

STUDY

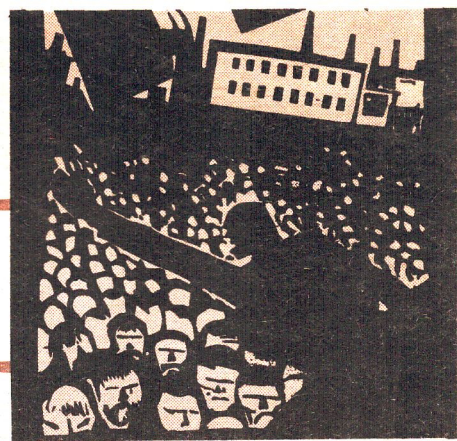
First in a series
on Party Building

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AUTO

Will the UAW give in?

16



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

VOL. 7 NO. 3

FEBRUARY 11-FEBRUARY 17, 1982

50 CENTS

William Nishimura

Instead of one target on which to focus nationwide resistance to the Reagan budget cuts, grass-roots organizers now face the prospects of taking on fifty separate ones. In his State of the Union Message before a joint session of Congress on January 6, President Reagan announced a plan to make the states take the heat for further cuts in government services and benefits.

Reagan began by reaffirming his commitment to the key elements of his supply-side program: budget cuts, tax breaks for the rich, the end to government regulation, and a tight money policy. Then, he ended weeks of speculation over possible tax increases to cover the unprecedented deficits his administration faces. "I will not ask you to try to balance the budget on the backs of the American taxpayers," Reagan told Congress. "I will seek no tax increases this year and I have no intention of retreating from our basic program of tax relief."

Dumping the "Safety Net"

Next came the most controversial part of the President's speech, what he called a "financially equal swap" — a ten-year plan to gradually dump 43 programs currently funded by the federal government onto the backs of the states. Beginning in 1984, the states would be forced to bear the full financial burden for the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and food stamps programs. In exchange, the federal government would assume the total cost of Medicaid.

That same year, the federal government would begin turning over to the states some 43 education, transportation, community development and social service programs. These include school lunch programs, water and sewer grants, vocational rehabilitation, energy aid to the needy, block grants for health, funding for local highways and mass transit, and urban renewal. Each state would have the option of dropping out of these programs in 1984 or continuing to participate until 1988, when the federal government would set up a trust fund which the states could either use to pay for those programs they wish continued or for whatever other purpose they decide. The Reagan proposal would put \$28 billion a year into the fund from revenues collected through federal excise taxes on liquor, tobacco and gasoline. Some portion of the revenues raised through the windfall profits tax on crude oil would also be included.

In 1988, the federal government would drop all responsibility for these programs and the states would have to pick them up if they wanted them. States could continue to pay for these programs through the trust fund. However, beginning that year the trust fund will be reduced by 25 percent each year until it runs out in 1991. At that point, the states would have to substitute funds

from local taxes or cut the programs entirely. Thus, in ten years, according to Reagan's plan, the federal government would have responsibility for Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, other programs for the elderly and "projects of national significance," such as the Interstate highway system. The only federal excise tax in existence would be a two-cent tax on gasoline to pay for maintaining Interstate highways. The states would have responsibility for the rest of the "social safety-net" programs.

States Shoulder Burden and Blame

Reagan was quick to point out that Medicaid is one of the fastest growing expenses in the national budget. The states' share of maintaining this program currently amounts to \$19 billion, compared to the \$16.5 billion they would have to spend if they assumed the full cost of AFDC and food stamps. Furthermore, the administration argues that the cost of maintaining the 43 other programs, estimated at over \$30 billion a year, would be canceled out by the \$28 billion-a-year trust fund. Thus, the White House claims there would be "no net financial gain or loss to the states."

Indeed, state officials from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut admit that the Medicaid/welfare swap will benefit the states in the short run. However, state officials fear that their budgets could not sustain the added burden of the other federal programs long-term, despite the trust fund. Excise taxes, the basis for the fund, don't keep up with inflation since these taxes are imposed on units of alcohol, tobacco and gasoline, and not on the price of these products.

Reagan's proposal would force the states into a position of either raising local taxes or cutting services and benefits. While Reagan claims that he doesn't want to balance the national budget "on the backs of the American taxpayers," he clearly has no qualms about making the states balance their budgets on the backs of state taxpayers.

In addition, the President used this opportunity to make a pitch for another of his pro-big business schemes, the "urban enterprise zones." These involve numerous tax breaks to encourage business to move into blighted neighborhoods in America's inner cities and rural areas. Reagan's plan would also waive the minimum wage law for workers under 21 years old.

Reagan Deficits "Critical Problem"

On January 6, just hours before Reagan addressed Congress, Paul Volcker, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, testified before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. When asked when the economy might pick up again, Volcker replied that "one key factor" is the financial markets. Federal deficits are a "critical problem" which threaten "prolonged strain and

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Reagan

Diffuses

Target

State of the Union

States: Fallguy
in New Federalism

INSIDE

Next week: February 12 is the third anniversary of the Iranian revolution. The world had never seen anything like it in terms of mass participation. Until now. Under the leadership of the Peoples Mojahedin, the Iranian people are preparing to overthrow Khomeini's dictatorship and establish the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran.

In Part II of his two-part series, Manning Marabel discusses some of the justifications for genocide and how it is being promoted and intensified under Ronald Reagan. Marabel, a professor at Cornell University, is an activist in the National Black Independent

Political Party. His column is carried in over 130 papers in the U.S. and Britain. page 11

As part of our coverage of events in Poland, we present the views of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea. The crisis, they said, was in part because of the revisionist line of the Polish United Workers Party. page 6

Opposition is mounting to the U.S. government's training of 1,500 fascist troops from El Salvador's junta. A wide range of groups and organizations is calling for a demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador on Feb. 27 at Ft. Bragg, N.C., where the troops are stationed. page 4

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WORKERS VIEWPOINT

VOL. 7 NO. 2

JANUARY 27-FEBRUARY 10, 1982

Workers Viewpoint is published weekly by the Communist Workers Party. We welcome contributions on all topics. 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. Our office is located at 72 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. Our phone number is (212) 789-0737.

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LETTERS

Fascism on the Tube

Comrades,

On January 10, 1982 NBC broadcast the docu-drama, "Will," based on the autobiography of G. Gordon Liddy, co-conspirator in the Watergate scandal. Using the powerful mass medium of television the bourgeoisie stoops to reap their seeds of fascism. With crude subliminal suggestion of ultimate innocence the introductory episode is that of a bullied little boy who is loudly slapped by his nun school teacher for a disruptive deed committed by the boys sitting behind him. The viewer is then made to bear witness to little Liddy accepting the painful punishment without flinching and without squealing on his classmates. That same theme is aggressively pushed through to the end that the audience of millions might consider concluding with accepting the justification of his later role of Watergate!

Liddy's political and philosophical framework is that of straight-up Nazism and terror. The plot then seeks to elicit naive empathy by showing the young boy Liddy finding his nerves and glimpsing his "destiny" while listening to radio broadcasts of Nazi rallies as he is being taken under the wing of the family's German-born maid. As ruling class heir NBC's broadcast of this propaganda serves the same objective ends and intentions that the Nazi broadcasts were made for. That is the nurture of fascist outlooks and the facilitated emergence of more Liddys, Nixons, Haigs and Reagans! Liddy's crowning childhood experience is his conquest of fear in his confrontation with a rat. Sadistically slaughtering the rat with a broom he then roasts it in the fireplace, the house cat looking on, as he boasts, "From now on ... you'll fear me too!"

Jumping to Liddy's days in the FBI's school, he is practicing marksmanship and when interrupted by a fellow FBI trainee he admonishes him saying, "... I want to be good enough to put one between someone's eyes, anytime, anyplace." Paving the way for the rehabilitated image of "Today's FBI," the other trainee acts as if Liddy is a "rare bad apple." But, in the '80s it is becoming increasingly clear that the bourgeoisie will seek to devour our right to armed defence. Their idea of fair is when the people can't or won't shoot back.

Liddy is shown in prison after conviction for failing in the Watergate break-in. In the prison scenes there are numerous Afro-Americans present. The Afro-American who caught the thieves is not portrayed. For the uncritical viewer there is offered a scene of erupting indignation of the prison masses being subdued by Liddy bellowing an old Nazi song. His co-conspirator and fellow inmate Hunt, like the other Watergaters, finally cooperate in the Senate investigations. All but Liddy, he

is real Nazi, "superman" material. When Nixon resigns, Liddy replies, "... he was not ruthless enough." The story concludes portraying Liddy as a hero of the prisoners for his role in the trapping of a corrupt warden. Can you believe that?

In the final scene Liddy raises his arm in a climactic salute in tribute to Hitler.

Fascism and a new world war of conquest is the only way out of the economic crisis for U.S. imperialism. The necessary and only solution for us is socialist revolution!

In struggle and preparation,
J.F.
Birmingham, Ala.

Entering New Period

Dear Editors and Staff,

... and Readers. The "holidays" in all their scarcity and poverty are over. The Super Bowl is over. The arguments over Poland are moot points, only relevant to the CIA, Alexander Haig and Reagan, the Catholic Church in its more reactionary elements, the ultra-right in America, right-wing Social Democracy, Trotskyites, petty-bourgeois radicals and Polish bourgeois nationalists. El Salvador, Cuba and Nicaragua will again be revived by the Reaganites to take the minds of the American people off of their own depressed economic system and inflated fiscal system. Cuts in everything, higher taxes on consumers, military draft, repression, and the *New Depression* with all of its unemployment (at a time when social programs such as welfare, education, Social Security, unemployment insurance and job training are gutted), will be the main order of business in this country for a long time to come. By joining in massive efforts of the unemployed and workers we have, I predict, an open road to our own Red October. War against the peoples of Central America and other Latin American people, or against Libyans or Africa, will only hasten the arming of masses of people and the dislocation.

Let's have our work and our paper reflect the primary focus of the main struggle from now on ... the struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism of the "made in the United States" variety, for the Wall Street Bankers, Pentagon Generals and Republodemocrats (and Reaganite politicians who are nothing so much as the paid stable of pimps for the first two entities heretofore mentioned). Their economy and their inner struggles will

Continued on page 11

NATIONAL VIEWPOINT

Gov't Wrecking Ball Aimed at Housing



Families get evicted so landlords can convert to condos.

Norman Sadler

The woman was no fool. She knew that her struggle for a place to stay was also a fight to keep her six children.

"They're trying to put me and my children out on the street. Why would a woman of the church do me that way?" she asked. "She says, 'I can't keep you and the kids here in my church anymore. You'll have to go to the welfare department. They have a place for you.' That's a lie. They'll take my kids away from me and I'll be on the street. She can't put me out of the church just like that, can she?"

An emergency housing agency had placed her in the church "just for a few days, until we find an apartment for you." The days had stretched into weeks. The hotels were filled with people who had been burned out of their homes. No agency had any money to help her. She hadn't been in the county long enough to get a welfare check. The church elder was willing to pay the first month's rent on an apartment, but then the landlord backed out of the deal. Anyway, the apartment was unfurnished and she would have had to pay for light and gas. It was either getting a house with furniture and heat, or seeing the welfare department take the children.

No choice at all.

Capitalism Holds No Answer To Housing Needs

The only real alternative is to fight for socialism, an economic and political system geared to meet people's needs. Socialist planning can direct the wealth and resources of our country and stop the crazy waywardness of capital that plays havoc with our lives. "Private sector initiatives," which Reagan championed in his recent speech before Rockefeller's New York City Partnership group, cannot begin to approach a solution for the problems of the millions in churches, basements, attics, housing projects, missions, apartment buildings going condo, the streets. "Private sector initiatives" cannot begin to replace the federally funded public housing programs, which the Office of Management and Budget has proposed scrapping, along with the two remaining major ur-

ban development grant programs.

And Reagan told Rockefeller's group that the Rev. Billy Graham had estimated that if every church and synagogue in America assumed the responsibility of caring for ten poor families, "we could eliminate all government welfare in this country, federal, state and local."

They want to return us to begging on the streets, to strip us of any right to a decent life!

The plan submitted by budget director Stockman in early December would:

- *Slash the number of additional low-income families that could obtain housing assistance from about 142,000 as initially planned for 1982 to 44,000 in 1983.

- *Take back all funds for 1982 construction and rehabilitation of low-income housing.

- *Increase rent for public housing tenants from 25% of their income to 30% of income.

- *Reduce the \$18 billion subsidized housing program by 75% in 1982.

- *Replace Section 8 subsidies to private landlords with a five-year, fixed-price voucher system.

- *Freeze and eventually eliminate funds committed to the Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) and Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG).

These proposals have been met with fierce cries of protest from the National League of Cities, several senators, Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary Pierce, and the National Low-Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC).

"The housing needs of the poor cannot be met either by a general revival of the economy or by additional investment in unsubsidized housing," an NLIHC letter to Reagan said.

"... what bright hope would OMB offer to distressed cities and to needy citizens? Apparently, it would offer only the hope of private charity, self-help, and the President's economic recovery program. This is not hope," U.S. Senator Williams read into the Congressional Record (Dec. 7, pp. S14640-48).

L.A. Community Unity Conference "People's Resistance Is Key"

Eliot Chun

From the Nazi vandalism of Westside Jewish synagogues to the burning of a Chinese newspaper's office by the newly formed Ku Klux Klan chapter in Monterey Park, 1981 was darkened with an alarming growth of racist terrorism in the L.A. area. Responding to a call to action, over 200 participants packed a lecture hall at Los Angeles City College on January 17 in a broad display of opposition to local racist and anti-semitic activity.

The sponsoring organization, Community Unity, brought together leaders from the Jewish, black, Latino and Asian communities throughout Los Angeles to answer the question, "Racism and Anti-Semitism ... Who Profits?" It was only the second major program organized by Community Unity, which formed last year in response to the shocking outbreak of Nazi incidents.

From the outset the conference made it clear that Los Angeles ethnic communities are on the *offensive* when it comes to combatting racist violence. Even more importantly, conference participants lost no time in identifying and targeting the real source or racism.

Carol Ono, of the Japanese Welfare Rights Organization, set the tone for the conference by lashing out at Reagan's economic policies and his scapegoating of minorities, women, immigrants and the elderly. Said Ono, "The American people's resistance is the key to dealing with the deepening economic crises ... We come together to say it is not the people who are to blame for the crises. It is the policies of Reagan and the government!"

Keynote speaker Rita Walters, the only black schoolboard member, opened the conference by paying tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King and reading from his book, "Why We Can't Wait." She recalled the recent protest to make Martin Luther King Day a national holiday and concluded, "We must keep his legacy alive for our children ... and for us."

Speakers throughout the day explored the many facets of racist activity and institutionalized bigotry. Workshops dealt with everything from Reagan's proposed immigration plan, to affirmative action and education, labor and police brutality.

One of the highlights of the day was the introduction of Dr. Paul Bermanzohn, a survivor of the Nov. 3rd shootings. In a few simple words, coalition chair Jules Kogan cut through two years of the government's orchestrated deception and lies about Greensboro. "

... I now have the pleasure of introducing one of the heroes of Greensboro, who exemplifies what this conference is all about, Dr. Paul Bermanzohn."



Speaking on a panel discussion of racism and law enforcement, Dr. Bermanzohn gave a blow-by-blow account of police and government conduct in the Greensboro Massacre. One elderly woman rushed up to Dr. Bermanzohn after the workshop to express her feelings. She told him, "I wish there were more people like you." Bermanzohn smiled and answered, "Believe me, there are."

So moved were the conference participants, many of whom were survivors of the Holocaust, that two separate workshops introduced resolutions on Greensboro to the general assembly, which passed a unanimous decision to endorse the Greensboro civil rights suit.

Other significant resolutions included:
*Demanding the recall of District Attorney John Van DeKamp for his refusal to prosecute Signal Hill police for the murder of Ron Settles.

- *Calling for the censure and expulsion of Sen. John Schmitz for his infamous racist, sexist and anti-gay remarks regarding abortion rights activists.

- *Supporting the struggle of UCLA law students and their rights to affirmative action programs.

- *Opposing all deportations and repressive immigration legislation.

- *Defending the Voting Rights Act.

In addition the conference adopted a general resolution to sum up the political aims.

"History teaches us that racism and anti-semitism grow in an atmosphere of unemployment, poverty and urban despair ... The current administration is feeding this atmosphere through their program of cutbacks, military expenditures and scapegoat politics ... It is hunger and misery that lead to racism ... Community Unity calls for the prioritizing of human needs!" □

Stockman's attempt to eliminate altogether the CDBGs and UDAGs last winter were so politically stupid that even Reagan saw the sense in telling Stockman to hush up. The plans were not thrown out the window, though, and have now come to the front again as the fiscal year 1983 budget is being prepared. That is not to say that considerable harm was not done to housing programs anyway. The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, passed in August last year, dealt a number of blows to people's dreams of decent homes. Rent increases, counting rent subsidies as income for welfare purposes, restricted housing for immigrants and providing subsidies to single room units, without bathrooms or kitchens (read flop houses), are now law.

HUD's response to Stockman's demolition call was to warn of "riots and civil disorders" if the budget cuts were made law. HUD, however, is simply trying to do the same thing in a way that will avoid the dramatic impact Stockman would provoke. Reports of HUD's own plans say the HUD wants to keep the 1982 budget at its current level, but reduce it to \$10 billion in 1983 and subsidize private construction of only 10,000 new low-income units. Carter's administration had proposed building 130,000 more new units in 1982, but Congress allowed funds for only 65,000. During the past five years, as many as 200,000 new units have been built in one year. If Stockman's plan is passed, all rehabilitation and construction would come to a halt. □

Greensboro Group Calls for Feb. Protest at Ft. Bragg

Spring Lake, N.C., Jan. 11 — Leaders of the Triad Citizens Concerned About Central America joined forces with other groups from several states to demand an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador. Rev. Henry Atkins, spokesman for the group, also announced plans for a major demonstration to be held Feb. 27 at Fort Bragg, N.C. Fort Bragg has been the focus recently for the Triad group because of the announcement that a battalion of soldiers from El Salvador would be receiving training there.

Echoes of civil rights and anti-war marches from the 1960s and '70s resounded in the narrow, shop-lined streets of Spring Lake, N.C. as 300 protesters gathered from several states to voice outrage over the training of soldiers from El Salvador at U.S. military bases. A civil war has been raging for two years in El Salvador, where a military junta, led by President Jose Napoleon Duarte, is backed by the Reagan administration, and American military aid. According to Heidi Tarver, spokeswoman for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which organized the demonstration, there is overwhelming evidence that the military, and officially-condoned, right-wing death squads are responsible for the vast majority of the estimated 32,000 civilian deaths in the past two years. These deaths include many Catholic clergy, and four American nuns who were murdered in December, 1980.

Fort Bragg spokesman Col. Eric Erickson said 50 cadres (elite troops) had arrived at Fort Bragg on Jan. 8, and that the other 900 were expected sometime in mid-February. "They will be receiving basic infantry training, nothing fancy, so far as we know," Col. Erickson stated. Between 500 and 600 troops will arrive at Ft. Benning, near Columbus, Ga., for officers' training.

Cost of the military training is \$15-16 million, provided under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, said Major Chuck Suits, a Pentagon spokesman.

Prior to the march, organizers held a press conference at the Sheraton Motor Inn of Fayetteville. Representatives of various groups participating in the protest expressed their outrage at the presence of the Salvadoran troops, and at what they called Reagan's attempt to circumvent the will of the American people for non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. The panel represented a very broad coalition of peace, civil rights and religious groups, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Council of Churches, Black Veterans for Social Justice, War Resisters League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, National Black Independent Political Party, American Friends Service Committee, Equal Rights Congress, Black United Front, Triad Citizens Concerned, and several others.

The press conference opened with an initial statement from Ms. Tarver, who declared, "We will not tolerate a policy which eliminates basic social services, while using our tax collars to build new and more sophisticated weapons for use against the people of Central America." Other speakers decried the "hypocrisy" of the Reagan administration's criticism of the Soviet Union for its role in imposing martial law on Poland, while at the same time, Reagan overtly supports a "fascist military junta" that murders its own political dissent.

Several speakers emphasized the particular concern that black Americans have over the escalation of U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta. Moustafa Randolph, Vice President of the Black Veterans for Social Justice, stated that young black and Hispanic Americans, in

spite of the pressure to enlist that comes from lack of jobs, "have to understand the realities of joining the military . . . Our war is *here*, our young men should fight against those people who send them to other countries to fight for something they don't have here: *Justice*." Rev. James Lawson of the SCLC-West, said the Reagan administration lies systematically about a 'communist conspiracy' in El Salvador and all over Latin America, in an effort to ignore the danger of civil protest in our cities, and 30 million poverty-stricken people in the U.S."

Father Dan Driscoll of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, emphasized that, internationally, from the UN, NATO, and other U.S. allies, there had been pressure and demands for a negotiated, non-military settlement of the civil war in El Salvador. In contrast to this, and

parallel to the history of the U.S. role in Vietnam, Reagan's administration is continuing to fuel the militarization of the conflict, by propping up a thoroughly discredited regime with money and training.

After the press conference, the demonstrators convened at the Spring Lake Governmental Complex for the mile-long march to Fort Bragg. Marchers, enlivened both by political conviction and by the need to keep moving in the bone-chilling, sub-freezing temperatures, raised chants like "Reagan, Haig, You Can't Hide, We Charge You with Genocide!" "Money for Jobs, Not for War!" and "We Remember Vietnam!" The procession was led by the delegation of spokespeople from the various organizations involved. The march was stopped at the Fort Bragg perimeter by a representative

from the Special Forces, then allowed to proceed to the Information Center on the base. There, the delegation, led by Rev. Atkins of Greensboro, and Anne Welsh of the American Friends Service Committee, presented a formal letter of complaint to Col. Erickson. The letter was addressed to Lt. General J.V. Mackmull, Commander of Fort Bragg, and stated in part, "Our tax monies are needed for jobs and social services in N.C. and throughout this country. We certainly don't want them spent for the backing of the Salvadoran junta or its army."

Marchers then returned to the Spring Lake Governmental Complex for a brief rally. Representatives of the local Triad group said then that plans for the Feb. 27 march are incomplete, but that publicity about the event will be out soon. □



Demonstration in front of Fort Bragg to protest training of Salvadoran soldiers.

REPUBLICAN BIGWIGS PICKETED

While Vice-President George Bush, presidential advisor Edwin Meese, and Republican National Chairman Richard Richards attended a lavish \$125 per ticket Republican fund raiser in the posh Glen Oaks Country Club in Farmington Hills, a militant group identified as the "Soup Bowl Host Committee" picketed the club, protesting the Reagan administration's economic and social policies. Carrying a large banner which read "Super Bowl for the Rich — Soup Bowl for the Poor," the group demanded that the Republican administration reverse its present policy of blaming the poor for this country's problems, and instead, provide jobs for the people of Detroit and this area.

Diana Martin, spokesperson for the group, stated, "The City of Detroit is in a depression; officially, unemployment is over 15%; unofficially, over one-half

of young black men and women are unemployed. The people are fed up and disillusioned over this bankrupt Republican administration. We are here to put them on notice: Give us jobs or get out of Detroit!"

The group, about 20 of members of Detroit Tenants Unions, ACORN, Pontiac Women's Survival Center, the CWP, Moslem Students Society, the United Handicapped Rights Organization, and several unemployed UAW members, braved a wind chill of 26 degrees below. The group picketed "Super-Bowl Sunday" to emphasize the cruel joke of supply-side economics, also known as "trickle-down" economics.

"We hear that the Super-Bowl is providing millions of dollars to the Detroit metropolitan area — but how much of that is going to the average unemployed auto worker or steel worker?" demand-

ed Glen Janken, who is himself an unemployed auto worker. "Similarly, on the national level," he pointed out, "the average low and moderate income family receives no benefits from Reagan's new economics — only the wealthy corporations and wealthy individuals benefit from this administration."

The group, huddled around a large soup bowl, challenged Bush and the other Republican elite to come out of their country club and address the questions which were raised by the people: How can Reagan cut taxes, raise military spending, and at the same time balance the budget?

While the group did not expect these Republicans to address the issues, the answer to their question appeared to be found in their empty soup bowl — starve the poor, feed the rich. □

A Teamster Speaks Out

Bill Slater is a 57-year-old car-hauler (auto transport truck driver) and Vice President of Teamster Local 468 in Oakland, Ca. A warm and engaging bear of a man with silver hair and humorous blue eyes, Bill speaks with the rolling cadences and moral authority of an old-time country preacher. But his message is old time *unionism*. And his speech recently moved 450 rank and file Teamsters to give him a standing ovation.

Bill spoke recently at the 6th Annual International Teamsters for a Democratic Union Conven-

tion in Detroit, Michigan, before Teamster rank and file activists from all over North America. There, he exhorted his fellow labor activists to take pride once again in themselves as "...the social and moral conscience of the country..." whose role it is to stand up to the corporate monopoly interests and the current government "...and eliminate the neanderthal mentality of these archaic people."

We are reprinting his speech here because it seems to tap the growing sentiment deep in the hearts and minds of the American Worker.

Good morning! As always, it is a pleasure to be here.

As you know, since last we met, all matters concerning organized workers in this country have steadily deteriorated: wages being cut and stolen; conditions that took years to get are being lost and given away; the President of the United States goes into the union busting business; and for some strange reason, not only the general public, but a majority of union members are either unconcerned or very vocal in their attacks against organized labor.

I have tried to figure out why this should be. I believe there are several reasons, number one being that you have to give the lion's share of the credit to the corporate interest in this country, because they have been very successful in obliterating not only the history, but also the great contributions that unions have gained for the American worker. If one thinks about it for a moment, and tries to remember the last time he saw a major news media outlet feature a story or program that told of the tremendous struggles that took place early in this century, history changing struggles that saw hundreds of thousands of people who stood solid during freezing winters and scorching summers to bring about decent wages and working conditions, and even more important, they brought about social programs without which a good many people who are criticizing the unions would be penniless in the streets — I may be wrong, but I do not believe the history of the American labor movement is taught in any grade school in this country. It is a fact that the corporate interest has succeeded in making union membership sound like you belong to some subversive organization. They have done such a thorough job that they have convinced the majority of American workers to now think that their interest will best be served outside of a union. How sad that is, because little do they know that the same type of people who ran those huge mill towns in New England during the first years of this century are still here — the people who forced barefooted children as young as five years old to work fourteen hours a day, six days a week, are still with us — they are even more dangerous now because they hide behind a facade called social enlightenment. The truth is that this immoral scum now hires young, well-educated people, whose sole purpose is to instruct employers on how to use every rotten, deceitful means to destroy a union.

The corporate interest's most recent accomplishment was in electing their man to the White House, a tragic day for American labor. Probably this man's greatest performance as an actor was when he sat before the news cameras and said that he really hated to destroy the PATCO union, but as President he had to uphold the law. Somehow this has a hollow ring to it when one realizes that his closest union ties are Roy Williams and Jackie Pressor. One other thing that makes me somewhat skeptical about Ronald Reagan's stern position on upholding the law is when one remembers that when his good friend and fellow Republican was caught obstructing justice while President of the United States, not one word — not one peep — was heard from Mr. Reagan about the sanctity of the law. Somehow the morality of the situation eludes me.

Another reason for our dilemma is the other side of the coin. Unions have failed to tell the history of the labor movement even to their own members. It seems to me that if organized labor had copied methods used by some of the ultra-conservative right-wing organizations in this country, namely

radio, T.V. and mass mailings, to educate the rank and file, our political clout would surely be no less than theirs. One other reason that less than 25 percent of the workers in this country are organized, has to be because of the corruption of our unions. This is a problem that only we can solve, and there is only one way to do it — "If you want change you have to vote change." There is no way you can elect the same silk-suited set back to office and expect change. There is no doubt that some of you are here today for the first time, and you are here because conditions where you work have deteriorated to a point that causes you concern, and you are looking for a way to stop any further erosion. While we would like to be able to tell you that we can straighten everything out, the truth, of course, is that we cannot. As has been said at these gatherings many times before, "There are no Messiahs" — there are no leaders or groups of leaders here or anywhere else that can solve our problems. Our problems will be solved only when you and I, acting in unison, confront our adversaries. If we do not stand up as one to face the employers, the job will not be done; if we do not go back home and throw out the silk-suit set, the job will not be done; so it is not a question of leaders, it is a question of an *active, educated, organized* rank and file, and despite what any one else has told you, that is *precisely* what T.D.U. is all about, and it is the reason we are here today.

"Organization and education." If anyone here has any reservations as to our credibility, we ask only

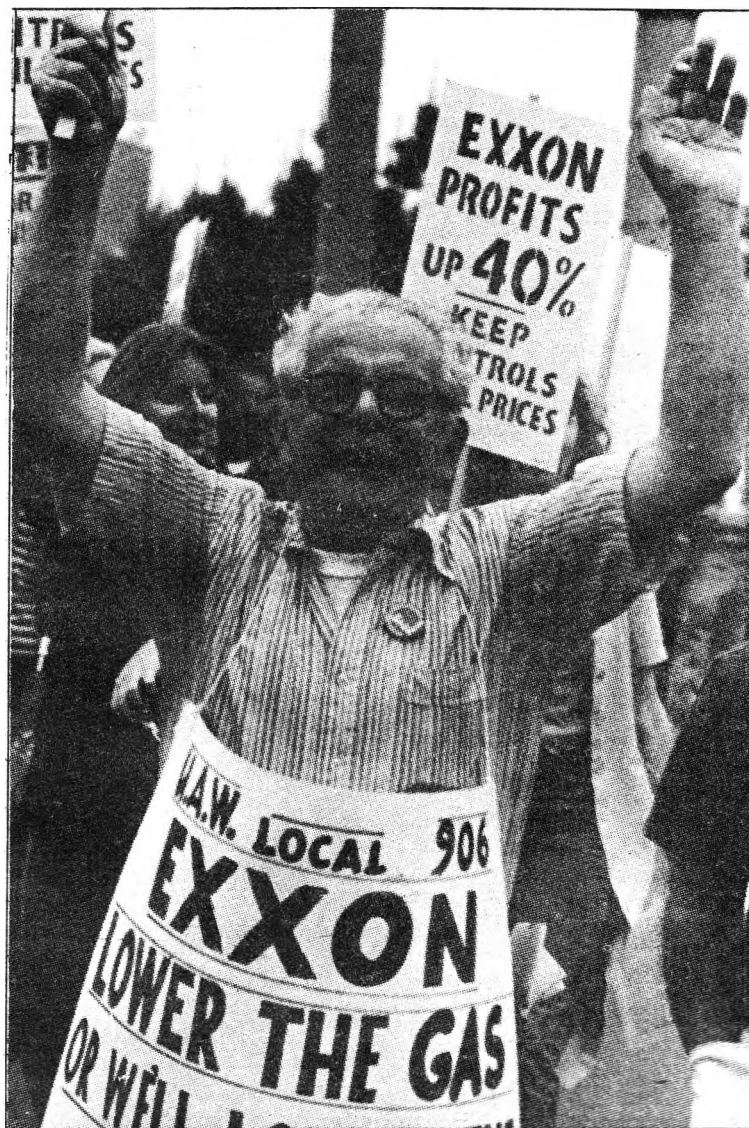
that you look at the recent International Convention. Who was it that put forth and championed every proposal that would have benefited the rank and file? Only the T.D.U. members elected as delegates — *not any other voice* was raised on behalf of those who pay the bills. If this organization's efforts in Las Vegas did nothing else, it proved that if you elect men and women of courage to office they will do the job. No one has been involved in the fight against corruption more than T.D.U. and we will remain in the forefront of that struggle.

But one thing we must not do, and that is to forget who the real enemy is. They are the employer groups, who, coupled with the government, are out to destroy us. They know that a united labor movement is the one thing that they cannot cope with. Workers standing in unity would be a nightmare for them. So while we have corruption in our union and we will have to contend with it, our most pressing problem is maintaining a union of any sort, and if your think that is a far-fetched assumption, ask any PATCO member.

You must realize that the people you are dealing with are not just good ol' boys standing up for their interest. These people are moral lepers — they have no conscience, they have no heart, they have but one god — "Greed." That greed has to be fed with profit, since they no longer have a monopoly on the world markets. They have but one place to get the food for their "god" — that place is *our wages and working conditions*. They blame us and the unions we belong to for conditions that they themselves created. It was not the workers at Chrysler or Lockheed that caused their difficulty, it was mismanagement. And they made up for their ineptitude by stripping the worker of his hard-won working conditions. If you do not believe that the same heartless greedy power-brokers prevail today as they did years ago, let me illustrate my point. Some of you will recall in a speech I gave a few years ago when I related an incident that took place in my early childhood, when the electricity was turned off because my mother could not pay the bill, a situation that forced us to use candles. A few months ago I read of an incident that took place in Sterling, Illinois. It stated that a young unemployed worker begged the power company not to cut off his electric service. He promised to pay his bill as soon as he received his unemployment check which was fouled up somewhere in the bureaucracy, but the company turned a deaf ear to his plea, and turned off the power. A few hours later his three sons were dead, apparently because of a fire due to an upset candle. My friends, if America's working class people are to retain their traditional role as the social and moral conscience of the country, then I suggest that it is time that we stood up as one, and eliminate the neanderthal mentality of these archaic people.

Thank you.

Further information on TDU can be obtained by writing the national office: TDU, P.O. Box 10128, Detroit, MI, 48210, or calling (313) 842-2600.



"But one thing we must not do, and that is to forget who the real enemy is. They are the employer groups, who, coupled with the government, are out to destroy us. They know that a united labor movement is the one thing that they cannot cope with. Workers Standing in unity would be a nightmare for them."

INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT

CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN POLAND

By the Democratic Republic of Korea

Now the situation in Poland is still drawing the attention of the world.

In connection with the social disturbance that has continued already for one year and several months, the Polish authorities proclaimed a martial law throughout the country some time ago and the country is under the control of the Martial Council of National Redemption.

The world public expresses different views on this and many people wonder the occurrence of such situation in a socialist country.

The proclamation of a martial law and the military control in Poland are an abnormal thing hardly conceivable in a socialist country.

In the socialist country the people are the masters of the country and society and a democratic government is carried into effect for the people.

Hence, under socialism the state gives play to the conscious enthusiasm and creative ingenuity of the popular masses, who uphold the state policy of their own accord.

The proclamation of a martial law and the enforcement of a military power in socialist Poland are contrary to the usual practices of the socialist government.

It is regrettable for us that things have come to such a pass in fraternal Poland.

According to reports, after the proclamation of a martial law the situation is gradually changing for the better and stability is being restored in Poland.

As a matter of fact, the creation of a crisis and proclamation of a martial law in Poland are a product of the former revisionist policy.

For the working class party to discharge its historic mission there are problems of principle which should be consistently adhered to in the whole period of socialist and communist construction.

The most important thing here is to

firmly ensure the leadership of the working class party, the general staff and guiding force of the revolution and the organizer and inspirer of all victories. To this end, the party should be firmly built up organizationally and ideologically and the party's leadership system be established in all state and social realms, the party should strike its roots deep among the popular masses and closely rally them around itself.

Only then is it possible to strengthen the militancy and leadership of the party and organize and mobilize the popular masses to successfully carry out the revolution and construction.

But the situation in Poland in the past period showed that this fundamental problem was not correctly solved.

As a result of the weakening of the party's leadership role, its leadership system was not established over the state and society, the party was isolated from the masses, the party's prestige and militancy were weakened and the party lost the trust and confidence of the popular masses.

Under such situation it is inevitable to suffer pains and undergo twists and turns in the political and social life and in the revolution and construction as a whole. Under the socialist system the people's government is a powerful weapon for carrying out the cause of the working masses and a faithful servant of the people.

If the people's government is to discharge its mission satisfactorily, it should not only resolutely defend the socialist system which ensures freedom and happiness to the working masses but also smash the manoeuvres of the enemy who harbours enmity against this system and opposes it, and carry out economic policy which accords with tualist principles and carry on the revolution and construction in reliance upon the political enthusiasm and creative ingenuity of the popular masses.

When the people's government fails to do so, it cannot consolidate and develop the socialist system nor can it successfully accomplish the cause of socialism.

In Poland the counter-revolutionary elements of "Kos Kor," "Confederation of Independent Poland," and "Solidarity" free trade union openly opposed socialism, raising their heads and strutting around various circles held strikes and demonstrations and discontented with the government's policy.

It cannot but be considered that this is a result of the weakening of the function and role of the people's government. Socialism and communism can be successfully built only by a high degree of conscious enthusiasm of the popular masses.

In order to give play to their conscious enthusiasm, it is imperative to constantly conduct ideological education and to strengthen it still further as the revolution and construction advance.

If this is weakened, the corrosion of the old ideas grows strong, people are easy to be contaminated by the bourgeois reactionary ideas from outside and this will do a big harm to the revolution and construction.

In Poland ideological education including education in socialist patriotism has been neglected so far and the door opened to the ideological and cultural infiltration of imperialism. If the masses are left defenceless in ideology, class consciousness and pride in socialism are paralysed, individual selfishness and the western way of life prevail among the people and, in the end, they cannot distinguish which is socialistic and which is anti-socialistic and are cajoled by the counter-revolutionary elements.

Under socialism there is only one democracy, a democracy for the popular masses, that is, socialist democracy. Socialist democracy alone is a genuine democracy which allroundly and practically ensures genuine freedom and rights to the masses who are the masters of the state and society.

But there is only "democracy" for a minority, a bourgeois democracy in capitalist society where the minority dominate the majority. "Democracy" on the lips of the imperialists is a sham democracy and "liberty" advocated by them is that for the exploiter class, a minority, not for the working people.

Socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy are incompatible. To introduce bourgeois democracy into the socialist system is like fixing the tail of a horse to a cow. This mixed democracy only revives bourgeois democracy.

In Poland socialist democracy has not been fostered to suit the intrinsic demand of the socialist system and reactionary bourgeois democracy has been allowed to infiltrate, so that dissoluteness and social disorder have been created and even the foundation of the state policy of the working class has been shaken.

The serious problem caused in Poland by weakening the leading role of the party and the functions of the people's power, neglecting the ideological education of the people and allowing the reactionary bourgeois democracy in the long run, damaged the gains of socialism.

To take the road of socialism today is the common purpose of the people struggling to achieve independence and an irresistible trend of the times.

The countries which embarked upon the road of socialism before others with the victory of revolution should contribute to the acceleration of this trend by their practical examples in the revolution and construction.

To this end, a working class party should maintain the revolutionary prin-

ciple and build socialism better and faster.

Only then can it enhance the prestige and attraction of socialism.

The commotion unbecoming to the socialist system and the proclamation of the martial law in Poland are surely a shameful thing which has smeared the image of socialism. Truth to tell, this is a disgrace to socialism.

It is, of course, an unhappy thing to proclaim martial law in a socialist country. But how could the Polish authorities sit calmly when the reactionaries attempted to overthrow the people's power and obliterate the gains of socialism in Poland?

We consider that the proclamation of the martial law in Poland was an inevitable step and a justifiable measure to suppress the reactionaries by revolutionary means and safeguard the power of the working people at the critical moment when socialist Poland was standing at the crossroads of survival and fall in face of the counter-revolutionary action.

The reactionaries' open challenge to the socialist system in Poland was part of the subversive activities of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States behind the scene to overthrow the socialist power. The U.S. imperialists have been the heinous enemy of socialism down through history.

Today the U.S. imperialists pursue a strategy of destroying the socialist countries one by one by subversive activities and sabotages and have chosen Poland as a major target of this strategy.

The U.S. imperialists, who had exhausted every means from long ago to detach Poland from the road of socialism, rendered support, material, financial and political, to the Polish reactionaries and perpetrated ideological and mental subversive acts through mass media, instigating them to bring a coup d'etat.

When the Polish authorities proclaimed martial law and began to bring the situation under control, the U.S. imperialists, with malice, openly threatened and blackmailed the Polish Government and people and shamelessly interfered in her internal affairs.

This stripped bare the invariable aggressive nature and insatiable aggressive desire of the U.S. imperialists as the chieftain of world reaction and international gendarme. It is none other than the U.S. CIA which is to blame for the disturbance in Poland.

It is only too clear that the counter-revolutionaries could not strut about so arrogantly in Poland without the instigation and support of the U.S. imperialists.

The Polish question is an internal affairs which the Polish people themselves must solve.

The United States authorities must not continue to instigate the anti-socialist elements of Poland but take hands off her.

The Polish situation demands the peoples of the socialist countries, nonaligned countries and the third world countries and other peace-loving people of the world to heighten vigilance against the U.S. imperialists' moves, clearly conscious of the plot of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency against Poland.

The people's power and socialist system of Poland are the revolutionary gains of her working class and people. For them, a large number of reactionaries and patriotic people of the country shed blood in a sacred fight against aggressors and reactionaries. To this power and this system the Polish working class and working power can lead their happy life after the resurrection of Poland. A prosperous future of Poland is promised only on the road of socialism. There is no other way. It is natural that the Polish working class and people of various strata are actively responding to the efforts bent by the Polish United Workers' Party and Government to defend the people's power and socialist system.

We hope that the Polish problem will be smoothly solved by her own efforts.

THE SOCIALIST ROAD

Character of Revolution in the U.S. and Problems of Socialism in the Soviet Union and China

By **JERRY TUNG**
General Secretary
Communist Workers Party, U.S.A.

Send \$4.95 plus 70 cents for postage and handling to:
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Support for the NCR: Statement of the Communist Workers Party, USA

To Mojahed Brother Mas'ud Rajavi, in charge of the National Council of Resistance striving to gain independence and freedom for the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran

On the historic occasion of the formation of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran, which has issued the platform of the National Council of Resistance, signed by both you and Mr. Bani-Sadr, Communist Workers Party of the United States of America wishes to extend our warmest congratulations to you, to the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, and to the people of Iran.

We condemn the extent of genocide and terror instituted in Iran by the Khomeini regime. Execution of at least 3200 of that nation's bravest children in just 4 months, execution of pregnant women as well as 13-year old children, murder of revolutionaries by torturing them to death and then putting them before the firing squads in order to hide the evidence, imprisonment of more than 20,000 freedom fighters, and other inhumane acts are crimes that represent the extreme state of reactionary rule of Khomeini and the IRP. The Khomeini regime, under the dominance of the IRP,

has proved itself incapable of building up an independent and democratic Iran and of improving the livelihood of the Iranian masses. We ask all progressive and revolutionary forces as well as all freedom loving people of the world to strongly condemn Khomeini and his brutal regime.

At this critical juncture, we see the formation of the National Council of Resistance, and especially the alliance between the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran and Mr. Bani-Sadr, and other revolutionary and progressive forces, as a correct step toward the consolidation of an united political opposition to the present reactionary regime in Iran. We believe that this Council with its platform, which includes "People's Council," "Rights of Nationalities," "Abolition of all anti-proletarian regulations and ratification of new laws by the proletariat," is striving to establish democracy and freedom in Iran. The establishment of this front, in addition to the military front, allows you to continue influencing world opinion as well as to create conditions to isolate enemies one by one. As the history of the various revolutionary movements teaches us, the ability to use the armed forces and revolutionary allies is central to the forging and con-

solidation of the people's power. We are confident that the National Council of Resistance and the Iranian people will establish a democratic and free Iran, and that will greatly strengthen the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements of the world.

The Communist Workers Party has always supported the struggles of the Iranian people against the Shah for an independent and democratic Iran through joint work with the various Iranian students organizations in the United States. We have supported each other and have forged a deep revolutionary friendship in our struggle against imperialism. The Communist Workers Party will continue to support the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people, and continue to work for the strengthening of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity of the U.S. and Iranian peoples.

**Communist Workers Party
of the
United States of America**

**UNITE TO CONDEMN
KHOMEINI'S
ATROCITIES**

STOP THE TREND Since June 20th 1981
8000 EXECUTED & 20,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS
(4000 Officially Announced) & Under Torture

For Similar Atrocities, People Overthrew the Shah 3 years Ago

WORLDWIDE DEMONSTRATION

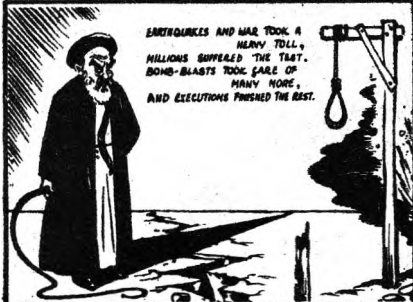
Are Called in the U.S., England, France, West Germany, Italy,
Canada, India, Spain, Austria, Belgium, Sweden, Pakistan.

In the U.S.:

Washington, SQ. New York City, N.Y. Tuesday, February 16, 1982: 11:00 A.M.
United Nation Plaza, San Francisco, Ca. Friday, February 12, 1982: 11:00 A.M.

Sponsored by: Moslem Students Society (U.S.A.)
Supporters of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran

**10 DAYS of
NATIONAL MOBILIZATION
to call for
HUMAN RIGHTS
in IRAN
FEB 1-11**



•NO TORTURE and EXECUTION in IRAN

•SEND OBSERVING MISSION to INVESTIGATE the CONDITIONS in IRANIAN PRISONS

•SUPPORT HUMAN RIGHTS in IRAN

MOSLEM STUDENTS SOCIETY (U.S.A.)
SUPPORTERS OF
THE PEOPLE'S MOJAHEDIN ORGANIZATION OF IRAN

NATION WIDE EVENTS
FEB 1-11

- * Picket Line
- * Petition to Stop Torture and Execution in Iran

WHAT DO WE WANT?

- * Stop torture and execution in Iran
- * Send observing missions to investigate the conditions in Khomeini's prisons
- * Make the people of the world aware of Khomeini's atrocities
- * Democracy and Freedom for an Independent Iran

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

- * Sign our petition of protest
- * Send letters of condemnation to Khomeini at Jamaran in Tehran, Iran
- * Write letters of concern to international human rights organizations
- * Write to the media and protest the boycott of news concerning Khomeini's atrocities
- * Show your condemnation of torture and execution by your participation in our demonstration

DEMONSTRATION

Feb. 16 Washington Sq. New York	Feb. 12 U. N. Plaza San Francisco
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ASSEMBLE 11 A.M.

STUDY MARXISM

Since our founding congress over two years ago, the Communist Workers Party has grown and matured at a rapid pace. Our work has expanded into many different areas and spheres of society as we become increasingly "well-shod on all four feet." In the course of this preparation for socialist revolution we have recruited new Party members and have been asked many questions about the CWP.

Why do we need a disciplined party? Why isn't it enough to just work in a union or community organization? How is the Communist workers Party different from other political parties? Revolutionary-

minded people — both veteran and new activists — are asking these and other questions as they decide what organization or organizations to join.

Over the next several issues, the Workers Viewpoint will run a series to acquaint our readers with the nature of a vanguard communist party, why one is necessary (especially in such times as these) and why we need to build up the Communist Workers Party.

Below are excerpts from three articles by V.I. Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution. In them he discusses in general terms the importance of an organization of professional revolutionaries. The ab-

solute necessity for this type of organization cannot be overstressed. As Lenin demonstrated in Russia, and as we are showing here, a tight core of revolutionaries with the proper understanding of society and how to change it gives us the flexibility we need. With this flexibility, we can work under all conditions to overthrow the capitalist system. Lenin also discusses the role of a vanguard party in mobilizing and educating the masses to make revolution and why only a vanguard party can carry out this job.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Chapter IV

And the Organization Of the Revolutionaries

C. Organization of Workers And Organization of Revolutionaries

It is only natural to expect that for a Social-Democrat whose conception of the political struggle coincides with the conception of the "economic struggle against the employers and the government," the "organization of revolutionaries" will more or less coincide with the "organization of workers." This, in fact, is what actually happens; so that when we speak of organization, we literally speak in different tongues. I vividly recall, for example, a conversation I once had with a fairly consistent Economist, with whom I had not been previously acquainted. We were discussing the pamphlet, *Who Will Bring About the Political Revolution?*, and were soon of a mind that its principal defect was its ignoring of the question of organization. We had begun to assume full agreement between us; but, as the conversation proceeded, it became evident that we were talking of different things. My interlocutor accused the author of ignoring strike funds, mutual benefit societies, etc., whereas I had in mind an organization of revolutionaries as an essential factor in "bringing about" the political revolution. As soon as the disagreement became clear, there was hardly, as I remember, a single question upon which I was in agreement with the Economist!

What was the source of our disagreement? It was the fact that on questions both of organization and of politics the Economists are forever lapsing from Social-Democracy into trade-unionism. The political struggle of Social-Democracy is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government. Similarly (indeed for that reason), the organization of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party must inevitably be of a kind different from the organization of the workers designed for this struggle. The workers' organization must in the first place be a trade-union organization; secondly, it must be as broad as possible; and thirdly, it must be as public as conditions will allow (here, and further on, of course, I refer only to absolutist Russia). On the other hand, the organization of the revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people who make revolutionary activity their profession (for which reason I speak of the organization of *revolutionaries*, meaning revolutionary Social-Democrats). In view of this common characteristic of the members of such an organization, *all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals*, not to speak of distinctions of trade and profession, in both categories, *must be effaced*. Such an organization must perforce not be very extensive and must be as secret as possible. Let us examine this threefold distinction.

In countries where political liberty exists the distinction between a trade-union and a political organization is clear enough, as is the distinction between trade unions and Social-Democracy. The relations between the latter and the former will naturally vary in each country according to historical, legal and other conditions; they may be more or less close, complex, etc. (in our opinion they should be as close and as little complicated as possible); but there can be no question in free countries of the organization of trade unions coinciding with the organization of the Social-Democratic Party. In Russia, however, the yoke of the autocracy appears at first glance to obliterate all distinctions between the Social-Democratic organization and the workers' associations, since *all workers' associations and all study circles are prohibited* and since the principal manifestation and weapon of the workers' economic struggle — the strike — is regarded as a criminal (and sometimes even as a political!) of-

fence. Conditions in our country, therefore, on the one hand, strongly "impel" the workers engaged in economic struggle to concern themselves with political questions, and, on the other, they "impel" Social-Democrats to confound trade-unionism with Social-Democracy (and our Krichevskys, Martynovs, and Co., while diligently discussing the first kind of "impulsion," fail to notice the second). Indeed, picture to yourselves people who are immersed ninety-nine per cent in "economic struggle against the employers and the government." Some of them will never, during the entire course of their activity (from four to six months), be impelled to think of the need for a more complex organization of revolutionaries. Others, perhaps, will come across the fairly widely distributed Bernsteinian literature, from which they will become convinced of the profound importance of the forward movement of the "drab everyday struggle." Still others will be carried away, perhaps, by the seductive idea of showing the world a new example of "close and organic contact between the trade-union and the Social-Democratic movements. Such people may argue that the later a country enters the arena of capitalism and, consequently, of the working class movement, the more the socialists in that country may take part in, and support, the trade-union movement, and the less the reason for the existence of non-Social-Democratic trade unions. So far the argument is fully correct; unfortunately, however, some go beyond that and dream of a complete fusion of Social-Democracy with trade unionism. We shall soon see, from the example of the Rules of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, what a harmful effect such dreams have upon our plans of organization.

The workers' organizations for the economic struggle should be trade-union organizations. Every Social-Democratic worker should as far as possible assist and actively work in these organizations. But, while this is true, it is certainly not in our interest to demand that only Social-Democrats should be eligible for membership in the "trade" unions, since that would only narrow the scope of our influence upon the

masses. Let every worker who understands the need to unite for the struggle against the employers and the government join the trade unions. The very aim of the trade unions would be impossible of achievement, if they did not unite all who have attained at least this elementary degree of understanding, if they were not very broad organizations. The broader these organizations, the broader will be our influence over them — an influence due, not only to the "spontaneous" development of the economic struggle, but to the direct and conscious effort of the socialist trade-union members to influence their comrades. But a broad organization cannot apply methods of strict secrecy (since this demands far greater training than is required for the economic struggle). How is the contradiction between the need for a large membership and the need for strictly secret methods to be reconciled? How are we to make the trade unions as public as possible? Generally speaking, there can be only two ways to this end: either the trade unions become legalized (in some countries this preceded the legalization of the socialist and political unions), or the organization is kept secret, but so "free" and amorphous, *lose* (loose — Ed.) as the Germans say, that the need for secret methods becomes almost negligible as far as the bulk of the members is concerned. (*What Is to Be Done?*, V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 451-454, Progress Publishers)

It may be objected that an organization which is so *lose* that it is not even definitely formed, and which has not even an enrolled and registered membership, cannot be called an organization at all. Perhaps so. Not the name is important. What is important is that this "organization without members" shall do everything that is required, and from the very outset ensure a solid connection between our future trade unions and socialism. Only an incorrigible utopian would have a broad organization of workers, with elections, reports, universal suffrage, etc. under the autocracy.

The moral to be drawn from this is simple. If we begin with the solid foundation of a strong organization of revolutionaries, we can ensure the stability of the movement as a whole and carry out the aims both of Social-Democracy and of trade unions proper. If, however, we begin with a broad workers' organization, which is supposedly most "accessible" to the masses (but which is actually most accessible to the gendarmes and makes revolutionaries most accessible to the police), we shall achieve neither the one aim nor the other; we shall not eliminate our rule-of-thumb methods, and, because we remain scattered and our forces are constantly broken up by the police, we shall only make trade unions of the Zubatov and Ozerov type the more accessible to the masses. (*Ibid*, pp. 459-460)

... I assert (1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders maintaining continuity; (2) that the broader the popular mass drawn spontaneously into the struggle, which forms the basis of the movement and participates in it, the more urgent the need for such an organization, and the more solid this organization must be (for it is much easier for all sorts of demagogues to side-track the more backward sections of the masses); (3) that such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity; (4) that in an autocratic state, the more we *confine* the membership of such an organization to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult it will be to unearth the organization; and (5) the *greater* will be the number of people from the working class and from the other social classes who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it.

I invite our Economists, terrorists, and "Economists-terrorists"* to confute these propositions. At the moment, I shall deal only with the last two points. The question as to whether it is easier to wipe out "a dozen wise men" or "a hundred fools" reduces itself to the question, above considered, whether it is possible to have a mass organization when the maintenance of strict secrecy is essential. We can



LENIN ON PARTY BUILDING



never give a mass organization that degree of secrecy without which there can be no question of persistent and continuous struggle against the government. To concentrate all secret functions in the hands of as small a number of professional revolutionaries as possible does not mean that the latter will "do the thinking for all" and that the rank and file will not take an active part in the *movement*. On the contrary, the membership will promote increasing numbers of the professional revolutionaries from its ranks; for it will know that it is not enough for a few students and for a few working men waging the economic struggle to gather in order to form a "committee," but that it takes years to train oneself to be a professional revolutionary; and the rank and file will "think," not only of amateurish methods, but of such training. Centralization of the secret functions of the *organization* by no means implies centralization of all the functions of the *movement*. Active participation of the widest masses in the illegal press will not diminish because a "dozen" professional revolutionaries centralize the secret functions

connected with this work; on the contrary, it will *increase* tenfold. In this way, and in this way alone, shall we ensure that reading the illegal press, writing for it, and to some extent even distributing it, will *almost cease to be secret work*, for the police will soon come to realize the folly and impossibility of judicial and administrative red-tape procedure over every copy of a publication that is being distributed in the thousands. This holds not only for the press, but for every function of the movement, even for demonstrations. The active and widespread participation of the masses will not suffer; on the contrary, it will benefit by the fact that a "dozen" experienced revolutionaries, trained professionally no less than the police, will centralize all the secret aspects of the work — the drawing up of leaflets, the working out of approximate plans; and the appointing of bodies of leaders for each urban district, for each factory district, and for each educational institution, etc. (I know that exception will be taken to my "undemocratic" views, but I shall reply below fully to this anything but intelligent objection.)

Centralization of the most secret functions in an organization of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and enhance the quality of the activity of a large number of other organizations, that are intended for a broad public and are therefore as loose and as non-secret as possible, such as workers' trade unions; workers' self-education circles and circles for reading illegal literature; and socialist, as well as democratic, circles among *all* other sections of the population; etc., etc. We must have such circles, trade unions, and organizations everywhere in *as large a number as possible* and with the widest variety of functions; but it would be absurd and harmful to *confound* them with the organization of *revolutionaries*, to efface the border-line between them, to make still more hazy the all too faint recognition of the fact that in order to "serve" the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social-Democratic activities, and that such people must *train* themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries. (*Ibid*, pp. 464-466)

Preface to the Collection TWELVE YEARS

... *What Is To Be Done?*, was published abroad early in 1902. It is a criticism of the Right wing, which was no longer a literary trend but existed within the Social-Democratic organization. The first Social-Democratic congress was held in 1898. It founded the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, represented by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, which incorporated the Emancipation of Labor group. The central Party bodies, however, were suppressed by the police and could not be re-established. There was, in fact, no united party; unity was still only an idea, a directive. The infatuation with the strike movement and economic struggles gave rise to a peculiar form of Social-Democratic opportunism, known as "Economism." When the *Iskra* group began to function abroad *at the very end* of 1900, the split over this issue was already an accomplished fact. In the *spring* of 1900, Plekhanov resigned from the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, and set up an organization of his own — *Sotsial-Demokrat*.

Officially, *Iskra* began its work independently of the two groups, but for all practical purposes it sided with Plekhanov's group against the Union. An attempt to merge the two (at the Congress of the Union and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* in Zurich, June 1901) failed. *What Is To Be Done?* gives a systematic account of the reasons for the divergence of views and of the nature of *Iskra* tactics and organizational activity.

What Is To Be Done? is frequently mentioned by the Mensheviks, the present opponents of the Bolsheviks, as well as by writers belonging to the bourgeois-liberal camp (Cadets, Bezzaglavsti in the newspaper *Tovarishch*, etc.). I have, therefore, decided to reprint the pamphlet here, slightly abridged, omitting only the details of organizational relations and minor polemical remarks. Concerning the essential content of this pamphlet it is necessary to draw the attention of the modern reader to the following.

The basic mistake made by those who now criticize *What Is To Be Done?* is to treat the pamphlet apart from its connection with the concrete historical situation of a definite, and now long past, period in the development of our Party. This mistake was strikingly demonstrated, for instance, by Parvus (not to mention numerous Mensheviks), who, many years after the pamphlet appeared, wrote about its incorrect or exaggerated ideas on the subject of an organization of professional revolutionaries.

Today these statements look ridiculous, as if their authors want to dismiss a whole period in the development of our Party, to dismiss gains which, in their time, had to be fought for, but which have long ago been consolidated and have served their purpose.

To maintain today that *Iskra* exaggerated (*in 1901 and 1902!*) the idea of an organization of professional revolutionaries, is like reproaching the Japanese, *after* the Russo-Japanese War, for having exaggerated the strength of Russia's armed forces, for having prior to the war exaggerated the need to prepare for fighting these forces. To win victory the Japanese had to marshal all their forces against the probable maximum of Russian forces. Unfortunately, many of those who judge our Party are outsiders, who do not know the subject, who do not realize that *today* the idea of an organization of professional revolutionaries has *already* scored a complete victory. That victory would have been impossible if this idea had not been pushed

Continued on page 14

No to U.S./Philippines Extradition Treaty

By the National Committee to Oppose the U.S.-R.P. Extradition Treaty

The Reagan administration has just signed an Extradition Treaty with the Marcos regime in the Philippines. The treaty is now before the United States Senate for ratification. When ratified, the treaty will give the Marcos dictatorship a powerful weapon to silence dissent within the Filipino community in the United States.

An Extension for Dictatorial Rule

The signing of the treaty marks another ominous turn in the path of unqualified support for the Marcos dictatorship that this government has taken. The White House has sought to downplay its significance, claiming that it is merely another Extradition Treaty, similar in content and scope to those it has with other governments. Yet the real nature of this treaty as a political mechanism emerges clearly when we consider it in the context of recent fast-moving developments in the Reagan-Marcos relationship.

Upon its assumption of office, the Reagan administration declared that a key dimension of its foreign policy towards the third world would be its full support for authoritarian but "friendly" regimes like Marcos. This was followed by a visit to the Philippines in late May by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who promised Marcos that the U.S. would crack down on "U.S.-based terrorists." On Haig's

heels came Vice President George Bush, who toasted Marcos in Manila in the following fashion: "We love your adherence to democratic rights and processes." Finally, a few weeks before the signing of the Extradition Treaty, the federal government convened a grand jury in San Francisco to investigate Filipinos abroad whom the Marcos regime has accused of being in a "terrorist conspiracy" — a conspiracy so vast that it allegedly includes members of opposition groups whose political differences are well known.

A treaty should be unmasked for what it really is: a blatant attempt to extend the iron fist of the dictatorship to the Filipino community in the United States. Armed with it, the Marcos regime will be able to fabricate any charges against any member of the anti-dictatorship movement abroad and demand his or her forcible return. The mere existence of the treaty is, indeed, calculated to produce a blanket chilling effect on the Filipino community: being part of an immigrant community that is generally not familiar with the full range of its constitutional and legal rights, many Filipinos will automatically assume that participation in protest actions of any kind will render them liable to extradition.

A Basic Infringement of the Rights Of a Minority

The treaty, however, does not only serve the interest of the Marcos regime.

It must be seen as a natural offspring of the Reagan administration's efforts to create the "proper" domestic conditions to support its foreign policy of all-out support for right wing regimes. The presence of outspoken opposition groups within minority communities like the Filipino, Haitian, and Salvadoran community is seen as a major threat to this effort to create a domestic consensus for a reactionary policy. The extradition mechanism, which the U.S. now has with such countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Argentina and Chile, is essentially motivated by the same political objective that dictates the efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport political refugees back to Haiti and El Salvador, where many of them face arrest, or even death upon return. Extradition and political deportation by the INS are two faces of the same coin: they constitute an infringement of the constitutionally guaranteed rights of a nation's minority in the service of a reactionary foreign policy.

A Component of a Broad Assault On Civil Liberties

The attempt to dampen the free expression of political views in the Filipino community can serve to undermine this constitutionally guaranteed universal right.

Assaults on the civil liberties of minorities, particularly immigrant

minorities, have in many instances before, proven to be opening salvos on the civil liberties of all.

The Extradition Treaty therefore, should be seen as but one prong of a broad attack on the civil liberties of all people, that is now being mounted by the Reagan administration. It is part of a package of repressive legislation and presidential orders that includes the recent unleashing of the CIA to spy on domestic political groups.

Opposition to the Extradition Treaty, then, is a necessary component of the many-sided defense that must be created to stop Reagan's bold and broad assault on constitutional rights and liberties — an attack being carried out in the name of national security.

For these reasons, we call on your assistance in an emergency effort to oppose the Extradition Treaty with the Philippines. We must not allow the Marcos regime to extend its repressive arm to the Filipino community in the U.S. We must denounce the treaty as a brazen infringement of the constitutionally guaranteed rights of a minority, perpetuated by the Reagan administration in its efforts to create domestic legitimacy for a reactionary foreign policy. Finally, we must expose it as one prong of a generalized assault on civil liberties that is being mounted by this administration in the name of national security. □



Two Poems by Woman Philippines Fighter

MY SON ASKS

My son asks
How it will be like,
The New People's Army's taking over.
My son,
It will be
The way the Manilans greet their New
Year.
I speak not only
Of the explosions you can hear
But of the mirth you can smell in the
air.
Long before its eve
You will already be hearing
A boom here and a bang there.
But the real rejoicing will come
Later, on the eve of the new day itself,

When the volleys issue nearer and
nearer of each other
Until, rising to fever pitch
At the felicitous hour
The air fills with ceaseless roaring
thunder—
The ceaseless roaring thunder
Of a million feet marching
Through the breathless streets of
the city
And after
The explosions and the cheers have
died down
And the smell of gunpowder cleared
away, my son,
● The nice hot cup of gingertea
And the generous slice of steaming
rice cake

SON OF AN UNDERGROUND WORKER

When he cried over the death
of one of the rabbits you gave him,
he was crying for you.
The precise gift, as you had thought,
for one who had grown up
apart from his mother's bosom,
two coddly creatures, warm and alive
as you could not be to him
these many years.
But you were wrong, he never left them
to waste
jumping around the yard one was
caught
by the jealous dog, equally loved.
Ah, how he has grown up,
the wondrous boy,
smiling quietly with calmly lit-up eyes
at your every arrival,
saying goodbye with the same
smile...
then crying over some silly nothing —
after your departure.

— March 31, 1981

Clarita Roja

Lavished by the grateful warm-hearted
masses
Upon your father, your mother,
Your uncles and aunts, their comrades,
your friends,
And upon you, my son:
Who, the explosions having ceased
Can sleep peacefully now, to wake up
fresh
For the hard work on the dawn of the
new day.

Clarita Roja

(*The New People's Army is the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines.)

*From the Grassroots***The Question of Genocide**

Part Two of a Two-Part Series

Manning Marable

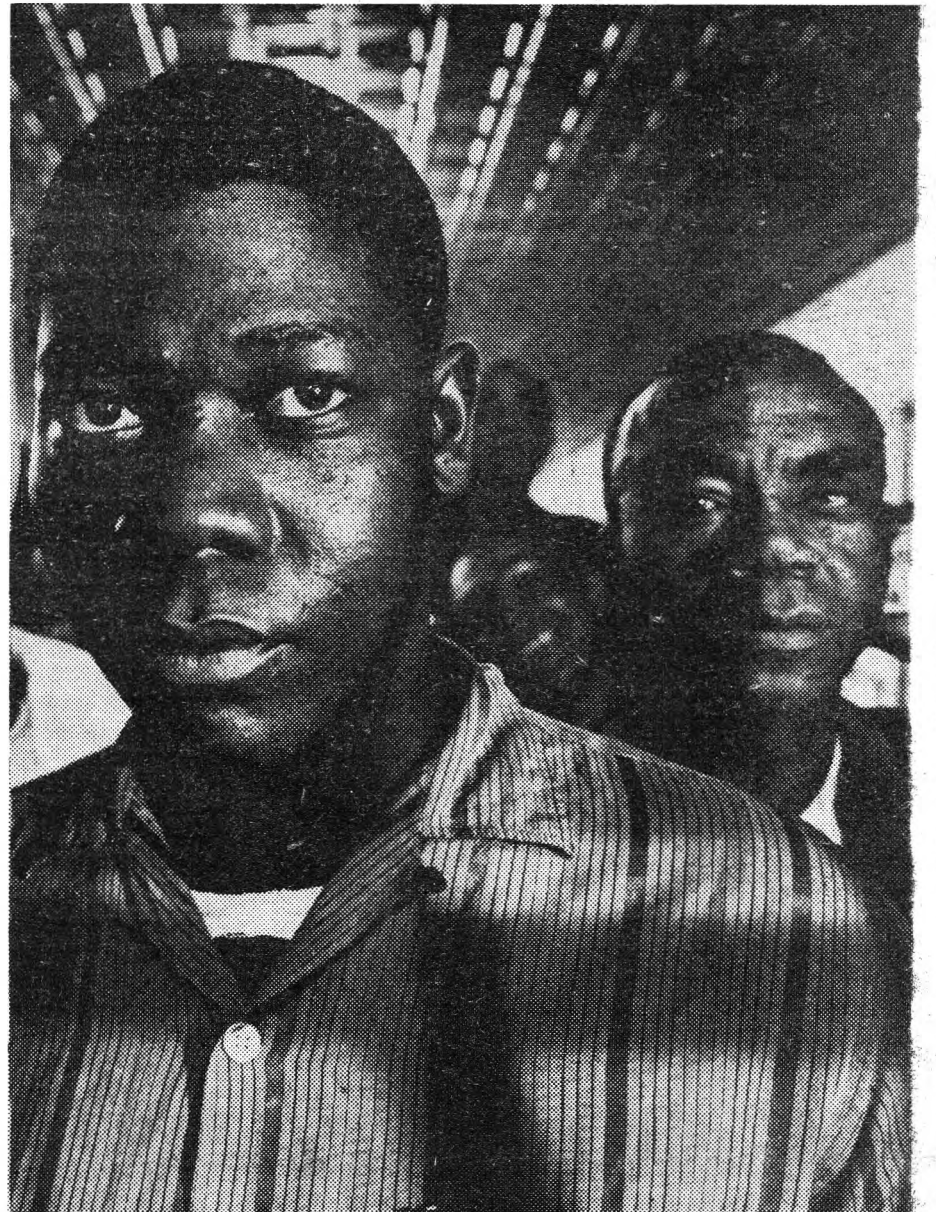
Our assessment of the prospects for genocide and white racism might begin with four critical observations. The first, which has been illustrated, is that there has been in recent years an extreme racial polarization within U.S. civil society, accompanied with a pervading climate of fear and terrorism which has reached into virtually every Black neighborhood. Second, many Black institutions which were either developed in the brutal crucible of Antebellum slavery or in the period of Jim Crow segregation are rapidly being destroyed. Two of these are the Black educational systems, especially the traditional Negro private and public colleges, and Black-owned and operated businesses. Third, a growing number of Black workers have become irrelevant to the U.S. economy. The level of permanent unemployment for Blacks under the age of 25 has reached staggering levels, and continues to climb. Fourth, an urban "ghettoclass" or underclass has emerged since the recession of 1970, consisting largely of women and children, who survive almost totally on transfer payments and the illegal, subterranean economy of the inner city. Reagan's budget cuts in food stamps, medicaid, and other social services are in reality akin to capital punishment for the millions of ghettoclass Blacks.

The scientific justification for the gradual eradication of "marginal" ethnic groups has been growing for two decades. In fall 1962 anthropologist Carleton Coon published *The Origin of Races* which proposed that Blacks were the youngest subspecies of *Homo sapiens* and therefore the least advanced intellectually and socially. In a similar vein, Dwight J. Ingle wrote a major article for the journal *Science* in October, 1964, entitled "Racial Differences and the Future." Ingle's thesis suggested that "equal representation of the Negro at the highest levels of job competence and in government will be deleterious to society." The greatest proponents of the neoracist scientific schools are William Shockley and Arthur Jensen. Since 1965 Shockley has waged a relentless campaign, declaring that the soaring "crime and relief rates" are due to "some hereditary defect(s)." "The major deficit in Negro intellectual performance must be primarily of hereditary origin

and thus relatively irremediable by practical improvements in environment," Shockley stated in 1968. Jensen's February, 1969 essay in *Harvard Educational Review*, "How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?" was praised as "the most important paper in psychology since Pavlov and Freud, a masterful summary of evidence that has been gathering for several decades." Jensen's extension of Shockley's racist arguments was swiftly entered into the *U.S. Congressional Record* by Louisiana Representative John R. Rarick.

What is qualitatively new about the current period is that the racist/capitalist state under Reagan has proceeded down a public policy road which could inevitably involve the complete obliteration of the entire Black ghetto-class and sections of the Black working class. The decision to save capitalism at all costs, to provide adequate capital for the restructuring of the private sector, fundamentally conflicts with the survival of millions of people who are now permanently outside the workplace. Reaganomics must, if it intends to succeed, place the onerous burden of unemployment on the shoulders of the poor (Blacks, Latinos and even whites) so securely that middle-to-upper income Americans will not protest in the vicious suppression of this stratum. Unlike classical fascism, Reaganism must pursue its policies without publicly attacking Blacks or Puerto Ricans by obvious racial slurs. The government's strategy must include a number of middle class minorities in responsible but low key positions to diffuse charges of white racism which would be levied by white liberal Democrats and progressives. But the final results of these socioeconomic policies, carried to their logical conclusions, would be the total destruction of all-Black institutions, the political separation of the Black elite and intelligentsia from the working class, and the benign but deadly elimination of the "parasitic" ghettoclass that has ceased to be a necessary or productive element within modern capitalism.

Over a decade has passed since the Report of the *National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* published its devastating indictment against white racism. "What white Americans have



The gloomy statistics for unemployment and poverty of Americans as far from the realities facing Afro-Americans in the '80s.

never fully understood — but what the Negro can never forget — is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." With the failure of the Black Power Movement and the political collapse of white liberalism, the direction of America's political economy and social hierarchy is veering toward a kind of subtle apocalypse which promises to obliterate the lowest stratum of the Black and Latino poor. For the Right will not be satisfied with institutionalization of bureaucratic walls that surround

and maintain the ghetto. The genocidal logic of the situation will demand, in not too distant future, the rejection of the ghetto's right to survival in the capitalist order. Without gas chambers or pogroms, the dark ghetto's economic and social institutions will be destroyed and many of its residents will sit cease to exist.

The challenges are great, but the time is short. If Black leadership refuses to observe the dangerous signs of the time, millions of us may become the victims of an American Holocaust.

South Carolina's Own Rosa Parks**Sara Anderson**

North Charleston, SC. — Last month, a young, black mother named Emma took her seat in a classroom at Baptist College in North Charleston, S.C. It was a course on the media taught by a white professor. Emma had just gotten a letter from an old friend in New York in which there was a blow-by-blow account of the demonstrations against the tour of South Africa's Springbok rugby team. Knowing her classmates would be interested, she decided to use one of the leaflets for her current events report.

Hardly before she had a chance to start reading it, the professor cut her short, dismissing it as unrelated to media. The students, most of them black, protested and voted to hear what the leaflet had to say. In fact, the president of the student body took the leaflet and finished reading it. This strong show of student solidarity so enraged the professor that his own racist views about blacks staying in their place came out. "All hell broke out," Emma said,

describing the scene that took place. "The students actually pushed him out of the room and told him never to come back."

A boycott was declared and students spread the news to the entire campus, collecting the signatures of 486 students and professors, black and white, demanding the professor be fired. It was so successful that the college board's attempt at mediation was a total failure.

"We won!" Emma said. "The professor had to go. But all the time we missed out of class we have to attend this summer. For some of us it will be hard on the pocketbook. Our grants don't pay for summer courses. Although the boycott is over, we are still collecting signatures and passing out copies of it."

As for Emma, she's busy on a report on South Africa and its apartheid system but still finding time to spread her news network. She's been organizing support for the nine protestors who were arrested in Albany during the anti-rugby tour demonstration. □

Letters

Continued from page 2

not allow them to do what they might like to do; i.e., create a fascist state in North America capable of keeping themselves in power. They have chosen to spend our money on guns and not on butter. Well, since it is extremely unlikely that they can use Cruise Missiles or Polaris submarines against their own army if it mutinies here and there, or against the unemployed in Hoboken or

Muncie or Tucson or in Beloit Chicago or New York or L.A., *le capitalists and generals and politicians eat guns*, 'cause there will be precious little else they will be able to do for them. They are creating an army of unemployed who will be their grave diggers and which could end the capitalist imperialist system forever in the next few years. Let's raise the issues and battle of struggle; we are entering a qualitatively new period.

Yours in a Real Solidarity of Struggle
And in

THE TWO-HUNDRED & THIRTY MILLIMETER ECONOMIC SYSTEM or ODE TO A NINE-INCH GUN

Whether your shell hits the target or not,
You cost us Twenty Thousand Dollars a Shot.
Oh thing of noise and flame and power
It costs us a thousand barrels of flour
Each time you roar. Your fire is free
By two-hundred thousand loaves of bread.
Quiet! I hear a million hungry mouths
Will all your gun-fire silence them!

—Bob Grove
C-24181 N-160 C.M.F. Box 2000
Vacaville, Ca. 95696

CIA's Media Strategy in Chile

David Armstrong

Please understand, I'm not one of those people who sees a CIA agent under every bush and behind every keyhole. The Company is out there, however, and its agents do some of the things they are accused of doing — illegal, immoral things, like dosing unsuspecting Americans with drugs just to see what happens, spending \$6 million to manipulate the Italian elections and orchestrating the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile.

Comes now Fred Landis, a Los Angeles journalist and critic of the Central Intelligence Agency, who has some thought-provoking theories about just how the CIA does its dirty work. Landis is being sued for \$210 million by the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers for his trouble, and he's fighting another suit by one David Atlee Phillips, editor of a rightwing magazine called *Eagle*, to boot. Still, he perseveres, determined to expose the conspiracy within.

According to the outspoken Landis, the CIA has a media strategy for destabilizing what it considers to be unfriendly foreign governments. This involves infiltrating the leading daily newspaper of a targeted country and working the paper like a puppeteer works Punch and Judy, to knock out the regime in question. The strategy relies on disinformation and psychological warfare, and has been used successfully in Chile with *El Mercurio* and Jamaica with the *Daily Gleaner*. Landis thinks Nicaragua's *La Prensa* may be next.

Landis was working in Chile as a correspondent for the *Chicago Sun-Times* in September of 1973, when the military staged a coup d'etat. *El Mercurio*, Chile's dominant newspaper for over a century, was, Landis argues, taken over by "advisors" from the Inter-American Press Association prior to the coup. The visiting journalists were secretly working for the CIA. Their aim: to undermine public confidence in Salvador Allende's democratically elected socialist government as a prelude to smashing it.

The first thing they did, Landis says, was change

the paper's staid, *Wall Street Journal*-type format. "Suddenly, you have color, where before it was only black and white. You have headlines across the entire page. You have large photographs, or maybe just one large photograph. Before, there was no propaganda there, you just had a newspaper. Suddenly, everything in the paper goes to push a few very simple themes.

"The propaganda campaign," he continues, "is authorized by the National Security Council or the President of the United States, and usually costs about half a million dollars and lasts three months. The first theme is economic chaos. After economic chaos, you shift to social chaos. After social chaos, you see character assassination of government leaders. For being president of the country, Allende almost never appeared in the newspaper. When he did appear, he was always associated with a word such as 'Communism', 'Soviet', 'Plagues', 'Death'."

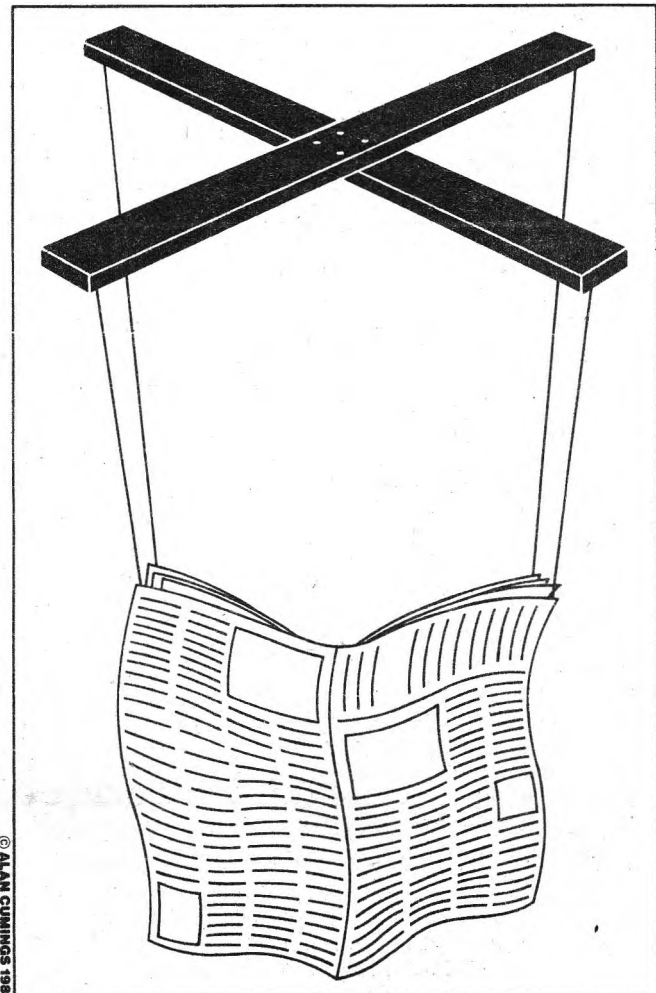
In the months preceding the coup, *El Mercurio* was awash in news of chaos and crimes — many of which never happened — and repeated predictions of imminent civil war. The result, for readers of that opinion-making paper, was unbroken tension and gloom. This, Landis argues, prepared Chileans psychologically for the coup.

El Mercurio's propaganda was aimed at the middle and upper classes — no friends of the socialist government, usually — and Chile's military, which had a long tradition of respecting democratic institutions. In order to get the generals to violate the constitution, they had to be convinced that the "subversive" Allende was ruining the country. They were.

After the coup, the ruling military junta outlawed trade unions and strikes and adopted the supply-side policies of American economist Milton Friedman. Hundreds of thousands of Chileans were thrown out of work. If they had the temerity to criticize the junta or organize against it, they were arrested and often tortured and killed. Chile continues to be cited by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International as one of the most repressive countries in the world.

Did this runaway train of events begin with fabricated stories in *El Mercurio*, courtesy of the blazing typewriters of the CIA? Is this just another paranoid conspiracy theory? I don't know. It's something to think about, however, as the Reagan administration pushes to liberalize the intelligence agencies, including the CIA, from the mild restraints of the Carter years. □

American Journal appears in over 30 papers across the country.

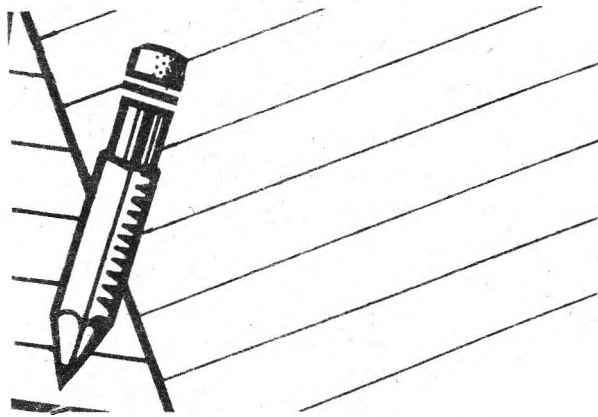


"HELP WANTED"

Lem Davis

Through no fault of my own, I have from time to time been a distinguished member of the "reserve army of the unemployed." So distinguished, in fact, that if this reserve army was organized along the lines of a real army, I would undoubtedly be commissioned as a five-star general with more service medals than Reagan has wrinkles. Therefore, in a sincere effort to change my status, I recently paid a visit to the local Unemployment Office (known to some disheartened souls as the Un-employment Office). The following account of that visit contains scenes which may not be suitable for pre-teens. Or post-teens. Or anyone looking for a job.

I arrived at the Office bright and early, pen and pencil in hand, eager to put my best foot forward.



There were already 3,284 other best feet forward ahead of mine. Despite waiting in line for 3 hours and 15 minutes behind an unemployed waste-water worker ("Who would'a thought that I would get laid off? I mean, people may not be buyin' cars and junk, but they still gotta go, ya know..."), my spirits were still high when I stepped up to the window.

The young woman on the other side didn't look up from her papers.

"Good mornin', ma'am," I said cheerfully. "I'm here to take advantage of President Reagan's supply-

side economic recovery plan, which will provide jobs for the truly needy such as myself, through the mechanism of enormous tax breaks for the extremely wealthy and the big corporations, which will then trickle down and spur production, creating new employment opportunities and a bright future for all."

She still didn't look up.

"Name?" Her voice sounded like a dial tone.

"Lem Davis."

"Full name, please. Last name first, first name middle, middle initial last."

"Davis, Lemuel R." My smile started to fade ever so slightly.

"How long in this state?"

"You mean an unemployed state?" I asked.

"Seems like forever."

She glanced up from her papers and shot me a look that could've deflated the Goodyear blimp. I smiled.

"What kind of work are you seeking?" Her voice had as much character as a Xerox machine.

"You name it," I said earnestly. "I'll take construction, factory work, maintenance, clerk, National Security Advisor, diamond cutter, anything that's open."

"Would you like to see one of our Job Counselors?"

"What will he tell me?"

"He'll tell you to get a job."

"Somehow I knew you were going to say that," I said with a sigh. "Look, all I want is a job, any kind of job that will pay the rent and maybe put some groceries on the table. Is that too much to ask?"

"How long have you been under the care of a psychiatrist?" she asked blankly.

"Very funny. Why don't you go on 'Saturday Night Live' and I'll take your job," I suggested.

She reached in a drawer and pulled out a pile of papers as thick as a Hong Kong phone book. "Fill out these forms and bring them back with you next week to Window 3-A. Next!"

"Wait a second! I came here to get a job, not a case of writer's cramp. What am I supposed to do till next week?"

"I suggest you look for work."

"Hey, there's a novel idea," I said. "Did you think of that one yourself or was that part of your training?"

I saw her hand reach for the paperweight in front of her and quickly decided to shift my tactics.

"Look, I know it's not your fault, you're only doing your job," I said calmly. "I'm sorry for getting mad at you. I mean, the government sets it up so that there's a limited amount of jobs, then lets all of us unemployed folks fight it out to get them. Your job is to be the referee."

She eyed me suspiciously for a moment, then smiled. "Yeah, that's about the way it works. The government is the bad guy, but I get all the flak. I'm getting a little tired of it."

"Well, judging from the way things are going these days, I wouldn't worry about it too much if I were you. After Stockman spilled the beans, and once the economy really takes a nosedive, you'll have a hard time finding someone around who doesn't know that it's the system that's at fault. It's only a matter of time."

She nodded in agreement, then leaned forward and said in a low voice, "There is one job that's open, as far as I know. I don't know about the pay, but there's a lot of personal satisfaction and recognition from a grateful public."

I leaned forward too. "Sounds great!" I said. "What is it?"

"Well, now that Hinckley is in jail, you know, and those stories about the Libyan hit teams are just Government fairy tales, I would imagine that a person could..."

"Thanks for the tip," I said as I picked up my stack of forms and turned to leave. "I like your spirit, but I think maybe you've worked here too long. See you next week."

I walked quickly to the door, but just before I reached it I stopped and thought for a minute. I turned to go back to her window only to see her being mobbed by 185 anxious people asking for applications for the job.

I shrugged and walked back towards the door. "They should've thought of this a long time ago," I said to myself. "I can only think of one person who wouldn't like the idea..."

Women Hold Up Half The Sky

The Second Stage:

Gutting the Women's Movement

Margaret Littlefield

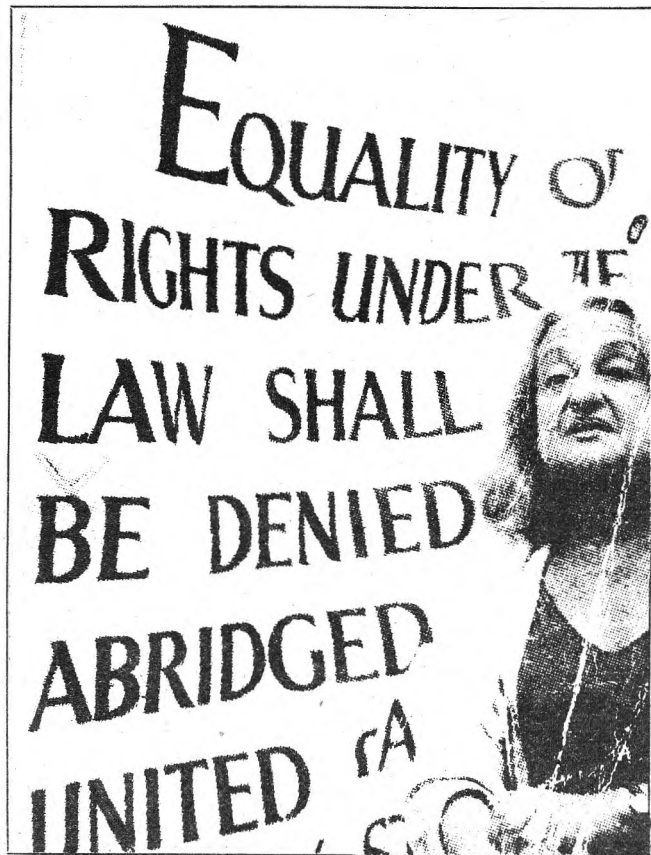
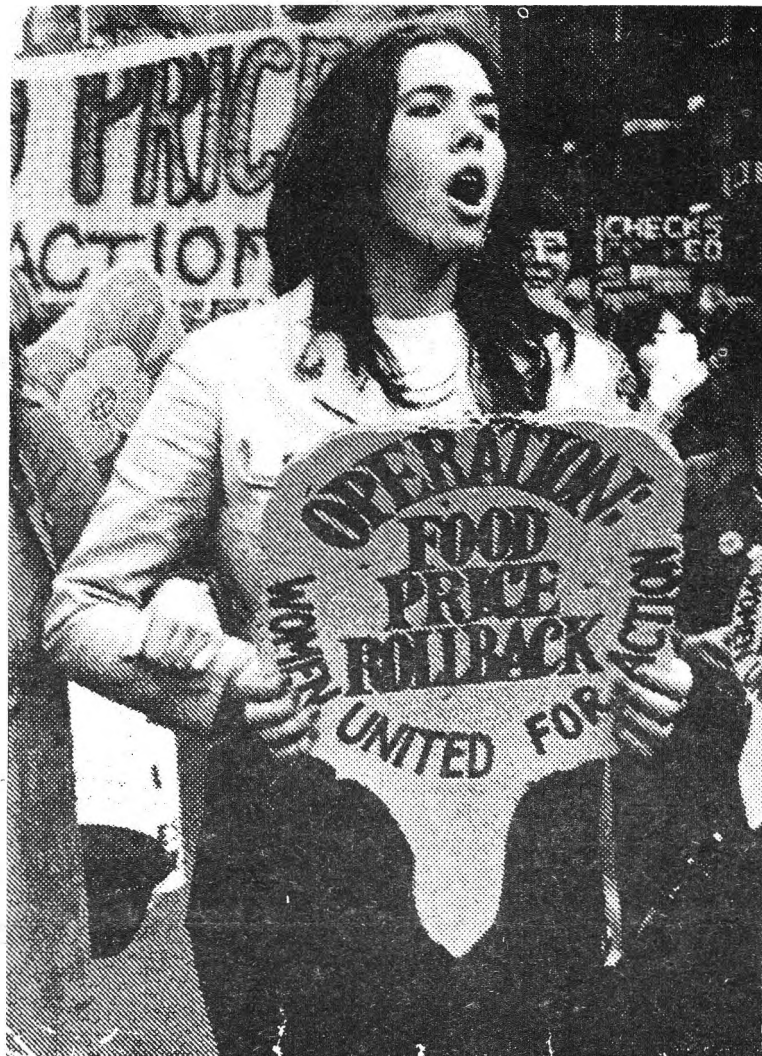
Betty Friedan's book, *The Second Stage*, is in sync with the bourgeoisie's operational plan. First we have Milton Friedman's T.V. series informing us that laissez faire capitalism is the only economic system that will work. Then we have George Gilder's book, *Wealth and Poverty* and in it he connects morality, humanism to capitalism. And now we have Betty Friedan telling us women that capitalism is in crisis and we better "go back" to how it used to be. In the song "B Movie" Gil Scott Heron aptly confirms the "Go Back" theme that is being presented to us through Reaganomics and its capitalist crisis. The masses of American people can only go forward and search for a better standard of living. We can't go back to free competition and the nuclear family. To the bourgeoisie these were real. For the people's movement that is being propelled through history these are illusionary. Historical conditions are forcing us onwards.

The Second Stage was written in preparation for the defeat of the ERA. More specifically it is an attempt to hold back a progressive women's movement. One that examines why material conditions for women have not been met during this past period of heightened women's consciousness. In her book Friedan refers to capitalism as being impotent and in the same line slanders communism as being autocratic. This recalls to mind author Marilyn French's speech in Pittsburgh on the day marking ERA's last year campaign drive. Instead of answering why women receive 59 cents to the man's \$1.00 or why a lack of day centers M. French attacks socialist economies. She put forth that women do not benefit with such a system. It would seem that socialism is on their minds and if Friedan espouses evolution as she repeatedly mentions in her book — then they are aware that there is increased talk about having a socialized, planned economy to meet women's material and spiritual needs. Especially now during Reagan's budget cuts that have severely hampered social services that are relied on by poor and working women. Women know that the military budget is the priority.

The women's movement of the past 20 years did raise a consciousness that will not go away. Women began questioning their second class citizenship. We began to ask why our division of labor of mother and housewife was equivalent to that of slave status. And most importantly women began to make noise about these conditions. Women demanded to be seen as productive members of society.

The ERA ratification drive was used against us, because it exploited our genuine feelings of fighting for equality. We believed that it would be the panacea for all our ills. Women were taught to trust bourgeois politicians. How could we when inequality existed with a 14th amendment, a Civil Rights act, formation of affirmative action and equal employment opportunity commissions? All of our fight was coopted into the ERA drive. When we should have been on the streets demanding from the government good housing, quality childcare, equal wages, quality education, reproductive rights and so forth.

Betty Friedan claims that we are at a stage. She writes that "we've" arrived at this stage, because career women are questioning their abilities of handling executive jobs and raising a family simultaneously. Her answer is for women to quit bickering with men in the



What direction is the women's movement going? Will it take to the streets or, as Betty Friedan suggests in her new book, will it "settle down"?

executive suites, have their babies and then they will all live happily. Because men have become aware of the hassles of child rearing and now have a better understanding of what women have been experiencing. Friedan wrote *The Second Stage* for two reasons: The ERA women's movement was primarily geared for bourgeois women. People who had to achieve a career, a status in the capitalist system. It has been a highly individualized process for them. So women got in the "old boy network" and discovered that they were exploiting the very sex they thought they were liberating.

During a Holly Near concert she made special mention about this aspect. Holly Near said that the women's movement wasn't about us getting into the executive suites and exploiting our own sisters. So Friedan is aware that the movement is backfiring on her own sex. Perhaps she is easing the situation with her call for the family. When we know our female boss is having difficulty with her child at home the exploitation won't feel so bad. Or a family is the answer for women who will lose their white collar jobs due to the economic crisis. In case they get the idea to question the economic system; keep them at home with a family.

Her second reason is precisely that even though we women have taken to the streets for countless ERA rallies and "Women Unite to Take Back the Night" marches. We are continuously fending off sexual harassment on the job. And continue to be offended when

Hollywood produces another movie that entertains with women being violently attacked. The bourgeoisie is aware that oppression continues. Poor, working women and those who have rejected Big Business are questioning why this is continuing when we thought there was a viable women's movement. Now we know that it was an individualized movement. It achieved its goal for a certain few.

For the majority of women having a family has never been a question. What makes it a question now is the present economic crisis. Inflation means that two jobs in a family are required for survival. This makes it difficult for rearing children, because capitalist businesses do not provide day care centers, adequate maternity leave, and job assurance for the returning mother. For the woman having a family is not a moral or ideological question. It is a material one. Rearing children is considered important under capitalism, because it is the reproduction of the productive forces. It is unpaid labor and has been labeled as women's division of labor. Perhaps Friedan and the bourgeoisie became frightened that women forgot to keep reproducing for the ongoing capitalist war machine. Thus her reason for making a call for families. Friedan and company seem to be telling us to forget the historical formation of this movement and "go back" to a life as portrayed in "Father Knows Best."

We women are beginning to question this country's priorities in the economic and political areas. Women and men

openly state that they don't want to raise children when Reagan, Bush et al believe that a nuclear war is winnable. Couples discuss the reasons for not having children in a polluted environment of chemical and nuclear waste. We are questioning militarization of the economy for the war buildup. The country's foreign policy is geared toward destruction and exploitation.

Along with this question why AA EEOC, social services for poor and working women are eroding. There is economic destabilization and coupled with this there is a right wing reactionary force that snaked in and is confusing the issues and specifically the role of women. When we thought we were making some sort of gains along come legislation such as HLB, the Human Life Amendment, the Family Protection Act. In Pennsylvania the repressive Abortion Control Act sailed through the legislature last December. It can only be expected that women are questioning who the laws protect and why vote for a politician who promises you equality then acts the opposite.

Friedan says we are at a stage. A perceptive look at material conditions for women through a political and economic scope shows that we are at a crisis. At a time in history when we either do fight or flight. It can only be assumed that we will fight. One way is to build a mass movement that deal specifically with the issues of poor pay reproductive rights, money for social services and jobs and not a war buildup

Study

Continued from page 9

to the *forefront* at the time, if we had not "exaggerated" so as to drive it home to people who were trying to prevent it from being realized.

What Is To Be Done? is a summary of *Iskra* tactics and *Iskra* organizational policy in 1901 and 1902. Precisely a "summary," no more and no less. That will be clear to anyone who takes the trouble to go through the file of *Iskra* for 1901 and 1902. But to pass judgement on that summary without knowing *Iskra's* struggle against the then dominant trend of Economism, without understanding that struggle, is sheer idle talk. *Iskra* fought for an organization of professional revolutionaries. It fought with especial vigour in 1901 and 1902, vanquished Economism, the then dominant trend, and finally created this organization in 1902. It preserved it in face of the subsequent split in the *Iskra* ranks and all the convulsions of the period of storm and stress; it preserved it throughout the Russian revolution; it preserved it intact from 1901-02 to 1907.

And now, when the fight for this organization has long been won, when the seed has ripened, and the harvest gathered, people come along and tell us: "You exaggerated the idea of an organization of professional revolutionaries!" Is this not ridiculous?

Take the whole pre-revolutionary period and the first two and a half years of the revolution (1905-07). Compare our Social-Democratic Party during this whole period with the other parties in respect of unity, organization, and continuity of policy. You will have to admit that in this respect our Party is unquestionably superior to all the others — the Cadets, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc. Before the revolution it drew up a programme which was formally accepted by all Social-Democrats, and when changes were made in it there was no split over the programme. From 1903 to 1907 (formally from 1905 to 1906), the Social-Democratic Party, despite the split in its ranks, gave the fullest information on the inner-party situation (minutes of the Second General Congress, the Third Bolshevik, and the Fourth General, or Stockholm, congresses). Despite the split, the Social-Democratic Party earlier than any of the other parties was able to take advantage of the temporary spell of freedom to build a legal organization with an ideal democratic structure, an electoral system, and representation at congresses according to the number of organized members. You will not find this, even today, either in the Socialist-Revolutionary or the Cadet parties, though the latter is practically legal, is the best organized bourgeois party, and has incomparably greater funds, scope for using the press, and opportunities for legal activities than our Party. And take the elections in the Second Duma, in which all parties participated — did they not clearly show the superior organizational unity of our Party and Duma group?

The question arises, who accomplished, who brought into being this superior unity, solidarity, and stability of our Party? It was accomplished by the organization of professional revolutionaries, to the building of which *Iskra* made the greatest contribution. Anyone who knows our Party's history well, anyone who has had a hand in building the Party, has but to glance at the delegate list of any of the groups at, say, the London Congress, in order to be convinced of this and notice at once that it is a list of the old membership, the central core that had worked hardest of all to build up the Party and make it what it is. Basically, of course, their success was due to the fact that the working class, whose best representatives built the Social-Democratic Party, for objective economic reasons possesses a greater capacity for organization than any other class in capitalist society. Without this condition an organization of professional revolutionaries would be nothing more than a plaything, an adventure, a mere signboard. *What Is To Be Done?* repeatedly emphasizes this, pointing out that the organization it advocates has no meaning apart from its connection with the "genuine revolutionary class that is spontaneously rising to struggle." But the objective maximum ability of the proletariat to unite in a class is realized through living people, and only through definite forms of organization. In the historical conditions that prevailed in Russia in 1900-05, no organization other than *Iskra* could have created the Social-Democratic Labour Party we now have. The professional revolutionary has played his part in the history of Russian proletarian socialism. No power on earth can now undo this work, which has outgrown the narrow framework of the "circles" of 1902-05. Nor can the significance of the gains already won be shaken by belated complaints that the militant tasks of the movement were exaggerated by those who at that time had to fight to ensure the correct way of accomplishing these tasks... (V.I. Lenin, *Preface to the Collection Twelve Years*, Collected Works, Vol. 13, pp. 100-104, Progress Publishers)

PARTY WORK IN THE MASSES On Confounding Politics with Pedagogics

... It is our duty always to intensify and broaden our work and influence among the masses. A Social-Democrat who does not do this is no Social-Democrat. No branch, group, or circle can be considered a Social-Democratic organization if it does not work to this end steadily and regularly. To a great extent, the purpose of our strict separation as a distinct and independent party of the proletariat consists in the fact that we always and undeviatingly conduct this Marxist work of raising the whole working class, as far as possible, to the level of Social-Democratic consciousness, allowing

no political gales, still less political changes of scenery, to turn us away from this urgent task. Without this work, political activity would inevitably degenerate into a game, because this activity acquires real importance for the proletariat only when and insofar as it arouses the mass of a definite class, wins its interest, and mobilizes to take an active, foremost part in events. This work, as we have said, is always necessary. After every reverse we should bring this to mind again, and emphasize it, for weakness in this work is *always* one of the causes of the proletariat's defeat. Similarly, we should always call attention to it and emphasize its importance after every victory, otherwise the victory will be only a seeming one, its fruits will not be assured, its real significance in the great struggle for our ultimate goal will be negligible and may even prove adverse (particularly if a partial victory should slacken our vigilance, lull our distrust of unreliable allies, and cause us to forgo the right moment for a renewed and more vigorous attack on the enemy).

But for the very reason that the work of intensifying and broadening our influence on the masses is always necessary, after each victory as after each defeat, in times of political quiescence as in the stormiest periods of revolution, we should not turn the emphasis upon this work into a special slogan or build upon it any special trend if we do not wish to court the risk of descending to demagoguery and degrading the aims of the advanced and only truly revolutionary class. There is and always will be an element of pedagogics in the political activity of the Social-Democratic Party. We must educate the whole class of wage-workers to the role of fighters for the emancipation of mankind from all oppression. We must constantly teach more and more sections of this class; we must learn to approach the most backward, the most undeveloped members of this class, those who are least influenced by our science and the science of life, so as to be able to speak to them, to draw closer to them, to raise them steadily and patiently to the level of Social-Democratic consciousness, without making a dry dogma out of our doctrine — to teach them not only from books, but through participation in the daily struggle for existence of these backward and undeveloped strata of the proletariat. There is, we repeat, a certain element of pedagogics in this everyday activity. The Social-Democrat who lost sight of this activity would cease to be a Social-Democrat. That is true. But some of us often forget, these days, that a Social-Democrat who would reduce the tasks of politics to pedagogics would also, though for a different reason, cease to be a Social-Democrat. Whosoever might think of turning this "pedagogics" into a special slogan, of *contraposing* it to "politics," of building a special trend upon it, and of appealing to the masses under this slogan against the "politicians" of Social-Democracy, would instantly and unavoidably descend to demagoguery. (V.I. Lenin, *Party Work in the Masses*, pp. 25-26, Progress Publishers)

JAW

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represent have the ability to break through the corporate-union hustlerism of Fraser and the International leadership. One of the tasks which confronts the anti-concession forces in the months ahead is to formulate a positive program which will rally workers against the corporations' schemes for so-called "reindustrialization" on the backs of the working class. To be effective, the LOC must present a coherent program to counter the false premises of wage-cuts and concessions. Up until now, the main thrust of LOC has been against imported autos and imported parts/supplies ("outsourcing"), runaway shops, and automation. But without a positive program linked to Jobs and Income now, the LOC can only react to each initiative by Fraser and the corporations instead of building a strong base and credibility within the rank and file.

At no time since the 1930s have the opportunities for rallying workers been greater than now. It is from the ranks of the anti-concession forces and the LOC that new leadership in the UAW can emerge. That is why it needs to be strengthened and expanded. The local leadership who consistently stand against Fraser's sellout can speak for many more than their own membership. They can speak for the whole working class in rallying against the national trend of takebacks, concessions, and union-busting. The union leaders today willing to stand their ground and say no to concessions have impact far greater than their numbers in the midst of a

bureaucracy that is as weak as a house of cards. The pressure that these UAW local leaders resisted over the past two weeks is considerable — from threats of having their plants closed to talk by the International of putting their locals into trusteeship.

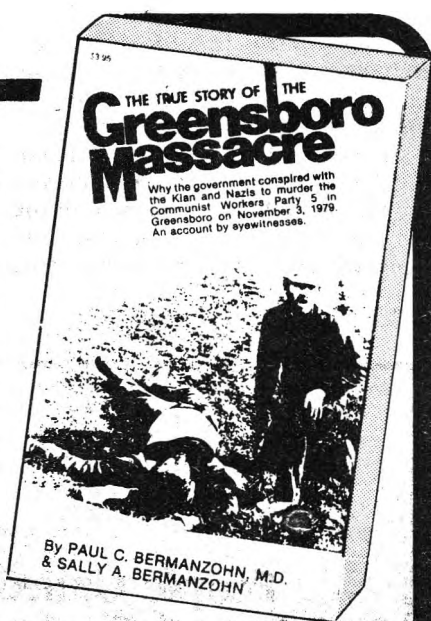
Now that the motion towards concessions at GM has been stalled at least until after the Ford takebacks are settled, the leaders have vowed to go back to their local unions and consult with their membership as to what the union's demands against the auto giants should be when bargaining begins in July. Some leaders of LOC stressed that the fight against concessions is far from over and the need to strengthen its base of support to include more Ford locals, where the next test of the union's ability to resist concessions will take place. This view, however, does not seem to be in the majority and the danger is that LOC will succumb to a "low-profile" posture out of fear of further antagonizing the International leadership, instead of assuming leadership, strengthening its organization nationally and challenging Fraser and his program directly.

The U.S. working class is willing, able and ready. It needs new leadership for new times. The breakdown of the UAW concession talks was a victory for the whole working class. It is the beginning of a trend of resistance at a time when the struggle on the economic front even within one union takes on a more general, political character that affects the whole working class. □

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

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

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State of the Union

Continued from page 1

congestion in financial markets," and investors "are reluctant to commit funds for any long period of time, fearful that interest rates may not decline or could even rise." The threat of record deficits has been haunting the administration for a while now. By rejecting tax increases, Reagan has all but guaranteed greater unemployment and inevitably more inflation.

Reagan projects a \$95 billion deficit in 1982. This would break the previous record deficit of \$66 billion reached under Ford in 1976. The administration claims the deficit will drop to \$90 billion in 1983, and further to \$73 billion the year after. But these figures are based on the assumption that the \$63 billion in additional budget cuts which Reagan will ask for in February go through. The White House also expects an additional \$30 billion in revenues to come from closing off tax loopholes. Included in this are measures to accelerate the collection of taxes on profits from multi-year contracts with the government, limit the amount of tax-free bonds local governments can issue, reduce the tax credits business can claim for buying energy-saving equipment, and ending the practice where companies can "lease" their unused tax credits to other corporations. In addition, the Reagan administration continues to hope in vain that its tax breaks will get business to reinvest in basic industries, get the economy going, create new jobs, and thus increase government revenue.

But in a recent survey, the government's own Commerce Department found that capital spending for corporations this year will decline 0.5 percent from 1981, the third consecutive year it has dropped. The loss of federal revenues from corporate taxes, coupled with the bloated military budget, will generate enormous deficits, averaging well above the \$100 billion mark. In order to cover these deficits, the government will have to borrow heavily in the nation's credit markets. This huge drain will keep interest rates high as Volcker said. Unable to borrow funds to keep going, even at the high rates, small business failure will increase. And since small business accounts for most of the jobs in this country, this means greater unemployment, the workers' purchasing power will be cut further, and the economic crisis will deepen. In many areas of the country, such as Michigan and Ohio, there are more unemployed today than during the Depression in the 1930s, especially if those permanently unemployed are counted. *Many areas*

are already in a depression. Furthermore, as Reagan himself pointed out in his speech, "A change in only one percentage point in unemployment can alter a deficit up or down by some \$25 billion." In a vicious cycle, the joblessness triggered by the Reagan deficits will result in even greater deficits.

The Propaganda War

Homes, jobs, and the social safety-net programs — the material basis for the illusions which tied the American people to the capitalist system in the Fifties, Sixties and Seventies — are being rapidly torn away in the '80s economic crisis. Society today is analogous to a ten-ton Mack truck suspended off the ground. A push of any significance can start it hurtling in any direction. It is in this context that Henry Kissinger said in a re-

cent issue of *Time* magazine, that the next few months constitute "one of the most critical junctures in postwar American history." "The key test is for the nation to deepen its values and transcend materialism at home ... Failing that, we can become irrelevant in just a few month's time." The *Time* article continued, explaining what "transcending materialism" means. "Much of the world struggle" is seen as "transformed into a propaganda war of unprecedented scope, in which perceptions of strength and weakness — conveyed in words and spirit — are critical elements." In particular, Kissinger referred to a "worldwide educational effort" to use Poland to show "the Communist system is a brutal failure."

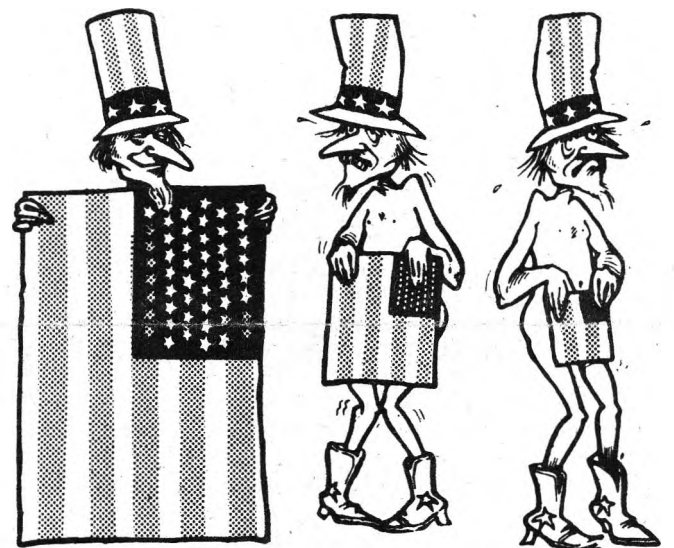
This propaganda war, this battle for public opinion, is what's behind

Reagan's use of first the so-called Li byan hit-squads, then Poland to draw popular attention away from the economy during the Christmas holidays. This is the same strategy behind the mindless culture bombarding the American people today as the bourgeoisie tries to shore up illusions that have no material basis.

Reagan's plan to shift the blame for budget cuts onto the states can diffuse the target of popular resistance. But at the same time, it will intensify the contradictions among the ruling class as the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole clash with the immediate interests of local bourgeoisie. Grass-roots organizers can use these contradictions to win the propaganda war, forge a popular consensus and vehicle which squarely targets the government and the monopoly capitalists. □

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GM Concession Drive Stalled

UAW's Fraser Hit by Rank and File Steamroller

Frank Chase

UAW President Doug Fraser's dejected and grim expression as he announced his second failure to negotiate contract takebacks with GM (11:30 pm Jan. 28) contrasted sharply with the feelings of victory among the rank and file. UAW members opposed to concessions.

Fraser was stalled in his attempts to sell UAW membership the line that concessions could save autoworkers' jobs. Like Joe Garagiola in the Chrysler commercials, Fraser had his heart set on stardom as he tried to hustle the old "get a car, get a check!" scam on UAW members and the American people.

Unlike the International UAW leadership, auto workers wouldn't buy the companies' lie that *they* are responsible for the decline in the U.S. auto industry and should pay through the nose. Just *one day after* the concession talks broke down, GM announced rebates averaging \$500-1000 to try to unstick car sales which had been delayed in anticipation of early contract concessions which Fraser could not deliver. This exposed the con game even more. The UAW leadership, which itself produced the formula for tying concessions to car discounts, was further discredited in the eyes of an already skeptical membership.

Locals Opposed to Concessions Formed

For the first time in UAW history, auto workers were led into negotiation to re-open a contract and give up hard-won gains of past years. This alone stuck in the throats of many local leaders. Because the UAW had pace-set such gains as COLA and seniority rights for the whole labor movement, buckling under to the companies' demands would have broad significance for the entire working class.

The extent and viciousness of the present proposed cuts was the final straw. Paid personal holidays (PPH), supposedly a job-creating gain in the 1976 contract, were offered up on the altar of GM's profit margin. (Never once did the media or UAW officials question how the elimination of 18,000 jobs which the industry estimates it created to cover PPH days could in any way be seen as "saving American jobs.") Other concessions discussed were paid absence days, some holidays, and forty hours of vacation pay, as well as the 3 percent Annual Improvement Factor and the diversion

of some cost of living money to the company. How Fraser even thought he could force this down GM workers' throats was beyond the imagination of many local UAW leaders. With GM demanding up to \$5/hour worth of takebacks and no guarantees of jobs or income, widespread opposition to the renegotiations and concessions developed among the rank and file.

On Jan. 10, over 50 local union presidents, shop chairmen, union officers, UAW Council delegates and rank and file members came together to form Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC). LOC, including many self-described "loyal supporters" of the UAW International, played a key role in organizing opposition to concessions in the second GM National Council meeting held in Washington, D.C., Jan. 23, after the first round of re-negotiation failed.

The National Councils are the advisory bodies of each corporate division of the UAW, composed of local union presidents, shop chairmen as well as elected delegates from the large locals. This body must approve any contract settlement before it can go to a ratification vote by the membership as a whole. The Councils historically passed recommendations of the International leadership by a very wide margin or by acclamation.

Fraser ramrodded the GM and Ford Councils into approving re-negotiations at their first meeting Jan. 10 in Chicago. Many of the delegates were unclear about the issues and what they were actually voting for. In addition, Fraser stacked the meeting with International reps who illegally voted.

But by exposing Fraser's use of undemocratic, strong-arm tactics at the first Council meeting, LOC scored a significant victory at the second. It managed to move the Council to a roll-call vote, the first in the memory of many delegates. This meant that each delegate would go on record and be held directly responsible by his or her local membership. It meant Fraser could not bloat the voting with International reps.

The results of the roll-call were very narrow: 57 percent to 43 percent in favor of continuing concession talks with GM. Fraser was forced to acknowledge that his was too slim a margin to sell GM's package of takeaways to an already hardhit and restless membership. The talks broke down in the face of a self-imposed

deadline Thursday night, Jan. 28.

Are Imports the Problem?

Since the early '70s, the capitalists, including the auto giants, have been screaming imports as the main cause of industrial decline and loss of jobs for American workers. Today, the imports line is being used to go after blood. Auto manufacturers push that the industry has no chance of recovery unless the wage difference between Japanese and U.S. workers is narrowed. This means wage/benefits cuts. Fraser has embraced "equality of sacrifice" hook, line and sinker.

Imports are not the cause of economic crisis. The decline of auto can only be seen in the framework of the stagnation and crisis of the whole U.S. economy. Imports are not even the major cause of unemployment in the auto industry. Restricting imports and cutting into the living standard of American workers will not get the economy rolling. The fundamental thing is to increase the purchasing power of the workers and American people. The fact is that over the past few years there have been fewer cars sold — U.S.-made or imported. Only used car sales have gone up. People just don't have the money to buy cars. Period. Attacking workers' "high wages" as the cause of stagnation and non-competitiveness of U.S. industry adds up to less purchasing power for American workers, less goods sold overall, less services consumed, etc. This means continued stagnation and decline, more misery for the working class and poor, but more money for the bosses to invest in mergers, speculation, and especially in industries like auto, automation that further rips away jobs.

A recent Congressional Research report admits, "the more substantial problem of the domestic industry appears not to have been the 48,550 unit increase in imports over the first 3 quarters of 1980 but the 1,479,280 unit decrease in total automobile sales. Even if import sales had remained constant, the huge drop in total sales would have caused the imports share to jump from 21.8 percent in 1979 to 26.8 percent in 1980 (compared to the actual 27.5 percent)." The report goes on to show that the maximum number of jobs that could be generated by import restrictions would be considerably less than the number of workers recalled between Ju-

ly and November 1980 *simply due to a slight bump in the economy.*

In fact, the economic crisis of the '80s means that car sales overall are going to stagnate or even decline further. Fortune Magazine predicts that volume growth, a major source of Japanese productivity gains over the U.S. manufacturers in years past will no longer be a factor as the Japanese market becomes saturated as well. Meanwhile, the U.S. corporations will be forced to improve their productivity with two-thirds of the savings coming from reorganization of production methods and automation.

Coming in tandem with attacks on wages and benefits, the corporations seek a freer hand in driving workers to death on the assembly line. This means union-busting. Already, GM and Ford have begun the attack on local union's hard-won work standards agreements. They seek relaxation of OSHA, lead and clean air standards as these vital safeguards become "cost-benefit" related under the Reagan administration.

**"Guaranteed Jobs and Income Now!"
"No Concessions!" "Make the Banks
and Corporations Pay!"**

The solution to get the economy rolling again is to put people back to work, to guarantee jobs or income. Not one item of Fraser's and GM's concession package addresses this point. Nor can they, since the whole premise of concessions is that the workers have too much money, the capitalists too little! In fact, Fraser's much-touted PR gimmick of tying concessions to car discounts was intended to stimulate car sales. At no time did he mention increased production. Fraser could deliver no guarantees for jobs or against future plant closing and layoffs. The whole thing was a riverboat gamble — with workers' jobs and futures the poker chips.

Only a program geared to making the capitalists pay and increasing the purchasing power of the American people, can turn the situation around. That's why we say: "Guaranteed Jobs or Income Now!" "NO Concessions!"

Which Way Forward For the Anti-Concession Movement?

The anti-concession secondary leadership in the UAW (represented mainly through LOC) and the membership they

Continued on page 14

Millions of Units

