

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

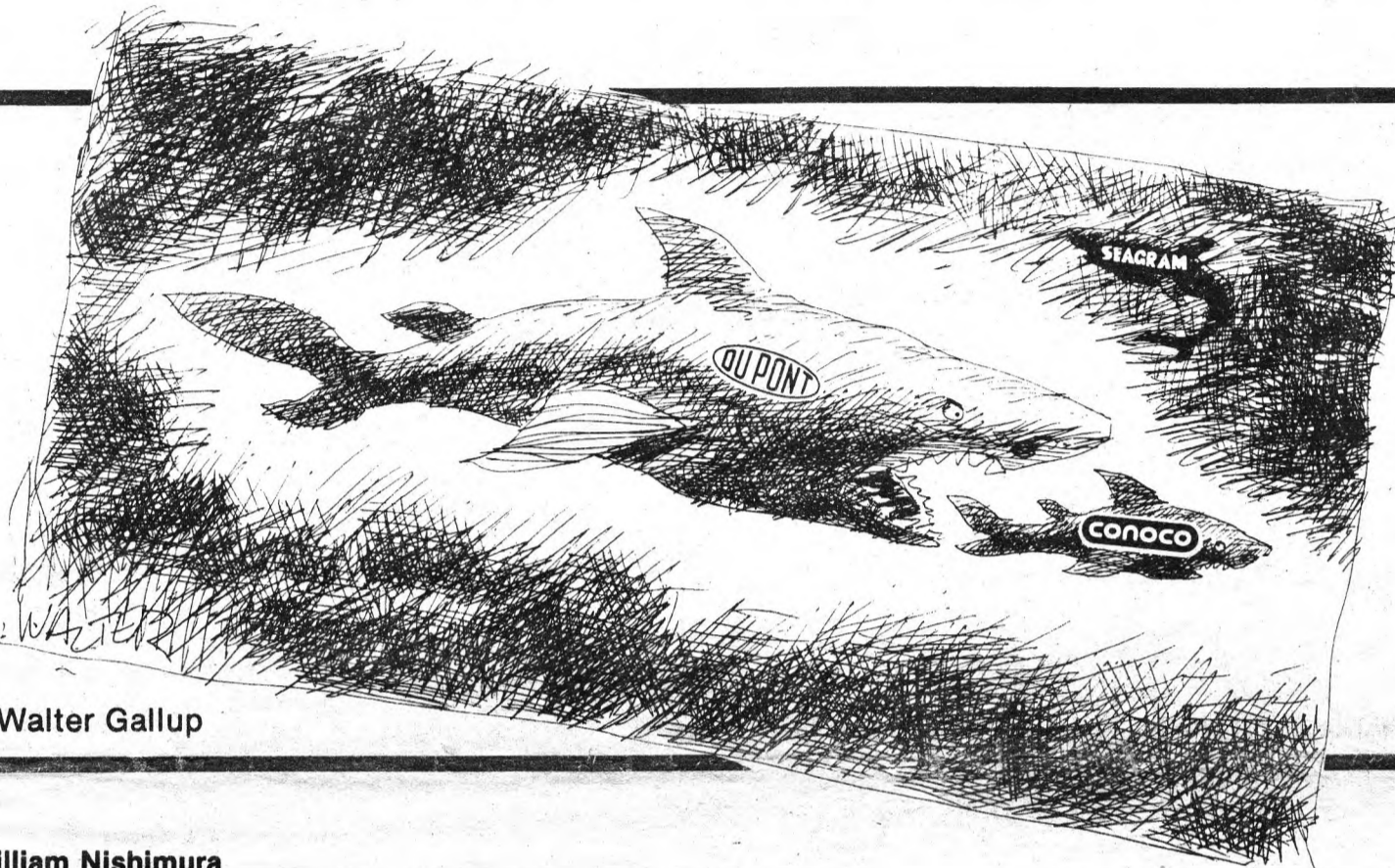
NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

VOL. 6 NO. 29

JULY 29-AUGUST 4, 1981

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War on Wall Street



Walter Gallup

Merger Mania

William Nishimura

The takeover war for Conoco, the ninth largest oil company in the U.S. and 14th ranked overall, is pitting some of the biggest corporate titans against each other. Du Pont, the nation's top chemical firm, Seagram, the world's number one supplier of wines and liquor, and Mobil, 2nd ranked U.S. oil company, have all made bids. Texaco is reportedly also poised to enter the fight.

This is the third wave of "merger mania" to sweep Wall Street in less than six months. Last March, AMAX, the top molybdenum producer in the world, Kennecott, the leader in the U.S. copper industry, St. Joe Minerals, the biggest U.S. lead producer, and Bache Group Inc., whose brokerage house is the country's eighth largest, were either gobbled up or barely resisted takeovers. A few months later, American Express grabbed the investment house of Shearson Loeb Rhodes. Now Conoco is on the table.

The Bait—Natural Resources and Cash

Why these companies? There are two common threads—either they own vast reserves of natural resources or they are cash rich. Conoco has both.

Conoco owns 2 billion barrels in oil reserves, 7,000 billion cubic feet of natural gas, and 14 billion tons of coal, including Consolidation Coal Co., the 2nd biggest in the U.S. coal industry. At the same time, Conoco has a hoard of ready cash from its astronomical oil profits.

Du Pont, for example, is especially interested in Conoco's oil reserves. Eighty percent of Du Pont's products is based on petroleum feedstock. Unlike Dow, its chief competitor in the chemical industry, Du Pont does not have its own source of this essential raw material. Du Pont is trying to corner as much of this raw material as it can, just as aircraft producers extend their dominance over each other by monopolizing raw materials and skilled workers. Otherwise, Du Pont could not compete with Dow for long.

Others have their eye on Conoco's ready cash. The collapse of the nation's bond market has cut off a vital source of long-term financing, forcing many companies to turn to short-term borrowing as the only option. With these short-term loans

maturing, companies must have a large pool of cash available to pay off their debt. Otherwise, it means default.

The frenzy over Conoco has triggered rumors of a whole slew of possible mergers. Potential "victims" are: Cities Service, Marathon Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Louisiana Land, Pennzoil, Diamond Shamrock, Sun Oil and Kerr-McGee. Both Phillips and Pennzoil are also potential buyers, along with Tenneco, General Electric, Standard of Ohio, Gulf Oil, Standard of California, Union Oil, Getty, Texaco and Allied Chemical.

The Effects

Merger mania has affected the overall economy in several ways. Speculation over which company would be brought up next was the main thing keeping the stock market going in the last month, up until the market's recent collapse. As of July 14, Conoco stock sold at over \$86 per share in the New York Stock Exchange. Less than two months ago Conoco sold at \$50 a share. On July 15, the five most active Big Board stocks and nine of the 15 on the market's most active list were all potential takeover targets.

Another effect has been to tie down investment capital as the monopolies fatten their war chests. In the Conoco

fight alone, Du Pont lined up \$4 billion in credit from a banking syndicate led by Chase Manhattan, while Mobil is negotiating a \$5 billion loan from another group of banks led by Citibank. Conoco has arranged to borrow up to \$3 billion from a third banking syndicate headed by Bank of America.

Other companies, either to launch or defend against takeovers, are also opening up credit lines. On July 9, Pennzoil got \$2.5 billion in credit from a group of 24 U.S. and foreign banks again led by Citibank. The next day, Texaco began negotiating an option to borrow \$5.5 billion from a Chase Manhattan syndicate. A Chase group has also given Marathon Oil a \$5 billion credit line. Gulf Oil is in the process of getting \$5 billion in credit from a banking group headed by Bankers Trust Co. and the National Westminster Bank of London, and on July 13, Cities Service started talks for \$1 billion in credit with Morgan Guaranty Trust.

Credit Drain Kills Small Business, Jobs

This credit drain is making it even harder for smaller monopolies, not to mention small businesses, to borrow. Even at today's high interest rates, they just can't get loans. On July 15, Ferdinand J. St. Germain, Rhode Island Democrat and Chairman of the House Banking Committee, demanded that the Federal Reserve pressure banks to stop opening huge credit lines to oil companies so readily. Opening credit lines wholesale allows the oil companies to play an "international game of Monopoly," he said. Meanwhile, housing and small business "are at near-collapse because of a severe shortage of credit."

The plight of small business has a direct effect on workers. Various sources differ on how to define small businesses. Some say these are generally those with annual sales of \$100 million or less. Others use the number of employees as a gauge. But all agree that small business accounts for more than half of the nation's jobs.

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CPC
Reverses
Verdict 7



ATLANTA: Day 728

NATIONAL NEWS

...Merger Mania

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A Conoco/Du Pont or Conoco/Mobil merger will require federal review. William Baxter, head of the Justice Department's antitrust unit is said to be especially anxious to use the case as a symbol of the Administration's antitrust policy. Because of the takeover fever the Conoco case has generated, Baxter recently declared, "If they think we're generally soft on mergers, that they can slip significant horizontal aspects past us, they're going to be in for a big surprise." Baxter is referring to the Administration's stated policy that it will oppose "horizontal" monopolies (where companies dominating one industry merge), but will approve "vertical" monopolies (where a single company builds an empire from raw materials to finished products to outlets in the market).

Reagan's Pro-Monopoly Policy

However, it was the comments of Baxter's boss, Attorney General William French Smith, which set the political tone for merger mania. "Bigness in business doesn't necessarily mean badness," Smith said. Baxter himself agrees with this blatantly pro-

monopoly policy. At his confirmation hearing, Baxter was asked if increasing concentration of wealth and power in fewer conglomerates would bother him. "No," he replied. Baxter is a former Stanford law professor who is known as a follower of the "Chicago school" of economics. According to this theory, antitrust laws "overprotect inefficient small business."

Baxter has declared that the top priority of his antitrust unit will be to get the courts to roll back decisions favoring small business against monopoly suppliers. He has even threatened to intervene on behalf of suppliers in private antitrust suits. Ninety-five percent of all federal antitrust actions are initially filed by private businesses.

Irving Shapiro, Du Pont's retired chairman and chief executive officer, admitted that the Reagan policy was a big factor influencing the company to try for Conoco. "For a while the theory there (in Washington) was that bigness is bad. Anything this size would have been unacceptable." Shapiro is still a member of Du Pont's Board of Directors and chairs the company's finance committee. He helped "shape" the deal with Conoco since he also is a member of the law firm which represents Conoco in takeover battles. Du Pont is notorious for its monopoly practices. Since 1939, the company has faced 20 major antitrust suits. One of these cases, the controversy over cellophane, played a key role in the development of the present antitrust law.

Monopolies at War

Takeovers are nothing new under capitalism, especially during economic crises. Big fish have always eaten small fish, ever since capitalism became monopoly capitalism at the turn of the century. The fact that today it's big fish being swallowed by even bigger fish shows the extreme depth of the 80's economic crisis.

This trend is illustrated by statistics released by W.T. Grimm & Co., which keeps track of mergers. According to Grimm, the total number of mergers and acquisitions completed or pending has dropped since 1975. In that year there were 2,297 such deals compared to 1,889 in 1980. So far this year there have been 1,184. But the number of mergers where the price tag was \$100 million or more, and the size of major acquisitions in dollar terms, have both increased dramatically. In 1975, there were 14 takeovers in the \$100 million or more category and total dollar volume was \$11.8 billion. Last year, there were 94 takeovers in the \$100 million plus bracket and total volume hit \$44.3 billion. In the first quarter of 1981, total dollar volume reached \$17.5 billion compared to \$7.2 billion in the first quarter of 1980. This pace has continued through the second quarter. At this rate, the \$44.3 billion mark set in all of last year will be passed by the end of the third quarter.

The monopoly capitalists are desperate. The biggest cannot survive off the smaller alone. Today, the only way the biggest monopolies can keep from drowning is to feed on each other. The least sign of weakness from any corporate giant can trigger a frenzy

The Bidding War

May 6: Dome Petroleum bids for 14 million shares of Conoco at \$65 per share, and reserves the right to buy up to 22 million shares. Top Conoco officials advise stockholders not to sell. Nevertheless, Dome is flooded with offers—a record 54.8 million shares, over 50% of Conoco's outstanding stocks.

May 29: Seagram makes private offer to Conoco to buy 35% of the company.

June 1: Dome trades the 22 million shares it acquired and \$245 million in cash in exchange for Conoco's 53% ownership of the Hudson Bay Oil and Gas Co., a Canadian energy firm.

June 17: Conoco rejects two more bids by Seagram, and the next day Seagram begins buying up Conoco stock on the open market. Seagram spends \$7.7 million for 143,000 shares.

June 25: The Board of Directors of Conoco and Cities Service, the 20th ranked U.S. oil company, agree to a merger. Seagram announces that it will pay \$73 a share for 40.7% of Conoco, a total of \$2.6 billion. Cities Service pulls out of the merger talks.

June 30: Conoco rejects Seagram's offer and files a \$1 billion suit against the liquor company. Three days later Seagram files a countersuit.

July 6: Du Pont agrees to buy Conoco. Du Pont will pay \$87.50 per share for 40% of Conoco's outstanding stock. Du Pont will swap its own stock for the remaining 60% of Conoco at a ratio of 1.6 shares of Du Pont to each Conoco share. The total deal amounts to a record \$7.3 billion.

July 12: Seagram raises its bid to \$3.77 billion for 51% of Conoco at a rate of \$85 per share. Du Pont counters by offering a \$7.5 billion deal—\$95 per share for 40% and a stock trade of 1.7 to 1 for the rest.

July 16: Mobil bids \$7.7 billion for Conoco. It will pay \$90 per share for 51% and trade Mobil stocks for the other 49% at a ratio equivalent in worth to \$90 per share.

"Gone Fishing"

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

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

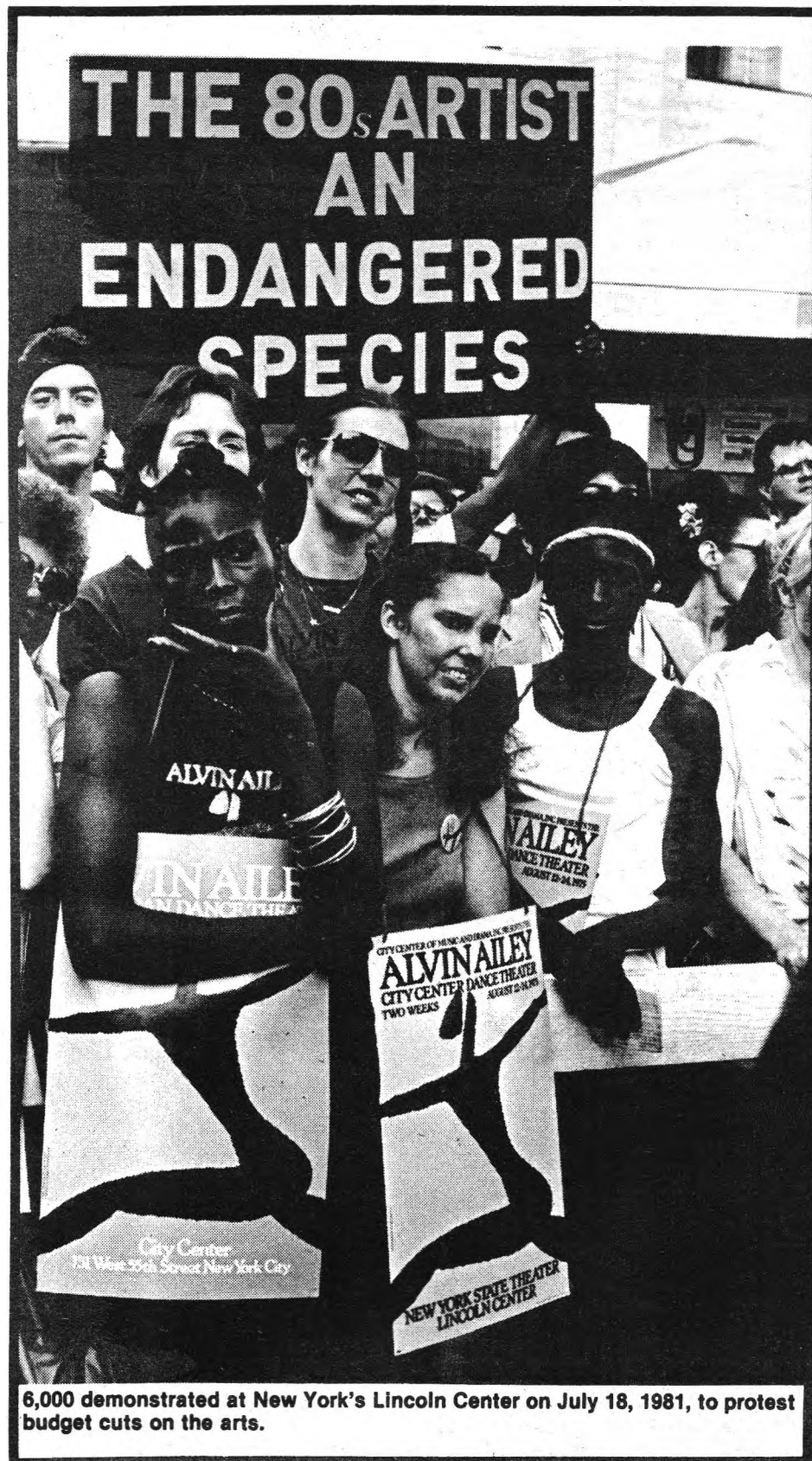
Workers Viewpoint is the weekly newspaper of the Communist Workers Party.

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

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

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6,000 demonstrated at New York's Lincoln Center on July 18, 1981, to protest budget cuts on the arts.

Poison the Medfly Not Our Children

Michelle Wong

Claiming that the Reagan administration "held a gun to his head," with the threat of a quarantine on California's \$4.3 billion crop, Gov. Brown reversed his previous stand on aerial spraying of residential Santa Clara Valley with its population of 575,000. The federal government refused to take the blame, denying the use of Moffet Field, a Navy air base, as a staging area, and "to keep Jerry Brown from dumping this in Washington's lap."

Thus, the state gave in to the growers' demands to spray but was left with no guarantees that there would not be a quarantine. Developed by the Nazis in WWII as a nerve gas, the pesticide Malathion is to be sprayed over 117 square miles at least six times 6-10 days apart. Location of the helicopters had to be kept secret for fear of sabotage. Callers claiming to be Vietnam vets threatened to shoot down the copters on sight. Other tactics of civil disobedience were planned such as refusing to allow trucks to refuel. The mood is angry for the residents, scared by the possible health hazards, who have been resisting for months the aerial spraying. They have demonstrated, packed hearings and successfully banned the spraying in Santa Clara County and in five of its communities—only to be overridden in the end by the state.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the agricultural officials, while insisting that there is no hard evidence that Malathion causes birth defects and cancer, warned people to stay indoors and to keep their children's toys indoors during the spraying. And GM cautioned that car paint could warp and bubble. State officials went to extreme lengths to calm angry residents. Collins, director of the youthful California Conservation Corps, said he downed a glass of diluted Malathion to show that it was safe. "I am firmly convinced that the stuff is not bad for you. I got sick in the stomach—but it's probably psychosomatic." Dr. Ephraim Kahn of State Health Services said a naked infant could roll around on the ground afterwards and suffer no harm.

Far from allaying fears, these statements seem to further anger Californians. One response was, "When one segment of the government tells you not to worry, you worry. They said Agent Orange was safe!"

Many experts, including Stamford University pharmacologists and physicians, dispute the safety claim. They tell people to leave their homes if possible, especially pregnant women, nursing mothers and those with chronic and respiratory diseases. There has been no long-term study done and there is insufficient data on the pesticide. Friends of the Earth spokesperson Robert Scowcraft says the spray does no good at the larvae stage. There are safer but more expensive ways of eradicating the fruitfly. In 1975 sterile males (made so by exposure to radiation) helped eradicate the infestation. (Ironically, this outbreak was created by a goofup: hundreds of thousands of fruitflies, thought to be sterile but were not, were released last month.) Holding fruit in 25-degree temperatures for 12 days could kill the larvae.

The quick chemical fix is easy. The lack of research on the dangers of pesticides is common. Government agencies refer questions of possible

hazards to the pesticide manufacturers. Where there are already proven correlations, such as Sevin links to sperm abnormalities, reduced male fertility, birth defects and cancer, research is not pursued, the public is not informed and the sprayings continue. Sevin was sprayed over parts of New Jersey in the spring to combat the defoliating gypsy moth. Dr. Tierno, a biochemist at New York University, was amazed that the EPA would deliberately ignore its own staff's advice to print warning labels that pregnant women avoid exposure to Sevin. A N.J. study of elevated childhood leukemia in Rutherford noted that significantly more of its victims lived near trees treated with Sevin and Malathion.

Other serious questions are ignored: What happens when pesticides combine with other pollutants in the air and find their way into the water supplies? Also, Sevin metabolizes in trace amounts through the liver. This assumes a healthy liver—what about the young, the old, the malnourished and the poor? Sevin is also a viral enhancer. Viruses increase 12-15-fold. There are outbreaks of viruses, especially among children, after a spraying. One of these viruses is linked to Reye's Syndrome.

More and more, grassroots community groups are demanding answers to these questions. They are not satisfied at being told to go to Union Carbide for the answers. They become enraged at being told that if they are so scared of possible birth defects, to plan their pregnancies around the spraying (the state official later claimed he was misinterpreted.) They do not like the findings of traces of sprayed pesticides 100 miles from the flight pattern of the nearest plane. They see their communities sprayed as in N.J. for the last 10 years and the problem worsening. (Prolonged exposure causes more resistant pests to evolve. 90 percent of the larvae will be killed but the 10 percent that are left will be stronger and their natural predators would have been killed. Sevin has been used on the budworm in Maine. 500,000 acres were affected in 1952, compared with 9 million in 1978.) In the case of the gypsy moth, some scientists at Rutgers University Center for Coastal and Environmental Studies question whether the state's estimate of the damage isn't inflated, and whether the best treatment may be nothing at all.

It would have prevented three school buses in Dennis township from being sprayed and prevented scenes such as this. "It was about quarter to one. We were just cuttin' the watermelon—it was a special treat—when I realized what was happening. 'My God, they are spraying us with Sevin,'" said Dr. Helen O'Brien, director of the Montessori Learning Center in Woodcliff Lake, N.J. State officials said the chemical is safe and told the pre-schoolers to wash it off. But many were sent home itching and coughing. Efforts to find out if any followup was done on the children were futile.

More and more people are left to the same conclusion of one nurse, Marianne Delmeier, who tried to organize a ban on the Sevin spraying, that the solution cannot be left to the politicians. We must depend on ourselves and the organizing cannot be done only in the spring and summer, but must be year round. □



Picking fruit off trees while residents protest chemical sprayings that will harm more than the medfly.



To Hell with the 'L'

Norman Sadler

Chicago transit riders showed shock and disgust on July 6 as they dug deeper into their pockets to pay increased fares and sunk deeper into the Monday morning blues.

The Illinois legislature adjourned on July 2 without passing any bailout bills for the Regional Transit Authority (RTA) and the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), the two train and bus systems serving the Chicago region. Senators Vadalabene and Rhoads slugged it out on the Senate floor during arguments over remapping of congressional districts. Legislators told Chicago Mayor Byrne they could get re-elected on an anti-Chicago platform. Byrne and Governor Thompson claimed they couldn't get together to discuss the transit funding problem. Amid the contradictions and conflicts and inaction is the kernel of truth: the politicians have no permanent solution to the transit crisis.

"A collapse of government," a Chicago Tribune editorial labeled it. The lack of leadership and solutions is obvious.

"Stop-Gap" Measures Deepen Crisis

Emergency fare hikes, granted without public hearings, went into effect on July 6. CTA fares jumped from 80¢ to 90¢. Some routes have 10¢ and 20¢ surcharges. RTA fares increased 57½%, making this year's fare hikes total 107% above last year's fares. Hundreds of suburban evening and weekend runs have been eliminated. The Milwaukee Road, a commuter line in bankruptcy court, was granted a 75% fare hike by the judge.

Mayor Byrne rejected Governor Thompson's proposal of \$120 million in state aid, apparently fearing that she would lose local control, which is what happened when the state bailed out the school system last year. Although the school system is still \$90 million in the hole and may not open this fall, Byrne hinted at a plan to provide the needed funds without new taxes.

Her plans for bailing out the transit system, however, duplicate the past practice of deficit financing which is pulling the city down the drain. They include a 1% tax on professional services (as yet untested, and possibly il-

legal, this ploy faces considerable and influential opposition), a 1% sales tax (excluding food and medicine), and a 5¢ per package tax on cigarettes. Until these taxes are collected, though, she intends to take out a \$120 million "bridge" loan, at 13-15% interest rates.

The increased fares will provide less than 10% of the money needed by the RTA and CTA to continue operations. Millions are still unpaid to suburban transit companies built on RTA subsidies. Byrne's "bridge" loan is nearly four times greater than the 1973 "bridge" loan of \$34.6 million. The RTA defaulted on a \$6.9 million payment on this loan due July 1. If the state demands payment, the trains and buses will grind to a halt. Byrne's only setting the system up to be knocked down.

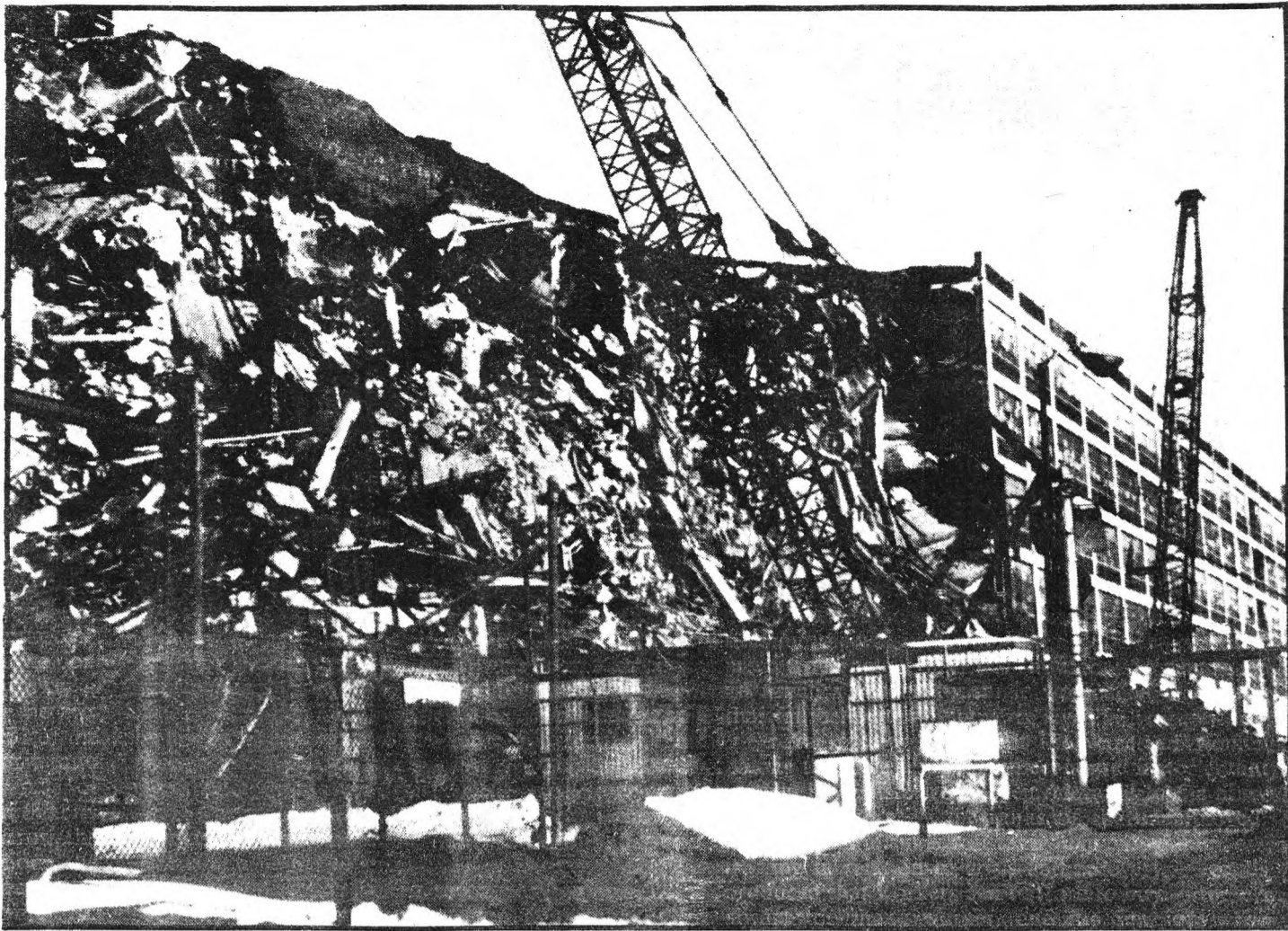
The CTA met its last \$6.9 million payroll with funds from an undisclosed source, while there are rumors that the city will pay the bills until Byrne's plan brings in new money. This is covering up the crisis as it drives deeper.

What Is To Be Done?

Paying the bills is their immediate problem. It's a problem for everyone. A suburban fare collector told the Chicago Sun-Times that one woman, a secretary, told him she clears \$192 every two weeks. The new fare is \$184.55 a month, half her take-home pay. "She said she's going to ask for a raise. I said, 'Good luck.'"

A Chicago woman, Edith Green, 61, told the Sun-Times, "It stinks. It's outrageous when you're on a fixed income. No one cares. But what else can I do? I can't walk."

What is to be done for the commuting secretary, the retired woman? The state legislature had no solution, and did not want to pay the political price of voting for increased deficit and increased taxes. Byrne and Thompson, unlike Chicago mayors and Illinois governors of the past, are unable to work together. The secretary and the retiree cannot wait for the next elections, because the fare hikes are here already. They, like hundreds of others in the Chicago region, must demand: Lower fares now! No service cuts! No concessions from the transit workers! Make the capitalists pay! □



Dodge Main being demolished.

What! Detroiters Vote Themselves a Tax Increase

Glen Janken

Lying in the face of a nationwide tax revolt, Detroit voters turned out June 23 and voted themselves a one percent income tax increase on both residents and non-residents working in Detroit. Permission for the city to vote on increasing its taxes was granted by the State Legislature in Lansing only on the condition that the tax would become operative if the mayor succeeded in getting wage and benefit concessions from city workers. Several years of rapidly escalating budget deficits required the city to do something. This tax plan was the first step in the ruling class' plan to make Detroit somewhat solvent. Mayor Coleman Young in particular campaigned hard for a Yes vote, the victory all but sealing another term as mayor for him. But in a longer term perspective he also sealed his fate with the kiss of death.

History of the Crisis

The factors that brought on Detroit's budget crisis are fundamentally the same ones breaking urban fiscal stability throughout the north and northeast. These great cities and their hardworking population gave birth to modern America. The tremendous industrial foundation that at one time made the U.S. the most productive nation in the world with the highest standard of living was rooted in these cities. Then, in an incredible display of waste and destruction, the huge plants were abandoned, the mammoth machines lost to rust and disrepair, and the workers shafted as capital fled to the suburbs and the south and southwest. This occurred over a period of two or three decades. *Not*, mind you, because these plants and people weren't productive. I spent a year and a half working at Dodge Main, watching that monster spit out 135 cars an hour from two assembly lines. Nor was it because they weren't profitable, because they were. But they

weren't profitable *enough*. And the law of capital is like a leech that sucks as hard as it can, but only until something juicier comes along, leaving the otherwise once healthy victim to wither and die. With business goes population and taxes and before you know it the gap between expenses and revenues is too large for simple deficit spending to cover and bankruptcy looms as the logical outcome of a dying city.

Detroit, although it has its particularities due to its single-industry nature (79% of the economy is auto or auto-related), in many ways provides us with a very "pure" example of this process. This is because, according to Lazard Freres (Felix Rohatyn's organization, financial advisors to the city), Detroit is an exceptionally well-managed city without the disastrous accounting mess that characterized New York, without the overreliance on short-term bonds that triggered the New York bankruptcy, and without the mixing of revenue sources and ex-

penditures that got Cleveland in so much trouble.

Detroit's population has dropped steadily since 1950. In that time more than a half-million people have left. From 1970 to 1980 alone the city lost more than 300,000. It was the only metropolitan area in the whole state with an absolute loss in population. Much of the reason can be seen in the change in the economy. In the manufacturing sector, the basis of Detroit's economy, in 1940 manufacturing was over 48% of the area's economy, with 31% of the labor force directly employed making automobiles. By 1970 those shares had declined to 37% and 18% respectively. With the many plant closings in the last 10 years those figures are also way outdated, but they show the long-term trend. Between 1958 and 1972 the city lost 73,000 jobs. That does not include the thousands lost in the last three years. This is the same trend seen in virtually all the great industrial cities of the north and northeast.

The result of this industrial shift is a very weak tax base, one that has been weakening for quite some time. In fact, only 25% of Detroit's annual budget is supported by taxes. Forty percent comes from the state and federal governments; the rest from other local revenue-producing sources. This support from the state and federal governments caved in as Reagan moved into office and the state treasury dried up for many of the same reasons the city's did. Consequently, although expenditures rose about equal to the rate of inflation from 1977-80, revenues were way too low and the current budget crisis resulted. Last year's deficit was \$119 million; this year's projected deficit is \$132 million. Without further revenue sources or expenditure reductions, the projected accumulated deficit in 1985 is \$1 billion!

Combine this with the steady decline in the economic base of the city. Aside from job and industry losses cited already, the auto industry in particular and especially in Detroit has just experienced a qualitative negative change after years of this qualitative erosion. The most striking sign of this is the collapse of the Chrysler Corporation.

Chrysler is the city's largest employer, larger even than the government. Although Detroit has always been known as the motor city, Chrysler had the bulk of actual production facilities within the city limits. Within the last two years they have shut down four plants (including two major assembly plants), severely curtailed operations at several others, eliminating thousands of jobs. To quote a blue-ribbon study done for Mayor Young by the city's leading industrialists (the Secrest Committee, under Rohatyn's guidance), "In reviewing the outlook for the future, the Committee recognized that, after past automotive depressions, Detroit's economy has often shown remarkable resiliency when the automotive business has moved into a major cyclical upturn. Today, however, the long-run outlook for the industry is more serious...The economic outlook for Detroit during the 1981-85 period...forecasts: a slow recovery from the recession; a continuing population decline at an annual compound rate of 3.1%; a slow decrease in unemployment from 16% in 1980 to 10.6% in 1985; much lower levels of housing activity than during the 1970's and continuing double digit interest rates for at least two more years. Therefore, we believe that Detroit's future financial plans cannot be based on the 'return of the good old days.'"

Accordingly, in August of 1980, Moody's lowered Detroit's municipal bond rating below investment grade, preventing the city from borrowing to meet its deficit and kicking off the current scramble to balance the city budget.

In response, Mayor Young assembled a committee of 26 people represent-



Paid for by the Committee to Elect Glen Janken to Detroit City Council, P.O. Box 10462, Detroit 48210, (313) 898-3154.

PROGRAM

DECENT JOBS OR INCOME, NOW!

- Tougher laws to stop plant closings.
- No layoffs or wage cuts for city workers.
- Freeze mortgage foreclosures and repossessions for unemployed workers.
- Extend unemployment benefits until a union wage job is found.

CUT THE GREEDY, NOT THE NEEDY!

- Tax Big Banks and Corporations to eliminate the budget deficit.
- Roll back utility rates and outlaw shutoffs.
- Enact rent control.
- Revoke tax abatements.

ing the ruling coalition in Detroit, put them under the guidance of Felix Rohatyn's personal envoy, and directed them to come up with a plan. This committee represented more than 50 major banks, corporations, and other business organizations. Some of the corporations represented have shut down plants and taken jobs from Detroit. Of the 26 people, 16 of them didn't even live in Detroit.

Their report, called the Secret Report after their chairman, Fred Secret, a former executive vice-president at Ford, came out with a three-pronged plan to cut city expenses and increase city revenues, all at the expense of the poor and working people of Detroit:

1) Raise the income tax one percent on Detroit residents and non-residents working in Detroit. (In the report they included a one percent increase in corporate income taxes, but this was dropped so as not to adversely affect the "business climate" in the city.)

2) Wage cuts and freezes for city workers.

3) Further cuts in city services including reducing bus service and increasing fares, cutting Emergency Medical Services, a "cost/benefit analysis approach" to recreation department activities, and subcontracting garbage pickup (union busting).

The Secret Report clearly states that their intention is not to solve the problems causing the budget deficit. Rather their concern is making Detroit a "safe" enough investment to allow the city to sell and themselves to buy more of its bonds. Since \$130 million is too much to finance by short-term notes, they devised a new long-term note to help cover the deficit — if their entire "cost-cutting and revenue generating program" is implemented. They want a guarantee that the projected \$23 million annual principal and interest payments on the new debt will be able to be paid. And they want to be sure that the city services and construction essential for their plans will have adequate financing.

Municipal debt financing is one of the most lucrative and secure investments around. The returns are tax free. Oftentimes (as in this proposal) specific revenues are earmarked for payment of the debt service to guarantee the investors. Bonds are almost never sold in denominations of less than \$10,000, meaning the vast majority of bonds are purchased by the large banks and corporations. And when you consider that the majority of work the city finances is improving services that benefit business (road repair, sewage and water facilities, and so on) the rip-off becomes crystal clear. In essence you are paying big business interest on money they loaned you to do work for them!

In Detroit this is especially glaring. Among other things, close to 50% of the city's capital projects are in the downtown financial area. Millions and millions of tax dollars have been lost through tax abatements to business. And the city is now in the middle of a projected \$200 million project to clear a plant site for the new GM Cadillac plant in Poletown.

Currently Detroit spend about \$50 million a year to repay the principal and interest on its bonds. These new bonds alone will raise that amount nearly 50%. The Secret plan is a clear measure to guarantee the rich a steady source of tax-free income from past and new investments, continue the current direction of downtown development in the city budget, all at the expense of the workers and poor of Detroit.

This was the context of the June 23 vote in Detroit.

All participants in the budget wrangling agreed on at least one point: that passage of an income tax increase was the first, most difficult and most crucial step in getting the entire Secret budget

plan through. If they could get the voters to pass that, in the face of a nationwide tax revolt, they could use it as leverage against the city unions for wage and benefit concessions, and as a mandate for further cutbacks — all in the name of "saving" the city. Mayor Young, one of the most skillful politicians in the country, marshalled all his forces to get the voters to pass it. The entire city council supported the measure. The Vote Yes Committee spent more than \$400,000 in the two weeks prior to the election, virtually saturating the city with pro-tax propaganda. GM alone contributed \$200,000 to this effort, and the mayor pulled \$100,000 out of his personal campaign war chest. The newspapers and major radio and TV outlets gave preferential and biased coverage to the Vote Yes Committee. The TV, radio, newspapers, billboards, bumper stickers and all constantly pounded in the message "Vote Yes, Detroit."

The theme of their campaign was that an increase in taxes was needed to save Detroit from bankruptcy. If Detroit went bankrupt, control of the city would pass from locally elected officials to "outsiders" who would have charge of administering city funds. The whole thing was immediately and sharply painted in racial terms: the city's first black mayor calling on the black citizens to save the city from the clutches of the racist white suburbanites who want to see Detroit go under and take over. That the predominantly white suburbanites who work in Detroit would also get a one percent income tax increase was a sweetener to this argument.

It was the personal prestige of the city's first black mayor and the sheer force of nearly half a million dollars of misleading propaganda that got this argument over. To talk about control of the city passing into outsiders' hands is ridiculous. It already is in outsiders' hands. The Secret Report alone, not to mention an examination of the beneficiaries of the last decade of city spending, shows the bankers and corporate presidents firmly in control. The real question involved in the tax increase isn't "will the city go bankrupt?" The real questions are "how did it get this way?" and "who's going to pay for it?"

Making it a black/white issue was good for the banks and corporations and divisive and harmful to the people. The 40 percent of the city's white residents who are poor and working class whites were cast in the role of the enemy. So were the mainly white suburbanites who work in the city. While there are many white professionals who live in the suburbs and work downtown, they surely can't be considered the enemy. Even if they make tens of thousands of dollars a year this can't compare to the millions made by banks and corporations directly exploited from the labor of the working class. Nor are professionals responsible for the process of capital flight that is the underlying cause of the city's financial crisis. Furthermore, many if not a majority of the white suburbanites who work in the city are poor working class people, clericals, secretaries, low level management personnel who left Detroit during the heavy block-busting years of white flight. While we don't support the racism that exists among many suburbanites, we want to see unity within the working class and with petty bourgeois allies. The tax increase appealed to a sense of revenge, not unity. The Vote Yes campaign was aimed to further drive the wedge between blacks and whites in the metropolitan area.

The appeal worked to get the initiative passed. About 35% of the registered voters turned out to vote, unusually high for a special election. The highest turnouts were in the black precincts. The votes there were running 7-1, 9-1, even 16-1 in favor of the tax increase. In white precincts the vote was overwhelmingly against, as high as

9-1. Overall the measure passed resoundingly by a better than 3-2 margin.

My own personal conversations confirmed the results of the polls taken after the vote: the blacks who voted for the increase did so mainly because of Coleman Young's prestige and the notion that the tax would save the city. Several of us attended a Vote Yes rally held downtown the week before the election and found that the vast majority of precinct workers there had no idea of the real issues behind the election. None had even heard of the Secret Report. Many had been told that Vote Yes means jobs. The most

they were going to vote yes.

(Since the vote they have agreed to a two-year wage freeze in return for a one-year no-layoff pledge and some minor non-economic benefits.)

This was in line with the response from the vast majority of the "progressive" people in the city. The Detroit City Council President, Erma Henderson, and President pro tem Maryanne Mahaffey, both have reputations as being for the poor people. They have spoken out against the Reagan budget cuts as well. Both vigorously campaigned for the tax increase. People associated with the



Linda Roberts, a Poletown resident

common comments on why people were voting yes were "the city needs the money" and "Coleman Young supports it."

People who voted no did so mainly in the spirit of opposition to higher taxes. My neighbors in the predominantly white working class southwest of Detroit all felt they were taxed too high already. There is also a strong feeling that the money isn't being spent right. Cuts in city services such as school deterioration have been felt more strongly in white areas over the last decade, mainly because they were relatively better serviced before. As a lot of this came under the city's first black mayor there is also some white racist backlash that opposes Coleman Young for any reason.

The major opposition to the tax increase came from the organized labor movement who represented city workers — AFSCME and Metro AFL-CIO. Both the UAW and the Teamsters supported it in cowardly conciliation. The opposition was weak and unorganized, not coming together to spend money on the campaign until three days before the election. While many of their arguments were on target, their leadership was weak and vacillating. Instead of coming straight out and leading opposition to wage concessions, the leadership's stand was, "my members won't approve them." Although the union's official position was to oppose the tax plan as an attack on workers by big business, some of the top leaders personally said

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and even some people who loosely float around the Marxist-Leninist movement supported a Yes vote. Their reasoning follows a very narrow reformist and legalistically oriented view of class struggle. It had a lot of influence over many honest and progressive professional and petty bourgeois people.

While the honest people among them recognized the tax increase as part of a plan entirely designed to attack the poor and working class, they all voted yes because they felt there was no alternative. Time and again I had to argue with people who said, "I agree with everything you're saying, but I don't see any choice for the city."

We never disputed that the city might go bankrupt. The point we consistently tried to make was that 1) the Secret plan was only a temporary solution to the problem at the working class' expense; 2) the bogey of the city being put under outside receivership was a joke in the face of the reality that the big banks and corporations already run the city and in fact devised the Secret plan; and 3) a No vote should be part of a larger move to make the banks and corporations pay that involves not only an electoral struggle, but other forms of struggle as well.

The first two points have been discussed above. Let me just point out to the so-called "Marxists" who voted Yes, that their fear of "outside receivership" shows a big gap in their grasp of the Marxist theory of the role of the state as the "executive committee for the bourgeoisie." Under

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LABOR NEWS



AFGE members picket against the Federal government's attempt to contract out their jobs.

Organized Labor Fires First Shot

Jim Davis

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 16 — "If I go, will you go with me?" asked the young blonde secretary. "I'm starved but as soon as I eat lunch..." But before her co-worker could finish she answered back, "Well I can't wait for you. We're on our time now and we can do whatever we want with it." As the march drew closer and the chants grew louder, the conversation became more heated. "Look there's nothing to be afraid of. The union called the demonstration."

As the march turned the corner and headed down the street towards the White House, the blonde secretary joined in. For a moment the other secretary hesitated but the militant chants and the determined look on the faces of those marching overwhelmed her and gave her the courage to join. By the time the march circled back towards the District building for the main rally, the number of marchers had swelled to a thousand.

AFGE Pacesets Budget Cut Fight

The march and rally was organized by the D.C. Coalition to Fight Budget Cuts and the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE). AFGE, representing more than 320,000 government workers nationwide, has been one of the first major unions to call for a national demonstration against the Reagan Administration's budget proposal for thousands of layoffs and massive spending cuts in food stamps, unemployment benefits and other vital social programs.

At a recent national leadership conference in May, AFGE officials mapped out a strategy to fight the Reagan cuts. Out of that conference came the call for a demonstration. Political action committees were organized in different locals to co-ordinate the mobilization. Another proposal adopted at the conference called for a membership-wide vote in September to "authorize the Union to carry out whatever action is necessary to fight the budget cuts if all other actions fail."

AFGE locals on the East Coast, and particularly those in District 14 in the Washington, D.C. area, enthusiastically took up the work for July 16. Busloads of workers came from neighboring cities like Baltimore and Philadelphia. In a show of union

solidarity, two buses came from a Brooklyn local of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU).

In the last weeks of the mobilization, nearly 150,000 leaflets were passed out at bus stops, Metro stations, and shopping centers throughout the Washington area. "People are more willing to listen and take leaflets now than on May 2," described one young black worker. On May 2, AFGE, along with the D.C. Coalition Against the Reagan-Barry Cuts, organized a local demonstration against the cuts.

Since then the Administration's proposed cuts have steamrolled their way through the House and Senate with little if any opposition from the Democrats. For many Americans the disbelief has quickly faded and turned into anger. "One man who didn't want a leaflet at first drove around the block and came back to get one. That's the biggest difference now, people are angrier and willing to listen."

A black woman shared her experience about how Washington police tried to stop her from leafleting at the Heckinger Shopping Plaza. "First the security guards told me to stop and I asked why. I told them I had a right to pass out the leaflets. They called the cops. I called also and before the whole mess was over several patrol cars and a police helicopter had shown up."

Reagan Cuts Devastating

The national executive council of AFGE has estimated that 100,000 federal jobs will be lost in the immediate future as a result of the Reagan budget cuts. In the Department of Health and Human Resources, 6,000 jobs are slated to be cut. In the Department of Education another 1,000 are expected to be eliminated in the next four years. "It's not even attrition," explained one worker. "Attrition is like changing the occupancy in a motel room. Reagan's cuts is like burning down the whole motel." Some 1,216,000 workers face the possibility of losing their jobs under the Reagan plan, according to the *AFL-CIO News*. Pay raises for federal workers would also be limited to 4.8 percent.

Unemployment benefits are to be kept at the standard 26 weeks with the additional 13 weeks eliminated. Workers on workmen's compensation also face the removal of the requirement for 45 days pay. The cuts in education would deprive 1.3 million college students of loans needed to attend school. Housing cuts would force 10 million Americans, 40 percent of them elderly people on limited income, to swallow higher rents. In any way imaginable the cuts will bring hardship and suffering to every poor or working American.

Thatcher Now, Reagan Later

In a keynote speech at the rally, Kenneth Blaylock, National President of AFGE, blasted the Reagan economic program of supply-side economics. "If you help the rich, if you starve the poor and if you suppress the workers, then you make things so bad that we're grateful for whatever crumb that falls off their table that we'll stay in line. This is what supply-side economics is all about."

Royal Sims, an AFGE vice-president from Philadelphia urged the crowd, "to get damned mad in order to let the President know that you're not going to take it the way he wishes to dish it out." Hammering home the point made by several other speakers that there is no Reagan mandate, he continued, "The American voters did not give a mandate to President Reagan to reduce Social Security benefits. Can you imagine for those who have worked for so many years and now are subjected to having to wait many years more to get a low pittance of social security. We gave him no mandate to cut food stamps for the hungry. It's ironic that in this country of ours there are youngsters starving every day."

A representative from the AFL-CIO Labor Council for the Washington area emphasized that this was just the beginning of the fight against the Reagan cuts. "It is very fitting that government workers who for years have been the silent majority of the

workforce, who have been the sleeping giants, lead that demonstration on September 19. You have taken the first step today and come September 19 you are going to be out at the forefront of the fight."

Harold Roof, president of one of the largest AFGE locals in Maryland said, "Anyone who has opposed the Reagan Administration has been opened for attack. The air traffic controllers have threatened to walk out, a basic American principle. They have been threatened by the Secretary of Transportation with jail. We're going to bust your union, we're going to fire you, he says. The postal workers have been told the same thing. I live in the freest democracy allegedly in the world yet if I strike, the government says I'll put you in jail. We're referred to as terrorists. Can you imagine someone who threatens to strike being called a terrorist?"

On the recent events in England he said, "They did a comparison in the paper yesterday that Thatcher economics is very similar to Reagan economics. Mr. Reagan better take a good look at what's happening in England because I'm telling you it's going to happen here. The people are going to take to the streets. And they're going to bring down these buildings. They're worried about whether you're going on strike. They'd better worry about these buildings."

Building Fighting Unions

When asked what was the key to the coalition's successful organizing against the cuts, an AFGE official explained that the group moved swiftly and decisively to fight the cuts. "In January when we started talking about organizing the coalition we knew from our work in the Coalition for Human Dignity (a local coalition pulled together to fight cuts proposed by D.C.'s Mayor Barry last year) that we can't wait and have long discussions on what we're going to do. We had to respond immediately. I think that is what drew other groups to either work with or support us... Because of that we've got a lot of prestige and respect and as a result the local AFL-CIO labor council has approached us to help build for Solidarity Day."

"The other things were our ability to maintain a correct principle of democracy and our work with the media. We've always tried to get all groups to participate as fully as possible. We've fought to build a true labor-community alliance... while with the media we've (AFGE) been able to cultivate solid ties with them over the years." "But of course again the key is the fact that we responded immediately and militantly. Without that we would never been in the position we are today." □



May 2nd demonstration against the cuts sponsored by AFGE and other groups

by Cynthia Lai

It took Khrushchev three years after Stalin's death to muster enough political and organizational power to come out with a full-blown denunciation of his predecessor. It took the Communist Party of China leaders close to five years to pass a similar verdict on Mao. Of course, Khrushchev revisionism did not start with the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The event was merely the formal consolidation of that view and its representatives in the Party leadership hierarchy. In the same way, the Sixth Plenary of the Central Committee of the 11th Congress of the CPC held June 27 to June 29 in Peking was hardly the beginning of Chinese revisionism.

Its significance, in the negative sense, is also the formal consolidation of this system of views and leadership.

Perhaps there is no more appropriate description of the recent event marking the 60th anniversary of the CPC than a comparison to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The difference, if there were any, was not in substance, but in style. Compared with Khrushchev's crude denunciation of Stalin, the CPC's unanimously-adopted document, the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, is mild and considerate. Yet despite its carefully chosen words, and its pretense of comprehensiveness, the document could not cover its revisionist essence. It only shows the maturity of the revisionists and their compromise to China's political reality.

The Resolution is a Compromised Document

Immediately following the coup to purge the "Gang of Four," the CPC leaders embarked upon a course to totally reverse Mao's past lines and policies, and implicitly denounce Mao totally. This was done not only because of real line differences with Mao, but also as justification for their drastic acts in seizing power. However, their overanxious efforts, denouncing the last three decades as years of darkness, led to several unpleasant political consequences.

One was the Chinese people's overall crisis of confidence in socialism and particularly in the present party leadership, who clearly were perceived as contributing heavily to the 30 years of darkness. This general crisis of confidence gave a new lease on life to the bourgeois democrats, who began openly calling for an end to the one-party system, an end to the dictatorship of the proletariat, an end to the socialist system, and of course, abandonment of Marxism-Leninism. So the revisionist denunciation of Mao backfired to the point where it threatened the current leadership's own legitimacy. Within the party hierarchy, the wholesale denunciation also threatened the legitimacy of people like Hua Guo-Feng, who came to power on Mao's words, and those in the army who became prominent through the Cultural Revolution, as well as the millions of genuine rank-and-file party members—those who from direct experience knew that the last 30 years were heavenly compared to the pre-Revolution years.

As a result, even though it is reported that the present leadership would have liked to avoid dealing in their lifetimes with an issue so controversial as an evaluation of Mao, they had to. It was necessary, if not to unite the party organizationally to carry out the four modernizations, at least to reestablish their authority and legitimacy to the Chinese people, and to end the opposition's challenge once and for all. It is in this context that Chen Yun, a member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, strongly urged for an early sum-up, saying, "It is better to clarify these problems by our generation than by the next one... If we don't do that, the next generation would include us in it." (Cheng Ming Magazine, 11/80, p. 16, published in Hong Kong, in Chinese).

Before the CPC leadership agreed to undertake an evaluation of Mao, the balance was tipping towards total denunciation. The party press for a while even dropped the mention of Mao Zedong Thought altogether. Thus when Deng Xiaoping took over supervision of the sum-up, a major debate was around the definition of Mao Zedong Thought and whether to uphold it or not. One of the top theoreticians purged during the Cultural Revolution, Lu Ting Yi, reportedly did not consider Mao's thought as a coherent political system of thinking. On the other hand, Deng considered Mao's thought the product of the collective wisdom of the party leaders and the Chinese masses. This system of thinking, developed in the Seventh Congress, peaked before 1957 and declined steadily since that time. After that assessment, the attack on Mao was toned down a bit. But not until Huang Kecheng, a top-ranking army man, came out with an

CPC Reverses Verdict on Soviet Revisionism — by Following Its Footsteps



Writing big character posters during the Cultural Revolution

article in the People's Liberation Army Daily affirming Mao's contribution to 1949 were any of Mao's contributions ever positively mentioned. Later reprinted in the Peking Review (issue no. 17, 1981), the article showed that Deng was paying serious attention to opinions in the army, which generally was considered more loyal to Mao for historical reasons. Since then, a series of articles appeared in Hungchi, the theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the CPC, summing up various aspects of Mao's lines formulated prior to 1957 (issues no. 10, 11, and 12, 1981). All these articles were meant to pacify those opposed to a wholesale denunciation of Mao.

The contents of all the articles were finally included in the Resolution adopted at the Plenary. Covering the history of the party all the way back to 1923 was an attempt to give a more "objective" and "balanced" sum-up so it would not come out as total denunciation. The result is a compromised document that was assured at least nominal support from all major factions within the party leadership. This compromised nature does not make the document less revisionist, only seemingly more comprehensive, seemingly more objective, and therefore more deceitful.

Upholds the General But Negates the Concretes

The document has three major parts. The first part summarizes the party since its founding 60 years ago. Part two sums up what was considered the content of Mao Zedong Thought still to be upheld. Part three is the positive program of the party.

On the history part, there is no controversy over the assessment of the 28 years prior to the 1949 victory. Mao Zedong Thought was considered correct in saying that "our Party and people would have had to grope in the dark much longer had it not been for comrade Mao Zedong who more than once rescued the Chinese revolution from grave danger..."

On the 32 years after the revolution, the document said "the achievements... are the main thing." However, besides the achievements, there were mistakes. "Before the 'cultural revolution,' there were mistakes of enlarging the scope of class struggle and of impetuosity and rashness in economic construction. Later there was the comprehensive, long drawn-out and grave blunder of the 'cultural revolution.'" Among the achievements of the last 32 years were that the Chinese 1) "established and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the workers-peasants, namely the dictatorship of the proletariat," 2) "achieved and consolidated nationwide unification of the country," 3) "defeated aggression, sabotage and armed provocation by the imperialists and hegemonists," 4) "built and developed a socialist economy," 5) "scored significant success in industrial construction and have gradually set up an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial base and economic system," 6) "the conditions prevailing in agricultural production have experienced a remarkable change, giving rise to a big increase in production," 7) "substantial growth in urban and rural commerce and in foreign trade," 8) "considerable progress had been made in education, science, culture, public health and physical culture," 9) "the People's Liberation Army has grown in strength and in quality," and 10) "internationally... steadfastly pursued an independent socialist foreign policy..."

Given those sweeping historical accomplishments mentioned, one must deduce that Mao, as the leader of the party during those years, must have been correct. But exactly the opposite conclusion comes from the facts mentioned in the Sixth Plenary resolution. In



Hu Yaobang, newly elected chairman of the CPC



Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council

fact, except for the few years after the revolution Mao made mistake after mistake. Listing his mistakes, the document states, "From the summer of 1955 onwards, we were over-hasty in pressing on with agricultural cooperative and the transformation of private handicraft and commercial establishment... Following the basic completion of the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in 1956, we failed to do a proper job in employing and handling some of the former industrialists and businessmen." Then in 1957, the scope of the anti-rightist campaign was too broad. From 1958 to 1961, the Great Leap Forward and the movement for rural people's commune was rash and wasteful. Then the purging of Peng Teh Huai and the struggle against right opportunism in the party in 1959 was unjustified. The Socialist Education Movement unfolded between 1963 and 1965 was off the wall. All these were wrong because of Mao's wrong theoretical assumption that "contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction in our society," and "problems differing in nature were all treated as forms of class struggle or its reflection inside the party." Logically, based on this premise, the Cultural Revolution was certainly wrong and unnecessary. That is exactly what the Resolution said. "The cultural revolution was defined as a struggle against the revisionist line or the capitalist road. There were no grounds at all for this definition. It led to the confusing of right and wrong on a series of important theories and policies. Many things denounced as revisionist or capitalist during the 'cultural revolution' were actually Marxist and socialist principles..." Because of that, the document concluded, the Cultural Revolution "did not in fact constitute a revolution, a social progress in any sense or could it possibly have done so."

The only thing considered positive during that period was the economic growth of 1957 based on the Soviet model of economic construction, the economic entrenchment period between 1962 and 1965 (presumably carried out under Liu Shao-chi's leadership), and everything since the coup against the Gang of Four. No word was mentioned about the near economic collapse of 1976-78 when Deng Xiaoping was the supreme leader in the party and state, responsible for all major decisions such as the import of Boshan Steel. The only hint of any problem at all during the last few years was when they tried to shift the blame to Hua Kuo Feng, making him the scapegoat for everybody's mistakes, saying, "He also had his share of responsibility for impetuously seeking quick results in economic work and for continuing certain other 'left' policies."

The Resolution is Metaphysical and Ahistorical

Methodologically, the Resolution is metaphysical, ahistorical and opportunist. It is metaphysical because while upholding the general accomplishment as the main thing, it negates every concrete action. In doing so, it separates the cause and effect. After reading such a sum-up, any logical-minded person cannot but ask, "How can a period be in the main good if everything that was done then was wrong?" Truth is highly concrete. General truth lies in the particular. This is a basic principle of Marxism. Only the metaphysical will arbitrarily separate the two and still not see any contradiction. So while the CPC leaders said that "none of these successes can be attributed in any way to the cultural

revolution," they cannot explain what was responsible for the four-fold increase in fixed industrial assets from 1957 to 1966, and the 27-fold increase from 1952 to 1980, gains which they admit. During the same period, the output of electricity increase 41 times, engineering industry 54 times, and agriculture 100%. The sum-up is ahistorical because while upholding the great accomplishment directly resulting from the defeat of the revisionist lines advocated by Liu Shao-chi, the Resolution upholds Liu's lines as Marxist: lines that advocate the state of the whole people, not the dictatorship of the proletariat; lines that advocate not socialist collectivization of the economy but capitalist spontaneous development of the productive forces. If there had been no Cultural Revolution, if these revisionist lines had prevailed, there wouldn't even be the 10 great achievements to speak of.

By this ahistorical separation of cause and effect, the Resolution upholds Mao's lines of priority on agriculture, light and heavy industry in economic construction, and simultaneously denounces the Great Leap Forward, when Mao's line was clearly a direct product of lessons from the Great Leap Forward. So, clearly the intention of affirming the 10 great accomplishments was not to uphold Mao's contribution, developed in the course of struggle, but an opportunist maneuver to use someone else's achievements for self-promotion.

Reversing the Nine Polemics

Though the Resolution made many errors in methodology, there is a very consistent view on what is not revisionism. It is clear not only in the open defense of Liu Shao-chi's lines, but in the fact that the Resolution does not defend the correctness of the nine polemics. The only mention of this major event in the history of the international communist movement is the following statement: "Soviet leaders started a polemic between China and the Soviet Union, and turned the arguments between the two Parties on matters of principle into a conflict between the two nations, bringing enormous pressure to bear upon China politically, economically and militarily. So we were forced to wage a just struggle against the big-nation chauvinism of the Soviet Union."

There is not a single word to suggest that the Soviet Union was revisionist in any way. Linking the struggle against the Soviet Union to the Cultural Revolution, the document further said, "In these circumstances, a campaign to prevent and combat revisionism inside the country was launched, which spread the error of broadening the scope of class struggle in the Party, so that normal differences among comrades inside the Party came to be regarded as manifestations of the revisionists' line of the struggle between the two lines." With the stroke of a pen, the present CPC leadership not only reversed the verdict on Chinese revisionism which necessitated the Cultural Revolution, but on Soviet revisionism as well.

Implications of the Sixth Plenary Resolution for CPC's Foreign Policies

Despite its self-contradictory statements and its pretense of objectivity, the reversal of Chinese revisionism and the nine polemics (and consequently Soviet revisionism) is the most significant political judgement in the Resolution. It has tremendous implications for China's domestic and foreign policies.

The reversal of the nine polemics is not explicitly stated. But in May 1980, Chinese newspapers reported that the Academy of Social Science in China had held many forums to discuss the anti-revisionist struggle of the early 60's and the evaluation of the nine polemics. It is reported that those forums came to the preliminary conclusion that there was nothing wrong with "peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition" because Lenin talked about them. As far as peaceful transition goes, the forums said that from the standpoint of the objective development of history, under the circumstance when the conditions for armed struggle do not exist in advanced capitalist countries, there is nothing wrong with communists participating in parliamentary elections. On the question of attitude towards revolutions abroad, the starting point is to do a good job at home and oppose "exporting" revolution. In the past China gave huge amounts of aid to Vietnam and Albania but the result was just the opposite. It is a painful lesson. The charges of the nine polemics of attacking the Soviet Union for agreeing to peaceful coexistence with the United States and other western countries and establishing friendly relations with Yugoslavia was wrong. (reported in 70's, 7/80, p. 49, a monthly magazine published in Hong Kong, in Chinese). The sum-up of these forums was clearly one-sided. The fact is, the nine polemics never opposed communist participation in parliamentary elections, nor peaceful coexistence with countries of different economic system such as the United States. Nor did it advocate the concept of "exporting" revolution and not doing a good job at home. The nine polemics were written in struggle against the Soviet Union's then-total absolutizing of these aspects in order to negate

the need for armed struggle and the need to support liberation struggles. The Soviet Union used the pretext of peaceful coexistence and consolidating socialism in one country as the solution to the revolutions in the whole world. The preliminary sum-up of the Chinese Academy of Social Science repeats almost word-for-word Khrushchev's one-sided argument at the time of the polemics, showing their readiness to follow in Khrushchev's footsteps on all those questions. And from the wording of the Resolution, it is clear that this is not a preliminary sum-up but a consolidated view of the CPC leadership. They will be the basis guiding CPC's foreign and domestic policies in the future.

The reversal on the definition of revisionism is also evident in some concrete actions taken by the CPC leadership since the coup.

In August 1977, after long years of hostility, Tito of Yugoslavia came to visit China. During his visit, the CPC did not call him "comrade," nor was he complimented on his contribution to his country. Then in August 1978, Hua Kuo Feng reciprocated with a visit to Yugoslavia. During that visit, Hua and Tito called each other "comrade." Party-to-party relations were reestablished. Returning to China, Hua called on Chinese peasants to learn from Yugoslavia's experience. When Tito died, he was hailed as a great Marxist-Leninist in CPC's press. Following the recognition of Tito, Enrico Berlingier, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy visited China in April 1980, and the relationship between the two parties which had been defunct since 1962 was reestablished. The CPC further expressed the wish to build better relations with socialist parties such as the Socialist Party in France. These overtures went beyond the CPC's desire to improve relations with other parties and beyond contention with the Soviet Union for influence in the international communist movement. The main reason for accelerating these moves was that the CPC no longer considered such parties revisionist. This is confirmed by a statement of the newly-elected Chairman of the CPC, Hu Yubang, to the Yugoslav press that "in the last three years, China never raised on word of criticism against these parties," (i.e., parties in Eastern Europe) and there is no conflict of interest between the CPC and these parties." (6/21/80, reported in 70's, 8/80, a monthly magazine published in Hong Kong, in Chinese). This policy of no criticism was consistent throughout China's report on the Poland situation. Implicitly supporting the workers, not a word was written about the wrong lines and policies of the Polish Workers Party which were the direct cause of the unrest. During the same interview, Yubang said that the "so-called view that China wants war and is war-like was created by a particular place. It probably was due to China's improper propaganda on the theory of the inevitability of war." (*Ibid.*) Again, not one word on Soviet revisionism, and China took the blame rather than Khrushchev's revisionism.

Following the changes in the definition of revisionism, China went full-steam ahead in their implementation of the "peaceful coexistence" line. First of all, their relations with the United States were normalized in 1979, and a visit to the United States by

Deng Xiaoping, who also went to France, followed. The Friendship Treaty with Japan was signed in August 1978 and in October and November of 1979, Hua Kuo Feng traveled to France, West Germany, England and Italy. Only a few months ago, China concluded a five-state visit to the Southeast Asian countries. Attention to the state-to-state front is correct in order to create a more peaceful environment for socialist construction in China. These are also attempts to utilize the contradiction between these countries and the Soviet Union as pressure to deter the Soviet Union from striking at the Chinese border. By themselves, these actions are not wrong. To the same end, China pursued the state-to-state front of peaceful



Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee

coexistence not only with western capitalist countries, but also with countries with which it has had border problems in the past.

On July 3, a few days after the conclusion of the Sixth Plenary session, Foreign Minister Huang Hua went to India. It was the first state visit since 1962 when the two countries broke off relations following a border war.

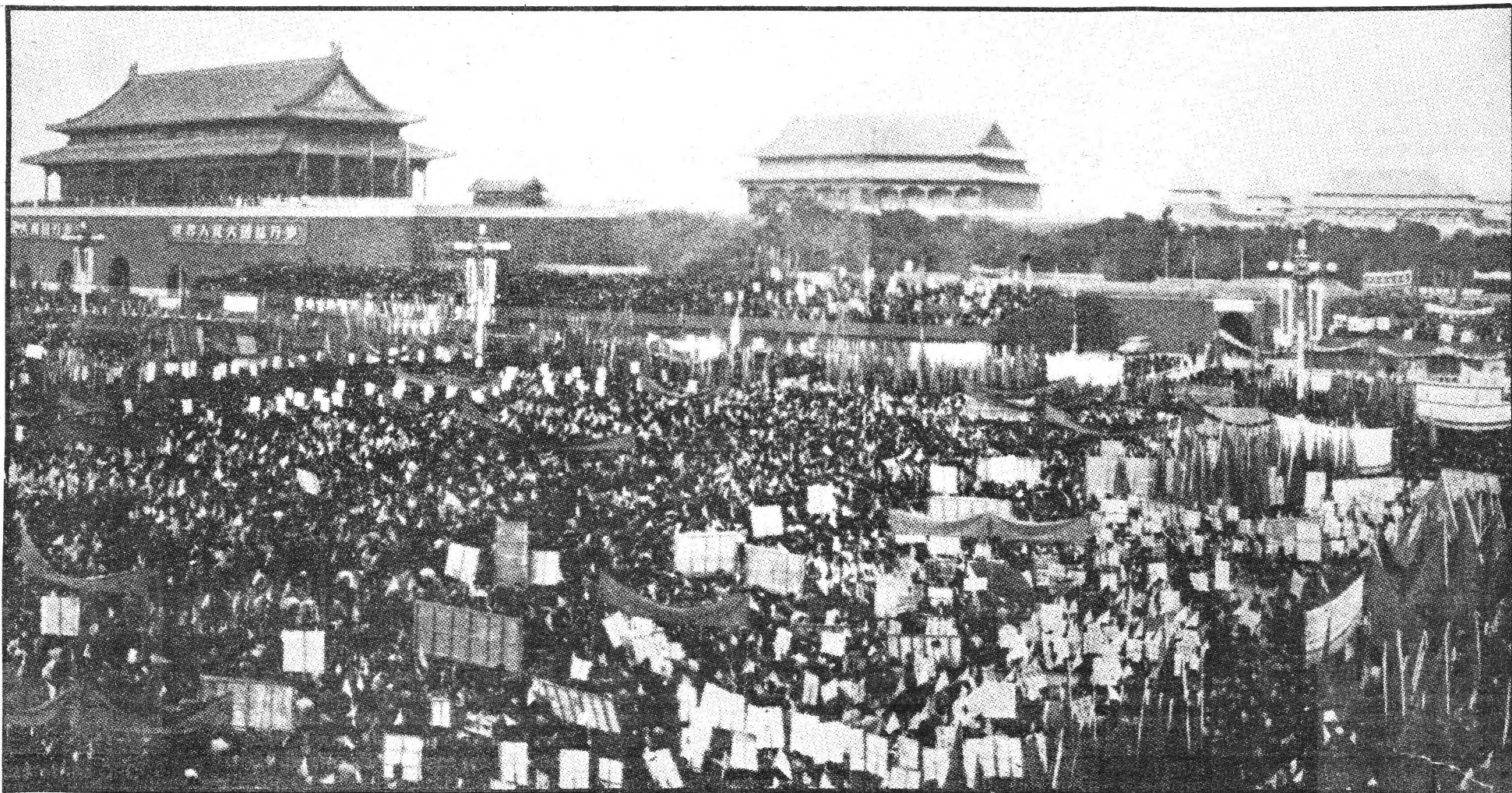
As far as the relationship with the Soviet Union is concerned, despite the ongoing open hostility between the two countries, China did not stop negotiating with the Soviet Union until that country invaded Afghanistan. The last negotiations to improve the relationship between the two countries were held in Moscow in September 1980. And according to the February 25, 1981 issue of *Business Week*, the two countries were reported to have reached some agreement on the navigation right on the border. Then on July 6, *People's Daily* indirectly called for resolution

of the border question with the Soviet Union, saying that China is willing to resolve all border questions with neighboring countries through negotiations. The paper further said although the present 7,000 mile-long border between China and the Soviet Union was created by unequal treaties under the Czar, China does not demand return of all the lost land. It also said that since 1949, China had resolved border disputes with all her neighbors except the Soviet Union, India and Vietnam (*Far East Times*, 7/9/81, published in San Francisco, in Chinese). Though the article did not explicitly call for negotiations with the Soviet Union, the message was clear.

All these and previous attempts are good moves. The easing of tension on the border and the establishing of state-to-state relations with capitalist countries will help create a relatively peaceful environment for China to carry on its economic construction. This will enable China to further reduce its defense spending and allocate more resources to develop the productive forces. There is nothing inherently revisionist about these moves. But it is wrong, just as Khrushchev was wrong, to subordinate all other fronts to the state-to-state front, and impose China's need for peaceful relations with the imperialists on other third world countries and on people within advanced capitalist countries. In practice, the CPC has sold out many national liberation and workers' struggles around the world, just as Khrushchev did. There were many examples even before the Sixth Plenary.

In 1979, at the peak of the Iranian revolution, Deng gave an interview to *Time* magazine in which he condemned the Iranian revolution as chaotic and troublesome. After the revolution succeeded, Hua Kuo Feng called for U.S. intervention in order to prevent the Soviet Union from getting involved and as a way to preserve peace. On Jamaica, China supported the election of Seaga over Manley. On El Salvador, China peddled the U.S.' line by portraying the revolution as a fight between the extreme left and the extreme right. Further abandoning its proletarian internationalism, in order to pacify the government of the Southeast Asian countries, China had drastically slashed its aid to the guerrillas fighting the war of liberation. The aid was ended after Chinese representatives' recent visits to those countries. This forced the liberation forces to seek Soviet aid, and created splits among the communist parties fighting in those movements. Peaceful coexistence for the Chinese leaders became compromising support to many liberation struggles, and not exporting revolution became no aid to liberation movements. China took this policy so far that during the peak of the anti-draft movement in 1980 in this country, Hua even called on the U.S. people to join the U.S. to fight the Soviet Union in case of a war.

In foreign policy, China in theory still holds that the third world is the main force in the fight against imperialism and hegemonism (as stated in a *People's Daily* article entitled "Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Great Contribution to Marxism-Leninism"). In practice, however, with a few exceptions China has relied more on utilizing con-



Millions were mobilized during the Cultural Revolution



Though millions were inspired by the Cultural Revolution, lack of a cadre core made consolidating the gains difficult.

traditions between the imperialists and between the Soviet Union and the imperialists, tending to rely more on the seeming strength of the United States as the main force to deter the hegemonic aspects of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. This is China's foreign policy strategy, which comes directly from wholesale rejection of the correctness of the nine polemics. If there were any remaining inconsistency on this question, the Sixth Plenary has made it *the* line guiding China's practice.

Implications for China's Domestic Policy

Similar to the effect on foreign policy, the Resolution's impact on China's domestic policy will be to consolidate what is already practiced. After the big mess in Boshan Steel, agriculture will once again be the foundation of China's economy. There will be more decentralization of authority to local enterprise, with emphasis on scientific management of those enterprises. There will be more reliance on market forces to supplement planning to regulate production, increase in the number of private plots and free markets, and encouragement of small private business to supplement the publicly-owned economy as well as ease the unemployment problem. Central planning will be maintained, but not as rigidly as before. While there is nothing wrong with introducing these new measures as a means to raise the level of productive forces, there is a problem in the CPC leadership's absolutizing the "step-by-step" approach to economic construction. The Resolution criticized the past policies of "prolonged 'left' mistakes" which led to "concomitant colossal waste and losses." Therefore, the present emphasis is to reach the goal of modernization "systematically and in stages," explicitly ruling out the possibility of any movements or campaigns to effect a qualitative leap in economic development. Discarding certain mistakes made in the Great Leap Forward, the CPC leadership simultaneously threw out the concept of needing periodic campaigns and "leaps." This is the same as the CPSU's line. Polemicizing against Mao's so-called "wave-like theory of development," the CPSU made a big deal out of formulating "proportionate and balanced development." Of course, balanced and proportionate development is always the goal, but this does not negate the need for leaps in achieving this balance. The CPSU's line negates qualitative development, acknowledges only quantitative development and equilibrium, never disequilibrium. It is diametrically opposed to the essence of Marxism, which teaches that the struggle of opposites is the motive force in development of any process or thing.

Even though the document called for opposition to both "impetuosity and passivity," the emphasis is on opposing impetuosity. This was obvious in a previous sum-up article, "Further Economic Readjustment: A Break with Leftist Thinking," printed in Peking Review on March 23, 1981. This sum-up repeated head of the Central Committee's Discipline Committee Chen Yun's 1956 view that "conservatism can be remedied much more easily than a hasty advance can be remedied." This again reflects the idealist deviations and views of the old CPC leaders, including Mao. They assumed that solutions to all problems would come from leaders' heads, rather than by

strengthening organization, and especially by training a large core of Marxist-Leninist cadres. Only organization and a large core of cadres can correctly formulate and implement policies through mass line, and from below. This cannot be derived from the leaders' state of mind, whether it is "impetuosity" or "conservatism."

The problem of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution was not that Mao unleashed the masses from below; this is fundamental to solving all problems under socialism. Mao summed up—as far as he could—that the problem of both the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution was that few cadres and leaders in the CPC understood his vision and could implement it in practice by guiding the masses step-by-step. The problem was not the use of campaigns but the weaknesses of party-building in the 50's and 60's.

Under favorable conditions—no war, no natural disasters, no major changes in leadership, and no political upheaval—China will see some steady growth in its economy based on this line. But accompanying it will be more staggering bureaucracy. Given the revisionist thinking with its fear of sharp turns, the leaders will have a hard time shifting the gears of the state and party machinery for qualitative changes in the event of special circumstances. And the need to preserve at all costs favorable stable conditions from internal bureaucratic pressure will take China further down the revisionist path in its foreign and domestic policies.

CPC's revisionist view on economic construction also shows itself on the question of ideological and political struggle at home. Correctly summing up the one-sidedness of the Cultural Revolution in its belittlement of socialist organizations, rules and policies, the Resolution very strongly states the need to establish a "highly democratic political system." It calls for strengthening the "building of state organs in all levels," "making the people's congress at all levels and their permanent organs authoritative organs of the people's political power," "improve the constitution and laws," and so on. All these are good and necessary measures to consolidate masses' democracy under socialism. The last few years' practice shows that the CPC leaders have gained a few victories by finally adopting a code of laws and establishing other organizations. While the revisionist aspects of its laws will negate the purpose of organization, the attempt at

organization is nevertheless genuine. Attempting to rectify the one-sidedness of the Cultural Revolution, however, the CPC leadership went overboard. Just as they rejected possible leaps because of certain mistakes in the Great Leap Forward, the CPC "threw the baby out with the bath water" in its rejection of mass movements. Fully convinced that these organizations are enough to resolve whatever contradiction may occur in the society, the leaders concluded in the resolution that "the kind of chaotic situation that obtained in the 'cultural revolution' must never be allowed to happen again in any sphere." It is as if class struggle is dependent on man's will and the party can predetermine the forms of class struggle in all circumstances. A direct implication of this line will be direct suppression of the masses under the pretext of safeguarding unity and stability should a Poland situation ever happen in China. This fear of campaigns, movements, and any disruption of order is so pervasive among the CPC revisionists that even though they still call for the "whole Party to (make) diligent study of Marxist theories, to strengthen and improve ideological and political work" and "to educate the people and youth in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality," there will not be any significant qualitative development of the people's consciousness from these piece-meal eclectic attempts. The same call has been made by the CPSU for the longest time, and they are still plagued by widespread problems of low morale, sluggish work attitudes and other social phenomena contrary to the country's socialist economic base. The problem is not that CPSU did not ask their cadres and masses to study, but that it was done routinely, as a matter of fact. This routinism, based on their fear and negation of the need for periodic mass movements and campaigns from below takes the revolutionary soul out of Marxism. Marxism is a living science, not a dead dogma. This is the revisionists' fear that leads to their total rejection of Mao and lack of appreciation for his contributions, even while correctly criticizing the one-sidedness of some of the movements he led.

Consolidation of Revisionist Leadership

The Sixth Plenary not only means the consolidation of a full-blown revisionist program for the CPC. The election of Hu Yubang as chairman of the CPC, Deng as chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and Zhao Ziyang as premier of the State Council indicate that the hard-core revisionists have full command of the state, party, and army. This is despite the fact that there are still strong factions within the party, and the loyalty of the army is far from ensured. In the past, the chairman of the party was also the chairman of the Military Commission. This is the first time that the two posts are held by different individuals.

It also showed that despite the formal unity of the Sixth Plenary, Deng had many more problems to deal with, the primary one being control of the military. The seriousness of the situation should not be underestimated. In fact, just a few days after the Plenary, on July 5, the General Commander of the People's Liberation Army made an open call for army loyalty in the People's Daily. The four million troops were told that it is the "Party that commands the guns," not vice versa, and that it would be stupid for the army to attempt anything against the party. The last few days also saw a lot of reprints of Mao's letters to the PLA written in the 30's and 40's urging discipline from the army. If Deng cannot use his past credential from the military (neither of the other two has that credential) to command army support of his program, major political changes could occur in China's political scenery.

So, the Sixth Plenary of the 11th Congress of the CPC cannot pass a verdict on Mao as it claims to. Their judgement is nothing but a truce which will be broken again and again by the economic and political disasters and setbacks, inevitable due to a narrow-minded and revisionist summing up of Chinese historical experiences of Mao's contributions and many of his far-sighted solutions.

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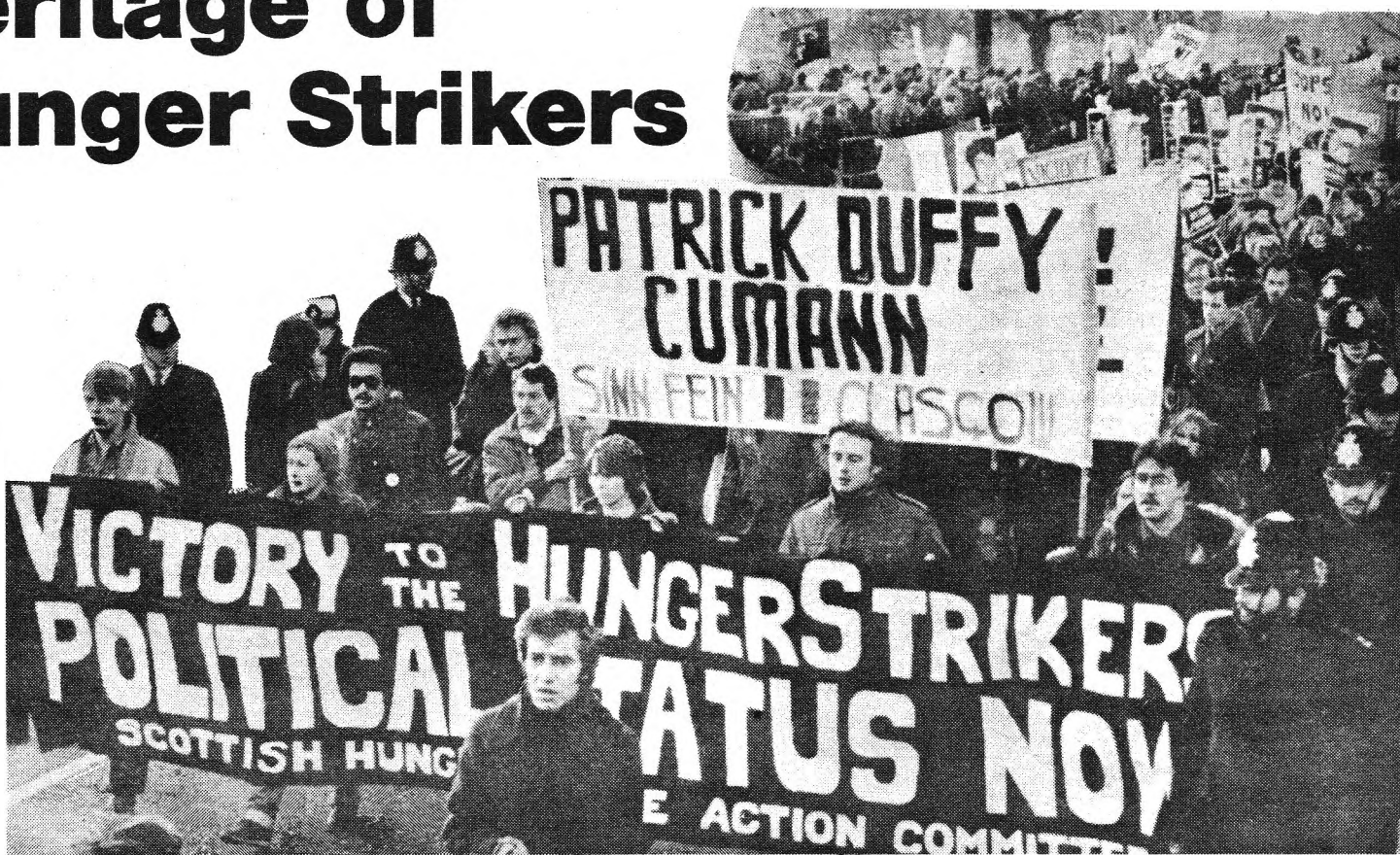
The Heritage of The Hunger Strikers

Sally Campbell

Since March 1, a hunger strike has been carried out by prisoners of Long Kesh concentration camp in the north of Ireland. Six have died, eight have taken their places, and hundreds more stand ready to fill their shoes if necessary. Their deaths have focused world attention on an area, a war and an issue that Britain, and its ally the United States, would rather keep shut off in a remote corner of the world, forever clouded in misleading news reports. They would have us believe that it is a sectarian war being fought between "Catholic/Protestant extremists," that the government of Northern Ireland represents the wishes of the people, and other campaigns meant to undermine the awakening mass sentiment of oppressed and progressive people around the world.

In order to recognize how the issue of religion is used by the British imperialists as an excuse to colonize and subject the Irish people, one must have a sense of the last 800 years. The twenty-six counties to the south have nominal independence, but politically they are still bound to England in many ways. The northern six counties still carry on the battle against English imperialism; it is her last colony, and they mean to leave her with none.

The following article traces the first conquests of Ireland by the English in search of land, and the serious attempts to settle the country after the Reformation at the expense of the Irish people. In the next issue we will discuss the rise of the secret societies, which were the basis for the modern Irish Republican Army, and the forces which led England to partition Ireland against the wishes of the people.



Supporters of the Hunger Strikers demonstrate.

Conquest by Bandits

The Norman Conquest in 1170 was the first English invasion. Prior to this, the Irish lived under a clan system with a chief at the head of each clan.

King Henry II was granted the title Lord of Ireland by Pope Adrian IV in 1155, but it was not until an Irish clan chief came to him swearing loyalty that he had an opportunity to enforce his claim. The chief had been deposed and came to England to seek help in getting his title back. A number of illegitimate sons of feudal lords became the officers of Henry's "army"; the rank and file were assorted mercenaries and ruffians. They invaded Ireland, but were not Henry's idea of an occupation force, so he followed with a second ar-

my. He brought with him a Papal Legate, calling on all the clergy (of the Irish Catholic Church) to submit to Papal authority. They in turn got all the clan chiefs to do so. Henry then set to doling out walled cities with new castles to his most loyal men. Other became feudal landlords in the countryside. At this point, less than a third of Ireland had been conquered.

Then came decrees forbidding the renting of land to any Irish who refused to accept English dress, speech, and most importantly, allegiance. For the next three centuries the clans were driven into the hills with their cattle by private armies, coming down again to find their lands seized. But with a lack of settlers from England, the clans were eventually allowed back onto their land, this time as tenants. Because the English settlers assimilated the Irish culture and intermarried, the decrees were largely unenforceable. This became a sore point with the crown. The Anglo-Irish joined forces with native Irish and fought England. Though England still had a foothold in the walled towns, who carried on a monopoly trade with her, it had far from subjugated the Irish people.

Planting Ireland

With the Tudor/Stuart Conquest beginning in 1485, the stakes were raised, and England began to take more genocidal methods against the Irish. Land was seized and the peasants driven off to make room for profitable sheep. Other large estates were forced

to absorb these "vagrants," the displaced peasants. Clan chiefs were induced to become feudal landlords tied to England under pain of hanging, or "rewarded" with titles and honors and the like. To achieve this in the face of revolts across Ireland, cattle were seized, crops destroyed, creating a famine. The Irish people were reduced to walking skeletons, feeding off watercress and shamrocks until they died.

This carried over into the 1600's, and into the Protestant Reformation. But "there was literally nothing in Ireland to correspond to the popular ideological-political movement which on the Continent and in England made the Reformation 'the first general uprising of the bourgeoisie'." (T.A. Jackson, *Ireland Her Own*, p. 50) It was merely used as an excuse to take lands from the Catholic Church that had taken them from the Irish people. Other lands were auctioned off, but due to lack of English settlers, the clans eventually became the tenants once again.

In 1609 the plantation of Ulster was attempted. This meant creating a pocket of English and Scotch settlers, who could be counted on for loyalty to the Crown. If they rented land to Irishmen, their rents doubled. But again, due to the lack of a sizeable flow of settlers, there were 4,000 Irish tenants by the year 1624.

And Then Came Cromwell

A massive uprising by the remaining

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Nicaragua Has Won! El Salvador Will Win!

On July 19, while 500,000 citizens rallied in Nicaragua, 3,000 people marched in New York City to celebrate the second anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. Speakers told of the achievements of the Sandinista government and the dangers posed by U.S. imperialism to Central America, particularly El Salvador. The rally was also addressed by Raphael Miranda, one of the jailed Puerto Rican nationalists; a representative of the Grenada revolution; Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the National Black United Front, and many others. The rally was sponsored by Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, CISPES and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala.

CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE

"Clash of the Titans"

Angela Brown

...I think the role of film is magic and fantasy and creating analogous worlds to our own. I think that's the direction cinema is going in, and I think this whole crop of sword-and-sorcery films that are due out later this year is evidence of that... People often are quite resentful when a film requires them to think...

John Boorman

Clash of the Titans is the latest in this year's long line of old-fashioned adventure films coming from Hollywood. This film, a MGM/United Artists release, covers the myth of Perseus, son of Zeus. Sir Laurence Olivier masterfully portrays Zeus, king of the gods, as an egotistical deity directing the destiny of mankind by manipulating clay figurines like chess pieces. Actresses Claire Bloom, Maggie Smith, Ursula Andress, and Susan Fleetwood portray the lovely goddesses of Olympus.

For the most part the characters are uninteresting and their acting is wooden, but the production design and special effects more than make up for the weak acting. The special effects of co-producer Ray Harryhausen overwhelm the audience with spectacularly imaginative realism. *Clash* is a remarkably well-made family film of great cinematic artistry. Along with adventure films like *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, *Dragonslayer*, and *Excalibur*, *Clash* returns to the mythological themes of the past.

Mythology is Fantasy

In the movie, the baby Perseus and his mother Danae are ruthlessly cast adrift by her father as punishment for consorting with a god. A vengeful Zeus destroys the cities of Argos for the crimes of its king. At the same time Zeus orders the seas to guide Danae and their son Perseus safely to a remote island. Perseus grows into a handsome, athletic youth and journeys to seek his fortune. He is helped by Zeus and his company to acquire an impenetrable shield, an invisibility cap, and an unbreakable sword. Friends like wise old Ammon (Burgess Meredith), the graceful winged-white horse Pegasus, and the clumsy mechanical owl Bubo aid him in defeating the beastly Calibos and the hideous snake-headed Medusa. After numerous adventures Perseus rescues the beautiful Princess Andromeda (Judi Bowker) from the hated sea monster Kraken. Perseus triumphs and the couple lives happily ever after!

Screenwriter Beverly Cross, also a Greek scholar, creates a script true to mythological folklore. I've always enjoyed mythology (especially Homer and the modern day books of the late Edith Hamilton) with their tales of mysticism, magic, romance, and bravery. As Karl Marx noted, ancient times made up the childhood of humanity. They have an eternal charm, intrinsic to any age, that will never return. The slave societies of Greece and Rome used mythology to explain natural phenomena and esthetic values. There was a god for almost everything—Apollo for the sun, Aphrodite for beauty, Athena for wisdom and so on.

But mythology also reinforced the social relations of society. The Greek tragedies always had heroes as the pure vehicles of poetry and action subject to a predestined future. In the movie, every misfortune or boon that accrues to Perseus is the result of the wrath or favor of the gods. Because people were playthings for the gods, the slave was expected to obey his master blindly, to only act and not to think. Class structure, like nature, was unchangeable in mythological terms. But mythology is incompatible with the development of man today. Marx observed in *Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy* (1857):

"Is the view of nature and of social relations which shaped Greek imagination and thus Greek (mythology) possible in the age of automatic machinery and railways and locomotives and electric telegraphs...all mythology masters and dominates and shapes the forces of nature in and through the imagination hence it disappears as soon as man gains mastery over the forces of nature..."

Mythology and mysticism are reactionary modes of thought, when applied to the problems of today.

Movies: Fantasy is Reality

Films like *Raiders*, *Dragonslayer*, *Superman*, and *Clash* have revived the adventure film genre so popular during the depression and the war years of the '40s. All films deal with the noble themes of love, honor, and bravery. Two, *Raiders* and *Superman*, have been touted as Best Picture nominees. All of these films are quality productions with themes grounded in mythology and mysticism.

Fascist Goebbels, the head of propaganda in Germany under the Nazis admitted:

"I do not in the least want an art which proves its National Socialist (Nazi) character merely by the display of Nazi emblems and symbols but rather, an art which expresses its attitude

through its National Socialist character and through raising National Socialist problems. These problems will penetrate the hearts of the German and other peoples more effectively the less ostentatiously they are handled. Overall, it is a fundamental characteristic of efficacy that it never appears as intended. At the moment that propaganda is recognized as such it becomes ineffective. However, the moment that propaganda, message, bent, or attitude as such stay in the background and appear to people only as storyline, action, or side-effect then will they become effective in every respect... I have no time for faceless style or message-less art. All art has a message. Art has an aim, a goal, a direction... Thus I don't want art for the sake of message but to insert the message into the overall design...."

This is particularly true with excellent films like *Raiders* and *Superman*. In the *Clash of the Titans* the extraordinary work of Harryhausen makes monsters Kraken and Medusa (actually small models used in stop-motion model animation) seem real. They help

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

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

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

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women hold up half the sky

San Jose Workers Win Equal Pay — Taking it to the streets

Sara Anderson

The longtime demand of working women for equal pay made a big step forward in a 9-day strike in San Jose, Cal. Two thousand city workers — half of them women — won a 2-year contract which included a \$1.5 million allotment to correct pay inequities in the wages of women workers.

The workers went out on July 5 when the city refused to bargain with their union, Local 101 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) on the issue of wage discrimination. Before the strike began the city refused to budge from its four percent across-the-board offer. But the longer the workers held out, the more public support rolled in, and the city caved in. The final agreement provides for a seven and a half percent general wage increase this year and an eight percent increase next year.

The union said public opinion was especially strong in their favor because people linked the equal pay issue up with Washington's budget cuts in programs affecting women. People were coming to the picket line to tell how angry they were about top executives getting big pay boosts while the lowest paying jobs are cut out or the wages frozen. In particular Local 101 officials noted the help they received from women's groups and black professional organizations.

Years of struggle for equal pay produced from the city a \$500,000 report admitting that sex discrimination indeed existed. Although San Jose has seven women council members and a woman mayor, none of them endorsed the union's demand.

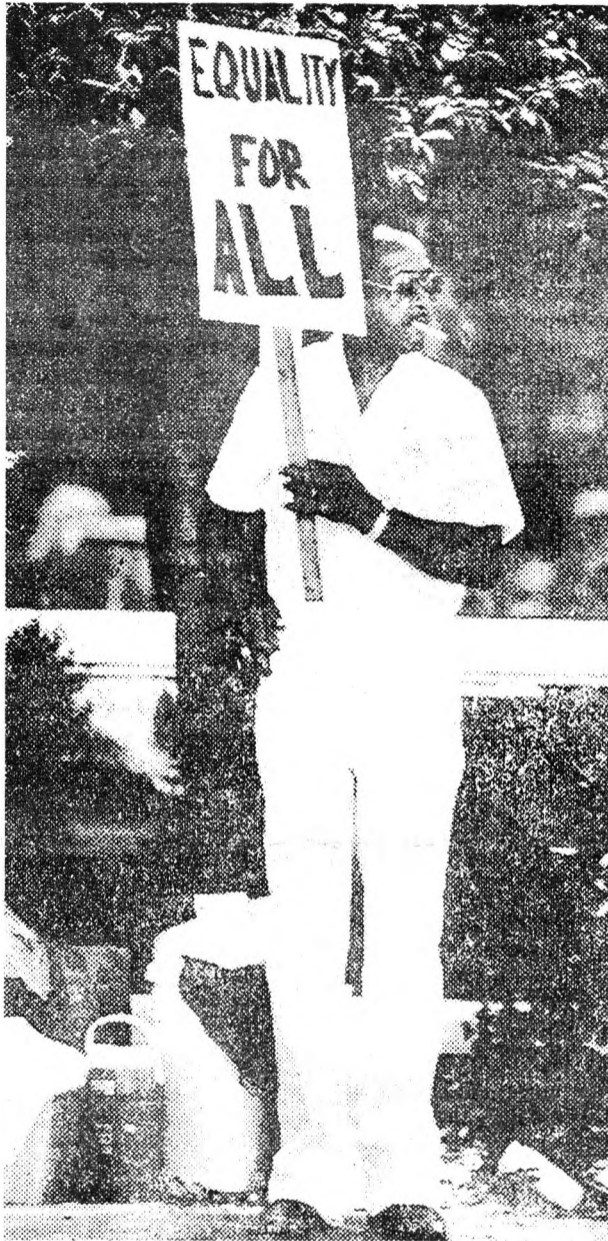
The union contends that the city is still systematically dumping jobs held by women into the lowest pay range regardless of experience, training or ability. For example, in the San Jose system, librarians get lower pay than male employees with comparable education, responsibility and working conditions. The wages of clericals are far below the average of all city employees. Even though this situation exists all over the country, the significance of the union's action is the workers' commitment to fight it.

"No One Can Ignore It"

Workingwomen have been demanding equal pay for equal work since the Civil War but the conditions today are ripe for a full-scale battle. The huge influx of women into the permanent labor force, and the 1980s economic crisis have pushed this issue onto center stage. At this point, if the unions are going to be responsive to the needs of their women members, they can't afford not to take it up. An AFSCME official in San Jose said, "The fact now is that it takes two paychecks to support a family. But the two-paycheck family is in reality a one-and-a-half paycheck family. No one can ignore it."

The strike has been closely watched by both trade unions and women's organizations. Activists in these movement looked at the San Jose strike as a litmus test of labor's willingness and ability to make concrete inroads on the equal pay issue. The backdrop of the strike is the series of court cases on sex and wage discrimination. The most recent and widely publicized is the Supreme Court decision in June of this year. The case involved four jail matrons from Washington County in Oregon. They sued the county government for pay inequities under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits discrimination in employment. They argued that they were entitled to the same wages as the male guards because their duties were comparable though not identical.

This idea has gained popularity among labor, civil rights and women's organizations which have been trying to put into practice the equal pay laws. One approach, they say, is by adopting a sliding wage scale that would reflect primarily the social value of each occupation. For example, emergency nurses would be at the top of the scale because they perform a highly responsible service where human life hangs in the balance, comparable, perhaps, to air-controllers.



Picket sign in San Jose tells all.

Revolutionize the Wage System?

In Denver, when city nurses filed a suit similar to the Washington County case, a federal judge threw it out. He said comparable worth was "pregnant with the possibility of disrupting the entire economic system" of the United States. Could comparable worth really revolutionize the wage system? Why do attacks on the wage system cause the capitalist class to shake in its boots?

The answer lies in the way the wage system works under capitalism. The capitalist class lives and survives as a class only by forcing the working class to live as its wage slaves. Through their private ownership of industry — the whole productive system — they claim all the wealth created by workers, after wages have been paid, as their own. Wages are just a small part of that wealth and the rest — profit — is our unpaid labor.

But the capitalists hide this fact from workers by saying that the value our labor power creates is worth whatever its going rate in the labor market. They say, "Look, the starting wage of an assembly line workers is around \$4 an hour. That's how much your labor power is worth." But if we aren't paid for the full value we actually produce, then what determines the level of wages?

Labor power is a commodity, and the capitalists try to pay as little as possible for it, as they do with other commodities. If they pay too little, though, the working class can't survive or reproduce another generation of workers. So wages, on the whole, reflect the average subsistence level needed to maintain and reproduce the working class.

Only Class Struggle Can Raise Wages

In the United States, like other advanced capitalist countries, there's a fairly broad differential in wages. The main reason is the level of class struggle in each industry. Workers in the basic industries essential to capitalist development and survival have been the best organized and most militant in fighting for higher wages.

Their victories have pushed the average level of wages beyond mere subsistence to include owning a house, a car and a comfortable living for their families. Their expectations have also risen in relation to the higher development of the cultural level of society. For example, working class parents expect to be able to send their kids to college. Fifty years ago, this wasn't even a dream for them.

But the wages of some workers, primarily women, are depressed below even subsistence living. Nationally, the wages of women are 59 percent those of men. Government statistics show that 31 percent of all families headed by single women have incomes that fall below their "poverty level."

Several factors have kept the wages of women among the lowest. The main economic factor is that women have historically been relegated to the army surplus of labor — the ranks of the unemployed. Because capitalism is constantly expanding and contracting in relation to crisis and recovery — goods produced that workers can't afford to buy — there's always too many workers and too few jobs. The capitalists use the reserve army of labor to create competition for jobs, especially in the most unskilled and marginal sectors of the economy.

In the past, these jobs were the only ones women could get and the majority of women were unemployed. Also, the wages of those who did work were used to augment family income. Under these conditions, the contradiction in wages wasn't that sharp. But today it's a whole new story.

Equal Pay — Revolutionary Demand

Capitalism is facing its most severe crisis and it's on a worldwide scale. The basic industries have come to a standstill and millions of auto, steel, construction workers have been laid off — many permanently. The sectors now vital to keep capitalism going are service and finance, the areas where women workers are concentrated. That's why their wage demands and their struggle for organization take on historical importance for the whole working class.

Comparable worth can't reform the wage system or take from the capitalists the wealth the working class is entitled to. But as a demand to raise the wages or women, it can serve revolution to unite and inspire the working class to end the wage system, the rule of the capitalist class altogether.

The San Jose strike is an advanced lesson in this struggle and it also sends a message to unions and the women's movement that workingwomen want to make real gains and won't take paper promises of equality anymore. The court cases on equal pay have been valuable in drawing attention to the issue. But the full-scale assault against job and wage discrimination will be fought in the arena where the working class has its most power — in factories and offices — and through a class-conscious political battle against the capitalist system. □

Women at Work

Clerical	79%
Service	62%
Sales	44%
Professional and Technical	43%
Administrative and Managerial	23%
Transportation and Production	18%
Agricultural	18%

Women as percent of total economically active population by occupation category

Source: Year book of Labor Statistics, 1978 International Labor Office, Geneva.

American Journal

Defending the Freedom of Information Act

David Armstrong

When I was writing a book on the alternative media last year, the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) was one of my most valuable tools. Through the FOIA, I secured government documents showing that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency, among others, spied on and illegally disrupted grassroots media and movements over the past 30 years. Without the FOIA, writers and private citizens who have unearthed evidence of government wrongdoings in every field you can imagine (and probably some you can't) would not have found such damning data on the powers that be.

Now, the Act — which requires federal agencies to turn over records of their activities, subject to key restrictions — is threatened with dismemberment. The FBI and the CIA are lobbying hard to be almost entirely exempted from the law, and Attorney General William French Smith has issued an order permitting agencies to withhold info if the agencies, in their wisdom, decide that disclosure would interfere with their ability to function smoothly.

I think one can safely assume that bureaucrats and spies who have been burned by FOIA disclosures before will find plenty of reasons to make sure there are no more embarrassing revelations. Things like Richard Nixon's incriminating Watergate tapes, for example, and reports of government drug experiments on unwilling soldiers and civilians, and the CIA's use of spy satellites to snoop on domestic anti-war demonstrations. All were exposed through the FOIA.

Political activists and friends of civil liberties are beginning to realize just how serious the threats to the delicate web of constitutional rights really are. As a result, they are rallying around the FOIA. No fewer than 146 organizations joined on July 4 of this year — the fifteenth anniversary of passage of the Act — to defend the statute, which the newly-formed FOIA Task Force calls "unique in the laws of all nations."

Backers of the Task Force include the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for Science in the Public Interest, the Authors' League, Environmental

Action, the Gray Panthers, the National Newspaper Association, the United Auto Workers and a group called Disarm, headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

Representatives of these organizations plan to testify before Congress in hearings on the FOIA scheduled for this summer. They also hope to educate the public to the very real value of the FOIA as a "means of ensuring that the American people can hold their government publicly accountable for the actions it takes in their name."

As one who has used the Act in my work, I can only add amen. Lord knows that the FOIA, far from being a *carte blanche* to spill legitimately classified information, is a modest law. Many documents are withheld from public inspection as it is, for reasons of "national security" and protection of trade secrets, among others; they are only two of the nine exemptions allowed under the present law. Even records that are released are heavily censored.

Reagan administration officials say that the paperwork involved in doing even that much is costing the government time and money. There is a certain irony in that argument. If Washington hadn't spied so extensively and illegally on its own people, there would be no paperwork to do. Indeed, this seems a strange complaint for an administration supposedly dedicated to washing Big Government out of our hair. But then, the Reagan White House fairly abounds with such contradictions.

No, the FOIA is not a superfluous intrusion into the affairs of state, nor a simple bother for hard-working officials. It is a crucial if barely adequate check on this country's intelligence establishment — a lavishly funded juggernaut whose leaders are still smarting from the slaps on the wrist given them during the mildly reformist Ford and Carter years.

The Freedom of Information Act must be defended and strengthened, for in defending the Act, we strengthen our own freedom of thought and action. You can write the FOIA Task Force at 201 Mass. Ave., N.E., Suite 316, Washington, D.C. 20002. The telephone number is (202) 547-4705. □

MAKE THE BANKS AND CORPORATIONS PAY

JANKEN

FOR DETROIT CITY COUNCIL

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capitalism the government is always run by "outsiders."

However it's the last point that illuminates our tasks and needs to be developed more. During my election campaign we have consistently said (and met with favorable response), that the banks and corporations should pay, not the workers and poor. We have several concrete platform points to enforce this, such as taxing the banks and corporations, outlawing home foreclosures and repossessions, and so on. However, people will often ask how we're going to make them pay, and if we do, won't they just get up and leave the city in worse shape than it is already.

The answer is twofold. If we confine ourselves to legal means and electoral struggle, we probably can't make them pay and can't prevent them from leaving. The struggle requires not only defeat of their legislative moves to attack workers and the poor, but countermoves by us that we can back up with the force of organized people. A case in point was our stand against concessions and government handouts to Chrysler. We felt the most effective way to stop plant closings was to strike Chrysler, which we tried to do at Dodge Main. Make it more costly for them to close than to remain open. Similarly, there is no reason except their own opportunism and spineless misleadership of city leaders to cave in to the fiscal blackmail of the large

banks and corporations. Communists and other revolutionary-minded militants are the only ones who are going to do that kind of grassroots organizing that can give the backbone and muscle to struggles in the legislative arena. The militant leverage of the organized masses is the force necessary to confront these attacks from the bourgeoisie, as well as pull many of these shaky but honest allies from the petty bourgeoisie around.

Secondly, you have to face the fact that as long as we have capitalism there will be no hope for the northern and northeastern cities. As our program and organizing efforts show, we are not going to sit around and wait for socialism before we fight. But the point remains that things will continue to deteriorate in the big cities under capitalism because it is more profitable for the capitalists to let them deteriorate. It is a national problem of the economic system of anarchy and waste. And it can't be solved by socialism in one city as some people maintain. There is no fundamental way around this. And this is why the tax increase election and the implementation of the Secrest plan is really the kiss of death to those politicians and "progressives" who follow that logic to the end. It won't work. □

(Glen Janken is a Communist Workers Party member running for Detroit City Council.)

...Clash

continued from page 12

portray the invincibility of nature except by the gods' intervention.

Films like *Raiders*, because they are closer to modern times, carry a lot of the ideological and myth-making garbage of this century. *Raiders* is rich in racial stereotypes—the people the hero meets are colorful and lively yet simple and childish and in need of protection. These people are all from underdeveloped countries like Egypt. The Nazis too viewed themselves as the protectors and civiliziers of the world. When the hero and his girl are caught by the Nazis, Divine Intervention saves them. This brings to mind Moral Majority head Jerry Falwell saying that America is God's country exalted over all other nations. The messages and themes of this movie go on and on. They are all coated with a veneer of expert craftsmanship—computerized special effects, and lively scenery.

As these films push their action without thought (represented often in blind patriotism), using the forms and ideas of the past, they have a greater potential to change minds than an overtly propagandist film might. Christopher Caudwell noted that artists producing these films will consciously and increasingly take sides on the struggles going on in America. What will they use their skills for?

The bourgeois artist has three possible roles in relation to the proletariat—opposition, alliance or assimilation. Opposition means a return to discarded forms of yesterday; they have annihilated themselves. It is necessary to "regress" and return to almost mythological themes, to interpret the world in terms of the blood and the unconsciousness. It is necessary to barbarise both the age and the external world in order to find a sanction for an opposition which can only be an alliance with the privileged forces of reaction. This attempt to roll history back gives us Spenglerian, "Aryan" and Fascist art. The new adventure films gives us heroes. They allow us to escape to a comic-strip land where the hero triumphs over all, restoring order to a world gone mad. The desperate situation of whole groups of people—chemical and nuclear waste killing man and beast, the chronic aimlessness and joblessness of youth—makes them susceptible to irrational ideologies like fascism. Yet, it also makes them open to question, think, and fight for an anti-fascist alternative.

Great Summer Fare

The adventure films make great summer fare for the whole family. At the same time, compared to films like *China Syndrome*, they loom as a step backward for Hollywood filmmakers politically. However, *Clash* is a cinematic treat for the whole family. □

...Hunger Strikers

continued from page 11

clans in 1641 managed to uproot the planted area of Ulster, but in 1653 it was restocked with Puritans. The result of Cromwell's invasion was the confiscation of land from just about everyone in varying degrees, which left the entire population with "alien landlords." 34,000 Irishmen left to serve in "the Armies of Continental Kings." SLEWS of orphans from the last 11 years of war were sold into slavery in the West Indies and the Carolinas, at such a profit the agents came back and kidnapped more, even from England.

In 1692 several acts, together known as the Penal Code, were passed by the Dublin Parliament (made up, by law, of only Englishmen). These became the legal means with which to carry out genocide. Catholics (in other words, all native Irish) were forbidden to vote or hold office, join the civil service, go to school or teach in one, own or carry arms, own a horse of any value, etc. They could not print newspapers or books, nor marry Protestants. A Protestant who did marry a Catholic lost all his civil rights. All clergy of the Catholic Church were ordered to leave the country under penalties for high treason. England would have liked to see the entire population emigrate, and did everything to encourage it.

The Anglo-Irish Catholic landowners, those who had intermarried with the families of clan chiefs, had their own ways out of the laws against Catholics through various schemes and money. The Irish peasants and poor were forced to attend mass in the woods, get whatever education they could on the sly. But the legends of the Gaels, of the men who developed the

Irish nation rich in art and poetry, were brought down through the generations by the tillers who told them secretly in their cabins, and by bards who would sing by a fence to anyone who would listen. And so the heritage of the Irish was never lost. It is that heritage for which the Irish are fighting today.

The fact that the repression began even before the Protestant Reformation shows how little it mattered that the Irish were Catholic; it has always been just an excuse to rob the lands and destroy the society of a whole people, the Irish nation. The Penal Code was designed to give the King of England a "right," in the name of protecting the English and the Irish from "the Papacy," and rule from Rome, to do what he would with Irish land — turn it into the feudal holdings that brought so much profit to the landlords, and in turn to the King and Church of England.

The result of the Penal Code was the rise of the secret societies who fought the landlords tit for tat. England could never rid itself permanently of the clans or their spirit of resistance, although thousands of members of the secret societies were hanged.

Imperialist Conquest, Not Religious Intolerance

That the original settlers could have intermarried with the native Irish shows just how much "natural" prejudice there was; that decrees were passed by the Roman Catholic Church against Irish Catholics shows that it was a question of the political influence of the Church and the English Crown.

LETTERS TO THE CWP

Bush Loves the Marcos Dictatorship

Dear Comrades,

With nine years of martial rule and repression behind him, Marcos easily won the June 16 elections in the Philippines — for another six years of suffering for 48 million Filipinos.

The Reagan administration added insult to injury when Vice-President Bush offered this incredible praise of a brutal regime which Amnesty International and world opinion regards as one of the world's worst violators of human rights: "We love your adherence to democratic principles and to the democratic processes..." If this is not cynical or unintentionally mocking, then it is just another proof of how U.S. policy makers place the interest of corporate profits and strategic military bases far above that of human welfare, both those of the American and Filipino peoples.

Newsweek (July 13) noted that "Iran and Nicaragua showed the danger of basing a policy on the future of an unpopular autocrat" like Marcos. Fortune (July 1968) warns U.S. businessmen that the Marcos govern-

ment is veering toward crisis. In our view, it is a crisis for the tiny minority of wealthy bureaucrats, military officers, and Marcos cronies who have enriched themselves through corruption and exploitation. It is also a crisis for Marcos' supporter, U.S. policy makers, who waste an average annual doleout of \$100 million of people's taxdollars for weapons used to suppress democratic processes.

The Filipino people's resistance to the Marcos dictatorship, led by the National Democratic Front, has grown tremendously since 1972. We call on all peoples who care for genuine people's democracy, freedom and justice, to help us in whatever way to cut short the domination of the cruel, corrupt and utterly fascist Marcos regime.

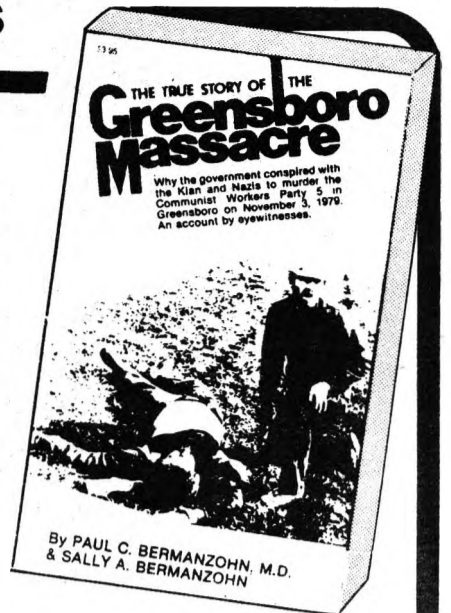
In solidarity,
San Juan, Chairperson
Coordinating Committee
UGNAYAN (Alliance for Philippine
National Democracy)
Box 101, Mansfield Depot, Ct. 06251

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

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

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

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



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

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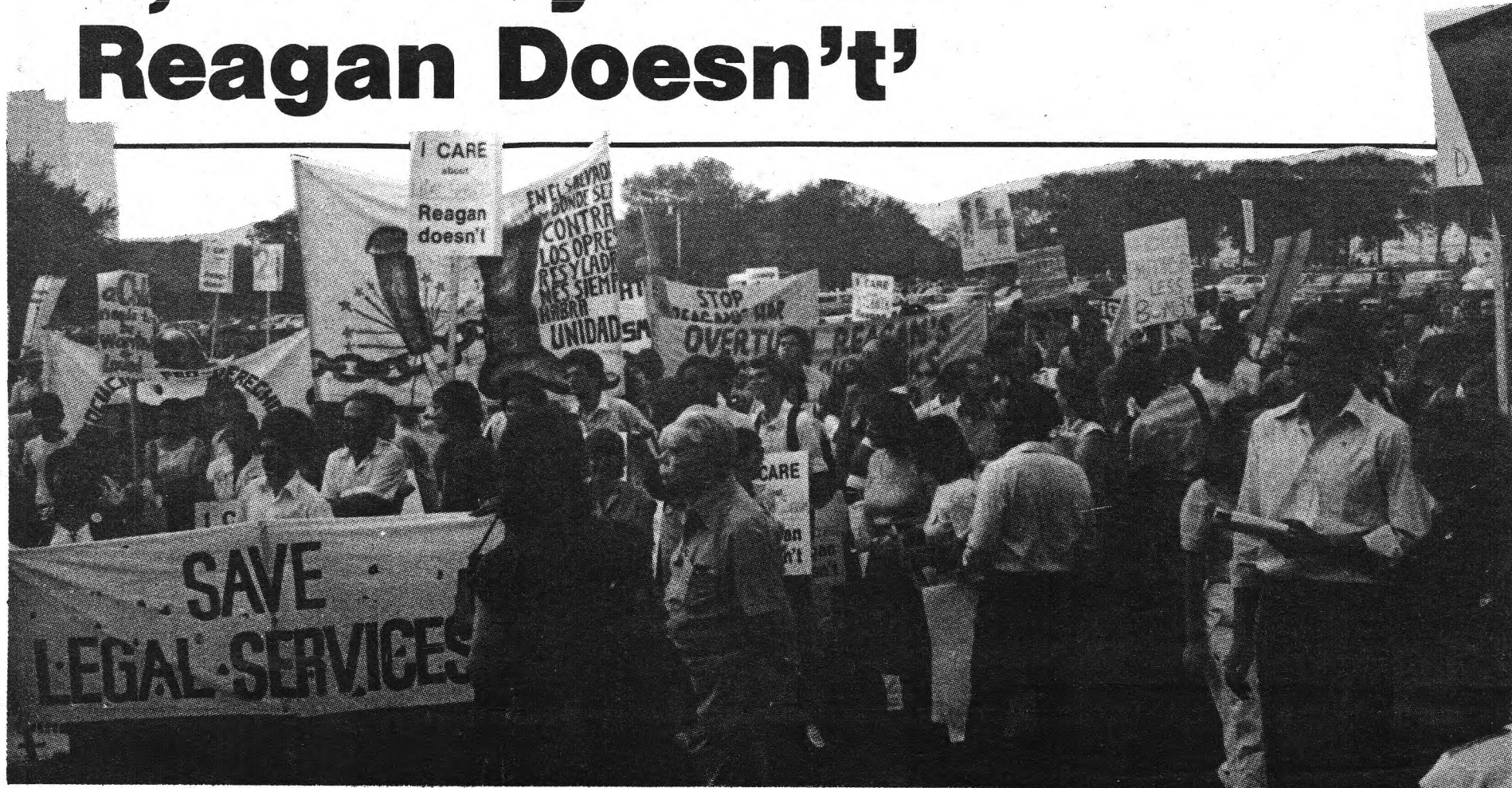
POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY, U.S.A.

VOL. 6 NO. 29

JULY 29-AUGUST 4, 1981

50 CENTS

5,000 Say 'I Care Reagan Doesn't'



Norman Sadler

CHICAGO, Ill. — A small airplane towed an unusual banner over downtown Chicago on July 7. Not your common commercial message. Pulling the sign, "Reagan — Fund People, Not War — Stop Arms Race," the airplane flew to Grant Park, where 5,000 people gathered to protest Reagan's appearance at a \$250-a-plate fundraising dinner for Governor Thompson at McCormick Place.

Two of the limousines that drove up to the McCormick Place entrance that evening were modern Trojan Horses. The 14 men and women, aged 24 to 70, who stepped out of the limousines and walked into the lobby were modestly covering banners and signs underneath their formal dresses and suits. While seven stood by as observers, the other seven protested against the administration's budget cuts, and were arrested for disorderly conduct. Among the fourteen were members of Clergy and Laity Concerned, Eighth Day Center for Justice, and Chicago Area Women for Peace.

Large Turnout, Broad Forces

The 5,000 demonstrators outside McCormick Place were organized by the Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics (I CARE) into 48 squads. Ten represented cities throughout Illinois, and the other 38 were issue-oriented and carried signs such as "I CARE about disabled, Reagan doesn't," and "I CARE about unions, Reagan doesn't."

Rallying at Grant Park, they listened to speeches by U.S. Congressman and secretary of the Congressional Black Caucus, Harold Washington, who was cheered when he declared that "we will not tolerate these budget cuts." Dick Simpson, ICARE chairperson, described the coalition's programs for oppos-

ing the budget cuts, "We will institute new governments in Illinois and in America. In due course we are going to elect a new governor, a new state legislature, a new Congress, and a new President."

Other scheduled speakers represented the Illinois Nurses Association for Cook County Hospital, Illinois Welfare Rights Coalition, Westtown Concerned Citizens, Chicago Disabled Coalition, Illinois NOW, Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador, Illinois Public Action Council and the International Association of Machinists.

"People Are Ready to Take This Country Back!"

A dozen handicapped people in wheelchairs led the demonstrators on the mile-long march to McCormick Place. The route took the 5,000 in broken streamlets across Lake Shore Drive during rush hour traffic, past Soldiers Field Stadium and onto a footbridge over other lanes of traffic. According to one demonstrator, the police kept marchers off the footbridge until a procession of limousines passed under. Believing that Reagan was in one of the limousines, the demonstrators booed from both sides of the street.

A large field next to McCormick Place was the rally site at the end of the march. Rows of police stood between the demonstrators and a wall of the building. As the 5,000 filed into the area, many chanted, "We're fired up, we ain't taking no more!"

Bill Hutton, Executive Director of the National Council of Senior Citizens, spoke after musicians led the demonstrators in songs with choruses like "Stockman is a butcher, he shall be removed, Reagan has no mandate, he shall be removed." Hutton said,

"The Reagan campaign said there would be no cuts in Social Security. Now he plans to cut Social Security by billions, trying to balance the budget on the backs of older people, students and the disabled." He said that Social Security would not be in trouble if the baby boom generation was employed, if Reagan had a jobs program. Relying upon Congress, he continued, "We can defeat Reagan and Stockman in their cuts. Give Congress backbone. People across the country are ready to defeat him."

The next speaker also spoke out for participation in electoral politics. He criticized the Democrats for not providing an alternative candidate, a "real representative," and chastised the protestors for not voting against Reagan, or not voting at all. The demonstrators showed restlessness and dissatisfaction with the repeated theme of "write your congressman," however, and the speaker, Ken Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees and international vice president of the AFL-CIO, took a more militant stand.

"People are ready to take this country back," he said. The crowd showed more interest. "The poor in this country can overturn this country." Applause and cheering. He went on: "We're here to build a coalition. This is a beginning. You're either with us or against us, there's no in-between. We're in a better position to overthrow the government than the communists in El Salvador."

"When they come for your brother, stand. When they come for your sister, stand. Let them know when they hit one of us, they hit all of us."

Strengths and Weaknesses

While the Chicago demonstration was five times larger than the June 21

demonstration in Columbus, Ohio, it, too, received little attention from the bourgeois press. Reagan's announcement of a woman appointee to the Supreme Court dominated the news. Pre-empting and blacking out news coverage of anti-government demonstrations are old tricks that will flop in the 80s. Participating organizations, like the NAACP, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, AFGE, International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO and other such broad forces can take the news directly to memberships numbering in the millions. Their participating also has legitimacy and importance for the bourgeois press, helping to break through news blockades.

The demonstration focused on Stockman and Reagan, and did not explain why the budget cuts, tax cuts and militarization are happening now. This analysis must be provided to direct the masses towards the only solution to the economic crisis, socialism. It is significant that speakers received the most applause and best response when they spoke of overthrowing the government and taking back the country.

The broadness of the demonstrations, representing dozens of mass organizations, and uniting them in the fight against Reagan's economic recovery program, are major triumphs for ICARE. Their coalition embodies the organizational abilities vital to helping form the broad alliances needed for all-rounded preparation in the 80's. □