

# WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

NEWSPAPER OF THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY

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50 CENTS

## By Right or By Charity?

Norman Sadler

Community activists, organizers and social workers held meetings in three Indiana cities recently to discuss the effect of the social welfare budget cuts. The programs, sponsored by the Indiana Nutrition Campaign (INC) and Legal Services Organization of Indiana, concentrated on the need to organize at the grass roots level to increase community cooperation and self-reliance.

The programs, called "Does Anyone Really Know How the Budget Cuts Will Affect Us?" squashed flat two myths spun around the government's economic plan. The transfer, rather than a simple cutting, of funds from social welfare programs to the military was firmly established by the speakers. The assertion of a UAW local officer, well-entrenched in bourgeois circles, that Reagan was simply putting into effect the November mandate, was immediately rebutted by one of the program leaders, who stated that 26 percent of the vote is not a mandate.

The program leaders also made it clear that while there were dangers for nearly everyone, new opportunities existed. Beyond these points, however, the program entered a swampy economic analysis and an equally swampy response to the crisis.

### "We've Been Used to the Grant Fix

The keynote speaker stressed that we must do away with stereotypes, we must learn to live with paradox, contradiction and irony: no one can be written off. We must impede, rather than expedite, the budget cuts until their effect is understood and alternatives found.

Within and around these statements are the false ideas that, individually, there are progressive bourgeoisie who will support social welfare in their communities, that volunteerism and philanthropy can replace federally-funded entitlement programs, and that community organization is a solution to the problems created by eliminating federal aid and responsibility for the poor.

Their plan of seeking aid from the local bourgeoisie forces them to skirt and sidestep opposition to the budget

cuts and go along, to an extent, with the New Federalism. By stressing cooperation over confrontation, the focus of their struggle is lost in the swamp.

What does community cooperation mean for the poor and the working class? In the opinion of several program leaders, it means unions should accept layoffs and wagecuts to prevent a plant closing. Several leaders also expressed opposition to public employee unions, while at the same time they defended PATCO against government unionbusting. "Living with contradictions," as the keynote speaker advocated, apparently means looking for help from the bourgeoisie while distrusting social workers who don't live in poverty and sharing the experiences of the poor. This contradiction, historically promoted by the bourgeoisie to split the working class, is coming to the foreground as local governments get more and more responsibility for social welfare programs and fewer and fewer funds for them.

City and township representatives at the program admitted that, with the statewide tax freeze, their only source of additional money for basic services was the bond issue. They can levy a special property tax to repay the bond. But their bonding authority is greatly limited, and in many cities already bonds have been floated while, at the same time, city employees are laid off and wages are frozen. The state representative there had no idea what was going to happen, and could only stutter about how compromise and trade-offs are how politicians work.

The greater portion of city, county and state budgets go to salaries. If those budgets now have to include more and more social services, including Medicaid and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and they don't get additional revenue to provide for those services, then the public employee has good cause for nervousness. The governors have already begun yelping over the position it puts them in.

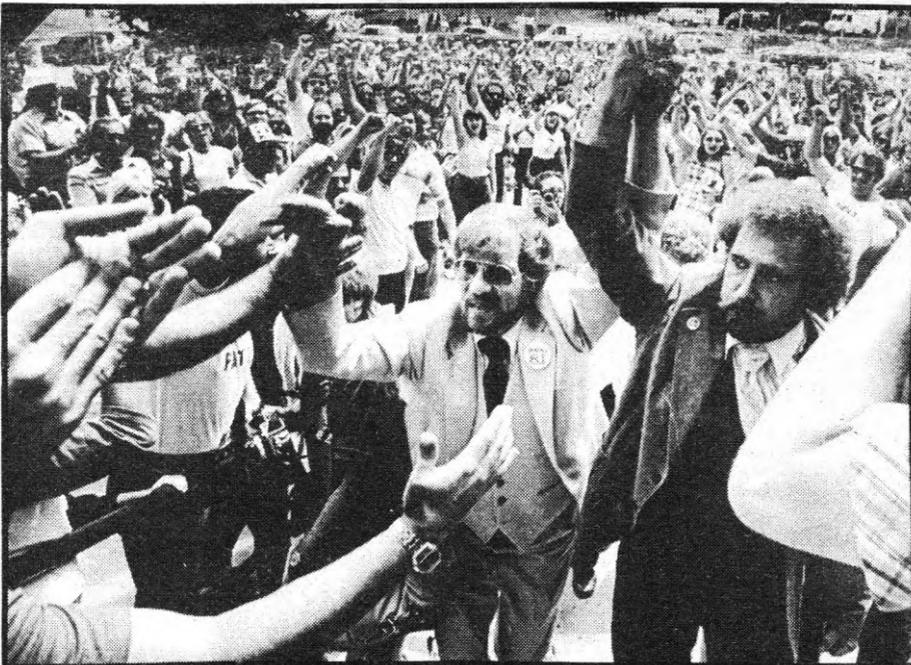
### The Damocles Sword: Over Our Heads or in Our Hands?

As always, the unemployed millions

required by capitalism are made to hang like the sword of Damocles over the heads of the employed. The keynote speaker touched on this when she spoke of the hidden social costs in the economy. Even highly skilled workers, such as the air traffic controllers, are cut by this sword.

Used by the bourgeoisie to bust unions, lower wages and divide the working class, the unemployed are led to believe that workers, not the monopoly capitalist system, are the source of their misery. This belief is perpetuated in the community activist threat to the social worker that "If I wasn't poor, you wouldn't be

militancy, they are still used as buffers between the bourgeoisie and the working class. In the *U.S. News and World Report* of July 27, an article reported on "The New Incivility Toward Public Servants." Citing "a growing frustration with government in general," bitterness "about the cost of living," and the "belief that, as taxpayers, they are entitled to make heavy demands on public employees" as the reasons for increasing verbal and physical abuse of public employees, the article concludes that the budget cuts will make the situation worse. Caseworkers have already been laid off in county welfare departments, heightening the tensions



The movement against the budget cuts is faced with answering many questions, such as its attitude toward public employees. The movement must make up its mind to support public workers' struggles, as shown, for example, in this picture where several hundred people rallied outside an Indianapolis courthouse to support PATCO's strike against the government.

working."

Told by their employers that they are professionals who don't belong in the unions, the government kept public employees' wages down and isolated them from the working class for a long time. Although unions are on the rise among public employees, and they are demonstrating strong rank-and-file

and frustrations of caseworkers and recipients.

Another part of the New Federalism is the elimination of the idea that people are entitled to government services, replacing it with the old trick of "trickle-down" economics and the

Continued on page 14

## Part II

# Capitalism Destabilized—Our Task 8

# NATIONAL NEWS

## AAFE Endorses Barbaro, Ross and Friedlander



Mayoral candidate Frank Barbaro marching up 5th Ave. in 1981 Labor Day Parade in New York City.

**Jim Davis**

NEW YORK, N.Y. — In an unprecedented move for the Chinatown community, Asian Americans for Equality has endorsed three progressive candidates in local races for Mayor and the city council. Frank Barbaro, a five-term New York State

Assemblyman from Benshonhurst and a supporter of labor and tenant struggles, will be running for Mayor in the September 10 Democratic primary. Nancy Ross, a leading member of the New Alliance Party which has spearheaded the "Dump Koch" movement

in recent years, will be running for city council member at large for the borough of Manhattan. Councilwoman Miriam Friedlander is seeking re-election in District 2 in lower Manhattan. "They have earned our endorsement," an AAFE spokesperson said, "because of their proven records as fighters for the poor and working people of this city."

### The Koch Record— Cutbacks and Taxbreaks

Support continues to roll in from many unions and community groups for candidates Barbaro and Ross. During the past four years of the Koch Administration, many groups have opposed the mayor's policies which have attacked the poor, polarized the city along racial lines and lined the pockets of big real estate developers with huge tax breaks. While boasting about a \$200 million surplus in the city budget, Mayor Koch remains adamant in his decision to not reopen Sydenham hospital which he ordered closed last Fall. Sydenham a badly needed hospital which served the people of West Harlem needs only \$9 million to re-open. On the other side of the ledger Koch has doled out \$700 million in tax abatements to profit-hungry real estate developers since 1977. Ten of the city's largest real estate corporations have responded by contributing \$175,000 to Koch's re-election campaign.

### People Need An Alternative

For the past two years, the New Alliance Party, the Black United Front and other groups have mounted a grassroots campaign to remove Koch in this year's election. Assemblyman Barbaro emerged from a crop of potential candidates earlier this Spring as the most experienced and politically viable alternative to oppose Koch. A former longshoreman and union organizer in Brooklyn's waterfront,

Mr. Barbaro has received overwhelming support from the city's labor unions (with the notable exception of the policemen and firemen who have backed Mayor Koch). The most significant endorsement has come from the N.Y. AFL-CIO Central Labor Council. In the past, the council which has traditionally backed Democratic candidates has never endorsed anyone before the primaries.

Nancy Ross, a community leader in the fight for quality education and former member of the Community School Board #3, has received endorsements from a number of community groups including the Black United Front, Harlem Fightback, Coalition of Grassroots Women, Black Economic Survival and many others. Most recently, Arnold Cherry, a leader of a militant subway workers' rank and file caucus in the Transit Workers Union has endorsed her candidacy.

On recent campaign tours throughout Chinatown, both Barbaro and Ross expressed their commitments to take up the often-ignored concerns of the Asian community. In talks with AAFE, the Chinatown Consolidated Benevolent Association and other community groups, Mr. Barbaro pledged to solve the housing crisis which has plagued Chinatown. Encouraged by Koch's tax abatement plan, many real estate investors are busily buying up land in Chinatown with an eye to building high-priced condominiums. As a result many Chinatown residents are being forced out by higher rents and evictions. "At a time when many politicians today are falling in line with the policies of the Reagan Administration to attack poor and working people," concluded an AAFE steering committee member, "support for people like Mr. Barbaro and Ms. Ross is crucial." □



## Controllers March Among Supporters on Labor Day

Chanting, "Strike, Strike, Strike" air controllers received overwhelming support from both inside the march and from the sidelines during Labor Day Parade in New York City. While they were met with cheers, Ed Koch, the city's mayor met with boos.



## WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

Workers Viewpoint welcomes contributions on all topics. WV will respond to every contributor. Written materials should be submitted typed, double-spaced on 8½" x 11" paper. Material can be returned only if accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

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

Send all correspondence to:

**Workers Viewpoint**  
GPO Box 2256  
New York, N.Y. 10116  
or call (212) 732-4309

# Homeless and Helpless

**Norman Sadler**

The rain poured down in a sudden summer thunderstorm, as suddenly as the eviction notice was served. The patients, 116 of them, waited quietly inside and on the porch and looked on as the wind and rain whipped through the tree branches near St. Ann's Home and in the park across the street. The rain heightened the color of the yellow school buses parked at the curb. Television camera crews and newspaper photographers huddled among the patients, waiting out the storm.

The patients had all their belongings in plastic trash bags. They were being evicted, August 26, from St. Ann's Home in Hammond, Indiana to the gymnasium and quarters of Tri-City Community Mental Health Center. Fifteen of the patients would be transferred to other nursing homes, and a handful would return to the homes of their families. The majority would be crowded onto the gym floor, where their only personal space would be the army cot provided by the Red Cross. The patients, between the ages of 29 and 94, were mentally ill, senile or alcoholic.

The director of St. Ann's Home, which is owned by Qualicare of Detroit, claimed that he was forced to bus the patients out because the \$12.50 a day per patient provided by the state welfare department was inadequate, and the state's offer for a temporary solution was unacceptable. The state had offered \$45,000 for three months while a task force studied the problem, which had already been around for years. The director claimed the state's offer was \$10,000 a month less than his break-even point.

"There's no way the governor could refuse the deal we gave him," the director told reporters. "We were just asking for enough to break even. But the governor doesn't care for the mentally ill, the elderly and especially anyone who lives in Lake County."

### Conflict of Interest

During the last General Assembly of the state's legislators, laws which would provide a "bill of rights" to nursing home patients, and means of enforcing their rights, were buried by state senators and the governor. Those primarily involved in the blocking action were Senator Miller, owner of a



chain of nursing homes and chairman of the Senate Committee on Health, Welfare and Aging; Senator Garton, a paid legal consultant for several nursing homes; and Governor Orr, a Republican

Lake County is a Democratic stronghold in a Republican-governed state. It is also the industrial muscle of the state, concentrating oppression and repression to meet the needs of the industries.

Tri-City's director charged that "the governor and the Indiana Department of Mental Health have decided that the mentally ill of Lake County shall be cared for in the streets."

The governor responded to these charges by denying any legal responsibility for the problem, claiming instead that his offers of assistance were made out of a sense of "moral responsibility." This is the same moral responsibility that allowed nursing home owners to defeat the legislation that would have made mass evictions, without notice and right of appeal, unlawful

### Another Use in Mind For St. Ann's Home?

St. Ann's director declared the room and board facility would be closed after the last patient was removed. The 60 employees of St. Ann's would be thrown onto the unemployment line. "Then," the director said, "we'll

refurbish it and offer it for sale to the Indiana Department of Corrections as a detention center for convicted felons." Although the home is located in a residential area, a large public housing project is nearby and few, if any, of Hammond's well-off citizens live in the area. In short, the neighborhood has no political power to resist such a sale.

At a time when public housing tenants are being evicted on a mass scale for suspicion of harboring criminals, and with the recent release of a presidential task force report recommending \$2 billion in federal aid for prison construction, Qualicare's hope for a sale may not go unrealized.

### Making Us Pay For Their Crimes

The task force report also suggested that abandoned military bases could be turned over to states for conversion to prisons, advised that bail law should be tightened up and rules excluding illegally obtained evidence from trial should be relaxed. The basic argument here is that civil rights should not stand in the way of cracking down on crime, or in St. Ann's case, in the way of profit. St. Ann's lost \$500,000 in the last three years. The state, recognizing its legal obligation to warehouse criminals, pays out considerably more than \$12.50 a day to care for them. It should also be noted that the "insanity defense" in criminal matters has already been replaced by an "insane but guilty" rule in Indiana and elsewhere. This helps clear the way for the less costly conversion of existing facilities, such as St. Ann's, into prisons.

The "get tough on crime" trend, resulting in longer sentences, fewer releases on bail and parole, and the casting away of civil rights, has been evolving for several years. The immediate consequence has not been a halt or slowing in the crime rate, but rather an increase in prison overcrowding and riots. This "justifies" the need for more prisons.

This trend has also resulted in a change in Social Security disability rules. Convicted felons sentenced to more than six months can no longer

the seizure of their "excess" income.

What do prisoners and the mentally ill and elderly have in common? Plenty, in the eyes of the state. Both groups are "incompetent" to care for themselves in society, and are thereby stripped of their civil rights by default.

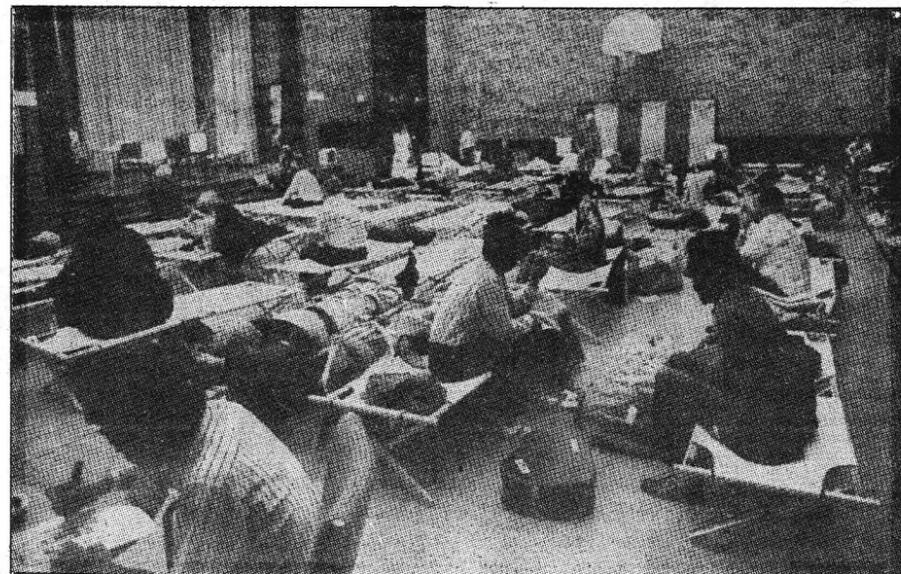
### Thousands Oppose Reactionary Policies Toward The Aged And Mentally Ill

The "bill of rights" movement for institutionalized persons operates in all levels of society, from the smallest community to the federal government. In many cases, though, funding for organizations that fought to protect the rights of capitalist society's second class citizens came from the federal government, this is now being eliminated, along with many of the laws and regulations that the groups had fought for and won.

Over 1,000 people attended hearings before the Indiana House Committee on Aging to lobby for nursing home reforms. The coalition backing the reforms was composed of United Senior Action, American Association of Retired Persons, National Retired Teachers Association, Older Hoosiers Assembly, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, Indiana Mental Health Association, Indiana Association for Retarded Citizens, Legal Services of Indiana and various church groups. LSOI is being dismantled and whatever might remain would be tied up tight with restrictions on legislative lobbying. Their resources were used heavily by the coalition.

Community support for the homeless of St. Ann's has been broad, energetic and dedicated. Church members cook and provide meals, the Red Cross and U.S. Representative Adam Benjamin provided many types of assistance, and individual contributions within just the first few days of the emergency amounted to over \$7,000. One anonymous contributor promised funds to provide food for thirty days.

When Reagan cut the budgets for programs that assist people like the St. Ann's group, he declared that a safety net would remain, and that the private

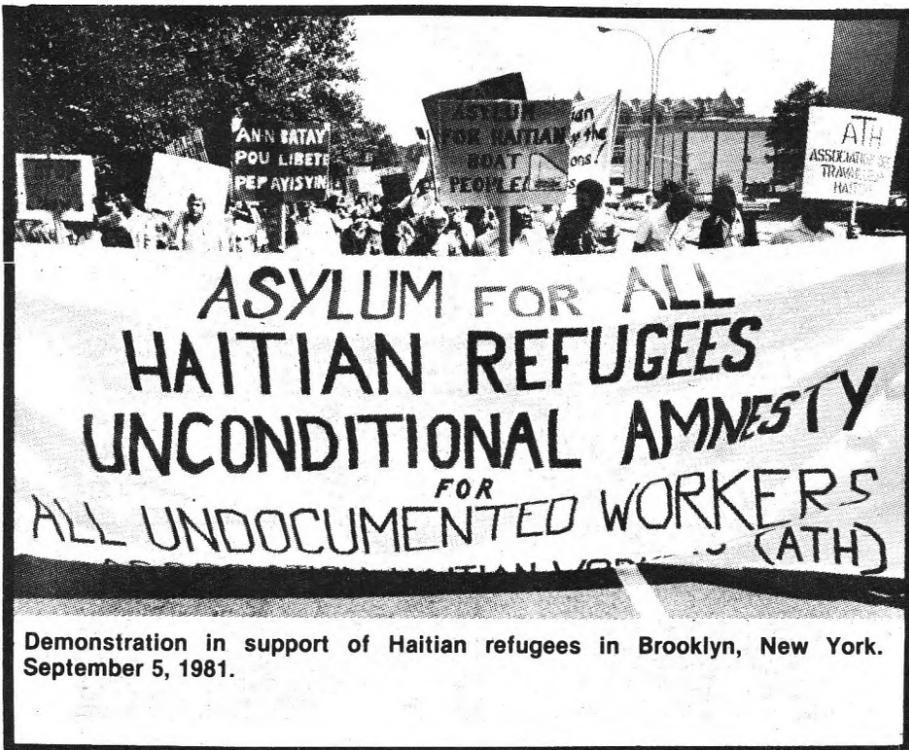


Residents at St. Ann's Home in Hammond, Indiana are evicted without notice and warehoused in a gym at a community mental health center. Indiana disclaimed any legal obligation to care for them, putting the lie to Reagan's claim that the truly needy have a "safety net."

receive a disability pension. A gleeful writer in the New York Times, Peter Bensinger (former director of corrections in Illinois and administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration), declared that "In fact, with a significant increase in seizures by the government of criminal's assets, the bad guys could finance their own imprisonment."

Nursing home patients well know what "seizure of...assets" means. Medicaid rules in Indiana allow them to keep up to \$28 a month for personal expenses. All other assets and income must be turned over to the state. This law often forcibly impoverished the spouse of the institutionalized person. The non-institutionalized spouse's income is legally considered available to the institutionalized spouse, allowing

sector and charitable organizations were better suited to meet the needs that federal funds had previously met. One divides into two on this issue. The communities will respond, work tirelessly, give freely and care deeply. But their efforts and money cannot solve the problem so long as monopoly capital maintains its rule, throwing more and more people out of work, working those who are employed to beyond the limits of their endurance, and driving millions to crime, alcoholism, early senility and mental illness. As the need for community organization increases, the moral bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie will become more and more exposed. The rock they think they are dropping on us will fall on their own feet. □



Demonstration in support of Haitian refugees in Brooklyn, New York. September 5, 1981.



*The Markman family notified the WV of their plans for a memorial program for Chandell Markman, 1956-1981. We, in turn, are reprinting their letter to reach more of Chandelle's friends and acquaintances.*

*We are taking this occasion to reprint a People's Voice article written by Chandelle, who was also a WV staff writer. Chandelle received threats on her life for her investigation and printing of this story. Her decision to stand by her story in order to reveal the brutal exploitation of Afro-Americans in her community was just one of her qualities which we in the WV valued.*

## Chandelle Markman Memorial Fund

Chandelle Markman Memorial Fund  
c/o The Markman Family  
New York, N.Y. 10002  
(212) 873-0330 - Service  
June 15, 1981

My wife Charlotte has suggested that we plan a memorial program for our daughter, Chandelle at the anniversary of her death, and a committee is being formed.

The memorial will probably be conducted in collaboration with the Schomburg collection and/or the Countee Cullen Library.

Chandell used the Schomburg collection for research for her writing. However, one of her friends suggested that because of her deep love of children, we dedicate the memorial to the children's section. Schomburg does not have a children's section, but Countee Cullen located near by does.

Funds collected will be used for a program which will include readings of Chandelle's poetry and other writings, a portrait by her brother, Michael, songs and music by friends. Chandelle had many God-children and a special program for them will be held separately.

Also, a contribution will be made to the children's section of Countee Cullen, and toward the publication of Chandelle's work.

If you would like to participate in this memorial to Chandelle, please make checks payable to the Chandelle Markman Memorial Fund. Receipts will be issued by the fund.

Your consideration is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,  
Abe, Charlotte & Michael Markman

## Methadone Death at 21

### Chandelle Markman

Carmen Rodriguez celebrated her 23rd birthday in the streets of Ocean-hill Brownsville. She walked past the stores on Pitkin Avenue quickly because she didn't want to get caught by a methadone maintenance counselor. The rule of the St. John's Episcopal Clinic is that a patient cannot be caught within a 3 block radius of the clinic. Carmen grew angry thinking about how she couldn't even shop in her own neighborhood anymore. She wondered who really benefitted from the 'no-loitering policies.' She sighed heavily; "so much for integrating methadone patients with the rest of society."

Carmen turned the corner at Rockaway Ave. She walked past the burnt out buildings. Stepping over children sitting on the curb, making jig saw puzzles out of the broken pieces of glass, she was at once reminded of her own three children. The youngest was born addicted to methadone. She remembered watching her new-born baby going through withdrawal symptoms in the hospital. There seemed to be no difference between the effects of heroin and the effects of methadone.

Carmen crossed the street. The cold October wind blew garbage in her path. She didn't care. She was on her way to 'cop some meth,' in front of the clinic. She was tired of thinking of her life. All she knew was busted dreams and no promise of a bright moment. She didn't have a high school diploma and McDonald's wasn't hiring.

### All Dreams Busted

But Carmen was also tired of relying

on spit-back. Besides, her friends couldn't guarantee her that they'd get the methadone spittle past the guard. She had been informed that the counselors now spied on the patients in the bathroom. The rules were getting tighter even as her habit was getting stronger and fiercer.

Carmen had just been terminated from the program. She was forced to reduce her daily dosage from 80 milligrams to nothing in a two week period, because McDonald's on Pitkin Avenue reported her to the clinic for loitering. It had been her second warning. No matter how hard she tried to understand, she couldn't. When she wanted to detoxify, the clinic refused her. The reason they gave was that she had suicidal tendencies. But while she was on methadone, she always felt as though she was dying a slow and agonizing death. That's why she took brownies. She noticed that her willingness to speak up for her rights as a welfare mother were dying also. This drug had maintained her alright, and all that was left was an empty shell.

Things were getting rough around the clinic. There were federal investigations because of misappropriation of funds. Some people in the community thought the meth clinic was bringing more junkies into the community and they protested. Community mothers protested because their children and families were being given one drug to substitute for another. The administrators battled with the local Community Board to keep the clinic open because their jobs were tied into the whole issue; the dope pushers

didn't like the idea that the government was reaping the profits from a legalized drug when they could have reaped the profits from heroin itself. One political organization didn't like the fact that the methadone clinics gave the police free reign of the neighborhood; and getting the raw end of the deal no matter what.

### Sweet Jesus' Blessing

Despite all the confusion, Carmen's only concern was that her contact was able to get the good stuff past the guard and past the nurse. Maybe then she could feel in harmony with all of the ruin that surrounded her young life. The spit, the germs, and anguish would all be worth it.

Waiting outside for her friend to come, she wished for anything to take the stench away from the hallway. She waited for anything to block the ugly fighting scenes from her young eyes. She waited to forget the sight of her beautiful body transformed into a configuration of contorted sadness... she waited to erase the memories of being compromised by a low-down landlord, who took his payments for monthly rent in the services of her body. Anything to make her hungry, lonely nights seem like a blessing from Sweet Jesus.

Two patients came out of the clinic and stood in front of the door, waiting to feel the effects of the drug they had just consumed. They were empty-handed. Carmen begged them to go back inside and get her some methadone. She cried and screamed about the pains in her body from the sudden withdrawal. She told them of

the trouble that she had when urinating and how she couldn't get to sleep at nights. For six nights she just sat up in bed staring at her three beautiful children. She needed money. Her only alternative was to get heroin. Her jones had come down and she needed help.

Carmen recalled the Fair Hearings when they decided to terminate her. They were just a circus to her. It was like standing before a Welfare Fair Hearing. She didn't know anything about the law. Only that it surely wasn't helping her. She needed a drug, any drug.

Finally, a car drove up to her. A man who she'd met before handed her a small package and told her that she could pay later. Carmen felt relieved. She went into an alleyway and snorted the white powder into her abused nostrils. Wobbling down the street, Carmen came across an old friend. A nice brownie would sustain her head. She wanted to forget her fruitless life.

Feeling weak, Carmen tripped and fell. She died on the streets of Ocean-hill Brownsville at the age of 21. Her young body had finally succumbed to years of drug abuse. The dope was pure, and mixed with pills; as a deadly combination.

The director of the methadone clinic, John Perez, refused to comment on the incident. But her friends point the finger at him and the counselors for detoxifying her so quickly as a punishment.

Carmen's friends do not idolize her life. They know that she lived and died a victim. Her life was not hers. The only salvation that she had come to know was from methadone; it was available and free. It made her one with the universe. So it was planned and so it was. □

# Book Review

## The Election of 1980

### THE ELECTION OF 1980

Reports and Interpretations.  
By Gerald M. Pomper and colleagues.  
Marlene Michels Pomper, editor.  
199 pp. Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House. \$15.

#### William Nishimura

"Reagan is killing us and now the company is trying to kill us," said a southern Illinois miner explaining why thousands of UMWA miners converged on the construction site of a Kerr-McGee non-union mine on Aug. 18. The militancy of these miners, the majority of whom voted for Ronald Reagan last November, and that of the air traffic controller's union, one of the few unions to endorse Reagan in the campaign, are but the most recent examples dispelling the myth that Reagan's election victory represented a right-wing "mandate" from the American people.

More important, these courageous working-class fights are signs of a rapidly growing anti-Reagan backlash that could sweep him out of office in 1984. Analysing the national rejection of the Carter administration in 1980, a recently published study of the election results throws light on this possibility.

The 1980 election can be characterized as "a negative reaction to the Carter administration rather than a victory for conservative ideology," writes Gerald Pomper in his preface to *The*

*Election of 1980*, a collection of essays written by five faculty members and one graduate of the Rutgers University political science department. A majority of those eligible did not vote in the 1980 presidential election, in itself a sharp rebuttal to the Reagan claim of a mandate. It is the significant minority, the 48% of Americans who did vote, that *Election* looks at.

The notion that Reagan has a mandate must be based on the formation of a long-lasting constituency behind him, glued together either by geography, social status or political ideology. Using social science techniques and data drawn mainly from CBS News/New York Times opinion polls, the authors of *Election* show that no such constituency was forged.

What was most impressive about the 1980 presidential election was "the dimensions of Jimmy Carter's defeat," points out Prof. Pomper in the chapter entitled "The Presidential Election". Carter "received the lowest percentage of the popular vote of any incumbent Democratic President in American history and gained fewer electoral votes than any sitting chief executive except Taft, who lost most of his party to Theodore Roosevelt." At the same time, "Carter's losses were not necessarily equalled by Reagan gains,"

(left) Less voters considered themselves conservatives in 1980 than in 1976. Many voters, including those who chose Reagan, disagreed with his positions on several issues.

(right) Within the margins of sampling error, overall there was little difference between the ideological identification of these voting groups in 1976 and 1980. What is significant is the decrease in the number of those who call themselves conservative among Jews and white southerners.

TABLE 3.2 SOCIAL GROUPS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 1980 AND 1976

	1980			1976	
	Carter	Reagan	Anderson	Carter	Ford
Party*					
Democrats (43%)	60	26	12	77	22
Independents (23%)	30	54	14	43	54
Republicans (28%)	11	84	4	0	90
Ideology					
Liberal (18%)	57	27	11	70	26
Moderates (51%)	42	48	8	51	48
Conservatives (31%)	23	71	4	20	70
Race					
Blacks (10%)	82	14	3	82	16
Hispanics (2%)	54	36	7	75	24
Whites (88%)	36	55	8	47	52
Sex					
Female (48%)	45	46	7	44	55
Male (52%)	37	54	7	43	44
Religion					
Protestant (46%)	37	56	6	44	57
White Protestant (41%)	31	62	6	43	44
Catholic (25%)	40	51	7	54	34
Jewish (5%)	45	39	14	64	34
Family Income					
Less than \$10,000 (13%)	50	41	8	58	40
\$10,000-\$14,999 (15%)	47	42	11	55	43
\$15,000-\$24,999 (29%)	38	53	7	48	50
\$25,000-\$50,000 (24%)	32	58	8	36	62
Over \$50,000 (15%)	25	65	8	8	92
Occupation					
Professional or manager (39%)	33	56	9	40	53
Clerical, sales, white collar (11%)	42	47	5	57	41
Blue-collar (17%)	46	66	3	65	34
Agriculture (3%)	29	35	7	7	93
Unemployed (3%)	55	55	5	58	40
Education					
Less than high school (11%)	50	45	3	54	49
High school graduate (28%)	43	51	4	51	49
Some college (28%)	35	55	8	45	55
College graduate (27%)	35	51	11	45	55

Table shows that Reagan did not so much win the 1980 election as Carter lost it, and that the anti-Carter sentiment which propelled Reagan into office cut across social status and political philosophies.

TABLE 3.2 (Continued)

	1980			1976	
	Carter	Reagan	Anderson	Carter	Ford
Union Membership					
Labor union household (28%)	47	44	7	50	49
No member of household in union (62%)	35	55	8	43	55
Age					
18-21 years old (6%)	44	43	11	48	50
22-29 years old (17%)	43	43	11	48	50
30-34 years old (31%)	37	54	7	40	46
35-39 years old (23%)	39	55	6	40	46
40 years or older (18%)	40	54	4	47	52
Region					
East (25%)	42	47	9	51	47
South (27%)	44	51	5	54	45
White South (22%)	38	60	2	46	52
Midwest (27%)	40	51	3	46	53
Far West (19%)	35	54	9	48	50
Community Size					
Cities over 250,000 (18%)	54	35	8	63	34
Suburbs-small cities (53%)	37	53	8	54	47
Rural and towns (29%)	30	54	5	47	53

\*The figures in parentheses are the percentages of the 1980 voters belonging to each group. The table entries are percentages, which total approximately 100 percent in each row for 1980 or 1976. Missing data account for those categories that do not total 100 percent.

Source: CBS News, New York Times interviews with 12,792 voters as they left the polls, as reported in the New York Times, a November 1980 p. 28, and in further analysis. The 1976 data are from CBS News interviews. For that year, the large city vote is for communities over 500,000 population.

TABLE 4.7 IDEOLOGICAL AND ISSUE PREFERENCES, 1976 TO 1980\*

Ideology	November 1976	November 1980
Liberal	20%	18%
Moderate	48	51
Conservative	32	31
Domestic Spending	November 1976	November 1980
Increase	23%	12%
Decrease	45	49
Keep the same	26	33
Welfare Payments	July 1977	November 1980
Not needed	54%	51%
Necessary	31	30
Payments For Abortions	January 1978	November 1980
Favor	42%	38%
Oppose	50	55
Business Regulation	January 1978	November 1980
Too much regulation	58%	65%
Right amount	31	27
Regulate Pornography Sales To Adults	January 1978	November 1980
Yes	42%	32%
No	53	63
Effect of '68 Programs	January 1978	November 1980
Made things better	31%	30%
Made things worse	14	20
Had no effect	46	42

\*Questions: (1) Are you in favor of increasing government spending on domestic programs, reducing it, or keeping it about the same? (2) In your opinion, do you think that most people who receive money from welfare could get along without it if they tried, or do you think they really need this help? (3) The government should help a poor woman with her medical bills if she wants an abortion. Do you agree or disagree? (4) The government has gone too far in regulating business and interfering with the free enterprise system. Do you agree or disagree? (5) Should government, at some level, restrict the sale of pornography to adults, or should adults be permitted to buy and read whatever they wish? (6) There were many government programs created in the 1960s to try and improve the condition of poor people in this country. Do you think these programs generally made things better, made things worse, or do you think they didn't have much impact one way or the other?

SOURCE: CBS News, New York Times postelection polls, 1976 and 1980; CBS News, New York Times polls, July 1977 and January 1978; CBS News, New York Times 1980 Election Day poll; CBS News 1976 Election Day poll. The first two items were asked of actual voters in 1976 and 1980, the others of national samples of the public.

TABLE 4.8 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF VOTING GROUPS, 1976-80

	1976			1980		
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Democrats	27%	51%	22%	24%	57%	20%
Independents	20	50	30	19	52	29
Catholics	22	50	28	18	55	27
Jews	42	39	19	41	47	12
Blue-Collar Households	19	52	29	19	51	30
Union Households	22	51	27	20	52	28
Blacks	32	45	23	28	47	24
White Southerners	13	46	41	13	50	37

SOURCE: CBS News/New York Times 1980 Election Day poll; CBS News 1976 Election Day poll.

CBS News/New York Times postelection polling of actual voters in 1976 and 1980 shows little change in how voters see themselves. In Nov. 1980, 18% of the voters called themselves liberals, 51% said they were moderates and 31% considered themselves conservatives. Four years before, self-identified liberals made up 20% of the electorate, moderates 48% and conservatives 32%.

Ronald Reagan captured the Presidency by riding on a wave of general disgust with the way things are, particularly the economic situation, and Carter as the man who symbolized the status quo — a disgust for the present and a desire for change that cut across geography, social status and political belief. Forty percent of those who voted for Reagan cited their dislike for Carter as the main reason for their choice.

Voter discontent with Carter was sharpest over his handling of the nation's economy. Reagan's presidential future also hinges on this issue. As Reaganomics becomes exposed because of stepped up government repression such as the attempt to bust the air traffic controllers union and through economic policies such as high interest rates which drive many small businesses under, thus triggering massive joblessness, the anti-Reagan backlash will mount.

The Kennedy Democrat-types are waiting in the wings. In 1984, there's a danger of them riding into power just as Reagan and the Republicans rode on the anti-Carter sentiment. At the same time, there's a great opportunity for the real leaders of the American people to build a grass-roots alternative to the Democratic and Republican machineries and forge a political consensus which truly reflects the heartfelt demands of the American people □

# LABOR NEWS

## Mark Loo: From the Streets of Chinatown to the Shipyards of San Diego

Eliot Chun

For almost a year, the tumultuous events at the NASSCO shipyards in San Diego have seized front page headlines and resulted in one of the most explosive and controversial political trials in history.

All of the elements of a spy movie are there — a bitter labor dispute and struggle for power, an alleged bomb plot instigated by the FBI and charges of illegal surveillance and espionage.

At the center of the conflict are three young shipyard workers — Mark Loo, 29, Rodney Johnson, 23, and David Boyd, 33, better known as the NASSCO 3. They were convicted last month of conspiracy to bomb transformers at the West Coast's largest shipyard.

The NASSCO 3 have become a cause celebre of progressive people throughout the country who maintain that the three were entrapped by the FBI, using a paid agent provocateur, Ramon Barton. The legal defense team, headed by attorney Leonard Weinglass, famous for his defense of Daniel Ellsberg and the Chicago 7, stated, "This is the first important political trial of the 1980s. History teaches us that mass support for cases such as the NASSCO 3 deter their proliferation... It is reminiscent of conspiracy prosecutions against civil rights and anti-war leaders in the 60s and 70s. We must oppose the new attacks by government and industry on labor militancy."

I met Mark Loo and his wife Sara in the office of the Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers in east San Diego. The office is cluttered with stacks of flyers and the walls are lined with posters and newspaper clippings, reminiscent of a campaign headquarters.

In speaking with the Loos, the first thing that struck me was in spite of the fact that they are living in the eye of a storm, they remain calm, almost dete-

ched.

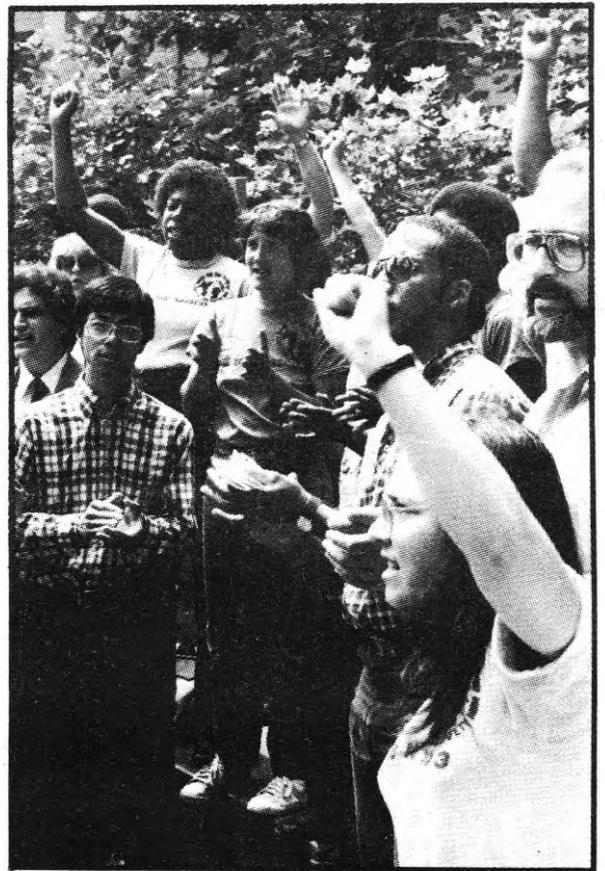
In the past year Mark Loo has been through a grueling ordeal; yet speaks of the events in a deliberate, unaffected manner. As he reflected on the journey which took him from the days of student activism through years of community involvement to the conflict at the NASSCO shipyard, it became apparent that he had no need for self-preoccupation or pity. He and his wife have been politically active so long, that activism has become second-nature to them.

I was also impressed by the familiarity of their story, because the social forces which affected Mark and Sara Loo helped shape the lives of an entire generation of Asian-Americans.

### Organized in College

Mark Loo grew up in Manhattan, New York, the son of poor Chinese immigrants. Like many Chinese parents, the Loos pushed Mark to do well in school. Mark earned a full scholarship to a private high school where he was the only minority student. One of Mark's first recollection of racism occurred when a teacher singled him out for harrassment. Sympathetic classmates pulled him aside and explained, "Don't worry. He's an ex-Green Beret. He thinks he's still in Vietnam."

In 1968 Mark entered Amherst College on one of the school's first minority admissions programs. In spite of the fact he was one of only six Asian students in the whole school, with the advice of some Asian professors from the University of Massachusetts, he helped organize the first Asian American studies course. He and his friends began to grapple with their identity as Asian Americans. One of the biggest influences on Mark's life was the upsurge in the anti-war movement that was sweeping the country. In his freshman year Mark organized students to petition to cancel exams and to hold a teach-in against the war instead. Looking back on this era, his wife Sara



Mark Loo (left) at press conference protesting the verdict.

observed, "Vietnam had particular impact on us. It was a shocking example of imperialism where Asians were being targeted."

When Mark graduated in 1973 he made an important decision. "I was disillusioned by some of the things I saw in college. A lot of students just sat around talking about how they were going to make their first \$100,000, and I knew that, whatever I did with my education, I wanted to help the community I came from."

He responded to an ad placed by the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA and moved to the West Coast. At UCLA he worked at editing publications and met many other young Asians equally concerned with the problems of the community. Increasingly he found himself drawn to Chinatown and devoted countless hours to working with youth at the Chinatown Teenpost and organizing a food co-op.

### Organized in Chinatown

During that time he met Sara Chung, a UCLA graduate who was a well-known activist in Chinatown. Her involvement included everything from founding the first childcare center, to sitting on the advisory board for the Asian Women's Center, to publishing the Chinese Awareness newspaper.

For the next few years, Mark and Sara worked side by side in the community trying to tackle the problems and the oppression of immigrant Chinese. They found that, as the years went by and the economy sickened, one by one the programs they'd fought to establish became endangered. They witnessed federally-funded programs such as the Asian Women's Center and Resthaven, the only mental health hospital located in Chinatown, close for lack of funding. Both began seeking explanations and comprehensive solutions for the worsening exploitation of their people.

### "Band-Aids" Were Not Enough

"What I realized," recalled Mark, "was that you could have a thousand and one agencies to deal with the problems, but they wound up being band-aids. If you really cared about your community you had to fight for fundamental changes in the structure of society. You had to fight for economic power."

"I began reading and comparing various radical newspapers to decide what organization was really fighting for revolutionary change. That's how I found Workers Viewpoint."

One of the other factors which influenced Mark and Sara was the growing prestige of socialist China. In 1974, Sara toured China with a delegation of Asian American activists. She recalled, "What I learned from touring China, and seeing socialism in practice, was that socialism is not a utopia. There are many difficulties. But it was vastly superior to anything else I'd seen."



Mark Loo with other defendants and defense team.

### Began Work in Industry

In 1975 Mark got a job in the construction industry, building senior citizen housing in Little Tokyo. It was his first taste of manual labor with all its trappings — low wages, speed-ups, and ineffective unions. Less than a year later he was laid off, but through affirmative action, became a pipefitter apprentice. He was confronted by deep racism in the union. "Minorities were either left sitting around the union hall or given the worst jobs. Our representation was so bad that finally the business agent got caught twice stealing our union dues."

Mark got a job as a pipefitter at the Goodyear Tire Plant in the heart of Watts and became active in the union. "Goodyear announced they were going to close the plant down because it was unprofitable. Instead, they were opening a new plant in South Africa to take advantage of the low wages. You had guys with ten to fifteen years on the job left out in the cold." Mark helped organize the rank and file within the union and they were successful in preventing the plant from closing down completely. But Mark was among those laid off.

### NASSCO's Deadly Working Conditions

In 1978, Mark and Sara married and moved to San Diego where he got a job as a pipefitter at NASSCO. According to *Business Week*, NASSCO is the most profitable shipyard in the nation, netting over \$25 million last year. Yet it pays the lowest wages on the West Coast, nearly three dollars less an hour than the other shipyards. It relies heavily on government contracts, particularly from the Navy.

Mark learned quickly about the health and safety conditions at the yards. "Less than two weeks after I began working I was working underneath a ship in an area where you have to get down and crawl between the pipes. Suddenly heavy smoke began billowing through an exit and I was almost overcome before I could crawl out. Apparently, the foreman had ordered some other workers to burn the grease off the skids without checking first to see if anyone was underneath. I learned that this was a typical example of NASSCO's safety procedures."

A year later Mark was elected shop steward for the Machinists Union and led the fight against what he termed "NASSCO's plantation mentality."

"One time my partner and I were asked to work in an elevator shaft which had no overhead protection. We decided it wasn't safe so I left to look for another job. He went into the shaft just to retrieve his tools and at that precise split second, a heavy wooden crate fell three stories and hit him. Even after that they tried to get us to return to work there."

"Another time a racist foreman singled out this black guy and fired him for drinking a Coke on the job. Everyone drinks sodas on the ships because it gets to be 140°."

"They treat non-English speaking workers just about the worst. They used to even sell jobs to undocumented workers from Mexico."

### Fighting Union-Busting

In August, 1980 one of the other active shop stewards was singled out and fired for insubordination. Mark remembered, "He was on a routine safety inspection and a foreman started giving him a hard time. When he talked back, they suspended him. It was so obviously unjust that we knew that we had to do something fast. So we organized about 200 workers to go down to the ship-launching ceremony of the Cape Cod. This was the same ship where David Boyd and myself led a work stoppage because of poor ventilation. We held a peaceful demonstration to explain to all the people there what kind of conditions we work under."

The following Monday 17 workers, including Mark were fired for participating in the demonstration. "They singled out the union militants. At least ten of those fired were union officials and some of them hadn't even been there at the ship-launching. It was a clear case of union-busting."

The next day, all 6,000 workers at NASSCO wildcatted to protest the firings and refused to return to work for three days. A wave of arrests and firings took place.

### Entrapped

"During the strike I met this guy named Ramon Barton. He seemed to be an active union member and was angry about the firings. He was always suggesting ways of getting back at NASSCO by hurting property or personnel, but I thought he was just caught up in the intensity of the strike."

As it turned out, Barton was a paid FBI informant who had his body wired with microphones to record conversations among the union activists. Tapes of these conversations were the principal evidence used

to indict the NASSCO 3 for conspiracy to bomb.

"A former labor relations official from NASSCO also revealed that he had been compiling dossiers on me and the others since November, 1979. They had more than 400 pictures of us and submitted them to various law enforcement agencies."

Surveillance was nothing new to Sara. She recalled that years earlier the Chinese Awareness newspaper staff had been infiltrated by a government agent trying to collect information on Chinese activists.

**A** month after the strike, on September 2 there was a gruesome turn of events. Two workers, Michael Beebe and Kenneth King, suffocated to death on the same deck where Loo and Boyd had led the work stoppage over ventilation.

"We were appalled by the way NASSCO tried to deny any responsibility in Beebe and King's deaths. We felt we had to do something. Barton immediately approached David Boyd and Rodney Johnson and suggested that they cut off NASSCO's power. Four days later he approached me. That was September 4."

For the next few days, the four met to discuss the plan and even tested an explosive device in the desert.

"On September 10, I met with Johnson and Boyd and we decided that it was all a big mistake. We met with Barton on the 12th to call off the plan." When the tapes were played in the courtroom, this portion was mysteriously missing. A professor from the University of California at San Diego testified that the crucial section of the tape had been tampered with.

"When Barton realized we wouldn't go along with his plan, he agreed to drive out to the desert with Johnson and Boyd on the following Tuesday to dispose of the equipment. As far as I was concerned, the whole business was over."

### Arrested Without Explanation

"At 8:00 a.m. on Tuesday my doorbell rang and I looked through the keyhole, but no one was there. When I opened the door, this guy jumped out and swung the door open and tackled me. It later turned out that he was a plainclothes agent from the San Diego red squad. My wife was feeding the baby in the next room and heard the commotion. When she came in the room I was handcuffed on the floor and two FBI agents rushed in and took me away with no ex-



Sara and Jackson Loo.

planation."

Later, Loo learned that Barton's van had been intercepted enroute to the desert an hour earlier. Barton pulled over to the side of the road as FBI agents converged on the van and arrested Boyd and Johnson.

Immediately, the press in San Diego picked up the story and the NASSCO 3 became the talk of the town. When asked what has been the reaction to the arrests, Loo said, "Despite the FBI's attempt to

paint us as terrorists, support has rolled in from all corners. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark recently hosted a fundraiser for the NASSCO 3 and Congressman Ron Dellums has called for a congressional investigation into illegal government spying at NASSCO."

### Support From All Areas

"When I went back to the plant gates to explain to people what had happened, they were very supportive. Even people I didn't know. They would reach into their pockets and help us out with whatever they could. People knew that our arrest was the direct result of the fight we'd been waging inside the yards."

When Mark and Sara looked for support, they also turned to the community where they had worked for so many years. Two separate fundraisers were organized in Los Angeles by friends of the Loos from the Asian American Studies Center and Chinatown.

"I was very deeply moved," explained Mark. "These were friends I hadn't seen for years, but who had been instrumental in my development. Though we'd gone our separate ways, they still came to help."

### Biased Jury Selection

The trial was a media event. Supporters of the NASSCO 3 packed the courtroom everyday and held pickets, rallies and letter-writing campaigns to publicize the issue.

Mark, who had never been arrested before, was appalled at the trial proceedings. "Even the jury selection was biased. Although you're supposed to get a jury of your peers, the prosecutor arbitrarily eliminated three potential jurors he thought might sympathize with us. One was young, one was black and one is an employee at NASSCO. We wound up with a jury of mainly older women with no experience with unions in heavy industry."

"It was frustrating," recalled Sara, "To sit there and watch the judge pick and choose what testimony was admissible. There was a witness who wanted to testify about the level of company spying on the union, but the judge blocked his testimony saying it was 'irrelevant.'"

The prosecutor built his case primarily on the testimony and doctored tapes of Ramon Barton. In addition, however, he tried to convince the jury that Loo and Johnson had a "pre-disposition to violence" because they are members of the Communist Workers Party.

### Green Light to Bust Unions

"The prosecution maintained that Barton's role couldn't be considered entrapment because he wasn't paid by the FBI until after he instigated the bomb plot," said Loo. "In other words, bounty hunters are free to go out, work closely with the police, entrap people and then get paid for it. That's what's being sanctioned here."

"It's also giving a green light for the FBI to intervene on behalf of the company in a labor dispute. That has serious implications for every workers in this country."

On June 5, the NASSCO 3 were found guilty on all charges. One friend of Mark offered this view of the verdict, "When the verdict was read, some of the jurors began to cry. They knew that without Barton there would have been no bomb plot. But because of the instructions the judge had given them, they felt they had no choice but to vote guilty."

Mark and the other defendants are determined to appeal the verdict and take their fight to a higher court.

### Moving Forward

Because of the preparation for the trial, Mark has not been able to work for nearly a year. His wife just gave birth to their second child and this has caused them considerable concern.

"Besides the financial problem," said Sara, "the hardest thing about what's happened is not knowing whether your children will have a father. It's been almost impossible to have a normal family life."

Over the past months, Mark and Sara have devoted most of their time to the Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers and preparing for the trial. Now Mark looks forward to finding a job, and to making plans for the appeal. He also is helping to organize a national speaking tour for the defendants.

Mark summed it up. "We want people to understand that what's happening should not intimidate them, or keep them from organizing for change. More than anything else, I've learned that people like Barton are the exception to the rule. Most people are genuine caring people who are doing their best in the face of tremendous difficulties." □

# Part II

## Capitalism Destabilized

**Phil Thompson and Dennis T. Torigoe**

In our view, the main bulk of a revolutionary strategy in the U.S. must be the political mobilization and disposition of the U.S. multinational working class and its primary reserves — the national movements, the women's movement, the youth, intellectuals, farmers and all those oppressed by monopoly capital. The main force is the U.S. multinational working class, the 90 million workers in this country including the industrial and service workers. This latter category includes many professionals such as teachers, some engineers and lawyers as well as other white collar workers.

The target of our revolution is the small handful of monopoly finance capitalists represented by the major monopolies and their financial institutions such as the major banks, insurance companies, etc.

To carry out our strategy, the Party must be a vanguard party of leaders. The Party has to serve the pacesetter role in the various movements as leaders.

As the vanguard, the Party must be able to unite all honest Marxist-Leninists and win over the advanced elements and leaders from all walks of life without exception; it must build pacesetter fighting mass organizations and rank and file movements which are led by the Party. The left cannot just be a spectrum of "left" ideas. Foremost of all, it must be a militant grassroots movement. That's the only kind of left that will be able to maintain its real independence and initiative and build a left-center coalition in the larger broader vehicles of mass political activity such as a labor or third party here.

### Transitional Demands to Rally the Majority

In today's conditions of capitalist destabilization, communists must develop a concrete program of transitional demands to serve our overall strategy. Transitional demands are broader than any single issue such as getting the U.S. out of El Salvador, fighting against the budget cuts or Atlanta. They tie together politically the various movements and focus them at a single target — the handful of finance capitalists who hold state power.

Transitional demands such as the nationalization of the oil companies and the banks; equal representation for blacks, Hispanics and all oppressed nationalities in Congress and all levels of government (for example, the concrete demand of having 40% of all seats in Congress reserved for minorities) — these are examples of demands the U.S. people will fight for because they make sense. Transitional demands like these and others correspond to their own experiences through Vietnam, Watergate and the punishing toll of inflation and severe unemployment.

The fight for these demands will have to take place through "legitimate" forms in order for the majority to participate and be won over. One such form is electoral politics, where the masses would vote for a candidate who will fight for these demands. We have to use forms where the broad masses can participate in the tens of millions and where they can participate without running substantial risks of direct militant actions.

Revolution is not made by ideals but by necessity.

The situation of the 80's is such that these necessities of the masses are becoming an emergency. Transitional demands are demands that as a whole cannot be coopted. The tasks of communists are not as Theoretical Review suggests to limit our demands to what is "possible" under capitalism. The demand to nationalize the oil companies and major banks (as opposed to the *dying* savings banks and savings and loan associations and near-bankrupt companies that the bourgeoisie would love to have nationalized) cannot be realized under capitalism. As a whole, the demands of women and national minorities for consistent equality are not "realizable" either under capitalism. But that does not mean that revolutionaries do not fight for these demands.

Transitional demands are concentrated expressions of the real aspirations and needs of the masses which can be used to rally the masses from the different streamlets of struggle to the political battlefield which will lead to the military struggle to smash the state. The bourgeoisie will either have to implement the demands or else be brought face-to-face politically and ultimately militarily with the people. The whole point is that in the course of fighting for the immediate demands of the masses, communists must unite ever larger sections of the population and at the same time through the masses' very own living experiences show them the utter necessity to overthrow the capitalist system — precisely to realize their demands.

In practice, the rallying banner of the transitional demands will result in the vast majority of the American people challenging the framework of capitalism by taking independent historical action such that the majority of the more than 200 million American people will stand united to confront a handful of finance capitalists. That is the purpose of communists raising the transitional demands — to rally the vast majority to smash the monopoly's state apparatus. The masses will not move and take independent historical actions through ideas or communist propaganda.

The stronger the vanguard, the more the leaders of the mass formations — the united fronts, mass parties, unions, etc. — are in the vanguard party, and through the consistent practice of the mass line, the more we can shape these demands and enforce their implementation. That, along with the influence of our communist propaganda, is our independence and initiative in the broader united front.

We must teach the masses through their own experience who are the traitors to their cause to win direct communist leadership. Communists must be in a position to unite with *and* command sufficient moral authority to expose the reformists and sell-out leaders in the course of struggle. This is so that the masses can learn for themselves the bankruptcy of reformism and why socialism is the only solution.

The Party must have the core of experienced leaders with close ties to the movements, who have historical scope, who understand the lessons of socialism in the last 60 years and who have the spirit

of struggle and sacrifice to lead the broad masses forward to overthrow capitalism and set up workers

rule.

### Neither Line of March nor Theoretical Review Pose a Revolutionary Strategy

Neither Line of March (LM) nor Theoretical Review (TR) pose a *revolutionary* strategy. For LM, the ultimate strategic question is that the U.S. working class must "break completely" with racism before there can be a revolution. LM's trade union position also boils down to "bringing the line of opposition to war and racism to the labor movement." Here, LM has made a fundamental break with historical materialism. The masses make revolution not out of some mystical spiritual transformation, but out of historical and practical necessity. If revolution depended on a "complete break" with racism, there would never be a revolution.

As long as capitalism exists, racism will continue to exist. If you were to tell black workers that under socialism white workers will "break completely" with racism, none would be so naive as to believe you. You will never convince the majority of whites to make revolution out of feeling sorry for blacks. You must convince them that fighting racism is in *their own interests*, in the interest of fighting their foremost enemy, the U.S. bourgeoisie. That is why communists must include *leading* the defense of the interests of white workers against the bourgeoisie, be it taxes, crime or family, precisely those movements LM would leave to the fascists and the Moral Majority.

Communist strategy cannot be fighting racism and militarism alone, because it is precisely in the thick of the struggle of white workers against the bourgeoisie on issues most hurting *to them* that racism and militarism must be exposed as tools of the ruling class. Communists must organize white workers by fighting for OSHA, job security and other basic economic issues, and win their respect. It is on the basis of fighting in the class struggle that workers will respect and respond to communist leadership to fight national oppression and racism. This is the real challenge which LM conveniently avoids. They would rather wage an ideological crusade to purify white workers and make them "break completely" with racism before they start strategically organizing them for revolution.

This approach is extremely similar to that of the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee which instead of politically analyzing and solving the ways to win over workers and black people to communism, "solves" it by an ideological crusade to purify their heads. The LM wants to anti-racize the entire U.S. working class "completely." They try hard to amplify the PWOC's incorrect line on the national question a thousand-fold. Certainly they will have even less luck. In fact, their line will lead to a narrowing of communist influence in the class, and will result (if practiced by those in the plants) to helping the working class to the right.

**W**ithout a strong communist party with a strong base among the workers it will be impossible to forge a strong United Front against Fascism or any other type of united front in this country. This is the relation between united front and party-building which LM avoids. We are not told

# — Our Tasks

how communists can "forge" a united front in the working class without any base in the working class. The LM strategy, which negates party work in the masses, will only lead to a tailist sect and a loss of independence and initiative in the united front they hope to build. It is not a strategy for revolution but a strategy based on coalition-hopping.

LM's line on the centrality of the struggle against racism is itself a liquidation of the Afro-American question. LM argues against the right to self-determination for Afro-Americans in the Black Belt South because they say there never was a nation. LM also argues that the struggle against inequality for Afro-Americans is non-strategic, it is "reformist." The main reason LM gives to explain why an oppressed Afro-American nation never existed in the South is that they never developed a "distinct" national economy. This is a tautology based on thorough-going chauvinism, since the reason Afro-Americans never developed a distinct national economy in the first place is because they were *oppressed*. Blacks did not have the political and military strength to win a nation-state in the late 19th century. Their early efforts were crushed by U.S. imperialism. Without state power, no nation can consolidate a "distinct" national economy. By LM's mechanics, the Palestinians and Namibians would have no right to self-determination either, since all lack a "distinct" national economy.

Likewise, LM dismisses the struggle for equal rights on the part of Afro-Americans as "reformist". While the struggle for equality can be led in a reformist way or in a revolutionary way, King vs. Malcolm, the demand for equality is *objectively revolutionary*. You don't have to be a Marxist to see that the historical demands of the Afro-American people for equality and fair treatment have not and cannot be won under capitalism. LM's downplay of the struggle for equality and liquidation of the right to self-determination is a whitewash over the revolutionary essence of the historical struggle of black people in this country. It is a white wash covered with phrases of fighting racism.

LM denies that Afro-Americans are a distinct nationality. What do they have to say about the role of Afro-American national culture — the Negro spirituals, the Negro National Anthem, the poetic and literary traditions which continue to play a strong role today in forging the Afro-American nationality today? National culture is a necessity in the forging of any nation and any nationality. LM has no comprehension of the Niagra movement, the Garveyite movement, the Nation of Islam in the 50's, the Black Liberation Movement and Malcolm X, the Pan-Africanist movement and cultural nationalist movement, or the National Black Independent Political Party or National Black United Front today. Can LM say that any of these movements are simply anti-racist struggles? Does the historical nationalism of the Afro-American community simply spring from the sky or what? Do Afro-Americans have a natural tendency for "divisive" nationalism, as LM calls it? Or is national resistance a response to national oppression Afro-Americans suffer? Who is right, LM or thirty million Afro-Americans?

If national pogroms and genocide (as in Atlanta)

continue to develop, there certainly will be resistance to it. Does LM plan to denounce and reject these national forms of organization which always spontaneously develop in the black community and which exist today? We will not. Communist leadership and disposition of forces must be based on what exists, and what exists is a national movement. The Afro-American movement is already relatively politically conscious and Afro-Americans relatively dispositioned as a people against the monopoly capitalists. The National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front are in a position to pace-set the development of a broad third political party and may do so if it continues to develop. With LM's raggedy chauvinist line, there is no way they can win over the best representatives and leaders of the Afro-American national movement in NBIPP or any other movement. Afro-American revolutionaries will laugh at them, if they don't spit in their face!

**W**hile LM's mechanical and doctrinaire strategy blocks them from building communist leadership in the actual struggles of the working class and the national movements, TR's empiricism causes them to elevate tailism to the level of strategy. So far, we find little to differentiate TR's strategy from that of a common liberal.

To begin with, the "progressive" restructuring of U.S. capitalism that TR dreams of ended with the 19th century. Since then, we have not yet seen anything even remotely "progressive" in the restructuring of U.S. (or European) monopoly capitalism. Imperialism is today reactionary all along the line. The only restructuring we have seen has been for the purpose of increasing monopoly profits or for diffusing mass movements and undercutting their revolutionary leadership.

TR's "strategy" is neither a communist strategy nor revolutionary. It is an economist plan for concrete "realizable" reforms "short of revolution," which is quite a "tricky" idea indeed. What is a realizable reform under imperialism and under today's crisis in particular? TR should recall that even the crumbs won by the Black Liberation Movement of the sixties did not come from NAACP lawsuits, but literally took *nationwide revolutionary upsurges* to bring about. Once the revolutionary upsurge was over, the bourgeoisie took these crumbs away. Today it is not only Afro-American youth and students who are in motion. The entire multinational working class, combined with the national movement and women's movement, etc. will give infinitely more scope and force to the class struggle of the 80's. The stakes are higher for the bourgeoisie now as compared to the 60's. Yet they are unable even of giving the limited reforms of the sixties without increasing inflation and intensifying the overall crisis. The capitalist system is extremely volatile and fragile. For that reason it will take incomparably *more* far-reaching and *revolutionary* struggle to bring about genuine reforms today than it did in the sixties. And contrary to TR and LM, the masses of workers in this country are increasingly ripe for the struggle. The paradox is that the very concessions that TR talks about "forcing" are not "realizable" without *difficult revolutionary struggle* in this period, precisely

the type of struggle TR is "far from posing visions of."

The problem with TR's analysis is that they think there is some kind of new *equilibrium* within the framework of bourgeois democracy. This is nothing but a doctrinaire illusion. If the period now — when as the TR points out, there is no revolutionary upsurge evident — calls for more selective repression (authoritarian statism), what happens when the masses *do* rise up? The bourgeoisie have no illusions about this. They have talked since 1975 in the Trilateral Commission of "the crisis of democracy" and are right now streamlining the state apparatus to deal with the mass movement. Does the TR think that the Greensboro assassinations, the framing of the NASSCO 3 or the murders in Seattle show the confidence of the bourgeoisie in the workings of bourgeois democracy? Under the volatile political situation today, the doctrinairism of the TR is not only opportunism, but potentially fatal.

We unite with the attempt that TR made to put out a comprehensive political plan for this period. However, TR's idealism shows that they have no understanding of the concrete practical movements today and no feel for the concrete history of our times. This we feel stems from the fact that the TR has not been willing to take up the concrete class struggle. Simply put, they are not in the class struggle except in the theoretical front, which of course inevitably becomes one-sided and academic when divorced from concrete practice. Their direction today is like those of the Legal Marxists in Russia, a "literary trend" as Lenin put it. The difference is that TR is following this road (as the "rectification" trend) years too late. It is as though the Legal Marxists, after "missing" the 1905 Revolution, tried to intervene in the 1917 Revolution.

The key difference between our strategic thinking and that of LM and TR is that while LM puts off revolution until white workers "break completely" with racism and TR puts off revolution until a "progressive restructuring" of capitalism, we believe communists must take advantage of the capitalist destabilization and devise *revolutionary* strategy and tactics for the *seizure of state power*. While LM thinks most white workers are "cushioned" and attaches no strategic importance to leading the class struggle, TR cannot conceive of leading the class struggle beyond the "progressive restructuring" of capitalism. Both of these views will only lead to the isolation of communists from the mass movement, at best tailing at its rear end, and set up the masses for a bloodbath.

The different political lines and strategies in the communist movement are antagonistic, but the resolution of these differences does not have to be antagonistic. The opportunity to unite Marxist-Leninists is greater now than before. As long as comrades maintain an honesty and openness to struggle, and a scientific attitude to the materialist science of Marxism-Leninism and to the working class, we are certain the majority of communists will unite on a correct revolutionary definition of tasks and help usher in a new socialist U.S.A. □

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## Kim Il Sung's Speech on Nonaligned Movement and Agricultural Problems

On August 26, Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, spoke at a banquet in honor of the delegations attending the Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agriculture Production. We are printing his speech in two parts, the second part to appear in next week's Workers Viewpoint. In this part, Kim speaks of the historic importance of the non-aligned movement and the importance of solving the food and agricultural questions for the fight against imperialism. In the second part, Kim discusses some of the experiences of the DPRK in the struggle for agricultural self-sufficiency and socialist reconstruction.

Respected Delegates, Comrades and Friends,

The grand Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agricultural Production opened today in Pyongyang, the capital of our country, with the progressive people all over the world showing great expectations and interest in it.

It gives our people great pleasure that the first symposium on increasing food and agricultural production which is of great significance in the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned and developing countries to build a new society, has been convened in our country.

I warmly welcome the delegates from friendly countries and representatives of international organizations to this symposium and all foreign comrades and friends present here, and heartily congratulate the symposium.

The current Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agricultural Production is held when we are significantly marking the 20th anniversary of the inauguration of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Twenty years has passed since the

heads of non-aligned countries gathered in Belgrade for the first summit conference with the lofty desire for peace and progress. Over the past two decades the non-aligned, which took its place on the stage of history reflecting the trend of the times towards independence, has covered the glorious path of struggle and played a great role in the international political life.

The non-aligned is an international movement of the peoples of the newly-emerging countries who fight for national independence and sovereignty, peace and social progress, opposing all kinds of domination and subjugation. The lofty ideas of anti-imperialism and independence incorporated in the Non-Aligned Movement have evoked the sympathy of hundreds of millions of people the world over and vigorously roused the progressive people of the world to struggle for freedom and liberation.

The Non-Aligned Movement has further expanded and developed its ranks, frustrating the vicious disruptive and subversive manoeuvres of imperialists and steadily strengthened its might in the crucible of anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle.

Today the peoples of the non-aligned countries are striving to defend their national independence and sovereignty against all domination forces including imperialism and to build a new society, free and prosperous, under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism and independence.

The food problem, the agricultural problem, is a highly important and urgent problem that the non-aligned and developing countries should settle without fail in building a new society.

Increasing agricultural production and solving the food problem provides the non-aligned and developing countries with an important condition for eliminating the consequences of imperialist colonial rule, consolidating their national independence and achieving their independent development.

Continued on page 12



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

## Non-Aligned Meet to Solve Food Problem

Pyongyang, DPRK, August 26 (KCNA)—The Symposium of the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries on Increasing Food and Agricultural Production opened with a large attendance at the People's Palace of Culture in Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on August 26.

The symposium will exchange successes and experiences gained by each non-aligned and developing country in the efforts to increase food and agricultural production and discuss practical measures to make a collective progress by strengthening cooperation among nations in this field.

The symposium is attended by delegations and delegates from 80 countries and 12 international organisations.

Miguel Rodriguez Mayea, Head of the Delegation of the Republic of Cuba, the present Chair-state of the Non-Aligned Movement, declared the symposium open.

Comrade Li Jong Ok, Premier of the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, made a congratulatory speech, in the name of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Congratulatory speeches were made by the head of the Delegation of Burundi on behalf of the African

Region, the head of the Delegation of Nicaragua on behalf of the Latin American Region, the Delegate of Malta on behalf of the European Region, and the head of the Delegation of Malaysia on behalf of the Asian Region.

Then a congratulatory group of the Korean Juvenile Corps entered the hall and warmly congratulated the attendants of the symposium.

Next followed a plenary meeting.

At the plenary meeting Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Im Chung Il, Chairman of the DPRK National Committee of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, was elected Chairman, and the Minister of Agricultural Development and Research of Sri Lanka, the Minister of the County Afri-Livestock Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives of Guinea, the Minister of Agriculture of Tanzania, the Vice-President of the Federal Committee for Agriculture of Yugoslavia and the Minister of Crops and Livestock in the Ministry of Agriculture of Guyana were elected Vice-Chairmen. Rakotofiringa Crescent Solohery, member of the Malagasy delegation, was elected Rapporteur.

The plenary meeting adopted the following agenda:

1. Experiences of the non-aligned and other developing countries in the

Continued on page 14



Zimbabwean tobacco farm worker. Developing countries such as Zimbabwe can learn valuable lessons from the DPRK's experience in their struggle for agricultural self-sufficiency.

## Timerman, Zionism and Fighting Anti-Semitism

Paul Bermanzohn

**T**he case of Jacobo Timerman has sparked an international debate over fighting fascism and anti-semitism, and the role of Israel in that fight.

Timerman is a Jewish publisher from Argentina. Until 1977 he was publisher and editor of *La Opinion*, a liberal newspaper that criticized Argentina's fascist military junta. He published the names of people kidnapped by the military until, in April 1977, Timerman was himself taken prisoner and tortured for 30 months. His recent book, *Prisoner Without A Name, Cell Without A Number*, is a powerful personal account of his 2½-year ordeal at the hands of the anti-semitic Argentine regime.

Anti-semitism is the almost-official ideology of the junta. An Argentine military man tells Timerman, "Argentina has three main enemies: Karl Marx because he tried to destroy the Christian concept of society; Sigmund Freud, because he tried to destroy the Christian concept of the family and Albert Einstein because he tried to destroy the Christian concept of time and space," (*Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, p. 130).

Timerman describes the Argentine military dictatorship and its jails: "Its adherents hung pictures of Hitler in the rooms when Jewish political prisoners were interrogated; special tortures were invented for Jewish prisoners; the food allotment to Jewish prisoners in clandestine prisons was reduced; rabbis who dared to go to the jails to visit Jewish prisoners were humiliated. And basically, the extremists encouraged and protected books and magazines that contained anti-semitic literature," (pp. 131-132).

Timerman recently visited the U.S. to speak out against Reagan's policy of supporting the most repressive regimes in the world as long as they are anti-communist. He condemned both the U.S. and Israel for their dealings with Argentina. Israel is the second largest supplier of arms, after the U.S. to the Argentine anti-semites. This is a most embarrassing fact to the Zionists.

A number of Zionist and conservative spokesmen have tried to discredit Timerman. They have argued that he was tortured not because he is a Jew, but because of his leftist sympathies and his alleged leftist connections. Irving Kristol, writing in the *Wall Street Journal* on May 29, 1981, said the reason Timerman was arrested was because of his relationship with David Gravier, a mysterious international financier who owned part of *La Opinion* and who is supposed to have been helping the Monteneros, a leftist Argentine guerilla organization.

Kristol, and other reactionary gentlemen among Reagan's sympathizers, states this connection to the guerillas as if it was a proven fact. The Argentine government, however, was unable to establish this link in all the time it held Timerman. Several military courts tried and acquitted him. But even if it were true, this begs the question. It implies that if Timerman was a leftist it would be okay to torture him.

The policy of the Reagan administration is to support fascist dictatorships which use torture as a means to maintain their rule — and, in this way, to maintain U.S. corporate interests.

Timerman was tortured because he spoke out courageously against Argentine fascism. He was treated with particular savagery because he is Jewish. Now he is tormented by some Jews because he has exposed Israel's dealings with the Argentine junta. This brings out the lies about the Zionist solution to anti-semitism.

The official Zionist movement promised Israel as a Jewish homeland which would lead to a solution of the so-called Jewish problem, that is, widespread and violent anti-semitism in many countries. Yet Zionism, the movement which led to the founding of Israel, collaborated with imperialism, rather than joining with other minorities and workers, to fight against all forms of oppression, including anti-semitism.

The Zionists remained relatively small and isolated until the Nazi Holocaust. During this mass slaughter, Jews fleeing Europe had no place to go, and they were kept out of the U.S. and other Western "democracies." It was under these conditions that Zionism gained support for its project of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Zionism channelled the Jewish people's feelings against national oppression to chauvinism against the Palestinian Arabs, who were forcibly kicked off their land to make way for the Jewish homeland. Today, the horror of the

Holocaust is used as the main justification for Zionism. This past summer a world conference of Holocaust survivors was held in Israel. Conference participants, many anxiously looking for clues to lost relatives, were given speeches that repeated the same theme: "Israel is the answer. Come to Israel."

During the Nazi genocide of Jews in Europe, about six million European Jews were murdered, two-thirds of the total number of Jews in Europe. Yet the rescue of Europe's Jews was not a priority of the official Zionist movement. In 1943, the year of the great Warsaw ghetto uprising, Itzhak Greensbaum, head of the Zionist Jewish Rescue Committee, declared, "If I am asked could you give from UJA [United Jewish Appeal—ed.] money to rescue Jews? I say 'No, and again No.' In my opinion, we have to resist that wave which puts Zionist activities in the second line," (Quoted in *Perfidy*, by Ben Hecht, p. 50).

Dr. Rudolf Kastner, head of the Hungarian Zionist Organization, collaborated with the Nazis.



Timerman

His efforts saved 1684 "prominent Jews" in exchange for keeping the terrible secret of the Nazis' plan to kill all 500,000 Hungarian Jews. Kastner and his prominent friends went to Palestine, where he became a high official in the Israeli government. Unaware of their fate, 476,000 Jews who might have resisted, passively boarded trains for Auschwitz death camp (Hannah Arendt, *Eichman in Jerusalem*, p. 118).

Yet, to cover their treacherous record and bill themselves as the only hope for Jews, the Israeli government and the official Zionists today accuse progressive anti-Zionists of being anti-semitic. Shedding some light on this manipulation of people's emotions, a columnist and prominent social critic Alexander Cockburn wrote, "The enemies of anti-Semitism who fight Nazism in city streets in this country include the JDL, which is both Zionist and an enemy of anti-Semitism. But they also include groups such as the Communist Workers Party, anti-Zionist and an enemy of anti-Semitism. Giving the lie to slanders about 'anti-Semitism on the left,' they have fought and indeed died in clashes with the Klan and Nazis. But their participation in the fight against anti-Semitism is denounced by those American Jewish leaders who will flock along to a Jabotinsky dinner and applaud the appearance on the platform of Falwell, where he was given a prize," (*Village Voice*, June 24-30, 1981, p. 28).

Today, can we seriously say the Jewish problem is solved? I think not. Anti-semitism is alive and spreading in many countries in Europe and in the U.S. France has had highly-publicized bombings of Jewish synagogues. Italy, England and the U.S. have all seen a resurgence of anti-semitic right-wing terrorist groups like the Nazis and the KKK. And these movements are promoted and protected by the ruling class in each country to scapegoat Jews for the capitalist crisis.

After the French bombings, for example, many high level police were exposed for their neo-Nazi connections. The effect of socialist Mitterrand's presidential election on French anti-semitism remains to be seen. In the U.S. the FBI has been actively involved in the KKK, boasting in 1977 that it had "enough agents in the Klan to elect the Imperial Wizard." Government agents operating inside the Klan and Nazis coordinated the Greensboro Massacre in 1979.

Anti-semitism always arises in periods of economic crisis because the tiny capitalist elite uses its power and wealth to promote scapegoats for the crisis. In this way the capitalists strive to get themselves off the hook. They use survivals of feudal religious Jew-hating to divert the masses from anti-capitalism to anti-semitism. Only by eliminating capitalism can the soil in which anti-semitism grows be dug up.

In the face of this rise in anti-semitism, what has Israel done? It has continued selling arms to anti-semitic governments like Argentina. In addition, Argentine Jewish leaders have also tried to discredit Timerman. Argentine Orthodox Rabbi Abraham David said that Timerman's indictments of the military regime have put Argentine Jews "in an extremely uncomfortable position." In his opinion, not official anti-semitism, but "assimilation and intermarriage" are the chief threats to the Jews' survival in Argentina. "This must be our real fear," he said.

The Argentine lawyers who originally defended Timerman but now denounce him in the *New York Times* ads are more blunt. These two lawyers, advertised as "prominent members of the Argentine Jewish community" said, "You (Timerman) have presented the perfidious anti-semites with an image and an argument the racist beasts have tried vainly for a long time: an excuse for irresponsible and resentful hatred." These prominent men all agree that Timerman, by pointing to the problem is making that problem worse.

Henry Waxman, Democratic Congressman from Los Angeles, has ridiculed the ostrich attitude of hiding one's head in the sand. He said, "I would hate to see us reach the point when we become indifferent to manifestations of anti-semitism which fall short of the standards set by Hitler." □

# THE SOCIALIST ROAD

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by Jerry Tung, General Secretary, CWP

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# CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE

## Blow Out

Elliot Chun

Over the years, Brian De Palma, has gone from directing satirical black comedies *Greetings, Hi Mom* to becoming the new reigning king of sleek urban thrillers *Sisters*, *Obsession*, *Carrie*, *The Fury*. Last year, De Palma secured his marketability with his throat-slashing epic, *Dressed to Kill*, which drew loud protests from feminists and gay activists for its depiction of a transvestite psychopath stalking women.

The young, enterprising De Palma has earned the dubious reputation of ripping off the work of established film-makers, principally Alfred Hitchcock. Now, he has gone a step further, by cannibalizing at least half a dozen different films and piecing together the latest entry in the summer horror movie market, *Blow-out*. Although *Blow-out* draws heavily from movies such as Antonioni's *Blow-up* and Coppola's *The Conversation*, it carries De Palma's unmistakable trademark.

The film opens with the camera voyeuristically gliding through the halls and showers of a women's dorm, as seen through the eyes of a maniac. Just as the suspense builds to a *Psycho*-like knifing climax, the audience finds out that the scene is actually a piece of film that star John Travolta is watching. This is nothing more than a variation on the opening sequences of De Palma's previous films. *Sister* for example, opened with a peeping-tom TV show segment, and *Dressed to Kill* began with a rape-fantasy. It's gotten to be a rather tired joke. But, as it turns out, this is only the first of many stock De Palma tricks that litter the film.

Travolta plays an electronics whiz-kid who does sound for B-movies. He had previously used his talent working for an agency to collect evidence on corrupt policemen until an accidental malfunction led to one of his colleague's deaths. This little digression, incidentally, has absolutely nothing to do with the plot of the film, and is mechanically inserted to establish that Travolta is a man of principle and integrity. Despite the script, and its rather dull dialogue, Travolta actually turns in a very moving performance, and gives the film its center of gravity. He successfully evokes a strong portrayal of an average guy trying to live by his social conscience in the face of incredible, and threatening, odds. Travolta's role, by the way, is a rarity. He emerges as one of the few engaging, sympathetic characters to grace a De Palma film.

One night, while collecting sounds on a rural highway, Travolta witnesses and inadvertently records a fatal car accident that takes the life of a favored presidential candidate. Travolta is able to rescue the car's passenger, played blandly by Nancy Allen, and rush her in time to a hospital.

By playing back his tapes and reconstructing the accident through a series of photographs (electronic gimmickry is another fascination of De Palma's), he figures out that the tire had actually been shot out.

The rest of the movie is devoted to following Travolta as he enlists Allen's aid and desperately tries to convince the world that the car wreck was, in fact, a deadly conspiracy. What he comes up against is an extensive cover-up and a wary, unseen killer.

### Cynical, Empty Visual Odyssey

De Palma is not a great storyteller, and his script offers no real surprises. There are no plot twists; no mystery about who is the killer or what his motives are; no suspense as to when or where he'll strike next. So then, what makes a film like *Blow-out* such a smash hit?

Well, although De Palma's movies are not actors' or writers' vehicles, they certainly are showcases for the director. His films are excellently crafted and display the height of bourgeois technology. They epitomize the state of the industry — fastpaced entertainment that is slick, gripping, and ultimately, empty. *Blow-out* is literally a visual odyssey, but the only trouble is, we've seen it all before. As a matter of fact, every De Palma film is punctuated with the same cinematic gimmicks. The seamy urban backgrounds glistening in the rain, the split screens, the swirling circling camera shots, the outrageous color schemes, have all become predictable, standard devices in his films.

De Palma is clearly targeting a young audience with his films. The picture he paints of modern civilization can be described as hip-cynicism. His world is filled with corrupt politicians and incompetent, profane cops, scheming, deceitful petty-crooks and sinister omnipotent corporations run by master criminals. His villains are not crazed lunatics, luring in the bushes. They are murderous psychiatrists, doctors and businessmen who conduct their rampages of indiscriminate violence under a thin guise of respectability. In doing so, De Palma is able to cash in on the disillusionment of young audiences who have grown up in the shadow of real-life corporate scandals and government conspiracies.

He also has an appallingly funny sense of humor. In *Blow-out* there are hilariously funny scenes satirizing familiar cultural symbols. There's a comic portrayal of an obnoxious TV newscaster who believes Travolta's conspiracy theory, and a send-up of the absurd mentality of B-movie producers. The setting of the film is Philadelphia, during the annual July 4th festivities, and De Palma makes numerous sly digs at patriotism.

### No Heart

It's a curious juxtaposition of black comedy played against a background of modern paranoia. De Palma is able to tap into the disenchantment of young people with the established order (which has become very popular; look at National Lampoon and *Saturday Night Live*), but instead of extracting outrage over the despicable assassination cover-up, he offers nothing more than a smug, "That's the way it is. Too bad."

De Palma has no heart. There are no happy endings in his movies. Morality and justice simply don't exist. Good people are never rewarded for their deeds; innocence is paid off with brutality. Cruel fate is doled out with an equally heavy hand to heroes, villains, victims and survivors.

In *Sisters*, for example, the innocent eyewitness, who alone can explain the endless carnage around here, is left amnesiac and the crimes go unsolved. In *Carrie* and *Dressed to Kill*, the main characters are all killed off and the few survivors are haunted by terrifying nightmares.

### Glorifies Violence

Even more disturbing is De Palma's usage of violence. In his movies, murders are not gruesome atrocities that make you turn away and shudder. Yes, they are gory, but De Palma dispatches his characters with style; using graceful, slow-motion photography and lush music. He composes the death scenes like complex dance productions. Instead of being repelled by the horror of the crimes, you're fascinated; you marvel at the wonder of it all. De Palma has made death into an art form with some kind of luminous, hypnotic, perverse beauty. In *Carrie*, Cissy Spacek is gloriously incinerated in a collapsing burning house. In *The Fury*, Carrie Snodgrass takes a long slow-motion plunge through a car windshield, and another character hemorrhages to death in an amazingly edited sequence. Here in *Blow-out* a prostitute is strangled in a bathroom stall and De Palma draws back his camera gracefully, until all that's visible are her dangling feet, kicking with her last moments of life. If this is art, then *Blow-out* must represent some kind of new moral low for Hollywood.

### "Justifies" Violence Against Women

There are other sinister messages conveyed in De Palma movies. A very overt relationship exists between sex and violence. After seeing all the shady, loose women of De Palma's films meet such awful, revolting destinies, you wonder: Just what is De Palma trying to say?

His movies are inhabited by a motley assortment of women; the bitchy high school coeds and sexually repressed mother and daughter in *Carrie*, the murderous psychopathic siamese twins of *Sisters*, and Angie Dickenson's pathetic, frustrated housewife in *Dressed to Kill*, who all get knocked off because of their lust, greed or neuroses. It's practically a fundamentalist's vision of retribution for sin.

In *Blow-out*, Nancy Allen meets her doom because she seduces men for blackmail photos. There is something implicit in De Palma's movies that says, "These women deserved it. They brought it on themselves. They were asking for it." This, not coincidentally, is the same kind of depraved logic that blames rape victims for provoking their assailants.

A film like "Blowout" will not incite violence, but does help desensitize the audience to violence. It may not lead viewers to commit crimes against women, but its portrayal of women in certainly degrading. Clearly, there are far more dangerous films being released today; vigilante movies, for example, that promote fascist solutions to crime.

But all of De Palma's talent and wit cannot fundamentally distinguish *Blow-out* from the flooded market of cheap, violent, exploitation movies. □

## Kim Il Sung from page 10

The basic way of settling the food problem in these countries is to develop their own agriculture and thus attain self-sufficiency in food.

The food problem is immediately the agricultural problem. Without developing agriculture, one can neither solve the food problem nor drop dependence on and subordination to other countries.

The non-aligned and developing countries should set agriculture as an important question in building a new society and work hard to develop an independent agriculture and increase farm production, by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

Today these countries are striving to settle the food problem, the problem of

agriculture, under the slogan of "individual and collective self-reliance." This we believe is very good. If these countries develop agriculture actively by mobilizing their own forces to the maximum on the principle of self-reliance and strengthening mutual cooperation, they will be able to attain self-sufficiency in food.

Strengthening economic and technical cooperation and exchange among the newly-emerging nations is of tremendous importance in developing agriculture and solving the food problem in the non-aligned and developing countries.

Among the newly-emerging countries, there are those with good farming experience and advanced technology, those with a wealth of material resources and funds and those especially favored with natural conditions for agricultural production. If the developing countries turn their favorable conditions and possibilities to good ac-

count and effect active mutual exchange and close cooperation, they will be able to increase agricultural production quickly. Adhering to the principle of self-reliance, the developing countries should conduct lively exchange and closely cooperate with one another, each contributing what it has — either technology, material resources or money.

If they are to develop agriculture rapidly and build an independent new society successfully, the non-aligned and developing countries should intensify and advance the Non-Aligned Movement still further.

The Non-Aligned Movement is a powerful revolutionary force which defends the right to independence and interests of the newly-emerging countries, and it is a strong tie which links and unites these countries in a single orbit. Only when this movement is advanced, can the imperialist manoeuvres to control and exploit developing coun-

tries be crushed, and economic and technical cooperation and exchange among the newly-emerging countries can be realized satisfactorily.

For the strengthening of the Non-Aligned Movement, all its member nations must hold fast to independence and closely unite behind the banner of anti-imperialism and independence.

When all non-aligned countries refuse to follow any domination forces, maintain a principled stand towards imperialism and firmly unite in a single rank in their struggle, regardless of the difference in ideas, systems and religious beliefs, the Non-Aligned Movement will, with an unbreakable vitality, champion the interests of the peoples of the newly-emerging countries more creditably on the international arena and powerfully encourage the developing countries in their struggle to build a new society. □

# American Journal

## The Disabled: From Beds to Buses . . . and Back?

David Armstrong

There are these new buses in my town with electronically-operated lifts. The lifts are there to hoist disabled people up the steps, making the vehicles accessible to the handicapped for the first time. I rode one the other day, and found myself growing impatient when the driver ignored a green light at a crowded corner to run the lift. I was in a hurry, and it was taking too damn long — maybe two minutes. Then I spotted a sign just above the door where a disabled passenger, a young man in a wheelchair, was boarding. The sign put it simply and eloquently: "Some people have been waiting for the bus a long time."

It was then that I — young, city-busy, able-bodied — got some inkling of what this amenity must mean to the man in the wheelchair. Only a few years ago, disabled people were confined to their homes or to institutions, unable to take part in the life of the broader community, for the simple reason that they could not walk, drive or take buses and trains like the rest of us. Thanks to relatively tough federal rules and experimental grants to local transit districts providing access to the disabled, that was beginning to change.

Was. Even before they got into office, however, the hard-eyed men around Ronald Reagan drew a bead on transportation services for the disabled, which they consider a frill. Last month, Drew Lewis, the Secretary of Transportation, proposed wishy-washy new regulations permitting local transit

districts to spend federal block grants when and how they see fit, rather than — as is presently the case — specifying vehicle conversion as a high priority, and spelling out how it is to be done.

The proposed new regulations are actually nearly identical to those of a decade ago, which advocates for the rights of the disabled feel didn't work. Critics such as Kitty Cone, of the Berkeley-based Center for Independent Living, say that those regulations were often ignored by local transit officials, and were unduly restrictive to begin with. Disabled people were required to request service a day in advance, for example, and were given permission to use accessible vehicles for special purposes only, such as a trip to the doctor.

The proposed regulations, scheduled to take effect on Sept. 18, would similarly restrict the mobility of the disabled. There are no guaranteed minimum hours of service for accessible vehicles, for instance, or specified areas in which they would be required to run. As a result, disabled people, who have only recently left their beds for the bus, face a one-way trip back into isolation.

Politically active disabled people and their supporters are trying to prevent that from happening. Their main chance is a large Disabled American Freedom Rally in Washington, D.C. on Sept. 7. The rally is the planned capstone of a cross-country caravan of cars and vans carrying disabled activists from the West Coast to Washington by way of Denver, St. Louis and Ann Arbor, Michigan. The caravan set off from San Francisco on Aug. 15, with

the blessings of the American Indian Movement, the Grey Panthers and local chapters of the United Steelworkers and the Newspaper Guild.

In the meantime, the Center for Independent Living — the nation's largest resource center for the disabled, and prime organizer of the rally — is urging people to write Secretary of Transportation Lewis, protesting the transit access cutbacks. "The outcry should be so loud and massive," says CIL's Kitty Cone, "that Drew Lewis hears it even in his sleep." Lewis can be reached by way of the Docket Clerk, (Docket No. 56A), 400 7th St., Rm. 10421, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20590.

Cone and other organizers of the Disabled American Freedom Rally emphasize that the demonstration is not conceived as a narrow call for special treatment for their own relatively small group. They see it as a celebration of the rights of all disenfranchised people suffering from Reagan's spending shift — it's hardly a *cut* — from human services to the Pentagon. Women, racial and sexual minorities, working people, the poor, the disabled — put all those minorities together, and you have a lot of dues-paying people.

As the city bus stopped to lower the young disabled passenger to curbside, I found myself wondering whether the Vietnam war put him in that wheelchair, and how many converted buses the money for one neutron bomb would buy. □

[American Journal appears in over 30 college and alternative newspapers.]

## NASSCO

Continued from page 16

on. Wilkinson pointed out that much of the legislation was introduced during the Carter Administration and that the "arch-liberals" like Ted Kennedy and some of the most reactionary conservatives, like Strom Thurmond, had joined hands to get the bills into the present session.

Tom Ono said that to understand the implications of the NASSCO case (where three union activists were entrapped and convicted of plotting to bomb the shipyard where they worked), we have to look at the general economic and political climate in the country today. The economic crisis has prompted all of society to look seriously at the present system. While the rich who benefit from this system want to keep it, the majority of Americans also are attempting to define and fight for their needs.

Movements which have emerged to protect the interests of the people — Miami, NASSCO, PATCO and other labor struggles, the anti-draft and anti-imperialist movements and countless other struggles — have already warned the capitalists that in order to protect their interests, the rich are going to have to squash all these movements. The repressive bills before Congress are their attempt to legalize and legitimize the brutal suppression which they will be forced to use against American labor, national movements, the anti-nuke and peace movements which are flowering in this country.

The overall needs of the capitalist class are the driving force which causes "strange bedfellows" to pop up, like Kennedy and Strom Thurmond.

"Individual liberties are secondary to the requirements of national security and internal order," reads a passage authored by Samuel T. Francis, who worked for the Heritage Foundation and helped to draft almost all the bills before Congress which deal with civil liberties.

"Think about that," said Wilkinson. "That is the mind set of these individuals. And of course, protecting

the profits of big business fits right in with protecting national security."

In a brochure entitled, "You're Next! The NASSCO Case and the Attack on Civil Liberties," the CDNW said, "The NASSCO 3 case raises the spectre of further political prosecutions on the basis that a belief in basic social change somehow 'predisposes' the believer to violence. Section 533(b) (1) of the proposed FBI Charter extends the basic argument to the question of investigation. It reads, 'The FBI is authorized to conduct an investigation on the basis of facts or circumstances that reasonably indicate that a person has engaged, is engaged, or will engage in an activity in violation of a criminal law of the United States' (emphasis added). Does this mean that adherents for social change are somehow predisposed to commit criminal acts and, because of this potential, cannot plead entrapment? If these are the legal implications, then all people striving for social change — anti-draft activists, anti-nuclear activists, militant trade unionists, community organizers, as well as those seeking socialism, communism, anarchism or some other far-reaching transformation — are fair game for the harassments of public officials and the enticements of undercover provocateurs whose actions will be entirely beyond legal challenge."

Wilkinson has joined Congressman Ronald Dellums and other individuals and organizations fighting for civil liberties in calling for a congressional investigation into "possible FBI and National Security Administration involvement in anti-labor practices." The call for the congressional investigation is a result of the dirty tricks uncovered in the trial of the NASSCO 3. While many of the details remain a secret, it is hoped that the investigation will uncover some of the facts, bring them to public attention and help prevent other cases where government agents conspire to entrap labor activists, or anyone else. □

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# LETTERS TO THE CWP

## Complexities of Farmworkers' Question

### CWP and Workers Viewpoint

Once again returning to the fruit orchards of Central Washington, I must clearly state that the problems of the '80s in the fruit orchards are not solely one of unjustly treated Mexican workers. Small growers, white workers, and Mexican nationals are bearing the brunt of the capitalist crunch together. (As are Blacks in the South and Asians in the cities, although I am not directly connected to those struggles) If stopping deportations is a key issue for the industry (I do not deny this), so must other issues be elevated to equal and possibly higher levels. It is that analysis of the issues and problems that is the responsibility of the party leading the American workers blaming Mexicans for low wages, growers blaming American workers for low productivity and profitability, stiff inflationary pressures on small growers, falling real wages, poor sanitary and living conditions for migrants, rapid growth in corporate farming. A proletarian party does not have an option to choose whether it wants to direct activities to such a sector, necessity demands it. How to develop and what the program should be is and will continue to be the question at hand. What follows is another report aimed at revealing more parameters to the agricultural problem... Last year, I wrote that in the apple orchards of Washington, the small growers (currently the largest number) were facing a serious crisis. Overproduction was threatening to throw the competitive advantage to the large commercial growers who could control the marketplace as well as the actual growing of the fruit. Only through substantial increase in foreign markets could demand keep up with the burgeoning supply of apples from the thousands of acres

of new orchards just reaching productive maturity.

An average apple orchard handles all the particulars of growing the crop with a few exceptions. The warehouse has agents (field reps) which visit the various orchards under contract to the warehouse where he checks for various diseases — scale, mites, cottling moths, worms, and the like — and then he sets a spray schedule to ensure crop protection. In the fall he checks apple color and sugar content which determine when a grower can begin picking the fruit. All other aspects of growing are managed by the grower — bookkeeping, labor hiring and firing, irrigation, machine maintenance and so on.

But come harvest, once the apples leave the orchard for the warehouse, the grower loses control over his product and is at the mercy of the apple wholesalers. Here's where the capitalist crunch of the '80s is bringing a real crunch to the smaller grower.

### Corporations Controlling All Aspects of Production

Once upon a time, the warehouses were run as grower cooperatives, but the newer trend is in two directions. First, there is the warehouse run as an independent specialized business within the industry taking care of the sorting, packing, storage and marketing of the farmer's crops. It develops contracts with small growers to handle their fruit, but does not buy the fruit itself. For this the warehouse charges the grower per box. The average per box cost to a grower for his and the warehouse costs is \$4.50/box of apples — adding \$1.00/box if the warehouse picks up the apples at the orchard itself, and another \$1.00/box if the fruit is to be put in long-term cold storage for sale in the spring.

The other type of warehouse is company-owned — part of the rising number of corporate industries which are starting large orchards and con-

trolling all aspects of production through the wholesale and shipping level. These trends are double indemnity for the small orchard manager.

In the first place, the agricultural marketplace is not controlled by the farmers, nor even the warehouses, nor in any establishment in the west. It's all controlled through the sales on the Chicago Board of Trade's Futures Market. Large monied interests purchase the present crop long before it is grown — stabilizing the market price somewhat, but at the same time placing an artificial price not necessarily related to demand nor the farmer's ability to produce a certain type of apple. The daily price quotations show what is happening:

\$11.95/box	extra-fancy golden delicious
9.70/box	extra-fancy red delicious
9.40/box	fancy golden delicious
7.70/box	fancy red delicious
7.20/box	regular golden delicious
5.95/box	regular red delicious
5.50/box	small golden delicious
5.25/box	small red delicious

Only extra-large, extra-fancy fruit in the top two categories is bringing in sufficient money to make the growing end profitable to the farmer. (Obviously the buyers in Chicago are not working class people — have you ever tried to fit one of those giant apples in a lunch box, or been able to eat a whole one at one sitting?) So what is the effect on the smaller (20-50 acre) grower?

### Growers Forced to Hire Thinner

If the growers must produce large extra-fancy fruit he must do several things: have a high percentage of large fruit, unblemished by disease or by shape. This requires thorough, heavy spraying and fertilizing often, increasing production costs. It further requires better thinning — the job we come to do in June where we pick off culls (misshapen, diseased and small fruit) and space the apples out by removing 30-60 percent of the fruit, thereby decreasing the amount of fruit a tree has to support and generally increasing the fruit size.

In the past growers paid scant attention to thinning — hiring anyone at \$3.50/hr. to do a mediocre job. But with the need to get extra-fancy fruit, many growers who did not thin before are paying people to thin now. Others are beginning to pay considerably more than \$3.50/hr., to get experienced thinners, increasing production costs once more.

In the fall, the fruit must be handled more carefully so that good fruit is not

made into culls (damaged or misshapen fruit that gets sold to juice companies or \$3.50/box — \$1.00 below production costs.) The desire for consistent experienced labor in the fall has led to the rapid influx of Mexican workers in the Washington orchards, greatly changing the character of the work situation in recent years.

### Emphasis on Cross-breeding and Genetics

But even with all of this, the average grower is still up against two factors out of his/her control. The great emphasis on genetics and cross-breeding became significant in the late '60s with the development of the "spur" apple — a red and golden variety that generally colored darker, sugared earlier, stored longer, as was "better-" and larger-shaped than older varieties of delicious apples. Not surprisingly, this was the time when large corporate interests began irrigating large flat acreages of land in central Washington — all with "spur" apples.

And not surprisingly, 10-15 years later as these trees reach peak production, the marketplace is paying good prices for one type of apple over all others — the "spurs." Almost all orchards older than 15 years grow all sorts of varieties of apples showing the result of scientific exploration in the '50s and early '60s—none of which have the marketability of the newer varieties. In fact, last year, many warehouses were culling all of these apples except the very largest, despite there being nothing wrong with them at all. Also, premium prices go to the orchards whose apples are picked first, and "spurs" will ripen as much as two weeks before "top reds," "stripes," "star kings," and similar varieties.

### Growers Often Cheated

As if this isn't bad enough, it is common practice for unscrupulous warehouses to cheat their farmer clients. The warehouse sorts and grades the apples into quality-price categories, boxes and sells them. The stories of outright lying and cheating, falsification of production papers are too numerous to discount. Once orchard last year was told that 90 percent of its fruit was so poor as to be culled — 90 percent. "Juicers," as they say in the industry. The couple running the orchard called their loan agent who brought in a state inspector who found less than 20 percent culls.

Still the warehouse continued to cull a large percentage because of small

Continued on following page

## By Right

Continued from page 1

"generosity" of banks and corporations. For instance, David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, has specifically denied that the poor are entitled to free legal services.

Community activists who advocate fundraising by asking local banks and corporations for grants, and seeking other community resources such as donated labor and materials, may help meet immediate needs and build some local unity, but fail to preserve entitlement and due process of law. An example of this trend is the readiness of housing authority directors to evict tenants suspected of harboring criminals, unworried that such evictions could be unconstitutional. Federally-funded entitlement programs have appeal mechanisms so that someone who is denied assistance can challenge the denial. No such protection exists when assistance is denied by a charitable organization.

### Grassroots and Labor: Powerful Allies

We must work to rid ourselves of the contradictions that block our unity in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. Social workers and the poor are both getting the dirty end of the stick. They need to pick up that stick together and use it on the class responsible for the economic crisis.

The INC/LSOI programs emphasized creative ways to get funds, now that the flow from the federal government is being shut off. The keynote speaker said "We're now going to have to make our own money out of new arrangements."

Banding together on the local level to raise funds is good, but not the solution. So long as they remain the "have nots," community activists will remain in the position of looking for the well that has not run dry, for new arrangements within the capitalist system. The source of those wells, the source of the country's wealth, though, is the working class, not the bourgeoisie.

The unity we need now was well represented at the July 7 demonstration organized by the Illinois Coalition

### Against Reagan Economics (ICARE).

Fifty squads, composed of labor, church, social worker, welfare rights, environmentalist, disabled and political groups united in direct opposition to the takebacks and cutbacks. Beneath this unity was the idea that it's their crisis, and we won't pay for it.

This unity has an excellent chance to broaden out. ICARE and Food Research and Action Center programs (like Indiana Nutrition Campaign) from Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin will be meeting in Gary, Indiana in October to plan and train for unity, broader forces and greater numbers.

INC had successfully organized a demonstration of 1,000 on April 25 in Indianapolis. Their forces were broad then, like the ICARE demonstration. Since then, they've decided their coalition would focus on food and nutrition and jobs, and retrenched to research and plan. The steps they are taking now are positive, progressive ones, a good partner for ICARE, which so far has not emphasized grassroots organizing. A principled struggle for class-based analysis must be carried out, though, to point out the basis for unity, and the contradictions that would divide us. □

## Non-Aligned

Continued from page 10

field of food and agriculture and ways to increase food and agricultural production;

2. Cooperation among the non-aligned and other developing countries in the field of food and agriculture;

3. Food problems and the new international economic order.

The plenary meeting heard a report from Comrade So Gwan Hi, Vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Chairman of the Agricultural Commission, who is head of the Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. □

## Comments on "Mercenary Connection"

I would just like to add a few comments to George Murphy's article "The U.S. Government's Mercenary Connection." (WV, August 5 issue). Definitely we have to take mercenary groups like the Christian Patriots Defense League seriously. This is the strength of the article in raising the dangers of the right wing and their relationship to the ruling class. Mao summed up the principle of "strategically despising the enemy, tactically take him seriously" and for us to understand the essence of the revolutionary forces and that of the reactionary forces and build a correct strategic and tactical thinking in leading revolutionary struggles. It is precisely because of the ruling class' weakness that it is relying more on reactionaries, their policies and ideologies.

The overall strategy and tactics that flow from that must be from a proper grasp of larger issues, the international and national situation, history of the communist and mass movements in the U.S. and their mutual relations. The general conditions for social change are severe economic and social crisis such that the working class can no longer live in the same way and the ruling class can no longer rule in the same way. For those who do believe Armageddon must be around the corner, we struggle against the view that World War and fascism are inevitable. There is a distinction between the 30s when communists raised the united front against fascism and the present situation. The forces of reaction were strong. The imperialists had basically completed their conquest of the world and were in the process of redividing the spoils. The Soviet Union was the only socialist country and there were few national liberation struggles around the world. Fascism already had state power in Germany, Italy, Austria and Japan. Fascist movements were surging ahead in Spain and other countries.

Today U.S. imperialism is on the verge of economic collapse unable to compete with the lesser imperialist powers. The socialist camp and the rise

of the third world liberation struggles continue to cut off the arms of imperialism worldwide. Lessons of Watergate, Vietnam and the historic lever of the economic crisis are opening up the American people to search for alternatives.

We should warn people of the fascists, but we also must expose the culture which aids the development of fascist ideology — the mysticism, nihilism, racism and American pragmatism (used in films). Our propaganda must be aimed at not only the working class but at all strata, particularly the youth. Racism is the most readily available ideology for the petty bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the working class to rationalize the social ills of society.

Another incorrect line run by social democrats is that bourgeois democracy is the lesser of two evils compared with fascism. For those that don't understand that the real alternative to fascism is socialism, it is progressive. But for communists to pursue the same line is reactionary. By holding the banner of bourgeois democracy they tighten the stranglehold of liberal ideology on the working class which ultimately can pave the way for fascism, letting fascist culture through liberal courts, freedom of speech, disarm the working class through anti-gun legislation, etc.

In Workers Viewpoint Journal (now the 80's) number 2, September 74, the article "United Front Against Monopoly Capitalism or United Front Against Fascism — Watergate and Fascism" it ends with:

"The danger of fascism and World War exists. To deny that is not historical materialist, to deny that is not communist. But the main trend is revolution. Present society is rotten ripe for revolution and we should chart our independent course of the proletariat and unwaveringly move on it. This is the only way that the proletariat can gain initiative in the struggle instead of tailing after the rapidly changing events and dance to the tune of the enemy. Fascism is not a necessary stage of capitalist development and is not inevitable."

S.T.  
N.Y., N.Y.

and have their own marketing avenues and methods. By controlling their product throughout, they ensure maximum return out of their crop.

### Many Forced to Sell Out

Faced with these problems, small growers are making many changes. Rapidly, old trees, still very productive, are being cut down and replaced with "spur" varieties. Wages are coming down in an attempt to reduce costs — except were some growers are beginning to pay more for thinning (and less for picking). Many growers with their life of activity embroiled in their orchards are selling out to companies and large investors while the prices are still high. What is to become of the industry is clear. How the workers, the growers, and the proletarian movement will deal with the problem is not so easily read.

This "selling out" process is illustrated by a 30-acre cherry orchard near here that was sold by the local owner last year after 25 years of pro-

duction. It was bought by a California investor who, in turn, sub-divided the orchard into four 7½ acre units which in turn were sold to other wealthy investors. But in this case the catch was that the machinery and equipment were retained by the first buyer who has hired a person to run and manage the orchard in the names of the four secondary investors. These four must advance the money for running the operation eight months in advance, later splitting the profit four ways. In exchange for the trouble of organizing the production, the primary investor gets to use these operational funds for the intervening period — for capitalist investments. Supposedly, this fellow operates enough orchards under this arrangement to receive over \$12.5 million in the fall which he doesn't have to put back into the orchard operations until the following summer. Some business, huh? Whether this is a common relationship I do not know, but certainly it is interesting...

Branch Walker

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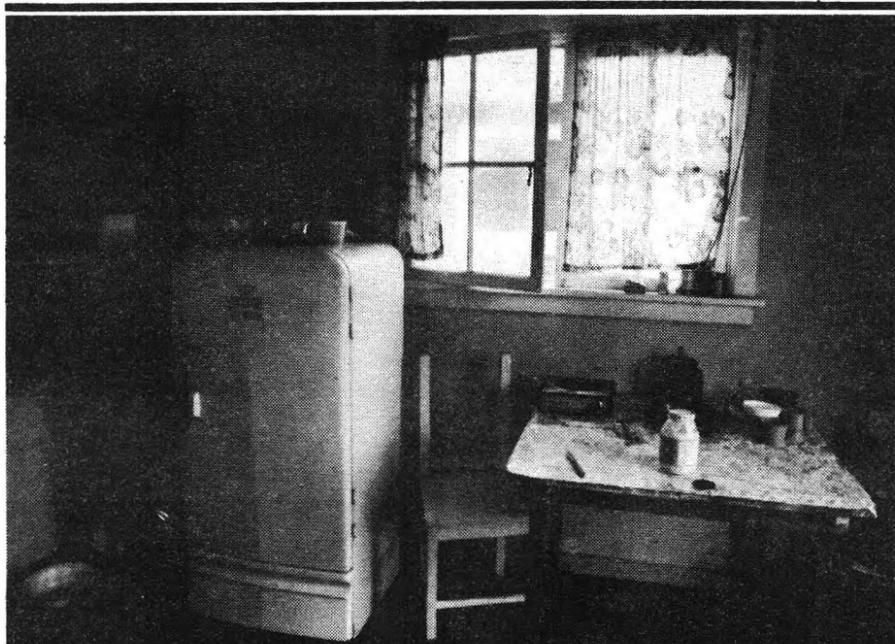
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Typical housing and living conditions of migrant apple pickers.

Continued from page 14

sizes (actually "regular" apples still above the profit margin on the grounds that there would be no market. Funny, then, that the "regular" apples skyrocketed to \$11.00/box this spring when demand remained strong and not enough apples had been stored. The warehouse further could not find enough apples to pack one box of

extra-fancy apples for this grower. This was a total fabrication — last year was one of the best years in history, and this orchard certainly had a better than average crop. This case is not an isolated example.

Corporate farms obviously do not have to contend with hostile packing plants — they have their own sheds,

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## Freedom Fighter Speaks Out For NASSCO 3

# “New McCarthyism, or Worse?”

Erin White

Frank Wilkinson, Executive Director Emeritus of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL) and co-chair of the American Civil Liberties Union's Committee on National Legislation visited San Diego on August 21 to talk about the repressive legislation pending in Congress.

Wilkinson has dedicated over 40 years of his life to fight against all moves which would restrict constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and rights. When Wilkinson refused to tell the House UnAmerican Activities Committee in 1962 who his political and personal associates were, he was convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to a year in jail. Wilkinson

fought all the way to the Supreme Court, arguing that HUAC was violating his rights of freedom of speech and association by demanding to know who he talked to.

“We have to remain alert to any infringements of our basic constitutional right,” he said. “I made the First Amendment challenge as a matter of personal conscience and the responsibility we all share to defend the Constitution against all enemies. We will not save free speech if we are not prepared to go to jail in its defense. I was and am prepared to pay that price.”

At a program, “The New McCarthyism, Or Worse?” sponsored by the Social Responsibility Committee of the

First Unitarian Church and by the Committee to Defend NASSCO Workers (CDNW), Wilkinson was joined on a panel by Sandy Atkinson of the National Organization of Women, and Tom Ono, a lawyer who was part of the NASSCO 3 legal defense team.

Rhonda Levine, chair of the CDNW, introduced the program by highlighting some of the legislation which is waiting in Congress and what it would mean. From S-1722, the great-grandson of the notorious S-1 Bill, to the proposed FBI charter revision, the government wants to take away heretofore guaranteed rights and freedoms and at the same time, lift almost all restrictions on intelligence

agencies. The Hobbs Act would make strikes “extortionist” activities, bring unions under criminal charges were they to strike. Some sections of S-1722 are aimed directly at anti-draft and anti-nuclear activists and organizations, making it virtually illegal to protest nuclear power or certain government policies.

Wilkinson blasted both the Democratic and Republican parties for their part in drafting the bills. He added that anyone who believes the Republican party or the “New Right” are solely to blame for the reactionary moves is walking around with blinders

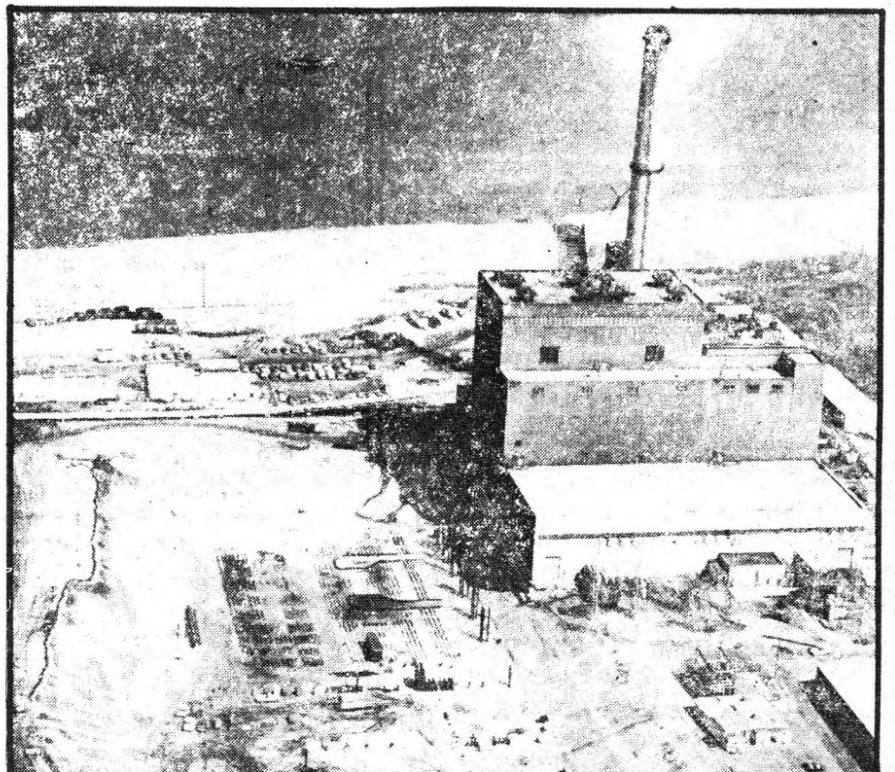
Continued on page 13



All around the country people protest use of nuclear power especially in arms race. In Vermont, marchers walked 35 miles to protest.

## United Front Shuts Down Baily Nuke

Utility officials in Northern Indiana admitted defeat on August 26 and called off construction of a nuclear power plant that had been opposed for ten years by broad local and national forces. Steelworkers, environmental and consumer activists, politicians and others formed the Baily Alliance to delay and halt the plant's construction in a heavily populated area near the ecologically fragile dunes lakeshore park and the huge Bethlehem Steel mill in Burns Harbor. The cost of the plant had rocketed from an estimated \$186 million to \$1.3 billion during the past ten years, when only one per cent of the construction was completed. This left the utility with a \$205 million hole in the ground (pictured above). The utility has announced its intention to pass this cost on to its customers, prompting the Citizens Action Coalition to demand that the shareholders must absorb the loss. □



The Baily Plant