

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

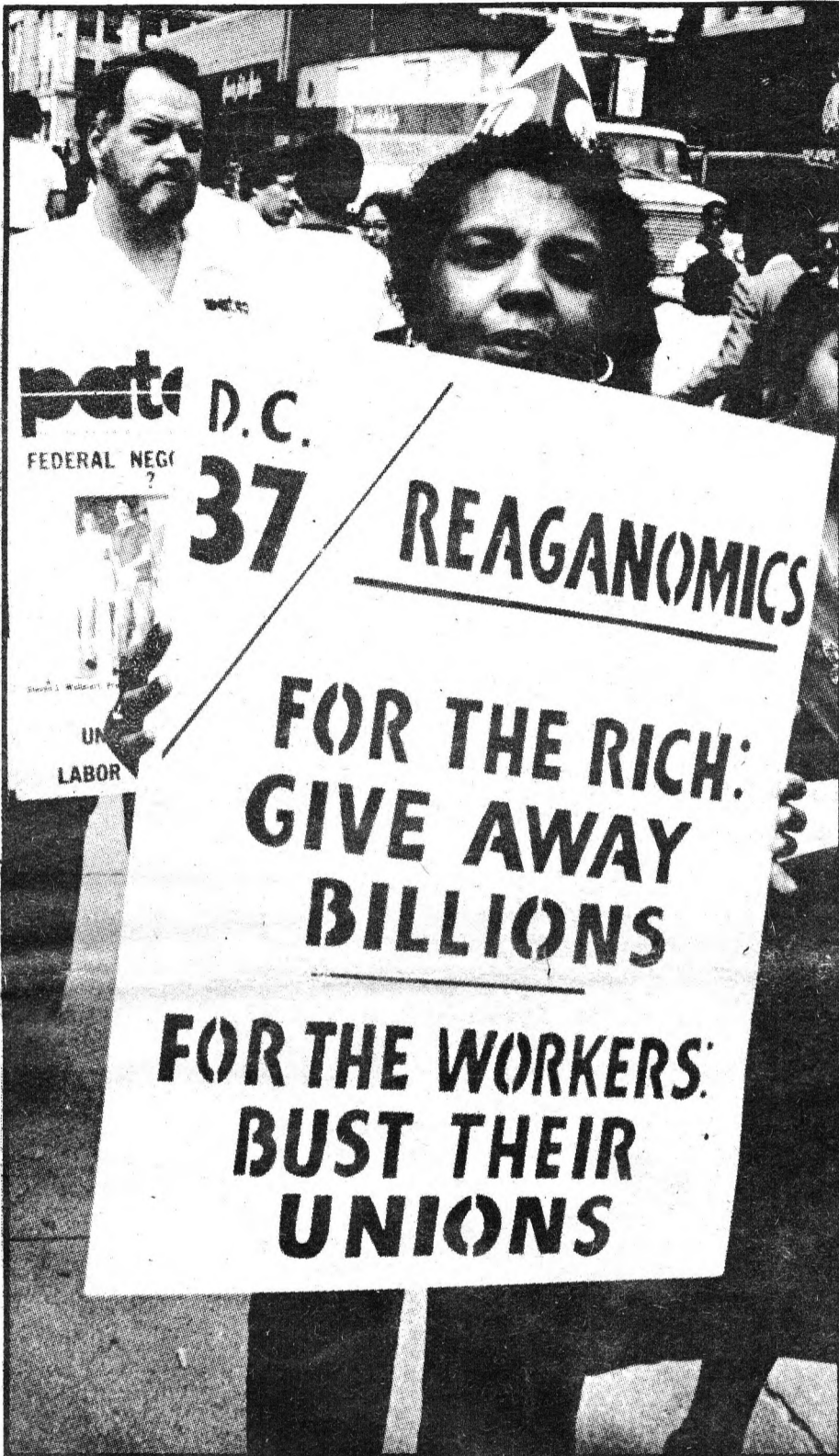
The Proletariat and Oppressed People
and Nations of the World, Unite!

NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

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Marchers at Labor Day Rally in New York City *WV photo by George Montano*

PATCO— Collective Begging or Right to Strike?

Dave Young

Whatever the ultimate outcome of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization strike, Ronald Reagan's frontal assault against the union has shown the most reactionary side of the U.S. ruling class and will leave Reagan more politically isolated. Action speaks louder than words. In light of his attempt to crush 12,000 air controllers, Reagan's words are clear lies.

At his recent speech before the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners convention in Chicago, delegates reacted coolly to his remarks that, "When it comes to the bottom line, all of us are striving for the same thing: a strong and healthy America and a fair share for working people." On the other hand, the delegates broke out in thunderous applause when Democratic Party National Committee Chairman Charles T. Manatt accused Reagan of using a double standard to punish the air controllers.

Initially, Reagan was able to use the need to uphold the law and manipulate public opinion and intimidate other workers. Postal workers ratified their contract by a vote of six to one and other unions shied away from direct support for fear of similar reprisals. Once the smoke cleared, concrete issues had to be addressed. Secretary of

Transportation Drew Lewis had to admit that the controllers had legitimate grievances. In response to charges of unsafe flying conditions, the Federal Aviation Agency announced that it was conducting studies on the matter. The sharpest criticism came around the administration's repressive tactics toward PATCO. People in general began to question the glaring hypocrisy of a president who supposedly boundlessly supports the Polish workers' right to strike but attacks his own government employees.

Since the strike began, there has been a mounting debate over the working class's right to strike. "No one — neither a public nor a private employee — has a right to strike," wrote John C. Armour, a constitutional lawyer from Baltimore. "The privilege of striking, like the privilege of driving a car should be available as widely as possible to all adult Americans because it has so much influence on matters of deep, personal concern. But any objections to where the line is drawn belongs neither in morality nor in the courts; it belongs to the legislature that drew the line — be it a City Council, a state legislature, or the Congress of the United States." Michigan Congressman John Conyers introduced HR 4375, a bill intended to give federal employees the right to strike.

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Apartheid Rugby An Expression of U.S. Foreign Policy

Anthony LaRusso

Whatever happens in Chicago and Albany this week, the world already knows what the American people think of South Africa, its apartheid policies and its national rugby team, the Springboks. In New York City, Mayor Ed Koch was forced to rescind his hardy welcome for the Springboks to play in Downing Stadium, a public facility. When that game was proposed to move up to Rochester, N.Y. motion immediately began to stop it. That match has now been cancelled until another, more secret site can be found. In Los

Angeles, Mayor Tom Bradley was forced to come out against the tour of the Springboks for fear of losing the 1984 Olympics (scheduled to be held there).

This is only the cover of the book being written on resistance to South Africa's attempt at using their rugby team as "good will" ambassadors. The main text will be written this week in Albany and Chicago. The main authors of the motion is an organization called SART. Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour is a coalition of 100 organizations from Pan Africanist

Congress to the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS). From church groups to the Communist Workers Party, the coalition is voicing the feelings of many Americans on how they despise the apartheid government in South Africa.

Chapter one begins in Chicago on Sept. 19 where the Springboks open up their U.S. tour. They will be coming in off a most trying experience in New Zealand where demonstrators met them every place they played. In Chicago, to help clarify exactly the kind of people the South Africans are, the Nazi party has stated they will be there armed for battle to make sure that nothing interferes with the playing of the match. Birds of a feather ... With the popularity the Nazis have in the Midwest, they had better stay home if they plan on seeing Sept. 20.

In Albany, Mayor Erastus Corning last week announced that the Springboks scheduled game with the Eastern Rugby Union (ERU) All-Star team can be played in their city-owned facility, Blecker Stadium on Sept. 22.

While claiming to abhor apartheid, the mayor has skated the Springboks in town on the premise of "freedom of speech." The Mayor has helped us to see more clearly just what bourgeois democracy is and what freedom of speech means in a capitalist country. The oppressors of minorities around the world have every right to air and carry out their political views. As for the millions of blacks in South Africa who are not even allowed to walk in restricted areas of *their* own nation, the Mayor can't address that. In a country where its only rightful inhabitants are not allowed any political, economic or social freedoms, the oppressors of those people, the white settlers, are all of a sudden in need of someone to defend their "rights."

The rights given to South Africa don't stop at allowing their national rugby team visas into the U.S. The Reagan administration (just as those before him) has given them a green light to do as they please around the world and at home and still be assured of an open arms policy in America.

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EDITORIAL

Stop Apartheid Rugby in Albany

Run out of New Zealand where their rugby tour sparked the biggest political protest in that country's history, the Springboks are now scheduled to play on American soil. The visit of these representatives of apartheid South Africa has outraged decent people throughout the country and the world.

Before the team even arrived, anti-apartheid forces scored significant victories in the fight to stop the three-city tour. In New York City, the third planned stop, over 100 civil rights, religious, political and sports organization formed the Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART) coalition and forced the Koch administration to deny the Springboks permission to use city-owned playing facilities. When the match was switched to an alternative site in Rochester, anti-apartheid forces there also forced a cancellation. Now American rugby officials are afraid to say where or when a third match will take place. Nor do they dare reveal the location of the first scheduled Sept. 19 game in Chicago.

Only in Albany, the second official leg of the tour, has the match been given the go-ahead. Albany Mayor Erastus Corning has approved use of the city-owned Bleecker Stadium despite opposition from the heads of six Capital District religious denominations and other groups all over the city.

The sentiment against apartheid and the tour has mounted even among the ranks of the Eastern Rugby Union, the body which invited the Springboks here. Member clubs have organized the Against South Africa Playing coalition. Nor has opposition been confined to the grass roots. Los Angeles Mayor Bradley, Howard Volpe, chairman of the House subcommittee on Africa, William Simon, former Treasury Secretary in the Nixon administration and current head of the U.S. Olympic Committee, and New York Gov. Carey have all condemned the tour, although what Carey will do in practice remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, the controversy has become an international issue. The African nations have threatened to boycott the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and the International Olympic Committee has said it will take measures if the matches are played.

Albany Mayor Corning argues that the Springboks have the right to play under the U.S. Constitution and "freedom of speech and assembly". But since when has apartheid been just an "idea" to be expressed or not? It is the most blatant, racist system in the modern world, which has existed for over 80 years. It is universally hated for its systematic exploitation and genocide against black South African children, women and men. By appealing to abstract freedom, Corning has given us all an object lesson in the real meaning of capitalist democracy -- the rights of a tiny band of racists and the isolated regime they represent is defended, while these same rights for the black South African majority is denied.

Tom Selfridge, president of the Eastern Rugby Union (ERU), claims that politics and sports "don't mix" and that the tour should go on because it's just a game. Yet, the current tour reeks of politics in the most corrupt sense.

The Springboks is the national team of South Africa, a squad sponsored by the government and from which all black South Africans are barred. Members of the team flaunt their loyalty to apartheid and some are members of the South African military and

police forces.

In December, 1980, the ERU accepted \$25,000 from Luis Luyt, a figure five times the 1980 ERU budget. Luyt is the notorious South African businessman who was implicated in the payoff scandal to buy favorable press coverage on behalf of the South African Ministry of Information. Also in December, the ERU chose to invite the apartheid rugby team when it could just have easily invited teams from Britain or New Zealand instead.

Selfridge is in no position to defend the purity of non-political, amateur athletics.

The political stakes involved in the "sports" controversy become more clear when seen in the present international and domestic setting. Especially last month, South Africa has been universally condemned for its invasion of Angola and its refusal to allow free elections in Namibia. South Africa and the U.S. is so isolated that on Aug. 30, the U.S. was the only member of the Security Council to veto sanctions against the racist regime. And on Sept 14, the UN General Assembly voted 117 to 0 for a resolution denouncing South Africa and reaffirming support for the South-West Africa People's Organization as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people." The U.S. was one of a handful of countries abstaining. In this context, for the U.S. to welcome a South African team amounts to an open endorsement of apartheid.

For the Reagan administration, a successful rugby match in the U.S. would justify its naked support for South Africa in defiance of world public opinion. Were the games to go unchallenged, the Reaganites would surely claim another fictitious "mandate" from the American people.

During a debate in the South African Parliament last year, one member said, "If sport can be a vehicle for maintaining overseas links, I think we should use sport in such a way. Moreover, if we can give our overseas sporting friends ammunition with which to get us back into international sport, I think we should seriously consider making those changes that would help us to get back into international sport." For the South African regime, the rugby tour is the one chance to begin breaking out of its isolation while it has a dear friend in the White House. Seemingly innocent cultural ties would soon lead to more brazen political and military links.

Stopping the rugby tour will be a big blow against apartheid. This is what's at stake when the thousands of demonstrators converge in Albany on Sept. 22.

When Mayor Koch barred the tour from New York City, he cited potential "violence" on the part of protestors as his reason. Of course, Koch is a stone racist and a die-hard Reagan supporter. The real reason Koch gave in to anti-apartheid forces is because a racist image is a political liability in the current mayoral race. Nevertheless, this theme of violence-baiting has echoed from various sources in an attempt to intimidate people from protesting the tour. Yet in New Zealand, it was the government which allowed the Springboks to play and unleashed police repression. They invited the angry response of the New Zealand people. So too will the U.S. government, on the federal, state and local level, be held responsible.

The apartheid rugby tour will be stopped. □

Reagan's Amnesty Plan Legal Slavery Unionbusting

Remedios Rincon

Translated from Punto de Vista Obrero

Reagan surprised no one when he unveiled his latest political attack on undocumented workers on July 30—his notorious "guest worker" program. The headlines of "La Opinion," a Spanish newspaper in Los Angeles, ironically dubbed it "Reagan's Amnesty Plan."

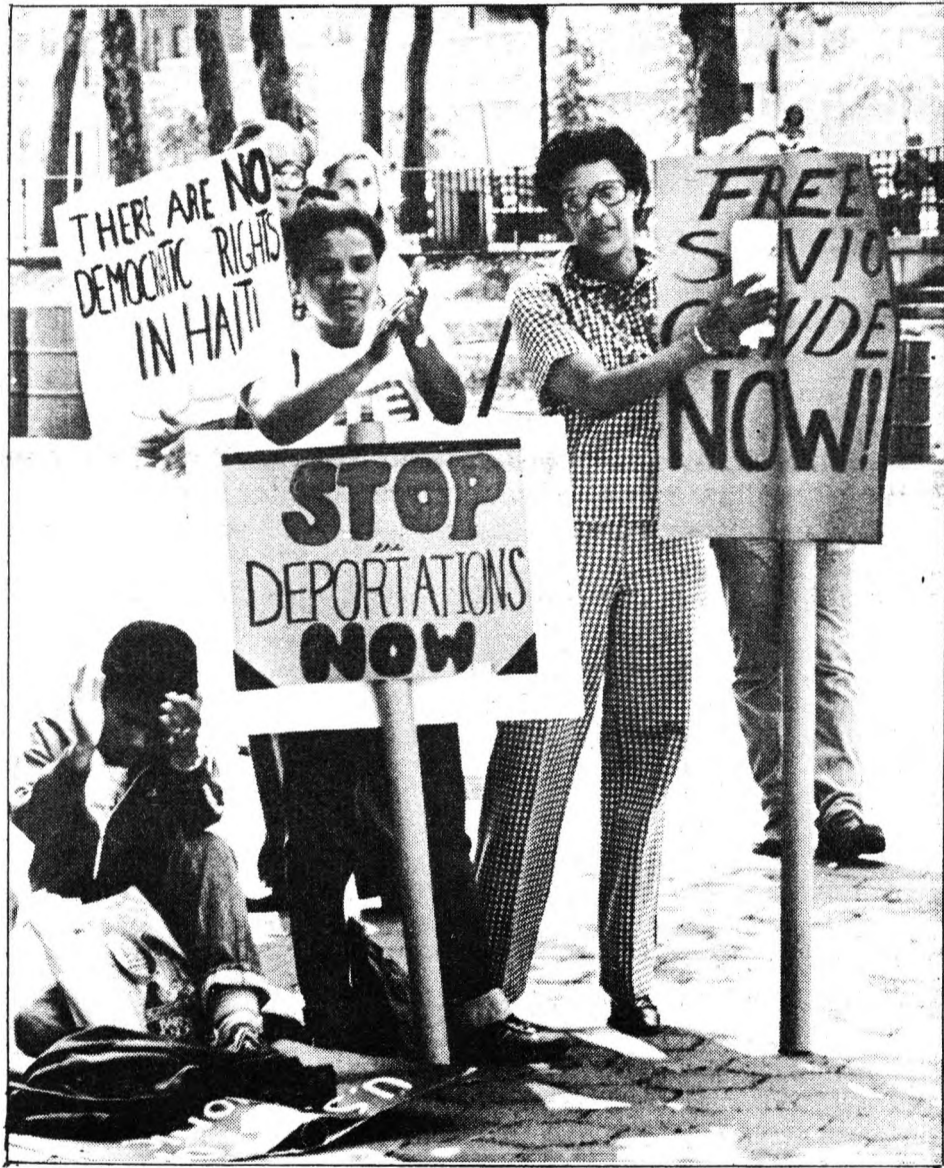
Everyone else had already guessed that this would be the outcome of last month's summit meeting between Reagan and Mexico President Portillo, knowing fully that undocumented workers would be the last ones to benefit from his plan.

Before the meeting with Portillo, it was known that Reagan would be proposing some kind of "guest worker" program, but it was assumed that any mention of "amnesty" would be nothing more than an empty phrase.

refugees also apply to undocumented workers, and vice versa.

The plan speaks of establishing detention centers (read: concentration camps) that can accommodate 10,000-20,000 people for an indefinite period of time.

These centers are intended to receive all immigrants and to give them their first taste of the American way of life. Obviously, it is also meant to sort out immigrants who are "ineligible" to reside here. As you can see, these concentration camps serve as both an entrance and an exit for many people. It's not difficult to imagine these camps being used to incarcerate other groups as well, such as the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. Apparently, the stables which the Immigration and Naturalization



WV photo by George Montano

N.Y.C. Rally opposing detention of Haitians.

"It is an outrage!" declared one Latino youth, in front of this popular "Piojo" store near downtown Los Angeles. He explained his views to a CWP supporter who was selling the Workers Viewpoint newspaper. "This is legalized slavery. Back when the British were going to Africa to kidnap slaves, they had to catch them and throw them into cages. But now with this bracero program, the government only has to ask Mexico to give them slaves. They don't have to catch them anymore. It's an outrage... a mockery!"

What is it about Reagan's plan, that has so infuriated the Chicano/Latino community?

Concentration Camps Again

Reagan's plan is divided into two main parts. The first part applies to Cuban and Haitian refugees. It is important to note, however, that many of the measures directed at political

Service (INS) maintains in San Isidro and the Rio Grande Valley are not sufficient for the government's purposes.

It's understood that some of the camps will be used also to house those people awaiting deportation hearings. Nowadays, if a worker is picked up in an INS raid, he can pay \$200 bail and continue to work until his case is decided. Under Reagan's plan, however, these workers would be denied bail and the chance to be released on their own recognizance. Reagan has also promised to revise the hearing process by eliminating the worker's right to appeal a decision and by restricting the proceedings to only establishing whether or not the defendant has entered the country with adequate documentation. These changes will make it far easier for the government to carry out mass deportations.

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An Urgent Appeal

Support a Weekly Workers Viewpoint

The Workers Viewpoint is in grave financial trouble. To continue publishing on a regular, weekly basis, we need an additional \$30,000 a year. What is more, if we do not raise \$3,000 over our present income within one month, we have no choice but to cut back publication to once every two weeks. In the 80s, a weekly Marxist press is a necessity, not a luxury.

The 80s. A decade less than two years old, but one which has already proven to be momentous. With the rise of Reaganism and the fightback against it, the challenges--and the opportunities-- placed before all revolutionaries and progressive-minded people are momentous, too.

The Communist Workers Party and its newspaper, the Workers Viewpoint, is meeting the challenges head on. The 80s was kicked off by the government assassinations of five CWP members in Greensboro, North Carolina. Many honest people around the country could sense that the political climate was undergoing radical change, and the Workers Viewpoint was on hand to cover and analyze it. Moving up the schedule by six months, the WV immediately became a weekly newspaper, providing extensive coverage of the campaign to avenge the CWP 5, the presidential elections, the economic crisis, the Iranian revolution and other earth-shaking events.

Maintaining and publishing a regular, weekly newspaper has been far from easy. Our staff's load was immediately doubled. Many of our writers who work full time to support their families come to work at the WV for several hours a night and often come in weekends. Full time staff writers--the bare minimum necessary to keep both the WV and the Spanish language Punto de Vista Obrero going--live on a combined sum of \$600 a month. We have cut costs everywhere possible--on supplies, typewriter ribbons, even lightbulbs. Our writers often type on broken typewriters and have even lined up to type their articles because we lacked the money for repairs.

Still we have been able not only to keep publishing regularly, but also to tremendously improve the paper. We provide timely analysis of the economy, the latest, most advanced thinking of the Communist Workers Party and its General Secretary, Jerry Tung, comprehensive summaries of international events, reports on the problems and achievements of socialist construction and topical features on such important matters of the class struggle as the Jewish National Question. We have also introduced to you talented people's writers like David Armstrong and May Quan and columns like "Women Hold Up Half the Sky," "Culture and Class Struggle" and "Sports."

When our financial straits could no longer be ignored and production, printing and distribution costs kept up, we still hesitated to cut back on all this, choosing instead to raise our cover price to fifty cents. Unfortunately, this has not raised the additional revenue needed to publish a weekly newspaper, and our staff has cut and squeezed to its limit.

Mao Zedong, predicting great upheavals in the years to come commented, "The next 50 years or so, beginning from now will be a great era of radical change in the social system

throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past."

These are hard times for all of us. Inflation, unemployment, political repression and other social sores--the monopoly capitalist class is taking its toll on everyone. Yet within this hardship lies the great opportunities. There is unprecedented resistance to Reagan, and he has been beat back on three most important fronts: El Salvador, the McCarthyite Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and the anti-abortion rights Human Life Amendment. Hundreds of thousands of workers are expected to hit the streets against Reaganomics on Solidarity Day.

Events move so rapidly that it is hardly possible to keep the pace. The political scenery can completely transform overnight, and social movements are just as quickly confronted with new and pressing questions that demand answers. To recognize the opportunities and answer the questions, revolutionaries and progressive people need a weekly Marxist newspaper. Revolutionaries and progressives need the Workers Viewpoint.

These are critical times, and critical times call for hard decisions. Decisions that can change lives and the whole course of events. This decision is no exception. We have done all we can. Now you must make a choice: how important is a weekly Workers Viewpoint to you and your struggles? Contribute to the WV, or better yet, become a regular, monthly sustainer. A weekly Workers Viewpoint--it is up to you.

SUSTAINER: The Workers Viewpoint is your newspaper and relies on your contributions and donations to keep it publishing. Workers Viewpoint sustainers contribute a minimum of \$10 monthly. In addition to a subscription, sustainers also receive four three-month trial subscriptions for their friends. Sustainers who contribute \$100 a month or more also receive a copy of either *The True Story of the Greensboro Massacre*, by Paul and Sally Bermanzohn or *The Socialist Road*, by CWP General Secretary Jerry Tung and a 50 percent discount on all CWP publications.

Subscription rates

- 1 year — \$ 20.00 Unemployed/students — \$ 5.00/year
 6 months — \$ 12.00 Prisoners — \$ 1.00/year

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NATIONAL NEWS

Dump Waste Tax Bond

Michell Wong

Enlisting the aid of Alan Alda and other New Jersey celebrities, the New Jersey Committee for Water Resource Bonds, headed by Rocco Marano, president of New Jersey Bell Telephone, hopes to persuade tax-rebellious voters to vote yes for New Jersey's \$100 million hazardous waste cleanup bill and a \$350 million Water Supply Bond.

New Jersey has \$1.873 billion in outstanding bonds already and the trend is to offer more bonds on such necessities as education and transit. Voters are offered a "choice" on an adequate water supply and on clean water. Taxpayers have to shoulder both the financial and health burden. John Holtz, spokesman for the office of Assemblyman Lesniak, who introduced the bill, admitted voters' responses were negative. "Why do we have to clean up the mess the petrochemical industry made?"

(The cleanup bill was introduced with the original stipulation that the funds come out entirely from a tax on the petrochemical industry. New Jersey's largest industry, earning \$2.6 billion alone on pesticides this year, successfully lobbied against paying for the cleanup of its byproducts.)

Holtz also admits that the \$100 million is inadequate. The cleanup of 60,000 barrels in the aftermath of the fire at the Elizabeth Chemical Control Corp. costs \$27 million and that isn't even on the list of the top five disaster areas. Jersey leads in the production of poisonous waste, 4.6 million "wet tons" annually, 90 percent of which is disposed of in unsound or illegal ways. What is frightening is that no one knows what is the exact extent of the dumping. Once the ground water is contaminated, there are no shortcuts to its cleanup. It is very expensive and almost impossible, especially if there is any delay. Ken Buc, in Edison, contains 70 million gallons of waste. It will take \$340,000 just to study and plan the cleanup of Burnt Fly Bog which

contains 20 million gallons of oil and will take at least 10 years to clean up. There's no money to even identify sites (there are 400 known sites with just 12 inspectors, whose problems include dumpers who burn and bury toxic waste records). Jackson Township taxpayers will be paying for its new \$1.1 million piped water system for the next 38 years. Its wells were polluted by a nearby landfill (44 per cent of New Jersey gets its water from groundwater).

We Pay Either Way

Part of the reason for the issuance of the Bond referendum is "the slow pace of the federal environmental agencies." The trend is for heavier local government regulations versus Reagan deregulation. There is a federal freeze on 17 hazardous waste grants. Lesniak, whose district covered Elizabeth, thinks we could wait years to derive any benefit from the "Superfund" which may not be that super.

Jimmy Carter legislated the superfund during his last days of office. Seventy percent of the \$1.6 billion is to come from a tax on petrochemical products. It was also lobbied down by the industry from \$4 billion, and will be fought over by 50 states over the next five years it is intended to cover. Since it has been passed not one barrel has been removed using those funds.

The state's Spill Compensation Fund of \$30 million to be used on abandoned sites was fought for two years ago and is raised from a tax on the industry. It has already been depleted by the Elizabeth cleanup.

Although the bond issue was passed unanimously by the state legislature in June, it was not until Aug. 25 that Gov. Brendan Byrne reluctantly signed the bill. He cited "economic consideration," of putting into jeopardy New Jersey's triple A rating and future borrowing power. Municipal bonds are the most lucrative, and, due to their nature, financing long term projects such as the water cleanup, do not yield

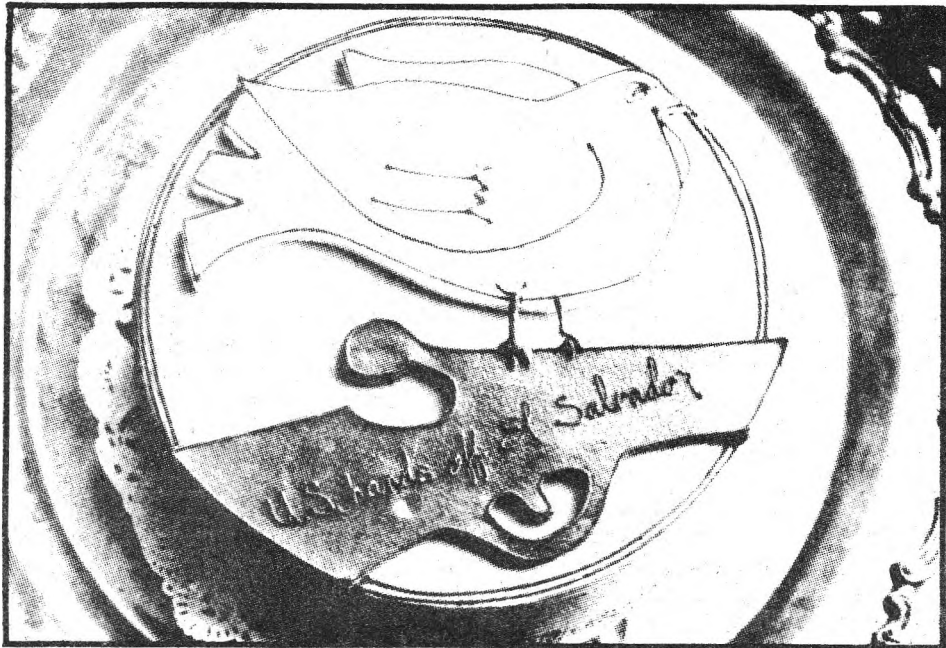


A Toxic Chemical waste dump in flames, above, symbolizes a growing problem in the U.S. New Jersey's waste bond fund will not help clean them up and will only end up costing the taxpayers more money for nothing.

for 10, 20, or 30 years. They will bear record high interest and because of their tax-free nature, the interest is doubled. (A 14 percent tax-free interest-bearing bond is equal to 28 percent of taxable income if you are in the 50 percent tax bracket.)

The insecurity of the market, distrust that Reaganomics can turn around the economy, the feeling that anything can happen in 10 years, fuel the interest rates higher. The majority of the bonds will be bought by banks and large corporations (including the petrochemicals) because it will be offered only in \$10,000 denominations by the brokerage firms. Municipal borrowing has left New York in the situation where one quarter of her revenues is spent repaying the interest on the bonds.

\$150,000 will be spent on convincing us the bonds are necessary. There would be no need for a bond if the petrochemicals put a part of their multi-billion-dollar profit into cleaning up the mess its byproducts have. A no vote has to be part of a larger move to tax the petrochemicals and make them pay (Lesniak says "the bond needs additional legislation. We need a tax on the industry"). We need to fight and it has to be followed up by the force of organized people. As more and more "mystery overflows" gush out of our backyards, more and more grassroots groups spontaneously rise and ask, How did it get this way? Mary Zack, a community leader in Elizabeth, was outraged when she first heard about the bond issue. We have to suffer living in this mess, do we have to pay for cleaning it up, too?



The El Salvador Torte

Tortes Against Torture

Karen Shapiro, owner of La Viennoise Fine European Pastry in Oakland, Ca, announced today that her "El Salvador Torte" has raised more than \$1,000 to date for the support and education of the Salvadoran people.

Called "the torte against torture" by one Bay Area publication, Shapiro's cake has proven to be a popular item at her specialty pastry shop. Shapiro is known for her Swiss and German style specialties and for the distinctive wedding and birthday cakes she has created for show business personalities such as Natalie Cole, Judy Collins and the rock group the Who. It was Shapiro who designed and produced the 75th birthday cake for Groucho Marx; featuring 75 marzipan cigars.

As a result of newspaper articles, Shapiro has received calls about the cake from as far away as Baltimore, Maryland. Although she has received some criticism for her strong political stance, Shapiro has been surprised and pleased at the positive response of most people.

"Ninety per cent of the calls are orders for the cake," insists Shapiro. "One couple even wanted one for their wedding." Some have called to congratulate her for taking a stand on such a sensitive political issue. "People recognize my sincerity," Shapiro asserts, "And it is very rare that a craftsperson can use their skills to make a political statement."

The torte sells for \$18, with \$12 going to Casa El Salvador, a Salvadoran support group. □

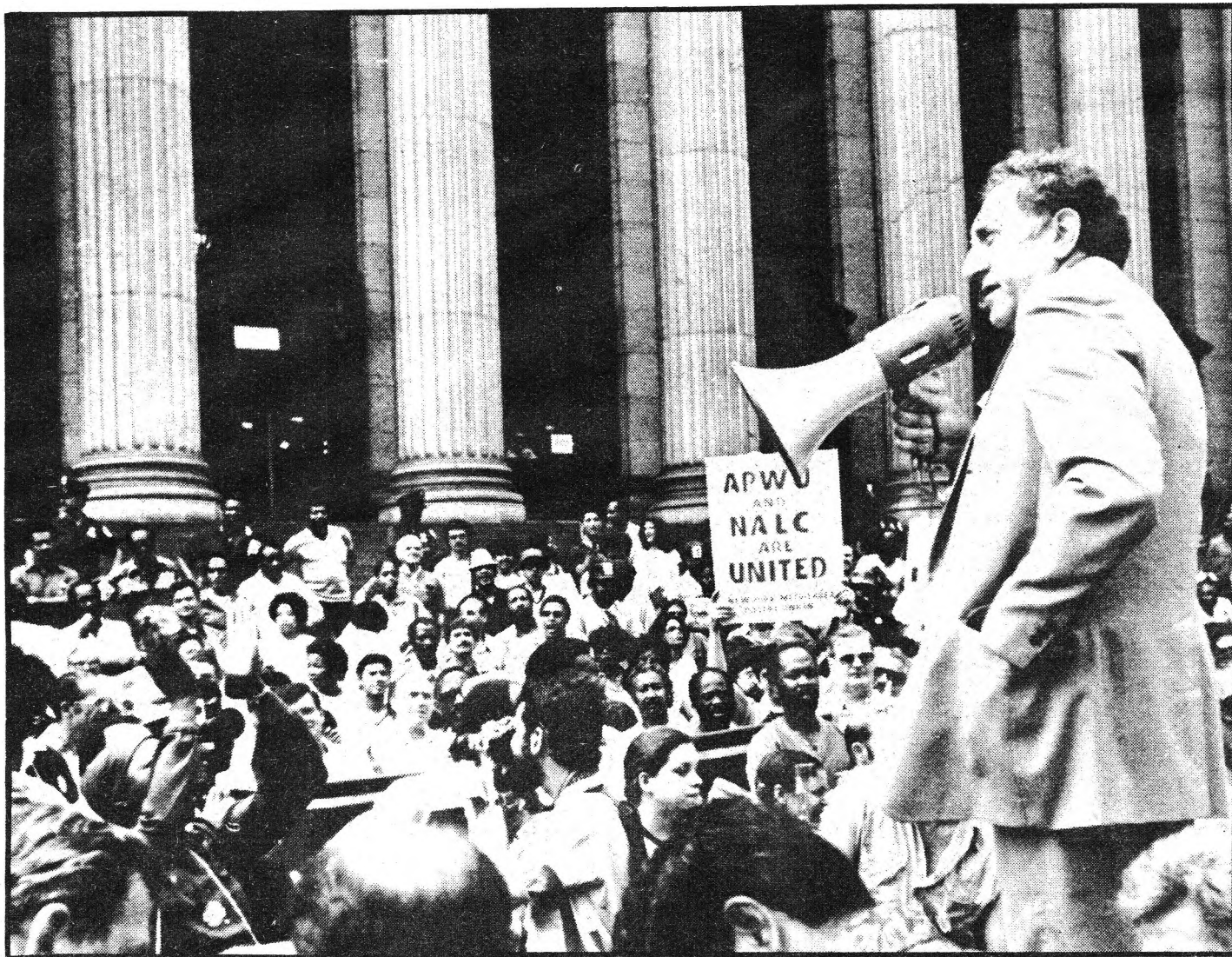
Barbaro: The People's Alternative to Koch

Jim Davis

"When I decided to run for mayor, there were three types of reaction. People who were my friends thought I had lost my senses. People who were not my friends said, 'Good, now he's gonna get it!' and people who didn't know me said, 'Who is this madman?'"

So joked State Assemblyman Frank Barbaro in a recent interview with the Village Voice. Since announcing his candidacy, Mr. Barbaro has faced an uphill battle to win the nomination of the Democratic Party against an incumbent mayor which most of the city's media has pegged as the most popular since New Deal politician, Fiorello LaGuardia. With his defeat an almost certainty in both the Democratic primary and general elections in November, Mr. Barbaro has still chosen to run. More importantly, he has been able to gain support from a wide array of groups including the local AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, Americans for Democratic Action, New Democratic Coalition, the New Alliance Party, the Black United Front and many others.

Mr. Barbaro's decision to go up against the powerful Koch political machinery is both courageous and timely. His emergence as the only serious challenger to Mayor Koch and the power-brokers who run this city is the culmination of a series of developments on the political scene in New York during the past few years. Frank Barbaro, far from being a madman, is the right man in the right place at the right time.



WV photo by George Montano

Students, white and blue collar workers, professionals, small businessmen and others from all walks of life have supported Barbaro.



An arrogant Koch tries to stay cool as protestors storm into a South Bronx town meeting.

NYC-The Worst

In the past four years of the Koch Administration, New Yorkers have witnessed a steady deterioration of city services. Still Mayor Koch had the gall to say in his four-year financial plan, "New York City's a better place now than it was a few years ago — a better place in which to work, to raise a family, to visit, and to spend leisure time." Last February in an opinion poll conducted by the New York Daily News, only 31 percent felt that city services were adequate. Seventy-three percent said that subway service was poor.

The mass transit system has long been an eyesore for the Koch Administration. Not only did Mayor Koch renege on a 1977 campaign promise to hold the subway fare at 50 cents but a recently released study by the New York Public Interest Research Group shows the entire system is near collapse. From 1977 to 1980, the number of subway breakdowns increased from 30,000 to 71,700. Each day 17 percent of the

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People's Victory — NY Primary Postponed

Jim Davis

NEW YORK, N.Y., September 9 — In an unprecedented decision, a special three judge Federal Court ordered the indefinite postponement of the city's September 10 primary election for Mayor, City Council, Comptroller and Borough President. The move came as an outcome of three separate lawsuits filed by the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund and Gilberto Gerena-Valetin, an incumbent Council member from the South Bronx. On June 16 in the first lawsuit filed by Melville Heron, New York City was charged with failing to follow provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The Heron suit claimed that the city had deliberately failed to seek approval from the Justice Department on its new re-districting plan.

The decision stood despite several last minute appeals including an appeal to the United States Supreme Court by Allen Schwartz, the city's Corporate Counsel. Several days later, the Justice Department gave the city approval to hold primary elections for Mayor, Comptroller and Borough Presidents on September 22. Dates for the City Council races were to be set pending further examination by the Justice Department of new election informa-

tion requested from the city.

New Plan Undercuts

Minority Representation

According to the 1980 census, the minority population in the city increased by some 300,000 since 1970. Over the same period the white population declined by nearly two million. Despite the fact that minorities make up 39.9 percent of the city's population today, the current plan for new council districts that was submitted last June actually reduced the percentage of minorities on the City Council. By creating two more council districts, primarily in white neighborhoods, the minority representation on the Council dropped from 19 percent to 18 percent.

Advocates of the new plan argue that while the minority population did increase significantly in the last decade, no new minority districts could be formed because the population increase was evenly dispersed throughout the city.

The latest census statistics however dispute that conclusion. Dorathy J. Samuels, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out in a recent *New York Times* article, that 75 percent of all minorities in Brooklyn all resided in certain specific neighborhoods in 1980. In 1970 it was less than 50 percent. "In defense of its re-appointment plan,"

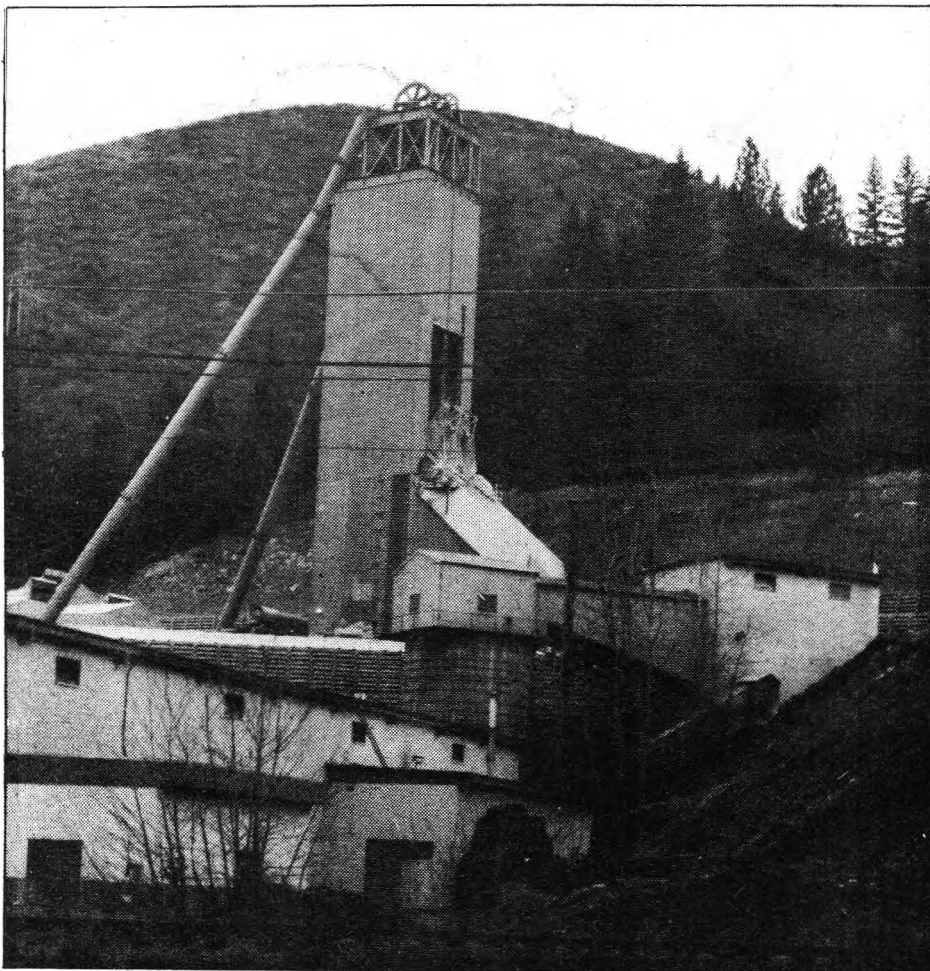
concludes Ms. Samuels "the council advances the remarkable claim that New York's minority population, though increased in number is so dispersed and well intergrated throughout the city's neighborhoods as to render impossible the creation of more than eight districts likely to elect a black or Hispanic representative."

Barbaro Gains

"The campaign seems to have gotten a new life since the federal court decision," explained Mayoral candidate Frank Barbaro. Although the abrupt postponement has forced the Barbaro campaign to raise new funds, the decision by the federal court has helped to further expose the racist policies of the Koch Administration. In recent statements to the press, attorney Schwartz has stood by and defended the Administration's position from the outset that the redistricting plan was not discriminatory or racist.

Mayor Koch, who signed Local Law 47 making the redistricting proposal into law, has had little to say in defense of the plan. Last June he even tried to squash any opposition to winning the Democratic Party nomination by moving up the party primary from mid-September. When asked by reporters who should assume responsibility for the discriminations charges, Mayor Koch lamely replied "We're all to blame." □

LABOR NEWS



Lucky Friday Mine, Wallace, Idaho. Second best silver producing mine in United States.

Silver Valley's Collapse

Branch Walker

The last week of August will long be remembered among the working class of Northern Idaho's famous Silver Valley. The international giant, Gulf Chemical and Resources, Inc., of Houston, Tex., announced the closing of the Bunker Hill Silver Mine and Lead Smelter in Kellogg, Idaho. The layoff and complete closure by Idaho's second largest employer will put 2,100 people out of work by December. Gulf Resource spokesmen blamed the smelter's unprofitability on environmental Clean Air costs, high wages, and high interest rates. Workers had refused a company offer to take a cut in pay to keep the plant operating.

Heavy Layoffs, Rippling Effect

Analysts are already calling this the greatest economic disaster to strike Idaho in its history. This area in the northwest is already suffering from a beleaguered logging industry in which 50 percent of the mills have shut down operations entirely or have been operating on reduced shifts for over a year. The prospects for the workers and their families to find other jobs are almost nil. Many are already talking of uprooting and looking for work in Southwest mines.

The closure is having a rippling effect throughout the adjacent mining communities and in nearby Spokane, Wash., the region's industrial hub. Many small mines who rely on the smelter to process their ore may have no economically feasible alternative. Bunker Hill spent an annual \$35 million throughout the region, and this closure very likely will draw many other businesses down with it.

As many as 10,000 people may eventually lose their jobs because of the closure. Union Pacific Railroad is talking of laying off four entire crews, and

Washington Water-Power says that the loss of its largest customer will inevitably lead to higher rates all around.

Following Path of Youngstown

The closure follows last year's closing of the Anaconda Copper Smelter in Anaconda, Montana, that threw 5,000 people out of work and crippled a whole town's economy. Major international mining companies such as Anaconda, Kennecott, and now Gulf are opting to ship concentrates to Japan to be processed rather than to invest in the recapitalization of plants here. The Bunker Hill smelter, like to the steel plants in Youngstown, Ohio, was old and used outdated and dilapidated equipment throughout.

To the two thousand and more workers who now must face the awesome future, Ronald Reagan's "economic recovery program" has been proven to be a lot of bunk. Most workers will find it nearly impossible to sell their homes—lead concentrations in the soil are so bad from the smelter that two years ago the plant offered to replace the top four inches of topsoil from any house in Smelterville, where the smelter is located. Hillsides around the town are barren of trees killed by lead poisoning which came from the smelter's ever-present smog.

Clean Air statutes in the '70s had forced Bunker Hill to try to clean up its emissions. In spite of the flurry of claims being made to the contrary now, the Bunker Hill President last year reported that emission-control devices had improved the profitability of lead production, although continuing high interest rates were posing problems for the company in terms of installation and parts. □

Branch Walker is a migrant farmworker in the Pacific Northwest, and from time to time he sends us reports about the region.

Peter Fisher Wins Battle with D.O.D.

Laura Johnson

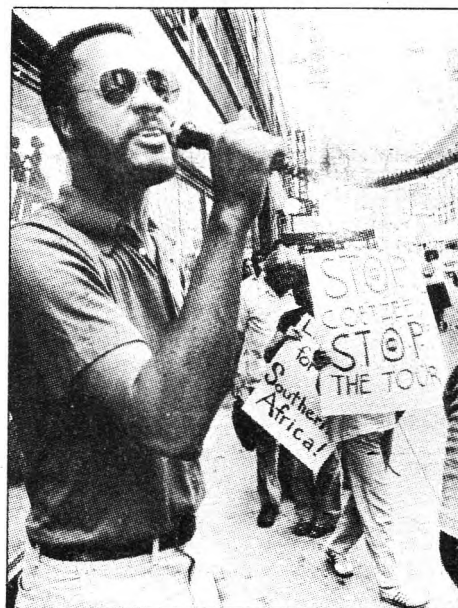
For two years, Peter Fisher had been fighting attempts by the Department of Defense (DOD) and General Dynamics Corp. to deny him security clearance and force him out of his job at G.D.'s Electric Boat Division in Groton, Conn. Shortly after Fisher began organizing in defense of workers' rights and speaking out against the arms build-up in 1979, the Defense Intelligence Agency began an investigation into his activities and background. The result: recommendation that Fisher be denied security clearance in the "interests of national security." (See WV., Vol. 6 #27)

On Aug. 17, Fisher won his case against the DOD in a victory for political rights and trade union activism. Fisher's clearance will continue; he retains his job.

When the DOD began its witch-hunt against Fisher (including 10-hour interrogation sessions on a long-forgotten drug problem; probing into his political "associations" and snooping around his friends and family for incriminating evidence against him),

Fisher took a counter offensive. As an initiator of Trade Unionists for Democratic Action (TUDA, a rank-and-file caucus at Electric Boat), he drummed up support not only in the yard, but also in peace and labor groups nationally. Among others, the American Friends Service Committee, the Labor Coalition for Safe Energy and Full Employment and the NASSCO Workers Defense Committee came out in defense of Fisher. Such support helped crystallize the Fisher case's significance.

For Fisher, the battle is won but the war is not over. He said, "I consider this a significant victory for the political rights of trade unionists in the military sector, but I know there are many such cases nationally that must be fought. It's a vindication, it seems to me, of the reform work that we've been doing. The government action scared a lot of workers who, otherwise, would have gotten involved with us. I'm going to be more vocal than ever now that this is over with. We've had a lot of maturing to do and I think we're (TUDA) ready to put our experience to use." □



WV photo by George Montano

Mike Young speaks at a SART demonstration.

theid. All of this is nothing but an extension of the United States' foreign policy. The premise that art and sports are divorced from each other has never been so clearly disproven.

If sports and politics weren't related, why are so many people so enraged over the tour? Why has a Congressional committee on foreign affairs travelled to Southern Africa to determine the view and possible reaction of neighboring nations about the tour? why was their recommendation to the ERU to cancel the tour?

Just to show how off the wall the defenders of sports-has-no-politics theory are, we'll give a direct quote from a 1980 debate in the South African Parliament. "If sport can be a vehicle for maintaining overseas links, I think we should use sport in such a way. Moreover, if we can give our overseas sporting friends ammunition with which to get us back into international sports, I think we should seriously consider making those changes that would help us to get back into international sport."

The true defenders of apartheid are beginning to surface: Mayor Corning, Mayor Koch, President Reagan and friends. On Sept. 19 and 22, the dividing line will become even more defined. While New York Governor Hugh Carey has stated his hatred for apartheid, Tuesday will tell just how much truth is in that spiel. When the demonstrators begin to voice their disgust for the ambassadors of apartheid, what will the Governor do? In California, Governor Jerry Brown has been "opposing" the building of a nuclear power plant in between Los Angeles and San Francisco. But when demonstrators went to the plant to stop it from potential mass murder, the Governor's true colors came out. The state police was called out to arrest any and all demonstrators who attempt to stop the opening of the plant. On Tuesday, if Governor Carey calls in the state police, he will show everyone that he is no different than the Nazi party trying to protect the most reactionary social system on the face of the globe, apartheid. □

Albany

Continued from page 1

The U.S., in a United Nations proposal to condemn South Africa for the recent raid on Angola, cast the only veto in the entire assembly. What this does is expose to the entire world what a "friend" of the world's people the U.S. government really is.

But the U.S. and South African governments both know that U.N. vetoes are not enough to sell such a wretched product as apartheid. That's why they'll try to soft-soap us with sports. The rugby matches aren't all of it. The U.S. gymnastics team is in South Africa touring right now. Recently, Reagan's close friend Frank Sinatra went over to South Africa for a concert. Because Sinatra is so influential in the entertainment industry, he makes a perfect ambassador for apar-

Labor Day and Solidarity Day 1981 Anti-Reagan and Pro-What?

E. Orié

Labor Day 1981—For the first time in 13 years New York City had a Labor Day Parade. The Reagan era finally made the AFL-CIO leaders do something.

About 150,000 came out, each union's contingent adorned with its own insignia — stamped cap, T-shirt or costume. For obvious reasons, the PATCO group was the most militant with the most rank and file present. There are only a few hundred air controllers employed in the NYC area, but

tant rank and file. Some of these locals and others showed contingents solely of union stewards ordered at the last minute to show up.

The *New York Times* had a spread of editorials on Labor Day. Each made two basic points: 1. they noted the "battered and disconsolate" state of labor unions in the U.S. today. This is what they call the declining role of this structure in American society, evidenced by the fact that only 10 years ago, one in four workers was a union member, dropping to one in five today; 2. Reagan era politics is treating the

their contingent was 3000 strong—controllers, wives and children. They gathered from all over the country, raising fists and repeatedly chanting "strike" and "PATCO." PATCO president Robert Poli marched not with Lane Kirkland, the Central Labor Council and all the other heads at the front of the parade, but with the PATCO group.

But other unions had surprisingly low turnouts—the transit workers, 1199 (hospital workers) and the postal workers, the three New York City unions with historically the most mili-

AFL-CIO heads very badly, stirring even an "urban technocrat" like Lane Kirkland to call for Labor Day parade and Solidarity Day.

Such a disparaging review of the labor leaders' political clout in U.S. society today—this is bound to make even the most institutionalized bureaucrat, technocrat and labor hack react. What is setting the labor leaders into a particular state of motion today? It's not simply rank and file pressure on them from below. The gloomy economic situation means the capitalists still need the labor misleaders in their pockets, but can afford them less. They are losing position with the bourgeoisie—the economic crisis means business and government has less flexibility to support and buy off labor parasites. And the Reagan era, that is the bourgeoisie's shift to more exclusively repressive tactics, means less political flexibility to appease unionists (like PATCO) through labor arbitrations and more diplomatic maneuvers.

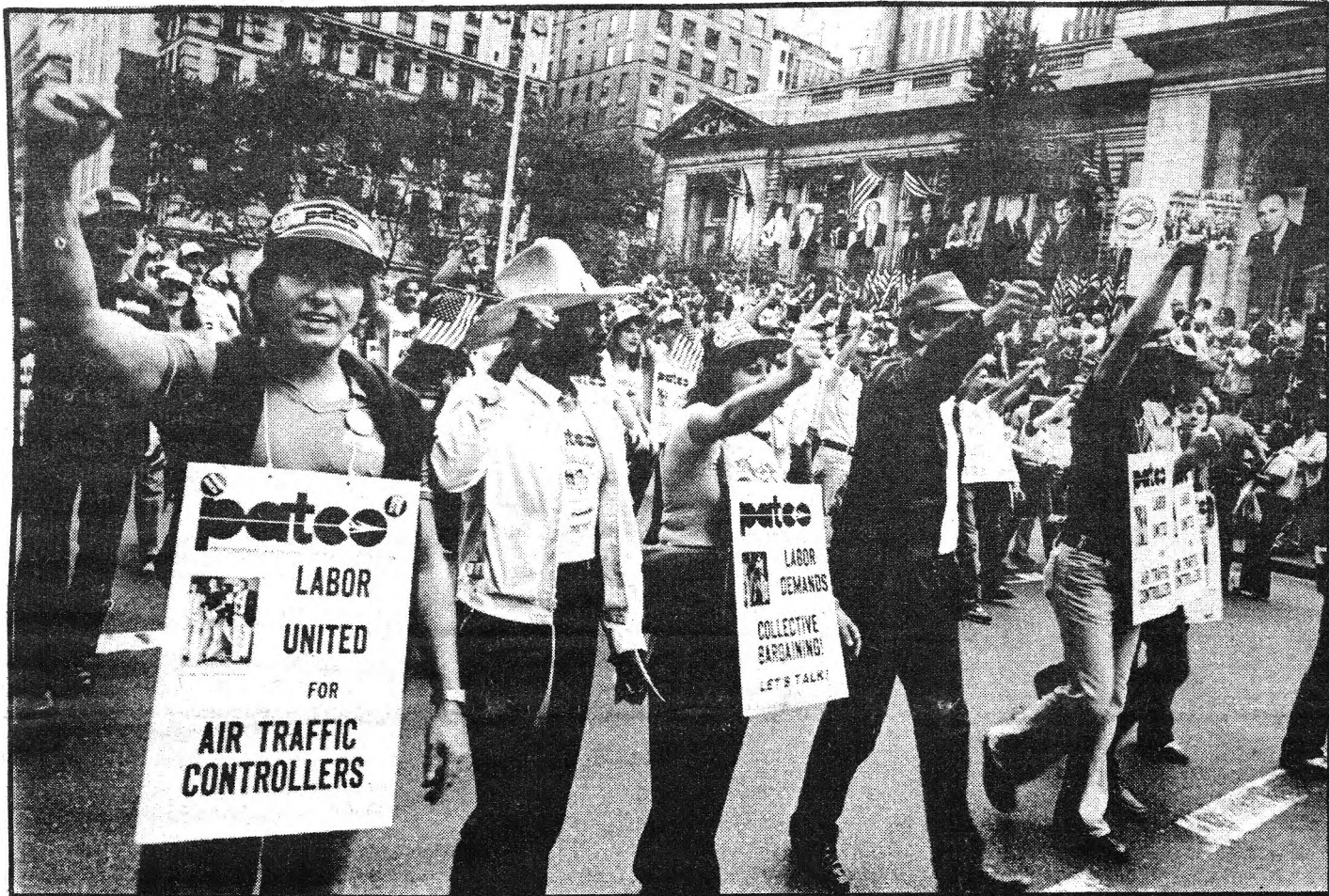
The PATCO strike makes it clear—Reagan and the bourgeoisie with the outright firing/no negotiations dumped on not only the PATCO rank and file, but on the labor aristocracy. Reagan thumbed his nose at the buddy-buddy relationship of union leaders/company/government arbitrators which ensured the AFL-CIO leaders' bourgeois democratic political clout.

This is stirring the union leaders into a certain type of motion—not to the extent of calling on all airport workers to honor PATCO picket lines (a sure and quick victory for PATCO), but to parades and marches, anyway. All the heightening contradictions between the bourgeoisie and labor bureaucrats, and among the bureaucrats themselves, represent a sort of crack in the trade union structure. A crack which communists and grassroots labor activists have to go into and take advantage of. The PATCO strike support work, where communist labor organizers work side by side and openly with a union which has no past experience with communists, shows our tactics can be more flexible and creative: practical politics all around.

On Sept. 4 Lane Kirkland taped a Labor Day message, but CBS refused to broadcast it because it was too anti-Reagan, "almost entirely devoted" to attacking Administration politics. A new rebel in our ranks? We're not so naive. To be anti-Reagan is not necessarily pro-rank and file. The AFL-CIO has termed this Administration "the Reagan Counterrevolution." But what is their plan for counter-counterrevolution? 1984. They're laying in wait for the Democratic backlash. After the American worker became so repulsed by Carter and the Democrats that some voted for Reagan. The AFL-CIO will turn around and try to bring the ghost of Jimmy Carter back in again.

Solidarity Day, Sept. 19. The word is out to union heads across the country: bring a big crowd to Washington D.C.

We must build on the anti-Reagan sentiment and organize the grassroots movement to new heights. There will be a lot of questions floating in the air on Sept. 19. Anti-Reagan and pro-what? That's the limitation of "anti" movements. The AFL-CIO's hidden agenda is born-again Keynesian economics and funneling the anti-Reagan movement into a Democratic Party revival. Our real agenda has to be new, independent working class leadership for a real grassroots alternative. □



WV photo by George Montano

(Sept. 7, 1981, N.Y.) PATCO workers in front of Labor Day Parade reviewing stand chanting "Strike-Strike-Strike"

Election Date Set for USWU

United Shipyard Workers Union
press release, Aug. 28, 1981

On Friday, Aug. 28 an official meeting was held at NLRB, San Diego office, between the representatives of the U.S.W.U., the Ironworkers International, and NASSCO. The purpose, to set the date for the representation election of the Ironworkers bargaining unit at NASSCO. It was agreed that Sept. 17-18, would be the days for the election. The polling booths would be situated both inside the yard as well as at the main gate to allow everyone the opportunity to vote.

After all the attempts to battle for democracy and strong union representation within the Ironworkers International had failed, rank and file

members were forced into breaking off and forming their own independent union. On May 30, 1981, the United Shipyard Workers Union was formed. Immediately following, a short and vigorous organizing drive resulted in the U.S.W.U. officially filing for a representation election through the NLRB on July 9. A hearing was held to discuss any and all disputes on July 28. But, it was not until Aug. 21 that an order was issued through the NLRB, Los Angeles office to set the date and details of the representation election.

NASSCO is the largest shipyard on the West Coast. For over a year we have been waging a struggle against NASSCO's blatant attempts to bust our union coupled with the Ironworkers International's denial of our

basic democratic rights through their enforcement of a trusteeship. The issues are clear. We are fighting for trade union democracy, safe working conditions and a decent contract.

Our actions are setting the pace for the Union Movement in this country. With the current attacks on labor like the government's attempt to break PATCO's just demands for safer work conditions, we the workers at NASSCO are being forced to take our future into our own hands. We will not be content to watch our wages, health & safety programs and lives be slashed to nothing by irresponsible leaders. We are a new breed of militant union leaders who are challenging the companies & government in order to fight for our own survival. □

THE SOCIALIST ROAD

What Is Socialism? 1

Socialism is the transition from capitalism to communism. It is both the aspect-by-aspect negation of capitalism and the creation of the spiritual and material conditions for communism. This transformation can only take place under the dictatorship of the proletariat—workers' rule—whereby state ownership of the main means production can be safeguarded. Socialism is not an ideal society without a trace of capitalism. By the very fact of its being a transitional society, there must be struggle and contradiction to destroy the old and build the new: both forward motion and setbacks.

From the standpoint of communism, socialism is immature. Today's socialist countries like China and the Soviet Union are still immature socialism, the beginning of socialism. Mao said that socialism entails a relatively long historical period. He considered the transition to communism in terms of hundreds of years. With this perspective it should be no surprise that socialism is imperfect and has serious shortcomings. While there is no doubt of its proven superiority over capitalism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, socialism still has tremendous problems in relation to communism. Socialism in the real world develops in the midst of an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. And while we must be critical of its shortcomings, (especially the weaknesses of leadership, including incorrect foreign policies and political lines), we must take a stand with socialist countries and resolutely side with them even in our criticisms.

Flunkyism, which is evident in practice here, (e.g., Communist Party, USA's blind following of the Communist Party of Soviet Union or Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)'s uncritical acceptance of the Communist Party of China's leadership), is at best immature communism in an advanced capitalist country; at worst it is straight power-brokering opportunism. It does harm both to proletarian revolution here in the United States and to socialist countries. It can either further the latter's infighting and mistakes, or help perpetuate their sense of doctrinaire "correctness," often empirical and nationalist habits. It straitjackets our revolution by trying to make it a carbon-copy of other countries' revolutions.

Some people hold that presently-existing socialism is neither socialist nor capitalist but a third form of society. This is obviously eclecticism. These people are creating an unknown "black box" to explain away socialism's problems without committing themselves to stand fundamentally with it and, based on that stand, to draw out lessons and implications to help our struggle here.

Yet even Lenin had problems and vacillated somewhat in defining the Soviet system in relation to state capitalism during the early years of Soviet power. For a while he refused to call the agricultural sector socialist and would describe only the state-owned sector as socialist. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that's exactly how a socialist state looks—it is a mixture of state ownership, collective ownership and private ownership. But there was good reason for him to refer only to the state-owned part as socialist. He was not saying that there are "two states" in the Soviet Union in terms of state power. State power was in the hands of the proletariat, represented by the Bolsheviks. The state sector was socialist first because in that particular sector the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between private ownership of the means of production and socialized production, is most thoroughly resolved.

Socialist Economy Still Heterogeneous

Under socialism, though the state power is under the unified leadership of the working class represented by its vanguard party, the economy is still heterogeneous. Under workers' rule the resolution of the basic contradiction of capitalism varies within the country. For example, in China in the early 50's, many industries were still owned by the national bourgeoisie due to political considerations of the

united front with that stratum. Even now China is an agrarian country where 90% of the population is peasantry and lives mostly in communes; those communes are not state-owned, but are under what is called collective ownership.

This reality of a socialist country basically raises the question: How can there be socialism in an agrarian society, in which the properties of capitalism (for example, socialized production) are not developed? Socialism is supposed to be an inevitable outgrowth of capitalism. Its superiority can only be fully unleashed when capitalism has fully run its course. That is historically true. There are particular problems to socialism in the contemporary world, because socialism has developed in relatively undeveloped agrarian societies, such as Russia was and China still is.

As historical materialists (and unlike the Trotskyites and those who explain these problems away as some strange, "deformed," third type of society other than socialism or capitalism), we recognize that existing socialist countries are as genuinely socialist as they can be.

State power is the bottom line: the principle is to take it first, and then build socialism. The reasons are as follows. One, communists have seized state power first in countries which are the weak links of imperialism. This is good because it serves as a clarion call to people all over the world. Socialism is highly prestigious to the majority of these people. Two, in the era of imperialism, the entire world economy is shaped by the dominant form, imperialism and finance capitalism. A third world country or agrarian society cannot be politically independent for long unless it fights the clutches of imperialism or neo-colonialism and becomes economically independent. No such country will be left to develop "pure" capitalism on its own, as did the first capitalist nations. Even *laissez-faire* capitalism's development took the sweat and blood of the whole world; it was by no means a completely internal, closed-door affair. Third world countries today are inevitably clutched by the tentacles of imperialism. As long as imperialism exists, the capitalist development of an agrarian or semi-feudal society cannot be purely or mainly capitalist, it can only be neo-colonial or colonial. For such a country to have even a chance of independence, its only alternative in the real world is, in the final analysis, socialism—however limited socialism will be under those conditions. And whatever the limitations of socialism in an agrarian, semi-feudal society, it is far more humane and ensures a far more vigorous and speedy development than *laissez-faire* capitalism ever could.

Only this view grounds socialism in the real world, and it must proceed from the real world. Let's now elaborate on the problems of socialism.

The present impossibility of universal state ownership in any socialist country is determined by the level of development of the productive forces. Any attempt to "skip past" this fact, such as Lenin's early agrarian program, will lead to disaster. The superiority of the socialist economic system is unleashed only to the extent that the means of production are state-owned. The fact that an agrarian country's national economy is not highly developed and socialized limits the extent of state ownership. The existence of small producers and subsistence economies bring in the difficulties of planning and imbalance. To the extent that production is not socialized and not state-owned, and to the extent that there is scarcity and a great variety of independent subsistence economies, the less planning there can be and the more it is necessary to use the law of value. At exactly that point the problems of socialist planning and growth enter. Before discussing this, however, we must define more comprehensively the basic contradiction of capitalism and the problems of socialism in resolving that basic contradiction.

The Destructive Basic Contradiction of Capitalism

We must look at the difference between capitalism and socialism from a concrete, historical materialist point of view, that is, from a developmental point of

view. We must recognize the dynamic unity of opposites and not proceed from one narrow subjective definition of socialism, such as "planned economy" or "labor power is no longer a commodity." The unity of opposites, the poles that make up the contradiction of capitalism, are the private ownership of the means of production and socialized production. Through the overall transformation of society, socialism must resolve this particular contradiction of capitalism in order for humanity to move to a higher realm of freedom and necessity.

Under capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production makes society-wide planning impossible and leads to a socially anarchistic process of social reproduction. At the same time, socialized production leads to an increasingly complex, interdependent, large-scale division of labor in all modern industrialized societies. This is the basic problem, and the essence of the destructiveness of capitalism.

This basic contradiction is the root cause of the impoverishment of the proletariat and the anarchy of production. Impoverishment of the proletariat and anarchy of production lead to periodic, ever more frequent, and ever more destructive breakdowns of the economy—and today's rampant inflation and permanent stagnation. These breakdowns, and now the non-recovery of "stagflation," mean tremendous destruction of the productive forces—idle plants and wasted generations of youth, as part of the most precious, unique productive forces, the workers and oppressed.

We must now look more closely at the aspect of private ownership of the means of production under capitalism. All pre-socialist societies are spontaneously organized and enslaved by that spontaneity. These societies are subjugated by the exploiting classes which are themselves subjugated by spontaneous organization. Most fundamental to this spontaneous organization are the *production relations*, consisting of 1) the ownership pattern or ownership system of the means of production, 2) individuals' roles in production and their mutual relations and 3) the pattern of distribution.

The ownership pattern refers to ownership of the means of production, including means of labor, such as machines, plants and land, and objects of labor, such as raw materials. The ownership pattern is the most important aspect of production relations. It is the basis of production relations and in the main determines the nature of production relations. All human societies, with different levels of productive forces, be they primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist, or socialist, are classified according to the differences in their ownership patterns of the means of production. The ownership patterns determine individuals' roles in production, their mutual relations, and thus the distribution of products.

Capital—Essence of Capitalist Ownership

In this respect, we have to consider the "essence of ownership" of capitalism. The essence of ownership under capitalism is not the private ownership of the means of production and the social surplus in general, which also characterized slave and feudal societies, but rather the private ownership of the means of production and the social surplus in the specific form of *capital*.

A study of chapters 5 and 6 in the *Fundamentals of Political Economy* shows that capital has a comprehensive character. The character of capital is that it flows where higher profit can be made, where the higher exchange value can be realized, and not according to the use-value of things. The essence of capital is not how much an individual personally gains from capital, as Chang Chun-chiao advocated in his pamphlet "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie." Nor is it a question of a person's independent power to *direct* the capital the way he wants. In other words, capital does not hinge on individual will. The main role of capital, giving rise to its destructiveness under capitalism, is not the degree of personal benefit in consumption, utilization and enjoyment at the expense of others. Yes, the capitalist can have all that. He can use his money any way he wants—he can spend it all, eat it up, drink it

up, or even burn it. But that bundle of money ceases to be capital. The basis for capital is the return of the money to circulation, for reinvestment based on exploitation. Used for one's own consumption or enjoyment, it is just individual wealth; it is not capital.

Capitalists not only do not direct the capital, but in fact are themselves *directed by* and *enslaved by* capital, as Marx said. Capitalists don't even have the option of choosing where to invest their capital because the area of investment (the area of profitability) is virtually determined in the era of imperialism by stagnation in the basic industries, pigeonholing of advanced technology and parasitism. Even if the capitalists want to rebuild the auto industry, they cannot buy auto stocks and build up the industry. Circumstances—in this case the lack of purchasing power of the masses to buy the cars—have made decisions for the capitalists and limit the options open to finance capital today.

Capital spontaneously flows wherever the most profit can be made. There is no society-wide overall planning under capitalism, nor can a capitalist economy as a whole be a planned economy. The interests of the capitalists are individual interests. Under the system of private ownership of the means of production, the capitalists all fight for their own immediate interests, the interests of a particular company or sector. By their very nature, that is their sole consideration. Thus they come into antagonistic conflict with other capitalists, other sectors and other industries. Under capitalism there is nothing to prevent anyone with capital from producing identical products as long as the goods can be sold. Conflicts and waste inherently exist because products are duplicated. And there is even a contradiction in artificially creating demand and falsely advertising simply to sell these hyped products. So it is clear the private ownership *precludes* planning. This is true within each sector as well as for any sector's relation to other sectors.

Let me elaborate a little. First of all, the capitalists don't sit down together and plan (except to monopolize pricing and markets, which further destroys the basis for capitalism), and there's no interest for them to do so. For example the car manufacturers and transportation industry in general, and the big oil companies and the energy industry as a whole, are obviously interdependent. It would seem in the best interest of the auto and other transportation manufacturers to plan with the big oil and energy companies to keep prices down so that sales of vehicles would increase. But that is not the case. Their lack of cooperation clearly undermines the American auto industry, and thus the American economy as a whole, since over a million industrial jobs in this country are auto jobs. Most American cities like Detroit and Los Angeles were built in a way that purposely discouraged public transportation. Workers have to buy cars to go to work or shop. The "energy" companies (or sector) are now in direct contradiction with the "transportation" companies (or sector). That antagonistic contradiction cannot be resolved as long as there is private ownership of the means of production.

Even if a finance capitalist owns both General Motors and Exxon, for example, and has overlapping interests, he still cannot plan and coordinate policies with other capitalists. Why? Because as long as many different oil corporations exist, there is competition among them. As long as there are different domestic and foreign auto manufacturers, some producing more fuel-efficient cars than others, the manufacturers are constantly driven to compete with each other. This adds to the independent momentum which prevents them from coordinating different sectors.

For example, if Exxon were to raise the price of gas, but Texaco wanted to lower the price to help the American auto industry, it could not do so. Texaco would not get enough windfall profits to attract investors, or to invest in new oil fields and explorations. Without the profits, they cannot compete. In the long haul, they would be swallowed up by their competitors in the energy field. Texaco capitalists would not be able to diversify as much as their competitors in order to survive in the coming period. Nor could they increase their productivity and lessen their vulnerability by swallowing up smaller companies in the economic crisis. Nor would they be able to concentrate efforts to monopolize other sectors, having reaped windfall profits in one sector (such as gasoline), and force their competitors out of other sectors (such as diesel, plastics and other petro-

products). Even if two companies in two interdependent sectors want to cooperate, they cannot, because of the competition *within* the sector. This is just one example of why there cannot be a planned economy as a whole under capitalism.

A planned economy under socialism is not only necessary, but it is also the only economic foundation capable of eliminating class exploitation. But economic planning on a national scale necessarily precludes the private ownership of the means of production. That's why we have to compare socialism with capitalism from the standpoint of socialism resolving the basic contradiction of capitalism rather than seeing it as simply planning, or as altering the character of labor power.

The economies of the Soviet Union and China are mainly planned. By planning, I mean larger overall planning—control of the finance and heavy industry, and a planned maintenance of overall balance between agriculture and industry, consumption and production, etc. There is conscious control of the *national* economy. This is the strongest indication that ownership is public and labor power is not a commodity, and this indication is confirmed by the fact that there is no impoverishment. The absence of boom-and-bust cycles proves the lack of impoverishment. So as long as there is planning and no impoverishment of the masses, it cannot be said that capitalism has been restored. (See Table I.)

Table 1

The following table shows the steady growth rate of the Soviet economy in contrast to the boom-and-bust cycle in the U.S. economy. This table is taken from A. Szymanski, *Is the Red Flag Flying?* I have indicated the years when crises occurred in the United States with negative growth rate or dramatically small growth rate.

Fluctuations in Rate of Growth of Net Material Product and Gross Fixed Capital Formation, 1958-1975

	U.S.S.R. Annual Rate of Growth in N.M.P.	Annual Gross Fixed Capital Formation/ N.M.P.*	U.S.A. Annual Rate of Growth in G.N.P.***
1958	11.7%	26.8%	-1.1% crisis
1959	6.2	28.5	6.0
1960	6.1	28.9	2.4
1961	5.2	28.6	1.9 crisis
1962	7.1	27.9	6.2
1963	2.5	28.6	3.8
1964	7.4	29.0	5.2
1965	6.7	29.5	5.9
1958-1965 Avg.	6.6 (.36)**	28.5 (.027)**	3.8 (.63)**
1966	7.2	29.4	6.1
1967	8.7	29.3	2.4
1968	8.2	29.2	4.7
1969	7.3	28.1	2.5
1970	10.7	28.3	-4 crisis
1971	5.2	28.9	3.2
1972	2.8	30.1	5.8
1973	7.5	29.2	5.6
1974	5.0	28.7	-1.6 crisis
1975	2.5	27.7	-1.6
1966-1975 Avg.	6.5 (.38)**	28.9 (.023)**	2.7 (1.05)**

*The figures of Gross Fixed Capital Formation for the U.S.S.R. from 1958 to 1962 were adjusted to make them compatible with the comparable figures for the period 1963 to 1975.

**Standard deviations of the annual rates of growth for the period divided by the mean rate of growth for the period.

***Gross National Product is approximately the same as Net Material Product plus the cost of 'services' and depreciation.

Sources: UN Yearbook of National Account Statistics, 1967 and 1976, Vol. II.

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The Juche Idea in Agriculture

Speech by Kim Il Sung on Non-Aligned Movement and Agriculture Problems

This is the second and final part of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and President of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea Kim Il Sung's speech to delegates to the Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agriculture Production. The first part appeared in the Sept. 16 issue of the Workers Viewpoint. The title in this week's installment was added by us.

Delegates,

Ours is a member nation of the non-aligned movement and one of the developing countries. It has a past and aspirations in common with many newly-emerging nations of the world and is struggling to build an independent, prosperous, new society.

Formerly, our country was a very backward colonial land of agriculture. When it was liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule, the material and technical foundations of its agriculture were very weak, and the people were very badly off. Therefore,

we took up the matter of solving the rural question as the foremost task on the very day we started building a new society and ever since have made great efforts to develop agriculture.

We have set up an advanced rural economic system and, on this basis, have striven for a rapid development of agricultural production by vigorously carrying on the technological transformation of agriculture and widely applying advanced farming methods.

We defined irrigation, electrification, mechanization and chemicalization as the basic tasks of the rural technical revolution, which we have carried on strenuously.

In carrying out the rural technical revolution, our Party maintained the policy of giving priority to irrigation in view of the specific conditions of our country and the characteristics of agricultural production. We carried out irrigation construction, afforestation and flood control projects in a big way through a mass movement involving the entire people. In this way, we have completely resolved the question of water which is of great significance

in agricultural production, and laid solid foundations for farming safely, free from drought and flood damages in any weather conditions. Along with this, we have pushed ahead with electrification, mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture. As a result, all our farm villages are now receiving electrical supplies, and our farmers, free from backbreaking work, are doing nearly all the work with the help of machinery and chemical means.

On the basis of brilliant success in the rural technical revolution, we have evolved a scientific farming method in keeping with specific situation of our country, widely applied it and thus brought about an epochal change in agricultural production.

The new farming method created in our country is now called the Juche farming method by our people. This farming method is scientific in that it is a method of growing crops on a scientific and technological basis—in conformity to the climatic and soil conditions of our country and to the biological characteristics of crops. It is a method of cultivating crops most in-

tensively by drawing on modern science and technology. The Juche farming method enables us to use most effectively the land, water, farm machinery, chemical fertilizers and other means of agricultural production so as to raise per-unit-area yields. It enables us to overcome the influence of cold front successfully and reap rich crops always without risk. The brilliant success achieved in our agricultural production in recent years is a patent proof of the advantage and vitality of the Juche farming method.

The splendid achievement in the development of our agriculture is due to our Party's unique line and correct leadership and our people's heroic struggle to carry out the Party's line.

Our agriculture is now developing quickly on the strength of the advanced system of the socialist rural economy and the solid material and technical foundations, and our agricultural production has attained a very high level. The problem of food has long been resolved completely in our country. Our country has been definitely transformed from a land short of food into a land with provisions enough and to spare.

The experience of our country clearly shows that if they adopt correct lines and policies to suit the legitimate law of social progress and the specific conditions of their own countries and carry them out by mobilizing the efforts and talents of the masses of people on the principle of self-reliance, even the underdeveloped countries will be fully able to develop via agriculture, attain self-sufficiency in food and solve the rural question excellently.

Esteemed delegates,

It is very useful that delegates from non-aligned and developing countries fighting for the building of a new society under the banner of independence are gathered together with a common desire, to share experience with each other and discuss solutions to the food and agricultural questions which pose as a matter of pressing urgency in the present period.

The Symposium of Increasing Food and Agricultural Production will be an important occasion in promoting agricultural development in non-aligned and developing nations, and will contribute greatly to strengthening solidarity and cooperation among newly-emerging countries and to expanding and developing the non-aligned movement.

Our people regard it as their sacred duty to strive for the common cause of the progressive people of the world, while successfully making the revolution and construction in their country. They will do all they can to succeed in solving the food and agricultural questions of non-aligned and developing countries, and will conscientiously fulfill their responsibilities and obligations in this field. They will make active efforts to increase solidarity and cooperation among the peoples of all newly-emerging and developing countries and strengthen the non-aligned movement.

I am sure that through the active endeavors of you delegates, the Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agricultural Production will have an effective discussion on all items on the agenda and fulfill its mission admirably, so as to meet the great expectations of the world's progressive people without fail.

Hoping that this symposium will proceed smoothly and bear good fruit, I would like to propose a toast to friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and the peoples of non-aligned and developing nations, to the health of delegates from all countries and international organizations present at the symposium and to the health of all comrades and friends present here. □



Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

Plastic Bullets— Britain's Tool for Genocide

Sally Campbell

Since March of this year, at the beginning of the hunger strike, seven people were killed by plastic bullets fired by British soldiers illegally occupying the north of Ireland. Dozens more have been maimed, receiving short-range shots to the head, arms, legs, genitals. All of this is sanctioned by official silence on the part of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the troops themselves, and by the British government, which claims "no evidence."

Study Finds Bullets Lethal

Recently the Association for Legal Justice, an Irish Civil rights organization, initiated an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the five deaths up until that time. The plastic bullet is supposedly a "riot-control" weapon, but in the cases of several of the deaths there was no rioting taking place, corroborated by several eyewitnesses. On top of that, the bullets were deemed years ago to be too dangerous—potentially lethal under any circumstances.

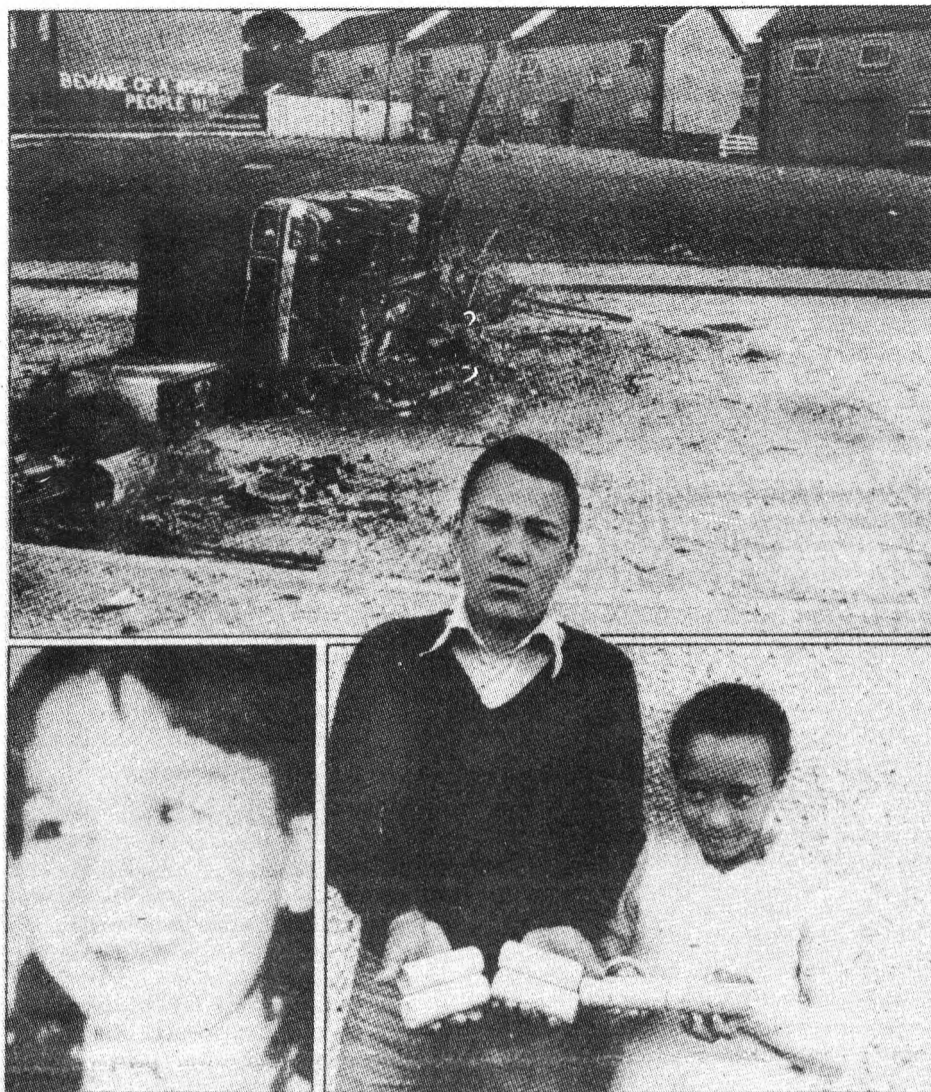
What follows are excerpts from the findings of the commission which conducted the inquiry. Its members were three lawyers: M. Compte, from France; Dennis Dillon, a U.S. Democrat; Peter King, a U.S. Republican; a doctor from France, Dr. Lazarus; and the author of the report, Tim Sallice, a "senior scientist at a British research unit." The report appeared in the August 14 issue of the *New Statesman*.

"...We were astonished by the widespread and indiscriminate use of plastic bullets and by the negligible official response. One's image from television is of the unprotected security forces firing plastic bullets at youths lobbing a hail of stones and petrol bombs. But we heard evidence of many cases ... which were very different. Soldiers and policemen inside armoured Saracens and jeeps had shot at people who were not rioting, from such close range that it could not be other than intentional.

"Take the case of Julie Livingstone, aged 14. She was passing a protest of 40-50 people. Nine witnesses present at the inquiry all agreed that though the road was partially blocked by the women in the sit-down protest, there was no rioting. Indeed, seven to eight jeep-loads of police had been nearby watching the protest for 20 minutes. Two Army Saracens then sped up the road and, as the women fled, Julie was hit on the head by a plastic bullet shot from ten yards or less. She died the following day ...

"...The toll of injuries received showed that shots from close range even to the head are far from exceptional. Take for example the written evidence presented to us by the Association for Legal Justice for the month of May. (It may be incomplete as the association does not have access to hospital records.) In addition to the three deaths, there were 25 head injuries requiring hospital treatment including at least six, probably seven, of such severity that life support machines were required to prevent brain damage. Fifteen people required hospital treatment for other injuries such as broken arms or damaged kidneys ...

"Incidents in which unprovoked and unjustifiable shots occurred at close range were frequently described ... Take William Firth—shot three



This 21-year-old man's eye was shattered by a plastic bullet, which has killed seven people so far this year. Three were children.

Mrs. Toner, who lives on Twinbrook estate, saw Carol Anne Kelly (below left) shot in the head with a plastic bullet. Soon after volunteering as a witness to the incident her house was shot up itself - her children hold the plastic bullets (below right). Local residents have blocked Mrs. Toner's house with a burnt-out car (above) to ensure that jeeps have to slow down when they go past so that they can be identified if more shots are fired.

times at close range with plastic bullets while lying on the ground after being ordered out of a taxi. He sustained fractures to the skull, cheek bone and jaw and severely bruised and swollen genitals. Or Mrs. McGuire, an elderly woman, who received 26 stitches for a facial injury. She was in a Rosary Rally the day before Bobby Sands died. Six RUC jeeps, she said, raced up the street into the procession, with plastic bullet guns firing on both sides 'like fireworks.' ...

"...A father complained about his son being hit on the back in his own garden. The response was to fire at the father, too ... One of the witnesses (to the fatal plastic bullet attack of Carol Anne Kelly, 12) ... rang up the police to say that she would be willing to testify. The same evening her house was shot up again and there are now plastic bullet holes in both her kitchen wall and the front door ... A Mrs. Hanna, one month after receiving a head wound requiring 12 stitches from a plastic bullet, went to the police station to complain. She told us that the police said they knew who the soldier was, but that in any case she would be charged with rioting. Two Canadian witnesses gave evidence that they later overheard a soldier threatening her with a plastic bullet shot.

"...The authorities can be in no doubt of the terrible potential of the weapon their soldiers and police have been using ... According to *Jane's Infantry Weapons* rubber bullets were withdrawn in 1975 because their disability and serious injury rate 'were not considered acceptable.' The plastic bullet replaced it but until this April had been much less used — 13,000 be-

tween 1973 and 1981 compared with 55,000 rubber bullets in the 1970/75 period.

"Superficially the plastic bullet differed very little from the rubber bullet. It is 3½" long and 1½" in diameter ... and with a similar muzzle velocity of 160 mph ... Yet rubber bullets are very inaccurate and were supposed to be mainly used to hit a crowd after a bounce (emphasis added). Plastic bullets have a different type of trajectory and are intended to be aimed at 'selected persons ... so that they strike the lower part of the body directly (i.e., without bouncing)' (Army Rules). Since the impact energies of both the rubber and plastic bullets, when fired direct (original emphasis), are very similar it is obvious that the plastic bullet would cause more injuries ...

"The plastic bullet at a 50 yard range has an impact energy of 110 foot pounds. Yet the American scientists (at the U.S. Army Land Warfare Laboratory) categorized impact energies of more than 90 foot pounds as in the 'severe damage' range, after experiments on baboons and pigs ... It was disclosed in answer to a Parliamentary Question (25 March 1977) that information exchanges had taken place with the U.S. on impact weapons, so the British authorities must have known of this research.

"Indeed, on 6 July this year Home Secretary William Whitelaw was asked, while touring Liverpool riot areas, whether he would endorse the use of plastic bullets. He unhesitatingly replied, 'No', as using such a weapon could inflict injury or death ..."

Protests

On August 28, twelve-year-old Paul

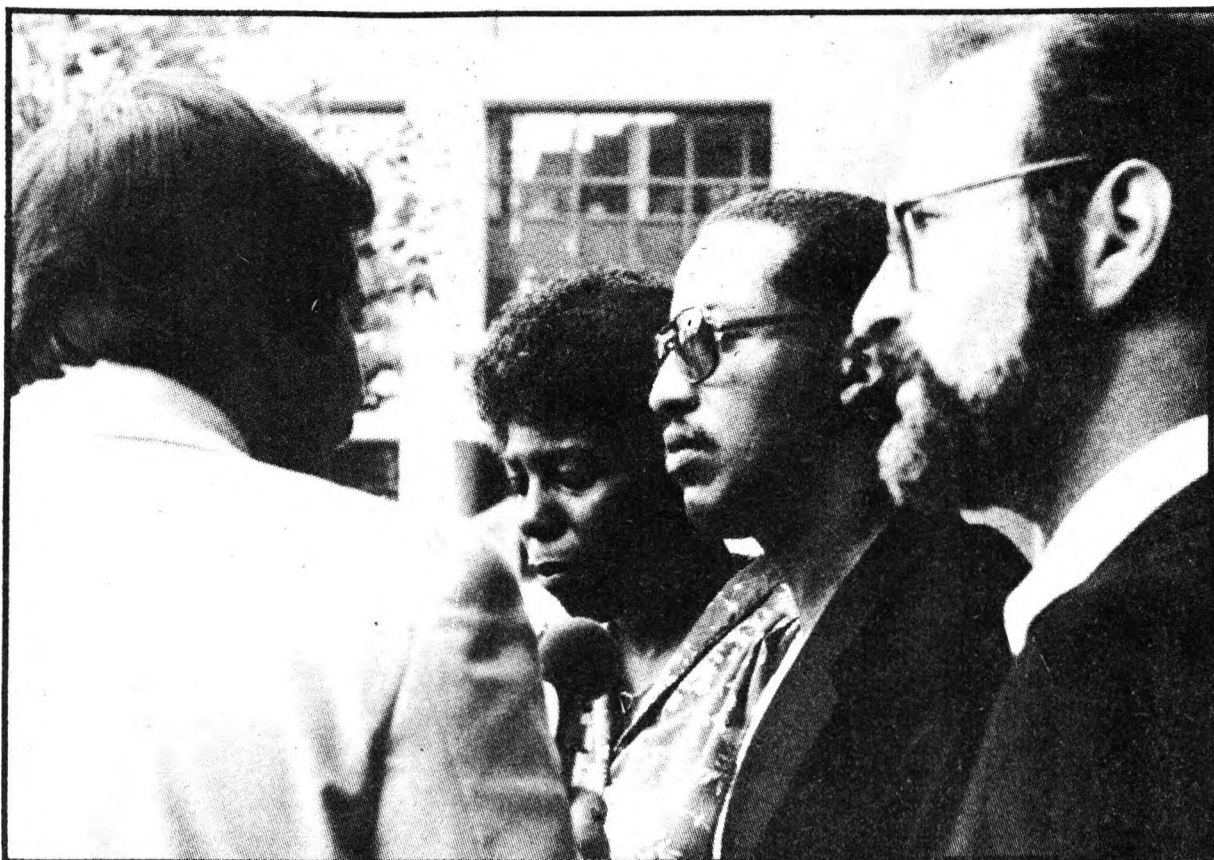
Corr was shot "at a criminally short range of some ten yards, inflicting devastating injuries which left Paul, according to a hospital surgeon, 'very lucky to be alive.'

"The downward travelling plastic bullet, leaving the muzzle at 200 mph, struck Paul full force on the nose, tearing part of it off, and carried on down to the roof of his mouth, shattering it and driving his teeth down into his mouth ... Paul was rushed by ambulance to Royal Victoria Hospital ... and then to Dundonald Hospital in east Belfast for emergency surgery ...

"Shortly after the shooting, members of Paul's family went to nearby Springfield Road joint Brit/RUC barracks to lodge a complaint, ... while in an unusually large display of local outrage at the shooting, several hundred residents assembled to protest outside." (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 9/5/81). Paul Corr was on the street when this occurred, some ten yards away from a group of five- and six-year olds throwing stones which came nowhere near threatening the soldiers. He is the latest victim of the racist British policies in Northern Ireland, a continuation of 800 years of trying to make the Irish stop being Irish.

September 13 is the date set for a mass Belfast protest against the use of plastic bullets. The British have not listened to the voices of the repressed and oppressed Catholic, republican community of Ireland, but as the civilians are more and more barraged by plastic bullets, losing their children to them, the "moderate" community that Britain has relied on not to rise up to support the IRA may well be changing its mind. □

Diahanne Johnson: Fighter for Her Family and Her Class



From right to left: NASSCO 3 defense attorney Dan Siegal, Rodney Johnson, Diahanne Johnson.

Erin White

Diahanne Johnson, wife of CWP member and NASSCO 3 defendant Rodney Johnson, is an active worker for social change herself. Her deep concern for the family and her fight to learn more about her own history have taken her from a confused and searching child to a strong woman, resolved to do whatever she can to right the injustices she sees in the world.

While Diahanne describes herself as "always a rebel," a friend said, "Diahanne will struggle down the line and struggle hard when she believes in something. That is one of the most admirable qualities about Diahanne — her persistence in struggle."

Diahanne was born in the Mideast. As a small child her family moved several times. Pittsburg, Kansas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Taft, Oklahoma, were three of the places she called home before her fifth birthday. From Oklahoma, the Stewart family (Diahanne's maiden name) moved to Los Angeles, Ca. Diahanne grew up in the L.A. area and considers Southern California her home.

Diahanne's first radical experience was a demonstration she and other minority students organized at her Jr. High School. Diahanne and her family had moved to Pomona, a suburb of Los Angeles, and were some of the first blacks to live in the area. The demonstration was held to protest a racist teacher's discrimination against blacks and Chicanos. "At that time, there was a ruling that the schools could punish you through swatting," she said. "The blacks in Mr. Wilson's class were always getting swatted. It was a constant thing."

"People got tired of it, so we all decided that we were going to have a walkout. At nine o'clock, a few of us, the ring leaders, I guess, marched out of the classroom and through the corridors, around the campus and we gathered up other students. We marched to the principal's office." Diahanne laughed as she said, "We were all yelling and screaming at the principal and telling him he had to get rid of this racist guy because, you know, he just picks on Chicanos and blacks."

In 1970 she met Patrick Haywood, who later became her first husband. In 1971, she had her first child.

Diahanne discussed joining the Panther Party with her husband, but decided not to. "It was the guns and violence which turned me off," she said. "At that time, there was a lot of Panther Headquarters under attack by the state. I kind of cooled out. Our marriage was on the rocks and I was trying to deal with that."

In 1974, Diahanne split with her husband. He was later killed in an auto accident. "The day I turned 21 is also the day I became a widow," she said. "I had two kids."

I said, "What's going on here?" So then I just started trying to survive with my kids. Things really got hard for a while. I was just getting enough from welfare to pay my rent. I didn't have a telephone. I didn't have a T.V."

"But," said Diahanne, "if I had to, I'd do it again. Even if you have to live in your car, it's better than having someone mistreat your kids or having to belittle yourself."

Diahanne met Rodney in Long Beach, Ca. When the Navy transferred him to Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco, Diahanne went with him. She enrolled in the College of Alameda.

"That's where I first met the Family Nitoto, which was a cultural collective. They had a long history of organizing. In addition to going to the prisons and doing programs which were focused around the liberation struggles in South Africa, they helped to build the Black Student Union at the College of Alameda. They had organized and were able to get some black administrators and black instructors at Alameda. At the time, they had set up tri-campus council where different black groups and BSU leaders could get together and try to work out a thing for all the campuses in the East Bay area. That included Laney, Alameda, and Merritt Colleges."

Diahanne became close friends with the head of the BSU at Alameda and a member of the Family. "I started to ask this girl about the Family. They were talking about capitalism and the bourgeoisie and all that. I'm going, 'who?, what? huh?'"

"They talked about the rise of big business, the Morgans and Rockefellers, and Duponts. They gave me this magazine called *The Incredible Rocky*. It talked about how Rockefeller got his money and how much he owned."

"Me, I was like a kid with a new toy. I was going around telling everybody, 'Oh yeah, the capitalist system this and the bourgeoisie that' and I didn't know nothing!! If somebody asked me the meaning of those words... I couldn't have told them. But my eyes were being opened to a lot of things which were going on."

It was through the Family Nitoto that Diahanne and Rodney first learned about the Workers Viewpoint Organization, the forerunner of the Communist Workers Party.

"Through struggle with the WVO, the Family had come to realize that we had to unite with everybody who was oppressed; with everybody who was suffering under the same enemy. And that enemy was the capitalist system, not just white people."

At that time, Diahanne said she found different nationalist groups attractive. The Nation of Islam was "exciting," she said. "When they talked about

black people, they always talked about us with pride. You dig that kind of stuff when all you hear when you grow up is 'Niggers ain't this' and 'Niggers ain't that.' Negative talk. Here was a bunch of people talking more positive about us. You can't really down that kind of stuff."

"Diahanne said the chauvinism towards women in the Nation is what really turned her off. She believes that men and women should play equal roles — both in the family and in the larger world."

As the Family struggled with Diahanne, she began to see more and more that there was a system involved which hurt most white people, too. Diahanne and Rodney worked with the Family from 1976. "In that time, not only was I learning about black people in this country and in Africa — my own history — I was also learning about the capitalist system and the need for socialist revolution."

When asked about the case of the NASSCO 3, Diahanne pauses to think, often, "This is the most in-depth, from beginning to end, struggle I've been in. And it's not over yet!!"

Diahanne was in Texas, visiting her family when she first got word that Rodney had been arrested. Diahanne didn't realize it was anything serious till she got back to San Diego.

"I got off the plane and went immediately into a meeting. I wasn't until I got into that meeting that I realized the seriousness of the situation. Then I was really mad at myself for not having come home sooner. That was when I first learned it was a bomb plot and Ramon Barton was an informer for the FBI."

Though fearful for her children's safety, and concerned that the family would have to bear the brunt of different abuses, from crank calls to physical intimidation, Diahanne said "as a whole, there was none."

"The support is really amazing. That is what impresses me about the people in this country. Right after Rodney got arrested, some of our real friends were put to the test. We have lost some friends, but we have gained a hell of a lot more! From all levels of life, from all walks of life, people have been very supportive. They've been honest enough to say they don't agree with communism or socialism, or our political views, but they do support the 3. That's something you have to look at and appreciate. People you feared would turn their backs on you have not."

Diahanne has decided that the only thing to do is to keep on fighting for the rights and needs of the poor, oppressed and working people. The day the guilty verdict came down against her husband and the two other defendants was a day Diahanne says she "woke up."

"When the verdict came down, all this really came together. I woke up and realized this was not a dream, this was for real! When I look back on it, I was going through this in a daze. I couldn't believe it. I'm as close as I could get to the situation without having been one of the defendants. But it was still unreal to me. Even through the weeks of sitting in that courtroom; through the weeks of going out and talking to people; gathering up endorsements; passing out literature. It wasn't until that verdict that I put everything together. Then I realized something of how the people in Greensboro must have felt after the KKK and government shot down the five comrades there."

"From the day of the verdict, I decided that if people want me to go to Alaska or to the most remote corners of the earth to fight for socialist revolution, Ok, I'm ready. It's not so much that it happened to me and my family personally. It's that I really can see the danger in the situation."

"If we don't beat back these attacks now, today, then we are going to live in a Hitler-type USA tomorrow. They are already trying to tell us that we don't have the right to strike. I'm going to continue to fight. Regardless of the roadblocks they set up. I'm going to continue to fight. What other choice do I really have? If not my self, what other choice do I have for my kids?"

When asked about her future plans, Diahanne said she'd like to go on tour.

"I'd like to let people know that it's not just a thing where it's happening in the shipyards. It's not just a thing where people are involved with budget cuts. All of the issues have to be linked together. It's like fingers. It's all a part of one hand. And that hand is part of an arm which is hooked to one body. That's the way these things have to be looked at — all hooked up together like one big issue. That issue is the issue of the oppressed against the oppressor."

"I would like to see people marching in every major city in the U.S. Marching not *only* around the NASSCO 3, but saying, 'Your days are numbered.' That's what I'd like to see."

Despite the strain on her family, despite the pressures of a long campaign to free her husband (he is currently out on bond pending appeal of his case), Diahanne remains optimistic about the future.

"This decade is going to make some heavy changes in people's lives. Conditions are getting better for making socialist revolution. I believe we are on the road towards that now." □

Iran

Continued from page 16

class and cannot possibly give reasons and perspective for his actions, he can just agitate or use inappropriate slogans to appeal to the masses' emotions and spontaneous associations. Then this slogan turns into demagoguery. [emphasis added]"

Collapse of Structures

The IRP, lacking the political scope and perspective to continue the revolution, has played with the Iranian people's anti-U.S. imperialist feelings and manipulated them into a sport. The IRP has turned demagogic.

Bani Sadr spoke to a related point in an interview he gave journalists only a few days before Rajai and Bahonar were blown up. "If tonight five men were killed — Rajai, Bahonar, Rafsanjani, Ardebili and Kiani — the Government would collapse," he said. "It may be days, it may be months. There are no structures left, there are only a few persons who hold power together."

Most of the bourgeois press picked up on this statement in an opportunist way, saying that Bani Sadr had a hit list. The press buried the real meaning of his statement, as well as ignoring the full content of his interview.

Bani Sadr did not speak of a hit list. Nor did he speak absolutely literally when he mentioned the prospects for the IRP-led government should there five men die. He did touch on the enormous task of rebuilding a country and the absolute inability of the IRP to do it. The IRP was not and is not capable of solving Iran's political, economic, military, cultural, national and other problems systematically. Whatever organizational systems and structures that had been built up under Bani Sadr have been destroyed.

The military, for example, which Bani Sadr commanded, has been disorganized and demoralized. The IRP, instead of using the army, which

was loyal to the revolution, to fight Iraq, substituted untrained, irregular units, thus hurting the war effort and sending casualty figures to heaven. And now the IRP blames this on Bani Sadr and exhorts the people to continue fighting a war which bleeds the country white. The IRP rejects any negotiations and has refused to look for a just, peaceful solution. (This is only one example of the IRP's disorganizing opportunism. See *WV* Aug. 5-11, 1981).

Support Evaporating

With a line like this the IRP has produced nothing but misery for the masses and has alienated them, including the experts. Its inability to solve any of the pressing practical problems has led to an obvious governmental crisis, which neither Bani Sadr's ouster nor the climate of political repression will solve. Through this fissure, the masses have burst forth. For over three years they have been aroused and keenly aware of politics. The government cannot lead them or positively channel it. Rather, it is blocking the masses and suppressing them.

The government is losing support. According to the Mojahedeen, 15 percent of the Iranian people support the IRP, while 20 percent support them. The other 65 percent passively oppose Khomeini, but, because of the political repression against the opposition, they are afraid to speak out.

This estimate is confirmed by the dwindling attendance at IRP called demonstrations and marches. Government and newspaper claims of one million participants in President Rajai's and Prime Minister Bahonar's funeral, but Bani Sadr disputed this figure. The square where the funeral was held, Bani Sadr said, only holds 100,000. Even if there were a million mourners, he continued, it

was nothing compared to the millions and tens of millions who poured into the streets to overthrow the Shah. This shows, he concluded, that while the government still remains in power, it is rapidly losing the people's support.

The American press has often ignored this fact, instead choosing to call the killings terrorist attacks. At the same time, monarchist activity has been closely monitored. The monarchists' hijacking of an Iranian gunboat off the coast of Spain last month splashed the front pages. The Shah's last prime minister, Shapour Bakhtiar, who now resides in Paris, has been quoted in the press. Both the monarchist dogs and Bakhtiar have been consulted about the resistance bombings, have been treated at least as equals of the Mojahedeen and have been included in the resistance.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Neither the monarchists led by ex-general Bahran Aryana nor Bakhtiar enjoy much following. The army had long ago been purged of pro-Shah elements, and the army is made up of revolutionary-minded rank and file soldiers. After nearly three decades under the bloody Shah's boot, the Iranian people do not wish to have another shah. And because they have been extensively mobilized over the last several years, there is little chance that either could set foot on Iranian soil.

No doubt that the U.S. imperialists would like to install a new shah. But isolated in the world community and saddled with troubles at home, the U.S. cannot back up its wish with force and so must stand on the sidelines in this battle. With their principal backers out of commission, the monarchists' real limitations come out. Hijacking a boat is all they can do and even on this petty international crime, they get caught and meekly surrender. The extensive destabilization, while giving the monarchists room to carry out their fly-like activity, creates much more opportunity for the Iranian left.

The fight in Iran is essentially a two-sided fight. It is between the IRP and the people, as represented by the Mojahedeen/Bani Sadr alliance.

Alliance for Independent Iran

The Mojahedeen/Bani Sadr alliance is a fighting alliance against the government's political repression and for a national, progressive and democratic Iran. "The Shah was a symbol of physical power, but he was a dictator and he fell," said Rajavi. "Khomeini is the symbol of spiritual power, but he too is a dictator and he is falling. If I wanted to govern this country and ignored these recent examples, then, even with the physical power of the Shah and the spiritual power of Khomeini, I would be defeated."

The alliance is getting stronger and growing despite the bourgeois press' speculation on differences between the two forces. It was not for nothing that when Bani Sadr circulated a letter in Tehran stating he was still the legal President, he named Massoud Rajavi as his Prime Minister. What is more, Rajavi has repeatedly said that any progressive government must include all "who agree with our line of independence and freedom, except the allies of the Shah and Khomeini."

Bani Sadr, the most prominent, and perhaps the most popular representative of the resistance, explained the alliance this way: "In a struggle everyone is beholden to others. I am beholden to the Mojahedeen. They are beholden to me. And all of us are beholden to the martyrs who have been executed. I was elected President by the people and the people have not retracted their confidence. Thus I am in a position to represent all of the different fronts of opposition that are in favor of liberty and independence."

The government's reign of terror against the Mojahedeen has been large-

ly unsuccessful, though bloody. Nearly 1,000 revolutionaries from the Mojahedeen and other progressive forces have been executed. Over 12,000 political prisoners have been taken. Bani Sadr estimates that close to 100 people a day are executed, many times more than the casualties imposed by the war with Iraq. Still, this has not quelled the resistance.

Armed struggle against the government is a daily fact. The armed struggle, led by the Mojahedeen, has developed to the point of waging eight-hour battles in the streets of Tehran. Firefights with the government's so-called Revolutionary Guards have erupted in over 100 cities all across the country, from the Persian Gulf to the Soviet border. In addition, the Iranian student movement abroad, which played such a crucial role in overthrowing the Shah, has expressed its support for the Mojahedeen and Bani Sadr with takeovers of the Iranian Embassies in Norway and Britain.

The loss of 1,000 revolutionaries is a great loss indeed, but this has made hardly a dent in the resistance. The People's Mojahedeen has been tested in the revolution which overthrew the hated Shah, having played a leading role in the armed struggle. Over the last 2½ years of legality and semi-legality, it has built up a large, capable core of leadership and an extensive membership. For 17 years the Mojahedeen has waged a struggle for the people and it is deeply rooted. The government's campaign of terror cannot change this fact.

Victory in Sight

Through their counterattack the Mojahedeen is achieving its goal of "breaking the barrier of terror" that keeps many from openly opposing the regime. The Ayatollah Khomeini is beginning to sense the futility of the fight against the left. He can see that the objective result of the terror is to harden his opponents, strengthen their mass base and whittle away at the government's.

That is why, although Khomeini vowed to avenge the deaths of Rajai and Bahonar, he admonished officials to be more moderate. "Do not act tougher toward prisoners or captives, or arrest people who, God forbid, are innocent," he warned the bloodthirsty leadership of the IRP. Khomeini sees the handwriting. He knows the IRP cannot rule by terror alone and that it cannot continue forever. He wants to soften up and preserve the present government.

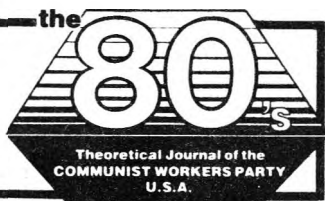
But the IRP cannot keep its dictatorship without the terror. George Ball, one of the U.S. bourgeoisie's theoreticians, summing up his master's prospects in Iran, wrote, "Unless the mullahs continue their relentless repression [which Khomeini says they cannot] long and brutally enough to break the will of a whole nation [which will not happen given the strength of the masses], the people will at some point replace them with a nationalistic regime either of the left (under the leadership of the Mojahedeen Khalq) or of the right (under military domination). Of these two, a leftist regime seems more likely."

So clear is the situation that even the U.S. imperialists can see the future, however unpleasant it is to them. The IRP-led government is destabilized, isolated from the people by its own policies.

The left, led by Bani Sadr and the Mojahedeen is in excellent position to topple the IRP and establish a truly independent, democratic Iran. After a recent, victorious battle over the government, the People's Mojahedeen issued a statement saying the struggle had "entered a new phase. The Mojahedeen now show with demonstrations that they are able to overthrow the bloodthirsty Khomeini Government." □

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POLAND —



Gdansk strikers celebrate concessions won from government.

which way out ?

Polemic Against Line of March's Liquidation of the Afro-American National Question

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Barbaro:

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trains "normally" run behind schedule. In response subway riders have resisted. The number of incidents where passengers have refused to leave disabled trains has risen sharply. Police are often brought in to remove disgusted riders.

With the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) short on both operating and capital improvement funds, the mayor has refused to trade in \$1.5 billion in federal monies from the Westway project to aid the crippled system. It came as no surprise when statistics for MTA were conspicuously missing from the Mayor's Management Report. The report, published in January, was widely circulated among the New York press to show off the Koch Administration's accomplishments.

In the area of health care, the story is again a dismal one. "If you are poor in New York, your chances of dying are much greater," described Assemblyman Barbaro. "Like the people who died at Bellevue Hospital because the air conditioners weren't working; like the people who die because the ambulances take forever to reach them." During the Koch years, over 4,000 hospital beds in the city were lost either through hospital closings or reductions. Of the 24 hospitals closed since 1976, 15 were located in or near minority and poor communities. In the closing of Sydenham Hospital in West Harlem, Koch flatly refused to spend \$9 million to reopen the facility in spite of a \$200 million surplus in the city's budget. According to a study conducted by the New York City Health Department, in some of the poorer areas of the city there is one doctor per 1,000 residents. In wealthier areas the ratio is 45 to 1,000. While areas such as Harlem are designated Medically Underserved Areas (MUAs) by federal government guidelines, there is a virtual glut of hospitals along the East side of Manhattan. The strip of hospitals often referred to as "Bedpan Alley" has over 6,000 beds.

Housing is another area conveniently downplayed in the mayor's report. Since 1977, rents in New York City have risen 119 per cent. In 1980 30,000 housing units were abandoned and 15,900 others were converted to co-ops. Affordable housing for most New Yorkers has become even more scarce. One of the major factors fueling the wide-spread real estate speculation in the city has been the Koch Administration's tax policy of assessing luxury hotels, high priced office buildings and other multi-million dollar construction projects at considerably less than their market value. According to a report by Sidney Schwartz, the special deputy state comptroller, the Koch policy has led to the loss of \$687 million in potential real estate tax revenue. The Koch policy of tax giveaways has meant for most New Yorkers higher rents and more evictions.

Koch Banked on a Victory Through Default

In early February, Mayor Koch, certain of a victory in the November elections, announced his intention to move up the Democratic Party primary from mid-September to early June. The logic of the decision was to speed up the election process since Mayor Koch expected to run unopposed for the party nomination. In response two separate coalitions were organized.

On February 3, a coalition of reform Democrats and prominent liberals called the Coalition for a Mayoral Choice announced plans to stop Koch's proposed change. The group's membership included established liberals like former Congresswoman Bella Abzug, sociologist Kenneth

Clarke and lawyer and labor mediator Theodore W. Kheel. In early April, the coalition disbanded after accomplishing little more than to grab occasional news headlines.

At about the same time, the Coalition to Defeat Koch was formed by the New Alliance Party, Black United Front, Grey Panthers, Met Council on Housing and other progressive groups. Since then it has been one of the mainstays behind the Barbaro campaign effort. Since late 1979, the New Alliance Party and Black United Front have been busy making preparations to remove Koch in this year's election. The Black United Front successfully exposed the Mayor's racist policies in a number of demonstrations it initiated against police brutality in the black communities. The New Alliance Party, a fast growing independent third party, carried out several petition drives throughout the city. One petition called for a revision in the City's Charter to allow for the recall of elected officials (i.e., Koch) before their terms are over.

By organizing in Harlem, the South Bronx and other poor neighborhoods which both the Democratic and Republican parties have abandoned, the New Alliance Party successfully built the "Dump Koch" movement into a grassroots movement of workers and minorities. During the two year campaign nearly 150,000 "Dump Koch" buttons have been sold throughout the city. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets and newspapers have been distributed by NAP organizers as they regularly canvassed street corners and subway stops. In unions like AFSCME District Council 37, rank and file members circulated petitions calling on Victor Gotbaum and other officials to endorse the "Dump Koch" movement. The work of the New Alliance Party and the Coalition to Defeat Koch helped create the political momentum which Barbaro has built on.

Koch Discards Liberal Disguise

Mayor Koch, a self-professed liberal (and one of the very first politicians in New York to oppose the Vietnam War in the 60's), shocked his liberal and Democratic colleagues by running for the Republican Party nomination. The move backfired. Many moderates and reform Democrats in the Democratic Party, who might not have otherwise, were forced to back Barbaro. Koch's clumsy try to "sew up the election" helped sharpen contradictions in the already troubled Democratic Party.

Recently, Lt. Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, Assembly Speaker Stanley Fink, City Council President Carol Bellamy and other leading Democrats publicly denounced a Koch decision to appear before a Republican Party fundraiser next month. Charles Manett, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee also joined the chorus of critics but hedged as expected on a request by Mr. Barbaro to censure Koch.

Barbaro Platform— Tax the Rich Not the Poor

From the outset, the Barbaro campaign has succeeded in cutting across racial, ethnic and class differences to assemble the broadest range of groups opposed to the Koch Administration and its big business backers. Students, white and blue collar workers, labor bureaucrats, professionals, small businessmen and other people from all walks of life have supported Barbaro. "Whether I win or lose," said Barbaro, "the main thing is to continue to build and strengthen this political movement we have started."

At the heart of this new political movement is Barbaro's program of legislation and tax reforms which targets the biggest monopoly capitalists. In mass transit for example, Barbaro, in addition to the trade-in of Westway funds, is proposing a series of taxes on big businesses to provide new

revenues for the MTA. One is a capital gains tax on the sale of income-producing real estate valued at over a million dollars. The other is an income tax surcharge for those people making \$40,000 a year and more. In place of the present MTA board, which is appointed, Barbaro is calling for the election of the 15-member body from districts throughout the city.

In health care, he is seeking similar changes in the Board of Governors of the Health and Hospitals Corporation to include more minority, consumer and labor representation. He has pledged throughout his campaign to reopen Sydenham hospital and to keep open Bronx Lebanon, North General, Brooklyn Jewish and other hospitals threatened with closings. He has also expressed support for a Comprehensive National Health Plan which guarantees health care for all Americans.

Barbaro, a long-time supporter of tenants' rights in the State Assembly, has helped to lobby for the passage of the Flynn-Dearie Rent Protection Act. Under the act, stricter guidelines are established for landlords to raise rents. Vacancy decontrol and automatic rent increases of 7.5 percent annually would also be eliminated. Provisions protecting the rights of handicapped and elderly people are also included in the senate bill.

One flaw in the Barbaro program are the proposals concerning crime. "Swift, sure punishment is much more of a deterrent than rhetorical severity which never visits the lawbreaker," explains the assemblyman. "I will seek to guarantee that all accused to serious crimes will be tried within 120 days." Tougher laws and stricter enforcement of them will not solve the crime problem in New York. More police will not mean better protection for people but more attacks on them. That's a lesson learned in blood from the brutal police murders of Randolph Evans, Arthur Miller, Luis Baez and the countless others executed by New York's "Finest."

Koch on the Defensive

Barbaro has succeeded in putting Mayor Koch on the defensive by hitting hard on the \$700 million in tax-giveaways to large real estate developers. He has raised it at every opportunity possible so that the media has been forced to carry it. Even the New York Post which has endorsed the mayor has had to run articles concerning the tax abatement policy, especially after it was revealed that nearly \$175,000 in contributions were made to the mayor's campaign by Helmsley and Associates, Goldman Sachs, AT&T and other corporations that were given

huge tax breaks by Koch. This has helped forged a political consensus among many voters that Koch is bought and paid for by big business. So much so that Koch has been forced to deny it many times in public.

New York City Crisis Will Deepen

In a report from Sidney Schwartz it was revealed that the budget deficit for 1983 is expected to be anywhere between \$739 million to \$1.3 billion. In 1984 the estimates run from \$935 million to \$1.7 billion. In 1985 it could be between \$963 million and \$2.1 billion. The Koch Administration's "balanced budget" only postponed future deficits. Mayor Koch even admitted in a recent article in the New York Times that the city's future was uncertain. When asked what he hoped to accomplish in a second term in office, the mayor replied vaguely, "I'm not an oracle. For four years I've done it. I don't expect to do less in the next four."

The biggest concern worrying Mayor Koch and others in his administration is the city's limited ability to raise revenue in the municipal bond market. Since the 1975 budget crisis, many investors have become hesitant to buy bonds from the city. Commenting on the current state of the municipal bond market, Felix Rohatyn, chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation said, "I've been in the business 30 years and I've never seen markets like this." Rohatyn has proposed that state and city agencies co-ordinate their sale of municipal bonds instead of competing and driving up interest rates. In some cases interest payments on long-term municipal bonds has reached 14 percent.

Another worry for the Koch Administration is an expected \$400 million loss in federal funds as a result of the first round of budget cuts by President Reagan. More federal aid to city is likely to be cut in the second round of budget cuts. Admitting that the city's future depended more on outside forces, Mayor Koch told the Times, "I don't believe government can do very much on a local level to enhance prosperity."

Barbaro—A Fighting Chance For the People

Frank Barbaro's chances of unseating Mayor Koch are slim. Nonetheless his campaign has provided a vehicle for revolutionary and progressive forces to carry out political education and exposures among a broader audience than normally possible. It has given millions of New Yorkers a fighting chance against the attacks of the Koch Administration and its big business backers. □

HOW TO CONTACT THE CWP

Washington, D.C.: (202) 678-1851
W. Virginia: (304) 595-6447

MIDWEST:

Chicago: (312) 935-6350
Columbus: (614) 268-0783
Detroit: (313) 834-9636

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

WRITE:

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

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PATCO

Continued from page 1

Restrictions on Right to Strike

The PATCO strike is a clear example of how the working class is strait-jacketed by restrictions on their right to strike. The American Federation of Government Employees printed a picture of PATCO Local 291 President Steven Wallaert being taken to jail shackled in chains, with the caption "Only in America." The Reagan administration has thrown a barrage of legal sanctions against the union that is unrivaled in American labor history. Besides the mass firings of over 12,000 workers, the government has jailed five union leaders and secretly indicted 70, frozen PATCO's \$3.5 million strike fund, levied fines amounting to more than \$110 million and moved to decertify PATCO out of existence. John H. Fenton, the federal administrative law judge who recommended decertification, said the "remedy sought is a death sentence" whose objective is to "permanently bar" PATCO from functioning as a labor organization.

These measures are based on a law passed by Congress in 1955. It made federal employee strikes punishable by a \$1,000 fine and a year's imprisonment. It is an addition to a clause forbidding federal workers' strikes in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act. That clause gives the government broad powers to break strikes and curb union activity among all workers, both public and private. It has provisions for anti-strike injunctions, giving the courts the power to fine. It established a 60-day cooling off period during which strikes may not be declared. It outlaws mass picketing, prohibits secondary boycotts and encourages the passage of state anti-union "right-to-work" laws.

Among the backers of Taft-Hartley

were the same people who conducted the vicious red baiting and anti-Communist witchhunt of the McCarthy era. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce published a pamphlet entitled "Communists Within the Labor Movement, Facts and Countermeasures." This was used to drive Communists and militants out of unions by making them take a non-Communist oath. As President Harry Truman broke the national railroad worker's strike by recommending that all strikers be drafted into the U.S. Army, the Chamber of Commerce demanded that Congress pass Taft-Hartley to rid labor of "Communist domination." The law was designed with the larger purpose of destroying the labor movement as an independent political force.

Besides these direct attacks, the working class' right to strike has been undermined from within by the collaborationist policies of the trade union leaders. The labor movement emerged from the McCarthy era with a new breed of leadership. Men like George Meany, George McBride, Douglas Fraser and Lane Kirkland renounced the principles of struggle upon which the major industrial unions were built. They openly advocated a policy of collaboration and wrote no-strike clauses into union contracts. The most notable is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement in the United Steelworkers Union which gave up the right to strike in return for a 3 percent wage increase and binding arbitration.

Right to Strike is Right to Live

Over the past ten years, the right to strike has become an increasingly sharp issue in workers' struggles. It was the underlying issue in many significant strikes. In 1970, 152,000 postal workers ripped up the ban against federal workers' strikes and walked out for decent pay increases. In 1978, the United Mine Workers conducted the longest strike in its history. The miners

forced Jimmy Carter to back down from enforcing the Taft-Hartley Law. In this process, the miners became a rallying point for the entire working class movement. In 1980, the New York City transit workers' strike was eventually broken when union president John Lawe buckled in face of Taylor Law penalties and sold out.

These and the PATCO strike reveal the critical connection between the working class' right to strike and its struggles to safeguard economic gains. This connection will become sharper and sharper as the U.S. economy sinks. With the capitalists' takeback of gains such as cost-of-living clauses, pension benefits and health and safety protection, the right to strike will truly be a question of the right of workers to live. Without the strike weapon, workers will be powerless to resist the capitalists' ruthless drive to extract more profits. In the final analysis, the refusal of workers to produce defines the limits to which a capitalist can exploit.

Even the New York Times said in an editorial on Aug. 16, "the lack of a legal right to strike transforms collective bargaining into little more than an amateur debating society." Among federal workers, PATCO and the postal unions have a history of work stoppages and strikes. Because they were able to back up their demands with force, they are the only unions which can actually negotiate their own contracts. The other unions are limited to discussing non-cash issues such as the grievance procedure or transfer policies. Meanwhile, they were forced to submit as Congress voted to limit their 1982 raises to 4.8 percent compared to the 9.7 percent called for under the current law. PATCO President Robert Poli articulated his members' feelings about the government's refusal to address their demands after 38 meetings over a seven-month period. "What is a union that can't negotiate?" asked Poli.

"That's the way our members feel. We don't want to be in a position of collective begging."

Important National Issue

The PATCO strike has forcefully thrust the question of the right to strike into the national limelight. As John Armour said, "The most important national struggle now going on over employment conditions is whether any group of federal employees has the right to strike, regardless of the specific issue and its merits." This points to the need at this time for a broad movement of unionists and all progressive people to obtain the right to strike.

Such a movement will be able to give direct aid to strikes like PATCO's. At this time, the major shortcoming of the PATCO strike is the minimal trade union support. This is happening when individual strikes need all the support they can muster to defeat the combined power of individual capitalists and the government. But because most of these struggles are for such economic gains as wages and working conditions, they remain scattered and local in nature. Because of the stranglehold of the labor aristocrats, the government can isolate them.

A key question for union activists is how to use all possible forms to broaden out support for these struggles. The right-to-strike issue brings into sharp focus the relationship between the political demands and the economic struggles of the working class. The right to strike can be pushed broadly in the political arena without jeopardizing the particular jobs of any group of workers.

It provides an avenue for workers who are blocked by the threat of outright government reprisals or the collaborationist policies of the union bureaucrats. It will put the government and the corporations on the political defensive, serving to isolate them when a strike such as PATCO breaks out. □

Reagan

Continued from page 2

"International Cooperation" or Imperial Domination

The first point of Reagan's plan concerns "international cooperation." Reagan wants to negotiate the following points with Mexico:

1. That Mexico agree to prosecute and punish persons crossing through their country to reach the U.S. This is aimed at Central American immigrants, principally Salvadoran refugees who are escaping the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-backed Duarte regime.

2. That Mexico also agree to punish Mexican nationals attempting to cross the U.S. border illegally.

3. That labor-intensive projects be developed in the Mexican states that contribute to the influx of Mexican nationals. These programs are identical to the "malquiloras" programs in Juarez and other border towns. They are light industries that have run away from areas like New York and Chicago to take advantage of the cheap labor found in border towns. The project is clearly for the benefit of American industries, not unemployed Mexican workers. The more that Mexico becomes entangled in the clutches of U.S. imperialism, the less that national industry will develop.

4. That the U.S. "help" Mexico develop sources of employment. Mexico has a 50% unemployment rate, and 60% of Mexican commerce is controlled by the U.S. More than 60% of products consumed in Mexico are manufactured in the U.S. or in "malquiloras" and Mexico owes the U.S. \$20 billion. What Mexico needs is not this kind of "help" from the U.S., but real independence and sovereignty. Concretely, Mexico needs to break away from U.S. imperialism, conduct agrarian reform and socialize industry.

Other Aspects

The second point of Reagan's plan talks about hiring more border guards to enforce the current immigration laws. This would require "moderate" budget increases for the INA (\$54 million) and for the Dept. of Labor (\$12.7 million). The cost of these increases would come out of the pockets of American workers, including, naturally, the taxes of undocumented workers.

The third point of Reagan's plan provides for sanctions against employers who hire undocumented workers. If it sounds like a great idea to punish these shameless exploiters, it's worthwhile studying this point more.

Under this point of the plan, an employer could be fined \$500-\$1,000 for each undocumented worker he knowingly hires. But a social security number, which many undocumented workers possess, is considered sufficient identification. In this way, Reagan has no intention of punishing the bosses. The provision will assist employers in justifying their discrimination against all Latinos, documented or undocumented, or other dark-skinned workers who don't speak much English. Employers could claim that they don't want to risk hiring Latinos under the pretext that they "look foreign" or possess "forged-looking documents." (In the 1977 plan

Carter went even further by proposing the issuance of a national I.D. card to register immigrant workers.)

"Guest Workers" for Criminal Host

Instituting a "temporary guest-worker program" is the fourth point of Reagan's plan. Reagan calls for admitting 50,000 workers from Mexico each year. The workers (Reagan's guests of honor) would be forced to remain in one specified region, in one specified job (such as farm labor) for a period that ranges from nine to twelve mon-

ths. At the end of that time a worker could renew his permit, providing he has "behaved," and if his boss wants him to continue.

On the other hand, if he has been a "bad boy" (for example, joining a farmworkers union), or hasn't met his work quota, or doesn't speak English well enough, he could be deported.

The "guest" worker would not be permitted to bring his wife or family. He would be forced to pay all taxes although he would be denied welfare, foodstamps and unemployment benefits.

What a wonderful "guest worker" program! But the best is yet to come.

Hardly an "Amnesty"

The final point of Reagan's plan deals with the treatment of undocumented workers already residing within the United States. Reagan calls for granting renewable temporary residence to those who entered the U.S. before January 1, 1980 and don't have any reason to be excluded. Those who qualify would be under the same restrictions as the "guest worker," except that they could move around looking for different jobs. But a temporary resident would have to renew his permit every three years, could not bring over his wife or family, would be required to pay all taxes, and would receive no benefits. If he is a "good boy," and the government renews his permit, at the end of ten years he could apply for permanent residence — *providing he speaks English*.

That, in a nutshell, is Reagan's plan. The program is similar to Carter's immigration plan of 1977 (which never materialized) except that Carter was

"gracious" enough to offer permanent residence immediately to a limited number of people. Carter offered permanent residency to those who could prove they'd resided within the U.S.

for 7 years continuously (without being deported). The number of persons who could have *proven* their continuous residency would have been small, indeed, a drop in the bucket.

Aim to Bust Unions

The even more repressive nature of Reagan's immigration policy is no great surprise. For years the CWP has said that the era of economic destabilization would compel the bourgeoisie to find scapegoats to misdirect the discontent of the masses.

Obviously, immigrants are the scapegoats and the main target of this program of slavery. But the program has another purpose: to subvert and destroy the trade union movements in farm labor and light industry.

The presence of immigrant workers does not create problems in the movement to organize these industries. However, the government's creation of a whole strata of enslaved workers without rights will certainly harm the efforts to unionize. It is for this reason that the farmworker movement could not grow until the end of the hated bracero programs of the '40s and '50s.

It is crucial that large numbers of people are educated as to why the unjust immigration policies proposed by Reagan are an affront to all workers. Now is the time to forge unity among people of all nationalities in repelling this blatant attack. Already in Los Angeles the progressive forces have begun mobilizing. Between 60 and 80 representatives of unions, churches, lawyers groups and other organizations gathered in the office of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Foundation (MALDEF) a few days before Reagan publicly revealed his plan. The emergency meeting was organized by Linda Wong, MALDEF attorney, to build a coalition to direct resistance to the program. □

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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Prospects Excellent for Iran's Left

Robert Goldstein

Is Iran's revolution coming to an end? It is not.

Since last June, when President Abolhassan Bani Sadr was expelled from office and fled the country, signalling a government attack on the left, and especially since the latest assassinations of government officials, the bourgeois press has written about Iran's revolution devouring its young. The press has proclaimed the collapse of the revolution, while assorted Trotskyites say "we told you so." The Spartacist League, a Trotskyite sect, "predicted" the Iranian government backlash. The SL's conclusion, that it was inevitable, is simple enough: this logic basically means the Iranian people should never have stood up to challenge the Shah and U.S. imperialism. All this, of course, is nonsense.

The increased activity and heightened tension over the last three months in Iran illustrates that, far from being over, the revolutionary situation is developing quite well. We are witnessing a rapid differentiation of all class and political forces, as all, without exception, go into motion. This highly charged situation holds great promise for the left — and for the People's Mojahedeen in particular — to seize power and continue Iran's revolution.

Government Instability

Over 200 government officials, leaders of the Islamic Republican Party and pro-government mullahs have been killed in the current armed struggle which began shortly after Bani Sadr and Mojahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi went underground and left for France. Included in the list are the founder and leader of the IRP and Chief Justice Ayatollah Beheshti, President Mohammed Rajai, Prime Minister Mohammed Bahonar, Police



Mujahedin Leader Massoud Rajavi in France

Chief Col. Houshang Dastgerti and Prosecutor General Jojatolislam Ali Quddousi. Some, such as the Ayatollah Beheshti, have died under somewhat mysterious circumstances (no one has taken credit for the bomb which blew him up and it is not clear who did it). Others, such as Rajai and Bahonar, were targets of what Rafavi said was the "legitimate resistance movement," of which his organization is the majority.

To be sure, the deaths of the regime's key leaders has hurt it immeasurably and will hasten its downfall. It has lost its most experienced leaders. Yet the IRP's and the regime's instability is caused by much more than the loss of these politicians' lives. The IRP is isolated and unstable because it has repressed and executed hundreds and thousands of genuine progressives, leftists, revolutionaries and experts.

Narrow Scope Deadly

It takes more to lead a country than



Iranian students, supporters of the Mojahedeen, took over the Iranian Embassy in Norway on Aug. 11 to denounce the political repression by the IRP-led government.

revolutionary fervor, much more. It takes among other things, an experienced core of leaders who, relying on the masses and mobilizing them, can steer an independent course for the country, build up its economy and raise the material and spiritual standard of living of the people. The IRP and the mullahs, originally having the following of a significant number of Iranians, were one component. But they were by no means the only component, and, by themselves, are totally incapable of running the country. With the icing of the progressive, nationalist and leftist forces, such as Bani Sadr and the Mojahedeen, the IRP sealed its fate. It iced out not only organizations and people with mass support, but also most of the skilled revolutionary and technical leaders in the country.

The Islamic Republican Party has a very, very narrow conception of the tasks of revolutionary reconstruction of the country. It basically consists of a "fight to the finish" against Iraq in their year-long war and demonstrations against the United States. Bani Sadr's plan for economic reconstruction has been thrown overboard. According to the *Mutinational Monitor* of January 1981, "Bani Sadr's economic plans call for directing investments away from export-oriented and internationally dependent sectors. His model emphasizes the development of indigenous capital goods, machinery, spare parts and basic industries with incentives for investment outside the urban centers. Bani Sadr places priority on projects that yield internal linkages between sectors..."

"None of Iran's economic changes have taken place in a vacuum. Bani Sadr, having survived his first two turbulent years in government, seems now to be waning in influence. Islamic fundamentalists...currently dominate Parliament and have institutionalized opposition to Bani Sadr's economic programs.

"If the fundamentalists increase their power, Bani Sadr's efforts at forging a

more independent path for Iran may fall by the wayside."

The accuracy of this prediction is to be seen in Iran today, as project after project aimed at economic self-sufficiency is called off, inflation and unemployment continue unabated and there are continued cuts in government services.

Demagogy and Danger of Slogans

Of course, many of these economic ills are inherited from imperialism, and the IRP cannot be wholly blamed for their existence. But it has no solutions to the problems at hand, while those who do have been persecuted. The IRP is limited to leading by slogans.

Jerry Tung, CWP General Secretary, wrote about the problems of leading by slogans in his recent book, *The Socialist Road*. "The masses," he wrote, "who are not politically trained, are not (emphasis original) motivated by historical visions even though in the long term their actions are of such substance. The masses must be organized initially by issues and events that affect them and flow from their perceptions. Such perceptions are always spontaneous and thus often lack a clear focus. The purpose of revolutionary slogans and agitation is precisely to rally and focus these spontaneous perceptions. Slogans coined sharply and in a forward-looking manner can help to define the issue itself and rouse the masses to action. Slogans and agitation are indispensable to mobilizing the masses in millions. But because such slogans and agitation around these issues are transient, unfolding around the turning points of events, and generally focus on one issue at a time, they inherently lack the scope and comprehensiveness of putting the present into historical perspective..."

"One-sided emphasis on agitation and slogans has the danger of degenerating into demagogy. When an opportunist is betraying the working

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