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Capitalist Class,
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WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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Imperialists' Crisis, People's Opportunity

Sadat Judged

Robert Goldstein

Anwar el-Sadat, heir to the Pharaohs and agent of U.S. imperialism, is dead. It is fitting that this man, a dangerous and hated enemy of the Egyptian and Arab people, should die on the anniversary of Egypt's war to reclaim land it lost to its other enemy, the Israeli Zionists. There are many who will mourn his death, thinking he was a man of peace. But the facts prove otherwise; his sell-out at Camp David brought no peace. Casting his lot with U.S. imperialism and relying on its sensibilities, all Sadat brought was more misery for the millions of Palestinians, a split in the Arab world's anti-imperialist unity and more uncertainty for the region's and the world's Jews, who also desire peace.

Void Filled with Arms

Sadat's death creates a void, a crisis for the U.S.'s Mideast policy. So thin is support for the U.S.' "anti-Soviet consensus" (even within Egypt's ruling circles), it is unclear how long the Camp David agreements can hold out. The U.S., not banking on a favorable conclusion to this "peace process," is taking additional measures to keep its small toehold in the region, assure its lackeys and bully those who disagree with it.

How much the U.S., isolated throughout the Middle East, depended on Egypt and Sadat can be seen by the size of its embassy in Cairo. At over 500 staff members, it is larger than any other U.S. embassy except for the one in London. It has often been compared with the old embassy in Tehran before the Shah fell. At that time, Iran was the U.S.' policeman in the region, a role Egypt under Sadat inherited and carried out with Israel. Incidentally, security at the Cairo embassy has been increased immeasurably and its presence downplayed for fear of the Egyptian people's wrath.

It is not at all surprising, then, that the Reagan Administration pulled all stops to back up its allies in the area. It shipped two AWACS to Egypt, osten-



sibly to patrol its borders. Fully manned by American military personnel, Egypt's new president Hosni Mubarak let in the first foreign troops to guarantee his country's security, something which even Sadat was unwilling to do.

The U.S. now has access to bases in both Israel and Egypt for its Rapid Deployment Force. It is planning joint military maneuvers not only with Israel (one outcome of Begin's September visit to Washington), but with Egypt, Oman and the Sudan, too. These exercises, which will take place next month, are the largest show of military strength in the Mideast in many years.

Reagan is speeding over \$100 million worth of arms to the Sudan, to show his support for one of Sadat's closest friends in Africa. Sudanese President Numeiry has termed this aid "inadequate" for a war against Libya, a war which almost all observers say Libya will not start. In addition, all U.S. troops in the region, including the Mediterranean naval forces, are on heightened alert.

So blatant are the U.S.'s arms movements, many talk of smothering Egypt in a military embrace.

State Department spokesman Dean Fischer said these measures are meant "to defuse" the situation since Sadat's death and to prevent an attack by Libya on the entire region. The real in-



tent of the measures, however, is to guarantee that Egypt will remain firmly under U.S. hegemony and to prepare an invasion of the oil-rich Middle East.

Reagan has cause to worry, for the crisis created by Sadat's death is real and the factors weighing against the U.S. imperialists are serious. Taking advantage of the void, the Arab countries are working in the direction of bringing Egypt back into the fold. Syria has publicly called for the Egyptian people to resume their leading Arab role. Others have called for Mubarak's overthrow, while Kuwait has called for informal contact based on a rejection of Camp David.

Camp David is being undermined by the Saudi Arabian counterproposal which was unveiled last August. Consistent with the PLO's position, PLO head Yassir Arafat said it could be the working basis for peace. Many other Arab countries have endorsed the proposal, and, most recently, the British government announced it was sending a representative to Saudi Arabia to study the plan. Internationally, the

Camp David accords are losing credibility on a swift pace.

Camp David, Mubarak's rule and, ultimately, Egypt's total dependence on U.S. imperialism is threatened by the very nature of the so-called peace process. Sadat entered into these agreements from a position of extreme weakness. The whole Arab world, including the Egyptian people, rejected his recognition of Israel when he went to Jerusalem in 1977 to speak before the Israeli Knesset. He sold out the Palestinian people's right to a homeland and spit on their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

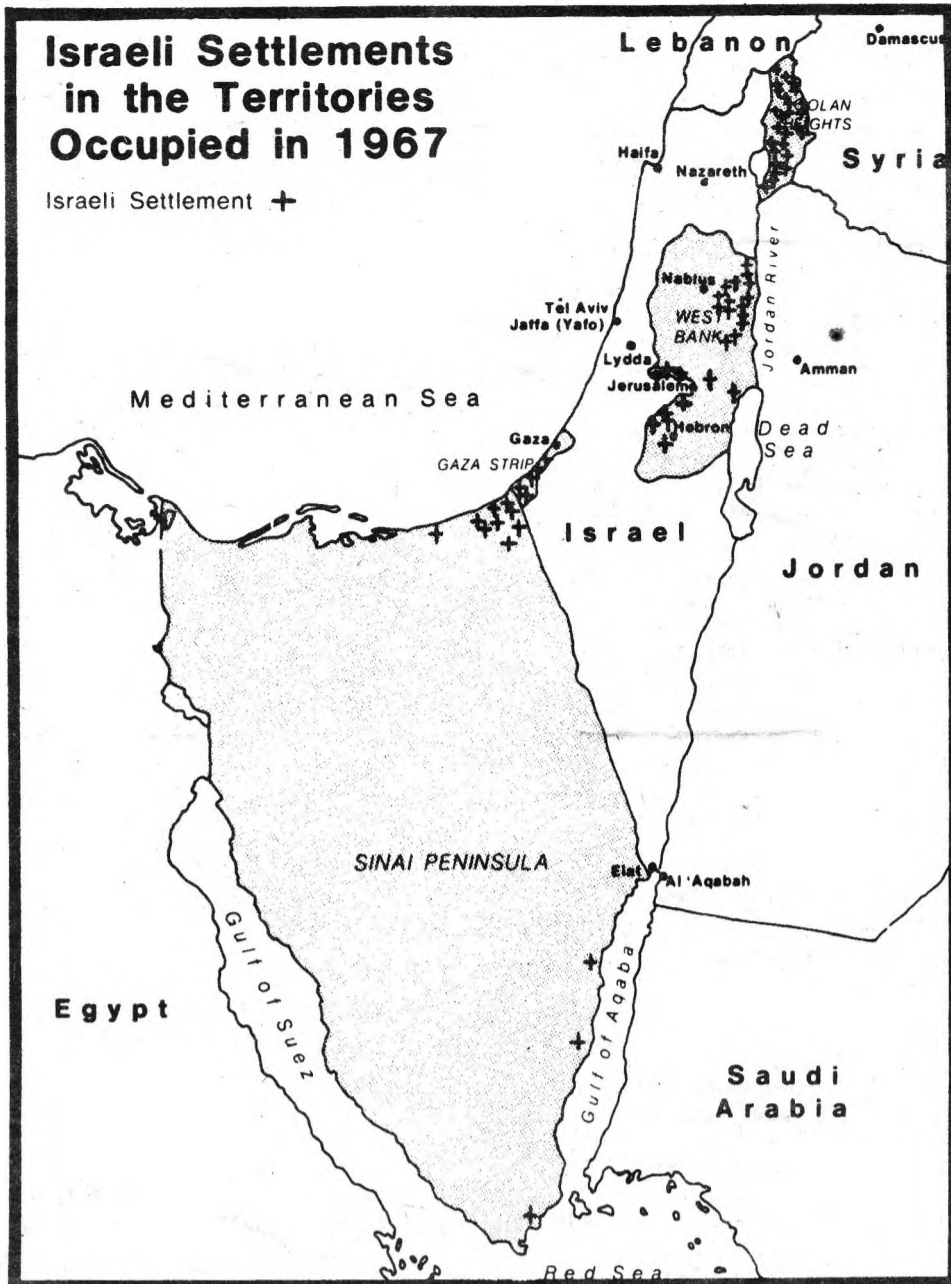
Lessons of Lackeyism

In return he received *promises*: promises of \$60 billion in U.S. military and economic aid, promises from the Israeli Zionists to return all land taken in the 1967 Six-Day War (with important concessions for the Israelis), promises for a moratorium on the West Bank settlements and promises of the Palestinian "autonomy" (under Israeli

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Israeli Settlements in the Territories Occupied in 1967

Israeli Settlement +



Sadat Judged

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occupation forces and without the PLO). These were the achievements of Sadat's begging from the U.S.

But even this is not assured. Reliance on the imperialists' sensibilities never got one very far. Sensing Egypt's real weakness, the Zionists toyed with Sadat, forced more concessions from him and made him an international fool.

This process started to peak last June, when Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin went to the Sinai to discuss peace with Sadat. The two sat side by side, working out details of the Sinai's return to Egypt and smiling at each other. A few days later Begin revealed what sort of peace he had in mind by bombing Iraq.

About a month later Israel bombed Lebanon, killing over 300 civilians, and three weeks after that Sadat again crawled to Begin. The substance of their talks was to fully normalize diplomatic relations and to again set up Palestinian "autonomy" talks. These talks broke down over a year ago because Israeli obstinance and its annexation of Arab East Jerusalem as its capital was too much even for Sadat. Sadat even vowed to keep the talks off until Israel returned its capital to Tel Aviv. The bombing ended Sadat's disobedience and he begged for mercy.

Soon after Sadat's death, the Israelis, not knowing the extent of support for his actions within the government and fearful of Egypt returning to the Arab fold, offered to be more flexible in the "autonomy" talks and seemed to offer more authority to Palestinian home rule a la Sadat. But after a few days, Begin withdrew even this sham concession, seeing Mubarak's feebleness and devotion to Sadat's legacy.

Egypt under Sadat was compromised and had no choice other than to ask the imperialists for favors. In his last trip to the United States Sadat, basing his arguments on humanitarian reasons, asked Reagan to open up communication channels with the PLO. He didn't ask the U.S. to

recognize the PLO as the only representative of the Palestinian people, but only as one voice out of many. He wanted this contact to try to trap the PLO into the Camp David process, something the PLO would never agree to.

But even this mild proposal was rejected out of hand by Reagan, even as the U.S.'s direction is to talk with the PLO as indicated by former presidents Ford's and Carter's declaration in favor of such contact. Reagan could dismiss Sadat's plea because he had nothing to back himself up — not the Egyptian people, not the Palestinians, not the Arab world.

Nationalist Sentiment High

Domestically, Mubarak faces great obstacles which put the Camp David accords in doubt. Egypt was traditionally a hotbed of Arab nationalism, and Sadat's splitting of the Arab world was a great humiliation for the Egyptian people, who suddenly found themselves isolated from their brothers. Economic hardship increased, too: as a result of Camp David, Egypt lost fraternal economic and military aid from 14 Arab countries. Sadat then delivered his country further into the U.S.'s clutches, but much of the aid which the U.S. promised in place of the Arab world's has not come through.

All of this had steadily chipped away at Sadat's support. Long-time associates of Sadat's, including four prime ministers, quit the government rather than go along with Camp David. Last month, when Sadat rounded up over 1,500 "Moslem fundamentalists fanatics" (read: nationalist) he was roundly criticized both inside and outside the government. Many speculate that this roundup was demanded by the Israeli government as a sign of good faith by Sadat on the Camp David accords. This only fueled the masses' feelings, and a few days after Sadat's assassination, serious nationalist uprisings occurred in the town of Asyut.

Within the army — which enjoys

tremendous prestige and authority among the people as a result of its heroism in the October War — there is dissatisfaction with Sadat and his collaborationist policies. The man who claimed credit for the assassination is a former commander of the armed forces during the October War. The army is currently undergoing a purge, but with a twist: no servicemen are being arrested. Mubarak recently got rid of 18 army officers, but because of high nationalist feelings, he could no more than transfer them to civilian jobs. The purge extends daily, even down to the enlisted men, as Mubarak struggles to keep hold of the country.

Terrorism Myth to Seize Oil

With the stability of one of its major allies in doubt, the U.S. government is escalating its provocative agitation campaign against Libya. Although there is no evidence whatsoever linking Libyan President Khaddafi to Sadat's assassination, both Secretary of State Haig and President Reagan have blamed him and threatened him against attacking any country in the region. For days after the assassination newspaper headlines and T.V. anchormen screeched that not only was Khaddafi Sadat's murderer, but he was also the world's principal terrorist. This plainly contradicts facts that the danger in the area comes from Egypt and the Sudan jointly attacking Libya, as many analysts privately admit.

These charges of terrorism is a continuation of the governments attempt to box in the Arab countries in general and Libya in particular and portray them as international terrorists. The U.S.-created myth of international terrorism, which was used to justify its intervention in other countries' affairs, was beaten back in El Salvador. But it has not, by and large, been exposed in relation to the Arab world. Ever since the early 1970s, when the OPEC countries started taking control of their own natural resources, using their oil as a weapon against imperialism and helping to fashion a new international economic order, the U.S. imperialists have created public opinion slandering the Arab world.

And it has had results. It is such an emotional issue that if the U.S. was to invade Libya today — or any other Arab country, for that matter — there would be little or no opposition from the American people. This chauvinist campaign is designed precisely to prepare public opinion for an invasion to seize the Arab countries' oil fields. Reagan declared in a recent press conference that he would not let Saudi Arabia go the way of Iran. Without directly stating it, he said he would use military force to guarantee the U.S. will continue to get oil and a friendly government should revolutionaries seize power in Saudi Arabia.

The U.S.'s campaign against Libya is not because it is "undemocratic" and "terrorist." The U.S. imperialists support truly fascist governments throughout the world, from South Korea to Argentina to South Africa. There are many repressive and undemocratic features in Libya today, and we by no means endorse them. But

one thing is clear: in many instances Libya stands squarely on the side of the third world. It politically and materially supports the PLO, while consistently rejecting the Camp David sellout. It has offered aid to developing and newly independent countries. When Nicaragua applied for a U.S.-backed loan and the American government refused, Libya was the first country to help. Libya has also taken principled stands on border disputes between various countries. Khaddafi opposed Tanzania's invasion of Uganda as opening the door for imperialist meddling in Africa, and also opposed Iraq's invasion of Iran for the same reasons. In both cases he was for peaceful settlement. Libya's steadfast support for these and other momentous struggles against U.S. imperialism is the real reason why Reagan so vigorously attacks Khaddafi.

Soviet Revisionism Pushes Sadat Towards U.S.

The U.S. has lost a loyal dog. The crisis created by Sadat's death still continues despite the fact that Mubarak occupies the presidential palace. The outcome of the crisis is not clear. One question remains: how did Egypt, once the proud leader of the Arab world, end up in its pathetic state, totally dependent on U.S. imperialism? To say merely that it was Sadat's fault and leave it at that is too simplistic. Even Sadat was more complex than that.

A great deal of the blame must be laid at the Soviet Union's door. Their revisionist line of relying only on negotiations with the imperialists and placing faith in their sensibilities and their chauvinist policy of trying to control other countries' affairs ultimately pushed Sadat away from the Soviets and into the arms of the U.S.

Ever since the 1950s and the rise of the Arab nationalist regimes such as Nasser's Egypt, the Soviet Union had been a friend of the Arab people. The Arab states could find political support against Israeli aggression as well as military and economic support. The Soviets provided large amounts of arms and advisors to the Egyptian army. But the Soviets made many critical mistakes and used this aid to gain leverage over the conduct of Egypt's affairs.

The Soviet revisionists pit one front of struggle (for detente and peaceful coexistence) against another (the struggle for national liberation and independence) and subordinated the latter to the former. This line objectively ignores the important and complimentary role national liberation struggles play in the fight for world peace. In the Middle East this revisionist line took the form of preventing the Arab countries' defense of their territory and then preventing them from reclaiming it by any means necessary.

In the June 1967 war the Soviet Union, after assuring the Arab countries that Israel would not attack, helped sponsor a cease fire favorable to Israel (see map). They supported U.N. Resolution 242 which denies the Palestinian people's national rights and treats them as a "refugee problem."

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The Impact

Norman Sadler

"This is to advise you that consideration is being given to reducing, suspending, discontinuing your AFDC award effective October 1, 1981.

"This action is being taken because the U.S. Congress has passed new laws that state some of the income of a step-father living in the home of children receiving AFDC must be deemed available to meet their needs."

The letters went out to 2,400 families in Lake County, Indiana on Sept. 16. That figure represents 20 percent of all those in the country who receive welfare. In addition to counting step-father income, no more payments of \$10 or less will be made, and the total gross household income will be figured differently. Those who used to get \$10 or less will continue to get their Medicaid card, unless they also fall within one of the other two changes.

It is, according to sources within the welfare department, only the beginning. Other planned changes will make households with more than \$1,000 in possessions ineligible for aid, and will require households to make a monthly report of their circumstances. If the report is not returned to the welfare department within eight days, the aid is cut off. Instead of looking at the present household income, welfare caseworkers will be required to look at the household's income for the past several months, and deductions for transportation and childcare will be reduced. Workfare, requiring welfare recipients to work off their check at minimum wage, has been made law in Illinois, and will follow in other states.

Putting these changes into effect within a two week period resulted in massive turmoil and confusion in the welfare department. The people getting the Sept. 16 letters are told that they can appeal a mistake by the caseworker, but may not appeal the new laws. Appealing the decision within ten days will continue the aid until a hearing is held and a decision

issued, but that only delays and compounds the hardship. Those who appeal and lose may find themselves with a large overpayment. For the first time, collection of overpayments are being turned over to private attorneys, and the former welfare mother may be served with a summons and complaint to appear in court for payment of the overpayment, plus interest, court costs and attorney fees.

Case Histories

Mothers with children from a previous marriage are finding their second marriage placed in jeopardy because of the new rule about step-fathers.

Maria's second husband works at the mill and makes good money. Before Oct. 1, though, her children from the previous marriage were eligible for and receiving welfare and Medicaid. Her husband, with children of his own from a previous marriage and with support payments to make, was sued for an auto accident and filed for bankruptcy. "He's been supporting me and our two children and his

own children. Now, how can I ask him to support children that are not his? Even if he can put my children on his medical insurance, it is not as good as Medicaid. He is a good man, a good worker, but this will make even him wonder if he should leave me, for our own good."

Cheryl is a veteran with two children. Her husband is in prison. She started in college last month and began receiving about \$500 a month in VA benefits. Her caseworker told her that her welfare would be reduced. Then she got a Sept. 16 letter, telling her that she is entirely ineligible, and her AFDC and Medicaid will stop on Oct. 1.

"Don't they understand, don't they care? I have to use that VA money for tuition and books and babysitting and carfare. And I won't get the VA money when I'm not in school. What will I do in December, when classes are recessed? Or in the summer? They're going to look at my last month's check and say I don't need help this month? How will I ever be able to support myself if it becomes impossible for me to get any training?"

A mother of four, Judy works at a nursing home which pays her the minimum wage, and she was eligible for welfare until Oct. 1. The shack she is living in is about to be demolished, and she won't be able to afford to travel to work once the welfare check is gone. Applications for public housing are on a three-year waiting list. She is only one among hundreds in the county who have absolutely no idea what will happen to them after Oct. 1.

The above case histories do not represent life and death situations. Somehow they'll scrape out a living and go on. But life is threatened for those who are physically and or mentally incapable of taking care of themselves.

"He Vomited Blood and Died"

Cook County Hospital has told the Chicago Sun-Times about patients transferred from private hospitals after the Illinois legislature reduced the ceiling on welfare-reimbursement payment. Before the cutbacks, patients were transferred only if their condition was stable. After the cutbacks, said Dr. Patricia Rush, director of Cook County's emergency room, the definition of "stable" has been reduced to "alive." She has charged that several private hospitals which transferred patients to Cook County lied about the patient's conditions.

The Sun-Times reported that Dr. Rush had reluctantly accepted one case from Billings Hospital after being told that the patient had a blood pressure of 160/100 and a "strange" electrocardiogram. After accepting the patient, Rush found that he had "a blood pressure of 270/150, was vomiting blood and was disoriented. After vomiting two bedpans full of blood the next morning, the patient died."

"They flat out lied to me," Rush said. "Then they said they would never do it again. A week later the same thing happened."

The Giant is Awakening

During 1979-1980, real family in-

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LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY 5

On November 3, 1979, the criminal monopoly capitalist class murdered Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Mike Nathan, Bill Sampson, and Sandi Smith with government agents, Klan, and Nazis. Heroically defending the people, the 5 charged gunfire with bare fists and sticks. We vow this assassination will be the costliest mistake the capitalists have ever made, and the turning point of class struggle in the U.S.

The CWP 5 were among the strongest leaders of their times. Their deaths marked an end to capitalist stabilization (1950s-1970s) when American workers suffered untold misery, yet as a whole remained dormant for lack of its own leaders. In 1980, the deepest capitalist crisis began. The working class was awakening.

The CWP 5 lived and died for all workers, minorities, and poor; for a world where exploitation and oppression will be eliminated, and all mankind freed; for the noble goal of communism. Their deaths, a tremendous loss to the CWP and to their families, are a clarion call to the U.S. people to fight for workers' rule. In their footsteps, waves of revolutionaries will rise and join our ranks.

We will overthrow the criminal rule of the monopoly capitalist class! Victory will be ours!
November 3, 1980 Central Committee, CWP, USA

FIGHT FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND WORKERS' RULE

Contribute to the CWP Tombstone Fund

Dale Sampson
G.P.O. Box 2256
New York, N.Y. 10116
August 27, 1981

Dear Friends and Comrades:

We are nearing the second commemoration of November 3. Our five comrades — Jim Waller, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, Mike Nathan and Cesar Cauce — were brutally murdered at an anti-Klan march by an assassin squad composed of Klan/Nazi and government agents on that date two years ago. Our five comrades are greatly missed and deeply mourned by family, friends and the CWP. We have seen, though, that many new revolutionaries have picked up their work and are carrying on the spirit of the five.

This November 3 we want to place a marker on the graves of our loved ones at Maplewood Cemetery in Greensboro, N.C.

Much has happened since November 3, including a fierce struggle to place an appropriate marker on the graves of our husbands and comrades. The city of Greensboro passed an ordinance just days after the murders stating that all grave markers had to be approved by the city and no "political content" would be allowed.

When we first applied we were denied the right to have the inscription we wanted. The CWP, friends, family, the ACLU and many concerned citizens wrote letters, attended city council meetings, and brought pressure to bear on the city officials. The issue was not just "our" tombstones, but that the city government should not be allowed to legislate what one puts on the marker of loved ones.

The significance of the grave marker, as (for example) that of the Haymarket martyrs, is not only for the families and comrades of the slain, but for future generations to understand what happened on November 3 in the context of the 1980s and the history of U.S. imperialism and socialist revolution.

To put up the tombstone we must turn to you, our most caring and committed friends and comrades. Some of you marched with us at the funeral march, in the face of the tanks and the National Guard. Many of you marched with us February 2, along with 10,000 others. And all of you have given of yourselves in countless ways — your time, your energy — and you have made many financial sacrifices. We are asking for your help again in raising the necessary money — \$5,000 — to complete the stone.

All contributions will go for the stone; any excess will go to the surviving children. Please contribute whatever you can so that future generations will know the true story of Greensboro and the CWP 5.

Please make contributions payable to: Dale Sampson, G.P.O. Box 2256, New York, N.Y. 10116. We appreciate your generosity.

Sincerely,

Widows of Bill, Mike, Cesar and Jim
Respectively

Long Beach Blacks Protest Settle's Murder

It was June 2 just after 11:00 am and Ron Settles was on his way to work at a local junior high school, when he was stopped for speeding by Signal Hill police officer Jerry Lee Brown, in an unmarked police car. Settles never made it to work. He was found beaten and hanged in a jail cell by Signal Hill police three hours later.

Ron Settles was a student at Cal State University Long Beach and a well-known football star on the school team. The SHPD says this 21-year-old youth committed suicide. But the facts surrounding the case point not to suicide, but murder at the hands of a racist police force.

Everything to Live For

First of all, the people of Long Beach are not buying the suicide story, over a traffic ticket. Settles had everything to live for: a job, a career, a tight family, and prospects of a relatively bright future.

Ron was the only son of Mr. and Mrs. Settles, well-known and respected people: he a small businessman, she a teacher in Compton. When they learned of their son's death, they knew it was foul play. "Does he sound suicidal to you?" It didn't sound suicidal to the 900 mourners at his funeral, and there is a growing motion around the case.

Lies and Slander

Second of all, the cops' version of what happened has been exposed as a clumsy, desperate attempt to cover up the blatant murder. When Officer Brown arrested Settles he claimed Settles refused to show his license and pulled a knife on him. A witness, who is also an attorney, testified that Settles not only did not resist arrest but was manhandled by the cops.

Police claim they found a cocaine vial and drug paraphernalia in Settles' car, implying he was "high" at the time. However, Settles has no history of using drugs. An autopsy shows no trace of drugs in his body.

When Settles was booked a supposed confrontation took place between him and Brown. Brown said he was grabbed in the groin and he "protected" himself by hitting the handcuffed Settles on the legs with his baton. But Settles was found beaten so badly that his left eye was nearly knocked out. At first the police denied hitting him anywhere other than his legs, but after much publicity and pressure, the police chief admitted knowing about the other areas in which Settles had been hit, from day one. He had not brought it out because he considered it "not important."

Company Town, Racist and Brutal Cops

Signal Hill is a small town encircled by Long Beach. It is 20 minutes south of Los Angeles, with a population of 6,023. Most of the city is oil fields and rigs. It was once a part of Long Beach but the oil companies separated to avoid oil barrel taxes imposed by Long Beach. The oil companies (Texaco, Humble, Union, Mobil, Beacon, Shell — THUMBS) wanted to maximize their profits without Long Beach red tape. Signal Hill, their city, has its own police force, schools, a chamber of commerce, a city council, some residents and a few businesses.

Signal Hill has a long history of racism. Blacks weren't allowed to live on "The Hill" until a few years ago. It now has a black community; and nearly everyone has a story to tell about he racist SHPD abuse.

The Ron Settles murder case touches a lot of people because the SHPD's racist violence and brutality have been



Ron Settles, who died while in police custody, in the uniform of Long Beach State University.

very broad and very brutal. They even clumsily beat an unknown white retired cop (a personal friend of the SH police chief)! The cop recently went public after having a nervous breakdown because of the beating.

A black minister whom they also beat described them as "very sick mentally" and "no good." "A review of city records shows that in the past five years 28 persons have formally accused the SHPD of an assortment of crimes including brutality, harassment, false arrest and thievery. This year three out of four claims filed against police

allege attacks by police dogs. Other claims which have been filed as court cases are pending. Still others called the Press Telegram to complain that they had been beaten, harassed, intimidated. They claim to have pleaded guilty to minor charges just to resolve their cases." (Press Telegram, 8/20/81) One person summed up his experiences as, "I never sued because I guess I was a little scared and a little dumb."

The majority of people are watching this issue and have a concrete interest in the case. In particular, people want the hated Jerry Lee Brown, notorious for his brutality. Brown was previously fired from the LAPD for "misconduct." He beat one Mexican youth, who died after two years in a coma.

Recall D.A. Van DeKamp

Since the inquest hearing's verdict of 5-4 that Ron Settles "died at the hands of another," it is up to District Attorney Van DeKamp to prosecute the police involved. Naturally he has been hedging and talking about granting immunity to cops if they testify at a grand jury hearing. This has only angered the people more. The D.A. has been receiving much pressure from the people to pursue the case and to not grant immunity. There is already motion to recall this government representative for his past record of blatant complicity with police murders and genocide of blacks in Los Angeles. L.A. has one of the highest police murder rates in the country.

Long Beach NBIPP Helps Organize

This blatant murder is forcing blacks

to pull together and organize. Nine hundred attended the funeral and more than 500 came to a justice rally. More than 300 marched to the SHPD presenting a list of demands. For the 11-day inquest hearing the court remained packed.

The Long Beach Organizing Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party was very instrumental in bringing out people in the Long Beach area to the different events: writing leaflets that called for broad mass support and clear demands, linking the high rate of police murder and brutality to the genocide of blacks in the '80s, taking the demands into the community, and so on. In particular, Ayola Newsom, member of the CWP and NBIPP, who lives on Signal Hill, has been very active, and spoke at the rally at SHPD.

A coalition of black groups and individuals is forming to not only take up the Settles murder but to broaden out the fight for local and national concerns of blacks related to police brutality: to fight against the police choke hold nationally, to recall D.A. Van DeKamp for his role historically, and so on. Long Beach NBIPP is a part of this coalition, as is a professor at Cal State Long Beach, Amen Rah, who has been active in the NAACP.

Volatile Situation

The bourgeoisie is watching this issue closely. Major strategic military defense industries, such as McDonnell Douglas, Todd Shipyards and the LB Naval Shipyard, are in this area.

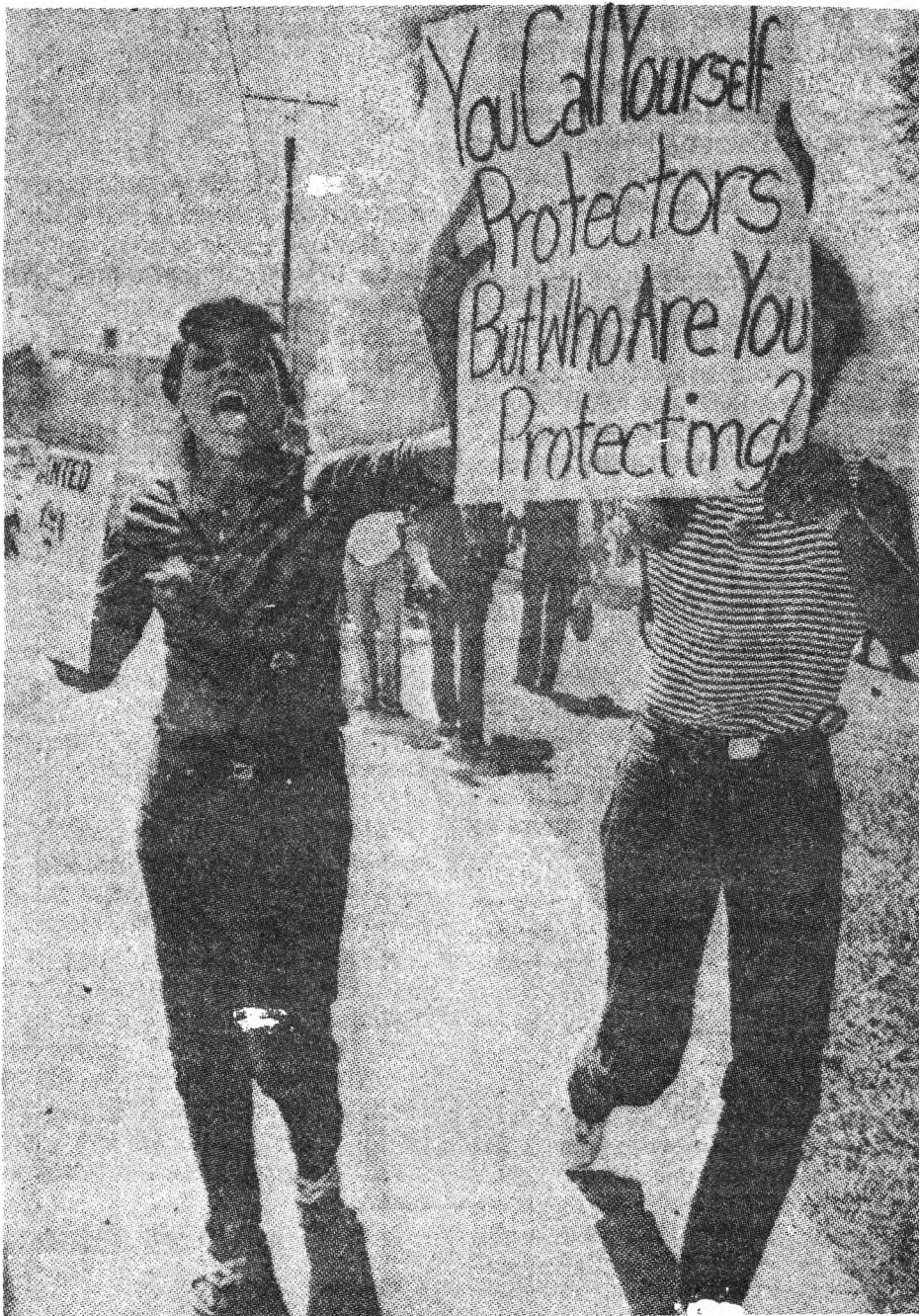
The FBI was called in the first week to provide direct leadership to the cops and to step up surveillance of leadership of the people. All the police tapes recorded the day of Ron Settles' arrest were erased. All the killer cops refused to testify and took the Fifth Amendment.

The bourgeoisie grasps the possibility of a Miami developing. Many people have been calling the cops and threatening their lives. The day of the rally at the SHPD they closed down and called in riot cops and snipers, boarded up the windows and closed two streets.

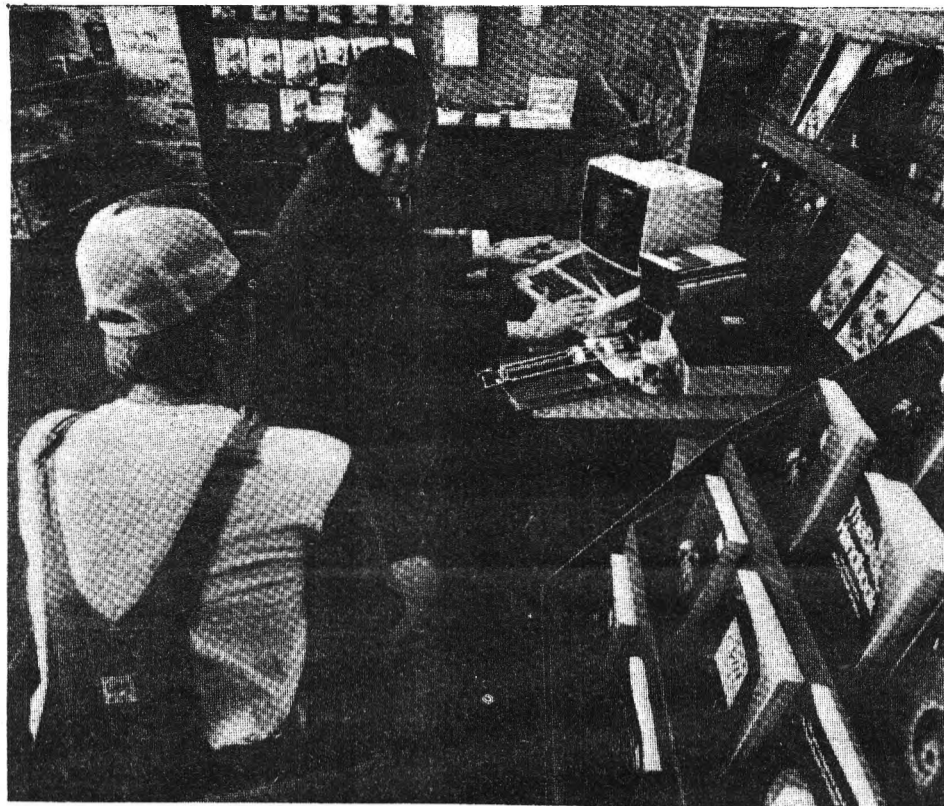
But the people are not just going to let this case go down in history without changing the situation in some way. Cases like this have national implications for black people. The bourgeoisie reinforces its policy of genocide on black people by stamping legal approval on the murder of Arthur McDuffie, and the thousands of other police murders of black people, with killer cops going free each time, maintaining "open season" on black people.

The possibilities of broadening and sustaining this issue nationally are greater than ever before because of the deepening economic crises. The conditions in the black community are deteriorating rapidly. Even bourgeois statistics prove that the standard of living of blacks is worse than during the Black Liberation Movement of the '60s. Black youth unemployment is over 50 percent. Thirty percent of black families live below poverty level. Prison inmates are 70 percent black, although blacks comprise only 12 percent of the population.

But the decisive factor will be leadership of the struggle. Some of the present tasks include broadening out the issue, fighting the attack all-roundedly, and fighting for long-term demands that will fundamentally change the state of the black masses, such as "Immediate End to Genocide! Don't Let Killer Cops Go Free!" and above all, "Fight for Socialism!"



LABOR NEWS



Computers can be a boon to any small businessman, but for big business its the wave of the New Industrial Revolution.

A Battleground for the '80s: The Automated Office

Norman Sadler

One of the biggest productivity drives in history is underway in the white-collar workplace. The assault teams are made up of high-technology machines known by their acronyms: CRT (Cathode Ray Tube), VDT (Video Display Terminal), ET (Electronic Typewriter), WP (Word Processor), DP (Data Processor), CAD/CAM (Computer Assisted Design/Computer Assisted Manufacture) and on and on in what *Fortune* magazine has called the New Industrial Revolution.

Every single major multinational corporation has gone over to total office automation. In a White Paper to Management, prepared by International Data Corporation and published in the October 1981 issue of *Fortune*, the facts and figures within this trend were laid out, explaining why business has its head spinning with dreams of ever higher productivity rates and profits.

"The Onslaught of Automation ..."

"Let the numbers tell the story," the White Paper begins. "Today there is one word processor or electronic typewriter for every five secretaries/typists in the U.S. — by 1985 there will be four. And while white-collar workers in 1980 outnumbered computer and word-processing terminals seven to one, in just five years the ratio will drop to three to one."

"In short, an army of devices is about to descend on the white-collar workplace."

"... the potential of automation to wring improved productivity from office workers is great. The technology is already in place. But the onslaught of automation will herald major changes in work habits, job styles, and even national culture."

The U.S. Department of Labor's 25-year survey (between 1952 and 1977) of manufacturing industries showed that the number of production workers stayed about the same, while non-production workers increased

their number by about 70 percent. The White Paper compared this survey with one conducted by Xerox, which showed that professional workers and their salaries outstripped other white-collar workers in growth, making them a "prime target for automation in the 1980s."

"Ultimately, it's the rise in white-collar labor costs that drive the economics."

"In just the 35 years since the first commercial computer (Eniac) was built, white-collar workers have grown from 40 percent to 50 percent of the total workforce. As their work takes a bigger and bigger bite of corporate payrolls, their productivity comes under closer scrutiny by those who write the checks ..."

"Figures relating the value of computers per worker to profits per worker for elected industries ... indicate that the more computers, the more profits. Intuition argues the same for office automation."

The market for office automation is valued today at \$10 billion and growing 20 percent annually. The small firms that developed the technology are being squeezed out by the giants such as IBM, Exxon and Xerox. But because the market is exploding in every direction, firms like Apple and Tandy are able to compete with the giants because of innovative marketing and specialization. The market has expanded so quickly that governmental regulators are 20 years behind in their work, and potential buyers are deluged with a vast array of brands and types of computers which can do everything from balancing the home budget to computers that can design, test and manufacture products from start to finish. Buyers are also faced with the problem of buying into the market now, or waiting for prices to drop even further and equipment to become standardized and compatible with other systems.

Many firms do not have the luxury of waiting. They must computerize now, or be out of business tomorrow.

OSHA's Nonenforcement Record Under Reagan

Dave Young

When Ronald Reagan took over the presidency, he assumed it was a blank check to grant special favors and make deals to help out big business. Reagan is dismantling the very foundations of protective regulations for worker safety and health, with no regard for past legislation. It matters little to him that Congress rejected a 1980 bill by Richard Schweiker to sharply curtail the Occupational Safety and Health Administration's enforcement powers. The bill was described by Anthony Mazzochi of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union as "a transparent attempt to gut the law."

What was not obtained through Congress or the courts will now be enacted administratively. In July, OSHA head Thorne G. Aucter proposed sweeping changes in OSHA's enforcement program at the Field Manager's Conference in Colorado Springs, Colorado. He incorporated many of the provisions from the Schweiker bill such as eliminating on-the-spot inspections. So, recently published statistics from the U.S. Labor Department detailing a dramatic decline in OSHA enforcement activity should come as no surprise.

The report, entitled "Federal Compliance Activity, October 1979-July 1981," compares OSHA's record in several key areas for the first six months of the Reagan administration with last year. The study graphically illustrates how OSHA cut back its efforts to force companies to correct safety violations. The success of OSHA's present enforcement program depends on how actively it pursues violations cited during initial inspections. As penalties for hazards found during initial inspections are minimal, they pose little legal threat to the employer. OSHA relies heavily on followup inspections to check if violations are actually corrected. If not, the company can be cited for "willful," "repeat" and "failure to abate" penalties. These can carry fines of a maximum \$10,000 per violation.

It is precisely in these areas where OSHA has cut its operations. During the first six months of the Reagan

administration, followup inspections dropped 63 percent nationwide, from a monthly average of 972 to 356. In Region II (New York, New Jersey and Puerto Rico), followup inspections plummeted 96 percent and OSHA conducts only 11 followups a month. The number of "willful" violations went down 63 percent nationally while "repeat" violations went down 42 percent. Finally, OSHA penalties against companies who refuse to correct violations dropped 90 percent. In a press release exposing this record, the New York Committee for Occupational Safety and Health said, "Employers will soon discover there is little chance that OSHA will return to insure that hazards have been corrected. This signals a throwback to the days when OSHA inspectors gave negligent employers a slap on the wrist, never to be seen again."

OSHA officials see no cause for concern in these figures. Joseph Ruffolo, an OSHA assistant administrator for enforcement, defended the agency's cuts in followup inspections. He said that experience has shown that violating companies are indeed giving proof they have cleaned up hazards. As a result, followup inspections are unnecessary and OSHA's limited resources can be better used elsewhere.

If we were to accept this explanation, we would have to forget about decades of lies and distortions. American industry's track record on health and safety is clear. There are countless cases of workers who died because the companies refused to fix known hazards. For example, the asbestos industry consciously suppressed medical evidence of the toxic substance's effects for over 30 years. Reagan's OSHA has done exactly this. It is systematically changing enforcement policies to cover up the crime. OSHA explained its relaxation of enforcement policies by saying, "Assessment and collection of penalties has resulted in antagonism among employers." OSHA lawyers and enforcement officers are told to settle with employers by dropping citations and penalties.



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The State of the Black

Douglas Layne
Don Murphy

Character of the National Movement and the Intensification of National Oppression Under Imperialism in the '80s Crisis

The Afro-American movement is a multi-class movement. The national movements are the main allies of the working class in the struggle to overthrow U.S. Imperialism and establish worker's rule in the U.S. All classes, the working class, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie suffer national oppression.

Black unemployment has risen from 750,000 in 1970 to over 1.6 million in 1980. Blacks comprise 12.0 percent of the workforce, 11.3 percent of those employed, and officially 22 percent of those unemployed. The unemployment rate for Black youth rose from 28 percent in 1979 to over 50 percent today. The jobs loss among blacks was experienced during the 1973-74 recession, which was the worst the nation saw in 40 years. Blacks lost their jobs at almost double the rate experienced by whites between the third quarter of 1974, and the second quarter of 1975, the worst part of the recession. Much of job loss among blacks at that time can be attributed to the high rate of lay-offs in the mass production industries, where a disproportionate number of blacks were limited to work. Moreover, as the recovery from the recession got underway, blacks were called back to their jobs at a slower pace than whites. At the same time, unemployment among black youth was rising at an alarming rate.

Today 30.9 % of all black families live in poverty. Sixty % of every black family living in poverty is headed by a woman. Eight million blacks live in poverty as opposed to 16 million whites. In the '60s blacks made considerable gains in white collar jobs, but entering the '70s with all the talk of "reverse discrimination" there was considerable decline in white collar jobs for blacks. In 1960 the number of black professionals increased by 180 %, where in the 1970s only 61 percent. The number of blacks in blue collar jobs in the 1970s rose half the rate of the '60s. In 1975 black women earned 56 % of the median income of white women in professional jobs as opposed to 66 % of the median income of white women in 1971. In clerical black women earned 69 % of the median income of white women in 1971. In the '60s the figure was 70 %. In 1969 the income a black family made as opposed to that of a white was 61 %. Between 1969-76 the ratio had declined in all regions of the country with the exception of the south. In the west, the ratio fell from 75 % to 63 %; 76 % to 67 % in the midwest; and 67 % to 61 % in the northeast. In the south the ratio for blacks went up from 57% to 59% in income.

While constituting 13% of the population, blacks suffer the highest rate of police murder. Of all persons killed by the police 45% are Afro-Americans. In cities like Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York black persons murdered by the police is over 70%. The prison population in the U.S. is over 70% Afro-Americans. In addition to 28 brutal murders in Atlanta, 12 fires were set in the black community of Baton Rouge, Louisiana including a day care center and an elementary school. In Mobile, Alabama a black man was lynched.



March against racism in Boston in December 1974. With the economic crisis bringing increased racism and national oppression, there is an urgent need for a united, multiclass response from the Black Liberation Movement.

The deepening economic crisis of the '70s exposed the illusion of "Black Progress." The 1970s began with a recession, 1969-71 and was followed by the '74-75 recession. During this period overall unemployment jumped by 82% (from 4.3 million to 7.8 million). Between 1973-75 the cost of living soared 21%. Double digit inflation became a permanent feature of the U.S. economy.

There is no question that the deepening of the capitalist destabilization will bring great hardship for the Afro-American masses. Reagan's economic program has already assured the destruction of CETA jobs for youth, and severe slashes in Medicaid and welfare which will affect millions of black and poor people. Black businessmen and women will increasingly be driven out of business, as the black auto dealers, only three years ago, the single most prosperous sector of black businesses are now holding on by a thread. An example of the intensity of the social and economic cuts and its effects on the masses of Afro-American people and small businesses have been projected by:

"Rims Barber, head of the Jackson, Miss., office of the Children's Defense Fund, a private advocacy group, ... that many grocery stores in poor black counties in South would have to close or raise their prices to make up for the loss of revenue from a reduction in food stamps. Hospitals, he said, would reduce their outpatient services to poor blacks because of the ceiling on funds from Medicaid, the health-care program for the poor, and some small black colleges might not be able to survive without education grants and loans.

"John Loeb, chairman of Hillman's, a Chicago supermarket chain, said that food stamps were used

to buy 35 percent of the food in his stores in the poorest neighborhoods. It is already difficult for supermarkets to survive in such areas, Mr. Loeb said, and "any cutback in the legitimate distribution of food stamps would be a further hindrance." (New York Times, 6/81)

Politically, the basic political right of any people, the right to vote is under attack as the Reagan administration has plans to "review" the Voting Rights Act of 1965. There is no letup in the genocidal attacks against Afro-Americans of the Atlanta type.

Thurmond is calling for a repeal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The 1965 Voting Rights Act is a product of the Afro-American people's struggle. The 1965 Voting Rights Act prohibits literacy tests and other racial requirements in voting in Federal, state and local elections. The act requires that the Justice Department approves any change in voting rules for Southern Counties and State pre-clearance requirements. The law calls for Federal examiners to register voters and Federal examiners to watch polling booths in previous exclusionary counties. The repeal of '65 Voting Rights Act would leave all decisions to the State and Counties. For instance, in Wrightsville, Georgia, Sheriff Roland Attaway and white vigilantes had arrested and beaten blacks from Johnson County during voting and affirmative action campaigns in 1979 and 1980. The repeal of the Act would be a major legal set-back for the Afro-American people and legalize a wave of fascist attacks. 4,912 black elected officials were a direct result of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the mass pressure to ensure it was enforced. The intimidation that took place in Wrightsville will definitely spread in many southern counties. New rules and regulations

will be developed to eliminate blacks from the voting rosters.

In April, 1981 over 10,000 people demonstrated in Mobile calling for an extension of the Voting Rights Act. Demonstrations also took place in Selma. Push and Jesse Jackson were active in these demonstrations. There is a tremendous outcry from all sections of the black community. "I remember the so-called literacy tests in the south and how," according to one local registrar in Selma, Alabama, "in 1964, a black principal at a local school couldn't read or write well enough to vote." "The Voting Rights Act is still life blood of the political involvement for blacks." (John Lewis, N.Y. Times, 3/11/81) Lewis' sentiment and experience reflect a broad cross section of the black community. The struggle for the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act can develop into a broad and militant political movement of progressive forces in the U.S. Ralph Abernathy warned the Congress about the handwriting on the wall: "To abdicate this responsibility (by not) extending the Voting Rights Act is to yield to mischief on conservatism and to set a crisis stage for social unrest." Vernon E. Jordan of the Urban League had this to say before a House subcommittee: "I do not trust white people in the South with rights. I did not before the Act. I do not 17 years later." The review of the Voting Rights Act is a blatant attack on the rights of Afro-American people. The bourgeoisie's view is that the gains that were made by blacks in the '60s have improved the overall conditions of blacks, and racism is not a burning question as it was during the time the Act was enacted. Representatives to repeal the Act indicate that the 1965 Voting Rights Act is discriminatory in itself in that it singles out certain counties and

Liberation Movement



March 7, 1965 march in Selma, Alabama to secure black people's right to vote is attacked by state troopers.

regions in the South. This reversal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act not only pits black people against each other, but would leave the doors open for further attacks in the name of "equality" — black people in America are now in the *mainstream* and have no need for this exclusionary type of legislation.

Internationally, the Reagan policy of open support for South Africa, and the continued attempts to isolate Cuba and Grenada have had a major effect among many sectors of the Afro-American community. Black land ownership has continued to fall, as the total net land owned by blacks has gone down by 50% from six million to three million in the six years period from 1973 to 1979. It is clear that the petty bourgeoisie will increasingly be driven into the working class and into the welfare offices. There is a large strata of people from the NAACP, Operation Push who have had fairly high level positions with the "Great Society" poverty programs such as the Office of Economic Opportunity and other government agencies that will be out in the cold when these programs are cut. Jesse Jackson's Operation Push-Excel Program is heavily dependent on government funding and most of it will be likely to be cut.

And at the same time, Reagan's election has crystallized the development of a new grouping of "black conservatives" who have cast their lot with Reagan. They include Hosea Williams, Ralph Abernathy, C. Harry (editor of the Daytona Times) and J.A. Parker, who is the head of the Lincoln Institute, a black conservative think tank that is very close to the Heritage Foundation. The theoreticians of this group are Thomas Sowell and Sam Pierce. Ed Meese is very close to these black (sic) and he gave a major speech at the December conference of black conser-

vatives in San Francisco.

As a trend they are opposed to intergration, and rent control and in favor of the subminimum wage for youth. They are in support of Reagan "urban enterprise zones," the Kemp Roth Tax cut. Sowell (who is a former "Marxist" economist) recently said, "If you ask me if I think racism has disappeared I would say no. If you ask me to explain the differences between black and white incomes, I would give less weight to racism now."

As a strata, these black conservatives are about as comprador as you can get. They are in even closer agreement with the monopoly capitalists than the black mayors who have to struggle for federal programs to help deal with the cities they run, for no other reason than to insure they get elected again. The consolidation of this black conservative movement around Reagan is a further reflection of the increasing polarization of the Afro-American masses, particularly among the petty-bourgeoisie.

Historically speaking, these black conservatives are the grandsons of Booker T. Washington, who put forward the scandalous thesis that "blacks have to pull themselves up by their bootstraps." And they are the sons of the upper strata of blacks who U.S. Imperialism pulled around itself to oppose the Soviet Union internationally and to counter the progressive movements and communists. For example, when Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois went to the UN with the petition "We Charge Genocide" to protest the lynchings and murders of black people, they used Ralph Bunch and Jackie Robinson to denounce them on "behalf of the Negro people."

In opposition to these black conservatives and the Reagan Administration, some of the petty bourgeoisie

politicians and civil rights groups have been speaking out more vigorously. The Congressional Black Caucus, denounced Reagan's economic program as "Robin Hood in reverse, stealing from the poor and giving to the rich," denounced the attempt to revise the 1965 Voting Rights Act as "ludicrous and criminal" and called for the dismissal of UN ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick for her meetings with South African military advisors earlier this year. The attack on the voting rights is so clear, that as stated earlier, even Ralph Abernathy, who is in the Reagan camp had to oppose it.

The following statement made at a recent Harvard conference is indicative of the pressure being placed on members of this strata. A black professor at Harvard, who is a liberal with some ties to the labor movement, said, "Reagan has defined the problems of America in strictly economic terms, and in this I agree with him. But from there on I disagree. He (Reagan) says the proposed budget cuts will restore the economic health of the U.S., but the \$40 billion cut in the budget is offset by a \$40 billion increase in defense spending, so what good will that do? I have been accused by some as being unpatriotic for saying this. And if this is the case, then so be it." And if this professor is being called unpatriotic for this statement, then John Conyers will certainly be called unpatriotic for calling for a cut in defense spending and an increase in social programs. And a man like Dellums who has pretty clear cut support for Cuba and national liberation movements in Angola will not only be called unpatriotic but a supporter of "international terrorism."

Crisis and the Afro-American National Bourgeoisie and Petty Bourgeoisie

A brief description of the situation in Durham, N.C. as told to us recently, illustrates the impact of the intensified oppression of the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie.

Durham has a large (relatively speaking) strata of National Bourgeoisie. They are the owners of NC Mutual Insurance, Wheeler Air Lines, etc., and sit on many boards of large corporations. This crowd has historically enjoyed a privileged position in this town and state in decision making, elected offices, appointments, etc. Politically, they have had close ties to the governor's mansion and have been an influential component in the state Democratic Party machinery via the Durham Committee on Black Affairs. Now this strata is fast losing its influence. An example of this is the loss of seats by their hand picked "approved" blacks on the city council. The city council went from one half representation to only 2 seats out of 13.

Historically, the national bourgeoisie has also had a great deal of influence on the black community. This influence has sharply declined. This influence was largely based on correct positions taken around civil rights and fighting for programs that could be of benefit to the total black community. Now they have been exposed as apologists and puppets for the bourgeoisie.

'A Widow, 81, Shrugs at Leaders'

"...She says that except for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was assassinated in 1968, black leaders are irrelevant to her life: 'I watch them on TV.'" (New York Times, 6/81)

In the past, they had been able to call the shots and speak for the black community. They cannot do this now. This has also weakened their position with the bourgeoisie.

The only motion among the national bourgeoisie is desperately trying to hold onto what little power they still have. Most of their attention is in the area of electoral politics.

The foundation of Afro-American national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is being severely undermined by the present crisis. This strata was able to develop their political and economic clout as a result of the "Great Society" program. Over 50 government programs opened the door to the rapid increase of black businesses with low interest government and private loans. The poverty programs and other social programs, open admissions, black studies, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (which saw the repeal of discriminatory electoral law), all these programs served to promote the advance of Afro-American national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. In the 1960s the number of black professionals increased by 130%, and in the '70s by 61%. It was this strata that gained primary benefits from the Civil Rights and Black Power struggle.

But today, the economic crisis has undermined the basis of the "Great Society" Program and has created increasing hardship for national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie as a strata in the Afro-American National Movement.

"Where did the money for the 'Great Society' come from? They just printed it up, and used the economic, political and military hegemony of U.S. Imperialism at the time to export the crisis abroad. How did this work? For example, through the Bretton-Woods agreement between the U.S. and Europe, which made the dollar the standard exchange in all the capitalist countries, the U.S. was able to force Western Europe to hold billions of inflated U.S. dollars to conduct any kind of trade, even between two European countries. The AID (Agency for International Development) program bet-

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The Taiwan Question

China's Move Toward Peaceful Reunification

Cynthia Lai

On Oct. 10, China celebrated the anniversary of the 1911 bourgeois democratic revolution for the first time since the founding of the People's Republic of China over thirty years ago. The 1911 revolution was led by Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Nationalist Party (Kuo Ming Tang or KMT) now ruling Taiwan. That same day, Hu Yubang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, formally invited leading Taiwan officials to visit the mainland. The invitation included Chiang Ching Quo, Taiwan's present ruler, despite the fact the Chiang has so far refused to discuss China's nine-point proposal for the peaceful reunification of the two territories under one central government. Chiang is the son of the previous Taiwan despot, the late Chiang Kai Shek.

The reunification plan was first announced by Ye Jiabgying, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (China's equivalent to a head of state), on the eve of the Oct. 1 celebration of the 1949 communist victory. The nine-point proposal includes "making arrangements to facilitate the exchange of mails, trade, air and shipping services and visits by relatives and tourists as well as academic, cultural and sports exchange." It would also allow Taiwan to "enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region" and to "retain its armed forces." The reunification plan would guarantee "Taiwan's current social and economic system will remain unchanged, so will its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries."

Furthermore, China would respect the Taiwan people's right to private property and right of inheritance. In addition, "people in authority and representative personages of various circles in Taiwan" will be allowed to "take up part of leadership in national political bodies." The Chinese proposal also pledges that there will be no discrimination against those in Taiwan who wish to settle in the mainland, as well as "freedom of entry and exit." Last but not least, Taiwan business investments in various economic undertakings on the mainland would be protected with their "legal rights, interests and profits" guaranteed.

The nine-point program is the most comprehensive and specific proposal so far since China first made known its intention to reunite Taiwan through peaceful means. In the Message to Taiwan Compatriots, issued on Jan. 1, 1979 after the normalization of U.S./China relations, China appealed to Taiwan to return to the motherland and placed its hopes for reunification on the 17 million people now living on the island. Chiang Ching Quo was politely called "Mr. Chiang." These were all firsts. Also at this time, China proposed exchanging mail, trade, air and shipping services with Taiwan.

Since then, China has made many gestures to bring the Taiwan regime into negotiations over the problem of the separation of China into two governments:

★ After the Message to Taiwan Compatriots, Deng Xiaoping ordered the People's Liberation Army to stop any bombing of the Amoy Islands adjacent to Taiwan.

★ On Jan. 15, Deng proposed a four-point program for peaceful reunification, which formed a basis for the present nine-point plan. China's only demand then was that Taiwan drop its name of the Republic of China and recognize Peking as its capital.

★ On Jan. 30, during his visit to the U.S., Deng added a clause promising not to change the present standard of living of Taiwan's people.

★ Through Deng Ying Chao, the widow of former premier, the late Chou En Lai, Peking pro-

posed talks with the leaders of the Taiwan independence movement. Voicing China's policy, Deng said, "Taiwan independence is diametrically opposed to the reunification of the country. It splits the country and its people. But we want to exchange views with those that advocate Taiwan independence and welcome them to visit China."

★ China has offered tax exempt status to Taiwanese goods and freedom from the tonnage tax to Taiwanese ships staying in China's ports. Open access to Chinese airspace has also been offered to Taiwanese planes.

★ In mid-Sept. of this year, China offered Taiwan officials the privilege of participating in China's politics while guaranteeing that the mainland would not interfere in Taiwan's affairs.

★ On Sept. 27, China offered to sell oil to Taiwan at domestic prices and exempt the sales from customs tax. "Taiwan will be immune from price increases in the international oil market" with "speedy and convenient" delivery, Peking radio announced.

China's celebration of the 1911 revolution this year is aimed at creating a calm political atmosphere for KMT acceptance of the reunification proposal. The nine-point program is a summation, the logical conclusion of all the efforts made during the last two years. It demonstrates the determination of China's leaders to reunify the country, which Deng Xiaoping has made one of the three major tasks on the Chinese agenda in the '80s.

Proposal Wins Favorable Response

The response to the nine-point reunification program was immediate though mixed among Chinese patriots and internationally. The day after the proposal was made public, Peking received telegrams of support from the heads of state of 39 countries. These included the Sudan, Spain, Turkey, Sweden, Greece, Cyprus, Zambia, Syria, Morocco, Jordan, Nepal, Thailand, Somalia, Portugal, Austria, Finland, Tanzania, Switzerland, and Kuwait. The U.S. and its Western allies have been conspicuously silent.

The silence should not be interpreted as consent. Several days after the announcement, Richard Allen, Reagan's National Security Advisor, reaffirmed the U.S. commitment toward implementing the Taiwan Relationship Act. On the television show *Face the Nation*, Allen said that until the Taiwan question is permanently resolved, the U.S. will arm Taiwan with "defensive" weapons in accordance with the spirit of the Act. The statement was criticized by the New



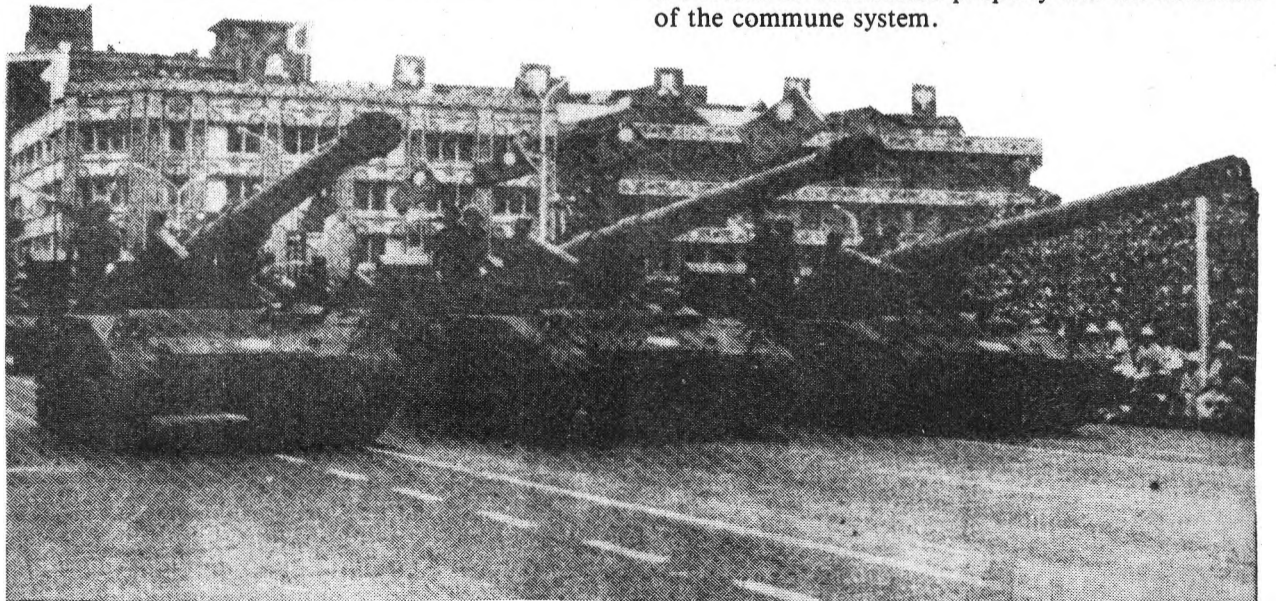
Sun Yat Sen, leader of China's bourgeois democratic revolution and founder of the KMT, which the Chiang family has turned into a reactionary party. Honored as a great revolutionary by socialist China, his portrait was hung side by side with other Marxist revolutionaries in the recent anniversary celebration of the 1949 revolution.

China News Agency as an attempt to use U.S. domestic law to interfere with China's internal politics and to sabotage the Chinese people's efforts to reunify the country peacefully.

Among overseas Chinese, support for the reunification plan has been overwhelming. Most major newspapers and magazines serving the overseas Chinese communities have published positive editorials.

Among the negative responses to the program are those of the Soviet Union and the KMT leadership in Taiwan. On Sept. 16, TASS, the official Soviet press agency, said that the offer to establish a federation between Taiwan and China would turn the People's Republic of China into a capitalist country, citing in particular the fact that China would not demand that Taiwan practice communism and that Taiwan officials would be allowed to take part in China's politics. TASS claimed that dropping the desire to liberate Taiwan means China is determined to restore capitalism and that China now wants to learn from its former enemy. TASS further predicted that this kind of unity would not turn the violently anti-communist leadership in Taiwan into believers of communism, but rather only turn China into a Taiwan.

Meanwhile, the KMT took its usual die-hard position. They rejected China's proposal as a "propaganda ploy" meant to subjugate the Taiwan people. "The only way to bring about national reunification is to abandon the Communist system," said James Soong, a Taipei Foreign Ministry spokesman. Later at a press conference held by its front organizations in the U.S., the KMT issued a five-point counter proposal. Three of the points called for allowing the people in China a choice of lifestyles, the return of confiscated property and the abolition of the commune system.



In Taiwan, a military demonstration in the Double Ten celebration of the 1911 revolution. This is the only thing that gives the KMT security at home and abroad. The huge military budget is a heavy burden to Taiwan's seriously troubled economy.

The KMT's response was no surprise. Coming from a position of weakness and with no initiative, Chiang Ching Quo could do little but react, supporting the need to reunify on the one hand, while rejecting the concrete means for reunification on the other. But the Soviet criticism is uncalled for. Knowing the complexities of the Taiwan question and the benefits a reunified China could bring to the Chinese people, as well as China's limited options for a speedy resolution of the problem, the Soviet attack at best shows ignorance and at worst is hypocritical and opportunist.

Danger in Maintaining Status Quo

Ever since the KMT's defeat on the mainland and their retreat to Taiwan, the island has been a base of operations for the U.S. imperialists to interfere in China's domestic affairs. During the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. Seventh Fleet imposed a military blockade by constant patrols in the straits separating Taiwan from the mainland. Though the liberation of Taiwan has always been an objective of the Chinese government, Peking has never been able to move on it. This is not solely due to the U.S. support for the KMT in every aspect of life. Other factors, such as the geographical distance, China's sacrifice during the Korean War, the danger of a U.S. invasion during the Vietnam War, the Sino-Indian War, the internal struggle for direction during the Cultural Revolution, and the arduous tasks of socialist construction, left China with little time and resources to fight a civil war to liberate Taiwan. The situation of no peace, no war has existed for the last 30 years, straining the defense budgets on both sides.

In the Sixties, it became apparent to the imperialists that the economic and military blockade had failed to weaken China and that a counter-attack against the communist government was an illusion. The U.S. and Japan, which had ruled Taiwan as a colony from 1895 to 1949, began actively encouraging the Taiwan independence movement. This was aimed at formally breaking Taiwan away from China, an imperialist scheme to maintain economic and political control over Taiwan while at the same time establishing ties with China when that process became inevitable.

Yet, despite U.S. and Japanese financial support and training for its earlier leadership, the independence movement has not gone very far. According to one Taiwan expert, this is mainly due to opposition and heavy repression from the Chiang Kai Shek regime. The present ruling clique follows a similar policy. In late 1979, all the leaders of the Ko Shung uprising, whom the KMT accused of being associated with the Taiwan independence movement, were victims of severe repression and prison terms. The regime fears an independent Taiwan since this would call into question the legitimacy of the KMT government, an apparatus made up of mainly mainland Chinese who claim to represent the one billion Chinese. Independence would mean power for the native Taiwanese who make up 15 million out of the island's total 17 million population and who are presently discriminated against in jobs, education and politics.

Though temporarily suppressed, the Taiwan independence movement is still alive. Although it is supported by the U.S., the movement represents more than just an imperialist scheme. The independence movement has a real popular following primarily as an expression against the fascist KMT regime and the chauvinist practices against the democratic rights of the native Taiwanese. The movement is further fueled by lack of knowledge of the real conditions of life in mainland China and the fear of communism created by KMT propaganda. To many native Taiwanese, the choice between KMT rule and a the communist government is like choosing between the fire and the frying pan. Taiwan independence is seen as an alternative.

However, an independent Taiwan would only serve to further U.S. political and economic domination of the island and is definitely not in the Chinese people's interest. Even if Taiwan's status remains the same, the U.S. can still use the contradiction between the KMT and the Communist Party of China to wring concessions from both. This is the thinking behind Reagan's threat to sell arms to Taiwan and to establish official relations with the KMT regime. Though China firmly criticized both moves as interference in her domestic affairs, and even went as far as downgrading diplomatic ties with the Netherlands for that country's sale of submarines to Taiwan, the pressure is real. An early resolution bringing Taiwan back to China would severely limit U.S. maneuvering room and create a calmer climate for China to concentrate on its four-modernizations program. Military spending could be reduced and more funds used for socialist construction.

Peaceful Reunification — A Better Alternative at Present

As we said before, the liberation of Taiwan has always been an objective of China, yet historically Peking has never been able to move on this. Given the concrete balance of forces around China today, it is not an immediate possibility without internal and external dangers.

Externally, China faces hostile forces on all its borders — Vietnam to the southeast, the Soviets to the north, and India to the southwest. Defense preparations made necessary because of tensions between China and these countries drain a large chunk of China's meager economic resources. In the late 1950s, defense spending took up almost 40 percent of the national budget, taking away resources needed for economic construction and hurting the standard of living of the Chinese people.

This year China made good attempts to reduce tensions with its neighbors and create a peaceful environment to develop economically. In June, Wang Hua, China's Foreign Minister, visited India. This was the first official visit to India since the early 1960s. In February of this year, China concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union on the Ussury river navigation rights. State-to-state relations with the Soviets, broken in the Sixties, was re-established. In fact, negotiations with the USSR during the last few years, though inconsistent, have never stopped. Given the present strength of the Peking government, fighting a liberation war with the KMT now would only strengthen the external enemy and damage economic construction. Peaceful reunification is China's best option, unless this means proves impossible.



To preserve their rule, the KMT resorts to the most brutal form of suppression. Lin Yin Shung, leader of the democratic movement associated with the Kao Shung rebellion in 1979, and his wife, grieved as they hear the news that fascist thugs broke into their home and killed his mother, two daughters and seriously injured a third while he was detained.

There is a danger that through a peaceful reunification process China could give up too many political and economic concessions to the national bourgeoisie. But the alternative — reunification by force — would only mean the *official* elimination of the KMT-controlled state apparatus. But China still couldn't transform Taiwan overnight without destroying its economy, creating a burden for the central government. Even worse would be the potential for a counter-revolutionary uprising due to the lack of popular support from a people who have been deeply affected by 30 years of anti-communist propaganda.

The consequences of the incorrect policies practiced by the Vietnam Workers Party towards the national bourgeoisie and people of South Vietnam after the 1975 victory over U.S. imperialism serves as a negative lesson for China in how to handle the Taiwan question. Furthermore, if Lenin's New Economic Policy did not turn the new-born Soviet Union into a capitalist country at a time when its socialist economic base was not established, then there is even less possibility for Taiwan to turn China capitalist.

As long as the primary financial and industrial infrastructure is under state control, China can tolerate one or two special economic districts which specialize in manufactured goods as would be the case with Taiwan. This situation would certainly be less dangerous to socialist China than an independent Taiwan or a Taiwan economically and politically dominated by U.S. imperialism as it is today.

Benefits of Peaceful Reunification

Without a better alternative, China can only gain from peaceful reunification and preserving the present system in Taiwan.

Politically, this cuts off a formal base of operations for the U.S. The imperialists would not be able to use the one-Taiwan, one-China maneuver or speculate on the Taiwan independence movement without risking serious political repercussions from China and the world. U.S. interference in China's domestic matter would be exposed. Peaceful reunification means that the U.S. imperialists would be weakened without China having to divert any funds from economic construction.

Secondarily, China's proposal would help ease the fears of the national bourgeoisie in Taiwan, who on the one hand hate U.S. imperialism for stifling their economic and political development, but on the other hand are afraid of a communist government. By allowing the national bourgeoisie in Taiwan to preserve their present system, China could use them to help develop the national economy. They can eventually transform and absorb them into the socialist economic system, much as Mao did with the nation bourgeoisie on the mainland in the 1950s. Guaranteeing that the property of the national bourgeoisie won't be confiscated and protection for their investments helps to prevent the flight of capital that so often happens in countries after liberation.

The reunification proposal also creates conditions for resolving the Taiwan national question. It eliminates the fear of the Taiwanese that forceful liberation will leave them no choice but to accept socialism. Bringing the KMT government back under the formalism of the central government undercuts

the excuse the KMT has used to justify martial law in Taiwan for the last 32 years, thus creating a better atmosphere for the growth of the democratic movement. Furthermore, when the KMT officials, all in their seventies and eighties, pass away or retire in the next decade, the autonomy of Taiwan would be in the hands of native Taiwanese. This would be more acceptable to the Taiwanese and help undercut the appeal of the Taiwan independence movement.

Economically, China also stands to make immediate gains from the reunification plan. Due to U.S. and Japanese economic assistance and investment over the last three decades, Taiwan has a highly developed manufacturing sector. It is one of the world's biggest manufacturers, ranking with Hong Kong and South Korea. Although the impoverishment of the working class is great due to super-exploitation, Taiwan has a relatively high standard of living. According to Asian Development Bank figures, Taiwan's per capita income in 1978 was \$1890. Taiwan has never suffered from the economic and cultural blockade imposed on the mainland by the Western powers. Compared to China, Taiwan has relatively modern management methods and an ample supply of skilled technicians, both in high demand in China's modernization program. During the last two years, in order to produce more consumer goods to satisfy the needs of the people, China's heavy industry was ignored to the point of negative growth today. This has presented serious problems affecting not only China's long-term economic growth, but also the immediate production of consumer goods.

CULTURE & CLASS STRUGGLE

The Silencing of Dennis Brutus

Angela Brown

Once again the U.S. government is trying to silence activists opposing its domestic and foreign policies. Black South African poet and Northwestern University professor Dennis Brutus is under attack by the government for his opposition to apartheid and U.S. investments in South Africa. The government, through the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, ordered Brutus to leave this country because he no longer has a temporary visa.

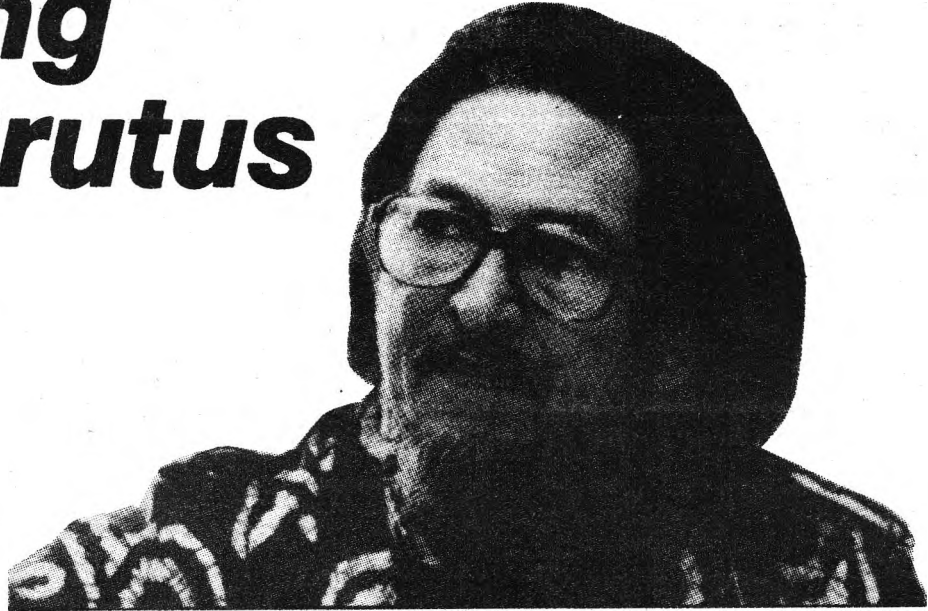
Brutus came into this country in 1970 on an H-1 visa, given to people with special skills. He never planned to stay here permanently but to return to his homeland when it becomes a "free and democratic country." Up until a year ago, his visa had been routinely renewed by the INS each year. Last year after the liberation of Zimbabwe, he obtained a passport from that country. While waiting for his Zimbabwe passport his temporary visa here came up for extension. The INS refused to renew his temporary visa, claiming that he violated immigration regulations by working full time at Northwestern without a visa. Jim Cole, chief of the INS travel control section in Chicago, maintains that Brutus should leave the country and apply for the permit from a consulate abroad. Yet it is highly unlikely that the U.S. government would permit Brutus to return here once he left.

Members of the Dennis Brutus Defense Committee and supporters including two black congressmen and several professors from the university community are fighting to have Brutus recognized as a "distinguished scholar" which would permit him permanent residency in the U.S.

The Issue is Political Beliefs

Brutus' real crime is his unceasing opposition to apartheid and imperialism. The 56-year old Brutus was born in what was then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) of South African parents. He was arrested in 1963 for protesting racism in the South African Olympics. The South African authorities tortured and imprisoned him in Robbens Island Prison. When he was finally released he had to sign an agreement with the government stating that he would be jailed immediately if he ever set foot in South Africa again.

He helped organize third world countries against Rhodesia's participation in the 1968 Olympics, and



Dennis Brutus, outspoken critic of apartheid.

helped ban South Africa from the 1972 Olympics. And despite growing harassment from the U.S. government, Brutus has joined the opposition to the Springboks South African rugby tour that has been tacitly and later formally (through Supreme Court Justice Marshall) sanctioned by our government. And last May, he led a teach-in at Northwestern to expose that university's estimated \$80 million invested in corporations doing business in South Africa.

These teach-ins and protests occurred at the same time as University of Chicago Council on Foreign Relations sponsored a conference on South Africa, praising great strides made in racial relations in South Africa.

As a poet and an activist, Dennis Brutus has used his pen and organizational abilities to educate the American people about the role our government plays in supporting white minority rule. The U.S. government's use of technicalities to kick activists out of the country while welcoming known dictators like the Shah or Somoza shows that political beliefs and loyal service to U.S. imperialism are the issue.

As Dennis Brutus points out, "The Reagan administration is becoming more cozy with Pretoria, and the apartheid government. It would make sense for them to take a hard line with those who are critical of apartheid or U.S. links with apartheid."

The McCarren-Walter Act

Restricting the right to travel on political grounds has always been standard practice for the U.S. government. This was particularly true during the

Truman and Eisenhower administrations.

In 1950, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles denied the late Paul Robeson a passport "in view of his frank admission that he has been for years politically active in behalf of the colonial people of Africa" and because he was a suspected adherent of "the communist line." In 1952, the U.S. government legally barred politically active foreign writers, scholars and other immigrants through a provision of the McCarren-Walter Act.

This section of the Act, enacted in 1952, excludes from our country any aliens who are members of communist or anarchist organizations, or who advocate "opposition to all organized government" or "economic international and governmental doctrines of world communism." Then in 1966 the State Department authorized the Secretary of State to deny or revoke the passport of any individual "whose activities abroad are causing or likely to cause serious damage to the national security or foreign policy of the United States."

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the revoking of ex-CIA agent Philip Agee's passport under this regulation. Today this section specifically denies visas to many Latin American writers who are critical of their own governments that are invariably dictatorships backed by the U.S. government.

Authors denied visas include Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, Argentinian author Julio Cortazar and Columbian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez. According to the December 30 issue of the *New Yorker*, Marquez could not even accept the Commonwealth Award, a \$10,500 award for excellence in eight different fields, because of the difficulty he has obtaining visas to this country.

These laws will be used with increasing frequency to deport activists who are not born citizens, refuse asylum to writers and artists threatened with death by their governments, prohibit radicals from visiting other countries. The mass deportation of Iranian students in 1980 was a precedent. Whether or not the government can still the voices of protest is another story.

Power of the Pen

The growing repression signals a particular challenge to the intelligentsia and artists in our society. The ability of the printed word and visual media to influence and sway U.S. opinion has been demonstrated many times.

The artists and writers of *New Masses* magazine of the '30s and '40s encouraged a whole generation of artists from Hemingway to Lillian Hellman to actively take a stand on the Spanish Civil War in favor of the fighters for the Republic against the fascist Franco which our government supported. Outfits such as the Liberation News Service (started in 1967 and recently discontinued) at one time supplied news to 1,000 newspapers in the underground press and supplied millions of us with news unobtainable from the bourgeois press. The LNS educated many of us on the real news of the war in Vietnam and all over the third world.

Today, when authors have an increasingly hard time getting published because of the greater monopolization of the publishing and newspaper industries, any attack on their right to speak affects all of us. Fighting back and taking the offensive in the case of Dennis Brutus, through building up alternative media and supporting the recent attempt to repeal the McCarren-Walter Act, we can organize to defeat any new McCarthyism. □

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American Journal

Fading Ratings for the Ronald Reagan Show

David Armstrong

No news is good news for the powerless when it comes to Ronald Reagan. Thus, it was with the usual trepidation that many Americans received word of Reagan's latest economic proposals — \$13 billion in budget cuts, with all but \$2 billion to come from human needs. As in the past, the bloated Pentagon budget is to be left largely intact, but at least the minimum benefit for Social Security will be restored for some of the people who need it.

This latest lesson in Reaganomics was delivered with the president's now-familiar flow-charts, his homey anecdotes and aw-shucks manner — the props which the Great Communicator deploys in his continuing efforts to make the world safe for plutocracy. It was Reagan's fifth televised speech. He has held only three press conferences. Even the normally fawning White House press corps can cause, uh, difficulties for the old actor. He is more at home with a script.

There were no dramatic departures from Reagan's earlier scenarios in his most recent performance. The FBI, IRS, Secret Service and other pistol-packing agencies are to be spared the budget-chopping as. The usual suspects — Medicare, Medicaid, housing, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, retirement pensions, black lung programs

for dying miners, student loans — are on the block, scheduled to absorb most of Reagan's proposed 12 percent cutbacks.

But while Reagan put on the same show that wowed 'em last spring, the ratings for the fall season are starting to sag. Even moderate Republicans are being heard muttering that you can't cut taxes and increase military spending and expect to balance the budget. Military spending, as the last several decades have shown, is shot full with cost-overruns and pork-barrel projects, and provides relatively few civilian jobs for the amount of money expended. In sum, it is the most inflationary kind of government spending.

The consequences of Reagan's ideological marriage to the military will inevitably scuttle his plans to revive the fast-fading U.S. economy. Continued inflation means continued deficits and high interest rates, which add up to a deepening recession — maybe worse. Reagan has danced himself right into a corner with his latest soft-shoe.

Wall Street, Main Street and Capitol Hill are beginning to agree on this, all for their own reasons. To the financial movers and shakers, Reagan's dance is only a half-step; they want even deeper cuts to shrink federal deficits and ground interest rates. Ordinary Americans by way of contrast, feel the attacks on social programs are going too far; the latest

opinion polls show a dramatic rise in public discontent with the Reagan offensive. For Congress, caught between unhappy corporate lobbyists and squeezed constituents, Reagan's fiscal policies can only grow more costly.

The first visible sign of Reagan's falling star was the admission by Republican Congressional leaders that additional Social Security cuts are not politically feasible — i.e., the folks on Main Street have had enough of unfeeling policies toward old people. In light of this plain-and-simple political setback, the president's assurances that he didn't really mean to fiddle with retirement benefits are transparent. The battle over Social Security has given Reagan's opposition a small but significant victory — their first win, after a series of punishing defeats.

It won't be Reagan's last loss. In a year, maybe two, the impact of Reagan's massive transfer of funds from peaceful to military purposes will hit home throughout the country, and the financial dynamic described above will intensify. When that happens, the Great Communicator will have some serious explaining to do. Already, after only eight months in prime time, the ratings of the Ronald Reagan Show are beginning to slide. In time, Reagan's contradictory fiscal strategy may force cancellation of the series. □

Salvadorans Hunger Strike Against La Migra

Two hundred miles south of Los Angeles, in a stretch of desert virtually ignored by the press and hidden from most Americans, a desperate battle for survival is being waged. While the State Department officials have been wining and dining El Salvadoran dictator Napoleon Duarte, a group of refugees from his country have been conducting a hunger strike in a dramatic appeal for justice.

The El Centro detention camp is located in the heart of the Imperial Valley, near the U.S.-Mexico border. The camp houses over 450 suspected undocumented workers, including about 120 Salvadorans. The majority of the internees were arrested along the border or picked up in INS raids in the L.A. area. Their length of stay varies, but some inmates have been awaiting immigration hearings for as long as eight months. Camp life is an unending routine. Every morning they are led out into the yard where they remain all day. In the afternoon the temperature can soar to as high as 120°.

Until recently, few people were even aware of the existence of the El Centro facility, but a series of hunger strikes this summer (the last one ending September 27), finally broke the media blockade and called attention to the plight of the refugees.

The growing interest in the refugee situation is also due to the work of community activists and agencies committed to assisting recent immigrants, such as the El Rescate program. El Rescate attorney, Bruce Bowman, who represents a number of the El Centro inmates, stated that it has been difficult to substantiate the complaints regarding the conditions at the camp, because camp authorities have refused

admittance to any outsiders. He explained, however, that affidavits signed by many internees echo identical charges of lack of medical attention, harassment and physical abuse.

Inmates charge that no doctors are present at the camp, and that the lone nurse on duty only distributes aspirin and a skin salve. A doctor who recently accompanied Bowman to El Centro and examined his clients found some depressed, and others afflicted with scabies, a contagious skin rash. She reported that the rash could be controlled within 24 hours by using a simple cream which can be bought over the counter at a pharmacy.

Camp internees also complain of beatings and other harsh punishments, a charge that camp authorities have flatly denied. But on September 19, the International Coordinating Committee for Full Rights for Undocumented Workers held a demonstration in front of the camp to display solidarity with the inmates. A group of refugees in the yard became excited and joined in the chanting. Eyewitnesses report that camp guards reacted by pushing and clubbing the inmates.

Another major complaint regards the camp officers' use of "La Loba," a small maximum security cell where "troublemakers" are allegedly isolated for two to three days without food.

Inmates generally remain at the camp until their hearings because they are unable to meet the high bail, which is usually \$5,000 initially and is later reduced to between \$1,500 and \$2,000. For the overwhelming number of refugees who are poor and alone in this country, this offers them no alternative but to sit and wait. As a result, some internees have chosen to sign voluntary

departures, rather than stay incarcerated.

Every week a planeload of Salvadoran refugees takes off from Los Angeles International compliments of Western Airlines. It has been nearly impossible to verify the fate of these deportees, but horror stories of the junta's retaliation against the refugees are well-known. The disappearance of deported Salvadorans has fed the rumors of torture, imprisonment and secret executions at the hands of the national guard.

For this reason, many Salvadorans are desperately fighting to gain political refugee status, which would entitle them to amnesty in this country. The State Department's Refugee Act of 1980 defines political refugees as any persons who have a real fear of persecution because of race, nationality, religion or political beliefs. Last year the United Nations recognized fleeing Salvadorans as political refugees. Yet to date, not a single Salvadoran has received asylum. One INS official explained the department's position smugly, "These people are economic, not political refugees."

Many critics of the INS point out the hypocrisy of an immigration policy that offers asylum to fascist U.S. allies, such as Somoza and the Shah of Iran, yet denies refuge to escaping Haitians and Salvadorans.

Some attorneys anticipate that Reagan's recently proposed immigration plan will heighten, not lessen, the suffering of these refugees. He has called for the construction of more detention camps like El Centro and an increase in the number of border patrols. At the same time, Reagan has

proposed the denial of bail for suspected undocumented workers. More recently, Reagan ordered that all boats suspected of transporting Haitian refugees be turned away from the Florida coast. In this way, critics charge, Reagan is attempting to blame refugees and immigrants for high unemployment and the failing U.S. economy.

Opponents to INS policy have launched plans for massive protests in support of the Salvadoran refugees and other undocumented workers. Two months ago, in Washington, D.C., a national conference of immigration attorneys and representatives of 90 deferring organizations unanimously rejected Reagan's immigration proposal and vowed to build resistance to the plan.

In Los Angeles a group of local churchwomen are continuing to protest deportations of Salvadorans by physically blocking INS buses.

This month a delegation of concerned individuals, including members of the National Lawyers Guild and the La Raza Unida Party will tour the border region to investigate abuses against undocumented workers.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is planning large demonstrations in El Paso, Texas to protest INS policy, as well as other actions to coincide with the upcoming visit of El Salvador's minister of defense.

Organizers are pleased with the response they've received from the community. Many feel that they have successfully broken the silence and that support for the Salvadoran refugees is flourishing.

BLM

Continued from page 7

ween the U.S. and Latin America forced Latin American countries to swallow more than 30% of all the steel produced in the U.S as one of the "strings" of U.S. foreign aid, steel that otherwise would have been sitting in warehouses adding to the crisis of over-production.

"But in no way could the partial concessions of the 'Great Society' alleviate the suffering of the masses of Afro-Americans, let alone put an end to national oppression. This is because there is no basis under monopoly capitalism for national freedom..." (*The 80's*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 37)

With many in the Democratic Party

Impact

Continued from page 3

come dropped 5.5 percent, and 3.2 million people joined the ranks of the officially poor, one of the largest annual increases on record. According to the March 1981 Current Population Survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census, more than 29 million people in the U.S. were classified as poor in 1980, an increase from 11.7 to 13 percent of the nation's population. The report also noted:

The proportion of elderly persons living below poverty rose to 15.7 percent;

About half of all families below the poverty level in 1980 were maintained by women with no husbands;

There were 19.7 million whites, 8.6 million blacks and 3.5 million Hispanics who were poor last year. In each case, the total number of poor was higher than in the previous year.

More and more, the conversations one overhears on buses, in bars and at the breakfast counters are about the economy. In the Sept. issue of *Psychology Today*, the results of a survey show that for the first time in almost 20 years, more Americans are hoping for economic stability and no inflation than for peace. Also for the first time is a decline in people's aspirations for their children; from 35 percent in 1964 to 8 percent in 1981. Hopes for a better or decent standard

openly supporting Reagan's economic program, many Afro-Americans are leaving to join the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the National Black United Front (NBUF), others are calling for mass action. Hooks and the NAACP's leaders were forced to take a stand against Reagan's economic program. While there is motion away from the Democratic Party within this strata there is also a motion to revitalize the Democratic Party by some members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Richard Hatcher, Coleman Young, NAACP, etc. The NAACP's recent call for a Civil Rights and Labor Coalition is an attempt to rebuild the liberal coalition that dominated democratic politics in the '60s. This force is hooking up with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and

of living occupied the minds of 39 percent of those who were surveyed. The survey analysts explained that the decline in aspirations for children may be largely due to an acceptance of, or resignation to, new lifestyles for their children. But, "looked at more negatively," the article said, "what we are probably seeing among many parents is an acceptance of the inevitable, a realization that they can do little or nothing to change or seriously influence the life and career choices their offspring will take."

Another surprising finding of the survey was that, despite the "strong anti-communist rhetoric of the new administration, (people distinguish between their hopes for peace) and fear of 'the threat of communism or aggression by a communist power,' which has declined steadily, from 29 percent in 1964 to 13 percent in 1974 to 8 percent in 1981."

The *Psychology Today* survey was conducted less than a month after Reagan took office, before the assassination attempt, before the May 3 demonstration, before the 500,000 strong Labor Day demonstration in Washington D.C., and before all of the many other demonstrations protesting the budget cuts and intervention in El Salvador took place nation-wide.

The giant is awakening, and all the little strings of the Lilliputians cannot restrain the force of this giant, the masses of the American people.

Americans for Democratic Action that supported McGovern to take control of the Democratic Party. The call for mass activities is in part to pressure the Democratic Party to stick to the "Great Society."

Although this strata is much more active, their fundamental nature has not changed. For them the Liberation of Afro-Americans can be resolved only if they support monopoly capitalism. But because of the motion, this group is part of the united front.

The present political and economic crisis has created the basis for the broadest and most sustained movement of the Afro-American people in the history of the U.S. Already movements of international support, such as the beginning of a U.S.-Grenada friendship association, and the renewal of Southern African support work has begun in the black community in addition to the college campuses. This movement, the struggle to defend the democratic rights of the Afro-American people and the attempt of the bourgeoisie to impose fascism will objectively be revolutionary, and the starting point for revolutionary change.

"The very position the proletariat holds as a class compels it to be consistently democratic. The bourgeoisie looks backward in fear of democratic progress which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but with the aid of democratism it has the whole world to win."

"It would be a radical mistake," Lenin wrote, "to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or of hiding, overshadowing it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practice full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy." (*Problems of the Communist Movement*, p. 240)

The united front will at times include people like Vernon Jordan and Andy Young. This is the scope of the movement on the horizon. All political groups without exception, are reviewing their program, strategy and tactics in preparation for the movement that will certainly develop. We must endeavor to lead the movement, and rally the opposition of all classes and strata, however momentary in opposition to the bourgeoisie. This is the task of the proletariat. This is not done by demanding that people first agree to socialism. "The philosophy behind it is related to the question: what are the issues that affect the masses, that they are willing to move on, instead of the other way around — what affects us and what we think are important, independent of whether it's the most important or not." "Lenin said that to make revolution, the vanguard is not enough. You must win over the vast majority. However, he didn't say what they will be won over to."

"Lenin demonstrated that the winning of influence among the people was linked with the Communist Party's ability to work with them, that this was an art that had to be mastered. The core of this art is that the Communist Party accepts the people as they are, with all their prejudices, without fearing their bias, without taking offence at their backwardness, at the fact that they as yet do not understand its policies and slogans. The Communist Party cannot count on "very virtuous men and women reared in special hothouses and cucumber frames." It looks for the way to the minds and hearts of the people, gradually leading them to understand its policies. In providing the people with leadership the greatest danger is the temptation to engage in wishful thinking, to believe that what is clear to the Party is clear to the people, to overestimate the consciousness level of the masses, to take only their revolutionary zeal into account and forget their prejudices and illusions, and the influence of the

capitalist system and of bourgeois ideology. Lenin insisted that prejudices should be recognized as such and that it was vital to "soberly follow the actual state of the class consciousness... of all the working people"... (*The Art of Political Leadership, Problems of the Communist Movement*)

We must advance a program that speaks to the interests of all classes and strata of the Afro-American people who suffer national oppression. A program, that through mass struggle, will turn this movement into a tremendous force in opposition to the bourgeoisie.

The Need for a Multi-Class Coalition Party

In response to the deepening crisis many streamlets of struggle on a local level and national organizations are developing. Locally organizations such as the Johnson County Justice League, in Wrightsville, Ga., the Peoples Coalition Against Racism on the West Coast, and the Martin Luther King Student Alliance are sprouting up. A coalition was formed after the brutal lynching of a black youth in Mobile, Alabama and they mobilized 10,000 people to oppose the repeal of the Voting Rights Act and to denounce the increase of violent attacks against blacks. Nationally several organizations have been formed or are in the process of formation. This includes the National Black United Front, the National Black Independent Party, and the National Black Workers Organizing Committee. These and other mass forms are developing not on the basis of a common ideology but on the basis of common immediate interests. What is needed in the Black Liberation Movement is a forging of a mass coalition party among the Afro-American people. There is already discussion of this type of organization in many quarters among revolutionaries and reformists as well. There is presently discussion between NBUF and NBIPP and there was a workshop at the recent NBUF conference (July 4) on the relationship between NBIPP and NBUF. The leadership of the NBWO also agree that the formation of such a party is an urgent need of the BLM.

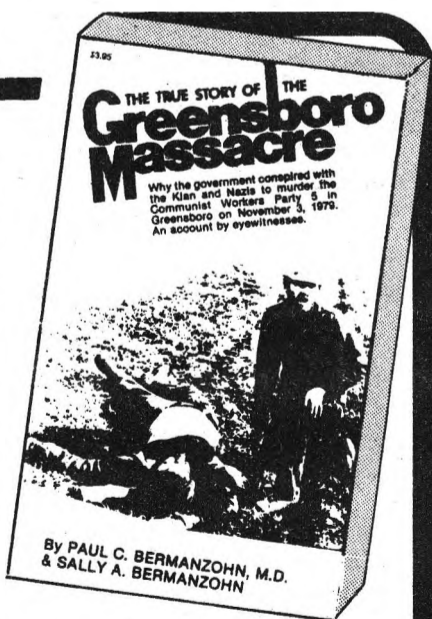
Historically, the largest united front organization or party of this type was the National Negro Congress, which was formed on the initiative of the CPUSA. More than 250 prominent Afro-Americans including members of the CPUSA signed the initial call. Among them Lester Granger of the National Urban League, Dr. Alain Locke, writer and one of the most widely recognized representatives of the Harlem Renaissance, Ralph Bunche (at Howard University at the time), A. Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, James Allen of the CPUSA and the poet Langston Hughes. The opening convention was attended by over 5,000 delegates and visitors and some 585 organizations from 28 states, including 246 trade unions and 80 church and civic groups took part in it.

It has been stressed many times that the significance of the crisis of the '80s is that for the first time in 30 years communists have a chance to lead the struggles of the U.S. people. And since the motion is already moving in the direction of forming such a coalition party, the question for us is *how do we position ourselves in such a way to exert the greatest influence on that process?* The process of positioning ourselves to guide this, includes but is not limited to, positioning ourselves in the NBIPP, developing direct Party work in the Afro-American national movement, developing the institute to create public opinion for our line in the BLM. We cannot be idealist about bringing such a coalition into being. There are many particular questions to address. What it will take is unclear. The main point here is to establish a conception of what is possible and what is objectively needed. The conditions for the formation of such a coalition party are favorable and this is what class struggle demands at this time.

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

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

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



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

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Reunification

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Trying to learn modern management methods, China has had to spend a lot of money to send students abroad to study as well as inviting Western management experts from Stanford and other Western institutions to lecture in China. A return of Taiwan to the motherland would help resolve both problems at the lowest cost. Taiwan could continue to develop its manufacturing and satisfy the needs of the mainland Chinese. At the same time, China could concentrate on developing heavy industry and pay more attention to agriculture. In addition, the expertise of the national bourgeoisie in Taiwan could be fully tapped given that their interests are for the time being guaranteed.

Material Basis Favoring Reunification

Is China's reunification proposal based on illusions, far-fetched and doomed to fail? Given the KMT's insistence that Peking give up socialism before reunification is possible and Deng Xiaoping's repeated rejection of their demand, it would appear so. But the fact is there are larger economic and political forces, independent of the KMT leaders' will, at work favoring reunification.

First, there's economics. Taiwan is an island with little energy resources and no comprehensive infrastructure. It imports over 300,000 barrels of oil a day, paying premium prices, and it heavily depends on these external energy sources. The continuation of its energy supply, and thus the normal functioning of its industry, depends on a favorable political and economic climate. One the other hand, China ranks eighth in world oil production and has a relatively developed heavy industry base. Besides making good business sense to accept China's offer of oil at domestic prices, China could be Taiwan's only alternative energy source in the event of a break in Taiwan's oil lifeline.

Knowing that it cannot survive in the long run with only manufacturing industry, Taiwan is trying to change its economy. According to *Foreign Affairs* (Fall, 1981), "Premier Y.S. Sun told the legislature earlier this year that the top priority for the 1980s will be development of higher technology machinery and electronics industries, notably automobiles and computer and information services. One such project to encourage this transformation of the economic priority is the creation of a science park, sort of industrial park for high technology companies, to train technicians for computer and complex machinery industries." But Taiwan faces tremendous problems. "Oil prices pushed the 1980 current account into deficit for the first time in recent years, and another deficit is expected this year. Computers and automobiles are industries that took Japan years to enter, and Taiwan can expect an uphill battle. It has trouble attracting foreign investors to the science park, for example."

Moreover, *Foreign Affairs* continues, "For Taiwan, the pitfalls of capital-intensive industry were driven home by the problems of its big petrochemical industry. Until recently, petrochemicals were listed by the government as one of the three pillars of Taiwan's industrial future, together with machinery and electronics. But Premier Sun said in February that heavy and petrochemical industries that are big energy users will be expanded only for domestic needs, and no longer to produce export. "The problem ... is that the cheapest way to make basic petrochemicals, known as petrochemical intermediates, is from natural gas at the well. Having no wells, Taiwan makes intermediates through an expensive process of refining imported oil. As world demands for petrochemicals has slackened, U.S. petrochemical producers have undersold Taiwan's." Since petrochemicals already make up a large part of the island's economy, the consequences have been great. Formosa Plastics Group, Taiwan's largest private industrial conglomerate saw its profits slump 10 percent in 1980. Other companies, less diversified than Formosa Plastics, suffered even more. Union Carbide, the U.S. company, began quietly looking for a buyer of its 25 percent share of the Oriental Union Chemical Corporation, one of the petrochemical joint-ventures sponsored by the Taiwan regime.

Reunification with China, with its guaranteed supply of cheap oil and natural gas, coupled with the mainland's demand for petrochemical products, would make life a lot easier for Taiwan capitalists. And once its pillar industry is strengthened, Taiwan's whole economy would benefit. This alone makes the reunification proposal attractive to the national bourgeoisie in Taiwan.

A second economic factor making reunification attractive is the vast market China's one billion population represents. Historically coveted by the imperialists, the China market would provide a big outlet for Taiwan's manufactured goods, which have been blocked from other countries due to the protectionist fever generated by economic crisis. Few

businessmen would lightly pass off an opportunity like this for the sake of ideological differences.

Third, capital is running away from Taiwan as many businesses went into panic when the U.S. cut diplomatic ties with Taipei. Summarizing Taiwan's economic problems, one observer wrote, "Due to the energy crisis, the increase in oil prices, and the upsurge of protectionism abroad, beginning from March of this year [1979-ed.] Taiwan had already begun to show a trade deficit, and the situation still has not been improved. This is the first time it happened in several years. The economic problem, plus the backward performances of the banks and unhealthy system of long-term financing ... leads to the collapse of more and more middle and small enterprises. The list of the so-called 'bad credit clients' printed regularly in newspapers always occupy whole pages, and they are mostly small citizens and petty bourgeoisie." (*The 70s*, a Chinese magazine published in Hong Kong, Jan. 1981)

Nor is the problem limited to small businesses. Immediately after normalization of U.S./China relations, many big businesses owned by big bureaucratic capitalists as well as national bourgeoisie folded. According to estimates, 180 businesses of all sizes closed between January and July in 1979, with the capital transferred to the U.S., Japan, and Hong Kong. One capital transfer to Japan amounted to 340 million Taiwan dollars (approximately 8.5 million U.S. dollars). About one seventh of the Taiwan population was affected by this capital runaway.

On top of all this, the KMT regime spends close to 41.5 percent of the annual national budget on defense, a burden that could be reduced if tensions lessened with the mainland. Public opinion overseas has been strongly in favor of peaceful reunification as a solution to skyrocketing military expenses. (We cannot point to explicit views on the reunification question from the people of Taiwan since under martial law there is not freedom of speech.) One article that appeared in the August issue of *The 70s* noted the benefits of reunification for Taiwan: "Taiwan can carry out more 'ten great constructions' or '12 constructions.' Or at least, the additional increase of the 25 billion Taiwan yuans for the 'special budget to strength defense' that begins this year can be used to increase wages for government employees, or for medical and retirement benefits, or to cut taxes and land rent, to build more public housing, or to subsidize products for exports. All these are all practical and economical measure. Now in the 194 billion yuan budget, close to 41.5 percent is for national defense. The resources in Taiwan is limited. It can't really carry such a burden. If the KMT and CPC reunify peacefully, only by allocating 10 or 20 percent of the budget for defense to construction will tremendously improve the livelihood of different strata in Taiwan. This is the reward for peace."

The KMT government has boasted that the break in diplomatic relations with the U.S. has not affected economic growth. But according to *Foreign Affairs*: "By operating internationally almost like a corporation, Taiwan has diversified somewhat, politically and economically, but it has also developed a new vulnerability. Its new quasi-political relations are dependent on its demands for European goods and on the cheap prices of its exports. If it falters economically, it has little to fall back on but the U.S./China lobby and such remaining friends as South Africa and South Korea." With the unstable political situation engulfing both those regimes, Taiwan has "reliable" friends indeed.

Besides the economic forces propelling Taiwan toward reunification with China, there are powerful political forces. Taiwan is seriously isolated in the world today. It has been kicked out of almost every international organization including the International Monetary Fund and the Olympic movement. Taipei has diplomatic ties with only 20 countries, many ruled by reactionaries facing the imminent danger of being overthrown by revolutionary movements. Besides South Africa and S. Korea, those with formal relations with Taiwan include Argentina and Israel. Taiwan could easily face total isolation before too long. Taipei's only way out of this inevitable fate is reunification.

With this in mind, the KMT government has begun adopting a more flexible foreign policy relatively independent of the U.S. over the last two years. This is especially since right now Taiwan cannot count on unqualified backing from its U.S. imperialist patron. At the same time, Taiwan has softened its traditionally hardline stance toward Peking.

For example, Taiwan has for the first time openly proclaimed their support for the rights of the Palestinian people, a position similar to one adopted by many Western European countries. Since Chiang Kai Shek's death, Taiwan has started trading with Eastern Europe. KMT officials justified this move by reinterpreting that part of Chiang's will which states, "The Republic of China (Taiwan) will forever remain in the camp of democracy." KMT leaders today claim that this is only a commitment to develop democracy at home and not a prohibition against

relationships with "non-democratic" (read: socialist) countries. "Eastern European countries are getting less and less communistic and closer and closer to Sun Yat Sen's Three People's Principles," argued KMT officials. However ridiculous the KMT's reasoning may be, the fact is, by trading with Eastern Europe, the KMT has put ideological differences aside for the sake of practical politics and economic survival. Taiwan has also lifted the ban on travel to the Eastern European countries. Clearly there is no ideological "Great Wall" preventing KMT acceptance of reunification with China, a move even more practical for Taiwan's political and economic survival.

Softening up Towards Peking

For the past 30 years, the KMT's position towards China has been to "counter-attack." But since China announced its nine-point program, the KMT has been under pressure from all sides. For the first time, the regime publicly admitted that reunification is the desire of all Chinese people. Although Taipei still insists that China must "discard Marxism-Leninism, abandon world revolution, abolish communist dictatorship, guarantee freedom and civil rights, abolish people's communes, and return people's property" as conditions for reunification, their tone has been more brotherly than hostile. This change in tone was obvious in an interview with Prof. Li Shung Dun, head of Taiwan's Committee to Renovate Agriculture of the Department of Internal Affairs. Published in the July 4 edition Taipei's newspaper, he said, "If China has determined to use Taiwan as a model in its process of modernization of agriculture, based on humanitarian considerations, we will be happy to provide them the necessary technical information because this will help to improve the standard of living of our compatriots in the mainland." This kind of friendliness toward the mainland, even in appearance alone, is rare in the history of the KMT.

Another indication that Taiwan may be adapting to the new realities of the 1980s is the fact that it did not criticize Lady Chenault, a long-time Taiwan lobbyist in Washington, when she accepted an official invitation to visit China last May. The visit marked the first time she saw China since she left in the 1940s. Instead, Lady Chenault was treated with the same courtesy she usually gets from the KMT regime. This is a big change in attitude towards an act the KMT would have considered traitorous in the past. In addition, there has been a lot more comprehensive and less biased coverage of events in China in KMT newspapers, rather than the usual slander and insults. There has also been informal contact between scholars from Taiwan and China. Last year, Taiwan allowed its writers to go to Iowa to attend a Chinese writers conference where writers from the mainland, Hong Kong and the U.S. also participated. This would have been impossible only a couple of years ago.

Furthermore, Taiwan has been trading with China for a while now, although only indirectly through a third party, mainly Hong Kong. It is well known that most of the traditional Chinese medicine imported by Taiwan originates from the mainland, a source Taiwan could not do without.

Finally, the Taiwan independence movement is a big political problem for the KMT regime. Given a choice between an independent Taiwan or reunification with China and the right to participate in its political life, the latter is more attractive alternative. And above all to the KMT regime, public opinion among overseas Chinese, many who represent the sentiment of the national bourgeoisie from Taiwan and backers of the KMT, favors reunification. The CPC nine-point program has created a big stir among this strata. The KMT will have a difficult time if it does not move in this direction.

Conclusion

Resolution of the Taiwan question is in the interest of the Chinese people, and reunification by peaceful means is an alternative that can rally the broadest support, even among Taiwan's national bourgeoisie. It can serve as a good way to expose the KMT if they reject the proposal and prepare public opinion when reunification by force is unavoidable. Although there are ideological differences dividing the KMT and the CPC, there are larger political and economic forces at work moving the reunification process forward independent of the will of the KMT leadership. As the Communist Party of China noted, the KMT and the CPC always have differences. But they cooperated twice before to fight in the Northern Expedition and against the Japanese imperialists. They can cooperate once again in a third United Front to build up the country. Twice before, the KMT was forced into a united front with the communists, and both the CPC and the Chinese people gained from this. The Chinese people have nothing to lose, but a lot to gain from peaceful reunification. Any attempts to attack or go against this motion will prove futile. □

Battleground

Continued from page 5

"Office of the Future is the Factory of the Past"

"When they brought computers into the unemployment benefits office I worked at a few years ago, two-thirds of us were laid-off," a waitress said. Instead of working behind the counter she and the others joined the line in front.

The price of a computer system that can do the work of three clerks is down to about \$15,000, putting the machines within the financial reach of even the smallest company. Professional workers, paid for their knowledge and expertise, will increasingly find that their colleagues have keyboards and cathode ray tube instead of a three-piece suit. The most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics forecast of job opportunities places computer technicians as the fastest growing, but the largest number of new jobs will be for janitors, whose ranks are expected to swell by 671,000 before the 1990s. After computer mechanics, the next five leading categories of growth jobs in the decade are: paralegal personnel, computer systems analysts, computer operators, office machine and cash register servicers and computer programmers. It looks as though if you aren't working with a computer, then you're pushing a broom.

In the July and August issues of *Mother Jones*, the effects of office automation on workers were explored. Barbara Garson, writing about the VDT sweatshop in a bank, concluded that "the drive at all levels — Clecks through executives — is for cheaper, more replaceable workers... for those of us who have to work there, the office of the future is the factory of the past."

Health problems for white-collar workers in the automated office has charted out new grounds for the unions. Backaches, eyestrain, headaches, depression and other physical and psychological problems are developing among workers who spend long hours before a VDT or other machines. At the bank and the Bell Telephone offices examined in the two *Mother Jones* articles, the machines were programmed to supervise and control the operator's productivity. Keeping track of every stroke of the finger on the keyboard, counting every second of the worker's breaktime, regularly comparing the work done with quota, the machines have become the ultimate supervisor. Job stress soared.

The unions, particularly in Europe, have had successes in demanding healthier work rules and environment. One good argument that management

uses so often against workers has been turned around: cost-effectiveness. Sick and disabled workers reduce cost-effectiveness.

Unions cannot, by Federal law, bargain over whether or not a company will buy computers, but they can bargain about the computer and working conditions. Unions can argue that the most cost-effective way to use a computer is with two to three workers on short shifts, rather than one worker on a long shift. This argument saves jobs and health. Working conditions such as job classifications and hours of work, and the percentage of increased productivity that is returned to the worker, will be important issues in negotiating letters of understanding, contracts, and in organizing the unorganized.

Compounding the Crisis

The ability of unions to win gains protecting jobs and health among white-collar workers is limited by monopoly capital's need to squeeze the maximum, cost-effective profit out of white-collar workers. Getting unions into automated offices will be a bitter struggle, as monopoly capital has recognized the white-collar worker as the sector offering the least resistance to the biggest profit. Moving quickly away from capital-intensive, labor-intensive industry, the automated office offers the biggest bang for the buck. The White Paper noted that "office workers are backed by a capital investment of only \$3,000, compared with \$70,000 for factory workers... Increase that white-collar capitalization just \$1,000 a year and, presto, a \$45 billion yearly equipment market ensues."

Under capitalism, office technology will, instead of serving mankind, benefit only the handful of finance capitalists while deepening the oppression of the working class. Relieving workers of dangerous or tedious jobs is good when the displaced workers are freed up to enjoy more rewarding work, more leisure for culture and sports and family, and the general welfare of the working class as a whole is raised. These things would be the function of technology under socialism, which plans and controls the economy for the benefit of the working class.

As professional, technical and clerical workers find themselves more and more dependent upon the office computers for their jobs, instead of upon their own skills and knowledge, the need to organize will increase. The polarization between workers and owners becomes sharper, and the fightback for workers rule broadens out, bringing tens of millions of workers into the struggle for a just and fair society geared towards their needs. □

removed at a meeting of the City Planning Commission on March 30 when the Special Manhattan Bridge District was established. The new district which permits the construction of high rise projects borders East Broadway, Pike, Monroe and Oliver Streets.

During the five months when the rezoning change was being made, the people of Chinatown were kept completely in the dark. From the time the issue was first raised at a Community Board No. 3 meeting on April 28 to the planning commission meeting to a so-called public hearing on June 3 and finally to a Board of Estimates meeting on Aug. 20, little of what was happening reached the people of Chinatown. Public notices were never posted in Chinese, which ensured exclusion of the residents from the decision-making process.

Opposition Shapes Up

"We are here today with tenants who were evicted from 87 Madison Street, the site where the East-West Towers are being built and tenants from the Chinatown community; especially inside the Special Manhattan Bridge District. We are here to oppose the Special Manhattan Bridge District Project," said Margart Chin, an AAFE spokesperson at the Oct. 5 Community Board meeting. "We demand that all resolution on this special district be tabled and to reopen another public hearing in Chinatown," continues Ms. Chin. Several times former tenants from 87 Madison Street rose up to speak out about the constant harassment and threats they faced prior to leaving.

"Who will live there? I don't know. But I do know who won't be able to live there: the waiters, seamstresses, office workers, small shop owners, the people who have nothing to gain and

everything to lose," commented a representative from the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. The CCBA represents the family associations and many small businessmen in Chinatown who are also being squeezed dry by the real estate speculators. Recently a fish market at the corner of Catherine Street and East Broadway had its rent hiked from \$3,000 to \$7,500. High rent has been one of the main reason that turnover of small shops and restaurants is on the increase.

The meeting ended with an agreement to table approval of the rezoning change pending the results of an investigation by a fact-finding panel. Included on the panel are AAFE, CCBA, Chinatown Planning Council, 87 Madison and 91 Henry Streets Tenants Associations, Local 23-25 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and several other groups. AAFE is also independently seeking a court injunction against the start of construction of the East-West Tower next month. AAFE has sent letters and other literature to Mayor Koch, Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein, City Council President Carol Bellamy and other elected officials to inform them and demand that they publicly take a stand either in favor or against the rezoning decision *before the November 3 elections.*

A Fight for Survival

If the East-West Tower is built many others are sure to follow. Chinatown, the only home that many garment and restaurant workers have, will be lost. In its place will be a Chinatown where only wealthy businessmen and their families can live. AAFE united with the working people, shop owners and the small landlords of Chinatown are determined to stop the bulldozers from tearing down their community.

Sadat

Continued from page 2

After the Six-Day War the Soviets incorrectly restricted Egypt's actions to recover their territory only to diplomatic channels. As Israel became more isolated internationally and world public opinion was for the return of the occupied lands, the Soviets, in pursuit of detente, used its military presence in Egypt to keep Sadat from taking it back. So, in 1972, he expelled all 18,000 Soviet military advisors.

In October 1973 Egypt and Syria launched a war to recover the Israeli occupied lands. They were winning the war and driving Israel back to its pre-1967 borders. The Soviet revisionists refused to help this fight for independence saying it "seriously menaces the maintenance of peace." They refused to ship arms and spare parts to Egypt, thus allowing the Israelis to strike back and reoccupy the stolen lands with American military aid.

The Soviet Union, stating it shared "the American desire to limit the conflict in the Middle East," helped formulate another unequal cease fire and proposed a peace based on the infamous Resolution 242.

Lessons for Socialist Foreign Policy

These events were the cause of the final break between Egypt and the Soviet Union. The Soviets pursued a line of making Egypt an appendage of its interests. Had they pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist policy of non-interference in Egypt's affairs and encouraging the fight for liberation and independence as part of the fight for peace, Sadat might very well have stayed off of the U.S.'s lap, and Egypt might still be leading the Arab world's fight for liberation.

Jerry Tung summed up some valuable lessons of socialist foreign policy in his book, *The Socialist Road*: "In our view, the only way to deal

with the Soviet Union's, China's, or any other socialist country's chauvinist policies is to support the Marxist-Leninists in all countries and not interfere in their affairs. They have to apply Marxism to their own concrete conditions. We should respect their striving to be self-sufficient and not dependent on any aid as the decisive factor for their victories. They must rely on the people in their own countries and their own understanding of Marxism and its application. This is also borne out by the history of our own Party. It is very much related to the view that revolution can only be developed from within, not from external factors. Revolution cannot be exported.

"For third world and socialist countries, the main thing is to develop economic independence. They should at all times promote trade for the mutual benefit of socialist countries. We uphold their right to trade with non-socialist countries. Economic independence is the necessary backbone of political independence and an integral part of the correct line on developing revolution from within. Developing their own strength is the best way for them to deal with chauvinist deviation of socialist countries and is necessary to check them."

Sadat did none of that. He had no view of developing an independent country. His break with the Soviets was not for the purpose of exploiting the contradictions between them and the U.S. for his country's development (as in the case with Zimbabwe). He went not for self-sufficiency and self-reliance, but for the highest bidder. He wanted to play power politics — and lost. In the process he sold not only himself, but his country and his people and seriously harmed the Arab world. His death was a traitor's death, and he will be missed only by the imperialists who he served with vigor. □

Chinatown Residents

Continued from page 16

Americas where further tax breaks would be prohibited. Other areas including the four other boroughs would still be eligible for tax exemptions. Construction in some neighborhoods would receive automatic benefits. The new plan represents little change in policy by the Koch Administration. It merely redefines new communities where Koch's real estate cronies can invade. Even the New York's real estate giants can't defy the law of physics — only so many buildings can be built in one space. The mid-town area has become so saturated with luxury hotels and business offices that it's become obvious even to Mayor Koch.

Bridge District — Foot in the Door

This is where Chinatown finally enters the picture. While housing conditions continue to deteriorate in poor communities like the South Bronx (which loses approximately 27,000 apartments annually to burnouts and evictions by slumlords), Chinatown has been chosen as one of the next areas to develop. It's no accident. Primarily because of its close proximity to Wall Street and the rest of the business district and to City Hall and easy access to all mass transit, Chinatown has emerged as a prime piece of real estate.

The only legal obstacle for the real estate developers was the zoning restrictions in Chinatown which limited building structures to only several stories. It was conveniently

Workers Viewpoint Weekly

November 1981

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you about a very serious matter. The *Workers Viewpoint*, one of the few remaining progressive weekly newspapers in the U.S., is in financial trouble. We need to raise an additional \$30,000 annually. Without your financial support, we will have no choice but to cut back publication to once every two weeks. In the '80s, a weekly Marxist paper analyzing events of the day is a necessity, not a luxury.

Now, I know that you are often asked to contribute to many causes and organizations. Let me tell you why I think it is more than worth your while to become a *Workers Viewpoint* sustainer and help keep the *Workers Viewpoint* publishing weekly.

If you have picked up any newspaper or listened to network radio news in the past weeks, you have probably heard of Julian Bond's Institute of Southern Studies' report on the Greensboro Massacre. After a six-month investigation, the Institute concluded that the Greensboro police, the District Attorney's office, the klan and the nazis all had intimate ties in the assassination of five Communist Workers Party members on November 3, 1979. What is more, the Institute charged federal government misconduct in the handling of the case and seriously questions why no federal civil rights suits were filed against the murderers, who were set free by an anti-communist, pro-klan jury.

Since the day of the assassinations, the CWP and its newspaper, the *Workers Viewpoint*, have been reporting on the murders and the FBI's and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearm's planning of and involvement in the assassinations. The CWP has taken bold actions — often standing alone — to expose the government's collusion with and use of the klan and nazis. And the *Workers Viewpoint* was there to cover it. To get the full story, other publications came to us. Well-known newspaper columnist and former editor of the *Berkeley Barb*, David Armstrong, wrote in his new book *A Trumpet to Arms*:

Workers Viewpoint, the weekly organ of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), published a penetrating account of the shooting deaths of five CWP members at the hands of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party members in Greensboro, North Carolina, on November 3, 1979. Alleging a police conspiracy with the Klan to murder CWP leaders, *Workers Viewpoint* identified inconsistencies in police accounts and collated reports from other media, enriched by on-the-spot accounts by CWP members. The CWP's interest in the events in Greensboro was evident, but their paper's disturbing report warranted a followup by other media. No follow up came, in any substantial form, until the *Village Voice* ran a cover story on May 26, 1980, corroborating all the important points in *Workers Viewpoint*. The mass media remained silent.

One of the major events in the past year involved workers at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company in San Diego, California. Reacting to a strong rank and file movement for health and safety rights on the job, union democracy and a decent contract, NASSCO officials worked closely with the San Diego Police Department's Red Squad and the FBI to stop it. Three leaders in the yards — two of them CWP members — were entrapped by South African-born FBI informer on phoney conspiracy charges to blow up NASSCO's power transformer. The three were convicted in an atmosphere charged with red-baiting and violence-baiting reminiscent of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The CWP is involved in many of the significant class battles of the day, and to keep informed of them you must read the *Workers Viewpoint*.

But that is not all. The *Workers Viewpoint* does much more than report on the CWP's activity. In fact, the *Workers Viewpoint* delivers much more than news. It delivers analysis. Up to date analysis of the economy, of the international situation and of the state of many different mass movements in this country.

This is the 1980s, and it demands analysis. We live in an over-communicated society. News and information bombards us from all sides through TV, radio, and innumerable magazines and newspapers. For a paper to remain truly relevant today, providing news is not enough. People want more. Investigative reporting fills more pages in more newspapers

than ever before. T.V. shows such as *Nightline* are more popular than ever. The fact is, people want, and need, to know the story behind the story. On the left, only the *Workers Viewpoint* provides that analysis.

Information alone is not enough to survive the '80s. Events move so rapidly that it is hardly possible to keep the pace. The political scenery can completely transform overnight, and social movements are just as quickly confronted with new and pressing questions that demand answers. To recognize the opportunities and answer the questions, revolutionaries and progressive people need a weekly Marxist newspaper. Revolutionaries and progressives need the *Workers Viewpoint*.

Our concentration on news analysis yields results and helps make sense out of our fast changing world. Right after Reagan's election, recognizing the disorientation of the American people and their search for leadership and answers, we alone said the American people did not hand Reagan a right-wing mandate. And now, after the May 3 march on the Pentagon and Solidarity Day, every one can see it is true. And when nearly everyone was commenting on the well-oiled Reagan machinery and how he would have no problem getting his budget cuts and economic package passed, we alone forecasted the Administration's infighting, Wall Street's thumbs down vote on Reaganomics and showed how it gave the people's movement valuable time.

The *Workers Viewpoint* also runs regular, feature-length articles on questions of revolution and socialist construction. For example, Cynthia Lai's articles on China have examined all the major facets of the Cultural Revolution and the controversy surrounding it. Few in this country know more about China and deliver such authoritative articles. She has also written extensively about China's economy, the problems of building it up and the serious shortcomings of the country's present leadership.

Clair Holland has written about how Detroit's autoworkers, once the proud detachment of the trade union movement and now crying for quality leadership, are weathering the economic crisis. The workers speak frankly — about their jobs and lack of them, their President, their families, their desires for a better life. Their views are not uniform, nor will you always agree with them. But you will not be left unmoved by their stories.

Lastly, take our three-part series "The Origins of the McCarthy Era," by May Quan. This series, which took over three months to research and write and which is now a pamphlet, is compelling from the standpoint of history and historical interest. At a time when there is much discussion and debate over the New McCarthyism, Ms. Quan looked back into history to answer the hard questions: what caused McCarthyism? Was it inevitable? What were the weaknesses of the left which enabled McCarthyism to triumph? Her articles dispelled many myths about the 1950s and concluded that the McCarthy Era was not only full of great danger, but of opportunities as well to triumph over the reactionaries.

And so it is today. These are hard times for us all. Inflation, unemployment, political repression and other social sores — the decay of monopoly capitalism is taking its toll on everyone. Yet within this hardship lie great opportunities. There is unprecedented resistance to Reagan, and he has been beaten back on three most important fronts: El Salvador, the McCarthyite Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and the anti-abortion rights Human Life Amendment.

These are critical times, and critical times call for hard decisions. Decisions that can change lives and the whole course of events. This decision is no exception. How important is a weekly *Workers Viewpoint* to you and your causes? Doesn't your life demand the analysis found in the pages of a weekly *Workers Viewpoint*?

Please contribute to the *Workers Viewpoint*, or better yet, become a regular, monthly sustainer. We have enclosed a brochure for you to look over. I am sure that you will agree with me that a weekly *Workers Viewpoint* is well worth supporting.

Sincerely,

Robert Goldstein

Robert Goldstein
Editor

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WORKERS VIEWPOINT

Jim Davis

In a move that left some New Yorkers bewildered, Mayor Koch recently announced plans to spend one million dollars on cosmetic improvements of the Chinatown community. This seeming display of generosity towards the working people of New York went totally against the Koch administration's four-year track record of striking behind-the-scenes deals with big business. The most recent and widely publicized being a tax abatement plan that has surrendered nearly \$700 million in potential tax revenue to some of the largest real estate investors in the city. Apparently there had to be a much larger scheme in the works.

As it turned out, the improvements were part of an overall plan to renovate the entire community, including its residents. Plans are presently underway to build the first set of high rise condominiums in Chinatown. The news first broke in the September 20 edition of the New York Times when John Wang, an urban planner, reported that private developers, including big business interests from Hong Kong, were preparing to begin construction of three housing projects in the area. It came as no surprise since well before the Times articles there were several clear indications of what was to come. The first sign was an unexplained real estate "boom" as large parcels of available land in the area were being rapidly gobbled up by private developers. The other was the stepped-up harassment and evictions of tenants.

The first project, located on Henry Street, is called the East-West Tower and is financed by the Overseas Chinese Development Corporation. Groundbreaking is scheduled to begin next month. The two remaining projects are being jointly financed by other overseas Chinese businessmen and executives from the Helmsley-Spear Corporation. Even conservative estimates by Wei Foo Chun, the East-West Tower's chief architect, put the initial cost of each of the one-bedroom apartments in the \$115,000 to \$120,000 range.

Home For Working People, Goldmine for Corporations

The Chinatown community, which has gone largely unnoticed and untouched for the better part of two decades, is suddenly of prime interest to the city's real estate investors. There are several reasons for the turnabout. In the past few years there has been a dramatic shift in the economic infrastructure of the city. While the bottom has all but fallen out in the manufacturing and retail sectors of the city's economy, there has been a significant growth in the financial, insurance and real estate areas. Between 1976 and 1980, New York City lost 47,500 manufacturing jobs. It represented a 10 percent drop. Retail lost 19,300 jobs. Most of the lost jobs were in the boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens, Bronx and Staten Island. Over the same period, there was an increase of 40,000 jobs in the financial, real estate and insurance areas. Almost all of that increase was in the borough of Manhattan. Similarly there was a 20 percent jump in the service industries including advertising, management, consulting, computer data services and research and development. Falling victim to the high real estate taxes and huge overhead costs, many manufacturers have either folded or fled in the past few years. "The question is can you really have a balanced city economy if all your eggs are in one

Chinatown Residents Take on Real Estate Giants



Margart Chin, an AAFE spokesperson, addresses the Oct. 5 Community Board no. 3 meeting.

basket," commented Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, regional commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. Mayor Koch, while he can boast about an overall five percent increase of jobs in the city since 1976, is still very much worried about the obvious imbalance in the city's economy.

A National Trend

It would however be a mistake to believe that New York's current dilemma is all Mayor Koch's own doing. The near collapse of major industrial cities such as Detroit is a clear indication of the real depth of the crisis. The erosion of major industries such as steel and auto which are pillars of our country's economy is a direct result of the periodic crises of monopoly capitalism. One of the reasons for the decline is the growing inability of American industries to remain competitive with foreign manufacturers. More importantly because of a steady decline in the standard of living, many Americans today can no longer afford to buy many of the goods and products being produced. For example, in 1980, Americans suffered a 5.5 percent drop in their real income, the largest since 1947.

Real Estate — New "Industry" in New York

While the decline in the more productive sectors of the economy has all but made ghost towns of Youngstown and other cities in the industrial heartland, New York City, as a traditional center for high finance and real estate, has been able to weather the storm with relatively less visible damage. The further shift in the city's economy into the already heavily emphasized financial and real estate sectors while perhaps not as spectacular as the closing of a Chrysler plant is nonetheless devastating. Like poison in the bloodstream it is slowly killing the

city. By their very nature the financial and real estate industries are speculative and parasitic. Unlike the steel and auto industries of several years ago, they produce little, if any, in the way of goods and services for the people. At the same time unlike the steel and auto industries of today, they are highly profitable, bringing huge and immediate return on investments.

One small example of the effects of the widespread speculation going on in New York real estate is the recent sale of one East Broadway in Chinatown. Presently Asian Americans for Equality is fighting an eviction from its second floor offices along with other tenants in the building. Though the building was assessed at only \$39,000 ten years ago, it was recently sold to the Tong Real Estate Company for \$440,000. Within months of that sale it was resold at \$550,000, a quick \$110,000 profit. Prior to both transactions there were virtually no improvements made on the property. Yet in the first sale the former owners sold the building at a 1,000 percent increase from its previously assessed value. In turn the new owners sold the building again (dilapidated plumbing and all) for a big killing.

Another example is the growing popularity over the last few years of expensive high rise condominiums. In several instances however, the prices were so high that no one could afford to buy the apartments. A recent article in the real estate section of the Sunday New York Times told the story of a man unable to unload his 5½ room cooperative on the plush West Side for \$850,000. He was later forced to lower the price to \$800,000. "People are not waiting in line anymore," lamented Lester Stein, a part owner of a building on Sutton Place. Mr. Stein has been trying to sell a large studio apartment for \$155,000.

While unaffordable condominiums have cluttered the New York skyline these last five years, housing for most New Yorkers has grown even more scarce. Big landlords and real estate corporations have profited by hiking rents a phenomenal 119 percent over that period. Nationally the increase has been 25 percent. Recently tenants of "renovated" apartments on Henry Street in Chinatown were greeted with a whopping 300 percent increase in their rents. The boom in real estate far from benefiting the working people of New York has forced many of them to choose between higher rents or eviction.

Big Landlords Pay Koch

Not one to be behind the times, Mayor Koch has kept well in step with the expansion of the real estate industry in the city. Five years ago, the Industrial and Commercial Incentive Board (or more fondly known among real estate investors as ICIB) was established by Mr. Koch's predecessor, Mayor Beame. Since then Koch, through the board (whose members he appoints), has doled out anywhere between \$507 million to nearly \$700 million (depending on which estimates one uses) in tax breaks to Helmsley Spear and other land developers. Many of the tax exemptions have gone for the construction of luxury hotels and business offices in mid-town Manhattan. The tax abatement plan has come under so much fire from different quarters of the New York political scene (including mayoral candidate Frank Barbaro) that the Mayor has had to revise it.

Late in September, Karen N. Gerad, Chairman of ICIB, unveiled the new plan. Among the proposed changes is the establishment of area(s) in Manhattan, specifically 34th Street from the East River to the Avenue of the

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