie's fascist attacks inside the people's movement, the "C" PML has abandoned the principle of the right of armed self-defense, and is preparing for a "peaceful transition to socialism" in the U.S. □

F.B.I.'s Dirty Laundry...

Continued from page 1

how Hoover blocked every step of any possible prosecution of the four and possibly five Klansmen who bombed that Birmingham church despite ample evidence to prove them guilty.

History Repeated On November 3, 1979

And now, history has repeated itself. In 1979, November 3rd, the FBI again plotted with the Klan/Nazis to murder Communist Workers Party members, Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson and Sandy Smith.

And in the aftermath of the murder, on Nov. 5th, President Carter "directed the Justice Department to activate a special unit for investigation of Klan activities around the country." (*New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1979) This is the same Justice Department that has held up the report so that the murder of the CWP 5 could be carried out secretly. Jody Powell, the White House press secretary, was reported to have said that more than two dozen FBI agents had been sent to North Carolina to "probe the incident." He was

talking about the same FBI who had led the Klan and murdered all the freedom fighters in the 60's and our comrades in 1979. It is obvious that Carter was just consciously lying through his teeth.

The fact is, the FBI agents were sent not to probe the Klan, but to tail the Communist Workers Party and the workers and the oppressed people and to plot out schemes to prosecute the CWP and block the prosecution of the Klan. Now in Greensboro, the CWP's request for a private prosecutor has been denied (see article on p. 7) while the judge in the case is considering a motion to drop all charges against the Klan and Nazi murderers. The District Attorney has already dropped all conspiracy to commit murder charges against the Klan so that the role of the government and in particular the FBI cannot be revealed.

Blame Hoover to Clean FBI

The name of FBI and CIA stinks to every decent person in the U.S. But in order to prepare for fascism and world war, Carter and the bourgeoisie must step up the powers and stream-

lining of the intelligence apparatus to squash any opposition to their rule, especially the CWP. They want to get a new charter for the FBI that gives the FBI broad powers to conduct investigation for the flimsiest reason. The FBI would have the authority to get anyone's credit and bank record, and informers can break any law while serving the FBI.

The *New York Times* report explained why the report was delayed, it was because "the Justice Department was said to fear that disclosure of illegal conduct by Mr. Rowe could lead to Congress to impose stricter rules on the use of paid informers." The real fact is, in the name of exposing even more dirty truths about the FBI, and laying full blame for the cover-ups of FBI activity to one dead J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI are trying to create public opinion to "reform" it with the new proposed charter. That's why the *New York Times* which imposes an almost complete black out on the murder of the CWP 5 is spending pages after pages to report on this "exposure."



Klan/Nazi assassins at the scene of the murder of the CWP 5 on Nov. 3, who with the FBI plotted the massacre.

Those Who Said We "Provoke" The Klan Kills

This Justice Department report is a slap in the face to anyone who says that the CWP "provoked" the murders by Klan and Nazis, or that the CWP "brought it on themselves" by challenging the "poor ol' country boys" in the Klan. They should just come out and say that

Mrs. Viola Luizza got herself murdered by "provoking" the Klan or that the four little girls in the Birmingham church blew themselves up. The line that the CWP "provoked" violence is doing a dirtier job than the FBI by covering up the murdering FBI, the Justice Department and the U.S. government for the assassinations of the CWP 5. □

Government Won't Prosecute Itself, CWP Motions for Private Prosecutor

On Jan. 22, Signe Waller, widow of Jim Waller, filed a motion asking for the appointment of a private prosecutor to prosecute 14 KKK and Nazis. They are currently charged with the murder of 5 Communist Workers Party members on November 3 in Greensboro, North Carolina. William Kunstler offered to serve as private prosecutor two months ago.

In the motion papers filed with the court, Signe Waller stated that "appointment of a private prosecutor is an urgent necessity to ensure the examination of all possible witnesses, the most comprehensive investigation of the facts, the study of all meritorious theories of culpability, and thorough prosecution of all those responsible for the crimes in question."

The motion papers also stress the State's failure to investigate conspiracy beyond the arrested defendants. On Dec. 14th, the District Attorney dropped conspiracy to commit murder charges against all the defendants, simply charging them with murder or felony riot. Not only are these charges less serious, but they limit investigation of the role of government agencies as well as other individuals in the assassinations. The charges basically deny that the Nov. 3 assassination of the CWP 5 was premeditated and instead, turn it into nothing more than a big brawl or a "shoot-out". "In the aftermath of the Watergate, Fred Hampton, and Viola Liuzzo cases, it is precisely this stance that further erodes public confidence that a comprehensive investigation and vigorous prosecution is being conducted" states Signe's motion.

Premeditated Assassination Of the CWP 5

The facts are:

*All five members of the CWP killed on Nov. 3 were respected leaders of the working class. Jim Waller was a Party Central Committee member and President of an Amalgamated Clothing Textile Workers Union local. Bill Sampson was a shop steward and about to be elected president of his textile union local. Both Cesar Cauce and Sandy Smith were leading organizers at Duke Hospital and Cone Mill's Revolution Plant respectively; and Mike Nathan organized an airlift of \$250,000 worth of medical supplies to aid the liberation forces in Zimbabwe.

*All the comrades died from precise shots to the head or heart.

*Despite the fact that it is legal in North Carolina to bear arms openly, the city passed a special ordinance barring the Party from having arms at the Nov. 3 anti-Klan rally.

*Without informing the CWP, police gave a copy of the permit to a known Klansman, showing the changed rally site and the fact that demonstrators would not be armed.

*Police knew the KKK/Nazi assassins were armed and had them under surveillance long before the killers got to the rally site, and yet police were nowhere around when the assassins attacked. They returned to the site only after the killers had escaped.

Given the state's sordid record around the Nov. 3 massacre, clearly we can't count on the government to prosecute itself. Yet the courts have continued to block Signe Waller's right to have a special prosecutor of her choosing. The actions of the District Attorney continue to show the hypocrisy of the capitalist judicial system and the emptiness of bourgeois democratic rights.

D.A. Schlosser Intimidated Witnesses

The D.A. has intimidated potential witnesses by his antagonistic statements regarding the Communist Workers Party, its members and friends. On Dec. 9 he was quoted in the *Greensboro Daily News* as saying that although many Greensboro residents were "embarrassed" that

the killings happened in Greensboro, "perhaps an even larger part of the community finds the communists got what one recent letter to the editor called 'about what they deserved.'" In the same article the D.A. referred to his military service in Viet Nam 10 years ago, "and you know who my adversaries were then."

As Signe's motion papers state, "Such unnecessary public statements either tend to substantiate suspicions that he is more concerned with the prosecution of communists than the above-named defendants, or that if witnesses come forward they will be labelled as 'communists'."

In addition the D.A. is preparing to scapegoat the Communist Workers Party members when prosecution of the Klan is unsuccessful because of his actions. He publicly lied that CWP members and friends refused to testify. But it is he who has put us in the position of simultaneously being defendants and has already negotiated arranging testimony from us.

The pending prosecution of CWP member Nelson Johnson and supporters Willena Cannon and Rand Manzella and the threatened prosecution of others have the same effect of intimidating potential anti-Klan witnesses. And community members who fear Klan/Nazi retaliation if they testify have no assurance that the D.A. will protect them.

Schlosser's Action Blocks Klan Prosecution

The District Attorney dropped all charges against Rayford Caudle, the Nazi leader who owned the car from which assassins took their weapons and who in fact owned many of the weapons used Nov. 3. Klan leader Joe Grady said in a Greensboro paper, that Caudle knew who

ing actually started. This doesn't answer why he shouldn't still be charged with felony murder. The District Attorney's deliberate failure to prosecute the conspiracy charges sets the conditions for this kind of whitewash.

In addition the District Attorney has brought no charges nor taken any steps against the other 20 or so Klan and Nazis



Jim Waller, assassinated Central Committee member of the CWP, with his wife, Signe and their family.

Turn the Country Upside Down to Avenge the CWP 5!

brought the weapons and had the hit list before Nov. 3. Although Caudle was at China Grove, (where the CWP and community people burned the Confederate flag while the Klan snuffed the film, "Birth of A Nation,") attended a series of Klan/Nazi meetings in September and October, and was riding in the Klan/Nazi caravan on Nov. 3, the D.A. used the excuse that the car Caudle was riding in (not his own) passed the scene of the massacre before the shoot-

among those shooting but not caught on Nov. 3. The police had photographed the whole Klan/Nazi caravan while it was waiting on the highway before the massacre. Yet the District Attorney has taken no action against the police who have admitted that they knowingly allowed the Klan and Nazis to pull off the assassinations and escape. Nor has the District Attorney done anything about the extra charges filed by demonstrators several weeks ago.

(See *WV*, Feb. 16, 1980)

The District Attorney's reason so far for refusing to let a private prosecutor in has been that the private prosecutor is "vindictive" and would be a "provocateur of ideology." But the D.A. and the police are the real provocateurs, provocateurs of anti-communism and pro-Klan racists. That's why the Wilmington 10 were prosecuted and why the victims of Nov. 3 like Nelson Johnson are being prosecuted now.

Special State Prosecutor - A More Slick Whitewash

There's been talk of a "special prosecutor" from the State Attorney General's Office being brought in to replace D.A. Schlosser. But it was the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, along with the FBI, who's been in the thick of the cover-up since Nov. 3. They tried to stop the Nov. 11 funeral march, stop buses for the Feb. 2 anti-Klan demonstration, stop Ben Chavis from participating in the Feb. 2 event, and tried to keep people away by spreading rumors like "most likely there will be violence" and "most likely CWP will start it."

A State or a Federal special prosecutor would only be a more slick version of D.A. Schlosser, better at covering up for the government.

Take Up the Nov. 3 Cases

It is very important to take up all the cases coming out of Nov. 3, both prosecution of the Klan/Nazi terrorists and defense of the Communist Workers Party members and friends who have been arrested or fired.

These cases represent the biggest single legal counterattack, the focal point, against the violence committed by the KKK, Nazis and their supporters. The impact of fully and thoroughly prosecuting the Klan in front of the country and the world will have a tremendous effect of beating back these attacks and the politics of scapegoating minorities and progressive people in this country, educating people on the role of the KKK/Nazis and their supporters. □

Remember the Greensboro Massacre: Stand Up Against the Klan!

Help support the Civil Rights Suit against the Klan, Nazis and Greensboro Police

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STUDY NOTES ON: "Speech in Defense of the Tactics of the Communist Party" and "What Is To Be Done" and "A Letter to a Comrade"

The lessons synthesized from the successful 1917 socialist revolution in Russia by Lenin in his "Speech in Defense of the Tactics of the Communist International" have profound significance and implications for the Communist Workers Party today. His speech, delivered at the Third Congress of the Communist International on July 1, 1921, mainly addressed the communist parties in advanced capitalist countries like England and the U.S. It had the same thrust as Lenin's book, *Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, which combated the 'left' doctrinaire tendency of young and inexperienced revolutionaries. In his speech Lenin was struggling against Terracini of the German party who wanted to narrow the party's work to only advanced workers. His speech teaches us about the importance of broadening out our influence to all sectors of the American people and why we must grasp distribution as the key link for our newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*, in order to maximize the Party's firing power and train more leaders for the revolution ahead.

What Is To Be Done? and "A Letter To A Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks" were written in the "Iskra period," a period of struggle for the formation of the Russian party. Its main struggle was against right doctrinarism, revisionism and economism. But all these writings are integrally linked to developing communist work among the masses—to ever deepening and broadening, broadening and deepening our influence to prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marxist strategy and tactics form an integral whole. Looking in retrospect at the Russian revolution, Lenin said that the Party's preparation for the seizure of state power and dictatorship of the proletariat has to be seen in relation to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and building socialism. This was elaborated in his article, "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International."

We Must Win Over the Majority of The Exploited and Oppressed

The Third Congress of the Communist International took place during the first revolutionary situation for advanced capitalist countries ever—the First Time Around (1917-1922). Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) headed by Lenin had established the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917 and had begun to build a socialist society. The working people in colonial and semi-colonial countries had been roused to political life. Communist parties had been started in all advanced capitalist countries, including the United States, and the Third Communist International had been founded in 1919. However, none of these parties had yet won the support of the majority of the working class and oppressed people in their country.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is setting out to review questions of tactics under conditions when in a whole number of countries the objective situation has become aggravated in a revolutionary sense, and when a whole number of communist mass parties have been organized, which, incidentally, in their actual revolutionary struggle have nowhere taken into their hands the virtual leadership of the majority of the working class . . .

In Europe, where almost all the proletarians are organized, we must win the majority of the working class and anyone who fails to understand this is lost to the communist movement; he will never learn anything if he has failed to learn that much during the three years of the great revolution . . .

In Russia, we were a small party, but we had with us in addition the majority of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country. Do you have anything of the sort? We had with us almost half the army, which then numbered at least ten million men. (Lenin, "Speech in Defense of Tactics")

There Are Masses and Masses

For the last 80 years the U.S. monopoly capitalist system has been on its deathbed, and has remained alive only because the multi-national working class and oppressed people lacked leadership, was without its head—a genuine communist party. Today's crisis is the most extensive ever, more extensive even than the 1930's depression era. The American people are stirring, as witnessed by the rising rank and file movements in the trade unions. More importantly, the Communist Workers

Party has been founded. But today the Party is still lagging behind the objective situation and the stirring of the masses.

. . . I wish to say only a few words about the concept of "masses." It is one that changes in accordance with the changes in the nature of the struggle. At the beginning of the struggle it took only a few thousand genuinely revolutionary workers to warrant talk of the masses. If the party succeeds in drawing into the struggle not only its own members, if it also succeeds in arousing non-party people it is well on the way to winning the masses.

. . . When the revolution has been sufficiently prepared, the concept "masses" becomes different: several thousand workers no longer constitute the masses. This word begins to denote something else. The concept of "masses" undergoes a change so that it implies the majority, and not simply a majority of the workers alone, but the majority of all the exploited. Any other kind of interpretation is impermissible for a revolutionary, and any other sense of the word becomes incomprehensible. It is possible that even a small party, the British or American party, for example, after it has thoroughly studied the course of political development and become acquainted with the life and customs of the non-party masses, will at a favorable moment evoke a revolutionary movement. You will have a mass movement if such a party comes forward with its slogans at such a moment and succeeds in getting millions of workers to follow it. I would not altogether deny that a revolution can be started by a very small party and brought to a victorious conclusion. But one must have a knowledge of the methods by which the masses can be won over. For this thoroughgoing preparation of revolution is essential. But here you have comrades coming forward with the assertion that we should immediately give up the demand for "big" masses. They must be challenged.

. . . But to win, we must have the sympathy of the masses. An absolute majority is not always essential; but what is essential to win and retain power is not only the majority of the working class—I use the term "working class" in its West-European sense, i.e., in the sense of the industrial proletariat—but also the majority of the working and exploited rural population. (Lenin, "Speech in Defense of Tactics.")

In 1980 in the U.S. we can no longer talk about thousands or tens of thousands when we talk of masses. Only political sects have such narrow visions. We have to talk in terms of hundreds of thousands and millions of Americans being fed up with the present situation, questioning and searching for answers why, and how to change it. The historical lever of economic crisis isn't just acting on the oppressed nationalities as in the 1960's. It is acting on the entire working class and the poor in the most thoroughgoing way possible. It is penetrating and affecting all strata. It is drawing even the most backward strata into politics, polarizing the masses to take positions. In that sense, the masses will not be indifferent to politics as in the periods of temporary stabilization of capitalism. It will draw millions and tens of millions into active politics.

In 1929 in Germany, the masses deserted the existing system, the Weimar Republic, and went either left or right—either with the German Communist Workers Party or with the Nazi Party. Hitler spent all his time on two things—a daily newspaper and getting money to finance the newspaper, and was thus able to overtake the much deeper rooted communists and impose fascism on the German people.

Today the Communist Workers Party is fighting to prevent world war and fascism in preparing for socialist revolution, but we still don't have the majority of workers and oppressed on our side. Our communist agitation and propaganda has to reach every household, every corner of the U.S.—to all 200 million Americans. We must criticize every and any tendencies that prevent us from broadening and thus deepening our ties and influence ever more extensively among the masses. The Party's line and newspaper must get filtered through into every living room, and be most authoritative in its coverage so as to be able to beat the bourgeois media in creating public opinion.

For example, the February 2nd anti-Klan demon-

stration was huge success for the CWP and the masses. But without broad distribution of our newspaper, we can't build on and maximize our victories, and the masses will have to swallow bourgeois and opportunist lies.

The Party Has to Rally All Strata

The Communist Workers Party has to extend its influence to every strata of the American people, not only workers, but petty bourgeoisie, too.

Working-class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases, *without exception*, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected. Moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic, and not from any other point of view. The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical (current), political facts and events, *every* other social class and *all* the manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes, unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata and groups of the population. Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats, for its self-realization is indissolubly bound up not only with a fully clear theoretical—it would be even more true to say not so much with a theoretical, as with a practical understanding, of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through experience of political life. (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter III)

Our newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*, must be a mass communist newspaper. It must address not only questions asked by advanced workers and progressive people, but even petty bourgeoisie and backward workers. Our newspaper, journals, and other publications must be on every newstand and bookstore—wherever people go. In some places we have to do door-to-door sales and ask people to subscribe. The Revolutionary Youth League and friends should set up paper routes. We have to train specialists in marketing and advertising and also learn from the bourgeois newspapers. Only thus can we extend our influence and win over the broad masses.

. . . But if "we" desire to be advanced democrats, we must make it our business to *stimulate* in the minds of those who are dissatisfied with university, or only with Zemstvo, etc. conditions that idea that the whole political system is worthless. *We must take upon ourselves the task of organizing an all-round political struggle under the leadership of our Party in such a manner as to obtain all the support possible of all opposition strata for the struggle and for our Party. We must train our Social-Democratic practical workers to become political leaders, able to guide all the manifestations of this all-round struggle, able at the right time to "dictate a positive program of action" for the restless students, the disoriented Zemstvo Councillors, the incensed religious sects, the offended elementary schoolteachers, etc., etc. (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter III)*

How To Broaden Distribution of the Workers Viewpoint Newspaper

"But is this possible?" some may ask. Do we have enough people to do all this work? In a previous article "Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks", (*WV*, January 21, 1980) we addressed this problem of "there are no people, yet there is a mass of people."

. . . To proceed: Have we sufficient forces to direct our propaganda and agitation among *all* classes of the population? Of course we have. Our Economists, frequently inclined as they are to deny this, lose sight of the gigantic progress our movement has made from 1894 to 1901. Like real "tail-enders," they frequently live in the distant past, in the period when the movement was just beginning. At that time, indeed, we had astonishingly few

“Lessons of the Communist International” and Its Relation to the Party: A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks”

forces, and it was perfectly natural and legitimate then to devote ourselves exclusively to activities among the workers, and severely condemn any deviation from this. The whole task then was to consolidate our position in the working class. At the present time, however, gigantic forces have been attracted to the movement, the best representatives of the young generation of the educated classes are coming over to us, all over the country there are people, compelled to live in the provinces, who have taken part in the movement in the past or who desire to do so now, who are gravitating towards Social-Democracy (whereas in 1894 you could count the Social-Democrats on your fingers). One of the principal political and organizational shortcomings of our movement is that we do not know how to utilize all these forces and give them appropriate work. (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter III)

At the present time, communication between cities on revolutionary business is an extreme rarity, and at all events the exception rather than the rule. If we had a newspaper, however, such communication would become the rule and would secure, not only the distribution of the newspaper, of course, but also (and what is more important) an exchange of experience, of material, of forces and of resources. The scope of organizational work would immediately become *many times wider* (our emphasis) and the success of one locality would serve as a standing encouragement to further perfection and would arouse the desire to utilize the experience already gained by comrades working in other parts of the country. Local work would become far richer and more varied than it is now: political and economic exposures gathered from all over Russia would provide mental food for workers of all trades and in *all stages of development*, would provide material and occasion for talks and read-

a network of agents for this purpose, means performing the *greater* part of the work of preparing for future demonstrations or uprising. It is too late to start organizing the distribution of literature at a time of unrest, a strike, or turmoil, this work can be built up only gradually, by making distributions *obligatory* twice or three times a month. If no newspapers are available, leaflets may and should be distributed, but the distributive machine must in no case be allowed to remain idle. This machine should be brought to such a degree of perfection as to make it possible to inform and mobilize, so to speak, the whole working class population of St. Petersburg overnight. Nor is this by any means a Utopian aim, provided there is a systematic transmission of leaflets from the centre to the narrower intermediary circles and from them to the distributors. (Lenin, *Letter To A Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks*, p. 238-9)

Distribution And Usage of *Workers Viewpoint* Will Train Communists Politically

How do you train advanced elements politically over a period of time? How do you fire them with political scope and train them to size up political tasks and assess political situations. Lenin had this to say:

... there is no other way of training strong political organizations except through the medium of an all Russian newspaper. . .

What we require first and foremost and most imperatively, is to widen the field establish *real* contacts between the cities on the basis of *regular, common work*; for scatteredness weighs down our people who are “stuck in a hole”, not knowing what is happening in the world, from whom to learn, or how to acquire experience and satisfy their desire to engage in broad activities. And I continue to insist that we can *start* establishing *real* contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper, as the only regular, all-Russian enterprise, which will summarize the results of the most diverse forms of activity and thereby *stimulate* people to march forward untiringly along *all* the innumerable paths which lead to revolution in the same way as all roads lead to Rome. (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*, Chapter V)

The newspaper will help people to size up the rapidly changing international and national situation and thus broaden people's political scope. It sums up lessons from struggles here and around the world. It exposes capitalist exploitation and oppression and promotes the Party's and masses' gains and victories over the bourgeoisie. Thus it will help teach and train more and stronger revolutionaries.

The Social-Democrats's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects, he must be able to generalize all these manifestations to produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation, he must be able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to explain his Socialistic convictions and his democratic demands to *all*, in order to explain to *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation. (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done*, Chapter III)

A historic opportunity lies before us today. The danger of world war and fascism looms closer daily, and the prospect for socialist revolution is also glowing brighter. It is what we do that's most decisive. Only through rallying the support of the vast majority of our fellow Americans can we beat back the blood-sucking bourgeoisie to emancipate our class and all other classes. □

Reference notes:

1. “Speech in Defense of Tactics,” *LCW*, Vol. 32, pp. 468-477
2. “On Confounding Politics With Pedagogics,” *LCW*, Vol. 8 (see also “Party Work In the Masses”)
3. “Theses On the Fundamental Tasks Of The 2nd Congress Of The Communist International,” *LCW*, Vol. 31 pp. 184-201 (see also “Party Work In the Masses”)
4. *What Is To Be Done*, Chapters 3-5
5. “Letter To A Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks,” *LCW*, Vol. 6 pp 231-250.



May 1, 1919, Lenin speaks to millions of Russian workers and peasants on the first May Day held under socialism. Here in the U.S. the Communist Workers Party has to win the sympathy of the *majority* of Americans in order to seize state power, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and build a new socialist society.

Through a rigid, we repeat, rigid system of collective leadership and individual responsibility, and a *strict* division of labor and constant Marxist education, we can rally and organize thousands and millions to take up these tasks, and push out the distribution of our newspaper to propagate the Party's correct line. We should ask our friends and friends' friends to sell the *Workers Viewpoint* newspaper on their jobs, in their buildings or neighborhoods, and to all their friends.

Build A Network to Build the Party

A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer. (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter V)

As the economic crisis deepens and millions of Americans awaken and rise up spontaneously looking for leadership, the Party's line and newspaper have to be there. Advanced are looking for us, seeking us out. It is the Party which is lagging. By distributing the paper to those places we're not at, we can make many new friends. There is example after example of people joining the Party through *indirect* contacts. A Party member met someone once who worked far away, sent him the newspaper regularly, asked him to come to a conference and later a demonstration. Finally after some consistent study and more practice, this friend joined the Party. Now he sends the newspaper to his friends.

Actual contacts would begin to be established by the mere function of distributing a newspaper (that is, if it is a newspaper worthy of the name, i.e., if it is issued regularly, not once a month like a magazine, but four times a month.) At the pre-

sent time, communication between cities on revolutionary business is an extreme rarity, and at all events the exception rather than the rule. If we had a newspaper, however, such communication would become the rule and would secure, not only the distribution of the newspaper, of course, but also (and what is more important) an exchange of experience, of material, of forces and of resources. The scope of organizational work would immediately become *many times wider* (our emphasis) and the success of one locality would serve as a standing encouragement to further perfection and would arouse the desire to utilize the experience already gained by comrades working in other parts of the country. Local work would become far richer and more varied than it is now: political and economic exposures gathered from all over Russia would provide mental food for workers of all trades and in *all stages of development*, would provide material and occasion for talks and read-

We should follow up on our subscribers, write them letters, and invite them to our activities. We should ask them to write in to the newspaper and tell us what's happening in their workplace, community or school. Through our newspaper we can build a whole network and thus help to build the Party.

As far back as 1902, Lenin spoke on grasping distribution as an essential part of all-rounded preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Further, as regards the district groups, I fully agree with you that it is one of their most important tasks to organize the *distribution* of literature properly. I think the district groups should for the main part act as *intermediaries* between the committees and the factories, *intermediaries* and even mostly *couriers*. Their chief task should be the proper distribution of the literature received from the committee in accordance with the rules of *secrecy*. This is an extremely important task, (our emphasis) for if we secure regular contact between a special district group of distributors and *all the factories* in that district, as well as the largest possible number of *workers' homes* in that district, it will be of enormous value, both for demonstrations and for an uprising. Arranging for and organizing the speedy and proper delivery of literature, leaflets, proclamations, etc., training

Britain Tries to Ban ZANU from Elections

No Intimidation Could Stop ZANU or CWP

Beautiful Zimbabwe, Beautiful Zimbabwe

We shall never forget Beautiful Zimbabwe

Long live Comrade Mugabe—We shall ever remember

Long live Comrade Mugabe...

ZANU Song of Resistance

"We are the Party that started the war and we are the Party that brought the peace. Let no one believe that we cannot go back to war again if we are denied a legitimate victory by peaceful means!" These are the words of Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union, spoken after the second attempt on his life in four days.

As the election in Zimbabwe draws near (Feb. 27th to 29th), Great Britain is using every trick in the book to prevent a ZANU victory at the ballot box. Intimidating voters with the Rhodesian Auxiliary troops, banning Enon Nkala (a senior ZANU representative) from campaigning, threats to ban the elections in ZANU strongholds such as Mashonaland (home of comrade Mugabe), Manicaland, and Victoria where over half of the black voters live, and finally the two assassination attempts on Mu-

gabe's life are all signs of desperation.

These tricks reflect how hopeless the situation is for Britain and its puppet Muzorewa. Lord Soames, shaking with fear and whining that ZANU is "provoking" political violence, is spreading the same lie that the bourgeois media pushed against the CWP (Communist Workers Party)—blaming us for the murders of our five comrades in Greensboro. The lies, bans and threats of bans are the same tactics that the government and opportunists used when they kicked the CWP out of the Feb. 2nd coalition just days before the demonstration. But the vicious lies and tactics of the bourgeoisie did not work against the CWP nor will it stem the tide of support for ZANU.

Any election that fails to include ZANU in the government will be a sham, illegal government in the eyes of the people. Just as the CWP could have called the Feb. 2nd demonstration by ourselves, ZANU could have continued the armed struggle without entering into the ceasefire agreement. But by choosing to form a broad United Front and working vigorously in it while maintaining its independence and

initiative more people will be won over. Exposing the lie of portraying genuine fighters as "left fringe" or "small guerrilla groups", abiding by the ceasefire agreement and working for a fair, peaceful election, ZANU showed that they have the support of the majority of people.

It is the opportunists, whether in the form of Lucius Walker with the police and the SBI (State Bureau of Investigation) in Greensboro or in the

form of Muzorewa, Soames, and Rhodesian troops that repeatedly violate the agreement reached in the United Front. As each of these violations are exposed to the people, ZANU and the CWP showed who are the real provokers of violence.

As a result of their correct use of the United Front tactic, if ZANU is forced to resume armed struggle, they will have a broader organizational network and more support among the people than ever before. So in spite of the ranting and raving of British colonialists, in spite of their attempts at murders and stopping the elections, they will fail. □



The bomb attempt on Mugabe's life in Fort Victoria, Rhodesia blew a 18 foot hole in the ground. This showed how vicious and desperate the British and Muzorewa are.

The Champ: Blowing with the Wind

On February 25, 1964, a bold young man confidently predicted he would knock out a "big bear" named Sonny Liston and become the next heavyweight champion of the world. That night he did just that. After his stunning victory, he proclaimed to the world "I am the greatest". His name was Cassius Marcellus Clay.

Cassius followed through by shocking the boxing establishment, when shortly after winning the heavyweight crown, he changed his name to Muhammed

Ali and joined the Nation of Islam, at a time when the Black Muslims were being slandered as hate mongers and reverse racists. He was a close friend of Malcolm X, who was Ali's spiritual advisor before the first Liston-Clay fight.

As the civil right movement was drawing to a close, and urban rebellions rocked the urban centers of America, millions of black youth adored him because his boldness reflected the increasingly determined struggle of the Afro-American people. Ali had a name

for every opponent and a prediction for when he would knock them out, backing it up with a barrage of lightning lefts and rights. He was the hardest on opponents who refused to call him by his proper name, dragging out fights purposely to punish those who showed disrespect.

Then the system came down on him. He was drafted in 1967 to go to Vietnam. Ali said, "No Vietnamese ever called me a nigger" and refused to go. Convicted of draft evasion, Ali was stripped of his title and his right to fight in the prime of his career. Ali stood on principle, making him one of the most popular athletes of his time.

Ali Doing Carter's Footwork in Africa

How did Ali, a fighter who refused to fight an imperialist war, become a man who goes with the wind? With Ali's success in the ring came a life of luxury, isolated from the suffering and misery of the Afro-American people. A mansion in New Jersey, a Rolls Royce with personalized plates, investments in apartments, rubbing shoulders with heads of states and movie stars. All he thinks about is how to build up his career, looking for the limelight. The uses to which

Ali could be put was not lost on the U.S. government. Whether he was conscious of it or not, Ali's five nation tour to Africa serves Carter's war preparations, scratching up support for the U.S. Olympic boycott. The tour is helping to whip up public opinion for the next world war between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

When he got to Africa however, Ali walked into a haymaker. All heads of state except one refused to meet him. The Zambian press called him an Uncle Tom. Ali tried to play innocent saying, "they didn't tell me in America that Russia supports these countries. Maybe I'm doing something that ain't right." But just a year ago, Ali was in Moscow praising the Soviet system.

After that Ali claimed to be on a "fact finding" tour and spent the rest of his African trip denouncing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and "that racist, devilish South Africa."

But when he got back to the U.S., Ali was really relieved to get away from the hostility against U.S. imperialism. He let his guard down for a minute with a reporter and told them that "No country is as great as the smallest city in America." □



Ali, turned U.S. envoy, on the defense in Africa.



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

BRITISH STEEL WORKERS STRIKE CONTINUES

More than 100,000 steelworkers working for the government owned British Steel Company have been on strike since Jan. 2. They are demanding 20% wage increases to combat the 17% inflation rate as well as resist proposed layoffs that threaten 52,000 jobs. On Feb. 3, over 15,000 steelworkers in private companies joined their brothers on strike, defying Prime Minister Thatcher's effort to limit wage increases and secondary strikes.

BUILDING TAKEOVERS MET WITH FASCIST VIOLENCE BY CENTRAL AMERICA GOVERNMENT

El Salvador police stormed the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Party killing seven people and wounding 23. The building was taken over a week ago by the people to demand that political prisoners be released. Last month, the Guatemalan police had stormed the Spanish Embassy in their country after it was taken over by peasants protesting oppression. The government blamed the peasants for "provoking" the raid which left at least 30 people killed.

TURKEY CRUSHES WORKERS UPRISING

After eight days of heavy fighting, thousands of Turkish troops backed by tanks, armored personnel carriers and planes finally crushed the workers uprising in the town of Izmir, arresting 1,500 workers. The uprising started a month ago in the state owned cotton spinning and weaving plant. The manager fired the union leadership and when workers protested, 5,000 out of 11,000 workers were also fired. 35,000 workers in other factories in the area joined in the protest. The workers blocked the roads leading to the city and exchanged gunfire with the troops that were sent to crush the uprising before it spread. But with the Turkish currency devalued in half while prices quadruple, spontaneous resistance is happening everywhere. In Istanbul and Ankara, food trucks and supermarkets were taken over and the food distributed free to the people. Hundreds of students burned an effigy of Prime Minister Demirel chanting "No to the price rise!"

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