

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

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Robert Goldstein

The Iranian revolution is now well into its third year, and it is taking many new and unexpected twists and turns. The masses' high hopes for freedom and a better life are fading away under a dictatorship of the Islamic Republican Party, a narrow sect composed of only 7,000 of the country's 80,000 mullahs, or Islamic priests. The united front of militant Islam, progressive nationalism and the left that brought the revolution to power has been wrecked. After months of struggle — sometimes peaceful, sometimes violent — the IRP has established a political monopoly, controlling the Parliament, the courts and legal system and now the presidency.

The Islamic Republican Party's sectarian activity has narrowed the support for the revolution and the Islamic revolutionary government. It has put the revolution at a crossroads. The IRP is seriously destabilizing Iran, threatening its independence and development.

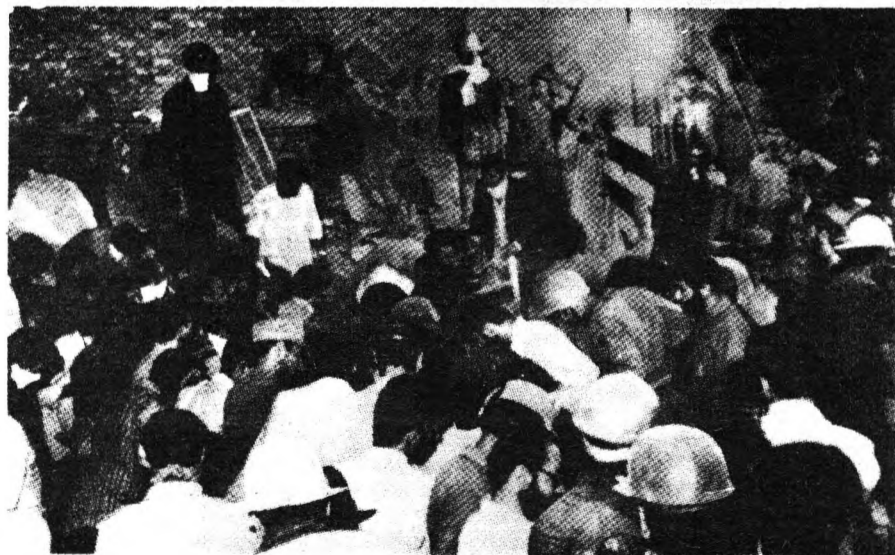
"In understanding the situation in Iran today," we wrote in the Sept. 1, 1979 issue of the Workers Viewpoint, "the starting point must be the concrete class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole, that is the four fundamental contradictions in the world today. And we must grasp tightly Lenin's teaching as our framework — that we are still in the era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution. Without this to ground us and guide our analysis, we can vacillate on principle — like opportunists who never grasped this from Kautsky and Trotsky, from Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, to scum like the opportunist Revolutionary 'Communist' Party, 'Communist' Party Marxist-Leninist and the League of Revolutionary Struggle — side-tracking our fight from the main enemies of the people of the world...."

"The main dividing line in Iran today is not what you say, but whether the various political groups actually in practice fight for Iranian independence from the two superpowers, and in that context continue the struggle for democracy and socialism, or serve as their agents. And for third world peoples and nations in the era of imperialism, that is the bottom line."

The Slogan of Victory

The recent removal from office of President Abolhassan Bani Sadr, the counter-revolutionary executions and purges in the army and other government institutions of leftists — mainly members and supporters of the Peoples Mojaheden Organization of Iran — have brought out into the open the opportunist policy and actions of Iran's leaders in the Islamic Republican Party. Since the revolution's victory in February 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini, other, more farsighted clergy and secular elements in the revolution have waged consistent fight against the IRP's interpretation of the revolution's meaning and its definition of the tasks following the revolution's victory.

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Abolhassan Bani Sadr (top) was forced from the presidency by the Islamic Republican Party. The IRP is jeopardizing Iran's chances for building its independence and economy. It has perverted the masses' revolutionary feelings into a fight against anything not in line with its interpretation of Islam. The IRP has brought chaos to Iran, giving the imperialists a chance to make trouble. A terrorist group with CIA links, Forghon, was at first blamed for the bomb blast at IRP headquarters (bottom), which killed 73 people, including the party's leader, Ayatollah Beheshti. The chances of this happening in a united, revolutionary Iran are slim.

The U.S. Government's Mercenary Connection 8

Watching the Watchers

Michael Johnson

The U.S. intelligence community has been targeted by both the conservatives and liberal reformers. Part of the infamous Heritage Foundation report is a comprehensive list of suggestions to improve intelligence in the interests of "efficiency," "national security" and to counter "terrorism." Many of these proposals are being implemented by the Reagan administration. These "reforms" are being put forward now because the U.S., faced with revolution in the third world and rising dissent at home, has to fall back on its last resort: outright repression.

For now, the attack is mainly ideological. As yet, the force of law is not a factor. Through fear of surveillance and prosecution, the ruling class hopes to drive people underground and keep them from organizing. Tactically, they want to split left and progressive activists and whip up anti-communism.

Proposals under consideration include an FBI "charter," a law against disclosing the identity of an agent or informer working for a U.S. intelligence agency, a split of the CIA into two separate agencies and an executive order expanding the powers of the CIA. The Clark Amendment, the only law specifically restricting intelligence activity (it prohibits CIA covert action in Angola), is under threat of repeal. Several of these proposals may be passed in the next few months.

If these laws are passed the U.S. will be several steps closer to outright fascism. Coupled with repressive laws like the Blitz Amendment, witch hunts by Congressional committees (like the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism) and more right wing judges on the courts, the stage will be set for a wholesale violation of constitutional rights and Gestapo tactics on an unprecedented scale.

There are genuine reforms which we

Dear Readers,

Following this issue, the Workers Viewpoint staff will be on vacation for two weeks. We will resume publication with the issue, August 26-September 1, 1981.

See you in two weeks!

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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Workers Viewpoint
GPO Box 2256
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do support. Any proposal like the Clark Amendment which specifically limits intelligence powers is a good, if only a piecemeal, measure. It's necessary to be wary of some reforms though. Attempts to define the power of intelligence agencies have resulted in giving them a license to do dirty tricks that were previously hidden and subject, at least, to a court interpretation of their legality.

"Reforming" the CIA

When President Carter issued his Executive Order 12036 in 1978, it was played up by the administration as a grand reform. It was supposed to restrict intelligence abuses (many of which had been uncovered in the Watergate scandal, causing a widespread public rebuke of the government and demand for changes). In fact, the executive order was not a reform but a step backward. Previously, practices like wiretapping, bugging and burglaries were a gray area of activity, somewhat shameful and not quite legal.

Under Carter's "reforms," all forms of surveillance are expressly authorized, provided they occur in the course of a "lawful investigation." No warrant is needed. And it leaves it up to the President or the agency involved to decide what is lawful. Carter's order was a license to continue spying against Americans in the interests of "national security."

The Reagan administration leaked a draft of an executive order which redefines the powers of the CIA. Some of its provisions include permitting the CIA and its informers to engage in electronic surveillance (i.e. bugging) in the U.S.; allowing surreptitious searches and seizures ("black bag" jobs) to be carried out under a blanket authorization from the Attorney General; and broadening the types of spying that can be used to investigate security leaks. The potential for First Amendment violations in this last provision alone is enormous.

The re-draft has been criticized for repealing and undermining parts of Carter's order. Actually, the only change that Reagan's executive order would make is that the Attorney General could authorize burglaries or buggings in general, not just for a specific investigation. (The President would be spared the effort of writing pardons for convicted FBI agents.) In either case, Fourth Amendment rights (prohibiting illegal search and seizure) are trampled underfoot.

The Reagan order has also been criticized for allowing the CIA to infiltrate and manipulate political groups in the U.S. The CIA is prohibited from doing this in the Carter order, but in such a way that the FBI is authorized to undertake such practices.

The Reagan proposals have to be seen as only a difference of degree from the Carter order. It is no repeal of genuine reforms but instead a *broadening and legalizing* of the repressive apparatus of the intelligence agencies. David Wise, who has written several books exposing intelligence activities, called this the "paradox of reform." Despite his correct stand against intelligence abuses, Wise could not see that there is no paradox. There is only the inevitable development of the intelligence community in a capitalist and imperialist country.

In the main, the problem of reform is posed as "how can we have a useful intelligence system in a 'free society'?" As a result, reformists seldom see intelligence as an inevitable and inherently repressive arm of a capitalist class. There is no way to clean up the CIA or FBI. Their character and practices are

totally bound up with the imperialist aims and policies of the U.S. government. Intelligence abuses are not only caused by paranoid FBI directors or power-hungry National Security chiefs. These abuses are required and sanctioned by the very nature of capitalist society itself.

An intelligence network is a necessity for every state power. But that network will inevitably reflect the class nature of that country. In a socialist country, the aim of intelligence is principally defensive. This may include actions such as searching out secrets and weaponry that may be used against socialist and third world countries. Imperialist intelligence is used aggressively to prop up repressive regimes (for example Iran under the Shah), subvert popular governments (Allende in Chile) and infiltrate and destroy liberation movements (Angola). At home, it aims at destroying and defusing legitimate protest, especially communist organizing.

Genuine reforms are ones which succeed in limiting the powers of the intelligence agencies. The Clark Amendment was a victory because it explicitly prohibited certain activities. Making the intelligence agencies subject to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) had a chilling effect on covert activities disclosed in reports. But both these reforms are under attack by the intelligence community, to the extent that information under the FOIA has been almost unattainable due to bureaucratic and legal manoeuvrings. And, more recently, the Justice Dept. issued guidelines allowing its agencies to refuse almost all requests. Congressional oversight of intelligence activities as required in the Hughes-Ryan Act is being attacked and weakened by limiting the number of committees which have responsibility for intelligence control.

A number of so-called reforms have been proposed and pushed by the intelligence agencies themselves. Their purpose is to protect the intelligence community and define powers so as to give them legal sanction for their repressive actions. The Intelligence Agency Protection Act of 1981, known as the "Names of Agents" bill (S.391), is currently being considered by Congress. It received a lot of attention because it openly attacks First Amendment rights. Aimed at publications like "Covert Action" magazine, which has publicly disclosed the names of CIA agents in other countries, the bill

makes it a criminal act to publish or disclose the names or identities of covert agents, including informants, even if their identity is revealed only through unclassified sources. The bill has been reported out of the Security and Terrorism subcommittee to the full Judiciary Committee — a step closer to passage.

The proposed FBI charter is another of the "reforms" that is actually a license for mischief. Although it requires Congressional approval, this charter is being drawn up by the FBI itself. By clearly defining its powers to carry on shadowy practices like buggings and wiretaps, the FBI will actually be expanding its powers without fear of legal hassles from its victims.

The power of the FBI and agencies doing investigations will also be expanded if any of several crime control bills are passed. These bills supposedly are aimed at organized crime, but include sections that make it easier to investigate lawful political protest groups. Informers and agents would be protected from disclosure and prosecution. Infiltrators and agent provocateurs will be planted in organizations without fear of reprisal.

All of these dirty trick techniques have been used in the past. The difference now is that the government is making these tactics legally untouchable. The result is the hacking away at Constitutional rights of freedom of speech, privacy, and freedom from illegal search and seizure and self-incrimination.

The program of stepped up repression is the last ditch defense of a government in crisis. The repressive achievement in the past (Palmer Raids, McCarthyism, COINTELPRO) were not the product of clever planning and investigations. They were blind attacks on all kinds of individuals and organizations engaged in protest actions ranging from peaceful non-violence to full-scale community organizing. The successes were due to a lack of leadership for the masses and illusions about democracy. The Communist Party, U.S.A., for example, failed to lead an ideological and organizational counterattack during the McCarthy era.

It is obvious that most of these reforms are preparations for another sweep of the left. Our principle weapons are to be informed and organized to fight these attacks.

Michael Johnson is a regular reader and contributor to the WV.

After Delay, DNC Trial Begins

The trial of Jesse Keyes, previously set for July 13, will begin August 3. Jesse Keys is charged with two felonies, assault on a police officer, and possession of a deadly weapon (a stick). Mr. Keyes was arrested on August 14, 1980, the last day of the Democratic National Convention, when CWP supporters were beginning a militant demonstration at the New York Plaza Hotel where former President Carter was scheduled to speak. Police charged and swung batons at the demonstrators as they arrived at the hotel site. The main purpose of the demonstration was to spotlight the previously little-publicized murders of five CWP members in Greensboro, N.C. in 1979 by Klan and Nazis. The murder's trail implicated direct involvement and supervision by an agent of the Justice Department Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and implicated White House interest and cover-up in the murders.

Murder at the Hyatt

KANSAS CITY, MO — On July 17, two of the three "sky bridges" spanning the lobby of the Hyatt Regency Hotel collapsed onto hundreds of people who attended the weekly "Tea Dance" contest. The death toll stands at 113 persons, with another 190 in the hospital with serious injuries. Fifteen of those hospitalized are in critical condition.

At this point, the immediate sequence of the collapse is not clear. The lobby ceiling at the Hyatt is four-stories high, with the walkways suspended from it by steel rods. The

walkways, one on each floor, connect guest rooms on one side of the lobby with conference rooms on the other side. Investigators aren't sure if the fourth-story bridge broke first and fell onto the second-level or the lower walkway broke first and pulled down the higher one.

Initial reports blamed the victims for the tragedy. According to this argument, the bridges collapsed because too many people were standing and dancing on them. However, there are indications that the blame actually lies

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Contribute to CWP 5 Tombstone Fund

Dear Friends and comrades:

On Nov. 3, 1979, five members of the Communist Workers Party — 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. 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 the banner and are carrying on the spirit of the five.

Much has happened since Nov. 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 their loved ones. We were able to beat back this outrageous attempt to "censor" gravemarkers and to not allow the truth of Nov. 3 to be told throughout history on the tombstone.

The significance of the gravemarker, as (for example) that of the Haymarket martyrs, is not only for the family and comrades of the slain, but for future generations to understand what happened on Nov. 3 in the context of the 1980s in the history of U.S. im-

perialism and socialist revolution. Already the caretaker of the cemetery tells us that many people ask to be directed to the grave each week and want to know the true story of the murders.

For this reason, we are asking for your help in raising the necessary money — \$5,000 — it will cost to complete the stone. We plan to have the marker placed by Nov. 3, 1981.

Your contribution will help ensure that the truth about the Nov. 3 murder of Jim, Bill, Sandi, Mike and Cesar is told throughout the years.

Please make contributions payable to:

Dale Sampson, P.O. Box 2256,
New York, N.Y. 10116

Sincerely,
Dale Sampson
Marti Nathan
Florin Cauce
Signe Waller

All contributions will go for the stone; any excess will go to the surviving children.

Jim Waller, Bill Sampson, Mike Nathan and Cesar Cauce are buried at Maplewood Cemetery in Greensboro, N.C. Sandi Smith is buried in South Carolina.

Black United Front Convention

Imoja

The National Black United Front held its second annual National Conference in Brooklyn, N.Y. An estimated 400-700 people attended the four-day conference, working under the theme of "Organizing for Victory in the 80's."

Founded just over a year ago, the NBUF, just like the National Black Independent Political Party, is going through organizational growing pains. Both parties face the same challenge — becoming viable organizations which will respond to the growing attacks on black people and to provide alternatives.

While the NBUF has grown from four to 17 chapters within the last year, attendance at the conference was down from the 1,000 of last year. It is no easy job to build a national organization that can mobilize the masses of black people against the attacks from the Reagan economic plan, right-wing terror or infringement on blacks' right to vote. A positive step toward building that type of organization was the adoption of the NBUF constitution.

Growth Through Struggle

The NBUF constitution mandated the building of each of the NBUF chapters and to strive to bring 50 percent women into leadership positions. The constitution also mandated that each of the workshops (which ranged from housing to health care, from police brutality to international affairs) adopt an "achievable" plan of action for the next year.

Although the various workshops produced many resolutions, in the final analysis, it will be the character of the NBUF that will determine whether it will survive or not. If the NBUF can have a fighting character that will respond militantly to those aforementioned attacks on Afro-Americans, the potential of the NBUF as a force in the Black Liberation Movement is almost limitless.

This year's conference also developed a national plan of action called the "Campaign of Unity Against Genocide." This campaign will have four main areas in which the NBUF as a national organization will organize around in the coming year. They are mobilization against the Reagan foreign policy and support for the national liberation movements, mobilization against racist violence, including police brutality and the Klan, mobiliza-

tion against budget cutbacks against blacks and the poor, and mobilization for public pressure on the Congress to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

According to Rev. Herbert Daughtry, who was elected to another two year term as national chairperson, "We hope to heighten black peoples' political consciousness with this campaign and at the same time try to bring people to the level where they begin to question the fundamental nature of this system."

Long Road Ahead

Reverend Daughtry's keynote address to the conference served notice to the Reagan administration and his monopoly capitalist bosses. "No devil in hell, no devil on Wall Street, no devil in corporate America will be able to stand against the might of the people. What we have achieved today is a concrete demonstration of the unity we shall have as we confront Reagan's genocidal policies, as we confront the KKK and all other racists that we see from day to day. We're unified and we shall be victorious in the 1980s." The crowd rose at the powerful words of Rev. Daughtry and chanted, "Forward together, backward never," for a full five minutes.

Both the National Black United Front and the National Black Independent Political Party have their work cut out for them. If they can respond effectively and militantly to those issues that affect black people, then black people will see those organizations as their representatives. They will both have to seek progressive allies in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. This means unity with forces on the left as well as middle forces that are being sucked dry by Reagan's economic policies.

The NBUF and the NBIPP are turning the corner. They have the potential to become real forces in the Black Liberation Movement and the potential to push the whole Black Liberation Movement forward. If they can turn that corner, it will be a qualitative leap that would reflect a certain maturity of the forces in the Black Liberation Movement. The effects of Reaganomics are being felt. There is no doubt that these policies will have the same results as Thatcherism had in England. It is literally a race against time to organize black people to fight these genocidal policies. □

Atlanta's Children— No Safer After Arrest



Suspect Wayne Williams is led to a police car on way to a hearing.

ATLANTA, GA — It was like a scene straight out of a "B" movie — while G-men watched, local police descended upon the suspect's refuge and led him away in handcuffs after two weeks of round-the-clock surveillance.

And so it was that Wayne B. Williams, 23, an electronics wizard and aspiring producer was arrested and charged with killing Jimmy Ray Payne, 21, and Nathaniel Cater, 27, whose bodies were found in April and May in the Chattahoochee River.

Williams was interrogated for 12 hours on June 3 and was then released. After weeks of publicity and surveillance, he and his father attempted to charter a flight to South America. Police said that the period of surveillance was designed to pressure Williams into a confession, but the delay in arresting him was probably due to internal disputes as to whether there was a case against Williams.

At this point, it appears the case against Williams hinges on circumstantial evidence and sightings that link Williams with several of the 28 murder victims. A crime lab technician testified before a grand jury that fibers taken from Williams' rug and his dog match fibers found on Cater and Payne. On the basis of what has been leaked to the press, it is difficult to determine whether there is further evidence that more concretely ties Williams to the murders, or that the "microscopic" evidence at hand is enough to convict him. What is clear, however, is that the ponderous FBI and police investigation into the remaining murder cases has slowed to a lethargic pace.

How safe are the children of Atlanta, now that a suspect has been charged with two of the murders? The "wheels of justice" appear to have ground to a halt and there is no news of further in-

vestigations that might lead to other suspects. Though some 15,000 children are kept busy and protected in the city's Project Safe recreation program, the murderers of their 28 companions and playmates are still at large.

Many Atlantans are angry because they acknowledge that police and city politicians frittered away an early opportunity to catch the killers when they refused to link the first murders together, and failed to make special investigatory efforts.

"They had to kill six before anybody cared enough to start pulling it together," one man lamented. "The killer had his game down pat by then." Other residents feel that the federal government rushed the city into making an arrest. "Reagan didn't give all that money to the city for nothing," said one of the many people who hang out along MLK Jr. Boulevard. "Reagan told the governor and everybody else that he wanted something back, and Wayne Williams is the something they gave him."

After Williams was arrested, six FBI agents who were assigned to his surveillance were withdrawn from the investigation. A spokesperson for Maynard Jackson, the mayor of Atlanta, said, "They've arrested Williams, so now they've pulled those agents out." In addition, Fulton and DeKalb counties have pulled their investigators off the joint task force to conduct independent investigations of the deaths that occurred in their counties. It appears that the task force is being quietly dismantled.

The grim fact remains that two years after 13-year-old Alfred Evans and 14-year-old Edward Smith were found murdered on July 28, 1979, only one person has been indicted. Ten-year-old Darron Glass, missing since last september, still has not been added to the list of victims because his body was never found. □

NATIONAL NEWS

No Fix In Sight for NYC Transit

Dave Young

Just hours after the New York Metropolitan Transit Authority raised fares from 60 to 75 cents, motorman Jesse Cole was killed and 135 passengers were injured in a massive subway collision. The timing of these two events in early July may be coincidence but it underscores a basic fact of life in New York City. As the mass transit system deteriorates and fares keep going up, safety, working conditions and service get worse and worse.

The addition of 15 cents is the eighth fare increase since 1948, when the fare was 10 cents. In the past thirty years, the cost of a subway or bus ride in New York City has jumped 750%. Within that time, little has been done for much needed capital improvements, such as new cars, renovating subway stations or replacing obsolete signal systems.

Basic maintenance has been neglected because of budget cutbacks. The broken signals that contributed to Jesse Cole's death were installed in 1918. They were not scheduled for replacement until 1994. The same signal system exists on large sections of other lines, including the entire Interborough Rapid Transit (IRT) Flushing line in Queens. Some 28 miles of track are without modern signal lights which automatically trip a train's brakes if it tries to pass a red or malfunctioning light.

Despite evidence of such widespread hazards, Transit Authority President John Simpson tried to blame the crash on human error. Simpson remarked at the scene of the accident that Cole "did not follow the rules of the railroad and apparently created an unsafe condition." Already bitter over the Transit Authority's threat to force greater productivity by withholding the scheduled cost of living increase in October, transit workers did not allow Simpson's charges to go unchallenged.

About 1,000 members of Transport Workers Union Local 100 went to Jesse Cole's funeral. A group of workers used the occasion to organize a sick out. They wanted to call attention to the decaying conditions on the subway which led to a coworker's unnecessary death. The next day, TWU Local 100 officially demonstrated in front of MTA headquarters, demanding safety in the signal system and an end to the use of single trackmen. The second demand arose from the death of trackman, Albert Lamberti, run over by a train in the Bronx.

TWU Local 100 President John Lawe advised motormen not to pass any inoperative signals until officials ordered them to move the train. Due to the large number of faulty signals and breakdowns in communications, motormen often use their own discretion when passing dead signals. Asked if his recommendations amount to a rulebook slowdown, Lawe said, "If we were to run by the book, that thing wouldn't be rolling at all."

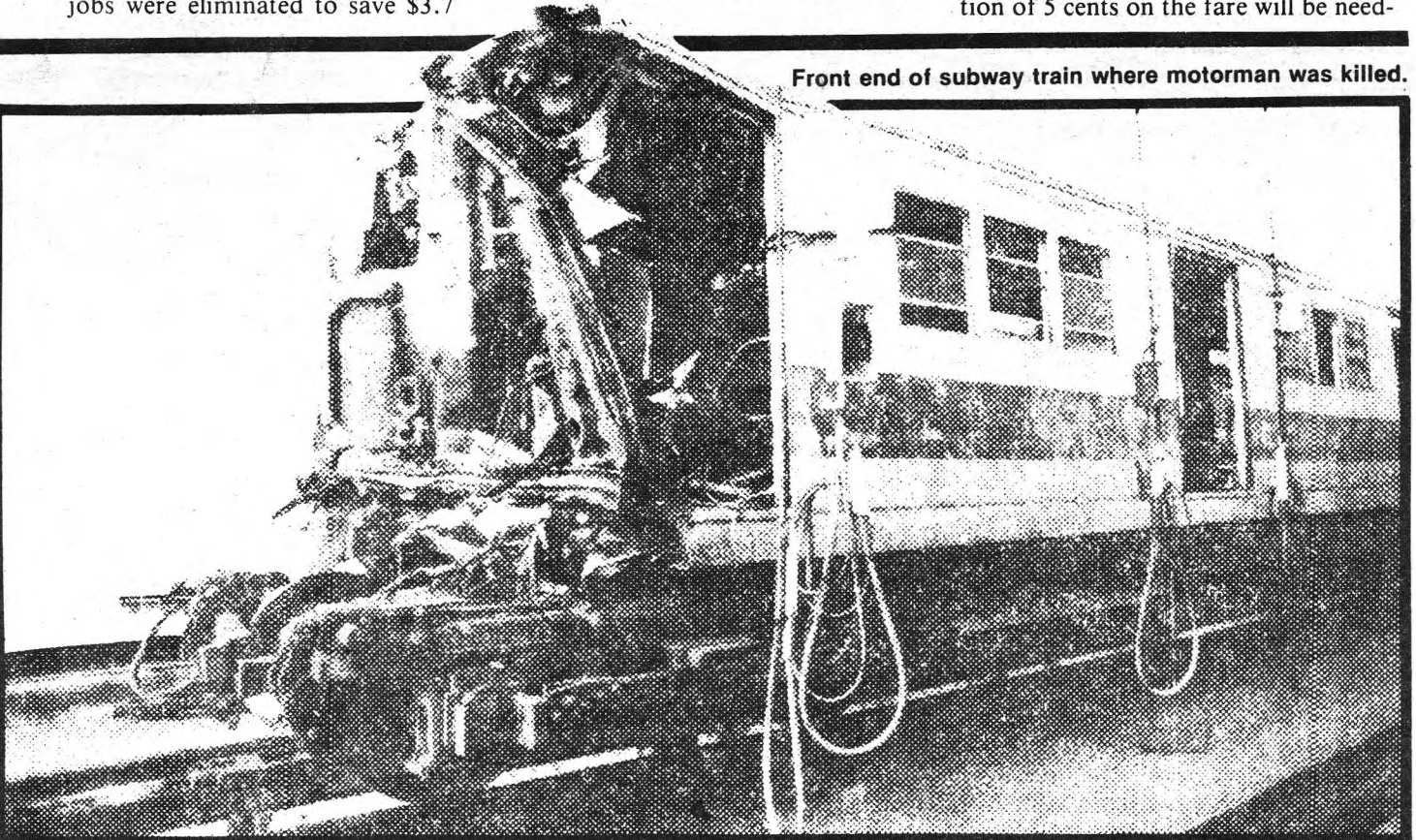
Running on Borrowed Time

In the past six months, New Yorkers suffered terrible mass transit service. A subway ride has turned into a nightmare, with constant breakdowns, delays, fires, broken airconditioning, excessive noise and overcrowding. Last January ranks as the worst month in the subway's 75-year history. Train shortages forced a cancellation of 430 trips a day. This is a 260% increase over the January 1977 figure. On January 14, the MTA was short 168 trains during the morning rush hour.

Overall, there have been 75% more train breakdowns this year than in 1968.

On reason for this dramatic deterioration is a total breakdown in basic maintenance. Since the 1975 New York City fiscal crisis, the MTA followed a policy of deferred maintenance. This is just a nice name for budget cuts and suspension of essential repair programs. They include the following.

- The interval between subway car inspections was lengthened from three months to four months.
- The weekly upgrading program, such as replacing brake components, was ended to eliminate 54 jobs and save \$2.17 million a year.
- Car door maintenance was dropped to eliminate 37 jobs and save \$1.5 million a year.
- 29 road car inspectors who performed quick checks before a car goes into service were eliminated to save \$780,000 a year.
- Cleaning of emergency exits and air vents was ended to eliminate 179 jobs and save \$4 million a year.
- Trash collection and car cleaning was cut back to eliminate 42 jobs and save \$1 million a year.
- 169 signal equipment maintenance jobs were eliminated to save \$3.7



Front end of subway train where motorman was killed.

million a year.

This policy speeded the ongoing decay within the transit system. "The spinoff of deferred maintenance is that you run down your equipment to the point it becomes undependable," said MTA spokesman Arthur Perfall. "Part of what's built into the 30-35 year life span of a subway car is the assumption that preventive maintenance will be done. Otherwise, it's not going to last that long." Given that most of the MTA's facilities were built before 1940, the transit system of 1981 is running on borrowed time.

The transit authority has never allocated enough money for capital improvements. Its capital budget runs between \$250 to \$300 million a year. "If you're in private industry and you have a \$27 billion plant, you would have to spend, expect to spend between four percent to eight percent on capital replacement every year to maintain the plant at a proper level," said John de

Roos, former head of the transit authority. "That would be around \$1.5 billion a year. You can see how far we are behind." To underline this point, MTA Chairman Richard Ravitch predicts that \$10 billion must be spent over the next decade to restore the system to a state of good repair.

Ruling Class Cannot Afford to Let Mass Transit Collapse

Recent statements by New York government officials show they cannot afford to let mass transit crumble. New York State Comptroller Edward Regan warned that corporations will move their headquarters if the transit system continues to collapse. He said, "I fear that as the journey to work becomes more burdensome because of transit woes, the same process (as in the sixties when corporate headquarters moved due to higher taxes) would be repeating itself." New York City Mayor Edward Koch said, "I've got to prioritize and mass transit is my number one priority."

Business losses due to transit delays amount to \$165 million a year. It's estimated that every rider experiences an average of two 25-minute delays each week. Roger M. Krubarych, vice president for research at the Federal Reserve Bank, said the losses represent a fall in real income as great as if the city income tax were doubled. "Mass transit, perhaps more than anything else, contributes to the overall business health of a region," concluded Orin Kramer, a NYC specialist and aid to former president Jimmy Carter.

This growing alarm over the repercussions of the transit crisis among the ruling class forced the New York State legislature to finally come up with a package to finance mass transit. In ad-

No sooner was the package passed did New York City officials say they were afraid the city would be unable to collect the taxes. Karen N. Gerard, Deputy Mayor for Economic Development and Policy warned that the capital gains tax was unpredictable and there were ways to circumvent it. City officials were also afraid that trucking and shipping companies will move their operations out of the city.

An immediate reaction came from the oil companies. Mobil threatened a price increase to pass the cost of the tax onto the consumer. This is part of an ongoing battle the oil companies have been waging over paying taxes. They challenged a previous oil receipts tax in the courts because it had a clause barring them from passing on the cost in the form of higher prices. Several companies simply refused to pay. The June 15 quarterly payment yielded only \$5.8 million out of an expected \$30 million. In June, a federal appeals court backed up the oil monopolies by declaring the anti-pass along provision unconstitutional. Now there is the possibility that New York State may have to return almost \$100 million that the oil companies had paid on this tax.

These developments raise the question of who will pay to fix the transit mess. Under the present circumstances, the costs will fall on the people, either directly in terms of a fare increase and sales taxes or indirectly in terms of higher prices. The same problem looms over the \$5.6 billion bond issue. Felix Rohatyn, investment banker in charge of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, warned there is a very small chance of getting good terms on city bonds. Ravitch estimates that an addition of 5 cents on the fare will be need-

ed to cover the sale of each \$500 million in bonds.

This question will ultimately be answered by the people's resistance. When Mobil announced its price increase, a coalition of civic groups, churches, block and tenant associations including the Citizens Alliance, the Straphangers Association and the New York Public Interest Research Group held news conferences in eight cities to call for a boycott of Mobil products.

Tax Corporate Profits, Not the People

The tax package includes a ¼ cent increase in the sales tax for the 12 regions served by the MTA. This will cost the people \$232 million over two years. The other four taxes include a 10 percent capital gains tax on transfer of commercial and industrial real estates within New York City, a "long lines" tax of 0.75 percent, the in-state portion of interstate communications and transportation services, a change in the way of computing oil company profits and a 0.75 percent gross receipts tax on the oil companies.

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No doubt this was instrumental in forcing Mobil to reduce its price increase from three cents to 1.3 cents a gallon. Behind this fight is the larger issue of where a steady source of revenue for transit will come from. Instead of packages that place the ultimate cost on the people, a tax should be put on the profits of the oil monopolies, banks, utilities and other multi-million dollar corporations. □

Anti-Hunger Conference Looks for New Direction

Jim Davis

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 12-16 —Seventy-five organizers for the National Anti-Hunger Coalition, came together at George Washington University this week to sum up the group's past work and map out the fight against the Reagan Administration's budget cuts slated to go into effect this October. Several months ago, on May 9, rallies, press conferences and other activities against the cuts were carried out in 120 cities by the coalition. From California to Delaware, organizers shared with others the lessons of the past several months of organizing.

One organizer from the State of Washington told the audience a brief story about the rally in Seattle. At first police tried to disrupt the demonstration because the sound truck was "illegally" parked on the grass. She explained, "When the cops warned me that if we didn't move the van it would be a \$2,600 fine, I told them 'if you can find \$2,600 out of my welfare grant that I'm not using, you're welcomed to it.'" After that the police backed off.

More Militant Actions Needed

"We're too passive. We've got to go out on the streets more. If going out on the streets is revolutionary, damn then let's be revolutionary," shouted a woman from the audience. "In Pennsylvania when they stopped the welfare checks, a group of us sat in overnight at Governor Thornburg's office. And you know that? The next day the State legislature released those checks." Others at the conference shared similar feelings about the coalition's work.

Included among the list of speakers were Congressman Walter Fauntroy, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Donald Smith of the American Friends Service Committee, Kay Crawford, a Washington lobbyist for the National Low-Income Housing Coalition, Marvin Kaplan, a Washington area representative for the AFL-CIO and Brian Becker from the Peoples Anti-War Mobilization (PAM).

Mr. Smith denounced the conciliatory actions of Congressional Democrats in the passage of the Reagan Administration's package of

budget cuts. "We do not have a two-party system in this country. We only have one party, a party of the rich," added Mr. Smith. Ms. Crawford followed by saying, "In 1982 we've got to talk about changing the people in Congress. I'm not just talking about electing another Democrat. We've got to get people fighting for the grassroots people."

Block Grants — Fighting on Their Terms

Throughout the conference, discussions were carried out over the strategy to fight the upcoming block grants in different states. As a result of budget bills passed in the House and Senate (HR 3982, S1377), more block grants programs were scheduled to be established in the areas of education, health, social and other community services. In addition the past requirement of matching state funds for various programs would be eliminated. State government's would also be able to exercise the option of transferring up to 10 percent of a state's allotment from one program to another.

One proposal for fighting, the block grant scheme was brought before the conference by members of the California delegation. Recently various groups helped organize the passage of a bill in the California legislature that called for the "equal reductions" in funds of every block grant program if cuts were to be made. The reason given for this was to prevent any pitting of different programs against each other.

Politically this is dangerous because it helps in the process of diffusing the fight against the Reagan cuts. Different state legislatures and not the federal government would become the target of anti-budget cut forces.

Welfare for the Corporations

In the workshops on tax issues and local organizing, Jay Angoff from Congress Watch helped outline some of the tremendous tax-loopholes that exist for various corporations to take advantage of. Annual corporation tax write-offs total over \$260 billion. Mr. Angoff singled out the Refundable Investment Credit which corporations in steel, auto and other declining in-

dustries exploit to the tune of some \$3.3 billion a year. Mr. Angoff added that the Reagan administration proposal based on the theory of supply-side economics would further shift the tax burden on poor and working Americans.

For example in 1955, corporation taxes accounted for 30 percent of the federal government's total tax revenue. In 1980 it dropped to 12 percent and according to Treasury Department estimates it'll fall to a ridiculous 6 percent by 1986. In some instances because of various tax shelters made available by the present administration, several corporations may even receive money from the federal government. He concluded that "supply-side economics boils down to a trust the rich theory. If you give poor and working people money, they'll spend it, but if you give it to the rich, in theory at least they're supposed to invest it. But there's no guarantee that they'll invest

where you want them to."

Which Way Forward

Delegates voted to endorse the upcoming Solidarity Rally against the Reagan cuts on September 19 that was called for by the AFL-CIO. Although many people were interested in how efforts could be started to build for the demonstration, Mr. Kaplan was unable to present any specific plans. The conference also voted to conditionally support the All-Peoples Congress in October sponsored by the Peoples Anti-War Mobilization. Full participation of the coalition hinged on negotiations between PAM and the coalition's steering committee about the input the coalition would have in building for the Detroit conference.

More militant actions were also proposed but died because of lack of discussion. One proposal called for a nation-wide organizing effort to get all CETA workers laid off on September 29 (when the cuts go into effect) to jam unemployment offices the same day. It was not voted on because some delegates felt that the coalition was not ready to take up nationally coordinated actions so soon. The consensus of most delegates was to stick to the food issues and direct most of the coalition's energies and resources into strengthening the state and local organizations. □



Demonstrations such as this one in Atlanta on May 9 were organized by the National Anti-Hunger Coalition

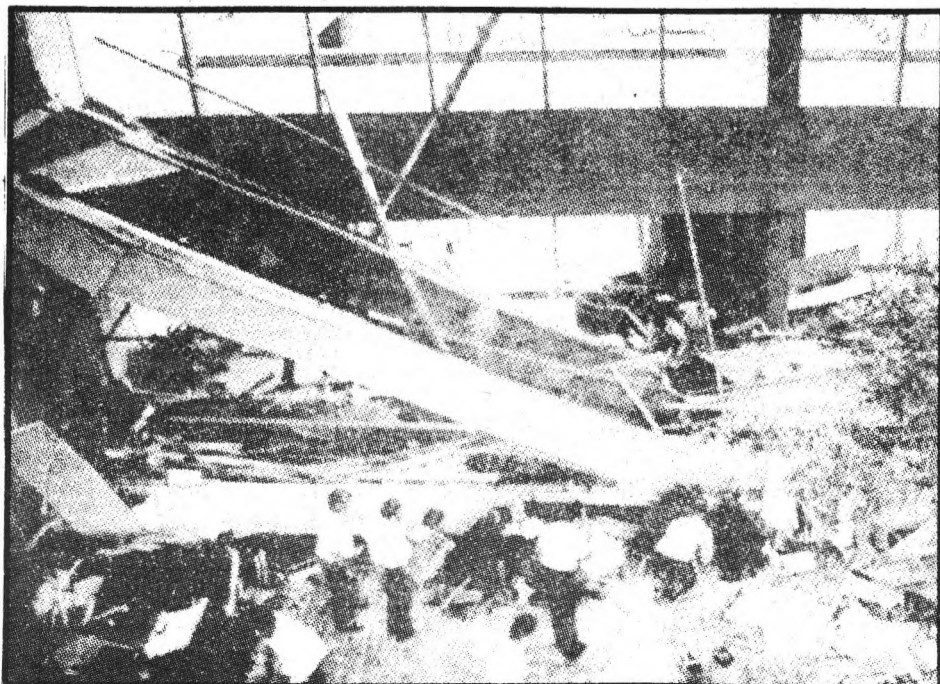
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...Hyatt

with capitalist greed and government corruption.

First, there is evidence that corners

were cut in the hotel's construction, and that city officials allowed this. The original plan for the walkways, which



the city examined and approved, calls for each to be independently connected to the ceiling. Yet, this plan was scrapped for one which links both the second and fourth-story bridges to the roof together. Investigators have also found critical washers missing from two of the support rods. Gary Blaurock, an employee of a cement-testing firm, says he witnessed city building inspectors receiving money from the hotel construction foreman. Since he stepped forward, Blaurock's life has been threatened.

In addition, there are doubts about the strength of the roof itself. On July 23, Occupational Health and Safety Administration officials reported that the Hyatt roof had collapsed during construction two years ago, killing one worker. At the time, the owners denied that this was due to faulty construction or design, and the city didn't make a big deal about the incident.

Second, the owners have apparently obstructed investigators' attempt to find out the real cause of the July 17 tragedy. On July 23, the third-floor walkway which did not fall was taken down despite objections from Kansas City Mayor Richard L. Berkeley that

this would make it harder to find the cause. "I don't know why the removal needed to be done in the middle of the night," said Berkley. "It seems to me that this kind of action does not build public confidence." The mayor was told he had no legal authority to prevent the removal.

Inspection of the undamaged walkway "would have been very useful," commented Dr. Edward Pfang, chief of the National Bureau of Standards' structures and materials division and an expert in building failures. Because that bridge has been taken down, "there are certain dynamic tests that simply cannot be run — if you want to study the impact of someone dancing, let's say." So far, Bureau investigators have been denied permission to examine the site.

According to a spokesman for the Crown Center Corp., the subsidiary of Hallmark Cards, Inc. which owns and operates the Hyatt, the walkway was removed because it "presented a hazard" to workmen and others inside the building. Several suits against the owners for negligence have already been filed, and more are expected.

No Passport Out

Autoworkers Speak Their Minds

Clair Holland

I think people had illusions of making it, you know the old Horatio Alger myth, when they didn't really have it in the first place. But they convinced themselves they did." Scott, a white autoworker in Detroit, sat at his kitchen table and discussed his view of the future. "My wife and I are the kind of people who say to hell with the bills, I'm going fishing. Because you gotta live. But it's rough getting all those threatening letters."

For Detroit autoworkers the prosperity of the '60s and '70s is turning into a bitter joke. As Scott said, "we never had it in the first place." The '80s economic crisis has thrown autoworkers from a position of relative stability and economic security to the uncertainty of plant shutdowns, layoffs, the unemployment line, and now the welfare rolls. The sharp downturn has been a jolt, creating a lot of confusion, anger, and frustration. In this last article in a series Detroit autoworkers discuss the effects of the crisis on their families and their outlooks on what's ahead.

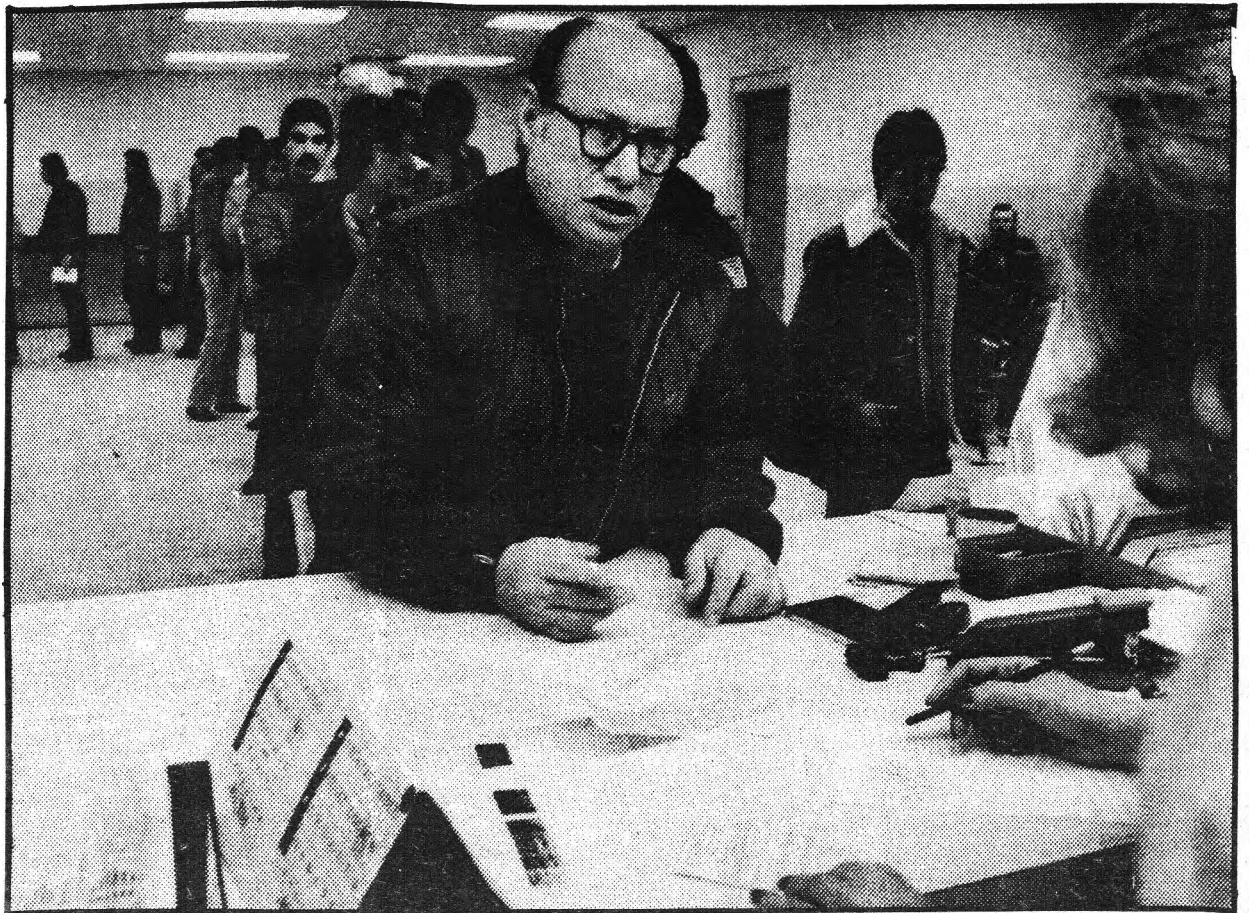
Mortgaging the Future

The death of U.S. auto can be directly attributed to the capitalists' policies to fend off economic crisis in the post-World War II decades. During the '50s, '60s, and '70s the government relied on the policy of artificially creating outlets for the capitalists to invest through government funding, especially the military. The double-digit inflation we have been facing is the result of the government's deficit financing—printing up money—to cover all this spending. Since workers could not afford to buy the products they themselves produced—the fundamental cause of capitalist economic crisis—the government and bankers also artificially stimulated purchasing power through a massive expansion of consumer credit. Everyone was encouraged to buy a slice of the American dream and pay for it with Mastercharge and bank loans. Detroit's working class suburbs mushroomed as workers bought houses, cars, and campers, and made plans for their kids' college educations—passports out of the working class. But it was an illusory prosperity, built on credit and owed to the bank. And it was paid for by monstrous taxes and today's searing inflation.

The dreams have cracked. The ugly truth is that over 200,000 autoworkers nationally are laid off. In Detroit over 60% of the people are on some form of state or federal assistance (unemployment, public aid, or food stamps). Cars, boats, and even houses are being repossessed or sold. Inflation is robbing autoworkers of wage gains won in the past 20 years.

Barb, who's been laid off for over a year from Chrysler, has run out of benefits. She and her husband Larry, also laid off, talked about the changing consciousness of white autoworkers. "One thing about autoworkers—when they were working, if they had nine or 10 years seniority, they could buy campers, boats, two cars, and a nice little house out in the suburbs. Now all of a sudden they can't afford these things, and they're having to sell them. Sell the camper, sell the boat. But I don't know too many white autoworkers that have really been hit by it yet, where they're to the point of welfare and selling their homes. . . . They're still getting by."

But Larry is making some drastic predictions. "Most of the autoworkers around here have 10, 15 years seniority. They're pretty much well-established. They've already bought their homes. Paid for them. Might have some money in the bank. . . . They still haven't really been hit. But the last several months here in Michigan, 20-30,000 a month are losing their benefits. That's only been happening since the first of this year. This summer there's going to be significant numbers of unemployed autoworkers out of benefits. It's only trickling but it's starting to add up. Every month there's 20-30,000 more. There's no jobs. People are moving. The ones who are having their wages cut are really going to bitch. The ones who have always been poor are used to it. They expect it. But the ones who have been up there for a real long time, they're the ones. They're going to be shocked. Look at Michigan unemployment offices. The lines are small now. What it is is people just run



out of benefits. . . . Like my brother, he thinks you can still make it, but when it hits him, it's really going to wake him up."

Sun Belt — Hoovervilles of the 80s

The economic instability is a drastic change. After World War II people came up from Kentucky and Tennessee and from the South for the better-paying jobs in auto. The 1980s are bringing a new phenomenon.

On Monday mornings people line up for the papers, not the *Detroit Free Press*, but the papers from Dallas, Houston, and Phoenix — the Sun Belt. People are selling their houses, packing up and moving west and southwest where there are still some jobs.

Larry said, "People are moving. A friend of mine moved to California. A couple others moved. They're moving to the Sun Belt. It's like the Okies of the 1930s. You know, the *Grapes of Wrath*. But these jobs aren't your general labor jobs. These people had some kind of skill."

When Scott was laid off from Chrysler he went out west on his motorcycle to look for work. But he came back. He thinks the Sun Belt is going to become like the Hoovervilles of the 30s.

Family Life Torn Apart

Even though Scott's working, inflation and high taxes have changed his life style. "Recreation, that's the first to go. Vacation? What's a vacation?"

Barb described a typical, established white autoworker. "A friend of ours says things are falling apart. He's an autoworker and he has three kids. And they can't afford anything. They're struggling week by week to get by. He's working but he works for Chrysler so their wages have been cut. He's a journeyman, but he's not working his job and he still makes the same as on the assembly line. He got bumped down. It's really hurting the family. They were always able to give the kids whatever they wanted. They could take vacations; this year they can't even take vacations because the gas it takes to haul a trailer up north. Mostly it hurts the children because they were never people to go out. Mostly it's that they can't buy the kids what they have always been able to buy them. And they can't afford recreation for the family."

After 40-60 hours a week breaking their backs on the jobs, a lot of autoworkers are asking, "What's it

all for?" when their standard of living is dropping and there's not money or time to relax together as a family.

Al, a white worker from Tennessee, works at GM. Other autoworkers are laid off but he's currently working six days a week, and it's still a struggle to make ends meet. The economic pressures plus the strain of the job for those who are working is tearing up the family.

"It's made us uptight," Al admitted. "I'm making top dollar and we can't have stuff we'd like. We have our spats. More than likely, it makes her uptight," nodding to his wife Diane. "I went through one divorce and money was one of the problems." Diane added, "Most of your family problems revert back to money. But money alone wouldn't solve it."

By Al describing his day, you can see why. "I leave the house at 4 p.m. Go to work a little early to get a parking place before it fills up. I get home at 4:30 in the morning. That's 12 hours later. I go to bed anywhere between 5 to 5:30. I get up at 2:00 p.m. I get my shower, eat and go out the door. That's family life! Last night I almost fell asleep driving home. Weekends are the only time we have to spend together, and then I'm so tired I don't feel like doing anything. On Mondays I feel like I've already worked a week. I could go day shift, but then I'd be on the line and I'd be even more tired."

A big difference between the Great Depression and now is that American workers don't have families to fall back on to cushion the blows of the crisis. Even when the bottom dropped out financially in the 30s, the family was a great source of strength to pull together and pull them through. Today the bottom just drops out. One out of every three marriages ends in divorce. Suicide is the fourth biggest cause of death for women between the ages of 15 and 44. Homicide is the fifth. This decay in the whole social fabric and family unit is a feature of the 80s that drives much deeper into people's lives.

No Future For Kids

It's in the talk about their kids and their futures that disillusionment and bitterness come to the surface. All the overtime and the back-breaking pace of the assembly line was supposed to pay off in a better life for their children — college and the road out of the working class. For these families that was the American dream. The death of that dream is forcing so many to ask; "What went wrong? And what was it

all for?"

"Will it be better for my kids? No." Al shook his head. "I got one kid and I'd like to have another one but the way things are getting I really hate to bring another one into this world." Diane picked this up. "The way the situation is, it's so bad and you can't afford it. You can't afford to have a kid."

But it's more than hard times. There's a fundamental lack of confidence in the government, in the leadership of the politicians and their ability to solve the political and economic crisis. "I don't think America will last," is the way Al summed it up.

Scott stopped talking to fix his three-year-old sandwich. He was babysitting while his wife worked. "What about her? How do you see the future for your daughter?" He turned the question over in his mind. "Well, I think she can grow up into a really good world. Either that or not grow up at all. I think she could grow up in a really good world without any big war or anything. But it would take the big powers in the world just to leave the little countries alone. Instead of standing up for what's politically expedient, stand up for what's right."

Sometimes the prospects for the future seem just too uncertain to get a handle on, and there are no real solutions in sight. "Am I worried about the future?" Scott shrugged, "No! Hey, if it gets bad enough, I'm within a tank of gas of the Upper Peninsula and Canada. And I can go up there and hunt. I've considered my options. I could live by hunting and fishing."

60s Expectations — Crash in 80s

In his 20 years at GM, Bernard has raised five children. For black workers being an autoworker meant new prospects and possibilities for his children, especially to go to college and get an education. "We are at a high key of expectation at this point. This is a very complex time. There was a time when Johnny came out of high school and he could go next door and pump gas at a gas station. And that would be a respected position. Nobody would question this. But now with television and all the media preaching about academic achievement, it frightens the hell out of the kids. Not enough money to go to college, and if I do, do I really want to? So consequently the kids are being bombarded with avenues of no way out, no return. So he just can't deal with it. They're brainwashed with, 'you must get up and out — it's mandatory that you do this.' And it's too much for them."

"For a family starting out now they're going to have to contend with much more than I had to contend with. A young couple just starting out — I would say play your family very carefully. Things are a lot different now. Anybody that comes up with six kids isn't going to be able to send any of them to college. Today to send a kid to college you better have about \$50,000."

The 1960s and 1970s promoted a lot of expectations for youth. The social programs that the



bourgeoisie came up with in the 60s and 70s to respond to the black liberation movement and urban rebellions were part of this. Also, they picked out a few working class, especially minority, youth to send to Ivy League schools, to groom misleaders in their own communities, and to stand as an example that "you can make it too." In the 1980s there are far fewer opportunities. "The 60s did produce a lot of expectations but by the same token expectation without financing is just expectation. And that creates frustration, which creates something else. That's why the suicide rate is high. It's just that kids have no place to go."

No opportunities, no jobs, or chance for educa-

tion. The most precious thing for every family, and the most precious resource of the society — our youth — are being squandered. This is the most deadly and despicable waste caused by the capitalist economic crisis and the capitalist system. It is the youth who hold the future in their hands. This is the confidence Diane summed up:

"We need change now. We need to tell these kids what's going on now. One of the biggest reasons inflation got this way is because nobody talks so the people can understand. It's not ever put so the people can understand it. We have to understand what's going on now and explain it to the kids. It's up to the people to change things. □



George Murphy

Advertisement for the Christian-Patriots Defense League's annual "Freedom Festival" promised preparation for "the coming national crisis." It was more. The Freedom Festival is the open face where the Klan, Nazis, and other right-wing groups recruit, train, and draw their battle plans for confronting "communist-influenced Zionists, blacks and aliens." Among those specifically targeted are the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Defense League, and the Communist Workers Party.

From all appearances, the Festival looks to be a loosely confederated group of armed "patriots," bound together by extreme chauvinism, fundamentalist religion, and blind patriotism. Yet, what is significant is the very tight network which exists among these distinct organizations. Behind the Freedom Festival lies the mercenary connection — the conscious and unconscious forces used by the U.S. government to carry out the ruling class' counter-revolutionary plans and programs.

Eagle Magazine Leads Mercenary Army

Promoting the Festival, Tom Donnell wrote, "Gone are the days when double-digit inflation, unopposed looting and defiance to law and order meant another *foreign* country was about to topple. Is the reality too terrible to contemplate? Could it happen *here*? So many people think it could, that a great deal of money is being spent preparing for such an event, and companies dealing in survival paraphernalia are reaping huge profits. The problem is — how does one go about learning the best way to survive without spending a fortune and in the shortest possible time? One such way would be to go to Louisville, (pop. 1,000) Illinois and attend the Freedom Festival..."

By targeting the CWP (See WV, April 20-26), by promoting the Christian-Patriots Defense League, and by providing the last word in counter-insurgency tactics, the Eagle is setting the standard for the capitalist's much-needed mercenary army. It is filling a vacuum. Whereas Soldier of Fortune is aimed almost exclusively at international "professional adventurers," Eagle is all-rounded, providing both technical information and ideological instruction dealing with the U.S. ruling class' internal security issues.

For the Christian-Patriots Defense League, armed confrontation is the strategy, and Eagle serves their needs exactly. Just as The Spotlight provides political leadership, Eagle provides military leadership. Yet, the CPDL is very sophisticated, and tactically they advocate using various forms of struggle — the courts, infiltration, physical intimidation and confrontation, and propaganda. Their objective is to win over as many "patriots" as possible.

Who is the CPDL?

Under the leadership of John R. Harrell, the League shares with the Klan and Nazis the racist ideology and belief that white, Christian Americans should arm themselves in preparation for a race war. The CPDL and its associated organizations — the Citizen's Emergency Defense System, Christian Conservative Churches of America, and the Paul Revere Clubs — are purchasing or gaining access to property and "survival" and paramilitary training camps. Although their literature stresses the need for racially pure patriots to prepare to defend the Mid-West Survival Area (approximately one-third of the continental U.S.—the heartland), most of the membership resides in large urban areas. The survival and paramilitary training is actually creating an urban paramilitary force.

Leadership of the League and course instructors are top quality, and stress is on recruiting ex-military personnel. For example, last year Robert Lee Lisenby, who operates a survival trainings school in Troy, N.C., taught the course in Survival Weapons. Lisenby was arrested April 15 by Miami police for attempted bombing. It is suspected that this bombing was aimed at progressive people or organizations associated with the Miami Rebellion (see WV, April 27-May 3). On March 19, a month earlier, Lisenby was among a group of 13 arrested for engaging in guerrilla warfare training on the grounds of a Crystal River, Fla., nuclear power plant. At the time of his second arrest, the Anti-Communist League was

meeting in Miami. Other League instructors include active policeman Dennis Barrett, ex-military personnel such as Lt. Col. Gordon Mohr, and people claiming to be ex-CIA personnel. These instructors are professional mercenaries, actively training the ruling class' "guns for hire."

Politically, the CPDL is led by The Spotlight, a right-wing, weekly newspaper. This paper is headed by Willis Carto, who also is associated with Liberty Lobby, the Institute for Historical Review (an organization designed to promote the belief that the Holocaust was a hoax), a radio program aired on 470 stations daily, and a new television commentary seen in 37 cities. Carto is a formidable force within right-wing circles whose theoretical underpinning is Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

It has proven extremely difficult to establish any direct relationship between Harrell and Carto. This is the normal state of affairs in this type of investigation — direct lines are kept behind closed doors. Yet, Liberty Lobby exerts a strong influence over the CPDL. Courtney Smith of Liberty Lobby was the keynote speaker at last year's Freedom Festival.

In 1970, Liberty Lobby, through its chairman Robert Bartell, initiated a fundraising project called "Operation Survival." This project requested \$400,000 for 50 influential right-wingers to finance, in Bartell's words, activities "to help prevent the U.S. climate from deteriorating into further chaos." According to the ADL, which apparently has well-placed sources, Operation Survival was intended to finance a right-wing military dictatorship for the United States. Harrell and the leadership of the CPDL are objectively preparing to implement much of the outlines of such a plan.

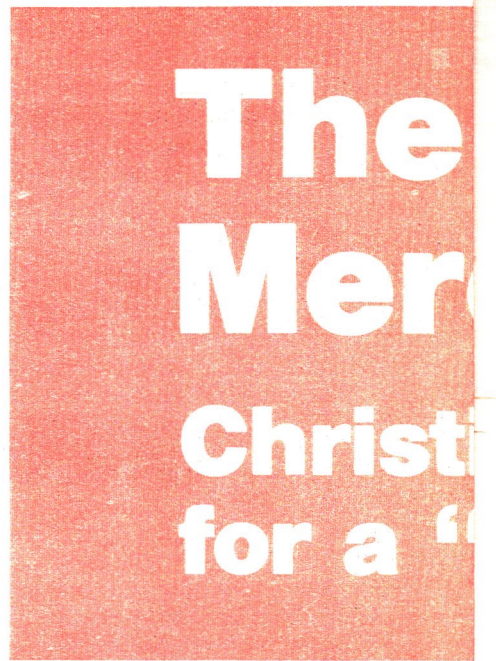
Both Harrell and Carto promote The Spotlight philosophy and both aid a section of the monopoly capitalist class in its fight to hang onto the reins of state power. The mercenary connection is made not only through intelligence community agents such as Bernard Butkovich, Eddie Dawson, and Ramon Barton, but runs throughout every level, right up to the highest echelons.

Capitalists Grabbing At Right-Wing Straws

The right-wing is not a homogeneous block of people. Comprised of all classes and all strata of society, it has existed throughout American history. Its significance today is that political and economic necessity force the monopoly capitalists to move the American people to the right, and this is no small order. The ruling class, best served by the right-wing, must kill the liberal political climate created during the capitalist stabilization and mirroring the ruling class' need for "class peace."

As the capitalists turn to attack the working class and nationalities, broader masses of people are becoming open to socialism, as they see more and more the decay of the capitalist system. Individual workers are more political than ever before, but as a movement, the working class is not political. They are ready to follow anyone who can lead, who promises to improve their lives. This is the state of the class today — militant but raw, politically unsophisticated and seeking leadership. Because of the ruthless policies being implemented by the Reagan Administration out of the capitalists' necessity, the American people are being drawn into action as never before in the past 30 years. A life-and-death confrontation with the monopoly capitalists is brewing on all fronts — political, social, economic, and military.

The ruling class is in a very weakened position, and it is grabbing to pull itself out of its political and economic crisis. Groups like the Klan, Nazis, and CPDL do not directly serve the interests of the monopoly capitalists, but can be used by them to implement counter-revolutionary policies and programs. The capitalists *must* use these groups to impose repressive measures and at the same time struggle against them because they do not represent the capitalists' interest as a political party. For example, in Greensboro on November 3, 1979, the Klan and Nazis were used to attack the CWP under the leadership of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and FBI agents. Afterwards, the media and government pushed the lie of "a confrontation between extremist groups," and the U.S. government tried to appear "neutral" — to stand above the class struggle — through the courts and agencies such as the Community Relations Service of the Justice



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The U.S. Government Mercenary Connection Christian Patriots Prepare for a "Race War"



WALTER
GALLUP

U.S. Government's Mercenary Connection

"American Patriots Prepare Race War"



WALTER
GALLOWAY

Department. Not only must the U.S. government fight to keep the appearance of being "by and for" the American people, but it must actively engage in counterrevolutionary measures to maintain its rule. Repression of the American people is the watchword for the monopoly capitalists in the 1980s. Paramilitary organizations such as the CPDL are needed muscle to back up front line forces of the police and military/intelligence groups.

Even among the monopoly capitalist class there is extreme competition as to who will survive and who will be wiped out. Yet, in the context of state power, the pinnacle of class rule, the fight between the forces of repression (led by the ruling class) and those of progress is for the majority of the American people. This is primarily a political fight. The burning question is how to win the majority.

The ruling class, abandoning its liberal facade, groomed Reagan as the "commander of state." Politically, groups such as Liberty Lobby and Heritage Foundation promote the politics of the right. To back this up with force, groups such as the CPDL are groomed for the coming "race war."

As Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP said, "The response of the bourgeoisie is to gear up their repressive apparatus to come at us with a combination of tactics — those used against the Panthers (direct repression) and those used during the McCarthy era (legal, legislative path to liquidate communism)." Both tactics are being used in combination and on a higher, much more vicious level.

Communists must grasp that the American people do not come to revolution through reading about it. They come to make such drastic change through necessity — through their own experience of *politically* fighting the extreme measures imposed upon the ruling class and themselves due to capitalist destabilization. The punishing economic and political crisis is objectively rousing the American people into a revolutionary sentiment. Yet, to get into a position, actually challenging the ruling class and its state power, advanced political detachments must find a political solution which will bring the American people to a toe-to-toe confrontation with the capitalist state.

We must lead the American people in their struggle for economic, social, and political justice by leading the fight to realize their demands. These transitional demands are not socialist, but must force the monopoly capitalists to either fulfill the needs of the American people or perish in the fight. The capitalists are fighting to create a political movement toward the right. This is a life-and-death struggle, filled with danger but also opportunity.

The CPDL is also preparing. They stress that part of their task is to win the police to their side. All of this objectively serves the capitalists, by promoting anti-Semitism and racism, and tightening the links between the mercenary and front line forces. For those who hold that the American people have moved to the right, Armageddon must be just around the corner. However, for those who see that Americans are resisting — though not necessarily for political reasons — the ruling class' shift to the right, the mercenary connection must be politically exposed and soberly fought. □

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

“Britain Out of Ireland”

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The newly-formed American Irish Unity Committee held a symposium at the Biltmore Hotel on Wednesday, July 22, to further publicize the situation in the north of Ireland. Several hundred Irish-Americans saw audio-visual presentations, signed petitions, learned about the boycott of English goods, and heard speakers. Nobel prize-winner Sean McBride of Amnesty International, a former Irish minister for external affairs, received a standing ovation when he said, “The only solution is the absolute and unconditional British withdrawal from Ireland.” This was followed by a spirited chant of “IRA, all the way!” He said that the “harmless” plastic bullets widely used in Northern Ireland have killed or permanently maimed over 50 civilians, mainly women and children.

The symposium, which went from 3:00 pm to 10:00 pm, included cultural presentations as well.

The committee was formed to help build united American support for the struggle to oust Britain from Northern Ireland through forums, advertisements, and providing audio-visual and written documentation of British atrocities, to keep the word out. It will “monitor all news media to locate and respond to distortion or error in reporting on Ireland,” of which there has been a great deal.

Frank Durkan, chairman of the new committee, announced plans for a march in Washington, D.C. on Aug. 23. He said interested persons should check Irish newspapers for details, or contact the group at:

The American Irish Unity Committee
175 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1104
New York, N.Y. 10010



MARCH FOR IRISH HUNGER STRIKERS

Saturday, August 8, 1981

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNMENT

INTERNMENT, DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE OR TRIAL IN NORTHERN IRELAND: the beginning of a decade of deprivation of human rights and the torture of political prisoners, leading to the hunger strike crisis.

Initial Co-Sponsoring Organizations:

- | | |
|--|--|
| American-Irish Unity Committee | Mobilization for Survival, Religious Task Force |
| American Comm. Human Rights in North of Ireland, Rockaway Park | N.Y. Citizens Party |
| Ancient Order of Hibernians | Paul O'Dwyer |
| #12 Rockaway | Philip Wachtel, Democratic District Leader, 63rd A.D.-New York |
| Irish National Caucus of New York | People's Anti-War Mobilization |
| Mid-Manhattan Unit, Irish Northern Aid | Socialist Workers Party |
| N.Y. H-Block/Armagh Committee | Washington Square Methodist Church |
| All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party | Workers World Party |
| Catholic Peace Fellowship | N.Y. Mobilization for Survival |
| Ramsey Clark | Fellowship of Reconciliation |
| Coalition for People's Alternatives | Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador |
| Christine Carmody-Arey, Coordinator N.J. | Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick, Black Theology Project |
| National Organization of Women | Rev. Daniel Berrigan |
| Communist Workers Party | Revolutionary Youth League |
| Inter-Community Center for Justice and Peace | |
| International Socialists | |

Assemble at 11:30 A.M. Eighth Avenue Between 32 and 34th Street
March up Sixth Avenue to 59th Street and Fifth Ave. Grand Army Plaza for Rally

This will be part of a coordinated day of action in cities throughout the country.

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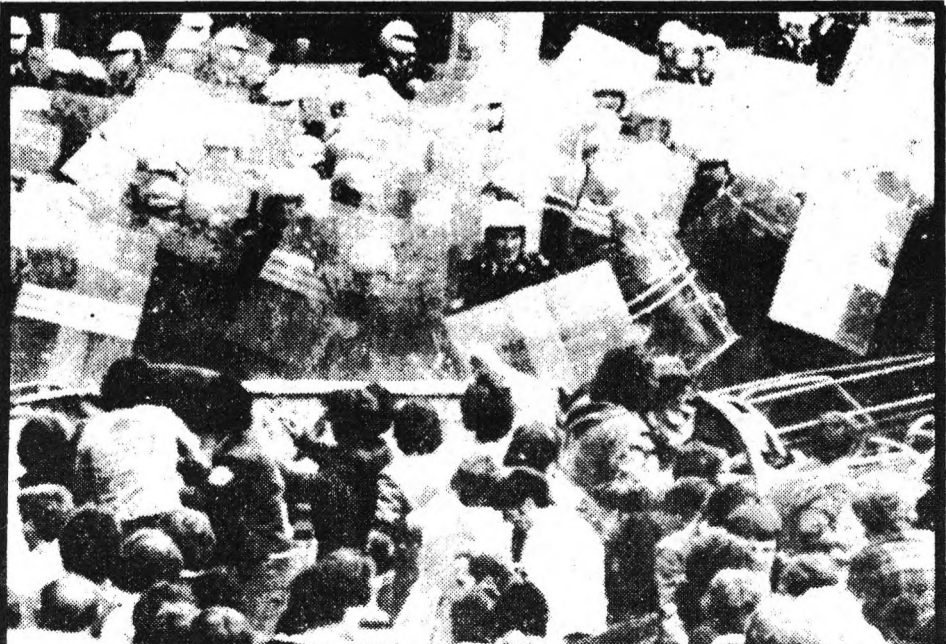
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Saturday, Aug. 29 8pm
72 Fifth Ave, Brooklyn
Corner of St. Marks Place
take # 2, 3, 4, 5 & 'D' to Atlantic Ave.
Or take the 'RR' & 'N' to Pacific St.
For information Call 789-0737



17,000 people attacked 1,000 cops guarding the British embassy in Dublin, Ireland on July 19. Of 145 injured, 120 were policemen. The marchers were protesting British failure to negotiate directly with the hunger strikers. The march took place as one of the IRA hunger strikers, Kieran Doherty, 25, a member of the Irish Parliament in June, was near death. Five hundred supporters of the hunger strikers have set out from Belfast and Newry in the north to march on Dublin to pressure the Irish government to take a genuine stand with the hunger strikers against British stubbornness.

American Journal

There and Back Again with American Trains

David Armstrong

The sleek silver train pulled smoothly into the station, five minutes ahead of schedule. Along with the hundreds of other riders who crammed Amtrak's Oakland-to-Los Angeles "Coast Starlight," I filed into Union station to rendezvous with friends. The old landmark hummed with excitement as reunions took place amidst patios lined with palm trees, splendid mosaic tiles, large, leather-backed chairs and a spacious, high-ceilinged waiting room. For a moment, time stood still and I was back in the Golden Age of American trains.

Alas, this freeze-frame of history quickly dissolved, leaving me amidst the smog and freeways of El Lay, part of a society in which passenger trains are in danger of going the way of the passenger pigeon. To the ham-handed autocrats who plan our future, Amtrak is just another stepchild begging for money for non-essential human services — frills like food stamps, breathable air, drinkable water, Social Security for old people and the right to vote for black people in the South.

An Amtrak worker with whom I shared a sandwich in the club car commiserated with me. "It all seems so short-sighted," he said, taking a bite of turkey on rye, "to cut Amtrak's budget just when we've put new equipment on most of the lines. The

system is finally beginning to work, and the public is responding; the trains are packed. When the world's oil runs out, we're going to need these trains."

He's right. While President Reagan's chain-saw massacre of Amtrak hasn't cut as deeply as first expected, the very thought of cutbacks in the nation's most pleasant and efficient means of transportation is outrageous. Sure, Amtrak has lost money since it was created as a semi-public agency in the early seventies. But its losses, when measured against the billions in subsidies for greedy airlines and crumbling interstate highways, are modest.

Moreover, as the cost of oil skyrockets, sending air fares and gasoline prices out of sight, the price of a long-distance train ticket looks better and better. I paid \$84 for the 800-mile round trip between Los Angeles and Oakland — less than most regularly scheduled flights and almost as cheap as the cost for a motorist driving the same distance alone, as many do. Of all the forms of public transit, only the bus is substantially cheaper, and the high psychic costs of bus travel — dingy, dangerous depots, orange-crate seats — make the train look like a bargain. It's hard to get romantic about a Greyhound or Trailways cattle-car.

It's easy, however, to fall in love with trains — the lonesome whistle, the cars snaking through the

mountains, children waving to the engineer and passengers from their yards, work songs that convey generations of American history in every syllable. I spent my childhood in a rail town, and most of my male relatives worked on the railroad. As an adult, I've turned into an inveterate traveler; wanderlust just wouldn't be the same to me without trains.

I suspect, though, that it is the practical advantages of trains, not their romantic aura, that will bring on a renaissance of American railroading. One thinks of the 100-miles-per-hour "bullet trains" of Europe and Japan and the crucial role they play in the transportation systems of every other advanced industrial nation. Surely, we could benefit from such technological marvels here.

One of my fellow passengers on the return trip agreed — even though she said she had never before ridden a train and didn't care if she ever did again. Her interest in trains was purely pragmatic. Amidst talk of her career, her home and hobbies, she mentioned railroad stocks, which she plans to buy "in about 10 years, when they become attractive again."

"The way I see it," she explained, "Reagan will allow the railroads to deteriorate for a while, but eventually the price and shortages of oil will make a return to trains essential. That," she smiled, "is when I'm going to put my money into railroad stocks."

It's difficult, in this time of assaults on human needs and the genteel tradition associated with train travel, to imagine railroads prospering again. But I think they will. Of necessity, in this decade or the next, American trains will take the long ride back to prominence. The only questions in my mind are how much money and how many years it will take to rebuild a once-great rail network deliberately destroyed by a long line of opportunistic politicians and businessmen. □

American Journal appears in over 30 college and alternative newspapers across the country.

A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America
David Armstrong/J.P. Tarcher, Inc.,
Los Angeles, 1981.

May Quan and Marion Yuen

Project Censored, a panel of 13 journalists, professors of journalism and media experts from California State University at Sonoma, recently presented its annual top ten most censored news stories of 1980, the most important stories the mainstream mass media did not report. The prizewinning most censored story of 1980 was El Salvador, which became the first rallying cry for massive protest against the Reagan administration. This was partly because the alternative media extensively exposed what the mass media would not. Alternative media's exposes aroused, awakened and catapulted hundreds of thousands of people into protest.

David Armstrong, in his new book, *A Trumpet to Arms*, proudly presents the accomplishments of the alternative media. Since its days when the Berkeley Barb called for the People's Park, and when Rat reporters helped build the barricades at Columbia in '68, the "underground press" was *partisan news*, dedicated to "stimulating social change," above recognition, awards, and money.

The book outlines how it was Wilfred Burchett of the National Guardian who paceset American opinion on Vietnam as he wrote "from the liberated areas of South Vietnam," one-upping Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times. It was Robert Scheer and Warren Hinckle of Ramparts who exposed what the U.S. Army really did in Vietnam, through its source, former Master Sergeant Donald Duncan, who told of the frequent torture and killing of Viet Cong and the illegal U.S. assassination teams who bumped off leaders in North Vietnam and Cambodia.

Although Armstrong shows how the alternative media has often scooped the mainstream media, the alternative media's impact upon society has been more profound. Due to alternative media's challenge, the top editors of newspapers were forced to change in order to maintain their credibility among their readership.

Because of muckraking by Ramparts, Scanlan's, and The Progressive, many of the country's major metropolitan dailies established teams of investigative reporters. In February 1967, Newsday established a team of three reporters, an editor and a secretary-researcher to pursue investigative work exclusively. The Boston Globe inaugurated its "spotlight" team, while the New York Times institutionalized investigation to a "full-time proposition." Even Associated Press, the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post had special assignment teams producing stories on the bungling development of the M-16 rifle and the revelation of a secret report on government corruption in Saigon.

It was due to the muckraking trend begun by alter-

native media that the Washington Post revealed Watergate. Watergate merely capped the wave begun by alternative media and became a hallmark. Michael Schudson wrote, "Never before has there been a national symbol of enterprise reporting of even remotely comparable substance and scope and effect."

In the chapter "Alternative Media in the Eighties," Armstrong wrote, "In an interview in the Mother Jones office in the spring of 1980, shortly before Mark Dowie resigned as publisher to turn to full-time writing, he proclaimed that the purpose of that muckraking monthly was to 'get the center to move more to the left and the left to take to the center. We're trying to keep people in the political center from becoming fascists in the eighties. I think the magazine can be a revolutionary weapon.'"

"For the alternative media to expand their influence, they must first enlarge their constituencies. Despite the sweeping nature of their world views, alternative media still appeal mainly to white, well-educated people under forty. Recognizing this, many alternative activists have made expanding their journalistic and political base a top priority in the eighties."

There is a better chance today of building a new trend that goes beyond keeping people from becoming fascists, or shoring up what has been gained. Because of the urgent challenges by the Reagan administration, new political questions, new demands rapidly arise, which must be confronted or be bypassed.

Armstrong wrote, "As Villiage Voice press critic Alexander Cockburn has accurately observed,

a TRUMPET
to ARMS

Alternative Media in America

'Without an alternative culture, there can be no alternative press.' The reverse is equally true." And while the alternative media has matured, gained sophistication and skills, so has the people's movement. The hundred thousand people who demonstrated on May 3 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador were far more organized, and their political demands clearer and sharper so that what is seen as the beginning of a new 1980s movement is equal to the peak of the massive 1960s anti-war movement. The coalition that gave birth to the May 3 demonstration was unprecedented in the past 10 years. It speaks to the need to resolve political and organizational questions with greater sophistication, and skill. While it is necessary for the alternative media to "expand their base," most of all it needs to keep pace and answer the needs of the people who are embarking on a long struggle.

The worst resolution to the debate which has already begun to break out among alternative media is no resolution and undebated, unformulated politics. Within political amorphousness lies the path to reversing verdicts and even the very destruction of the alternative media itself. Only with greater political clarity will the alternative media be able to recognize and use the political leverage that it now holds on the mass media owned by the monopolies. Only greater clarity and scope can enable the alternative media to use the influence it already has upon the trade union leaders. Today's "trumpet to arms" sounds the need, not just for a defensive movement but an offensive movement to fulfill, as Pacific News Service defined it, "its special mandate as providing a voice for the dispossessed." □

continued from page 1

The slogan "Death to the Shah!" was the slogan which guided the revolution to victory and united the masses and the three main forces mentioned above. Throughout the fight to overthrow the Shah and U.S. imperialism the left — the Fedayeen, the Mojahdeen and various Marxist-Leninist forces — remained steadfast. It fought heroically and produced many martyrs: The Shah's SAVAK killed over 200 Fedayeen members alone. Many leftists spent years in prisons and torture chambers.

But for all this, its forces were scattered and it led a hounded existence in the underground. During the last few months of the Shah's bloody rule, the left displayed tremendous heroism in the fight. Leftists were often in the front ranks of demonstrations, putting their lives on the line for the country's liberation.

The national bourgeoisie joined the revolution early because of the Shah's oppression against it. This class, mainly composed of the bazaar merchants and traders, was economically deprived by the Pahlevi family, which monopolized all the big industry, business and the lucrative foreign trade.

It struggled to get out from under the Shah's thumb, and, partly because it is a deeply religious class, the national bourgeoisie threw its weight behind the clergy and the revolution. Toward the end of the Shah's reign, it was very common for the merchants to go on strike in mourning for those martyrs killed by the Shah.

This class produced many of the early leaders of the revolution and provided an initial able core of experts. Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, the former foreign minister, and Bani Sadr both represent this class and were both close associates of Ayatollah Khomeini.

National Bourgeoisie's Flabbiness

This class, of course, was never as firm as the workers and the left; it never was for the ending of exploitation of one class by another, only the ending of its exploitation by the Shah. This was shown politically in its vacillation. It was ambivalent toward the revolution's progress and did not want to go very far, especially in the revolution's early stage. Mehdi Bazargan, the first Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic, said soon after the revolution, "We asked for a rain and got a flood." In particular, he was fearful of the revolutionary justice that people were handing out to former officials of the Shah's regime and SAVAK agents.

On the one hand, the national bourgeoisie hates the imperialists and the Shah for what they have done. On the other, it fears the revolutionary initiative of the masses, who take steps to implement revolutionary justice, decide their own laws and run their own affairs. We often had occasion to point this out and expose its vacillation.

Closely related to this political vacillation is the national bourgeoisie's political flabbiness. So far it has been unable to produce any significant nationwide political party. Bani Sadr had only a newspaper — which he founded — to back him, and he relied heavily on the support from Khomeini.

Despite the extreme vacillation of this class and its inability to carry out the revolution by itself, it has given the Islamic Republic necessary important technical, educational and cultural skills to build an independent country. It is correct to wage struggle against this class when it compromises, but it must be united with; it is wrong and will lead to disastrous results if one makes a principle of attacking it, as the IRP has done.

Clergy Galvanized Fight

The revolution did not attain proportions capable of reaching even the backward elements until the clergy joined. For years there had been strug-

... Iran

gle against the Shah, including the short-lived National Front government headed by Mossadegh, a representative of the national bourgeoisie. So why did the revolution succeed this time around?

The difference was the Islamic church. Previously, it had been bought off by the Shah and given special privileges. But when, in the late 1970s, he began confiscating church land and halting church subsidies, he alienated the clergy. Its whole network of mosques and Friday prayer services came over to the revolution.

Even more than the national bourgeoisie, who had the bazaars where information was exchanged, the clergy had a legitimate form to reach the masses. Because the Iranian people organized their lives around the mosques and Islamic rituals, the clergy was best able to take their pulse and deeply understand their revolutionary temperament.

In particular, Ayatollah Khomeini emerged as the symbol of the revolution. He had been exiled for criticizing the Shah at a time when the clergy was not revolutionary. If anybody had moral authority, it was Khomeini. A leader in whom the broad masses have confidence is essential for mobilizing a truly mass movement. This leader makes the revolution's goals concrete — whether the masses agree with all the leader's views or not.

It was "natural" that someone would step forward to lead the Iranian people, but the fact it was Khomeini is accidental. So while the Islamic clergy did play the major role in the leadership of the revolution, the revolution was not made for Islam. Rather it was made out of necessity. The masses demanded a change from life under U.S. domination and the Shah.

Real Causes of Revolution

"It is exactly these conditions," wrote the Confederation of Iranian Students, in December 1978, "the economic chaos and inequity; the lack of social welfare; the non-existence of any form of political expression; the denial of basic human rights; and the continuous selling out of the Iranian people's sovereignty, and political and economic interests, that have created such an explosive situation in Iran today. The burden of repression, poverty, exploitation, and national betrayal has become too heavy for the backs of the Iranian people. They have stood up and stated their demands in clear and determined voices. They have taken their future in their own hands."

Ayatollah Khomeini, too, recognized this and saw that not only would the revolution have to fulfill the masses' spiritual needs, it would have to solve their material needs. "The Shah," he said, "has destroyed the economy and the industry and the agriculture. You call this modernization and transformation to an industrial society. Our objective is to start a real modernization based upon the fundamental needs of the vast majority of the people who are poor."

Khomeini, an Islamic cleric, recognizes the spiritual value of Islam and the positive role it played in mobilizing the people. But being a sober, practical revolutionary, he knew that ideology and the mobilization of the masses around it was not enough.

That is why, aside from getting support from other clerics, he also surrounded himself with experienced revolutionaries who were also experts and representatives of the national bourgeoisie. Khomeini's broadmindedness extended further, to welcoming communists to the fight against the Shah and inviting Iranian students studying abroad to come home and use their skills to the country's benefit.

Opportunism Clothed in Islam

The clerics and others who later formed the Islamic Republican Party, like the late Ayatollah Beheshti, are not nearly as farsighted as Khomeini.

They take the victory of the revolution as a victory and a mandate for them. They want to impose their ideology on the revolution against the will of the people.

Prime Minister Rajai made this clear in an interview with *The Middle East* magazine in July 1980. "It is natural," he said, "that the unity which brought the Shah down should disappear." This is because, "During the revolution, 'Death to the Shah' was a slogan welcomed by all, but 'Long live Islam' is not a slogan which is welcome to holders of all ideologies. When a government is established on an ideology, then the other ideologies are bound to be in a state of discomfiture."

"Had our revolution been different, and like that of Alger's nationalist movement, then things would have been different. Their aim was to expel France but not to establish Islam. So for them their task was finished. We would be unhappy if we gave up our ideology. I am happy even if I am getting 7,000 tumans a month, but would not be happy if I got 20,000 tumans and did not have my ideology."

Rajai's statement is an opportunist justification for purging leftists and secular leaders and establishing the political monopoly of the IRP. There is no question at all of his being denied his ideology; no genuine political force — neither Bani Sadr nor the Mojahdeen — ever threatened him with this. What is at issue here is whether it is correct to dismiss those revolutionaries and patriots who disagree with the IRP's sectarian politics.

A Lesson from Russian Revolution

A revolution's success depends on the mobilization of the masses. But it needs more, much more, as we have shown above. In the history of revolutions it is not at all unusual that a certain class or a certain political force does not have necessary skills to run a country.

In the Soviet Union, for example, while the working class and its leadership, the Bolsheviks, displayed tremendous heroism and revolutionary consistency in the fight to overthrow Tsarism and capitalism, it had not produced experts for the peaceful construction of the country. The first state bank was a sack of gold in Lenin's office closet.

The question which confronted Lenin and the Soviet working class was where to get experts to help run the country. The answer was the New Economic Policy, which, in exchange for getting the country functioning again and relieving the workers' and peasants' state of exhaustion, gave intellectuals and officials from the old regime and even some members of the bourgeoisie concessions.

To be sure, Lenin encountered opposition to his NEP from revolutionary workers; they opposed giving any concessions to their former enemies. Lenin struggled with them, finally getting them to see that this was the only way to keep the country from collapsing.

He finally won them over, but not before Trotsky, an opportunist who always fought the revolution, took advantage of the workers' narrow scope and, using demagoguery, manipulated their revolutionary stand by accusing the Bolsheviks of selling out. Lenin's broadmindedness pulled the revolution through a difficult time and defeated those who made a career out of twisting the people's revolutionary temperament.

Failure of IRP's Spiritualism

One cannot fault the Islamic Republican Party for lacking the necessary skills to run a country. But the question then arises: if a Party does not have these skills, where and how is it to get them? The IRP has no plan for this. In fact, by its attacks on the national bourgeoisie, western educated intellectuals — including the Iranian student movement in the U.S. and Europe (which played such a crucial role in building world public opinion

against the Shah) — the left and the university system (which has been closed for a year), the IRP seems to make a principle of having no skills.

It has taken a correct principle of vigilance against the national bourgeoisie's vacillation and perverted it to mean that anyone with skills, or anyone not closely aligned with it, will sell out. The IRP twists the people's temperament and hypes them up to cover their own inability to run the country.

The IRP, with its narrow sectarian outlook and insistence on its version of Islamic ideological purity, produces disastrous results wherever it gains the upper hand. It attacks all who disagree with or oppose it, and it has been unable to solve any of the country's problems.

IRP Chokes Workers . . .

Some of Iran's problems, like the poor economy, were inherited from imperialism. Solving them requires close cooperation and concessions from all sides. In September 1979, we indicated the correct approach to solving some of Iran's economic ills.

"So in terms of the relations between the workers and the capitalists in Iran, the united front is both unity and struggle on the one hand, each has to subordinate their immediate class interests to the larger question of protecting Iran from superpower subversion."

"For instance, at the point right after the revolution it would have been incorrect for the workers to strike for better conditions, given the fact that a crucial part of putting Iran in a position to fight superpower subversion was restoring production. . . .

"On the other hand, the standard of living must be improved for the people to be unleashed to support the revolution. That's why concessions of the workers must be reciprocated by the capitalists. If the capitalists are getting fat while the workers are starving, they will ask 'why should we support this?' Any capitalist who opportunistically used the united front to take advantage of the proletariat's restraint and fatten himself is carrying out a reactionary policy that weakens the united front. Thus, in that situation, not only is a strike justified, but it is necessary to protect the proletariat's independence and initiative in the united front and the united front itself. United front unity means struggle to build the united front against those incorrect policies and actions that threaten to break it."

The working class has kept up its end of the bargain, exercising tremendous patience and restraint in the struggle for an independent Iran. In the beginning stages of the revolution the oil workers refused to be provoked by the Shah's agents into striking, instead, keeping oil production up.

For well over two years, the working class has endured 25-30 percent unemployment and well over 25 percent annual inflation. It has endured shortages and rationing. All this was for the good of the country. Although conditions were hard, the government, on Khomeini's instructions, made concessions, too. Early in the revolution he put aside one day's oil revenues to improve the lot of the country's oil workers.

But now the workers are receiving nothing in return for their patience. The Tehran bus drivers are a case in point. After fruitless negotiations, they went out on strike — against the wishes of the mullah-dominated committee — for the traditional New Year's bonus which was denied them. Far from being sympathetic to their plight, the IRP blasted the workers, charging them with sabotage of the revolution.

Behzad Nabavi, chief government spokesman, said, "Aims that could not be achieved through Saddam's war [the Iraqi invasion] — they could not bring down the government of the Islamic Republic — are now being pursued through the creation of internal crises, strikes and chaos in the society. Actions are being taken to achieve the

aims that the United States has against our revolution."

The government, after slandering the workers as agents of U.S. imperialism, broke the strike by threatening to bring in troops from the front to scab. With this attitude, the IRP is losing the workers' support, and an open, nationwide struggle is breaking out in the workers' committees between the mullahs and the workers. How this concludes remains to be seen.

... Kills Economy ...

It is the wish and desire of the Iranian people to free themselves from imperialist domination, and a fundamental part of this is an independent economy. No country can maintain its political independence for long without building its economic independence.

Iran welcomed the cut in trade ties with the U.S., and has expanded trade relations with some socialist countries and lesser European countries. Iran has also drastically cut back on imports of non-essential products and even many production goods. There is nothing wrong with this, per se. But without a plan for building the economy, gut desire to break ties with imperialism can turn and has turned Iran's economy into chaos.

The economy is in shambles. According to the Ministry of Industry and Mines, only 59 percent of the enterprises in operation before the revolution are operating today. Even these factories were operating at only 80 percent capacity. Big assembly plants, such as auto, are being shut down. So far the only plan that the IRP has advanced for putting workers back to work and the economy back on its feet is for the workers to have patience because, "our revolution was aimed at cleansing society and not for wages."

... Isolates National Bourgeoisie

The IRP's economic policy is losing the support of the working class, but it is also losing the support of the national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie, the bazaaris, as we pointed out before, joined the revolution because the Shah monopolized the economy. When the revolution took over, concessions were granted to the bazaaris, and they took over the foreign trade. At the same time, the government also pursued a correct policy of restricting profiteering and other black market activities.

But the IRP appears to be reversing policy, apparently without a sober assessment of the state of the economy. Eric Rouleau, the Mideast correspondent for the French paper *Le Monde*, describes the process of the national bourgeoisie's alienation.

"We are being stifled, we cannot go on!" After the *taghutis*, the big industrialists, the former imperial regime's big businessmen, here we have a *bazaaris*, a fairly wealthy trader — formerly an unqualified supporter of the Imam Khomeini and the clergy — in turn attacking the "mullahs' dictatorship." His house has been searched for hours about the "suspect relations" he allegedly had with "liberals" — that new category of counterrevolutionaries. The *pasdaran* who invaded his house, he explained indignantly, did not "even have a search warrant."

Almost 2 years after the fall of the monarchy, the rule of law has still not been established. Goods are still being seized and confiscated, usually at the initiative of cleric or a local committee which does not bother about legal procedure. Of course, it is possible to appeal to the revolutionary courts, but they declare themselves incompetent or, in most cases, find against the plaintiffs. To do that they merely have to refer to the Islamic doctrine embodied in the constitution and the Raja'i government's program which states that property belongs to God alone. God only "delegates" this privilege "partially and on a temporary basis" and on the express condition that the beneficiaries use it "for the community's benefit."

Joint commissions comprising officials and clerics have recently been touring the rural districts to carry out

the umpteenth land distribution, confiscating as they go land lying fallow or farms requiring the help of paid workers. "Big" landowners and also medium landowners of all kinds, described as "parasites" are eliminated in favor of a distribution and marketing network now being set up.

Foreign trade, formerly a source of wealth for the *bazaaris*, is also being nationalized. The Gulf war is being used as a justification for speeding up the process.

Chauvinism on National Question

On the Kurdish question, too, the IRP has reversed verdicts isolating an important ally and further narrowing support for the revolution. The Kurds,

incite the Kurds against the revolution. Nevertheless, the opportunist Kurdish Democratic Party refused to accept the settlement and revolted, and the central government had no choice but to put down the uprising.

But the IRP has reneged on the correct solution of regional autonomy to the Kurdish question. They no longer recognize the Kurd's right to self-determination. Here, too, the IRP's ideology — Islamic ideology — has taken precedence over politics and the well-being of the revolution.

"Islam believes in one nation," said Prime Minister Rajai. "We are internationalists and believe in one Muslim nation."

"There are no Arab Muslims or Kur-

In fact, the IRP rejected a settlement which Bani Sadr negotiated in April 1980 — that is, almost one year earlier than the hostages were released. His settlement included return of all frozen Iranian assets and return of all the Shah's wealth.

What did the IRP accomplish? It dragged the hostage crisis out for well over a year. When it lost the leverage after the elections were over, it became scared of Reagan and eventually capitulated to the imperialists. After holding the hostages 444 days, it got but a small part of the frozen assets. But for almost a year after the issue could have been settled, the IRP distracted the masses, delayed the urgent tasks of reconstruction and destroyed the unity between the Islamic



a minority nationality living in the border areas of Iran, Iraq and Turkey, have historically been used by imperialism. They have fought for centuries against national oppression against the rulers of all three countries. The CIA attempted to use them to stir up trouble, especially in Iraq, but then Henry Kissinger made a deal, and the Kurds were slaughtered in the early 1970s. The Shah also mercilessly oppressed them and the Kurds in Iran were one of the forces who fought to overthrow the Shah and kick the U.S. out of Iran.

Most recently, the Kurds have been incited against the Iranian government. Reactionaries from the Shah's bloody regime like Shapur Bakhtiar and General Oveisi each have radio stations inside Iraq from which they broadcast counterrevolutionary and anti-government propaganda. The Kurdish Democratic Party, whose leadership for years had been outside the country, in the Soviet Union, is also trying to take advantage of the friction between the central government and the Kurdish people.

There was initially a correct policy toward the Kurds, which was formulated by Ayatollah Khomeini over the heads of other Islamic clergy. He sent his son-in-law and some other religious leaders close to him to negotiate with the Kurds after local leaders got nowhere. The outcome, after much struggle, was an agreement for regional autonomy. Furthermore, the central government recognized a Kurdish revolutionary committee and, again on Khomeini's instructions, \$75 million was given to develop the Kurdish areas.

Settling the Kurdish question in this fashion was in the interests of both the Kurds and the government. Tensions were lessened in the border areas, contributing to Iran's security. It also gave less room for SAVAK agents, old generals and other remnants from the Shah's reign to maneuver, and deprived them of material with which to

dish Muslims [both minorities in Iran]. They are just one entity... We do not believe in national or international divisions or for that matter geographic or racial divisions."

This is no abstract question of rights, but one of life and death for the whole country. The Kurdish masses will never accept forcible merger with the rest of Iran. As long as the IRP oppresses the Kurds, they will fight, and Iran will be in turmoil. This will further drain the economy and waste valuable resources, including people. Iran is also more vulnerable to invasion and meddling by the U.S. imperialists.

R-r-revolutionary IRP Capitulates To Imperialism

The IRP's attack on former President Bani Sadr and the subsequent slaughter of the left plunged the country deeper into chaos.

This fight had actually been going on for a long time, but surfaced at the beginning of the year, when the hostages were released. Bani Sadr recognized that, while it was absolutely necessary to take the hostages and support the militants holding them, they could not be held forever.

After a while, and especially without a trial, the propaganda value was used up. Holding them became a drag on implementing other important tasks. Beside, the masses could be mobilized only so long without a change in their conditions. Based on this principled view, he tried to negotiate a settlement including reparations and a self-criticism from the U.S. government.

But the Islamic Republican Party blocked him time and again. Its line of "no talks with Satan" was bogus. It had no hard assessment of the situation and how the hostages fit in with the other tasks. It thought it sufficient to chant "Death to Carter!" and bring the masses out to daily demonstrations. It did not recognize the great leverage it had over the U.S. imperialists because of the presidential elections.

forces and progressive nationalists.

Mojahed, the publication of the People's Mojahedeen Organization of Iran (PMOI), contends that, "Until recent times, the seizure and trial of the hostages and the decline of any form of dealings and/or negotiations with U.S. imperialism were considered the purest criteria for being anti-imperialist in essence and in action. But in an urgent and brief session of the Majlis, the same people turned around recently and 'reasoned' that the struggle against U.S. imperialism cannot be measured by the seizure or release of the hostages. Today we can clearly see that the hostage captors exploited the genuine anti-imperialist feelings of the masses in Iran in order to achieve their own aims. After they achieved their aims, these people gave in to the imperialist pressure and capitulated to the enemy."

Khomeini's Limitations

Bani Sadr blasted the IRP for its capitulation and the battle was on. From then on the IRP hemmed him in — first threatening to try him for treason, then refusing to let him appoint his government aides and finally dismissing him as the army's commander and as president.

Bani Sadr relied on Ayatollah Khomeini's interventions to save him. But Khomeini did not save him. Rather, he alternately defended and chastised him and ultimately banished him. Toward the end he gave Bani Sadr one more chance: do self-criticism and repudiate your followers, he said, and then return to the fold. If you don't, he continued, "I'll cut your hand off." This was a reference to an Islamic proverb which means he would destroy him.

Why Khomeini's inconsistency? Why did he shun his "adopted son"? Did he finally turn his back on modernization, as some have asserted? The answer does not lie in Khomeini's individual personality but in the political

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realignment that took place in the wake of the hostages' release.

Around the first of the year the Mojahedeen allied itself with Bani Sadr against the IRP. The Mojahedeen correctly saw that the IRP was wrecking the country. Bani Sadr, too, must have seen that the only hope he had for staying in power and developing the country was to ally with the Mojahedeen against the IRP. Khomeini, as revolutionary and progressive as he is, fears the left's coming to power. The fact is, the Mojahedeen represents the major challenge to the IRP-dominated government.

Khomeini was caught in a bind. On the one hand, he feared the left's backing of Bani Sadr. On the other hand, he knew he needed the popular president's and the national bourgeoisie's expertise to build the country. That is why he struggled to cut Bani Sadr from the Mojahedeen and at the same time fought with the IRP sectarians to allow Bani Sadr and other experts to continue their patriotic duty without harassment.

As it turned out, Khomeini, prestigious as he is, could not have both. His fear of the left won the day, and he finally, but reluctantly, dumped the president and approved a purge. But once he gave his consent, the IRP opportunist leaders went wild. The united front, which it had been destroying for the past year, was drowned in blood. Over 200 leftists have been slaughtered since the last week in June.

But having done this, the IRP is sealing its doom. It is becoming more isolated, as the demonstrations against Bani Sadr's dismissal in over a dozen cities shows. And the left is armed and has growing support among the people. These are two favorable conditions for the overthrow of the IRP.

Final Showdown Coming

Said the Confederation of Iranian Students about the prospects of their revolution:

"The overthrow of the ruling

Iran

despots will not be possible without the unity of the masses and the patriotic and independent groups. On this basis we fully support the great national unity and for our part are trying to make it possible.

"The history of conversion of the hard-line sectarians to a despotic gang which has surrendered to the superpowers, once again proves that any force which denies the great national unity will not be able to resist the superpowers. In fact, a firm anti-imperialist, must be a firm unity lover. Uniting does not mean becoming one but means unification of all strata and classes of people with different ideas around the fundamental principles of the revolution, namely independence, freedom and social justice. Today the Great National Unity means the unity of the three genuine, historical and political trends in our society, namely independent Islamic, Nationalist and socialist forces.

"Experience has also proved that any real anti-imperialist force must be in favor of freedom. Because without freedom, without the freedom of speech and without the struggle between right and wrong, it is neither possible to reach a correct analysis nor to unite. Betraying freedom means destroying unity which results in compromise and surrender. Independence and unity, unity and freedom will not be achieved without social justice which is the main purpose of revolution. Independence and freedom serve the people's welfare and social justice.

"The situation of the patriotic forces is getting better, by day, whereas that of the autocrats and capitulationists is becoming worse. Despots and traitors are a small force. They are doomed to failure and extinction. Let's roll up our sleeves, hold hands, rid ourselves of sectarianism, fight against any words or deeds which hurt the unity in action of the pro-independence and freedom forces, to dethrone the capitulationist autocrats and establish the government of Great National Unity. The future belongs to the peoples of Iran." □

..Rugby Tour

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Africans, is pushing for closer relations with the South African government. Not only has Reagan praised South Africa as a friendly country "which we can count on," but administration officials have met with both the South African Chief of Military Intelligence and the Foreign Minister in the last three months. In secret documents that TransAfrica managed to get hold of, and which the magazine *Covert Action* reprinted in its July issue, the administration's view toward South Africa comes out in sharp focus.

In a "scope paper" written by Assistant Secretary of State Crocker to Secretary of State Haig, Crocker says: "The political relationship between the United States and South Africa has now arrived at a crossroads of historic significance. . . the possibility may exist for a more positive and reciprocal relationship between our two countries based upon shared strategic concerns in Southern Africa, our recognition that the government of P.W. Botha represents a unique opportunity for domestic change, and willingness of the Reagan administration to deal realistically with South Africa."

The U.S. government has shown an openness to the South African rugby team, and New York City Mayor Koch is going to offer them the use of a city-owned park — Randall Island Stadium — to stage their match. While this comes as no surprise to the black citizens of New York City, who have had to suffer from the effects of Mayor Koch's racism for the last four years, it no doubt will serve as a lightning rod to all those forces who want to oust Koch from office.

Keep the Springboks Out!

Will the U.S. government go through with the planned South African tour? At this point government officials are saying that they "have no legal reasons for keeping them out."

As the heat begins to get more intense, the administration may very well find the "legal reason" to keep the Springboks out. The U.S. government may very well be banking on the fact that the 1984 Olympics are too far off to get worried about, but the motion that the American people create will be more immediate.

Already the response to the initial call for the coalition has been overwhelming. People from every movement are promising to support and mobilize for the demonstration that has been called for August 25.

The South African support movement has ebbed since 1977-78, when thousands of progressive people took to the streets to support the Zimbabwean, Namibian and South African people. The historic victory of the Zimbabwean people — and the sharp struggle that the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador have waged over the past three years against U.S.-backed fascist regimes — inevitably led to a lull in the South African support movement here in the U.S. But the identification with the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa has never died.

A blatant racist act such as this — a "sporting tour" with a team from the world's most racist country, a team that includes four members of the South African Defense Force and two South African policemen — will just as inevitably launch a whole new surge in anti-South African activity in the U.S. once more. □



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GPO Box 2256
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CALL OR VISIT:
CWP National Office
1 E. Broadway, 2nd floor
New York, N.Y.
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OR CALL YOUR LOCAL OFFICES

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LETTERS TO THE CWP

Some Trends in the Women's Movement

Dear Sara Anderson:

I would like to raise two points regarding your recent article on women and the draft ["Court Clears Way for Draft"].

(1) You lumped together all the feminists under NOW's banner. It is simply not true that "feminist's swallowed it (the ploys of the bourgeoisie) hook, line and sinker." The Women's caucus of CARD and the Women's Pentagon Action and Off Our Backs women's news journal and many other women's organizations — organizations who consider themselves feminist did not swallow that line and in fact came out aggressively saying that no one should be drafted.

(2) I think your article completely missed the rising trend in the women's movement which is anti-imperialist. It bought an old tired line about the women's movement being so "bourgeois." This attitude misses the contributions women are making to the struggle and in fact drives progressive women away from communism and the CWP.

The 80s represent an entirely different political scenery for the American people. The contradictions for women are heightening, affirmative action is cut, day care funding is cut, and abortion is threatened — women are being pushed into the home. Yet the economic crisis of the 80s cannot support patriarchy — it takes more than the man's income to support a family.

Clearly women's oppression will not end under capitalism. Our task is to rally women to fight their oppression, recruit more Sandy Smith's to our party and then after we have state power establish policies and laws that will serve to eradicate both the concretes of women's oppression — like equal pay for equal work; paid maternity leave; free birth control including abortion; as well as eradicate the chauvinist ideology perpetuated under capitalism.

D.P. Washington, D.C.

Those women's organizations which have opposed the draft should have been mentioned in the article. Though the Women's Pentagon Action and Off Our Backs don't call themselves anti-imperialist, their stand against U.S. war preparation support anti-imperialist struggles around the world. As part of the progressive wing of the feminist movement, their involvement in broad social and political issues today represents an important trend among women's groups.

The reason the article on the draft focused on those women's groups involved in the Supreme Court case is because they hold sway as public opinion makers on women's issues — in the press and through their organizational networks and lobbying efforts. Considering, too, NOW's membership of 125,000, we have to take them seriously. Though more-radical groups in the women's movement tend to ignore these groups, we can't because their influence is strong among a sector of women we also want to reach out to and influence.

When I said that the feminists fell into the bourgeoisie's trap of debating the draft issue from the women's rights angle, I was specifically referring to the women's organizations involved in the case — NOW (National Organization of Women) and the League of Women Voters. However, I should have sharply defined exactly what I was criticizing — the bourgeois trend and its leaders in the feminist movement.

In communist literature, this term has always been used in criticizing trends or leaders within women's

movements whose actions, whether conscious or unconscious, serve the interests of the capitalist class. Feminism is one form the spontaneous struggle against women's oppression takes. The broad participation from all social strata creates conditions for the expression of many points of view, blurring, to some extent, the class character of them. What determines whose views and demands command the overall movement is who's in leadership and their base of support.

Another spontaneous form is the workingwomen's movement. In contrast to the feminist trend which has historically taken up legal rights issues for women, the workingwomen's movement has taken up work issues and unionization. In fact, many of the gains women have made in the workplace are the result of the battles waged by this movement.

In the early development of the women's movement in the 1800s, the feminist (or suffrage) movement was small in comparison to the workingwomen's. They developed relatively independent of each other, and when their trails did cross, there were sharp differences.

Phillip Foner in his book, *Women and the American Labor Movement*, describes an early encounter. In 1968, a group of working class women met in New York to form a women's labor organization called the Working Women's Association. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a leader in the suffrage movement, met with the group. She argued that the main issue for all women was getting the vote. She wanted the women to put aside their labor organizing and work for the suffrage movement. She also asked for the word suffrage to be included in the association's name.

The women voted her proposals down flat. Furthermore, they told her, if suffrage was included in their name, people would confuse them with the feminists — those women with "short hair and bloomers and other vagaries."

Workingwomen had a deep distrust for the suffrage movement. Not only were its wealthy members condescending to them, but more important, they refused to support the demands of women workers for unions, higher wages, and better working conditions.

Foner cites many examples of how the suffrage movement betrayed the struggle for real gains for women. But one example stands out in particular.

"But the more common viewpoint of suffragists of this era was expressed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the major suffrage organization in the United States, in a resolution of 1903 advocating educational qualifications that would have had the effect of restricting suffrage and would thus have prevented many immigrants and other poor people from voting. What is more, the NAWSA refused to endorse the labor movement. Even during the high tide of women's union activities — the 1909 waistmakers' strike — NAWSA issued a statement declaring that the association 'neither stands for labor organization nor against it.'"

With all its society-lady gloss and sell-out resolutions, however, the suffrage movement wasn't going anywhere. It was women from the trade union movement who finally made the breakthrough on it.

After many years of fruitless struggle with the misleaders of the American Federation of Labor to organize

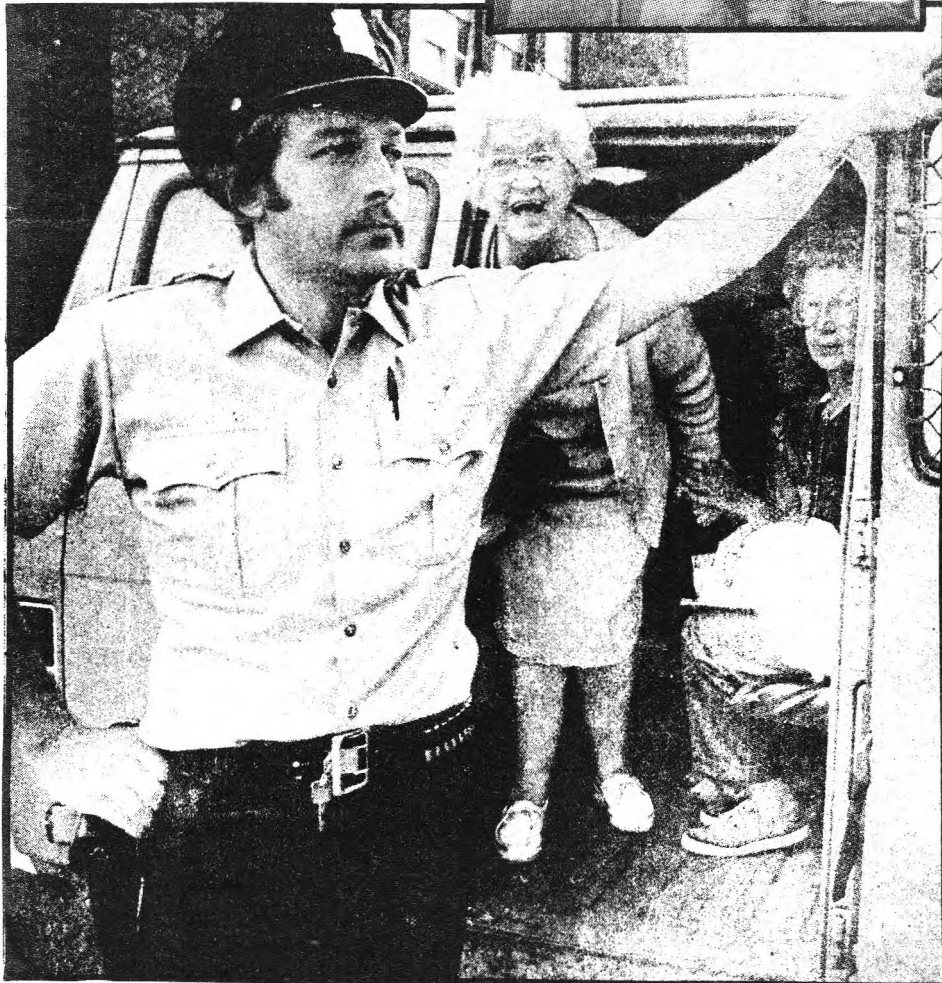
women workers, women union leaders decided to try a different approach to the demands of workingwomen. Having the right to vote, they reasoned, might give women the leverage they needed in the trade unions and in getting legislation passed protecting women from the worst abuses in the sweatshops. They joined forces with the suffragettes, using their organizing expertise and grass roots ties as bargaining chips in return for support from the feminists for protective legislation for women workers.

The working class organizers kept their promise — the 21st Amendment was passed in 1920. But the leaders of the suffrage movement reneged on theirs, covering their betrayal with their new agenda — the equal rights amendment, the forerunner of the today's ERA.

Old or new, it's the same agenda for the bourgeois feminists. They're experts at co-opting mass sentiments for real gains into abstract legal panaceas. Because they serve the bourgeoisie so well, they get promoted in the press, and land leadership positions on government commissions and the like.

Chairman Mao pointed out, like all things reactionary, if you don't hit them, they won't fall. We need to build a women's movement that can fight for real gains, uniting the majority of women around the issues that affect them the most. But we can't build this movement unless we challenge the handful of bourgeois feminists and dare to take leadership ourselves.

Sara Anderson



At left, a protestor, Josephine Jakubowski, 70, stands in the back of a police van after being evicted from Poletown's Immaculate Conception Church. Seated in the van at right is Marie Grucz, 71.

More on Poletown

Workers Viewpoint,

I enjoyed your articles on Poletown (the neighborhood here in Detroit being torn down for the proposed G.M. plant) that I read in your paper in the past.

So I thought I would bring you up on the situation. Of the nine churches G.M. and the city of Detroit are destroying is one especially precious to the hearts of the Polish Catholic sector of the community. This church is called the Immaculate Conception church, built in the mid-1800s by Polish immigrants. Fifty protestors have been holding a sit-in in the basement of the church since June 18 when the city took possession from the Archdiocese.

Well, this is what happened at 5:30 a.m., July 14. One woman interviewed compared what happened to Nazi Germany. The government and corporations are showing their true colors, they are fascists! I learned something else from this incident. Two policemen tipped off the protestors inside to the fact that the police were coming at dawn to remove them. I guess even the police are being won over to the people's side. Maybe just two at a time, but it will be very shortly that all Americans will see this government for what it is — certainly not all red, white and blue!

Your Comrade,
K.B., Detroit

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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Extraordinary Party Congress Ends

Polish United Workers Party Takes Step Toward Cleansing Itself

Dennis Torigoe



Solidarity member Zofia Grzyb, elected July 19 to PUWP Political Bureau.

Almost a year to the day since the first strikes at the Gdansk shipyards, the Polish United Workers Party ended its "extraordinary" congress. Responding to the demands of the Polish people for more accountability of the leadership under socialism and for the Party to carry out mass line, the PUWP has taken a number of significant steps to carry this out organizationally. What remains to be seen, however, is whether or not the PUWP can come up with and correctly implement a correct political line to thoroughly rectify itself and lead Poland out of its present economic and political crisis.

New Procedures and New Leaders

In the last few months it became clear that this PUWP congress would not be business as usual. During the delegate selection at the local level, there was intense two-line struggle over who to send. In a number of areas, leadership connected with the old Gierk clique was overturned, and new delegates—many of them rank and file workers—elected. A fact that gives lie to the line that Solidarity is "anti-communist" is that 20 per cent of the 1,955 PUWP delegates were members of the independent union, according to official Polish sources.

The delegates at the congress showed themselves to be both critical of political maneuvers and at the same politically mature. At the beginning of the congress, First Secretary Kania tried to pull a fast one on the delegates. His attempt to hold the election for first secretary at the beginning of the congress was beat back by the delegates. Instead, they voted for the 200 member Central Committee first, and then voted by secret ballot for the top party position.

Kania and Prime Minister General Jarzelski both won by big margins in the Central Committee elections. Prominent losers were those tied to the old Gierk clique and those who held strong views against Solidarity and against the Party itself. These included Tadeusz Grabski, a hard-liner who opposed Solidarity, and Mieczyslaw Moczar, a general who also opposed the union and was widely rumored to be anti-semitic. Tadeusz Fiszbach, the party leader of Gdansk who called for a revisionist "federationism" of the Party, was also defeated.

More significant yet was the new Political Bureau, the top leadership of the Party between Central Committee plenaries. Reflecting grass roots demand for more workers in the top leadership, it included a number of new names: Zofia Grzyb, a worker at a shoe worker in Radom; Jan Labeledzki, first secretary of the party organization in the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, and Jerzy Romanik, a miner from Katowice. Mrs. Grzyb, 53 years old, is the only woman and the only member of Solidarity to hold a position in the Political Bureau.

Reflecting the invigorating of political life in Party, the congress' leadership elections were the products of intense debate inside and outside the congress itself. At the congress, not only were different slates and candidates presented for the delegates to choose, but also different lines debated, particularly on the question of the relation of the party to the masses and the road forward out of the crisis. Moreover, in a move to repudiate the revisionist lines of the former Party leadership, former Prime Minister and First Secretary Edward Gierk and a number of his closest cronies were expelled from the Party.

Soviet Union Forced to Grudgingly Accept Results

Political Bureau member Viktor Grishin was sent by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to represent them at the PUWP congress. In a significant statement of support for the Party, he stated in his speech that "It is our opinion that leading the country out of the crisis is the affair of the Polish Communists themselves..." Its significance lies in the fact that the Soviet Union has the line of "limited sovereignty," which they say gives them the right to intervene "wherever socialism is threatened." Grishin's statement is thus an indication that the Soviet Union has decided not to intervene militarily at this point. At the same time, it has not repudiated its incorrect line. Grishin also stated that the Soviet Union would not be "indifferent" if Polish communism were threatened by "anti-socialist elements."

Correct Line Still Has to Be Implemented

Though a significant step, the PUWP congress still represents only a first step in the rectification process. As CWP's General Secretary Jerry Tung has stated in his book *The Socialist Road*, while organizational measures are necessary to clothe and implement a correct line to ensure democracy for the masses under workers' rule, there are not organizational guarantees for a correct line. You need an able cadre core representing the best sons and daughters of the masses, the most farsighted and dedicated. Especially now, when the PUWP faces yet the question of resolving the intense economic crisis upon them, the quality of the cadre core is decisive in implementing its program. With the bold steps taken at its congress, however, socialism has a better chance than ever to bloom in Poland.

Anti-Apartheid Committee Formed to Stop South African Rugby Tour

Ron Ashford

They came in at the crack of dawn, trying their hardest to keep their movement secret. The press that was traveling with them was told only to "have their bags packed, be ready to leave within an hour." Top security arrangements surrounded their every move.

For what? To keep admiring fans away? And for whom? A head of state? A world-reknown movie star?

No, not hardly. All this was to keep angry protesting New York crowds away from the Springboks, a South African rugby team, that, after being turned down by practically every country in the world in their quest for mat-

ches, passed through New York's JFK airport on the way to New Zealand for games there — from where they will return to the U.S. for three matches here. Or so they plan.

Broad United Front Opposes Tour

Already the proposed tour through three American cities — Chicago, Albany, N.Y., and New York City — has stirred up the American people, the International Olympic Committee and the third world African countries in particular. Here in New York City at an initial coalition meeting chaired by Communist Workers Party member Mike Young at the offices of the Organization of African Unity, the National Coalition Against Apartheid

Rugby Tour was formed.

All the groups that attended vowed to wage an all-out struggle against the South African visit. Along with the CWP, the National Black Independent Political Party, the National Black United Front, ACCESS (American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society), the People's Anti-War Mobilization, the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress from South Africa were among those who gathered to plan the campaign against the Springboks.

International Stakes Are High

Internationally, the president of the International Olympic Committee sent

a cable to the U.S. Olympic Committee warning that the three matches planned for September could pose major problems for the 1984 Olympics scheduled to be held in Los Angeles.

The U.S. Olympic Committee even recognizes the repercussions of a Springbok tour here, saying it looked at the tour as "counter-productive." It was only five years ago that most of the Black African countries boycotted the 1976 Montreal Olympics because the New Zealand rugby team had toured South Africa. It is against Olympic rules for any country to engage in sports activity on the amateur level with a South African team, precisely because of the racist apartheid system that covers all activity in South Africa. While the violation of this rule has angered the International Olympic Committee, the existence of any tie with the racist South African government has angered the American people.

The Reagan administration, which approved the visas for the South

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