

## The Revolutionary Situation P.8

The Supreme Court's New Look:  
Old Wine, New Bottle

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

# WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

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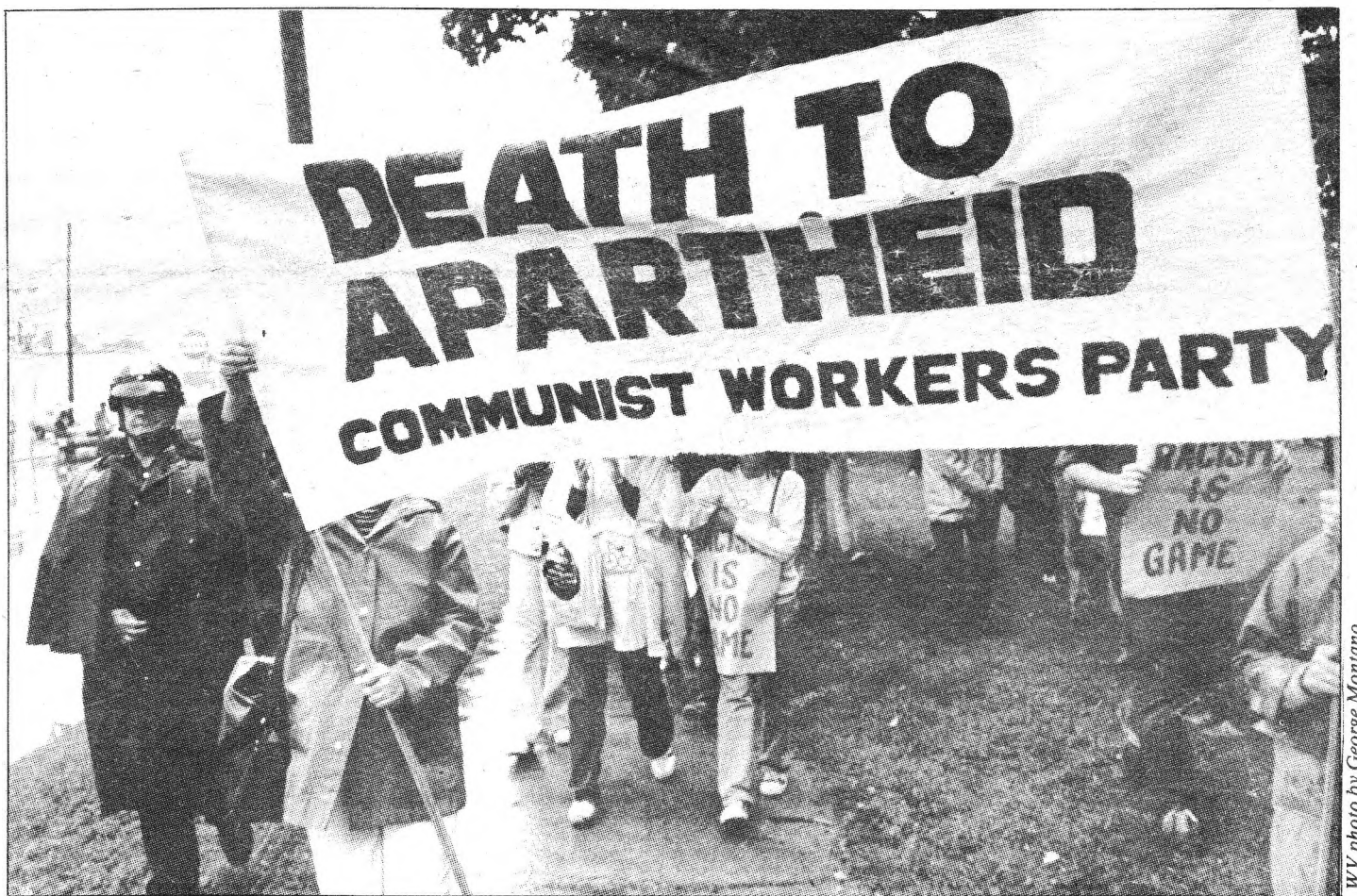
50 CENTS

# Government Disrupts Anti-Apartheid Movem't

Anthony LaRusso

The numbers weren't as big as they would have been had it not been for the legal maneuverability the government had at hand. The 3,000 demonstrators not only had to fight six hours of pouring rain, the Albany and New York state police, Albany Mayor Corning and Governor Carey. They had to contend with the flip-flop, zig-zagging of the courts and government at all levels in mounting an offensive against the ugliness of the South African government's ambassadors, the Springboks rugby team. Never has 3,000 sounded like five times their ranks. The enthusiasm and hate for apartheid was only outweighed by their determination to rid the city of Albany of the stench brought across the ocean by the South African Boks. Compare this with the 200 spectators that sounded like two and you get somewhat of an idea of how the American people have "embraced" apartheid.

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3,000 marchers braved rain and the government's disruption to demand death to apartheid and a halt to the Springboks' tour.

WV photo by George Montano

## USWU Loses Bid for Indep. Union

# Organizers Poised to Renew Battle for Leadership

Tony To

The Ironworkers' International survived a challenge from the United Shipyard Workers Union (USWU) at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Co. in San Diego, the largest shipyard in the West Coast. "We don't consider it a loss," said Miguel Salas, one of the principal leaders of the USWU. The International should not find any comfort in this vote. It was a vote of fear, fear of what would happen if the USWU won. They [Ironworkers Inter-

national] ran a scare campaign."

The results, 1423 for the International, 760 for the USWU, and 17 for no union, was not a victory for the International bureaucrats. In fact, it is an albatross around their necks as they go into sellout negotiations around the contract which expires Sept. 31. The challenge from the independent USWU forced the International to promise wage parity for the Ironworkers at NASSCO with the rest of the west

coast shipyards. Currently, the ironworkers are almost \$5.00 behind. The International is incapable of delivering this along with other issues like health and safety and pension benefits. The heated campaign also forced the bureaucrats from the seven unions to do joint negotiations for the first time ever in the yards. But without the Ironworkers to paceset the contract as they have done in the past under the leadership of USWU leaders, they will not be able to take advantage of or use this "paper unity."

Gwen Ferguson, a member of the USWU steering committee said, "When the negotiations come around and there is a new contract, the International will prove that we are right. And we'll be there." The steering committee of the USWU remains united and has vowed to challenge the trusteeship imposed by the Ironworkers' International on local 627. Plans were discussed immediately after

the elections to form a caucus and to run for leadership April when the trusteeship is scheduled to be lifted.

It was not the promises of pies in the sky that won the votes for the International. They, with their front group, the NASSCO Workers for a Better Contract (NWBC), and the bureaucrats of the six other unions in the yards ran a fear campaign aimed at the younger and newer workers who did not know the history of struggle at the yards. They also appealed to the vacillations of many workers about the lack of "legitimacy" (AFL-CIO backing of the USWU). The fear campaign focused on threats of isolation from the International unions and the AFL-CIO if the USWU won. On the final day before the elections Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers Union sent a letter via a national representative declaring support for the International against the USWU.

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**NEXT ISSUE**

**New York City held its Mayoral Primary on Sept. 22, but Koch's win is no victory. Read about the different political factors at work and the surprisingly vigorous showing by the progressive candidate, Frank Barbaro.**

Workers Viewpoint is the weekly newspaper of the Communist Workers Party. We welcome contributions on all topics. WV will respond to every contributor. Written materials should be submitted typed, double-spaced on 8 1/2 X 11 paper. Materials will be returned if accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Send all correspondence to Workers Viewpoint, GPO Box 2256, New York, N.Y. 10116

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The American Writers' Congress will convene on Oct. 9 in New York City. Over 2500 writers from across the country are expected. On the agenda will be the plight of today's writers and organizing around a range of domestic and political issues. Page 4  
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**EDITORIAL**

**LETTERS TO THE CWP**

**Brief Points on Socialist Writing**

**Reaganomics Stalls, War Danger Delayed**

Never in his Hollywood career did the Gipper backpedal so quickly. Only a little while ago, Ronald Reagan claimed to see a "Soviet terror conspiracy" behind every bedpost in the world. But that was before the promise of a supply-side miracle turned sour. Now the administration is flaunting its participation in arms limitations talks with the Soviet Union beginning Nov. 30. The chest-beating which led to U.S. meddling in El Salvador last spring and the dogfight with Libyan fighter planes more recently has given way before the harsh economic constraints of the '80s.

Reaganomics argued that slashing government "waste" (read: the social services millions of working and poor folk rely on), would balance the federal budget and corral runaway inflation. Tax cuts, the heart of the supply-side program, and deregulation would give business the incentive to reinvest in productive industry and the economy would boom without inflation, they claimed. A more miserable underestimation of the depths of the economic crisis would be hard to find.

After the first round of massive budget cuts, social spending has been chopped to the bone. Yet the amount saved is dwarfed by the \$750 billion in revenues the government will lose through the tax cuts over the next three years. And this is not counting the added financial drain generated by Reagan's bloated military budget. As a result, the federal debt could easily top the \$1 trillion mark, and inevitably trigger a bigger surge in inflation.

At the same time, there is every sign that business will not reinvest its tax savings into production. The nation's bond market remains in the dumps, and, since its April peak, the Dow Jones industrial average has slid 200 points, the most sustained selloff since the 1974 recession. No capitalist will risk tying up funds in long-term productive industries at a time when the American people's purchasing power is dwindling fast. Furthermore, the U.S. Treasury must borrow \$60 billion in the next six months to begin covering a looming deficit. This intensifies the pressure keeping interest rates high. High interest rates will continue to drive medium and small businesses under, adding millions more to the ranks of the jobless.

Talking about the problem only seems to aggravate matters. Reagan's Sept. 24 speech, in which he announced a new round of budget cuts, including dismantling the Department of Energy and Education and trimming

the military, and the tightening of tax loopholes, was meant to boost Wall Street's confidence by appearing strong. It backfired. The financial community saw the speech, in particular the President's retreat on Social Security cuts, as a sign of weakness. The next day, not only did stock and long-term bond prices hit near-record lows, but demand for three- and six-month Treasury bills bottomed as well. Even the commodities market, traditionally less volatile than either stocks or bonds, was affected.

What's being revealed today are the real political and economic restrictions hemming in U.S. imperialism. Socialism has put one-third of the world's markets beyond the reach of the imperialists. The fires of national liberation and independence in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, and the inter-imperialist contradictions and the threat of revolution in countries like France, Germany and Britain make U.S. investment in these areas risky. Unless the U.S. position in the world can be stabilized, exports have no safe markets and the economy will continue to stagnate. To reverse the world balance of forces, Reagan must beef up the nation's military might. Yet the U.S. ability to sustain a massive buildup is severely crippled by the deep economic crisis.

Because of this overall economic situation, Reagan is forced to slow down military spending. And independent of his or any capitalists' will, Reagan is driven to the only option left — the U.S. must soften its hard-line foreign policy and speed up arms limitation talks.

Detente between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, delays the danger of a world war and is in the interest of the people of the world. In the past, we believed that since both superpowers were imperialist countries and are thus driven toward launching wars of aggression, detente could only be a smokescreen to disguise preparations for greater contention. We now recognize that the Soviet Union is a socialist country, therefore not a sourced of imperialist war as the U.S. is.

Even clearly anti-Soviet authorities dare not accuse the Soviet Union of plundering the world's people. The most recent example is an article that appeared in the July 13 issue of *Fortune* magazine. The author admits that the Soviet Union exports oil, natural

Comrades,

Enclosed is a poem I wrote recently (see below--ed). I used to write a lot and enjoy it, but over the last five years or so I "haven't had the time." You know, class struggle and party building pushed so many other important tasks to the forefront. I must admit I was influenced by the combat, prevent, restrict ideological system and a subtle prejudice against my bourgeois training (and I had a lot!). Anyway, I wholeheartedly agree with the Party's reorientation on the restoration of capitalism theses and the shift in (deepening?) understanding in reference to people with skills and the necessity to prepare all-roundedly and engage the bourgeoisie in tit for tat struggle, close-in combat on all fronts.

This includes especially the cultural front in our advanced capitalist country. I think it is important for comrades and friends to retrieve talents/skills or experience in this sphere, unhesitatingly popularize them, and reach out to others doing cultural work to bring them under the influence of the Party's line and analysis and eventually recruit new waves of cultural workers.

In *Something like a Fire*, I have tried to allude to concepts/experiences/feelings rather than state them up front--allow the reader to relate through her/his own understanding, yet point them in the direction of a bright Socialist USA, on a note of optimism. This is part of the art of poetry, I think, and that's why I consciously didn't use the word socialism--although sometimes it can get too abstract and vague and "intellectual." I also wanted to write about the most precious resource we have for the future--our young people.

At first I was very unsure about sending you this poem--I didn't know if it was any good, and I didn't want to be embarrassed. But then I thought about the General Secretary's line on hand-to-hand combat in all spheres and I realized how silly it is for a revolutionary to be embarrassed about trying to make revolution. Maybe this can be an example that we sum up together and it will help me and others make the next one better.

On the Socialist Road  
 M.B.  
 Gary, IN.

**Something like a fire**

It's not too late,  
 although my head is nodding with sleep  
 Feeling the wooden warmth  
 from the smooth, firm fireplace and  
 reading

(and the Afrikaner Communist Doctor  
 who says on his life-sentence that  
 he would have been guilty had  
 he been innocent  
 of working to destroy racism  
 in his country)

ideas flow fast & dizzy  
 in that space before you start to fall,  
 when a life becomes

afire  
 with flames & fear & fight  
 and Comrade Cesar

with only a stick  
 and steel pulse  
 (the night I heard Steve Biko died  
 I cried)

and the fire becomes  
 a life —

small, slow, learning, taking nourishment  
 and the heat of youth  
 straining to break its bounds  
 popping cracking almost a yell  
 (fight on RYL)

victory defeat victory  
 and a pause to readjust and resurge  
 and continue on the road  
 that gives off light, bright  
 road to the future.

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# An Urgent Appeal

**The Workers Viewpoint is in grave financial trouble. To go on publishing on a weekly basis, we need \$30,000 more a year.**

Unless we receive an adequate response within three months, we will have to cut back our publication to once every two weeks. Even now, we are cutting back to three times a month and using the money saved for fundraising activity such as mailings.

In the 80s, a weekly Marxist press is a necessity, not a luxury. With the rise of Reaganism and the fightback against it, the challenges placed before all revolutionaries and progressive-minded people are momentous.

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 covered and analyzed 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 historic events.

Maintaining and publishing a weekly newspaper has been difficult. 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 not only publish regularly, but also tremendously improved the paper. We provide the latest, most advanced thinking of the Communist Workers Party and its General Secretary, Jerry Tung, comprehensive analysis of the economy and international events and reports on the problems and achievements of socialist construction. 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 costs keep going up, we still hesitated to cut back, choosing instead to raise our cover price to fifty cents. But 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 once 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 us all. Inflation, unemployment, political repres-

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. Half a million workers hit the streets against Reaganomics on Solidarity Day.

Events move so rapidly, it is hardly possible to keep pace. The political scenery can completely transform overnight, and social movements are just as quickly confronted with new and pressing questions demanding 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 which 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

6 months — \$ 12.00

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## NASSCO

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The International bureaucrats also resorted to red and terrorist-baiting and tried to use racism to split the workers. At a rally called by the International to read Chavez's letter, a racist supporter got on the same stage as the UFW representative and shouted, "Get the commies out, I'm

white and I'm proud." Over 200 USWU supporters drowned out the rally and forced the speakers to abandon the sound truck in a hurry. Chavez's letter was never read.

On election day itself, the company and the International collaborated to bring out the previously inactive workers to vote. Department after department was shut down as workers were escorted by the foremen, International shop stewards, and business agents to the voting booths. This accounted for the over 80 percent turnout. While the USWU was only allowed 10 observers to be freed from their jobs to watch the voting at the booths, the International had free rein all over the yards with their shop stewards, their officers and the company foremen. First shift stewards were allowed to stay on at second shift and so on. The USWU had no shop stewards since they were all removed by the International during the trusteeship. Organizers were forced to stay at their jobs, except for the observers.

The 760 votes for the USWU were a victory for the independent union drive at NASSCO. It represented a united front of old rivals — Marcos Juarez and Miguel Salas — who stood

together in spite of the vicious scare campaigns and repeated overtures from the company and the International to split. While the International's votes were based on superficial fears, those who voted for the USWU represented the past 10 months of intense class struggle at the yards. The number of voters for the USWU was more than double those who voted for the Strongback slate back in December of 1980.

Through this campaign, the USWU emerged as the most solid and consistent opposition to the sellout bureaucrats. Turncoats like the NWBC, who cried that they were independent at the beginning of the campaign, ended up watchdogging for the International while the bureaucrats went to their convention in Florida and were appointed as observers for the elections by the International. In fact, they were the only active campaigners in the yards for the International except for the right-wing racists. The coming weeks of contract negotiations and the inevitable sellout by the International will swing over many of those who voted out of superficial fear. Next time, they will vote based on their own bitter experience and on the realities and necessities of the '80s. □



## American Writers Congress: Possibilities Based on An Agenda

### Art Sans

On October 9, writers of all attitudes, ethnicities, and genres will gather at New York City's Roosevelt Hotel for the three-day, American Writers Congress sponsored by The Nation Institute. Not since 1941 have as many writers come together to discuss and act on such an array of domestic political issues. The extensive Inviting Committee reads like a directory of progressive American writers — poets, playwrights, novelists, journalists, scholars, critics, and the associations, guilds and unions that represent them will attend.

The diverse Inviting Committee includes such people such as Nat Hentoff (jazz and music critic), Ring Lardner (screenwriter), E.L. Doctoro (novelist, author of *Loon Lake, Ragtime*, and *The Book of Daniel*, a magnificent book about the Rosenbergs), British scholar Alexander Cockburn (author of the controversial book, *Chess and the Dance of Death*, Orian Fallaci (in-

ternational journalist, author of *The Man*), playwright Arthur Kopit, translator Gregory Rabassa, satirist Barbara Garson.

There will be radical feminists like Marge Piercy, Alta, Judy Grahn (whose magnificent "Common Woman" poems are underground classics), Native American novelist N. Scott Momaday, and Afro-American editors, poets and dramatists ranging from Ishmael Reed and Ed Bullins to Toni Morrison, Alice Walker and June Jordan. There are various big-name, big-publisher liberals like Norman Mailer, Kurt Vonnegut, Betty Friedan, Studs Terkel and Erica Jong. Quite an assortment!

The Inviting Committee alone has well over 100 names. Imagine Paul Kressner (ex-editor of the zany magazine *The Realist*), William Styron (*The Confessions of Nat Turner*), Gay Talese and Denise Levertov (writer of two decades of moving, highly political poems) taking care of

the business of writing in serious, informed discussion about "Politics & the American Language," "Libel As a Political Weapon," or "Local Censorship: Libraries, School Boards and Textbooks."

These are three of the over twenty critical questions that panels and workshops will discuss. And there is the intriguing prospect of some kind of commonality of act in that the Congress' organizers imply might result from the deliberations of the large and influential group attending — indications are that the number will exceed 2,500. The issues are pressing and the timing is right.

### Why a Writers' Congress?

A study recently released by the Authors Guild shows the average American professional author working at least 20 hours a week earned \$4,775 from writing (about \$4.90 an hour) in 1979.

The Reagan administration has

slashed arts funding, ending support to many groups and individuals and eliminating programs that serve schools, communities, aged, handicapped and non-elite audiences. Supposedly, government funds will be replaced by philanthropy from foundations, corporations and individuals — but it just ain't so. A recent article in *Art Ink* (Fall, 1981), surveys "contributions representatives" for businesses like Shell Oil, Martin Marietta, General Motors, Potomac Electric Power, Mobil and Exxon — their comments refute Reagan's assumptions, and there is no reason to expect these corporations to pump new, large sums of money into the arts. The contradictions of the Giants of Capital as overlords of art are enormous and few writers on the left are interested in petrodollars and warmoney as their means of support. Who are the people who enjoy art generated by "gala entertainments and \$200-a-plate

Continued on page 14

## Quality Education Still at the Back of the Bus

Jim Davis

WASHINGTON D.C., Sept. 16 — By a vote of 61 to 36, the Senate ended a three-month filibuster against an anti-busing amendment sponsored by Senator J. Bennett Johnston from Louisiana. The Johnston amendment proposed the ending of court-ordered busing of students to a school more than 15 minutes or five miles from their homes. It also gave the Attorney General's office the authority to file suits challenging the constitutionality of existing busing plans. The Johnston bill had been attached to another amendment submitted last June by Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina. The Helms amendment called for the restricted use of Justice Department funds in cases that would lead to court ordered busing.

Presently in Congress more than two dozen bills are pending that would strip the federal government of the power to order mandatory busing. In June, the House of Representatives passed one such measure.

### Busing Never Achieved Desegregation

In the last year, court-ordered busing plans in Chicago and Los Angeles have suffered serious setbacks. On March 11, the California Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a state-wide anti-busing amendment approved by voters in late 1979. The amendment titled Proposition I called for the prohibition of court-ordered busing unless racial segregation could be proven deliberate. Consequently in late May, the Los Angeles Board of Education ended its three-year experimental busing program.

In Chicago, the U.S. Justice Department reversed its position in mid-August and withdrew earlier criticisms of the city's proposed busing plan. The new plan would delay implementation of mandatory busing until at least 1983.

Efforts to desegregate schools in both Chicago and Los Angeles have failed miserably. Of the 535,000

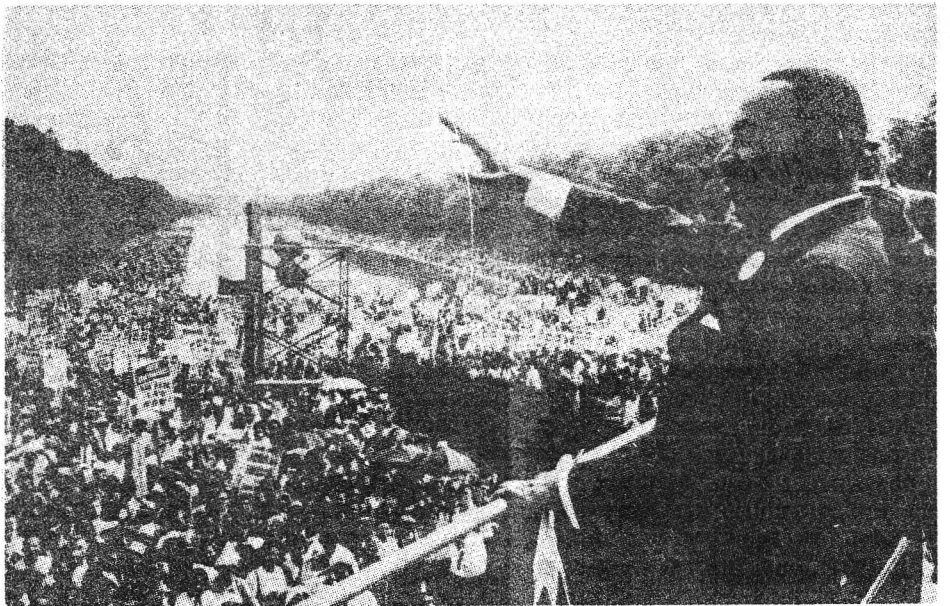
students enrolled in the Los Angeles education system (second largest in the nation), only 23,000 participated in the busing program. 300,000 students in all are still in racially segregated schools. Under the present plan in Chicago, almost 250 schools would still remain all-black or all-hispanic. While the entire school system is made up of 82 percent minorities, there exist many schools where student enrollment is 70 percent white.

### Quality Education is the Issue

At the height of the Civil Rights Movement in the late '50s and '60s the demand of black parents and students was always for quality education in public schools. The federal government, in an attempt to stem the tide of rising resistance, initiated mandatory busing programs in major cities across the nation. Many of these program deliberately side-stepped the issue of quality education and instead drew attention to trying to achieve racial integration in the school.

Without a doubt the most controversial has been the Boston busing plan. Today after over six years of racial violence, the public school system in Boston remains as segregated as ever. Between 1965 and 1973, the number of racially segregated schools actually increased from 45 to 68. Acting as a wedge, the issue of forced busing has helped to split the unity of black and white parents in the fight for quality education. At the same time fascist groups such as the South Boston Marshalls have been given a new life.

The recent racist legislative assaults on busing represent a change in tactics on the part of the federal government. The Reagan Administration, while acknowledging the clear failure of busing in achieving integration in public schools, is in fact opening the way for further segregation. In the end, the genuine demands for quality education of both black and white parents remain ignored. □



Rev. Martin Luther King addressing crowd of 250,000 people at the 1963 Civil Rights march on Washington, D.C.

## Can't Kill King A Second Time

"One of the most ruthless, reactionary speeches" was the description offered by Representative John M. Ashbrooks from Ohio in a recent debate on the House floor. Who was the subject of his denunciation? President Reagan perhaps for his brutal union-busting actions against the striking air-traffic controllers? No. Rep. Ashbrooks was referring to a speech given at Riverside Church in New York in 1967 by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The remarks about Dr. King were made during a clash over a House appropriations bill that authorized a measly \$25,000 for the construction of a statue of the late civil rights leader in the halls of Congress. The statue will be the first ever built in the nation's capital in honor of a black man. The bill was eventually passed by an overwhelming majority of 386 to 16.

Before his assassination in 1968, Dr. King was the target of a well-orchestrated campaign conducted by the FBI to slander and discredit him as a leader in the civil rights movement.

This was a common practice of the FBI and other government intelligence agencies to try to weaken and destroy the growing civil rights and anti-war movement at the times. The COINTELPRO program was among the most publicized. In January, 1964, William C. Sullivan, then Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division of the FBI, developed at the request of the Bureau head J. Edgar Hoover a plan to deal with the growing influence of Dr. King. The FBI plot against Dr. King surfaced ten years later during investigations by both the Senate and Justice Department into the suspicious circumstances surrounding Dr. King's assassination. "The task force has documented an extensive program within the FBI during the years 1964 to 1968 to discredit Dr. King. The FBI accelerated its program of disseminating derogatory information with the bureau's own characterization of King to various individuals

Continued on page 14



## Black Jewish Unity Growing

# Anti-Nazi Fighter's Trial Delayed

### Clair Holland

EVANSTON, Ill. — On Sept. 14, the State of Illinois asked for a delay in the trial of Carlton Grisson. Carlton, a 19-year-old Afro-American member of the Revolutionary Youth League, youth organization of the Communist Workers Party, was arrested at an anti-Nazi rally in Evanston on Oct. 19, 1980. An outpouring of over 2500 people, many of them survivors of the Holocaust and Jewish people from the Chicago area came to oppose the Nazi rally in this north Chicago suburb. The demonstrators were so angry that the Nazis were driven off in less than 10 minutes in a hail of rocks, batteries, and plumbing parts. If it had not been for 300 riot police brought in by the government to protect the Nazis, the crowd, Jews and non-Jews, would certainly have ripped their despicable banner — "Holocaust — 6 Million Lies" — to shreds. And they would have taught the Nazis a lesson never to be forgotten.

### Carlton Selectively Prosecuted

Carlton was arrested out of the crowd of 2,500, supposedly for throwing a rock that hit a cop. He's charged with aggravated battery against a police officer — a felony carrying three to five years in prison. Three to five years for traveling from his South Side black neighborhood to take a stand with the Jewish community. After the government brought in police to defend the Nazis it seems they are determined to prosecute Carlton and make him an example for others who are willing to speak out and act against injustice. It's clear to many progressive people in Chicago that if the state can selectively prosecute Carlton in this case, no striker, no demonstrator for women's rights, against the budget cuts, or any other injustice, is safe. Anyone can be singled out. This is the message from the Illinois State's Attorney, Richie Daley (son of former "Boss" Mayor Daley). Daley is going ahead with the prosecution despite public opposition.

### Blacks and Jews Unite

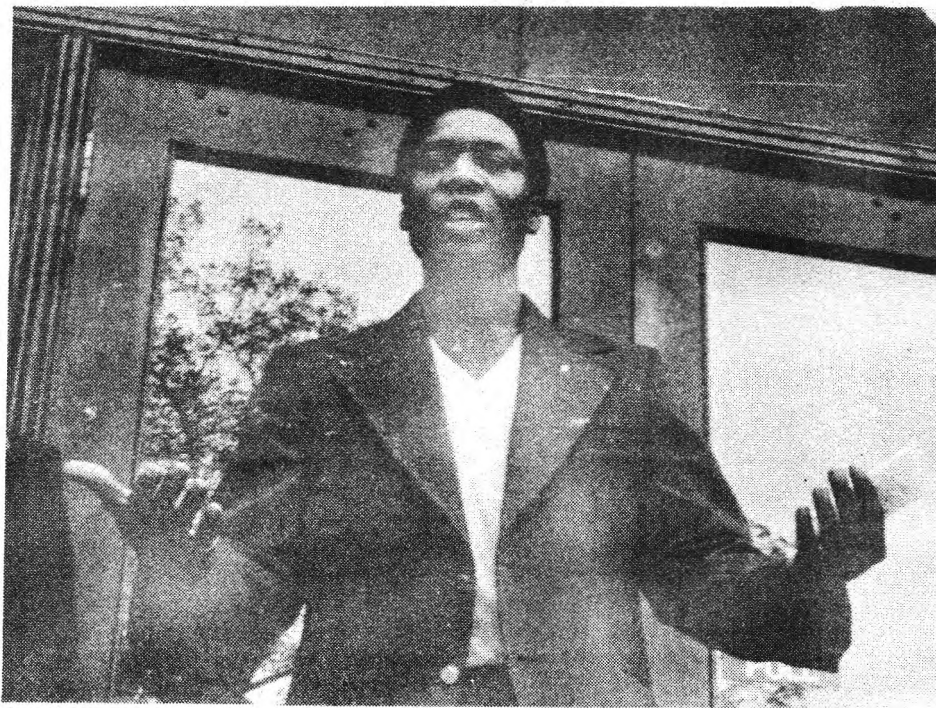
Daley's open anti-Jewish, anti-black stand in prosecuting Carlton is earning him few friends. On one side stands Daley continuing the Nazi defense. On the other are Carlton's defenders, headed up by the Carlton Grisson Defense Committee which has gained the broad, public support of rabbis, ministers, Holocaust survivors, black community organizations, and Jewish activists and organizations. This broad black-Jewish unity was obvious at the Sept. 14 rally held before the court hearing.

Harvey Feldman of the New Jewish Agenda — Chicago Chapter — summarized its significance. "The response of support for Carlton is such a direct contradiction of Nazi ideology and anti-semitism. I want to recall a story from Jewish teachings. When Imperial Rome defeated the Jewish nation, what allowed that defeat, according to the Talmud, was the strife among them [the Jews]. If we are to meet the challenges of the '80s and avoid being pitted against each other, we have to be straight with each other about our differences, but we have to stress our unity. We say No! You cannot have Carlton as a sacrifice to the beast."

Rev. Carlton Eversley, a black clergyman who is Assistant Chaplain of the Northwestern University Campus Ministry, called Carlton a "symbol

of those who oppose racism and fascism around the world." He told the crowd, "it's unfortunate that our government is lying in bed with those forces of reaction here — the Nazis and Klan and in South Africa with the racist apartheid government."

It was Carlton who stirred the whole crowd when he put the question before them, "Am I guilty for being at the anti-Nazi rally? I feel the Nazis should be on trial. They come to our community bragging about what they did, in murdering six million Jews ... I came because I felt I should come to Evanston and I should show my support for the Jewish people because we're all fighting the same dogs ... I'm glad blacks and Jews are uniting



together to fight against anti-semitism and racism. Once we do unite that will show we have a clear mind now who is the main enemy."

This unity continues to be built as the Defense Committee prepares for

the trial on Nov. 9. The Committee urges supporters to write to Daley demanding that all charges against Carlton be dropped. Write to: Richard Daley, States Attny., Richard Daley Center, Rm. 500, Chicago Ill. 60602

## Solidarity Day

Continued on page 16

speaking positions. The speeches themselves dealt only with past labor accomplishments and offered no directions to the future, general platitudes instead of fighting direction for the '80s.

In contrast to the seriousness and enthusiasm marking the sentiment of thousands of Americans from all walks of life who came long distances, many with hardships, to demonstrate, the bourgeois media's post-Solidarity Day coverage dealt with the march superficially. Front page coverage in the New York Times on Sept. 20 gave equal status to 400,000 attending a Simon and Garfunkel concert, in a deliberate move to play down Solidarity Day and the fight against Reagan.

Despite the bourgeoisie's derision, Solidarity Day was an inspiration to all who participated. The clearest measure of the growing militancy and willingness of the masses of workers to fight against the Reagan offensive came in the response of other unionists to the 4,000-person PATCO contingent. Wherever the striking controllers marched, they were met as heroes amid shouts of support, congratulations and encouragement. "We're with you all the way" "Your're really sticking it to them." "Fight on, you will win." The strikers answered with a sea of clenched fists, symbolizing their determination and a

new militancy taking hold of American workers.

### Affirmation of Old Guard, Leverage for '82 and '84

At the same time, the conscious down-playing by march organizers of the PATCO strikers exemplified the AFL-CIO leadership's self-serving approach to building Solidarity Day, an approach predicated on reaffirming the old guard AFL-CIO leadership of Lane Kirkland, UAW President Doug Fraser and their like who have made their career by compromising the interests of the workers and following a general path of retreat in their present crisis.

Not only was PATCO barely mentioned in the official speeches of the day, its contingent hidden away in the middle of the march and PATCO President Robert Poli refused a speaking position, but even the newer, up-and-coming officials within the mainstream AFL-CIO bureaucracy, like William Winpisinger and Ken Blaylock, President of the American Federation of Government Employees, were visibly absent from the speakers' list.

Still the labor bosses were uncomfortable and up-tight in their "new" role. Memories of the 1976 Washington jobs march haunted them. There, rank and file workers stormed JFK stadium and

literally chased Hubert Humphrey and a whole host of politicians, as well as their labor cohorts, off the stage. In 1981, the Washington march organizers didn't dare let any politicians speak and they consciously held back form the rank and file their real agenda for the future.

On the West Coast, the lessons of 1976 were not summed up. Walter Mondale spoke and was met by resounding jeers and boos by the rank and file, whose distrust of bourgeois politicians of any stripe is deep and powerful. So uptight were the Washington march organizers of a rank and file outburst that when CBS reporter Lem Tucher tried to get into a restricted area, some AFL-CIO goons quickly threw him to the ground, breaking two ribs.

### Walking the Tightrope

After only eight months in office, Reaganism is already exposed. Many workers who voted for him came out September 19 to protest against him. Daily, the American worker learn that Reaganism means budget cuts, strike-breaking and new anti-labor legislative initiatives (revision of the Dobbs Act to further restrict the right to strike; the Davis-Bacon open shop bill, the Walsh-Healey attack on affirmative action) on top of continuing unemployment, inflation and crippling interests rates.

In calling Solidarity Day the AFL-CIO leadership played with a double-edged knife. No matter what the real agenda behind the call, hundreds of thousands of workers had a taste of what organized labor could do. A volcano of dissatisfaction, anger and desperation lies beneath the general congenial atmosphere of the Sept. 19 demonstration. The march itself raised the expectations and initiative of masses of workers who will be looking for strong leadership to guide them through the turmoil of the '80s.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats are walking a tightrope. They have to walk carefully between the politicians and the anger of the rank and file. In the '80s, any wrong move will mean their fall just as surely as the track record of the last eight months spells the fall of Reaganism.

Solidarity Day proves the readiness of the rank and file to organize the fight back and the fact that it is now possible to form broad united fronts to mobilize the masses against the U.S. government. This is part of the political initiative activists and communists now have that we did not have a few years ago during the period of capitalist stabilization. The opportunities are there for the taking. □



Labor, minorities, women all united in a powerful display of solidarity.



# SART

Continued from page 1

The game in Albany on Tuesday, September 22 was the only one of the three-game tour that was publicly announced. The other two were played at secret sites and secret times to avoid the assured public outrage of anti-apartheid forces and local residents. For the Albany game to be played, the Eastern Rugby Union (ERU) needed the help of the federal, state and local government, including the police, the courts, the mayor, the governor, the President and the FBI!

First Mayor Corning says the game is on. Freedom of speech, he says. Then Governor Carey says it's off. Imminent violence, he says. Then after all the charter buses scheduled to travel to Bleeker Stadium are cancelled, in walks a federal judge by the name Munson. Munson claimed he was defending the right of free speech and assembly. This gave SART (Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour) some 24 hours to mobilize forces to voice their opinion and assemble for the people's cause.

## Freedom of Speech for Whom?

The government's "defenders" of the First Amendment are very quick to cite how the South African's rights would be violated if the tour were to be cancelled. This so-called non-partisan rugby team which includes members of the brutal South African security forces and police department would be denied the right to play a game. They would be denied the right to voice their racist views. They would be denied their right to uphold their standard of oppressing and murdering blacks at will. To defend this right the government called in the state police, the city police and the FBI.

For the rights of the American people who truly abhor the oppressive system of apartheid, they called in the same police. To "defend our rights," the police arrested, beat and detained nine members and supporters of the SART coalition. On Sept. 21, the day before the demonstrations, John Spearman was arrested for driving a stolen car. A car owned by his friend Mike Young and not reported stolen. At 3:00 am on the 22nd, the apartment of Vera Michaelson, an Albany anti-apartheid activist, was raided by police who picked the lock and busted in with weapons drawn to arrest Ms. Michaelson, Mike Young, and Aaron Estis. All are members of SART, Mr. Young being a co-convenor of the coalition and also a member of the Communist Workers Party. All except Ms. Michaelson were held in "preventive detention" and all four were unable to attend and give guidance to the demonstration.

After the demonstration, four members of the Revolutionary Youth League and supporters of SART were accorded the same rights. They were, without provocation, dragged from their auto at gun point, hurled to the ground, and *robbed* by the police. They illegally searched the trunk of the car to find some poster sticks and a tire iron. For this they were booked for carrying a concealed weapon. While holding the men to the ground, one person lost a tooth, another his wallet (that was right in the car) and all four their jackets. A few days earlier, Bojje Jordon of the Pan Africanist Congress was also arrested and beaten.

This is the way the police and the government "serve and protect." They serve the interests of the South African government and their monopoly capitalist backers here in the U.S. The holders of assets in the mineral rich African nation will do anything needed to preserve the constant flow of profit they are stealing from the black population. They were even forced to expose themselves recently at the United Nations when they were the on-

ly nation to veto a condemnation of South Africa for invading Angola.

## Government Pulls All Stops

The sum of the bourgeoisie's tactics was the division and splitting of the anti-apartheid movement. This movement is growing exponentially, challenging as never before the U.S. imperialists' criminal support of apartheid. What is more, in the organizational form of SART, this movement is cutting across different single issues and uniting them. Well over 100 organizations and individuals — including church groups, student organizations, anti-apartheid organizations, politicians and workers' groups — from all classes and walks of life support and endorse SART and the struggle against South Africa.

An historic event was marked when the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress, two major liberation organizations in South Africa and the South West African People's Organization united and worked together to stop the Springboks. So great is the people's anti-apartheid sentiment and its invasion into sports, 200 Congressmen responded with a vote in favor of expressing Congress' opposition to the Springboks' tour. And this despite the prevalence of the bourgeoisie's reactionary "free speech"-for-racists argument.

The bourgeoisie threw its whole weight behind stopping the Albany demonstration and the anti-apartheid movement. Through the courts, the monopoly capitalists worked behind the scenes. Responsibility was passed from one level of government to the other like a hot potato. The game was cancelled, rescheduled and legal decisions were appealed and counter-appealed. The anti-apartheid movement was thrown off balance and the resistance was dispersed. In fact, as the time of the game drew nearer and the case was appealed to the Supreme Court for a final decision, some demonstrators were so confused by the whirlwind of activity and the government's machinations that they called on Thurgood Marshall to save the day (see article on the Supreme Court in this issue). The cancellation and immediate rescheduling was pre-planned; it was a criminal plot against the people.

This tactic was combined with the direct repression, the "preventive detention" of the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement.

In addition there was a disgusting violence-baiting campaign that was orchestrated by the Governor of New York and the FBI. First Gov. Carey said he wanted to stop the game for fear of violence. Day after day Carey said he wanted to protect the people from violence the demonstrators would surely bring. Then the FBI said in a meeting with Albany's Mayor Corning that because the CWP was participating in building the demonstration, there would be violence, that a confrontation between the CWP and the Klan was imminent (the KKK said later they did not even know when or where the game was to be played), and that they expected another Greensboro in Albany.

This story had some effect on some anti-apartheid activists in Albany. Acting as marshalls for the march, they linked arms together, preventing many of the high-spirited and determined demonstrators from rushing the gates to enter the field. The marshalls' action was in direct violation of a coalition agreement to neither condemn nor condone acts of civil disobedience to stop the rugby game. In fact, their actions gave credence to the lie that violence would come from the demonstrators, and it is clear that the only violence came from the government!

The bourgeoisie's splintering of the people's forces proved to be damaging. Through "indirect" means and through drafting the press to ape its violence-baiting propaganda, 15,000 people were prevented from demonstrating against the Springboks.

The arrests of key organizers further disoriented the leaders of the demonstration.

Within this lie the seeds of the government's defeat. Despite all the government's machinations and deceit, three thousand people were determined to stop the rugby tour at all costs, and they came out in the pouring rain and on less than a day's notice.

Furthermore, the government's conduct of this whole affair is shown for what it is. The people have an object lesson which no amount of propaganda could match. We see exactly what is

meant by freedom of speech and assembly under capitalism: freedom for the monopoly capitalists to spread their poison and no such freedom for the people. While Springboks get round the clock police protection, SART members and the people are harassed, beaten, arrested and denied their right to exercise the First Amendment. Through the course of events, government intervention and attempted destruction of the anti-apartheid movement (and the people's movement generally) will be exposed and defeated. □



A woman demonstrator argues with a helmeted riot policeman outside Auckland's Eden Park where the South African rugby team was playing, Auckland, New Zealand.

## CWP Statement by Jerry Tung Concerning Albany Arrests

### Communist Workers Party Release

The arrests of Mike Young, Communist Workers Party member, and 3 other anti-apartheid activists in Albany in the 24 hours right before the planned protest against the South African Rugby team game is an attack on the American people, on all justice and freedom loving people. This is a government frame-up, a fascist tactic. It is an attempt to disunite the anti-apartheid forces and growing movement in this country, and only shows the fear that the government has of the movement. In fact, all along they have been orchestrating this — from allowing the South African Rugby team to come here, to Governor Carey calling it off, and then the courts saying the game is on again in order to try to throw the anti-apartheid movement off. These maneuvers reveal how deep their chauvinism and racism are, and will only bring about greater anger from the American people.

The Communist Workers Party is proud to be working with all the many individuals and organizations from all backgrounds and ages, church people and students, in the campaign to stop the South African Rugby Tour. Around this tour there's been a lot of talk about First Amendment rights, freedom of speech for sportsmen to play. But what about action? When people try to protest against racism and blatant discrimination, the government rounds up some of their leaders and throws them into jail right before the protest is about to begin. How come the government never talks about the death threats received by Richard Lapcheck (one of the leaders of the Coalition to Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour) and CWP leaders by the Klan and Nazis, those anonymous phone calls in the middle of the night?

These attacks by the government are consistent with Reagan's whole program of cutbacks, tax giveaways to the rich, and more money for the military. He's been able to get away with his reactionary policies on Southern Africa up to this point because the people have been divided and fighting separately. But now there are clear signs of the increasing unity of the American people to oppose him — for example, Saturday's Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C. and the growing anti-apartheid movement to stop the rugby tour.

Carey and Reagan will both be toppled, voted out of office, and we intend to help build campaigns to do that. The recent attacks on all workers and oppressed people will only fuel greater resistance to the government and its billionaire backers. The fact they have singled out the CWP will only draw more sympathy to us. □



# L.A. Solidarity Day 8,000 Slam Reagan

**Eliot Chun**

In the largest local demonstration in recent years, 8,000 people from all over southern California packed MacArthur Park in Los Angeles as part of the nationally coordinated Solidarity Day Protests. Union representatives, politicians and celebrities were cheered throughout the rally as they denounced Reagan's economic policies and his attacks on organized labor.

Although the program represented a broad spectrum of views, there was one glaring omission. The striking air traffic controllers were not allowed by the AFL-CIO to speak, and the crowd punctuated the rally by chanting,

"PATCO! PATCO!" Several speakers made references to the controllers' strike, and actor Ed "Lou Grant" Asner received thunderous applause when he criticized the AFL-CIO for not seriously supporting PATCO.

Some politicians, such as Mayor Tom Bradley and Gov. Jerry Brown, attempted to channel the crowd's indignation over Reagan into support for the Democratic party, but they were received with a mixture of applause and jeers.

One of the best received speeches of the day was given by Carol Ono, secretary of the Japanese Welfare Rights Organization and chair of the L.A. Action Coalition against cutbacks and government repression. Declaring, "Reagan has no mandate!" she blasted Reagan's support for the fascist junta in El Salvador and his scapegoat politics which blamed poor people and minorities for the economic crisis. Ono went on to throw support behind the PATCO strikers and ended

by demanding, "Tax the Rich, Not the Poor! U.S. Get Out of El Salvador!"

In building for Solidarity Day, debate raged over the correct character for the event. Progressive forces, including the CWP, struggled to broaden the scope of the rally and raise slogans against Reagan's imperialist policies in Central America. Discussion of El Salvador was squelched by the AFL-CIO who were determined to separate the issue of cutbacks and military spending.

As a result, the L.A. Action Coalition Against Cutbacks and Government Repression and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) called for a pre-rally march to make a "strong statement against Reagan's budget cuts and military spending abroad." The march assembled an hour before the rally began at nearby Lafayette Park and arrived 1,000-strong at MacArthur Park, led by a huge contingent of air traffic

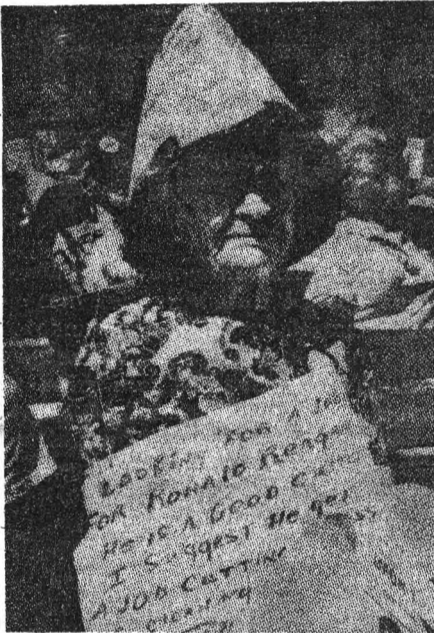
controllers. Other participants included Asian Americans for Equality, the Union of Democratic Filipinos and several Central American organizations.

Certain forces attempted to slander the march by calling it a "splittest action," and a "CWP front," but the march was a huge success and actively put forward the issues of PATCO and Central America.

One supporter of the CWP explained why she thought the march was a crucial part of Solidarity Day. "We have to actively participate in united fronts and broad mobilizations such as May 3 and Solidarity Day and support them 100%. These massive displays of discontent help block the bourgeoisie's attacks and their attempts to instigate a war. The purpose of the march is to both build broad active support for Solidarity Day as well as to raise the political level and expose Reagan's fascist war machinery." □



(left) Franklin Burke exults during rally in L.A.; (right) Janet Belman's sign objects to Reagan cuts.



## Jose Calderon Jailed While Murderers Remain Free

On September 21, Jose Calderon began serving a 30-day jail term for disrupting a speech given by former presidential candidate John Anderson.

Calderon, Northern Colorado community activist and spokesperson for the Communist Workers Party, is the fifth person to be incarcerated for protesting government involvement in the November 1979 Klan/Nazi assassinations of five CWP members in Greensboro, N.C.

None of the approximately 40 Ku Klux Klan and Nazi murderers who participated in the assassinations, nor federal agents, Bernard Butkovich and Edward Dawson who helped plan the attack, have ever been jailed for the murders they committed.

As the U.S. economic and political situation continues to deteriorate, the significance of Calderon's boldness in indicting the sham political leaders who had and have no solution to the crisis, grows with each passing month. The actions he took, along with CWP members and supporters across the country, preceded the numerous confrontations that have sharpened between the American people and the ruling class in the last year. The Miami rebellion, the May 3rd mobilization of 10,000, the Zap Action Brigade's "statement" on women's reproductive rights, the PATCO strike, the fight in the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company yards over safety, the Vietnam Veterans hunger strike, miners battling at Galatia, the Diablo Canyon protest and the recent September 19 Solidarity Day rallies are but a few examples of the boldness and changing tactics required by the conditions in the 80's. And the decade has only begun.

The Reagan cuts have hit at the livelihoods of most poor and working individuals, families and organizations. But his heavy handed stance is no solution to the severity of the crisis recognized by all in Wall Street. His "performance" is meeting critical reviews by both the American people and the ruling circles. Because the ruling circles are caught in debate among themselves, the next "script" is largely up to the American people. It is our challenge.

History has shown the American people will not sit idly by if genuine leaders are attacked. Students, activists, workers and community people will continue to watchdog treatment of Jose Calderon. Because he has proven a real leader of the people, worked with all strata and multinational groups, the slightest abuse to a respected leader like him would be as if throwing a match in a tinderbox. History will be the judge of this fact.

## Thousands Support Diablo Blockade

**Eliot Chun**

Over 1,500 anti-nuke protesters have been arrested for participating in the historic Diablo Canyon blockade, and the number grows daily. Since September 15, local papers and news broadcasts have been offering daily updates on the massive acts of civil disobedience being conducted to protest the licensing of the multi-billion dollar PG & E nuclear facility.

A week before the blockade began, thousands of demonstrators, under the leadership of the Abalone Alliance began descending on the San Luis Obispo area. A tent city was constructed at Avila Beach to accommodate the protesters. Police publicly threatened to arrest all trespassers, including reporters and cameramen, and punish them with six-month jail terms and \$500 fines.

Undaunted, the first wave of protesters began the blockade September 15 by surrounding the plant on all sides. There was a festive atmosphere, and singing protesters converged on the site marching up the roads, hiking through the mountains and swimming in from boats. By 1 thousands had blocked the main gates and scores of protesters, including a parapalegic in a wheelchair, scaled over the barbed wire fences. Over 450 people were arrested on the spot.

Early the next morning, a group of women protesters linked arms in front of the main gate and successfully blocked busloads of PG & E construc-

tion workers from entering the plant. The lead bus tried to plow through the crowd but was forced to turn around when a courageous woman sat down in front of the wheels and refused to move.

As the days passed by, the tactics of the police turned more and more brutal as they indiscriminately punched, kicked and clubbed the peaceful protesters. Several demonstrators reported broken wrists and arms, and at least three members of the press were arrested. Those arrested have been detained at a nearby state prison and a local college gymnasium because of the lack of facilities. As the first groups of protesters were released pending trial, many vowed to return to the plant to continue the blockade.

Support for the blockade mounted over the weekend as 5,000 residents of the San Luis Obispo area rallied in opposition to the Diablo Canyon plant and in support of the arrested protesters. Similar rallies were organized in other parts of the state.

On the seventh day of the blockade the Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted to allow PG & E to load uranium fuel rods into the reactors and begin low-power testing.

Every day, hundreds of new supporters arrive at the plant to participate in the blockade, and Alliance organizers predict that renewed support will allow them to maintain the blockade for up to 30 days. □



Antinuclear demonstrators storming a gate of the Diablo Canyon power plant in San Luis Obispo, Ca.



We are printing below three passages on the revolutionary situation. Section II of *The Collapse of the Second International* (1915) and excerpts from "Letter to Comrades" (1917) are both by V.I. Lenin, leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian October Socialist Revolution. The third passage is excerpts from "The Political Report to the Fourth Plenary of the CWP Central Committee," by CWP General Secretary Jerry Tung.

In the first passage (contained in the collection *Against Revisionism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow), Lenin outlines some characteristics of the revolutionary situation in connection with the revisionist line of the Second International. At that time all the principal leaders of the working class abandoned revolution in favor of supporting their respective bourgeoisie in World War I. They justified this with sophistry, claiming that Marxism said revolution would follow in the heels of the war, and that, since revolution did not occur, one should not fight for it.

Lenin refuted this vulgarization of Marxism, pointing out that it made no such claim and only showed what the necessary objective conditions were for revolution to occur. After proving that these conditions were present, he further stated that, while they were necessary, they were not sufficient. These objective conditions must be accompanied by a change in the revolutionary class' subjective factor. Criticizing the Second International Revisionists for abandoning the revolutionary struggle, he said that the communist party must act resolutely and carry out its duty to bring about the change in the workers' subjective factor.

"Letter to Comrades" (contained in the collection *Between the Two Revolutions*, Progress Publishers, Moscow), written less than a week before the October Revolution, deepened Lenin's conception of the revolutionary situation and the nationwide

revolutionary crisis. "Letter to Comrades" states the facts of the Russian nationwide crisis, the facts of the class struggle and the alignment of all class forces, analyzes them squarely and, based on this, placed before the Russian communists the immediate task of seizing state power.

This letter is a polemic against Kamanev and Zinoviev, two leaders of the Bolshevik Party who, out of fear for the bourgeoisie and lack of confidence in the workers, spoke out against seizing power at the crucial moment. Fearing the difficulties of revolution and socialist construction, these renegades later denounced socialism and became traitors. The quote at the beginning of the passage is their argument against seizing power.

Of course, there is no nationwide crisis in U.S. yet. What is of value in this passage from "Letter to Comrades" — and in the excerpt from the Party's Political Report — is the characterization of the revolutionary situation and the nationwide crisis and the Party's tasks in relation to them.

Jerry Tung, in his Political Report (excerpts appear in *Workers Viewpoint* Sept. 2 & 9), analyzed all classes and various political forces in the U.S. Applying Lenin's sketch of a revolutionary situation to present conditions, he showed why we need a broad, and not a narrow, interpretation. He shows that there is a considerable increase in the masses' activity, and that the main problem of revolution at this time is not this, but that the "various activities cancel each other out because of a lack of unity and lack of strategic plans, orientation, and leadership..." The Political Report puts before the Party different aspects of developing the subjective factor.

The three passages together give us strategic orientation in the present situation and help to give us a sober assessment of the class struggle today.

## Collapse of the Second International

But perhaps sincere socialists supported the Basle resolution in the anticipation that war would create a revolutionary situation, the events rebutting them, as revolution has proved impossible?

It is by means of sophistry like this that Cunow (in a pamphlet *Collapse of the Party?* and a series of articles) has tried to justify his desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie. The writings of nearly all the other social-chauvinists, headed by Kautsky, hint at similar "arguments". Hopes for a revolution have proved illusory, and it is not the business of a Marxist to fight for illusions, Cunow argues. This Struvist, however, does not say a word about "illusions" that were shared by all signatories to the Basle Manifesto. Like a most upright man, he would put the blame on the extreme Leftists, such as Pannekoek and Radek!

Let us consider the substance of the argument that the authors of the Basle Manifesto sincerely expected the advent of a revolution, but were rebutted by the events. The Basle Manifesto says: (1) that war will create an economic and political crisis; (2) that the workers will regard their participation in war as a crime, and as criminal any "shooting each other down for the profit of the capitalists, for the sake of dynastic honour and of diplomatic secret treaties", and that war will evoke "indignation and revolt" in the workers; (3) that it is the duty of socialists to take advantage of this crisis and of the workers' temper so as to "rouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism"; (4) that all "governments" without exception can start a war only at "their own peril"; (5) that governments "are afraid of a proletarian revolution"; (6) that governments "should remember" the Paris Commune (i.e., civil war), the 1905 Revolution in Russia, etc. All these are perfectly clear ideas; they do not guarantee that revolution will take place, but lay stress on a precise characterisation of facts and trends. Whoever declares, with regard to these ideas and arguments, that the anticipated revolution has proved illusory, is displaying not a Marxist but a Struvist and police-renegade attitude towards revolution.

To the Marxist it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. What, generally speaking, are the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following three major symptoms (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another, among the "upper class," a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for "the lower classes not to want" to live in the old way; it is also necessary that "the upper classes should be unable"

to live in the old way; (2) when the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above cause, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in "peace time," but, in turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the "upper classes" themselves into independent historical action.

Without these objective changes, which are independent of the will, not only of individual groups and parties but even of individual classes, a revolution, as a general rule, is impossible. The totality of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation. Such a situation existed in 1905 in Russia, and in all revolutionary periods in the West; it also existed in Germany in the sixties of the last century, and in Russia in 1859-61 and 1879-80, although no revolution occurred in these instances. Why was that? It was because it is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution; revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, "falls," if it is not toppled over.

Such are the Marxist views on revolution, views that have been developed many, many times, have been accepted as indisputable by all Marxists, and for us, Russians, were corroborated in a particularly striking fashion by the experience of 1905. What, then, did the Basle Manifesto assume in this respect in 1912, and what took place in 1914-15?

It is assumed that a revolutionary situation, which it briefly described as "an economic and political crisis," would arise. Has such a situation arisen? Undoubtedly, it has. The social-chauvinist Lensch, who defends chauvinism more candidly, publicly and honestly than the hypocrites Cunow, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co. do, has gone so far as to say: "What we are passing through is a kind of revolution" (p. 6 of his pamphlet, *German Social-Democracy and the War*, Berlin, 1915). A political crisis exists; no government is sure of the morrow, not one is secure against the danger of financial collapse, loss of territory, expulsion from its country (in the way the Belgian Government was expelled). All governments are sleeping on a volcano; all are themselves calling for the masses to display initiative and heroism. The entire political regime of Europe has been shaken, and hardly anybody will deny that we have entered (and are entering ever deeper — I write this on the day of Italy's declaration of war) a period of immense political upheavals. When, two months after the declaration of war, Kautsky wrote (October 2, 1914, in *Die Neue Zeit*) that "never is

## STUDY MARXISM

government so strong, never are parties so weak as at the outbreak of a war," this was a sample of the falsification of historical science which Kautsky has perpetrated to please the Sudekums and other opportunists. In the first place, never do governments stand in such need of agreement with all the parties of the ruling classes, or of the "peaceful" submission of the oppressed classes to the rule, as in the time of war. Secondly, even though "at the beginning of a war," and especially in a country that expects a speedy victory, the government seems all-powerful, nobody in the world has ever linked expectations of a revolutionary situation exclusively with the "beginning" of a war, and still less has anybody ever identified the "seeming" with the actual.

It was generally known, seen and admitted that a European war would be more severe than any war in the past. This is being borne out in ever greater measure by the experience of the war. The conflagration is spreading; the political foundations of Europe are being shaken more and more; the sufferings of the masses are appalling, the efforts of governments, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to hush up these sufferings proving ever more futile. The war profits being obtained by certain groups of capitalists are monstrously high, and contradictions are growing extremely acute. The smouldering indignation of the masses, the vague yearning of society's downtrodden and ignorant strata for a kindly ("democratic") peace, the beginning of discontent among the "lower classes" — all these are facts. The longer the war drags on and the more acute it becomes, the more the governments themselves foster — and must foster — the activity of the masses, whom they call upon to make extraordinary effort and self-sacrifice. The experience of the war, like the experience of any crisis in history, of any great calamity and any sudden turn in human life, stuns and breaks some people, but enlightens and tempers others. Taken by and large, and considering the history of the world as a whole, the number and strength of the second kind of people have — with the exception of individual cases of the decline and fall of one state or another — proved greater than those of the former kind.

Far from "immediately" ending all these sufferings and all this enhancement of contradictions, the conclusion of peace will, in many respects, make those sufferings more keenly and immediately felt by the most backward masses of the population.

In a word, a revolutionary situation obtains in most of the advanced countries and the Great Powers of Europe. In this respect, the prediction of the Basle Manifesto has been fully confirmed. To deny this truth, directly or indirectly, or to ignore it, as Cunow, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. have done, means telling a big lie, deceiving the working class, and serving the bourgeoisie. In *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Nos. 34, 40 and 41) we cited facts which prove that those who fear revolution petty-bourgeois Christian parsons, the General Staffs and millionaires' newspapers — are compelled to admit that symptoms of a revolutionary situation exist in Europe.

Will this situation last long? How much more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by the experience gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about "illusions" or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists — that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organisations suited to the revolutionary situation.

No influential or responsible socialist has ever dared to feel doubt that this is the duty of the socialist parties. Without spreading or harbouring the least "illusions," the Basle Manifesto spoke specifically of this duty of the socialists — to rouse and to stir up the people (and not to lull them with chauvinism, as Plekhanov, Axelrod and Kautsky have done), to take advantage of the crisis so as to hasten the downfall of capitalism, and to be guided by the examples of the Commune and of October-December 1905. The present parties' failure to perform that duty meant treachery, political death, renunciation of their own role and desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie.



# The Revolutionary Situation

## Letter to Comrades

... "As everybody reports, the masses are not in a mood that would drive them into the streets. Among the signs justifying pessimism may be mentioned the greatly increasing circulation of the pogromist and Black-Hundred press."

When people allow themselves to be frightened by the bourgeoisie, all objects and phenomena naturally appear yellow to them. First, they substitute an impressionist, intellectualist criterion for the Marxist criterion of the movement; they *substitute* subjective impressions of moods for a political analysis of the development of the class struggle and of the course of events in the entire country against the entire international background. They "conveniently" forget, of course, that a firm party line, its unyielding resolve, is also a mood-creating factor, particularly at the sharpest revolutionary moments. It is sometimes very "convenient" for people to forget that the responsible leaders, by their vacillations and by their readiness to burn their yesterday's idols, cause the most unbecoming vacillations in the mood of certain strata of the masses.

Secondly — and this is at present the main thing — in speaking about the mood of the masses, the spineless people forget to add:

that "everybody" reports it as a tense and expectant mood;

that "everybody" agrees that, called upon by the Soviets for the defence of the Soviets, the workers will rise to a man;

that "everybody" agrees that the workers are greatly dissatisfied with the indecision of the centres concerning the "last decisive struggle," the inevitability of which they clearly recognise;

that "everybody" unanimously characterises the mood of the broadest masses as close to desperation and points to the anarchy developing therefrom;

that "everybody" also recognises that there is among the class-conscious workers a definite unwillingness to go out into the streets *only* for demonstrations, *only* for partial struggles, since a general and not a partial struggle is in the air, while the hopelessness of individual strikes, demonstrations and acts to influence the authorities has been seen and is fully realised.

And so forth.

If we approach this characterisation of the mass mood from the point of view of the entire development of the class and political struggle and of the entire course of events during the six months of our revolution, it will become clear to us how people frightened by the bourgeoisie are distorting the question. Things are not as they were before April 20-21, June 9, July 3, for then it was a matter of *spontaneous excitement* which we, as a party, either failed to comprehend (April 20) or held back and shaped in-

to a peaceful demonstration (June 9 and July 3), for we knew very well at that time that the Soviets were *not yet* ours, that the peasants *still* trusted the Lieberdan-Chernov and not the Bolshevik course (uprising), that consequently we could not have the majority of the people behind us, and that consequently the uprising would be premature.

At that time the majority of the class-conscious workers did *not* raise the question of the last decisive struggle at all; not one of all our Party units would have raised it at that time. As for the unenlightened and very broad masses, there was neither a concerted effort nor the resolve born out of despair; there was only a spontaneous *excitement* with the naive hope of "influencing" Kerensky and the bourgeoisie by "action," by a demonstration pure and simple.

What is needed for an uprising is not this, but, on the one hand, a conscious, firm and unswerving resolve on the part of the class-conscious elements to fight to the end; and on the other, a mood of despair among the broad masses who *feel* that nothing can now be saved by half-measures; that you cannot "influence" anybody; that the hungry will "smash everything, destroy everything, even anarchically," *if* the Bolsheviks are not able to lead them in a decisive battle.

The development of the revolution has in practice brought *both* the workers *and* the peasantry to precisely this combination of a tense mood resulting from experience among the class-conscious and a mood of hatred towards those using the lockout weapon and the capitalists that is close to despair among the broadest masses.

We can also understand the "success" on this very soil of the scoundrels of the reactionary press who imitate Bolshevism. The malicious glee of the reactionaries at the approach of a decisive battle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been observed in all revolutions without exception; it has always been so, and it is absolutely unavoidable. And if you allow yourselves to be frightened by *this* circumstance, then you have to renounce not only the uprising but the proletarian revolution in general. For in a capitalist society this revolution *cannot* mature *without* being accompanied by malicious glee on the part of the reactionaries and by hopes that they would be able to feather their nest in this way.

The class-conscious workers know perfectly well that the Black Hundreds work hand in hand with the bourgeoisie, and that a decisive victory of the workers (in which the petty bourgeoisie do not believe, which the capitalists are afraid of, which the Black Hundreds sometimes wish for out of sheer malice, convinced as they are that the Bolsheviks cannot retain power) — that this victory will completely

crush the Black Hundreds, that the Bolsheviks *will be able* to retain power firmly and to the greatest advantage of all humanity tortured and tormented by the war.

Indeed, is there anybody in his senses who can doubt that the *Rodzyankos* and *Suvorins* are acting in concert, that the roles have been distributed among them?

Has it not been proved by facts that Kerensky acts on *Rodzyanko's* orders, while the State Printing Press of the Russian Republic (don't laugh!) prints the Black-Hundred speeches of reactionaries in the "Duma" at the expense of the state? Has not this fact been exposed *even* by the lackeys from *Dyelo Naroda*, who serve "their own mannikin?" Has not the experience of *all* elections proved that the Cadet lists were fully supported by *Novoye Vremya*, which is a venal paper controlled by the "interests" of the tsarist landowners?

Did we not read yesterday that commercial and industrial capitalists (non-partisan capitalists, of course; oh, non-partisan capitalists, to be sure, for the *Vikhlayevs* and *Rakitnikovs*, the *Gvozdyovs* and *Nikitins* are not in coalition with the Cadets — God forbid — but with *non-partisan* commercial and industrial circles!) have donated the goodly sum of 300,000 rubles to the Cadets?

The whole Black-Hundred press, if we look at things from a class and not a sentimental point of view, is a *branch* of the firm "Ryabushinsky, Milyukov, and Co.". Capitalists buy, on the one hand, the *Milyukovs*, *Zaslavskys*, *Potresovs*, and so on; on the other, the Black Hundreds.

The *victory of the proletariat* is the only means of putting an end to this most hideous poisoning of the people by the cheap Black-Hundred venom.

Is it any wonder that the crowd, tired out and made wretched by hunger and the prolongation of the war, clutches at the Black-Hundred poison? Can one imagine a capitalist society on the eve of collapse in which the oppressed masses are *not* desperate? Is there any doubt that the desperation of the masses, a large part of whom are still ignorant, *will* express itself in the increased consumption of all *sorts* of poison?

Those who, in arguing about the mood of the masses, blame the masses for their own personal spinelessness, are in a hopeless position. The masses are divided into those who are consciously biding their time and those who unconsciously are ready to sink into despair; but the masses of the oppressed and the hungry are *not* spineless. □

## Political Report to the 4th Plenary of the CWP Central Committee

... The real question, the main question that we have to deal with in practice, is how to aid the development of a nationwide crisis, that is, how to develop the subjective factor: to raise the consciousness of the masses, to encourage and influence the spontaneous organization of the masses, and to extend the leading role of the Party, and of its strategy and tactics, to act as a lever on the existing spontaneous sentiments and organizations.

For this reason I disagree with any ... narrow interpretation of Lenin's third criterion in his definition of a revolution (see *The Collapse of the Second International* above-ed.) ...

... I disagree with the view that there is not now "considerable activity" of the masses. In terms of spontaneous actions, there has been a qualitative leap since Reagan's election ... We must draw the conclusion that we are already entering a period of "considerable increase" of mass activities. Moreover we cannot just evaluate the mass motion only in terms of the progressive activities, but also in terms of the motions gravitating towards the right ...

... The main problem has been that these various activities cancel each other out because of a lack of unity and a lack of strategic plans, orientation, and leadership ... In an advanced capitalist country,

even when there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, as long as there is a lack of subjective factor to pull it together and to lead it, the different motions will cancel each other out ...

... But the point is that this is a time of polarization. People can no longer live in the same way. And they are going to go in one direction or in the other. There is dealignment going on, and there can be realignment either way very easily. We must inject our subjective factor, our correct interpretation of what is going on in this country, and show the masses who are their real enemies. We must try to crystallize some of the sentiments into organizational forms, so that when it aligns, it will align our way. That is the main thing right now. The masses at this point are afraid to take a lot of militant actions when there is no strong organization because the risks at this point are too great ...

... By "independent historical action of the masses" Lenin meant the masses are aligned in certain ways, their sights are directed in a common direction, and there is a common interpretation of the problems, such as the understanding that the bourgeoisie, the present rulers, have got to go. The manner in which they express their opinions would have to be, in an advanced capitalist country, in a tradi-

tional form, in a safe, legitimate form, and necessarily in a massive form (i.e., majority consensus). That's a prerequisite. That is how political consensus develops, and that is actually the independent historical action of the masses. Only when a political consensus is developed and when the bourgeoisie dares to violate that direction, will *reason be on our side*, so we can take militant action. And only then will the masses stand with us on the most militant actions, including armed struggle ...

... Describing a nationwide crisis, Lenin said that is: "when one, all the class forces hostile towards us have become sufficiently entangled and at loggerheads with each other, and have sufficiently weakened themselves in the struggle which is beyond their strength; that two, all the vacillating and wavering unstable intermediate elements, the petty bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois democrats — as distinct from the bourgeoisie — have sufficiently exposed themselves in the eyes of the people, have sufficiently disgraced themselves through their practical bankruptcy; and that three, among the proletariat a mass sentiment in favor of supporting the most determined, supremely bold, revolutionary action against

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# INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Palestinians in Galilee applaud a speech by Tawfig Zayyad.

from *The Guardian* 9-16-81

## Interview with The PLO

The following are excerpts from a recent interview with Khaled Fahoum, chairman of the Palestine National Council, the highest body in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The interview was conducted in Damascus, Syria, by Guardian correspondent Norma Tahrir.

**Have recent intense Israeli attacks on Palestinian and Lebanese targets changed the shape of the situation in the Middle East?**

I think it has complicated the situation. It shows the mentality of the rulers of Israel, that the only thing they want is the complete surrender of the Arabs, the liquidation of the Palestinians and the PLO, which is, in my opinion, impossible to do.

**Has the PLO made diplomatic, political or military gains from the recent events?**

The PLO didn't begin what's happened. In the last few weeks, we had to answer and to retaliate because it was impossible to remain silent while our camps were continuously air raided and hundreds of civilians were being killed.

Now we have behind us much more sympathy from the Arabs; the masses as well as governments. Also, world public opinion has become sympathetic to our cause and saw very clearly how aggressive Menachem Begin is, how arrogant he is, how defiant to world public opinion he was.

Of course, in my opinion, to a great extent he behaved the way he did because of the unconditional support the U.S. is giving to Israel, support which is not in the interests of the Middle East nor in the mutual interest of America and the Middle East.

In the past two years, we have been recognized by 104 countries around the world, but in terms of sympathy, yes, we did gain from the last aggressions. Large sectors of world public opinion who had been deceived by Israeli propaganda about peace in the past now saw that the Israelis and, particularly, the Likud government, don't want real peace; they want Arab surrender.

**One of Israel's stated objectives was to turn the Lebanese people against the Palestinians in Lebanon. Do you ex-**

**pect any policy change from the Lebanese government toward the PLO presence in Lebanon?**

Without a doubt, one of the Israeli aims is to create a split between the PLO and the Palestinians on the one side and the Lebanese government and people on the other. In this regard, Israeli attempts toward this aim have been taking place for at least the last three or four years, without any success. On the other hand, we see that the Phalangists, who have cooperated with the Israelis openly and indirectly, are now clearly declaring that they will stop dealing and cooperating with Israel. I think the Lebanese, in spite of everything, will understand the real intention of Israel, namely to occupy part of Lebanon, to split Lebanon into different parts so that it can dominate the area. All the Lebanese factions are aware of this.

**Do you expect the ceasefire to last? What is official PLO policy toward its groups which break the ceasefire? Were all groups consulted when a ceasefire was agreed to be the PLO?**

The policy of the PLO over the past few years was not to use Lebanon as a starting point to do anything against Israel. We were depending upon our people inside the occupied territories. But Israel always began the aggression against our civilians and camps in Lebanon. Because we have had a very bitter experience with the Israelis in the past, we don't think the ceasefire will last long. This is the nature of Israel.

The only factors that made the Israelis accept the ceasefire, in my opinion, was the extent of our people's strong resistance, their failure to create a split between the Palestinian and Lebanese people and, without a doubt, the Americans did something to convince Menachem Begin to stop. But, we can't be sure that he will stop for a long time.

The decision for a ceasefire was agreed upon by the entire PLO. The different groups were consulted and a decision was made through (UN Secretary General) Dr. Kurt Waldheim. We didn't have any contact with (U.S. envoy) Philip Habib or any other party.

One group then said something regarding the ceasefire, but they were

misunderstood. What they actually said was that if Israel was going to resort to force again, if they were going to again throw a bomb on Sidon or Tyre or one of the refugee camps, then we are going to retaliate. They didn't say they refused a ceasefire; they said they would retaliate if Israel was going to begin again. I can assure you that there is complete agreement among the various groups who are working within the PLO.

**Will military operations inside the occupied territories continue to be a policy of the PLO?**

Without any doubt. When people are under occupation, no one can convince them to stop resisting, using all means, whether military, civilian or otherwise. This resistance will continue as long as Israeli occupation continues.

We never operate from outside and we never were the ones who began any actions from Lebanon. Our people are always operating from inside and our duty is to give them support.

**Do you think that any Arab leaders will agree to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians, especially King Hussein of Jordan?**

The Palestinians in Palestine have made it very clear to everyone that they are an integral part of the PLO. Every Palestinian is a member of the PLO. So, the Palestinians will not conduct any negotiations outside of the PLO.

I don't think any Arab leader will agree to negotiate because the Palestinians have made it clear that the PLO is their only representative. This has been agreed to again and again by all Arab kings and presidents, including King Hussein. On the contrary, the other Arab leaders were recommending to the U.S. that it might begin to talk directly with the PLO. So, I don't think King Hussein will play a role, because I don't think he will commit the same mistake which Sadat did.



PLO Yasser Arafat addresses the United Nations, November, 1974.

**Do you think the U.S. or Israel will one day agree to talk to the PLO and if so, what will it take to bring this about?**

Undoubtedly. We have said we are ready to begin talks with the Americans. If the Americans are realistic, and I believe they are, they must begin talking to the PLO without any preconditions and we are ready to do that. And, I think the U.S., sometime in the future (I can't tell when), will know that its interests in the area, which are directly concerned with relations with many Arab countries who are friendly to them, necessitate direct talks with the PLO.

As for Israel, I don't think so, because as long as Israel continues with its expansionist policy, as long as Menachem Begin considers the West Bank and Gaza to be part of Israel, it is impossible to have direct talks.

**How would you characterize the PLO relationship with Syria especially**

**considering the serious problems between the two in the past?**

It is very strong. It will never be weakened because our relationship with Syria is really a strategic one. We differ sometimes, but in spite of this we have to keep our relations good and strong always, because to us, Syria is the lung through which we breathe. We differ on some points, we even differ within the PLO on many points, but we settle our differences through dialogue.

Of course, in 1976, in Lebanon, there were problems, but despite the big split which took place, we were able to remedy it in two or three months' time.

**Would you say that the PLO has become stronger since the recent congress, which did result in some changes and did include disagreements within the organization?**

Yes. Intentionally speaking, all of the organizations within the PLO have much better relations now. All of them cooperate better within the PLO. Nearly all of them are functioning within the Executive Committee. Naturally, we differ. We are a democratic organization. But, these differences are being solved within the framework of the PLO, as the majority decides. So, I can assure you that any danger of a split among the Palestinians has disappeared completely.

As a matter of fact, our relations with all the Arabs, with the exception of Sadat, are now good. Sadat has completely sold out on the Palestinian question. He wanted to get Sinai back so he gave the West Bank and Gaza to Israel. This is the meaning of Camp David; signing something on behalf of the Palestinians, concerning the Palestinians, in the absence of the Palestinians, without authorization from the Palestinians. It is impossible to have a reconciliation with Sadat as long as he goes with his Camp David

policy, because this policy sells the Palestinians out to Israel.

**What do you predict for the future of the Palestinian struggle?**

In the near future, the struggle of the Palestinians will continue and Israel will continue its expansionist policy. As for the long run, the Palestinians will gain in the end. They will have the whole world supporting them against Israel's aggression. The Palestinians will implement their legitimate rights, that is, to self-determination, to have their own state on Palestinian territory. We don't want to have our state in Lebanon or Jordan or outside. Such a solution would only create a new struggle in the area, new bitterness among the Arabs themselves. In the long run, the Israelis will have to yield, to accept the world's judgement regarding this question. And, I don't think the U.S. will continue to support Israel forever. □



# Turkey — A Year After Fascist Coup

*The following is a statement by the Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in Turkey marking the end of the first year since the military takeover in that country.*

September 12 is the first anniversary of the military takeover in Turkey, which has been considerably well received by the apologetic Western press and the governments of the "free world," especially the United States. The generals described themselves as "saviours of democracy," but, in fact, they have been trying to establish a "democracy" merely for the ruling classes by transforming the political-economic-ideological structure of Turkey and eliminating all opposition from the left and from the "separatist" Kurdish groups in Eastern Anatolia — which, according to the junta, are the source of terrorism in the country. There is no intention of returning to a democracy in the full sense, since democracy cannot be defined without the existence of political parties, unions, autonomous universities and various democratic mass organizations, all of which are perceived by the

junta as threats to the interests of the bourgeoisie-military pact. The aim is to stay as dictators until the opposition has been liquidated and the masses depoliticized.

The Western media has stressed the inevitability of the coup by documenting the impotence of the democratically elected governments in face of the growing terrorism in the country and the most severe economic crisis of the Republic. What was conveniently never mentioned, however, is that this situation was the outcome of the policies of the former right-wing governments, especially their support for the fascist para-military troops to crush leftist opposition and also of the austerity measures imposed by International Monetary Fund and the West.

The powerful struggle of the masses in the form of uprisings, boycotts, strikes, and protests and the failure of the governments and the fascist terror gangs to suppress them necessitated the military intervention last September. Thereby, the capitalistic accumulation process could be pursued. The army's own interest in this is explicit as it had

already been channeled into joint ventures with imperialists like Renault, International Harvester, Good Year.

The past year has been extremely crucial in showing the real face of the junta. In the course of a single year, 10 youths have been executed; 70 people are still awaiting execution by hanging; nearly 1400 more people's executions are being demanded by the military prosecutors; over 1000 people have been killed by the "security" forces in street battles; the period of detention has been extended to 90 days and there are more than 140,000 detainees in Turkish prisons; at least 50,000 detainees have been subjected to torture under which 25 of them have lost their lives.

As for preparing the ground for the smooth implementation in the future of its new economic policies, the junta, to date, has dissolved the parliament, banned all political parties, organizations, and progressive unions; also it has abolished the 1961 Constitution and established a provisional parliament whose members, elected with the approval of the general, are preparing

a new constitution which, by eliminating the democratic channels offered by the old constitution, will allow the capitalist class to rule without restriction or opposition. Also being prepared is new legislation for universities, that will eliminate their autonomy and make them totally dependent on the central authority of the State.

The junta's economic policies have been disastrous for the masses. There is a severe depression in Turkey. There has been a sharp decline in the level of living. The unemployment rate is quickly rising. By abolishing all the rights of the working class, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, and freezing wages, the junta is openly protecting the interests of the capitalist class with which it is aligned.

In view of all this, we urge you to keep a critical eye on the developments in Turkey, and because we believe the potential of external opposition to the military junta to be great, we invite you to join forces with us against the repressive dictatorship there. □

## Editorial

Continued from page 2

gas and raw materials to Eastern Europe in exchange for manufactured goods like East German computers and Hungarian buses. It is well known among communists that in the classic imperialist relationship the colony provides raw materials and markets for the colonizers' manufactured goods. Furthermore, Soviet oil and raw materials are sold to the Eastern bloc at below-market prices. And this does not include direct-aid grants, low-interest loans and commercial credits which the Soviets also provide.

Nor can the Soviet Union be accused of exploiting less-developed countries like Cuba, despite the fact that revisionist policies foster Cuban economic dependency. Last year, the Soviet Union sold Cuba 11.1 million tons of petroleum and refined products at the equivalent price of \$12.80 a barrel, far below the market price of \$35 a barrel. To pay for the oil, Cuba sold sugar and nickel to the Soviet Union, a country which already leads world in sugar and nickel production. In addition, the price paid for Cuban sugar and nickel is linked to the price of Soviet oil. A hike in oil prices automatically triggers higher sugar and nickel prices.

With a socialist system, the Soviet leadership is not at the mercy of the spontaneous economic forces which propel capitalist governments inevitably towards wars to redivide the world's markets and sources of raw materials. Socialism gives mankind the greatest freedom in mastering these economic forces, opening political and economic options undreamed of by any capitalist rule. Thus, the strengths as well as chauvinist and revisionist weaknesses in Soviet foreign policy are mainly a reflection of the abilities of the Soviet leadership and not of contradictions inherent in the socialist system itself.

With this understanding, we can see the correctness of detente between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Pursuing this policy with the U.S. is a correct application of the Leninist principle of

peaceful coexistence between different social systems. It not only aids the world's people by helping to blunt U.S. aggression, but also frees up state funds previously siphoned off for defense to be used to build up the socialist economy. The fact that this principle has been misapplied by revisionists like Krushchev, who chauvinistically pit the interests of the Soviet Union against those of the third world fighting imperialism, should not blind us to the significant contributions made by the U.S.S.R. in building public opinion for detente with the U.S.

Besides delaying world war, the U.S. economic plight has also temporarily reined in government attacks at home. In order to launch a world war, the capitalists must first attack the American people. Yet, Reagan has had to postpone measures to speed up natural gas decontrol, restrict abortion rights, restore the death penalty, his so-called anti-crime program, and other social issues such as the Moral Majority's Family "Protection" Act so as to keep attention riveted on the economy. At this time, arch-reactionaries like Senator Helms and Denton are political liabilities. Barry Goldwater's public criticism of the Moral Majority is an attempt to leash these types.

Wall Street's lack of confidence in Reaganomics has given the American people precious time to organize grassroots resistance. To truly seize the time, we can have no illusions. The threat of world war and stepped-up government repression has been temporarily delayed, not totally destroyed. Detente can delay world war, but contrary to the position of the revisionist Communist Party, USA, it cannot guarantee world peace. Nor can detente be seen as a panacea for the economic crisis as the revisionists believe when they claim detente means jobs.

In the final analysis, it is only the American people who can eliminate the main source of world war, the monopoly capitalist system. The American people as yet have no political consensus, nor do we have the organizations that can help develop this consensus. We have the time — we must use it well. □



## Berlin Demo Leads Anti-U.S. Resistance

If there was any doubt before, there can be none now: the German and other European peoples will not go to the slaughter. On Sept. 13, a whole wave of actions, including bombings of U.S. military installations, was capped by an 80,000-strong demonstration in West Berlin against U.S. Secretary of State Haig. As the demonstration passed near the building where Haig was speaking, marchers broke away, charged it and, when the police tried to block them, battled the cops. Marchers carried banners reading "Haig the vulture, hang him higher," and other banners calling for disarmament, German withdrawal from NATO and peace, and against deployment of the U.S.'s cruise missile and neutron bomb on German or European soil.

The German people are leading all of Europe to oppose the U.S. making their land the center of the nuclear battlefield. The U.S. imperialists want to deploy nuclear "theater" weapons, which are highly lethal, but whose impact is limited to a small area and do limited damage to property. The Sept. 13 demonstration, officially sponsored by the youth organizations of the Free Democrats and the ruling Social Democrats, spilled over beyond their control. Recently, in fact, German Chancellor Schmidt reversed his support for deployment of the neutron bomb and the cruise missile, and he said that Germany would not be the only country in Europe to allow the weapons of mass destruction within its borders. The West German Government, faced with economic problems, defied the U.S. imperialist's orders to increase its military budget and then cut it.

At the same time, West Germany is developing closer economic ties with the Soviet Union and other East European countries and supports detente (see analysis of Europe and the Middle East in this issue). In the Netherlands, debate over U.S. military presence and the proper response by the government and the people goes on every street corner. Opposition to the neutron is so strong, that U.S. and NATO military analysis conclude that the European allies' will for a common military cooperation is "weak."

In fact, the European people are for peace, for detente and against U.S. plans to deploy new weapons. The increased, and increasingly militant, activity by the West German people consciously directed against the U.S. imperialists are acts of national resistance and demonstrate to the imperialists that the people will not let their land and lives be destroyed for the interests of a few. □





## The Supreme Court's New Look Old Wine, New Bottle

### May Quan

Richard Nixon only toyed with the idea. It was rumored Betty Ford lobbied her husband for the same idea. But only Ronald Reagan appointed the first woman to the Supreme Court.

Sandra Day O'Connor's appointment to Associate Justice to the Supreme Court was a sure thing. Conservative and liberal alike praised her appointment. Senator Edward M. Kennedy expressed his delight, saying, "Americans can be proud this day as we put one more 'men only' sign behind us," while arch-conservative Strom Thurmond said, "Judge O'Connor is extraordinarily well qualified to serve on the Supreme Court." The most striking thing about her appointment was not O'Connor herself but the unity of all parties involved.

The significance of the appointment lies beyond the party politicking and in the long-term interests of the bourgeoisie. That was why Old Right guru Barry Goldwater rebuked the New Right's opposition to O'Connor for "diverting" Congress from what he termed "vital" issues such as the economy and national defense towards concerns of "secondary" importance such as abortion. Because the entire bourgeoisie united behind her nomination, the New Right's shrill opposition only became one more political liability for Reagan.

Furthermore, the New Right's opposition to O'Connor created a controversy out of which she emerged as a more legitimate voice for women because, as *Newsweek* put it, "the main factor in (O'Connor's) favor was plainly her sex." Perhaps the bourgeoisie feels that by breaking the male-supremacist tradition and "liberating" a court whose highly political decisions have made it more illegitimate in the eyes of the people, it will make it more legitimate.

### The Supremely Political Court

As Michael Parenti, author of the textbook "Democracy for the Few," phrased it, the Supreme Court is the "the supremely political court." Despite the famous motto "equal justice for all," when it comes down to who gets to be a Supreme Court Justice, they are drawn only from one stratum — the upper crust advocates of the monopoly capitalists in the courtroom.

Parenti pointed out that the Court's class prejudice is a settled question, because "the people who enjoy life tenure on federal courts are drawn preponderately from highly privileged backgrounds." An examination of the present Justices bears this out. Resigning Justice Potter Stewart whom O'Connor is replacing, has impeccable upper-crust credentials — graduating from Yale Law School a top student and coming from a wealthy and distinguished Ohio Republican family. Justice Lewis Powell was Phi Beta Kappa at Washington and Lee, graduate of Harvard Law, on the directorships of 11 major corporations, president of the American Bar Association and one-time member of Lyndon Johnson's National Crime Commission.

Justice Miller, a Lincoln appointee, made note of the judiciary's class basis, "It is vain to contend with judges who have been at the bar, the advocates for forty years of railroad companies, and all the forms of associated capital, when they are called upon to decide cases where such interests are in contest. All their training, all their feelings are from the start in favor of those who need no such influence."

And on the life-term scale of Supreme Court Justices, more often than not it matters very little whether a Justice is personally inclined to liberal or conservative politics. Justice Hugo Black, a famous Southern New Dealer appointed by FDR, credited with setting the framework for many Warren decisions, was in his youth a member of the Ku Klux

Klan. Earl Warren, who led the Court in some of its most liberal opinions, had once been a favorite among California right-wing Republicans. Thurgood Marshall, the only black to ever serve on the Court, recently gave apartheid the right to practice in America.

Therefore O'Connor's confirmation as Associate Justice is not based on conservative or liberal ideologies. Justice Potter Stewart himself said, "A basic change in the law upon a ground no firmer than a change in our membership invites the popular misconception that this institution is little different from the two popular branches of government. No misconception could do more lasting injury to this court." Of all the branches of government, the Supreme Court is set up for a purpose overriding this politicking and bickering — to ensure that all branches of the government serve the long-term class interests of the bourgeoisie.

### Insulation for the Court

The underlying basis of power for the government rests on force — the ability to force people to its control through police, army, jails and prisons. Bourgeois democracy, the best shell for capitalism, to borrow from Lenin, clothes this fact behind sweet words of individual rights and justice for all. In reality, it operates to preserve and benefit the most powerful individuals with the most property, the monopoly capitalists.

The executive and legislative branches of government are directly tied to the day to day politicking of different monopoly interests, to economic and political immediate considerations and to constituency politics. Not so the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court is insulated from these day to day pressures. For this reason, the Court is not elected but appointed for life. Obviously political appointees are not favored. Lobbying Justices is frowned upon. The reason the Court is insulated like this is because the Supreme Court must make decisions not just in immediate short-term political interests, but in the long-term interests of the bourgeoisie. It must preserve the rule and believe in bourgeois democracy.

The Supreme Court's role is one of the more hidden and sinister of all the branches of government. Archibald Cox, who was to become the special Watergate prosecutor, wrote of the Court, "Law can serve as a government's substitute for force and the citizen's protector of freedom against the government only so long as law commands a large percentage of voluntary acceptance."

### Strategic Role of the Court

Several examples illustrate the role of the Supreme Court in making strategic and precedent-setting decisions. Michael Parenti wrote of the role of the Court during the Depression with the rise of the New Deal: "For more than a century, into the New Deal era, the Supreme Court was the bastion of laissez-faire capitalism, striking down reforms produced by the state legislature and Congress and limiting government's ability to regulate the economy. The Court served this capitalist interest almost too well — to the point of making necessary changes impossible. An increasingly centralized economy demanded an increasingly centralized regulation of business and labor ... Justice Louis Brandeis expressed this liberal position clearly:

"There will come a revolt of the people against the capitalists, unless the aspirations of the people are given some adequate legal expression ... Whatever and however strong our conviction against the extensions of governmental function may be, we shall inevitably be swept farther toward socialism unless we can curb the excesses of our financial magnates ..."

"... From 1937 onward, under pressure from the

White House, the Supreme Court began to accept the constitutionality of the New Deal legislation, recognizing collective bargaining and central regulation of certain industrial conditions and accepting social welfare legislation designed to take the edge off popular unrest and defuse potentially revolutionary American movement. ..."

In the '50s, under Earl Warren, the Supreme Court imposed change and direction necessary for the entire bourgeoisie on the other branches of government because those branches were too tied down politically to initiate the change themselves. For taking the brunt of the controversy Earl Warren became one of the most admired chief Justices.

Probably his most famous decision was the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*. This decision reversed all prior legal decisions on racial discrimination, in particular the Supreme Court ruling *Plessy v. Ferguson* which established the "separate but equal" doctrine. On the 25th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, *Workers Viewpoint* wrote, "The decision had been coming for years, and it wasn't out of love for black people. The decision served the overall interests of U.S. imperialism by showing the world that America was dealing with the 'Negro Problem.' The U.S. was the number one imperialist power in the world after World War II. The U.S. was out to control the world. There was no way that the U.S. could parade itself as the guardian of 'freedom and democracy' with apartheid-type segregation right in its own backyard."

Furthermore, within the U.S., the Supreme Court held out to the masses the illusions that it was possible to achieve and maintain civil rights in the U.S. without making revolution. Today's events have confirmed just how illusory these decisions were, but at that time the Supreme Court spearheaded the move for other branches of government to coopt whole sections of the black liberation movement. The Court imposed strategic leadership upon the rest of the government in international and national crises and set the course to be followed for several decades.

In his arguments against the conservative opponents of the Court and for the mainstream intelligentsia, Archibald Cox revealed the sinister intent which necessitated the Court to step out of its traditional role and for it to "restate the spirit of America and lift the beacon of hope for Negroes at a time when other governmental voices were silent." In 1968 he wrote, "The constitutional litigation of any era reflects the problems and divisions in the contemporary society. No other force operating in the second half of the twentieth century approaches in importance the pressures generated by the coming of age of the peoples of Asia and Africa ..."

"... The constitutional issues precipitated by the civil rights movement thus became the focal point of the work of the Warren Court. On the one hand, settled rules of constitutional law, including the accepted distribution of governmental power between states and nation, did little to facilitate and much to obstruct the civil rights movement. On the other hand, problems of school desegregation, 'sit-in litigation,' and the constitutionality of the civil rights legislation could not be decided wisely — nor can the process of constitutional adjudication be understood — without taking into account the fact that the civil rights movement required the Court preside over parts of a social and political revolution seeking accomplishment within the frame of constitutionalism, if possible, yet ready if necessary to burst beyond the bonds of law ..."

### The Burger Court — Pitting and Dividing

During the decade of the seventies, Keynesian economics began to unravel. More and more, with the significant rise of the third world and the 1974-75 recession, it became clearer that government deficit



spending could not continue forever. The Burger Court took Warren decisions and added new twists to them — decisions upheld affirmative action while upholding reverse discrimination at the same time. On March 15, 1979, Workers Viewpoint wrote, "[the] tactic they use is to confuse and diffuse the opposition. This can be concretely seen in the Bakke decision in the contradictory way it was presented. Because of the way in which the decision was written, it seemed to say both that the government supported affirmative action, and that the 'reverse discrimination' argument was plausible. Soon after, whether by confusion or design, the misleaders like Hooks of the NAACP declared 'victory.' This led to confusion among the masses, who could not penetrate the intentional confusion created by the professional confusers — the Justices of the Supreme Court. This led to a diffusion of the sentiment around the issue and helped to kill it.

"Most sinister of the bourgeoisie's tactics, however, is pitting one movement or sector of society against another. Especially in a period of permanent crisis, the bourgeoisie will use this more and more, since it allows them to defeat the movement without any concrete concession and in fact can hide attacks as 'reforms' or 'correcting injustices.' The Boston forced busing plan is one such insidious trick. Under the cover of 'improving education' for Afro-American children, the bourgeoisie whipped up the forced busing plan, pitting blacks and whites and whipping up chauvinism against blacks and minorities. Most telling was the fact that at the same time the bourgeoisie was cutting the budget for Boston's schools.

"The Weber case, the Boston forced busing plan and the Bakke case all have this common thread. The presentation of the question by the bourgeoisie goes as follows, 'The overall pie is shrinking because of the economic crisis. Therefore, somebody has to take a cut. The question that has to be decided is who takes the cut.' In the late 60's and 70's the bourgeoisie used another variation. They would throw in some money and split up different groups by having them fight over the money. This happened, for instance, in the bourgeoisie's Community Control plan in the Lower East Side of New York City, designed for precisely this purpose by the professional counterinsurgency specialist McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation.

"But now, the bourgeoisie doesn't throw in any money. They are using the fact of the economic crisis to pit various groups. And it doesn't stop at the Boston forced busing plan and Bakke in education, or Weber in terms of jobs and training programs either. At this very moment, the bourgeoisie is whipping up the fight between women's groups and minorities over who gets what's left of affirmative action programs and who gets the few jobs in the face of massive layoffs and unemployment.

"The condition that allows this sinister tactic of the bourgeoisie to operate is the scattered nature of the fight against the crisis. So long as each movement sees the ends of its struggles as the uplifting of their own groups in themselves, the possibility always will exist that the bourgeoisie will use one to pit against the other, and take the heat off themselves, the real enemy of the workers, oppressed nationalities and working women's movement."

**Court's Direction in the 80's**

Ronald Reagan's presidency has made one thing very clear. The government wants to move in a direction to severely restrict civil liberties, repress political dissent and mass leadership. The Supreme Court plays a key role in this. This direction is inevitable because of the seriousness of the crisis and the policies the government is pursuing to resolve it. However several trends in the Court itself and the conditions under which it must operate are evidence that this trend is still only a desire, only a wish on the part of the bourgeoisie.

One problem is leadership for the judiciary system. When Warren was Chief Justice, he formed "the Warren majority" around him, using the Justices' different abilities well and on key decisions pulling together the image of a united Court. Under Chief Justice Burger however, the situation is very different. Burger, a political appointee by Nixon, is reported as relatively isolated among his colleagues. Resigning Justice Stewart used to act as a leading and uniting force on the Court. A lack of direction has been noted in their rulings which point to some inability to move in the direction they want.

For example, the Burger Court is better known for narrowing the Miranda ruling, which required police to inform a person who had been arrested of his right to remain silent and be provided with a lawyer and which ruled out any testimony without this warning. However, in the last term, the Court expanded the Miranda ruling. It ruled unanimously that accused murderers did not have to talk to a psychiatrist who could later testify against them. The decision could overturn the death penalty for several dozen Texas



**Sandra Day O'Connor receives Barry Goldwater's seal of approval.**

convicts.

Again, the Burger Court over the years has chipped away at the exclusionary rule. However, two years ago, the Court ruled that police needed a warrant before opening a suitcase found in a car trunk, although in general it had ruled it was legal to search a car without a warrant. This past term, the Court declared that the police had to get a warrant before opening a package in a trunk that was wrapped in opaque plastic and sealed with tape. However, the Court did not agree that warrants are required for all closed packages found in trunks. The Court suggested that anything in the seating area could be searched without a warrant.

The effect of these opinions is to create a muddle for the rest of the legal and judiciary system. Judges receive no clear guidance on how to rule, which could lead to conflicting rulings. It could and does create conflict with other branches of the government — with the executive branch, with Congress, the states, the police and businesses who are supposed to carry out these decisions. The long-term impact of this lack of clear direction is the lack of respect by the masses for the judiciary system, creating more disbelief in the underpinnings of bourgeois democracy.

Another trend surfaced in the Court this past term — deferring to the other branches of government. In the case of the draft for women, the Court merely upheld Congressional prerogative and barely dealt with the question of sex discrimination. Justice Rehnquist wrote, "The case arises in the context of Congress' authority over national and military affairs." In the case in which American companies

challenged the rights of the President to cancel their lawsuits against Iran and unfroze their Iranian assets, the Court upheld the Presidency in a unanimous decision. In their health and safety and Agee rulings it was the same.

It is questionable whether the addition of a woman to the Supreme Court can legitimize a Court which has suffered several scandals, also revealing fierce behind-the-scenes in-fighting among the bourgeoisie. Such was the case when Nixon pressured Justice Able Fortas to resign, the first Justice to resign under such pressure as Attorney General Mitchell threatened to reveal that Fortas received \$20,000 a year "for life" from an industrialist under SEC investigation. At the same time, other members of the Warren majority came under similar fire resulting in Justice Douglas' resignation from his \$12,000 a year "directorship" of the Abert Parvin Foundation. Chief Justice Burger narrowly escaped being dragged into the Watergate morass when two private letters from him "confirmed the impression of a confidential relationship developed early in the Nixon administration between Burger and Mitchell." (The Washington Post)

Most of all, the Court will not resolve its most fundamental problem — the new economic condition. The entire economic basis for the decisions of the Warren Court was Keynesian economics. Keynesian economics financed the veterans' loans, the housing industry, the highways, the special education programs for minorities and women. Now it is clear how the Warren Court merely helped to mortgage the future for an entire generation. Keynesian economics and with it the Warren decisions, have proven themselves bankrupt and discredited.

It is clear today, especially to the bourgeoisie that the old policies and dependent social policies have failed and cannot be continued without disaster. There is a search for a new way out of the crisis. Although Reagan has been given a chance to try "new" policies, they are still hotly debated policy by policy, and it is not clear what policy will prevail. Although the trend of deferring to other branches of government is dangerous, this vacuum of leadership among the bourgeoisie is reflected in the Supreme Court's lack of leadership and bearings. Furthermore the Court is hampered by the fear of reversing their past decisions, as well as realizing that it simply cannot repeat another McCarthy era without a great loss of credibility and without great mass resistance.

Although O'Connor is going to be looked to either to legitimize the Court or to take some of its controversy on her shoulders, the overall problem is not in the Court's jurisdiction. The longer it takes the bourgeoisie, and then the Court to consolidate its views, the longer it will take them to streamline the repressive legal apparatus, the court system and the prisons, and the more conflicts they will spark off among each other. This is all to the better for the people's struggle to use the time well to continue teaching, building and organizing its forces. □



**1978 Supreme Court Bakke decision legitimized the racist concept "reverse discrimination." Here, part of the April, 1978, Beat Back Bakke demonstration which mobilized thousands against the cutbacks and national oppression.**



## Writers

Continued from page 4

dinner," asks E.L. Doctoro in the July 4 issue of *The Nation*. Doctoro finds the mark when he recognizes "people everywhere have been put in the position of fighting piecemeal for this or that social program while the assault against all of them proceeds across a broad front." Thus, writers will, of necessity, seek unity to form themselves into a "broader front," a necessity of numbers we all well understand but one which frequently clashes with the solitary work and introspection that is so much of the stuff of writing.

Publishers are merging and being consolidated by the multinational corporations at an alarming rate. Most of the books now being published by the major houses are known in the trade as "books-for-non-readers" — coffee table monstrosities, cookbooks, diet books, manuals, romances, how-to's and the like. Serious fiction and poetry, important but slow-selling political books, experimental work, works critical of capitalism's line on energy, ecology, morality, social and other vital questions are spurned by the giant corporations who have assumed control of previously independent booksellers and market ideas in a fashion similar to shoes, beer or soap.

The questions of access to media and the communications conglomerates are likely to dominate the Congress because they are so frighteningly upon us. The implications of Mobil Oil owning the 78 daily newspapers of the Gannett chain and W. F. Hall (a major book manufacturer) or of MCA (Universal Pictures and T.V., record labels, real estate developments, cemetery and park services, novelty stores) controlling seven publishers (MCA owns Berkeley Books, Capricorn Books, *New Times Magazine*, G.P. Putnam and several other mass market publishers) are highly political. Such domination of media sharply poses the question of monoculture versus multiculture, whether our culture will shape itself by one or by a multiplicity of views. Surely the rise of fascism will be central to many of the Congress' working sessions. It is now the writers' turn to confront the threat of consolidation, reaction and fascism as it affects their profession.

### Conglomeritis

*Consider:* Mattel Toys makes Barbie dolls, clones, runs the Ice Follies and owns circuses. They also own Sesame Street Books and Western Publishing. Western is a giant printing operation in Chicago that prints many mass market magazines, Sunday newspaper supplements, corporate brochures and reports, telephone books and the like. Sesame Street books are standard reading for most of this generation of American children.

*Consider:* Gulf & Western owns Madison Square Garden, Paramount Pictures, theaters (including 19 in South Africa), financial services, mines, ammunition companies, the Miss Universe and Miss USA pageants. They also own 18, count 'em — EIGHTEEN, book and publishing companies, including Simon & Schuster, Webster's New World Dictionary, Pocket Books, and the once-prestigious Washington Square Press.

*Consider:* Warner Communications owns cable communications systems, six record labels, Warner Films, funeral companies, parking lots, office buildings. They also own *Mad Magazine*, D.C. Comics and the Independent News Company — one of the most powerful book and magazine distributors in the country. Such control determines what people hear, see and read. It even determines what people laugh about. How can the

nosethumbing, subversive humor that once marked *Mad* be expected to flourish when the boss operates from a distant corporate boardroom?

*Consider:* ITT (annual sales \$17.2 billion, among the largest of defense contractors) owns telecommunications, Sheraton Hotels, space systems, Twinkies, pesticides, Hartford Insurance. They also own Bobbs-Merrill, one of the largest textbook companies. They own Gregg Press, the G.K. Hall Reprint Company, the various Who's Who directories and a number of other book and publishing outfits.

There are many other similar examples of takeover and domination-of-word by the conglomerates. Such concentration means that eight companies sell 80 percent of the paperbacks; 10 newspaper chains control over one-third of all daily newspaper circulation; only 2.5 percent of all cities have competing newspapers; eight companies own nearly all the top grossing films; and the airwaves are so dominated by network radio and T.V. that most people can't even conceive of it as a diversified or noncommercial medium.

Celeste West, in an important article published by tiny Booklegger Press (send \$1, 555 29th St., San Francisco, Ca., 94131), charts this media concentration and discusses its impact. She writes that "you can't escape it: media control is consciousness control. Our values, opinions, tastes, and voting habits are much in the hands of very few corporations and the men who control ... [t]hey use their immense media power to keep power and continue to amplify their own worldview." Her analysis is on the money.

Parallel to the consumption of publishers by the conglomerates has been the phenomenon of publishers being acquired by other publishers. This similarly eliminates diversity and allows a single viewpoint to dominate the media.

*Consider:* Times Mirror owns five newspapers, forest products, T.V. and cable stations. Times Mirror also owns 11 major book publishers.

*Consider:* Newhouse Publications runs a string of 29 newspapers, owns radio stations, cable T.V., Ballantine Books, Knopf Publishers, Random House, Vintage Books and magazines like *Vogue*, *House & Garden*, *Parade Sunday Supplement*, and *GQ*.

*Consider:* Time owns numerous newspapers, magazines, TV stations, video and film companies, forest product operations, Book of the Month Club and about a dozen publishers.

Other giants include the privately-held Hearst Corporation, Doubleday (owns the Literary Guild, 30 Doubleday Bookstores, the Dell labels, the New York Mets baseball team), Dow Jones (a half-dozen book publishers and a string of newspapers) and the New York Times Corporation. In her article, West gives the "Most Conglomerated Award" to Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich. H.B.J. owns a fleet of 64 professional trade mags, bookstores, book clubs, exam publishers, film and media companies, TV stations. They own three Sea Worlds, insurance companies and a fish-and-chip chain.

### Monopolistic Practices and The Writer

It is this trend that underlies many of the broad concerns that the American Writers Congress will discuss and hopefully act on. Questions of censorship for the writer come down to getting words before readers and a few pages that reach a tiny audience of hundreds cannot compare to the weight of the word when one of the conglomerates puts its communications powers and money behind some favored viewpoint. There are many small and independent publishers with guts and energy, with printing presses and functioning distribution systems. But the problems are enormous and they are often short-lived. They can't compare to the media strength of the literary-industrial complex controlled

by the capitalists. Participants at the Congress will likely take a double-barreled approach to this matter — they will try to gain more access to the publishing and distribution empires of the conglomerates and they will seek to strengthen and enlarge the network of independent publishers.

Most writers are committed to truth and it is an unwavering quest. Truth becomes a deeply personal and often passionate commitment and it is eerie and unusual to talk to a serious writer who lacks a sense of social responsibility that a zealous pursuit of truth implies. The bottom line, high-turnover-high-profit, largest number of units budgeting typical of corporate organization runs counter to a writer's social commitment and the clash of values has results we all know too well. It leads to cheap and exploitative formula writing featuring violence, voyeurism and destructive personal insecurities. The largest number of units to the largest number of people translates into homogenized fare, a single viewpoint and no diversity or experimentation or criticism. It leads to trendiness, mediocrity, and hype. It's in light of these conditions that writers will discuss "The Politics of Literacy," "Languages and the Visual Media," cultural czarism and the Freedom of Information Act. What they will DO, as opposed to what they will talk about, is one of the agenda's unanswered questions. What SHOULD writers do, as individuals and as a collectivity, will doubtlessly be the focus of various position papers and informal conversations.

### What Should Writers Do?

The Congress will discuss the formation of a writers' union. This is a difficult question to expect unity on. Individuals and groups know the history of peer censorship and misleadership that past writers' unions in this country and abroad have experienced. Uniformity and lack of outlets for experimental writing or neglect of work that challenges the dominant line of the organization has typified writers' unions in the Soviet Union and characterized CPUSA-led efforts in the United States during the 1930s. On the other hand, there is a record of great strength in such unions — they challenged capitalist domination of ideology and successfully formed influential publishing houses, distribution and outlet services and book clubs. The matter of writers working primarily in electronic media has never really been before a gathering of activist American writers and it's difficult to speculate about how they will confront capital's monolithic control of radio, TV, news services, and films.

Other questions are a bit more matter-of-fact. Health and libel insurance will be discussed and clearly

there should be companies eager to sell these protective services. They will be expensive. Possibilities of new government funding, a federal writers' project, or beneficial changes in the tax law seem to be ephemeral quests given the entrenched counter-direction of the Reagan administration, though there are vocal mainstream liberals that will want to follow such a direction. An examination of writers' councils and organizations abroad and in Canada should be informational, but seems unlikely to lead to anything concrete.

And there has been agitation to turn the Congress into a more international gathering by inviting authors from socialist countries to address the group. There have been suggestions to create a platform for dissident Soviet writers. Poet Denise Levertov writing in the *Nation* (9/12/81), eloquently drafts a "... plea for making the Writers Congress an occasion for more than parochial literary concerns." She reminds us that "it would be a tragic folly to miss the opportunity afforded by so large a gathering of writers to generate some thought and action in regard to halting the arms race and the support our government gives to violently repressive regimes such as those of El Salvador and South Korea. It will be no use talking about our 'bread-and-butter' problems if the world is swiftly heading for extinction. And such 'bread-and-butter' problems, though important, should never be considered a higher priority than solidarity with writers (and others) elsewhere who are subject to torture and murder." Levertov provides a questioning overview when she asks "What can we do? What are our special possibilities? And are we using them?"

In a few days the Congress will convene to discuss and act on these matters. It can be an important occasion, an historic one, or it can be just another talk show. My expectation is that it will be highly informational, distracting in its cocktail-party sociability, and yet will lead to the formation of several caucuses and organizations, perhaps to the establishment of a standing committee that will continue to organize writers and function as a clearing house for matters the plenary session sends their way. Channels of communication will be established. Regionalism will have to open its vision to internationalism and vice versa. These writers will have guts and the power-of-the-word. They are alarmed and angry. How they use their strength and what leadership they choose, if any, are questions we will quickly know more about □

*Art Sans is an Ohio writer and poet. He is a regular contributor to the Workers Viewpoint.*

## King

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and organizations who were in critical positions vis-a-vis the civil rights leader." (Justice Department Task Force Report to Review the FBI Martin Luther King Jr. Security and Assassination Investigation, January 11, 1977, p. 132-33).

Taking the slander of the Dr. King one step further, Rep. Ashbrooks urged other House members to vote against the bill because Dr. King "was never a true advocate of non-violence." Rep. Larry McDonald, a conservative Democrat from Georgia; added that Dr. King was "in fact wedded to violence."

"It's logic turned upside down" commented Rep. John F. Seiberling, a Democrat from Ohio, in response to Ashbrook's clumsy attempt to rewrite Dr. King's role in history. Rep. Seiberling said that the remarks concerning Dr. King were akin to blaming Christians thrown into the Roman Coliseum for being eaten by the lions or blaming

the Jews for dying in the German concentration camps. These tactics of scapegoat politics are nothing new. In the government investigations and media coverage which followed the November 3, 1979 assassination of five members of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, North Carolina by a terror squad of Klansmen, Nazis and FBI agents, the common theme of blaming the victims for "provoking" the attack was repeated again and again. Because of a hard-hitting campaign by the Communist Workers Party to break through the media blackout surrounding the Greensboro killings, this lie was successfully beaten back. Similarly, Dr. King, who was widely respected throughout the U.S. and the world was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace for his tireless efforts to fight for human rights and against racial discrimination could not be slandered.



# STUDY MARXISM

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the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow. Then revolution is indeed ripe, then, indeed, if we have correctly gauged all the conditions indicated and briefly outlined above, and if we have chosen the moment rightly, our victory is assured."

So with that definition of a nationwide crisis, how do we make the transition from a revolutionary situation to a nationwide crisis? It is clear that the first point, "when all the class forces hostile towards us have become sufficiently entangled and at loggerheads with each other," is exactly what is happening now. As I mentioned before, Reagan is far from having a consensus. The bourgeoisie is involved in deep conflict. But how do you know if they are "sufficiently" at loggerheads with each other, "sufficiently" entangled, and in relation to whom? Of course, in relation to the proletariat. So that unless you get the proletariat — unless we get ourselves together and *move* there is no way to know whether or not they are *sufficiently* entangled. Unless the proletariat moves forward through our independent historical actions, there is no way to sufficiently expose the petty bourgeois democrats and labor aristocrats. They are as exposed as they can be now. The main thing is the independent movement of the working class, so that they will be dropped by the wayside. So again, this is dependent upon our scope,

our direct organizing, our subjective factor, rather than on something that will somehow be exposed, like a red light turning green, and then we can move forward with our independent action. It doesn't go like that. Anyone waiting for a green light has got to be tailing and tailing miserably.

Lenin's third point, that "the mass sentiment in favor of supporting actions against the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow," also requires our preparation. For example, even now with the social penalty so high, the air traffic controllers are able to defy the government and stand pretty much single-handedly without much support from other sectors of the U.S. working class, at least among the AFL structure. Only AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) has come out to support them. *No* other international has supported the so-called illegal action. So it is clear that the main thing is the organization. The traffic controllers are able to take such a vanguard action because many of them are vets and have a high sense of organization. It is not because of some mystical quality about the air traffic controllers, that somehow their sentiment is higher or somehow they are different. There is something decisive that makes them militant, and that is their rudimentary organization and leadership. Being government workers they are being pitted against the government. That is only a condition, a circumstance. The postal union backed down recently from any such confrontation because they did not prepare the rank and file for a strike. When the government drew the line, the union wouldn't cross it. The membership would not follow the leadership because the leadership did not prepare them or actually even lead them. The leadership and organizational preparations are the spontaneous factors which make the difference

whether or not the working class is "in favor of supporting action against the bourgeoisie," whether the mass sentiment "vigorously grows" or fizzles out. So again the crucial difference is the subjective factor.

That is where the Party and various left forces together can have a tremendous effect if we are able to unite, if we are able to win over many more of the left forces into the Party, and if we have a strategy and tactical plan on how to deal with the coming period. So I want to speak against the view of waiting for the "considerable increase in the activity of the masses," the view that somehow or other, more oppression and more exploitation and qualitatively higher unemployment will lead to a point where the masses can't take it any more and then are cornered and have to fight back, thus initiating a "snowballing" effect. I think that is an absolutist, ahistorical view of the masses' sentiments and movements. For that reason I lean towards taking the position that the objective revolutionary situation exists right now. The crucial task is to aid the development of a nationwide crisis. And there is no great wall between a revolutionary situation and a nationwide crisis. The bridge is the subjective factor . . . . □

## Study Questions

1. What are some of the features of a revolutionary situation? What other elements are necessary for this to develop into a nationwide crisis?
2. Why is it not enough to analyze only the masses' activity? Why will this lead to an essentially tailist definition of the Party's tasks?
3. What is the falsity of the "masses going to the right"? Explain the similarity between this view and the Kautskyite view that "revolution proved illusory." Why, in this period, does this mean *re-*louncing revolution?

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## Has AFL-CIO Suddenly Changed Course?

# Solidarity Day — Broad Unity Against Reagan Attacks

Laura Johnson

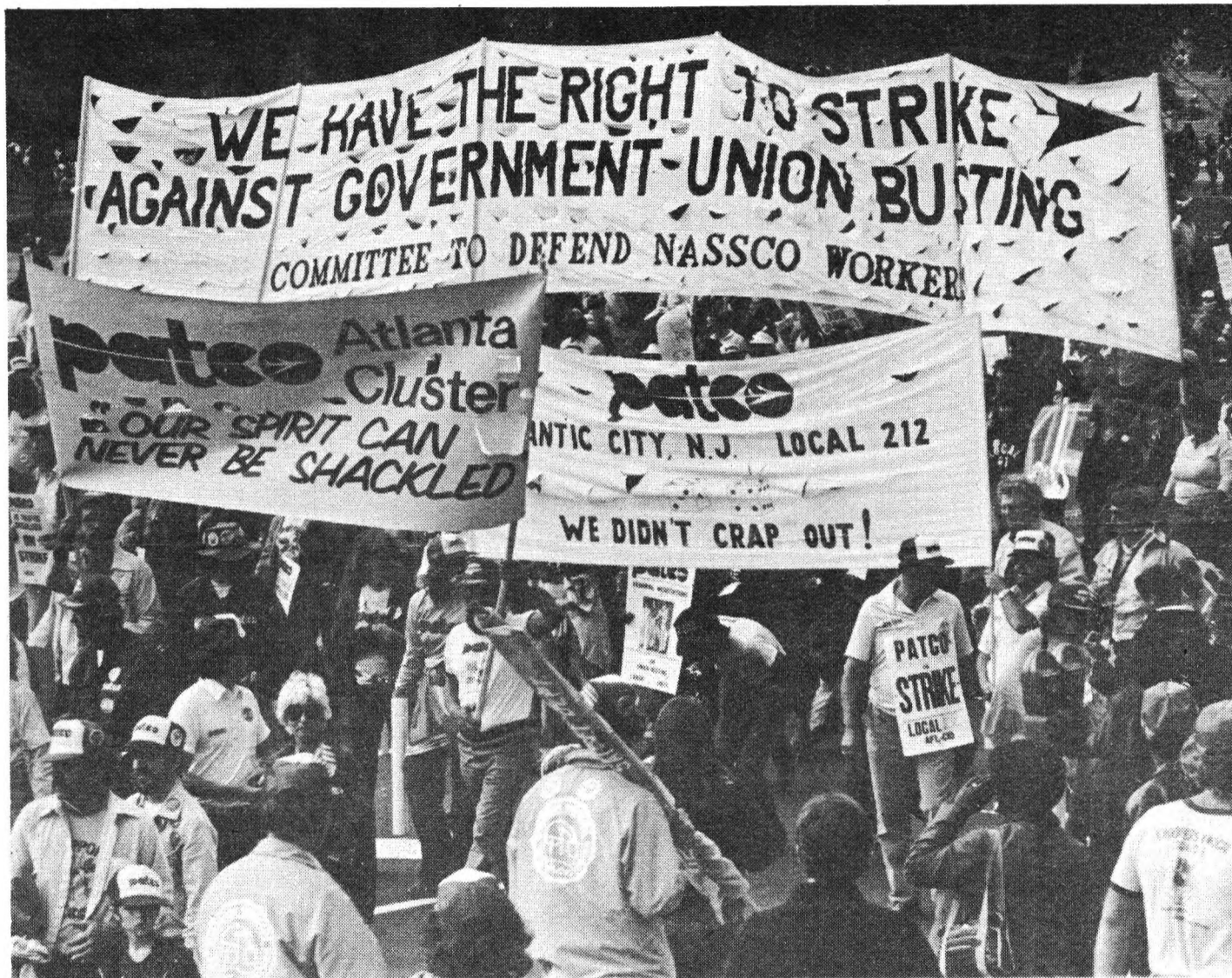
Not since the 1930s have so many American workers gathered to protest the policies of the U.S. government. While Reagan, holed up in his Camp David retreat, blindly issued press statements that he represents the "true interests" of the rank and file American workers, over 500,000 people (including simultaneous demonstrations in Washington, the Bay Area and Los Angeles) sent a clear counter-message to the White House. Solidarity Day stands as the largest expression of the American people's deep opposition to Reaganism to date.

But its significance goes beyond numbers alone. For the first time, organized labor led a broad alliance of civil rights, women, peace and environmental groups united clearly against Reagan. Unlike the large demonstrations of the '60s and '70s which mobilized around single issues like U.S. aggression in Vietnam or nuclear power, Solidarity Day was multi-issue in character. Such alliance and diversity, never possible in the period of capitalist stabilization and under the stewardship of George Meany, reflects the desire and willingness of broad sectors of the American people to unite and fight back against the wholesale attacks of Reaganism. In a period of general capitalist crisis and destabilization, this kind of unity is crucial to blocking the government's attempts to pit one group against another in the people's fightback in the '80s.

Solidarity Day brought forth the *mainstream* of the American working class. Marching in contingents proudly identified with union banners, shirts, buttons and hats, public service employees, industrial unionists, craftsmen, men women, young, old, white and minority marched side by side. Many came as their first experience in a demonstration. "I thought protest marches were for kids who had too much time on their hands. But now I'm angry and disappointed. They're trying to put the working man down," said one 50-year old carpenter.

Caught between being on the "outs" with an openly anti-labor administration and growing rank and file discontent, the AFL-CIO hierarchy was forced to call Solidarity Day, not only to prevent other possible initiatives outside its control, but also to use as leverage and position for the anti-Reagan, Democratic backlash in the '82 and the '84 elections.

Says Lane Kirkland in a pre-Solidarity Day speech: "In the past hundred years, we surely have not been strangers to rallies and demonstrations. Still, in the normal course of affairs, we tend to rely on other instruments of expression and persuasion — lobbying, political action, education, organizing and collective bargaining itself. We shall continue to use and improve all these tools. But these are not normal times."



**PATCO contingent at Solidarity Day. The strikers resolve in the face of Reagan's attacks drew cheers of support from all participants.**

Indeed, Reagan has pushed the traditional "social contract" among labor, government, and business — the very foundation of the AFL-CIO hierarchy's existence to the limits, sending the labor bosses dragging their tail between their legs and retreating on everything from take-backs in contracts to restrictions on the right to strike.

In the Reagan era, the bourgeoisie is openly shifting to more hard-line, repressive tactics (as with PATCO) and this means less flexibility to appease unionists through labor arbitration, temporary wage gains and the like. The economic crisis means business and government have less flexibility to buy off labor misleaders to keep the rank and file under control. Reagan throws this reality directly at the doorstep of the AFL-CIO officials. He thumbs his nose at the labor bureaucrats. The AFL-CIO had to respond.

But far from being an attempt to genuinely galvanize the anger of the American people, the AFL-CIO leaders mobilized Solidarity Day primarily as a way to affirm their leadership, their "mandate," that is, to prove to Congress, the Democrats and the Administration itself that they

still have bourgeois political clout.

To the labor bosses, the 500,000 people at September 19 represented not the embryonic working class army ready to fight tooth and nail against all attacks, but a bloc of votes to deliver for their planned entrenchment deep within the Democratic Party. This is the *real* agenda of the AFL-CIO top levels, their *blueprint for the future*.

The October 5, 1981 issue of *Business Week* sums up the AFL-CIO agenda for the '80s clearly. It reports: "In a radical break with its hands-off approach to internal Democratic politics, the AFL-CIO has decided to shed any pretense of non-partisanship and embark on a plan to become the dominant financial and political force in the Democratic Party. Labor's goal: To block a Republican takeover of Congress in the 1982 elections and to grab a pivotal role in choosing the Democrats' Presidential nominee in 1984."

Already, some of the biggest unions have channeled over \$2 million from their political action committees to the depleted Democratic National Committee treasury. And AFL-CIO power-brokers are negotiating a plan that would assure 25 percent of the next

convention's delegates to be hand-picked by the labor federation to represent "traditional labor views."

### Misleaders' Agenda Blunts Cutting Edge

This hidden agenda actually characterized the whole approach of the AFL-CIO to Solidarity Day. It is small wonder that these labor power brokers consciously downplayed and manipulated PATCO instead of promoting the striking controllers fight to center stage in the labor movement and making it the key rallying point for organized labor. The militancy shown by the PATCO workers threatens the cozy, peaceful, business-as-usual relationship with government and industry the AFL-CIO bureaucrats hope to reclaim through the '82 and '84 elections.

The program itself testifies to the one-shot effort of the AFL-CIO hierarchy to serve its own interests and promote its own decrepit leadership. Only the most trusted representatives of the old guard labor, civil rights and women's leadership (with the notable exception of jailed PATCO local leader Steven Wallaert) were allowed

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