

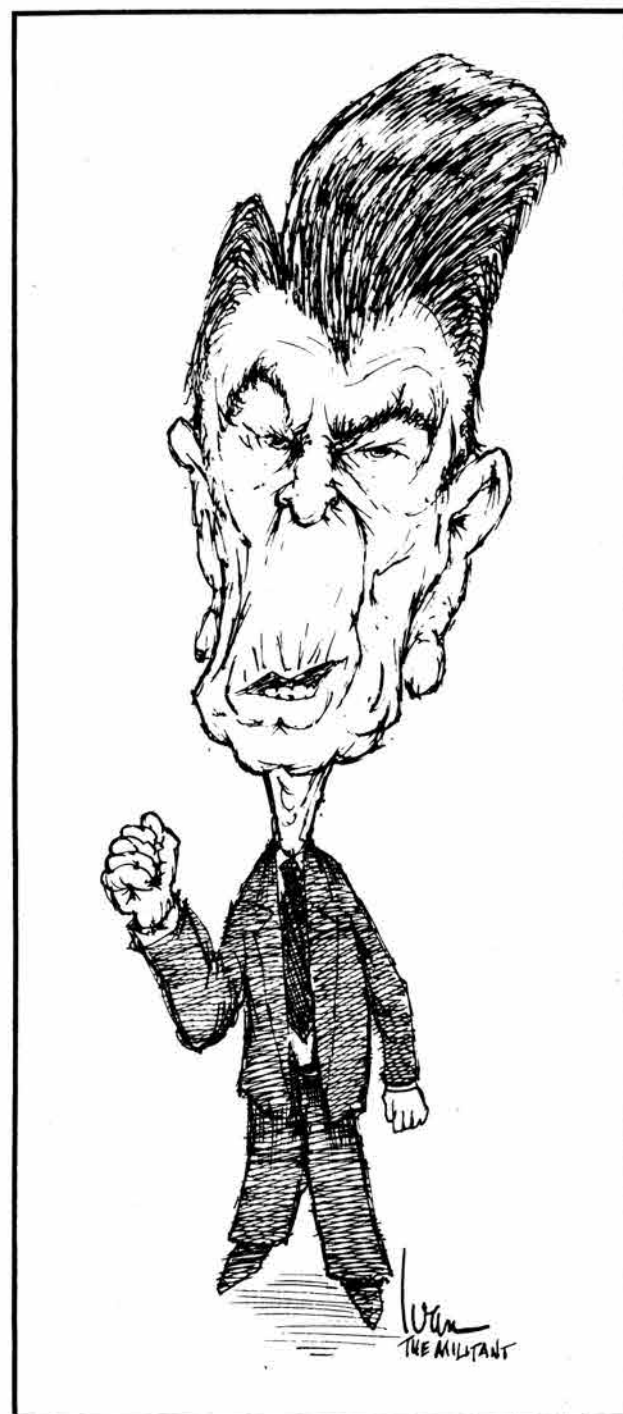
# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## Reagan's reply to needy: \$13 billion more cuts

**Medical care,  
food stamps  
facing ax;  
Social Security  
cuts to come**

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### El Salvador

**Dictator Duarte comes to Washington  
4,000 in San Francisco protest  
Senate OKs military aid bill**

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## Reagan & crime

Just days after President Reagan brought his budget chopping act to American workers via national television, he announced his new "anti-crime" program in a major speech before the International Association of Chiefs of Police September 28.

The two speeches bear an ominous relationship.

At the heart of Reagan's crime proposals are:

- A bail revision—what amounts to preventive detention—for individuals "presumed" to be dangerous.
- Weakening of the "exclusionary rule" that prevents prosecutors from using illegally obtained evidence in courts. This effectively unleashes cops, finks and other "law enforcement" goons to bug, wiretap, and burglarize innocent Americans.
- Tax law changes allowing cops to snoop on the income tax records of millions of American workers.
- An "attack" on drugs and drug pushers—the usual smokescreen for stepped up cop repression in the Black and Latino communities.
- \$2 billion to build more jails.

What these proposals boil down to is a sharp attack on democratic rights.

These attacks are justified by a "crime wave" about to engulf "civilization" according to Reagan.

In a flagrantly racist commentary, Reagan warned the police chiefs, "We should never forget: the jungle is . . . waiting to take us over. Police chiefs" are the "thin blue line that holds back a jungle which threatens to reclaim this clearing we call civilization."

In reality the thin line that these "law enforcement" goons defend is the right of the giant corporations to bleed working people to death in their drive to squeeze out every cent of profit possible.

The cops work hand-in-glove with the big capitalists who run the drug trade and the rest of organized crime, leaving a trail of young men and women victims.

The problem with society is not individuals "prone to evil" as Reagan said—it's capitalism.

Reagan's war on crime is cover for the bipartisan war being waged on working people. This war is being waged for the benefit of a tiny handful of greedy capitalists who are responsible for the human misery that drives some indi-



viduals to commit desperate acts for their survival.

The purpose of this propaganda about crime is to menace working people with the specter of individuals "prone to evil" in order to scare us into accepting the restrictions on our rights necessary to force through more budget cuts, more aid to murderous dictatorships like the Salvadoran junta.

The real crime in this society is class exploitation and racist oppression: unemployment, racist violence, attacks on women's rights, war, and the draft.

To end these crimes and to deal with the real criminals—the corporate bosses and their political agents in the White House and Congress—working people must fight for a system that puts human needs before profits.

## New Nixon tape

From the outset, the Socialist Workers Party has pointed to the broader implications of its damage suit against the federal government. In demanding a halt to disruption and other illegal activities by the FBI and other government agencies, the socialists have stressed that every movement for social progress in this country has been the target of such victimization.

The most recent confirmation of this was the disclosure of a new White House tape in which Richard Nixon and his principal aide discussed employing thugs to attack antiwar demonstrators.

Information about the tape and excerpts from it appeared in the September 24 *New York Times*.

On the morning of May 5, 1971, Nixon and H.R. Haldeman, then his chief of staff, discussed the possibility of hiring Teamster union goons to attack protestors against the Vietnam war who were in Washington, thousands strong.

That afternoon 1,200 of the antiwar demonstrators were illegally arrested on the steps of the Capitol. (A federal court later awarded damages to those arrested.)

Led by a grouping called the May Day Tribe, the protest followed on the heels of an April 24 demonstration against the war which brought more than a half million people to Washington.

Discussing how to counter the continuing protests, Haldeman proposed that they contact Teamster union president Frank Fitzsimmons to supply a strong arm squad to be used against the protestors. (During that same period, thugs hired by Teamster bureaucrats were being used to help California growers to break strikes of the United Farm Workers.)

Nixon agreed with Haldeman on using the Teamster squad, "... they've got people who'll go in and knock their heads off," the president said.

Haldeman agreed: "Sure. Murderers . . . It's the regular strikebusters types. . . . go in . . . and smash some noses."

This was no isolated incident. In its suit, the SWP has entered into the record extensive evidence of how the government tried to illegally disrupt the antiwar movement.

Fred Halstead, an SWP leader who played a major role in the antiwar movement, testified to this. He described the poisonous bogus leaflets circulated within the antiwar movement by the FBI, the forged letters and other disruptions.

He told of how a group led by an FBI plant had sought to provoke a police attack on a New York demonstration by marching around with pigs' heads on poles.

Nor was this some aberration of the Nixon administration. Again, the evidence in the SWP case confirms that governmental dirty tricks against a broad range of dissenters have been employed as far back as the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The ugly facts disclosed in the Nixon tape are a sharp reminder that there can be no easing up in the fight to defend democratic rights. Today the attacks on those rights are being intensified.

There is an added sinister note on the Nixon tape—a crude and blatant expression of anti-semitism.

Discussing the Chicago Seven, a group of antiwar activists the government tried, unsuccessfully, to railroad to prison, Nixon says, "Aren't the Chicago Seven all Jews? [Rennie] Davis's a Jew you know."

Haldeman responds that he doesn't think Davis is Jewish. Nixon counters, "[Abbie] Hoffman, Hoffman's a Jew."

Finally Nixon concludes: "About half of these are Jews."

Antisemitism, it can't happen here? That's true only to the extent that there's a resolute fight against it, and against the system that nurtures it.

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If You Like This Paper . . .



### Black voters say no to Koch

New York's incumbent mayor takes both party primaries, but loses in Black communities by better than two to one. Page 4.

## The Militant

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## Social Security cuts to come

# Reagan slashes \$13 billion more

By William Gottlieb

In his September 24 address to the nation, President Reagan answered the half-million people who marched on Washington September 19.

His answer?

Thirteen billion dollars worth of additional cuts.

Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps and subsidized housing will be hit. The federal Department of Education will be abolished completely.

Federal civilian employment will be reduced by 75,000 through attrition and layoffs.

In a move that will hurt the already beleaguered working farmer, federal loan guarantees will be slashed. Students seeking loans for their education expenses will also be affected.

Rubbing salt in the wounds, Reagan announced that he was asking for increased taxation on unemployment benefits. This follows significant cuts that have already been approved for the millionaires and billionaires.

On the question of the vast increases in military spending, Reagan stood pat. He refused to go beyond cosmetic cuts in the rate of increase in the military budget.

He did announce that he was withdrawing his request to delay cost-of-living increases for recipients of Social Security. Reagan also declared that he



Reagan proposed abolishing Department of Education.

would ask Congress to restore the minimum benefit.

But, he added, "There is, however, a sizeable percentage of recipients who are adequately provided for by pensions or other income and should not be adding to the financial burden of Social Security."

"The same situation prevails with regard to disability payments. No one will deny our obligation to those with legitimate claims. But there is widespread abuse of the system which should not be

allowed to continue."

In other words, more cuts in Social Security are on the way.

In a similar spirit, Reagan announced the following day that he was withdrawing his plan to reduce food and nutrition standards for the school lunch program. Reagan at one point even suggested that the proposal was the result of "bureaucratic sabotage" by his opponents.

These slight retreats on specific proposals that caused special outrage should not be permitted to obscure the follow-

ing fact. In fiscal year 1982—which begins October 1—Reagan and Congress cut \$35 billion. Now Reagan wants these cuts increased to \$48 billion.

The truth is that Reagan and Congress are being driven to make these cuts by the economic crisis that now grips the world capitalist economy.

Is a certain amount of belt-tightening inevitable?

The answer is no.

The current economic crisis is not a crisis of scarcity—it's a crisis of "overproduction." (For a further explanation see the article on page 6 in this issue.)

What the crisis is doing is forcing the Reagan administration and the bosses to do all they can to increase their already huge profits.

In order to do this, they want to roll back all that the working class and other working people have won over the last fifty years. It is no accident that Reagan's favorite president is Calvin Coolidge. The bosses' dream of the time when there was no Social Security, no unemployment insurance, no medicare or medicaid.

Above all, they dream of the time when there were no unions.

In those days, workers had to accept whatever wages the bosses offered or face starvation. Workers were speeded up and fired at will.

This is what Reagan is talking about when he calls for a "crusade to save our economy."

## El Salvador dictator comes to Washington

By Nelson González

On September 20, at the express invitation of the Reagan administration, José Napoleón Duarte, president of the Salvador junta, arrived in Washington to begin a ten-day tour.

The stated focus of his tour was to present his political case to the American people.

The tour was far from the propaganda success that the White House had hoped for.

For an administration that just a short while ago proclaimed the struggle in El Salvador as its most heralded anti-communist cause, the reception given by Washington to its point man in El Salvador was decidedly low key.

A September 28 *New York Times* article entitled, "The Salvador Cauldron: Reagan keeps his distance," explains, "... the White House deliberately refrained from staging a warm official em-

brace. There were no formal dinners with toasts ringing, with political endorsements, no Honor Guard welcome ... no joint appearance of President Reagan and Mr. Duarte for informal pictures. ..."

Privately administration officials acknowledge that "the White House, confronted by a new surge of political troubles over the budget and arms sales to Saudia Arabia, wanted to keep a decent distance from Mr. Duarte in public. The President's inner circle uneasily recalled the uncomfortable echoes of Vietnam touched off last spring by the loudly proclaimed dispatch of a modest new group of American military instructors to help El Salvador combat the leftist guerrillas."

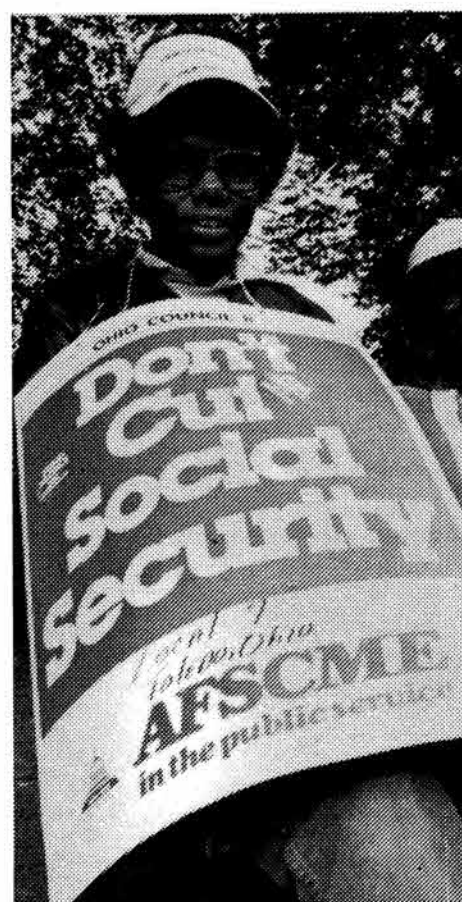
Duarte met with President Reagan, members of Congress and other top administration officials, among them Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and

Secretary of State Alexander Haig. He spoke at the United Nations, at numerous press conferences, radio and television talk shows, and met with various

right-wing Salvadoran émigré groups.

What was his message? It was nothing more than the already discredited

*Continued on page 18*



Militant/Lou Howort

Read  
a paper  
that takes  
sides ...  
Your side.

## Haitian refugees to be stopped by U.S. in international waters

By Harry Ring

President Reagan's executive order directing the Coast Guard to intercept ships on the high seas suspected of carrying undocumented immigrants is a dangerous new exercise of presidential "authority."

Aimed immediately at the thousands of Haitians fleeing the murderous dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the September 29 order opens the door for new U.S. aggression. It can be used as the pretext for stopping Cuban ships that "might" be carrying immigrants. The ships of other countries on Washington's "enemy" list could be interfered with, too. The Reagan order specifically authorizes the Coast Guard to fire at ships which do not comply with its command.

Until now, the Coast Guard has had the authority to intercept ships only within U.S. territorial waters. Washington says it has the agreement of the Duvalier regime to flout interna-

tional law relating to the high seas. The agreement underscores the close ties between the two governments.

The move is frankly designed to thwart the pleas of countless Haitians for political asylum here.

An assistant to the attorney general told a Senate committee September 17 that the Reagan order would not contradict immigration statutes relating to asylum and assuring certain legal rights in exclusion proceedings. These provisions, he explained, "do not apply on the high seas."

With the issuance of the executive order, it was assured that the Coast Guard would ask intercepted Haitians if any were political refugees and examine any documents they might have substantiating this. A State Department spokesperson could not explain what type of document a refugee might be able to provide.

Maybe a note from "Baby Doc" Duvalier?

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# New York primary returns: Black voters say no to Koch

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Black people and Latinos are fed up with the racist treatment they're getting from Mayor Edward Koch and his administration.

That was the most significant fact to emerge from the Democratic and Republican primary elections held here September 22. (Partial primaries were held twelve days after scheduled when the Justice Department balked at accepting a city reapportionment plan that would dilute Black and Latino voting strength even further.)

Koch, and the media, made much of the fact that he captured both the Democratic and Republican mayoral nominations, a first. But there was no hiding the significance of the anti-Koch Black and Latino vote.

Blacks voted against Koch by better than two-to-one. This was true even in the Republican primary.

While the Latino vote has not been pinpointed precisely, it is generally agreed that they too voted anti-Koch.

Primary elections reflect even less than the regular elections actual political relationships. Voter turnout is generally very low for the primaries and usually consists mostly of political jobholders and their relatives.

In this election, 32 percent of the registered voters went to the polls, a somewhat higher number than usual. But in three Harlem districts, the turnout was 35 to 40 percent.

Figures are not available indicating the turnout among other working people and how they may have voted. But the widespread boos for Koch, whose antiunionism matches his racism, were striking at the city's big Labor Day parade.

Winning the Republican nomination was no big deal, since the party is very small here and has no patronage base within the city.

In the Democratic primary, Koch had the power of his incumbency, plus a campaign fund of several million dollars. Yet he polled less than 60 percent of the vote.

The principal benefactor of the anti-Koch vote was Frank Barbaro, a Democratic member of the state legislature. He won 36 percent of the vote, with a campaign budget of \$150,000.

Although Barbaro's campaign was run on a financial shoestring, he did have the endorsement of the New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council and a number of local unions.

He also had the support of the Communist Party, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), and others within the radical movement.

In his campaign, Barbaro emphasized that prior to becoming a lawyer and politician, he had been a longshore worker.

He criticized Koch's racism, arguing that he was "polarizing" the city.

During the primary campaign, Barbaro argued that Koch was, ideologically, a Republican and that he was the "real" Democrat.

Following the primary, Barbaro announced he would run against Koch in November's general election.

## 'Unity Party'

As an election vehicle he has established a "Unity Party."

The Unity Party is chaired by Theodore Kheel, a principal labor arbitrator in the city.

On an NBC news program the day after the primary, Kheel declared, "I believe in the two-party system. The Unity Party is the surrogate party for the Democratic Party. It's for people who believe in the two-party system."

Kheel's statement flatly contradicts the argument of some of Barbaro's left-wing supporters who assert that his

campaign will promote independent political action in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

Kheel's perspective—and Barbaro's—is the opposite. They are calculating that if they can pull a substantial enough vote against Koch, this will establish them as a force in city Democratic politics. And, of course, they argue this will lead to "reform" of the Democratic Party.

That's where Koch began, too.

This right-wing mayor rose to prominence in New York politics as the spokesperson for the Village Independent Democrats, a Greenwich Village formation of left-wing Democrats.

Like Barbaro, Koch declared himself to be pro-labor, antiracist, and a critic of the slumlords and bankers who use the Democratic Party machine to dominate the city.

Koch was elected mayor in 1977, after the city had suffered two years of savage cutbacks under Democratic Mayor Abe Beame (also elected with union support as a "friend" of labor).

In office, Koch vigorously pressed forward with Beame's policies, and has been even more unrestrained in his right-wing, racist rhetoric.

## Two parties are one

His decision to take the Republican nomination really underlines how much the two parties are one. This was symbolized when Reagan came to town during the primary campaign for a ceremony organized by Koch in competition with the Labor Day parade. Reagan presented him with a symbolic down payment on a federal contribution toward the city's projected Westway project, a superboondoggle highway designed to further swell the coffers of construction companies, realtors, and bond-peddling bankers.

The assault on New York's working people launched by Beame was a rescue operation intended to ensure the banking industry continuing prompt repayment of its lucrative loans to the city despite a staggering fiscal deficit.

There were heavy layoffs of city workers, frontal attacks on their wages and conditions. Schools, medical care, sanitation, social services of all kinds were heavily hit.

Koch has given more of the same and there is no prospect for relief. Next year, New York faces a budget deficit that may run as high as \$1.3 billion. The attacks will escalate accordingly.

Koch won the justly deserved hatred of transit workers and their supporters with his brutal drive to break their 1980 strike.

His hostility to the needs of Black people was dramatized by his insistence on shutting down Harlem's Sydenham Hospital in the face of widespread community and labor opposition.

## 'Punks' & 'thugs'

With unabashed racism, he referred to protesters against the shutdown as "punks," "thugs," and "a Black mob."

After the primary results were in, Koch told reporters that he would try to be "more careful" about his rhetoric.

The problem, of course, is not just the rhetoric. The continuing attacks on the rights of working people in this city have, as always, come down most heavily on the poor. And, not accidentally, the big majority of the poor happen to be Black and Latino.

The campaign by Frank Barbaro is designed to capitalize on the anti-Koch sentiment among the victims of the cut-back program.

But support to Barbaro is not the effective way to fight Koch and what he represents. A far more meaningful program for fighting Kochism is offered by

## Protests stymie move to bar N.Y. SWP from ballot

By Mark Friedman

NEW YORK—An emergency protest campaign of phone calls and telegrams persuaded the Koch administration and its board of elections to give up on an attempt to deny a ballot place to the mayoral ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.

Initially, the election board had informed the party it had qualified for a ballot place. It then tried to rule the party off the ballot on a trumped-up technicality. Following the protest, this was dropped.

Wells Todd, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, said, "This thwarted attempt to rule us off the ballot was part of the same pattern as the racist gerrymandering and redistricting that the administration tried to push through to further disenfranchise Black and Latino voters. After a court found that the redistricting plan failed to comply with the 1965 Voting Rights Act, they tried to deny ballot rights to a working class ticket which includes Blacks and Latinos."

Todd said that blocking the move to get the SWP off the ballot "is a victory for Black and Latino voting rights, for all democratic rights."

The election board tried to victimize the socialists by notifying them, after the deadline, that they had failed to file necessary nominating acceptance forms. The SWP responded that such forms are not required of enrolled members of a party and that in fact the election board had failed to comply with election law.

The board was advised that the SWP would take legal action, includ-



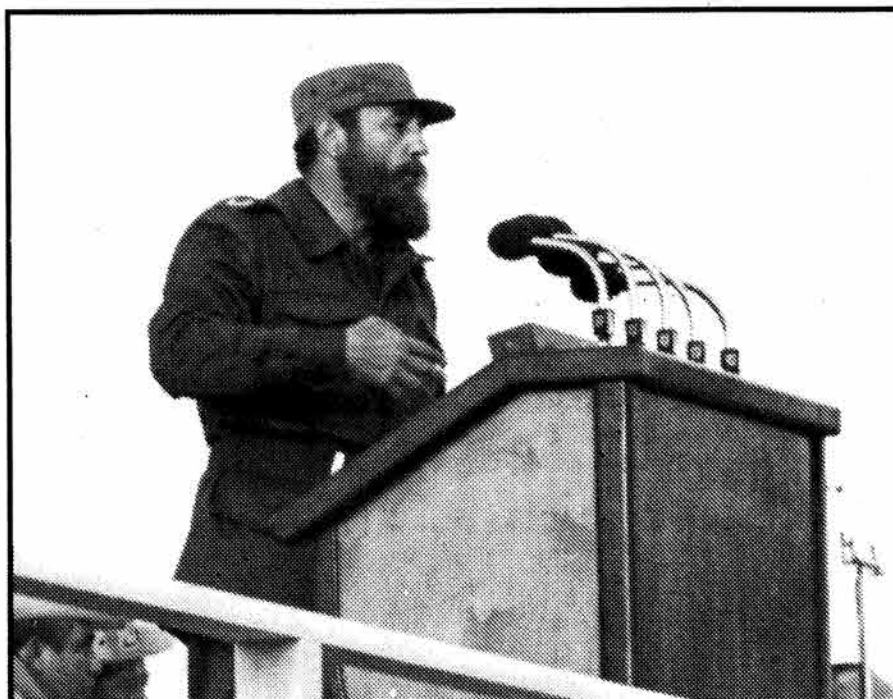
Militant/Lou Howort

WELLS TODD

ing, if need be, a suit to block the elections. The party also appealed for protests to the board by its supporters and by supporters of an open ballot.

In backing off, the election board indicated it had received numerous calls.

Among the protesters were such ballot rights supporters as screen writer Ring Lardner, Jr., and Edith Tiger, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.



## Fidel Castro Speeches

### Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap. "Cuba in Angola" by Gabriel García

Márquez, a noted Latin American author, is included as an appendix. It is the most complete account yet written of the Cuban role in Angola.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

Wells Todd, the Socialist Workers mayoral nominee, who is campaigning around the need for a labor party in New York City.

In coming issues, we will discuss the arguments made by Barbaro supporters and why we think the socialist program points the way forward.



# Solidarity Day: a new step in U.S. politics

By Vivian Sahner

On September 24, after announcing yet another round of budget cuts, Ronald Reagan looked television viewers right in the eye and asked them to write in letters of support.

Who does he think he's kidding?

A half million people—from every corner of the United States—came to Washington on September 19 to tell him just how they feel about the budget cuts. And the Equal Rights Amendment, the Voting Rights Act, and U.S. aid to El Salvador.

Solidarity Day, called by the AFL-CIO, was one of the largest political demonstrations ever held in this country. It was the first national protest against government policies ever organized by the labor federation in this country.

Tens of thousands of workers from virtually every union and more than 100 organizations—including women's rights groups, antiwar activists, civil rights organizations, and senior citizens—turned out.

That's how "popular" Reagan's programs really are.

That demonstration showed the whole world that Reagan's so-called "mandate"—from the food stamp cuts to the union-busting attacks against the air controllers—is a fraud from beginning to end. Reagan's real program is to help the rich stay rich. And marchers on September 19 knew it.

"Big business has a president, how about America?" That's how the membership of United Auto Workers District 65 put it.

The march showed something else as well. Working people in this country are more determined than ever to stand united against these attacks.

Consider the support shown for civil rights.

## A barefaced lie

Reagan and company would like us to believe that the 1960s fight for Black rights was just a passing fancy. A mistake supported by only a few soft-headed liberals today. But Solidarity Day laid that barefaced lie to rest.

September 19 was the largest march for civil rights ever held in this country. And it drew the widest support.

White workers, for the most part, were only observers to the battles that brought down Jim Crow. The 1963 civil

rights march of a quarter-million was overwhelmingly a Black demonstration. Few unions gave it even token support. Labor officials were often roadblocks, some of the last to be won over to the defense of racial equality and affirmative action.

But September 19 was different. The AFL-CIO strongly encouraged Black rights groups, including the NAACP, National Urban League, and Operation PUSH, to participate. These groups were central components of the demonstration and rally.

Thousands of unionists—Black and white—carried "Defend civil rights" banners. Marchers listened with keen interest when Benjamin Hooks, Coretta Scott King, and Jesse Jackson spoke.

## 'ERA YES'

Solidarity Day was also the largest demonstration for women's rights this country has ever seen.

For too long the Democratic and Republican parties have helped big business make fat profits by underpaying women and making them second-class citizens. Reagan doesn't even pretend to support the Equal Rights Amendment.

But the working people in this country—male and female—do. There were more "ERA YES" signs carried on September 19 than any other kind.

It was this strong support for women's rights that pushed AFL-CIO officials to first speak out in favor of the ERA in 1973.

Marchers also expressed their support for abortion rights.

Striking air controller Steve Wallaert got one of the biggest ovations of the day when he told the rally crowd he was embittered by an administration, "that professes to remove government from the backs of the people, yet wants constitutional amendments that tell women what they can or cannot do."

The "Moral Majority" didn't have a prayer to stand on with the people packed into the Washington Mall on September 19. The mere mention of that outfit was enough to evoke loud hissing and booing from the crowd.

Loud hisses also greeted any mention of the government's war preparations.

Not one labor official ventured a pro-military speech on Solidarity Day. That's a pretty amazing fact, when you think back to the Vietnam War. To the very end—long after it was acknowl-



September 19 marcher

Militant/Lou Howort

edged that the overwhelming majority of Americans opposed the war—most labor officials were apologists for the government.

Even today, the majority of labor officials support the draft and the increased military budget; but they know these ideas are extremely unpopular with the union membership.

September 19 was a direct message to the White House that the "Vietnam Syndrome" is alive and kicking.

## 'Joe Sixpack'

None of this was overlooked by the writers for the *New York Times*. Like most daily newspapers, the *Times* is owned and edited by rich businessmen. They definitely did not like Solidarity Day.

They refused to mention the action until the last few weeks, when it got too big to ignore.

That's when they began a number of articles about the "average worker"—"Joe Sixpack" who really supported Reagan over his union.

"It is doubtful," a column in the *Times* sniffed, "that labor can turn out anywhere near the 100,000 it projects, if the rally is to be made up of real working-class stiff and not college students."

The march really set them back on their heels.

"The giant crowd stretched from the Washington Monument to a speakers' stand at the West Front of the Capitol was estimated by the National Park Service at 260,000 and may have been larger," the *Times* admitted in an article in the September 21 business section.

"It was a crowd highly unusual in its diversity. It was young and old, black, white, Hispanic, construction union and industrial workers."

They wrote, "It cannot be doubted that the groups that sponsored the rally achieved a stunning success."

One *Times* writer, James Reston, was openly irritated by the demonstration:

"[H]e's the only President we have," Reston lectures in the September 20 issue. If this keeps up, "what kind of Presidency will we have until the middle of the 1980s?"

"At least, on Solidarity Day in Washington, with union masses screaming in the sunshine on the mall, one wonders what 'solidarity' means—is it for the unions or for the union of the nation?"

Reston really points to the nub of the problem.

## What kind of unity

The half-million marchers on September 19 came from the trade unions and their allies. They represented the majority of the people in this country—the working class. And the demands raised there—from "Jobs not bombs" to "Support PATCO"—represent the needs of working people here.

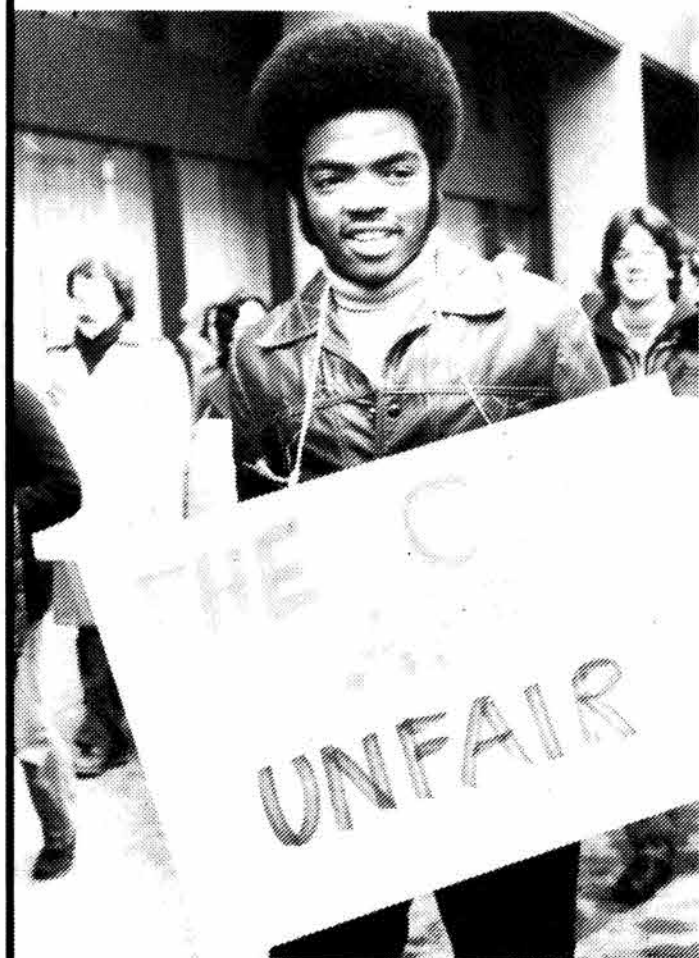
The march was a rejection of the fake "national unity" of belt tightening and neutron bombs that only benefit the rich people who run this country today.

That's what made September 19 so important. The demonstration expressed the heightened class consciousness that is developing in the working-class.

The question is now posed—what next? How can the working people in this country turn this sentiment and unity into political action?

Those questions will be discussed in future articles in the next *Militant*.

## Young socialists plan convention



Young people are among those who suffer most under Reagan's program of cutbacks, war, and attacks on democratic rights. The Young Socialist Alliance is a national youth organization active in the fight against Reaganism and the big business attack on youth and all working people.

The YSA believes that the root cause of these problems is the capitalist system, which places the profits of a handful of rich bankers and businessmen ahead of the needs of the majority of the people who work for a living.

We need to reorganize our society on the basis of rational planning for human needs, not the profit-gouging desires of the super-rich.

A socialist society—that's what the Young Socialist Alliance is fighting for today. Why don't you join us?

The YSA invites you to attend our twenty-first National Convention, to be held December 31 through January 3 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

There is no better way to learn about the YSA than by attending the convention. To find out more about how you can attend, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see listings on page twenty-three) or fill out and mail the coupon below.

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## Cubans hail Sept. 19 march

Solidarity Day was big news in Cuba and Nicaragua.

The action was featured in a September 23 broadcast by Radio Havana, and made page one of *Barricada*, newspaper of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Radio Havana called it, "the largest demonstration Washington has ever seen. Marchers carried placards reading, 'Money for people, not for the Pentagon,' and 'We need jobs.'"

Noting some of the reasons for the demonstration, Radio Havana said, "The military budget will reach the astronomical sum of \$226 billion in the next fiscal year."

At the same time, it said, "Unemployment and inflation are rising, and money for welfare, health, education, retirement, and housing is drying up."

The demonstration in Washington, the broadcast concluded, showed "the American public aren't happy about it."



## Wall St. demands more blood

# World economic crisis fuels

By William Gottlieb

In spite of growing protests capped by the massive march on Washington on September 19, the Reagan administration is demanding additional cuts in social spending. On September 24 President Reagan, in a nationally televised talk, announced that he was asking for \$13 billion in cuts over those Congress has already approved for fiscal year 1982.

Behind Reagan's stubborn refusal to consider the demands of the half-million marchers and the tens-of-millions more they were speaking for, is the worsening economic situation of U.S. and world capitalism. From the standpoint of big business and their government this situation necessitates the relentless drive to weaken the labor movement and drive down the standard of living of working people.

The world economy is now in a state of stagnation bordering on renewed recessionary decline. Since February industrial production has declined by 3 percent in the nineteen European countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The British economy remains mired in depression. Unemployment as officially measured has hit 12.4 percent. Some observers say that unemployment in Britain may now be even higher than it was in the 1930s.

In the United States business conditions have been showing signs of weakening after months of stagnation. In August, housing starts fell to a level of only 937,000—the third lowest month since World War II!

### Auto industry depression

There is no end in sight of the long depression in the U.S. auto industry. After unexpectedly low auto sales during the summer, Detroit was forced to resort to rebates (a form of half-hearted price cutting) in order to liquidate huge unsold inventories of 1981 models. Even with rebates however, business was bad.

David Eisenberg, an analyst with Sanford C. Bernstein & Company, summed it up by noting that "The results, which gave the entire domestic industry a seasonally adjusted annual selling rate of 6.2 million autos for the period, were disappointing. I just don't know how to read it."

New orders for durable goods dropped 2.5 percent in August and industrial production fell slightly in the same month indicating widespread weakness throughout industry.

At a meeting in Washington, D.C., on September 24, the National Association of Business Economists announced that 53 percent of their members think the U.S. economy either is in, or will be in, a recession by the end of 1981.

Even the one bright spot in the picture for U.S. capitalism—the relative strength of the U.S. dollar—leads to problems. The dollar's high exchange rate with other currencies means that the price of U.S. produced commodities is raised in world markets relative to that of competitors, thereby tending to depress economic activity in the United States.

The slight decline in the rate of inflation due to the dollar's relative strength also increases the burden of debt in the U.S. economy.

### Buying a house

For example suppose a worker buys a \$50,000 house with a 20 year mortgage at a 20 percent interest rate. If inflation continues at a high rate the worker's nominal wages—that is wages in dollars, not purchasing power—will rise. In addition the resale value of the house will also increase.

If inflation were to stop or even slowdown however, the worker's nominal wages might hardly rise at all. The resale value of the house might actually decline.



Chrysler's Dodge Main plant being demolished last January. Bosses destroy plants that are unprofitable, throwing thousands out of work.

The burden of debt would be relatively much greater. The worker would have to increase the share of his or her income going to interest payments. Also; the reduced value of the house would make it harder for the worker to borrow additional money.

Industrial corporations in recent years have been making extraordinary profits off inflation. This has enabled them to pay the current sky high interest rates.

If however, inflation slows down, the inflation swollen profits of the industrial corporations will tend to decline. Increased corporate bankruptcies, production cutbacks, and layoffs would follow.

Slowing down inflation combined with continuing high interest rates increases the risk of deep recession.

The problems confronting the Reagan administration go much deeper than the immediate threat of serious national and international recession.

For more than a decade the capitalist economy has been plagued by high interest rates, mounting inflation, and considerable currency instability. In the last couple of years interest rates have reached levels unheard of in the history of capitalism (with the exception of extreme financial panic).

Under these circumstances the old remedies for economic recession of deficit spending and easy money lead to simply higher interest rates and worse inflation.

### 'Supply-side economics'

Reagan ran for president on a program known as "supply side economics." He claimed that these policies would enable the economy to break out of this vicious circle.

The supply side program consists of huge tax cuts for the rich. The loss of these revenues for the government is to be compensated for by the massive cuts in social spending for the working class. These, plus other measures to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class, are supposed to lead to higher profits for the rich.

This, in turn, is supposed to lead to an increase in business investment, a process sometimes called "reindustrialization." Industries would be modernized and thus better able to compete in world markets.

The Reaganites claim that this will lead to a business boom which will allow the financing of the administration's huge military apparatus and still permit balancing the budget by 1984.

In order to combat inflation Reagan wants the Federal Reserve Board, the nation's central bank, to use its power to keep credit moderately scarce. This policy of making it hard to get loans is known as a tight money policy. The administration claims this will solve the problem of inflation.

The administration leans heavily on the arguments of capitalist economists who argue that the current high interest rates merely reflect "inflationary expectations." By keeping credit moderately tight, inflationary expectations are supposed to come down, thus solving the explosive problem of usurious interest rates.

Even from a purely technical point of view the Rea-

gan program contains a major flaw. The administration foresees considerable deficit spending continuing through fiscal 1983, due primarily to its enormous rearmament drive.

### Tight money: who suffers?

When the government runs a deficit, spends more than it receives in taxes and other revenues, it must borrow money to make up the difference.

If money is tight however, that is if the demand for loanable money exceeds the supply of loanable money, the government's deficits will drive up interest rates (increasing the government deficit even more by raising the amount of interest the government must pay on its borrowed money). There will also be a shutting off of credit to other sectors of the economy.

This is because the government, backed up by the full force of state power, has a better credit rating than any other borrower. The government can always get funds, but if the supply of loanable funds is in short supply the funds the government gets are denied to some other sector of the economy.

Next to the government, the most powerful monopoly corporations have the best credit rating, and they too can almost always get funds. DuPont, for example, had no trouble recently borrowing plenty of money to buy up the Conoco Oil and Coal company.

The full weight of the credit shortage caused by a combination of relatively tight monetary policies and deficit spending falls on workers seeking loans for cars and home mortgage credit and on working farmers and small businessmen seeking loans.

The deep depression in the housing and auto industries, the worsening plight of the working farmer, and the high rate of bankruptcies among small businessmen are the results of these contradictory policies.

There are fears on Wall Street however, that the bankruptcies may not be confined to workers, working farmers, and small businessmen. They might spread to major banks and corporations leading to an old fashioned financial panic that would usher in a really deep depression. The Chrysler corporation is barely holding itself above water and another major corporation, International Harvester, is on the brink of bankruptcy due to the depressed state of the farm economy.

### Crisis in savings & loan system

An especially dangerous situation has also been building up in the savings and loan system. Savings and loan associations are institutions that hold the savings of depositors and loan them out in the form of home mortgages.

They make their profit from the difference in the interest they pay on deposits and the interest they receive on the mortgages they hold. Deposits however can always be withdrawn (with certain restrictions on some types of deposits) but mortgages run for long periods.

When interest rates rise sharply this puts the savings and loan associations in a bind. They have their loaned out money invested in long-range mortgages that pay the lower interest rates set during an earlier period. But they must borrow and accept deposits at

## For further reading

### Decline of the Dollar

By Ernest Mandel

128 pp., paper \$2.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Include 75 cents for postage and handling.



# Reagan cutback drive

the higher prevailing market rates.

If they raise the interest rates they pay on deposits, their profits fall. Or, in a period of totally abnormal interest rates like we are in now, they disappear altogether. But if they keep the rates of interest they pay on deposits down (or are forced to keep them down by various government regulations) rich investors withdraw money from the savings and loans institutions and invest them in higher interest corporate IOUs. If such a process goes on long enough the very existence of the savings and loans can be threatened. Depositors, fearing that they may not be repaid would descend on the savings and loans to withdraw their deposits, thus forcing them into bankruptcy.

## Massive withdrawals

This is exactly what now threatens to happen. During the first eight months of 1981, \$19.9 billion has been withdrawn from the nation's savings and loan associations, by far the greatest in the system's history.

The beleaguered savings and loan network has been forced to slash new home loan commitments by 11 percent in August alone. This is the immediate cause of the housing depression.

The savings and loan network in turn is intertwined with the rest of the banking and credit system. A general crash of the savings and loan system would not only bring the housing industry to a complete standstill, it would almost surely lead to a broader panic.

As one official of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco put it, "The danger of financial panic is greater now than in many years. Half the S&Ls are losing money. I believe between 20 and 25 percent of these institutions will disappear in the next year or two."

The mounting fear of financial panic explains why some bankers are even wondering whether the administration should slightly scale down the rate of the gigantic proposed increase in military expenses. But no one on Wall Street has come out for cancelling the big boost in arms spending altogether, let alone cut the war budget.

Actually the current budget deficit isn't that big by historical standards. But under the current conditions of extreme financial tension, it threatens to be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

## Return to gold standard

Faced with this dire situation, certain "supply side" economists have come up with a new "solution" to the problem. They claim that a return to the gold standard—that is making the dollar exchangeable for a fixed amount of gold at the U.S. Treasury—would bring down interest rates and inflation, thus opening a new era of capitalist prosperity. These ideas are being seriously discussed in various big business publications.

It's true that returning to the gold standard would eventually halt inflation. But this would not prevent a financial panic. Not only would a halt of inflation increase the burden of the existing debt, it would strictly limit the amount of additional money that could be issued. That is, Washington would have to limit the money it prints for fear that holders of dollars would present them for redemption in gold.

A return to gold under current conditions would lead quickly to massive bank failures, soaring personal and business bankruptcies, full scale depression, and double digit unemployment.

The talk about returning to the gold standard is ironic because it was claimed by capitalist economists and politicians in 1968-71—when Johnson and Nixon abandoned gold—that leaving the gold standard would enable governments to avoid panics. Panics could be avoided, they claimed, because governments would have unlimited power to issue paper money and thus avoid bank failures and chain reaction bankruptcies.

The real reason for high interest rates is not because of high "inflationary expectations" but because of the unique capitalist phenomenon of "overproduction."

Capitalism tends to develop production as though there were no limits. But the market, which consists of the ability to pay for commodities is limited. It cannot, in the long run, keep up with the growth of production.

The point is inevitably reached in the course of every economic expansion under capitalism where it

is not profitable to continue production at the existing level. Production must be slashed and unemployment rates skyrocket until the overhang of overproduced commodities is sold off.

This overproduction is the real reason for the current high interest rates, not inflationary expectations.

When overproduction reaches a certain point money lenders demand higher rates of interest because they fear that they will not be paid back. The high rates of interest cover the increased risk.

If the government responds to this situation by simply issuing increased paper money, interest rates rise higher because the money lenders fear that they will be paid back in devalued paper currency.

However if the U.S. government were now to return to the gold standard, interest rates would not come down. The money lenders' fear of not being paid back at all would simply replace the fear of being paid back in devalued dollars. Only if "overproduction" is liquidated by depression would interest rates finally fall.

## Example from history

The truth of this is shown by the movement of interest rates over the last fifty years. In 1929, on the eve of the Great Depression, interest rates were high. However, on the eve of, and during, World War II, after the Depression had done its work by forcing the liquidation of overproduced commodities, interest was very low.

This was so in spite of the fact that the most destructive war in history sent "inflationary expectations," and inflation itself, zooming.

The reason that interest rates have reached such unprecedented levels in recent years is that capitalist governments have feared that the kind of large scale "liquidation" and prolonged double digit unemployment of full scale depression would lead to a political explosion by working people that would threaten the survival of capitalism itself. Thus the capitalists have pushed "overproduction" to the extreme.

This is why the bosses are driving ahead in their attacks on labor and its allies. They must alter the relationship of forces between the working class and themselves, to their advantage. It's the only way that they can hope to put the working class and other working people through the kind of misery they must if the capitalist private profit system is to survive.

The capitalists themselves admit as much. Leonard Silk, the *New York Times* chief writer on economics,

wrote on September 23, "This week Cyrus J. Lawrence Inc, the brokerage house, posted a new batch of economic data, grouping the items into 'good news' and 'bad news'. There was a lot of good news to report: Housing starts have fallen to their third-lowest monthly level since World War II. The pace of new-car sales has dropped from an annual rate of 8.1 million units in August to 7.6 million in the first period of September. Commercial and industrial loans of the nation's leading banks fell \$322 million in the week of Sept. 9.

"But there was much more good news than that: The nation's industrial production had dropped by four-tenths of 1 percent in August, the biggest monthly decline since last year's recession. Inventories had risen 1.1 percent for manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, a new indication of weakness in the national economy. Best of all, inflation-adjusted gross national product, said the Commerce Department spokesman, was 'flat to slightly down.'"

## Bad news for capitalists

But as there was "good news" for the capitalists there was also bad news. The half million working people who marched on Washington were a grim reminder to the bosses and their government that the patience of working people is becoming exhausted. They will not stand idly by while the capitalists put the U.S. and the world economy through another Great Depression.

Even before Solidarity Day there were indications that the bosses for now will likely allow another round of inflation rather than face an immediate full scale depression. Since July the amount of reserves of currency that the Federal Reserve Board issues to the banks has been growing at an inflationary 10 percent annual rate.

But another round of inflation will solve nothing. Interest rates will rise to even higher levels and an even worse crisis would loom.

Nor will recession (a limited liquidation of overproduction) solve anything. It would intensify the already considerable unemployment, but would not liquidate enough overproduction to stabilize the profit system for very long.

This is the "solution" generally favored by the so-called monetarists like Milton Friedman. This would be simply more of the same policies of the last decade. Things will continue to get worse for working people. The prospect of full scale depression will simply be postponed. This is the best, today and in the coming years, capitalism has to offer.



Working farmers are being strangled by high interest rates as bankers shift weight of capitalist crisis onto them and other working people.



**2,237 new subscribers**

# Socialists plan visits to 'Militant' readers

By Suzanne Haig

Some 2,237 people bought subscriptions to the *Militant* newspaper on Solidarity Day, September 19. They included striking air controllers, auto-workers, members of the National Black Independent Political Party, and others.

These were people who, in some cases, had traveled on buses for dozens of hours to demonstrate against the Reagan cutbacks and the escalating war budget.

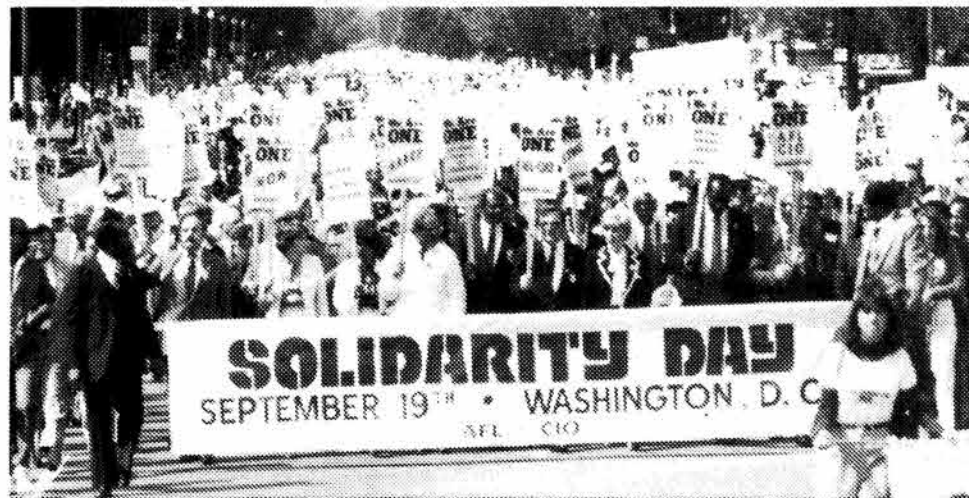
They had come to Washington, D.C., because they were looking for action to solve the problems facing working people. And they were interested in socialist ideas. Most other newspapers were

paigned underway in a number of municipal elections and the gubernatorial races in Virginia and New Jersey.

Some people will be interested in attending campaign events, weekly forums, or classes on socialism organized by branches of the SWP and chapters of the YSA.

They will be interested in hearing from the socialists about activities in the labor movement, the women's rights movement, the Black struggle, and about protests against the draft, the MX missiles, and Washington's involvement in El Salvador.

Most importantly, we'll be urging these new readers to renew their sub-



Demonstrators from all over country bought subscriptions at Solidarity Day.

handed out free at Solidarity Day, making the number of *Militant* subscriptions sold all the more significant.

The subscriptions sold mark an impressive beginning for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* circulation drive this fall. They indicate the potential to win many new subscribers.

Now we want to take an important new step: visiting as many of these new subscribers as possible in the next few weeks.

The *Militant* circulation office has already sent out the names of all subscribers to the nearest branch of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance.

Through these visits with our new friends, socialists will have a chance to talk about questions, ideas, and suggestions they might have after having read the *Militant* for several weeks.

It will be an opportunity to discuss the idea of a labor party, the revolution in Poland, the struggles in Africa, the fight for socialism in the United States.

New subscribers will have a chance to meet members of the Socialist Workers Party and hear about the socialist cam-

scriptions for three, six, or twelve months.

Subscriptions were sold to people from states across the country: 25 from North Carolina; 59 from Michigan; 63 from New Jersey; 244 from New York; 82 in Ohio; 103 from Pennsylvania; 17 from South Carolina; 46 from Massachusetts; and elsewhere.

Many of the new subscribers came from cities and towns where there are no SWP branches or YSA chapters.

In Alabama, people from Bessemer, Eight Mile, Mobile, and Scottsboro were among those who subscribed. In Florida: Belle Glade, Jacksonville, and other cities. In Illinois: Peoria, Springfield, and Champaign, in addition to Chicago.

Many people in and around the District of Columbia subscribed. In Maryland, areas included Adelphi, Annapolis, Beltsville, Camp Springs, Bethesda, Capital Heights, and Baltimore.

In Virginia 129 subscribed, including 29 from Richmond. In Washington, D.C., 190 subscribed.

These visits to new subscribers will be particularly important where socialists

## Subscription scoreboard

As of September 26, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Brooklyn	325	286	75	0	400	286	72
Washington, D.C.	185	148	40	2	225	150	67
San Diego	90	75	30	1	120	76	63
Cleveland	55	35	5	0	60	35	58
Portland	60	34	0	0	60	34	57
Detroit	200	117	15	0	215	117	54
Atlanta	165	93	10	0	175	93	53
Pittsburgh	215	112	10	0	225	112	50
*Piedmont	180	89	0	0	180	89	49
Boston	175	92	25	1	200	93	47
Louisville	125	54	0	0	125	54	43
Newark	275	145	75	2	350	147	42
Capital District	90	39	5	0	95	39	41
*Birmingham	200	78	0	0	200	78	39
*Harrisburg	130	51	0	0	130	51	39
Los Angeles	325	151	75	3	400	154	39
Denver	95	36	5	0	100	36	36
New Orleans	110	38	0	0	110	38	35
St. Louis	115	42	5	0	120	42	35
Oakland	170	68	30	0	200	68	34
Philadelphia	110	48	40	0	150	48	32
Gary	115	36	10	0	125	36	29
San Antonio	100	38	30	0	130	38	29
Chicago	215	64	35	0	250	64	26
*Manhattan	705	244	245	0	950	244	26
Phoenix	75	24	25	1	100	25	25
Twin Cities	180	39	0	0	180	39	22
Cincinnati	70	15	0	0	70	15	21
Salt Lake City	140	32	20	0	160	32	20
Baltimore	130	25	5	0	135	25	19
*Iron Range	110	19	0	0	110	19	17
Tucson	20	6	15	0	35	6	17
San Francisco	150	30	50	0	200	30	15
Seattle	140	15	10	4	150	19	13
San Jose	90	14	40	1	130	15	12
Indianapolis	125	14	0	0	125	14	11
Charleston	125	13	0	0	125	13	10
Albuquerque	60	6	25	0	85	6	7
Milwaukee	150	11	25	1	175	12	7
Tidewater	150	9	0	0	150	9	6
Kansas City	125	8	25	0	150	8	5
Dallas	110	6	50	0	160	6	4
Toledo	50	2	0	0	50	2	4
Morgantown	120	3	0	0	120	3	3
Houston	135	3	40	0	175	3	2
Miami	90	2	10	0	100	2	2
Miscellaneous		180		13	0	193	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6875</b>	<b>2689</b>	<b>1105</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>7980</b>	<b>2718</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>688</b>		<b>111</b>		<b>798</b>	<b>10</b>

\*indicates area that has raised goal

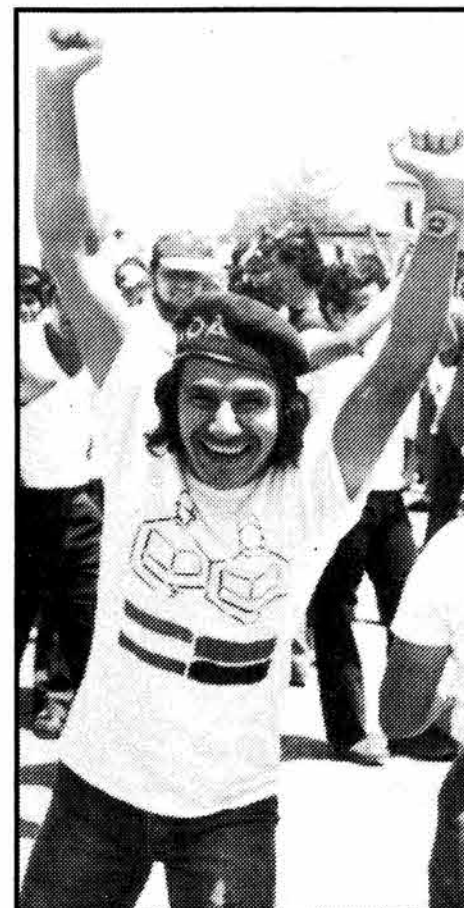
are planning statewide campaigns in 1982. In Pennsylvania, a team has already been put together from the three SWP branches in that state—Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia—to visit industrial cities and college campuses in the state to build the YSA national convention in Philadelphia in December, and to prepare for the SWP 1982 state election campaign.

Some branches are raising their subscription goal because of the added boost from the subs sold in Washington. These include Manhattan, going from 600 to 950; Harrisburg, from 75 to 103; Minnesota's Iron Range from 100 to 110; Winston-Salem, North Carolina, from 150 to 180; and Birmingham, from 125 to 200.

The success of the subscription drive has been shown by more than the results on Solidarity Day. In San Antonio, Texas, the SWP branch has sold 80 of its 130 goal to people in the area.

An indication that Solidarity Day reflects the changing times is that one transit worker from New York who bought a subscription in Washington told the *Militant* salesperson that this was the second demonstration he had attended.

The first was a pro-Vietnam war march in 1965!



## TOUR NICARAGUA November 7-15

Managua, Masaya, Matagalpa, Estelí, León

**Experience the excitement of the Nicaraguan revolution.** The itinerary for this tour has been prepared by the Managua Bureau of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Tour includes talk by P. Xavier Gorostiaga, a leading economist for the Ministry of Planning. Meetings with a member of the Junta for National Reconstruction; Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture; Moisés Hassán, minister of construction; and Miguel Vigil, minister of housing, have been scheduled. Learn about the progress made in education, health, housing, industrial production and agriculture. It will be your opportunity to meet with the heroic fighters who liberated their country from the Somoza dictatorship and imperialist domination.

**Participate in the mobilizations commemorating the assassination of Carlos Fonseca Amador.** In 1962 Fonseca Amador formed the Sandinista Liberation Front along with Tomás Borge and Silvio Mayorga. On November 7, 1976, Fonseca Amador was killed by Somoza's National Guard.

**\$750 includes:** eight days, round-trip airfare from Miami, hotels, three meals a day, all transfers and guide service.

## TOUR CUBA November 22-29

Visit Havana and the western province of Pinar del Rio.

The tour will be designed for American trade unionists to learn about unions and working conditions in Cuba.

**\$610 includes:** eight days, round trip airfare from Miami, three meals a day, all transfers and guide services.

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## Behind Kampuchea 'agreement'

# It's 'no deal' on unity for right-wing exiles



Exile leaders at Singapore. From left: Son Sann, former right-wing prime minister of Kampuchea; Khmer Rouge's Khieu Samphan; Singapore official who helped arrange talks; and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who ruled Kampuchea until 1970.

By Steve Bride

The collection of rightist exiles that Washington hopes will someday be the government of Kampuchea are having their problems.

Chief among these appears to be deciding who—in the unlikely event they overthrow the present Kampuchean government—gets to control what.

The government in question is that of Heng Samrin, which was put in power in 1979 by Kampuchean insurgents and Vietnamese troops. It replaced the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot, but not before the latter had slaughtered between two and three million of Kampuchea's inhabitants and brought the country to the brink of starvation.

Since then, Washington—supported mainly by the governments of China and Thailand—has attempted to block international efforts to feed the Kampuchean population, while struggling vainly to oust Heng Samrin.

Most recently, it engineered a September 18 vote in the United Nations that handed Pol Pot Kampuchea's seat in that body for the third year in a row.

Washington's latest try at forging an armed opposition to Heng Samrin began in a series of back-room meetings in New York and Washington, during a July 13-17 UN debate on Kampuchea. Prominent at these gatherings were:

- Representatives of the Khmer Rouge, which has some 30,000 guerrillas camped in the Thailand-Kampuchea border area.

- Son Sann, prime minister of Kampuchea until 1967, when he was exiled by then-head-of-state Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Son Sann now commands the 5,000 or so troops of the right-wing Khmer People's National Liberation Front.

- To these was later added Sihanouk himself, who ruled Kampuchea (then called Cambodia) before 1970. Sihanouk today has some political backing in various foreign capitals, but nothing in the way of armies.

A meeting between the three factions was set for September 2, in Singapore, to try and iron out their differences.

This, however, proved difficult for several reasons.

First, the three factions have been shooting at each other longer than at the Vietnamese who help defend Kampuchea.

Second, the Khmer Rouge, by virtue of its superior forces, would dominate any eventual coalition. The other two parties, whose supporters the Khmer Rouge did its best to liquidate when it held power, doubt their chances of surviving such an arrangement.

Third, Sihanouk and Son Sann dread the political consequences of associating themselves with the Khmer Rouge, which is hated for what it did in Kampuchea.

It is in this context that the squabbling over posts took place.

Sihanouk, who had three sons murdered by Pol Pot, wanted to be head of state again.

Son Sann, who lost a wife and several other relatives to the Khmer Rouge, wanted the prime ministership and a commitment from the U.S. to bring his forces up to parity with Pol Pot's.

Washington's concern in all this was best put by the conservative London *Economist*: "The Americans are counting on a united front to dilute international abhorrence of the Khmers Rouges. . . ."

This view prevailed. The Singapore meeting went ahead as scheduled.

If the Khmer Rouge went looking for respectability in Singapore, they got as much as there was to be had. Their representative, Khieu Samphan, signed a statement in which he "agreed to express the desire to form a coalition government" in Kampuchea. The demands of the other two parties were referred to a committee that never met.

On a more pragmatic level, the agreement urged all three groups to avoid shooting at each other.

"The Khmer Rouge are the winners in Singapore," Son Sann said afterward. "They are not going to execute the agreement. They already got what they wanted."

"Inside Cambodia, there is very little chance of it [the agreement] being ac-

cepted," added Sihanouk (who had earlier abandoned his claim to the post of head of state). "My people may condemn me for joining the Khmer Rouge. To cooperate with the Khmer Rouge is to cooperate with the killers of the people of Cambodia."

What gives all this maneuvering something of an air of unreality is the fact that the existing government of Kampuchea shows absolutely no signs of collapsing. Indeed, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* says Sihanouk himself has admitted Kampuchean "live better now under the Heng Samrin regime than they did before."

Writing in the August 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, Paul Quinn-Judge of the American Friends Service Committee reported:

"When the Vietnamese arrived in Cambodia, they found a country whose human and physical resources had been devastated. Skilled Cambodians had been killed, had fled the country, or were often too traumatized by the Pol Pot years to come forward.

"For the first year or so, while Vietnamese troops fought the soldiers of Pol Pot, Vietnamese officials kept the country together. Others trained a new generation of Cambodian administrators in three-to-six week crash courses.

"Today things are beginning to change slowly. Cambodians handle most of the administration. . . .

"Some advisors are being withdrawn, but on a strictly case-by-case basis. 'When they see we can do a job, they leave us to do it,' said one Cambodian functionary."

On the political front, there are other signs of growing stability in Kampuchea. Elections to a 117-seat National Assembly were held in the first week of May.

In an otherwise skeptical report on these, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted, "what was a surprise was that the election was held without any sabotage by the Khmer Rouge. . . ."

Pol Pot's forces had threatened such sabotage in the two-thirds of Kampuchea's territory they claim to operate in, but apparently don't.

## Castro: U.S. war drive threatens humanity

By Matilde Zimmermann

Representatives of the governments of the United States, Britain, China, and El Salvador walked out of the opening session of the World Union of Parliaments conference in Havana, Cuba, September 15. They were protesting a speech by Fidel Castro, in which he accused the leadership of the Reagan administration of thinking like fascists and said the U.S. government had used bacteriological warfare to introduce five epidemics into Cuba in the last three years.

Castro made it clear he did not think fascism existed in the United States: "I would never say that the

people of the United States are fascist, nor its governmental institutions, nor its press, nor its numerous and creative social movements, nor what remains—and it's a great deal—of its noble democratic traditions and attachment to freedom.

"Our hope is based on our confidence that fascism cannot take over in the United States, nor in the world."

Castro charged that Reagan's war drive represented a threat to the very future of humanity. He said that Washington, through its involvement in El Salvador, Lebanon, and Angola, was responsible for "the blood now being shed by three different peoples, on

three totally different continents."

The Thatcher government came in for sharp criticism as well. Castro singled out for special praise the Irish patriots and martyrs, "who are writing one of the most heroic pages in human history."

"These aren't Marxist-Leninists or communists we're asking you to support," Castro went on. "They are Catholic militants."

Castro denied State Department charges that Cuban military advisors are fighting in El Salvador, and said that the Salvadoran people, unlike government forces, "are fighting with their own resources alone."

The real reason for revolutionary



upheavals in countries like El Salvador, he explained, is the brutal exploitation workers and peasants suffer. Between 1970 and 1978, according to Castro, foreign corporations took out \$2.40 in profits for every dollar they invested in Latin America. U.S. corporations alone made profits of more than \$30 billion—\$4.50 for every dollar they invested.

## Nicaragua takes aim against speculators

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Toothpaste isn't something you buy everyday, but when you run out it's nice to be able to get more. So it was mildly annoying that there wasn't any at the supermarket when I needed it a couple months ago. None of the stalls at the open-air market had toothpaste either, and even the hotel shops were out. I finally bought a very small tube for a very large price.

A couple of weeks later I noticed that there was toothpaste in the market again, and after that I didn't pay much attention to the off-again, on-again supply. After all, Nicaragua has to import all its toothpaste, so it seemed reasonable that stocks could run out and prices be high.

Besides, years of living in the United States had made me somewhat cynical about shortages. One day there is a

"shortage"—of gasoline, for example. The next day, after the price has gone up 25 percent, you are swimming in the stuff.

But Nicaragua is different. Just how different it is became apparent one day in early September when a millionaire businessman was charged with illegal speculation in toothpaste.

The Sandinista police had a news conference to explain what had happened. Several months ago the office that deals with "crimes against the economy" started to notice—just like the rest of us—that toothpaste was getting very expensive and hard to find.

Import records showed that enough toothpaste was being brought in to satisfy the country's needs. So the police started looking more closely at the books of one Eddy López Tijerino, the Nicaraguan manager for Colgate Pal-

molive. López had been using his virtual monopoly over toothpaste distribution in Nicaragua to make himself and a few close associates rich.

He used every trick in the book. He claimed to be importing more toothpaste than he actually brought in. He wrote out false receipts that amounted to 3 million córdobas (\$300,000) in the month of May alone. He pocketed money for thousands of cases of toothpaste never delivered, to customers that never existed. Everybody was getting squeezed—the consumers, the market women and small shopkeepers, and the central bank that was lending López money.

The get-rich-quick scheme had political implications as well. The right-wing newspaper *La Prensa* hammered away day after day at the lack of toothpaste as "proof" of the Sandinistas' inability to manage the economy.

But the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has once again shown just the opposite. Eddy López's partners are cooling their heels behind bars, facing possible sentences of six months to a year in jail. The only reason the head crook isn't with them is because he is in Miami.

In his absence, the government is invoking a new revolutionary law passed last July 19 to begin confiscating the toothpaste magnate's property.

The Nicaraguans have also asked the United States to return López to face the trial he deserves. But they may wait a long time. Authorities in the United States are likely to regard Eddy López's dirty tricks against the Nicaraguan toothpaste-buying public as just normal business practice.

From Intercontinental Press



By Margaret Jayko

The following is based on a talk given in August at the thirty-first national convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

The current anti-working class offensive by the bosses and their government is the biggest challenge the women's rights movement has faced since the second wave of feminism burst onto the scene in the late sixties.

What has been the response of the most prominent national figures in the women's movement to the brutal economic, social, political, and ideological offensive against women?

What solutions do they counterpose to the ruling class's "answers?"

What do they have to say to the women and men who are being barraged with reactionary nostrums and real social and economic blows?

How have they intervened in the broad discussions on the role of women in society?

An objective evaluation shows that those who are looked to as the leaders of the women's liberation movement have not only retreated under fire, some of them have become complicit in the offensive.

Instead of telling Reagan and those he represents that we intend to fight him every step of the way on every issue that affects women, they have given ground, especially on issues like abortion rights and the draft. They have retreated from mobilizing the masses of women and our allies in an all-out campaign to fight for the ERA.

Even the program for which women are fighting is beginning to be reshaped, narrowed down, and in

## Reagan's war on women's rights Part III

some cases portrayed as its opposite, by women who claim to speak for liberation.

In this regard the example of Betty Friedan is very instructive.

### 'The Second Stage'

Friedan has a new book coming out in October called "The Second Stage." And it is no wonder the big business media is warming to it.

Friedan was on the front cover of the July 5 *New York Times Magazine*. The feature article was adapted from her new book. The title was "Feminism's Next Step—Betty Friedan declares that the women's movement requires new directions that transcend sexual politics."

Friedan's basic thesis is that in the first stage of the women's movement "our aim was full participation, power, and voice in the mainstream—inside the party, the political process, the professions, the business world." (In the world of Betty Friedan there don't seem to be factories, mines, or unions, nor many women who work as waitresses or maids.)

A great deal has been won, she argues. Her daughter and her daughter's friends have their careers. But something is wrong.

"I sense a frustration in women not so young, about those careers they're lucky to have, facing agonizing conflicts over having children.

"... I sense a sullen impatience among some of those women who entered the work force in unprecedented millions over the last ten years, who are in fact earning fifty-nine cents for every dollar men earn because the only jobs available to most women are still in the low-paying clerical and service fields."

### Problems of 'first stage'

The problem is twofold, Friedan asserts.

First, we were unable to achieve the "first stage" as defined by Friedan because "we were diverted from our dream by a sexual politics that cast men as enemy and seemed to repudiate the traditional values of the family. ... We insidiously fell into a feminist mystique, which denied that core of women's personhood that is fulfilled through love, nurture, home."

For Friedan, the women's liberation movement is under attack today, not because we have been so successful, but because we fought for the wrong goals.

"The sexual politics that distorted the sense of priorities of the women's movement during the 1970's made it easy for the so-called Moral Majority to lump ERA with homosexual rights and abortion into one

explosive package of licentious, family-threatening sex."

According to Friedan, "We might not now be watching the dismantling of affirmative-action programs against sex discrimination in education and employment by conservative extremists in the Senate," if we had not been diverted by sexual politics.

It is because we fought for abortion rights and similar demands and refused to allow our movement to be divided by lesbian baiting that we are today in danger of losing the ERA. "That focus on sexual battles also took energy away from the fight for the equal rights amendment and kept us from moving to restructure work and home so that women could have real choices."

While the demands and program for which we fought were too radical, so too were our methods.

"The question must be asked: Is the kind of power generated or implicit in the women's movement truly expressed in single-issue, special-interest politics?"

To organize an action campaign that concentrates on and fights for a single, well-defined goal is what Friedan defines as "the dominant, masculine technique."

As a result of these erroneous policies of the women's liberation movement, today "the rights that women have struggled to win in the last decade are in deadly danger, with right-wing groups in Congress determined to gut laws against sex discrimination and to abolish legal abortion and a conservative Supreme Court already backtracking on equality."

### Friedan's 'solutions'

What answers does Friedan put forward? What does the second stage of the women's liberation movement mean to her?

On the political action front the answer is simple. Deeper into the "mainstream" of Democratic Party politics. Help the politicians to see that women are a decisive voting bloc.

"If the Democrats had spent the same amount of energy courting women on the issues of equal rights as they spent courting [!!!] blacks and Jews and other minorities ... we might have had the equal rights amendment, and the women's movement might have mobilized, in earnest, to re-elect Carter."

Even more importantly, "The defeat of the Senators on the Moral Majority hit list ... cannot be attributed solely to disgust with Carter or to Reagan's coattails. The women's movement has to assume some responsibility. We underestimated the threat and did not mobilize ourselves in all-out defense of the men who were explicitly targeted."

So, according to Friedan, our perspective must be to continue to elect the liberal capitalist politicians who have gutted abortion rights, slashed child care, allowed the ERA to go down to defeat in state after state, and reestablished draft registration. A real winner!

That's what the leaders of the women's movement have been advocating all along, which has contributed heavily to getting us into this mess to begin with.

What about the political goals for which the "second stage" is striving? How should women's liberation be redefined?

Friedan says the key to the second stage is the need to "transcend that polarization between feminism and the family. ... The second stage is not so much a fixed agenda as it is a process, a mode that will put a new value on qualities once considered—and denigrated as—special to women, feminine qualities that will be liberated in men as they share experiences like child care."

Of course, the goal of women's liberation is the transformation of social relations by releasing us all from capitalism's economic chains that twist and distort family and personal relations. New human beings will eventually emerge. But that cannot be achieved on the basis of "restructuring" the family to increase the social burdens it must bear.

### The family

Friedan weaves her entire reactionary retreat from the struggle for women's liberation around the role of the family and the pressures that weight down on it, and on women within the family, especially in times of economic crisis.

"Family" is not just a buzz word for reactionaries," she writes. "For women, as for men, it is the symbol of that last area where one has any hope of control over one's destiny, of meeting one's most basic human needs, of nourishing that core of personhood threatened now by vast impersonal institutions and uncontrollable corporate and government bureaucracies. Against these menaces, the family may be as crucial for survival as it used to be against the untamed wilderness and the raging elements, and the old, simple kinds of despotism."

For most working people the threat does not appear in the form of impersonal institutions and vast bureaucracies. It takes a much more direct form in unemployment, inflation, forced overtime, police brutal-



## Women's what are

ity, inadequate and unaffordable housing, racist segregation in schools, housing and jobs, lack of access to medical care, and many more immediate facts of life.

But it is true that pressures that lead millions of working people to seek protection against a cruel and inhuman social system by turning to members of their family are growing every day.

Women especially bear the brunt of the burden within the family. For increasing numbers of women whether or not to get a job outside the home is not an option. That is the only way to pay the bills. Yet they still must take responsibility for all the work in the home.

Friedan points to this fact, and correctly notes that the forces of reaction play on the insecurities and conflicts women feel.

What is her solution?

She calls for restructuring home and work so that women have real choices.

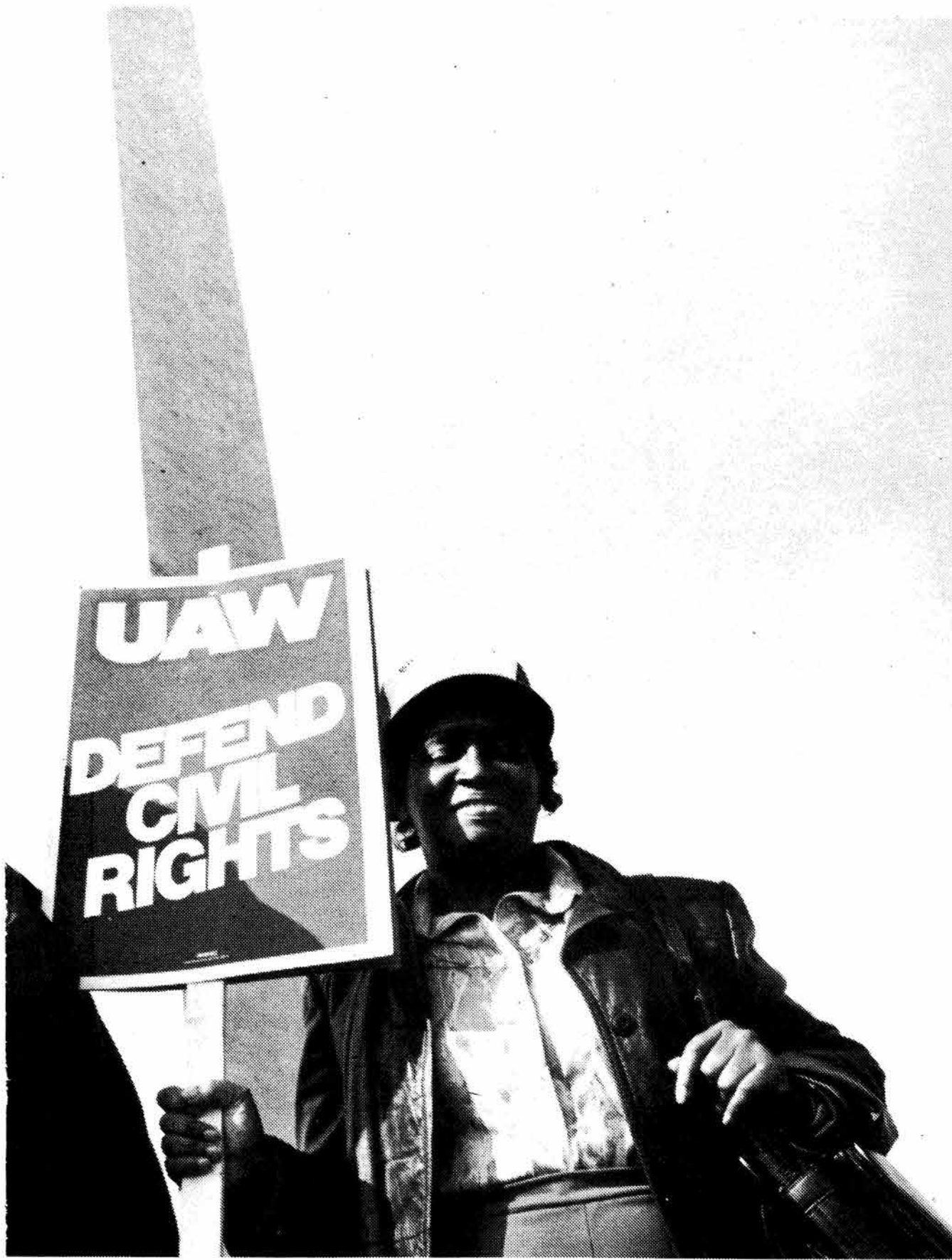
But Friedan's proposed "restructuring" is not a shorter work week with no loss in pay, along with more, better, and cheaper social services which would take some of the burden off women. Instead she suggests that "in the second stage, unions and companies will begin to give priority to restructuring hours of work ... Flexible hours so that the family can better take more responsibility for child care, etc."

She counsels the companies that the results of this hoped for cooperation will be "reduced absenteeism, increased productivity and profit."

As for restructuring the home, there is not a word

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Militant/Lou Howort

# movement today: are we fighting for?

about increased resources for government-financed child care, improved education, more recreation programs, libraries, museums, better care for the elderly, or other services. As Friedan explained in a recent speech, "Our mode has got to be a passionate voluntarism—we cannot rely on the Federal Government, Congress or the courts."

Instead Friedan suggests, "a voucher system, such as Milton Friedman and other conservatives have already proposed for different purposes, could be used to provide a 'child allowance,' payable perhaps as a tax rebate, to every man or woman who takes primary responsibility for care of a child or dependent parent at home."

Such a proposal of course dovetails perfectly with the reactionary economic plans of the ruling class as they drive to reduce social services and transfer the burden from society back onto each individual family.

Friedan's restructured home and work would lead to increased oppression of women as the pressures come down on the family more and more. Far from new and more flexible lifestyles for all, and releasing the potential for love and human compassion in men, it would lead to increased drug addiction, alcoholism, wife-beating and child-abuse.

## Retreat from feminism

The women's movement cannot counter the reactionary opponents of women's liberation by adopting their program to force women back into the worst eco-

nomie and social dependency. We must point the way forward, not backward.

We say, let's *lighten* the burden on the family, and on women, so that women really can choose what they want to do with their lives.

Let's have more affirmative action and daycare, let's pass the ERA, so that women can work, and children can be cared for.

Let's have safe, legal abortions available to all, as well as medically safe contraception.

Don't cut social services and human needs out of the budget. We need those for ourselves, and our families.

Cut the military spending, and the profits of the corporations. No draft for men or women.

Feminism, we say, is synonymous with a better, richer, more secure life for women, men, and children. That's the vision of the future with which we inspire all who want to fight.

Friedan's "second stage" includes many other retreats from the struggle for women's rights as well, such as the assumption that women will of course be drafted into the U.S. imperialist army in the interests of "national survival," and greater "sensitivity to human values and to life" in the age of nuclear holocaust.

But the degree to which Friedan has abandoned the concrete struggle for a social order that could assure women's liberation, and replaced that goal with a reactionary, mystical vision of the future is captured in her projection that the women's movement itself is

no longer necessary. New "common interests" will emerge and "will create the basis for a new political alliance for the second stage that may not be a women's movement. Men may be—must be—at the cutting edge of the second stage."

Yes, women's liberation is in the interests of men, but it's a class question. Those who will be with us in the fight for our liberation are not the men to whom Friedan looks in the corporation board rooms and halls of congress.

And it is we who must remain the cutting edge of our own struggle. No one else can do it for us. Liberation will be taken, not bestowed.

For Friedan, some of these ideas are not new. But it is indicative that they are today being given such prominent boosting. It is part of the ideological campaign to roll back the consciousness and expectations of women.

## NOW leadership

How has the leadership of NOW—the largest women's rights organization in this country—responded to the government's anti-woman offensive?

They don't go as far as Friedan, that's true. But they too have been pulled to the right.

They couldn't say the things Friedan does and expect to remain the leaders of an organization that is composed of thousands of women who want equality and who are willing to fight for it. But the impact of their retreat under fire and their rightward adaptation is even greater.

## Retreat on abortion

The first real retreat from the battle lines came several years ago as the most reactionary foes of women's liberation began to succeed in step-by-step cutting the heart out of the Supreme Court's 1973 decision decriminalizing abortion in the U.S. By 1977 abortion-rights opponents had mustered the strength to pass the Hyde Amendment cutting off medicaid funds for most abortions.

There was never any question what was at stake. Women were being divided along race and class lines. The most vulnerable were being deprived of their rights first. Unless the women's liberation movement and others who supported a woman's right to choose waged a serious political battle to defend abortion rights for every woman, not only would the 1973 Supreme Court decision eventually be overturned, but we would be defeated in other battles as well, including the ERA.

That was the line that supporters of the "Defending Women's Rights" caucus fought for at the 1977 NOW convention.

The right to abortion is not some optional luxury for women. It is literally a life-and-death question for millions. But the national leadership of NOW was unwilling to lead a fight in defense of legalized abortion. Their political strategy was to try and "save" the ERA by disassociating it from the defense of abortion rights.

The reactionary foes of women's liberation never could be persuaded to accept NOW's utopian ground rules, however. They knew their target was to roll back abortion rights and kill the ERA, that the two were totally interrelated, that if supporters of women's liberation could be forced to retreat on abortion rights, we would be crippled in our fight for the ERA too.

The result of this disastrous "strategy" has been too much silence through years of a reactionary propaganda barrage aimed at convincing women that our primary role in society is to produce children. If we think we are entitled to some degree of control over our lives, we are murderers.

With every new victory for the opponents of a woman's right to choose, the national leadership of NOW has retreated further.

For example, unlike their virtually instantaneous—and reactionary—public responses to the Supreme Court decision on the draft, and Reagan's appointment of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court, they had little to say about the congressional action to cut off funds even for abortions in cases of rape, incest, and danger to the life of the woman.

I recently saw one example of how this approach doesn't work.

## Bosses' judge

I watched Eleanor Smeal debate John Lofton from *Conservative Digest* on the "Tom Snyder Show" on July 23.

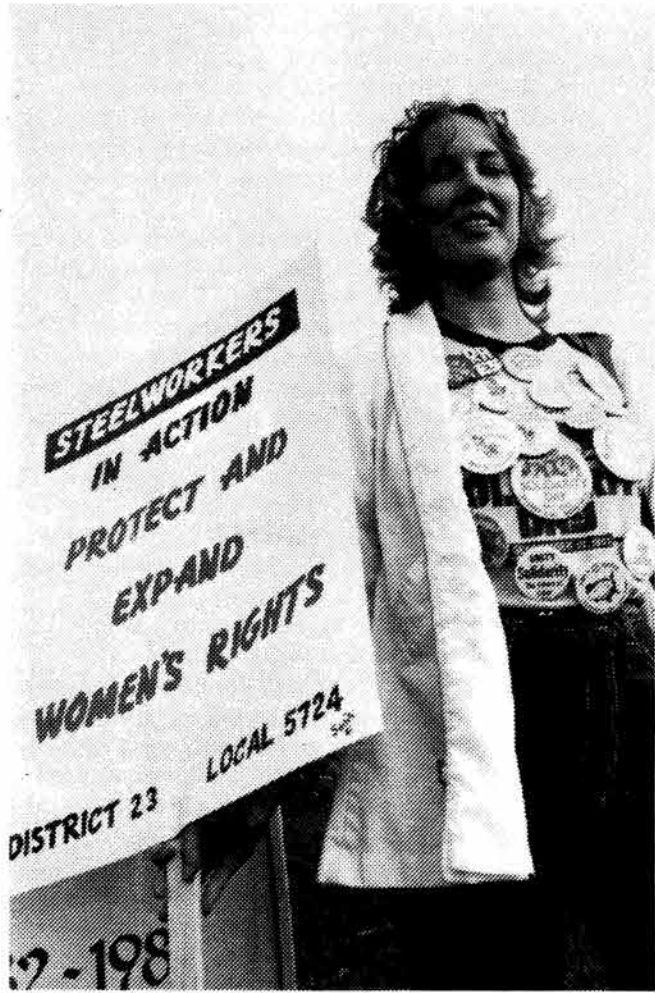
It was a debate on the appointment of Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court. He was against it, because she wasn't anti-abortion enough for him. Smeal was for it, calling it a victory for women's rights, thanking Reagan for keeping his promise to advance women's rights step-by-step and describing O'Connor as someone "not insensitive" to abortion and ERA.

Reagan is "not insensitive" to abortion and the ERA either—that's why he's against both, and that's part of the reason he appointed O'Connor.

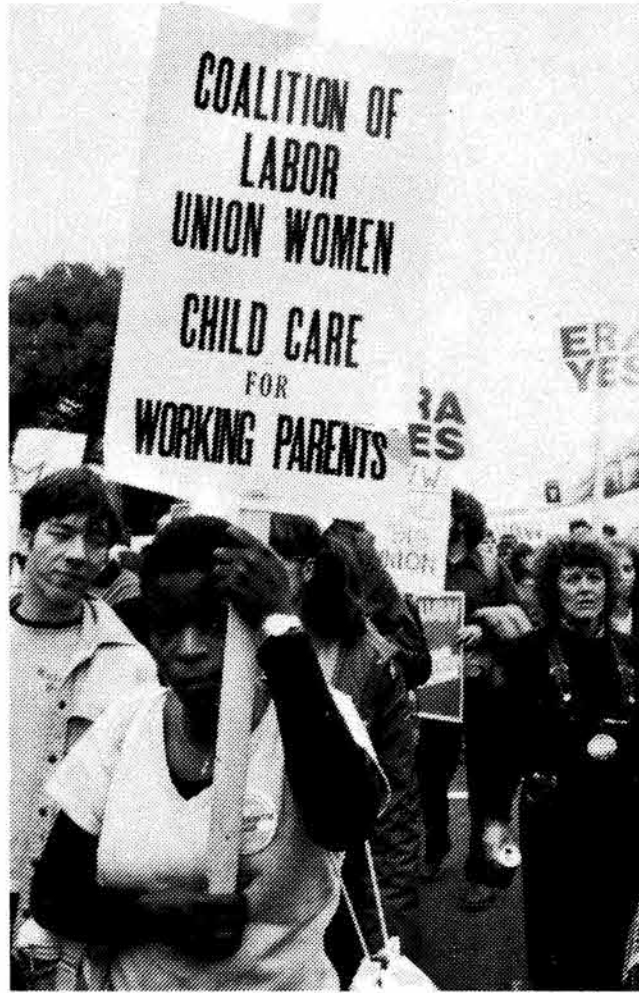
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# ... women's movement today



Women's movement must reach out to millions of working women.



Militant/Lou Howort

## Continued from preceding page

Smeal pointed to O'Connor's long-standing marriage and three children as proof of her credentials. Never mind that she's a bosses' woman.

Never mind that the White House has gone out of their way to prove she's an opponent of women's rights.

Never mind that she opposes busing to end school desegregation and supports the death penalty.

After a while the discussion on the show got around to abortion.

Lofton explained that he thinks abortion is murder and supports the Human Life Amendment (HLA). Smeal described how the HLA would prevent abortions even in cases of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.

Then Lofton said that most abortions do not fall into those categories. How about other abortions, he asked Smeal several times.

But she kept trying to sidestep the question. She was on the defensive all the time. She refused to simply take the offensive on a woman's right to choose in all cases.

The appointment of O'Connor is another example of how astutely the ruling class uses women to help lead the offensive against the working class and undermine support for women's liberation. Margaret Thatcher, the current prime minister of Great Britain, is another case in point.

Using women to do the bosses' job is a key part of their ideological offensive. But Smeal is blind to this.

A reactionary woman on the Supreme Court is to her a step forward for women. Would a female cop beating a striking air controller over the head be a step forward for women's liberation? Are we closer to liberation because the person responsible for Bobby Sands's death at the hands of British imperialism is a woman?

Smeal walks straight into the deadly trap that is laid by the class that is the arch-enemy of women.

NOW's literature and statements opposing the Human Life Bill (HLB) and the Human Life Amendment (HLA), downplay these acts as attacks on abortion. They focus on their potential restrictive impact on birth control and medical procedures.

In a sample script from the national NOW office for NOW members to go door-to-door to talk to people about the HLA, this is how they advise you to explain it: "We're calling on our neighbors to tell them about the constitutional amendments pending in Congress right now, which could take away our right to use birth control, including the Pill and the IUD. They would also endanger our lives and health and invade the privacy of our families."

The only mention of abortion in the entire full-page rap is the following sentence: "Supporters of the HLA who want to ban abortion and most birth control are making a major drive right now to get it passed by congress."

But the proponents of this amendment openly say its main purpose is to make abortion illegal again.

Isn't that where we should concentrate our main fire? Most Americans support legalized abortion. But

unless the foes of women's liberation are answered clearly and unambiguously, their reactionary ideas will generate confusion and win new support.

## ERA vs. abortion?

A third example of how the NOW leadership's fear of fighting aggressively for abortion rights was the way they handled a ruling by the Massachusetts courts upholding the use of state Medicaid funds for abortions. They ran two articles about it in the *National NOW Times*, explaining that this was a victory for the ERA.

Why?

Not because the fight for abortion is part of the struggle for women's equality. But because the Massachusetts court did not rule that excluding only abortion from Medicaid funding was discrimination on the basis of sex. It upheld the funds on a different basis, thereby saving the state ERA from being tainted with the abortion brush!

One of the two articles, entitled "Massachusetts Court Keeps ERA and Abortion Separate" describes the ruling as a vindication for the Catholic Church bishops. They support the ERA, but want to make abortion a criminal act.

Each blow to abortion rights has served to demobilize those fighting for the ERA and put wind in the sails of the opponents of women's liberation.

As a result of this brilliant "strategy" we could find ourselves without the ERA or the right to choose less than a year from now.

## NOW and the draft

The decision of the NOW leadership to link the fight for women's equality to support for the imperialist military is the mirror image of their retreat on abortion, and flows from the same perspective.

They are trying to prove that women's equality is no threat to the capitalist system, and that "responsible" leaders of women are willing to play as part of the bosses' team.

When Carter first announced that he wanted to include women in the revived draft registration program, the NOW leadership fell right into line behind him. The complicity of the NOW leadership in this played a big role in Carter's confusion campaign. They could have done a lot to cut across Carter's plans.

Instead of denouncing registration as a violation of everyone's rights, and a dangerous step toward new Vietnam-style wars, they said we're against the draft, but . . . if men are registered, women should be too.

They then lectured the White House and the Pentagon on the military advantages of a volunteer army, both for "national defense" and for women's equality.

This year they took it the next logical step to the right.

## NOW calls for draftee army

They filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the American Civil Liberties Union's suit asking that draft registration be declared unconstitutional because it excluded women.

The NOW brief argues for a co-ed draftee army.

As we explained in the July 31 *Militant*:

"For years it was right-wing opponents of the ERA who peddled the line that the ERA means women would be drafted. They did this to undercut support for the amendment. Now, many leaders of the women's movement have adopted this same line.

"Many have largely accepted the framework that women must 'prove' they deserve equality by being ready to fight and die. This is in contradiction to their stated opposition to the draft and militarism."

The article quoted NOW president Eleanor Smeal's response to the Supreme Court decision ruling the draft and registration constitutional. "Our organization and many women's organizations are actually peace advocates. We don't want to be soldiers. What we really wanted was that the system be fair."

But as the *Militant* pointed out, "There's no way that a military whose job is to protect the privileges of the wealthy few who run this country can be 'fair' about it.

"The basic premise of the brief is that 'the exclusion of women from registration disserves the goal of an effective military and powerfully enforces harmful stereotyped beliefs about women and their role in our society.'"

The brief argues for a draftee army, calling it necessary for a democracy.

It argues for drafting women so that women will become more supportive of the status quo.

It argues that women are in some cases better equipped to handle the new modern weapons, including nuclear ones.

But it never discusses whose interests would be protected by the U.S. military, nor against whom women would be fighting. Would crushing the Salvadoran people or hurling a nuke at the Soviet, Polish, or Cuban people advance the struggle for women's equality?

This capitulation to the bi-partisan drive toward war has dealt a mortal blow to the campaign for the ERA.

It has spread enormous confusion over the program of the women's movement. What is feminism? Is it a force for progress and the advance of humanity, or is it a prop of the status quo? Will it improve the lives of women, or just make things harder by forcing us to be drafted? Are feminists on the side of those fighting for a better life everywhere, or are they supporters of imperialism? Are they part of the majority or part of the rulers' drive against the majority?

The dynamic of the second wave of feminism has been to challenge many of the sacred cows of capitalism. The demands it placed on the government pointed in the direction of challenging an economic system driven by the law of maximizing profits, not meeting human needs.

But the logic of support for Washington's imperialist army, its draft, its war budget, is the negation of feminism. It would place women in the camp of our most determined enemy, the class whose world economic system depends on keeping women in second class status and responsible for the domestic labor within the family.

The logic is to accept the rulers' assertion that there is money for nuclear warheads but not for medical care, schools, housing, retirement, child care, unemployment benefits—or abortion.

Such positions turn us away from working people—the only class whose interests are compatible with the goals of consistent feminists.

## NOW and the capitalist parties

And this brings us to the heart of the differences being discussed inside the National Organization for Women.



BETTY FRIEDAN: retreating under fire

Militant/Lou Howort





**SANDRA O'CONNOR & MARGARET THATCHER:** are we better off because a reactionary woman is on the Supreme Court and a female head of state murdered Bobby Sands?

The orientation of the national NOW leadership has been to mobilize masses of women in ERA actions only as a subsidiary pressure tactic, subordinated to their central goal, convincing Democratic and Republican state and national politicians that it really is in *their* interests to "give us" the ERA.

The national leadership of NOW has always accepted the argument that it is better to work quietly lobbying in the cloak rooms and hallways of the legislatures than to organize demonstrations, rallies, massive petition drives, and other forms of visible, public activity.

Why?

Because it is harder for some elected official to vote for the ERA if it looks like he is capitulating to pressure! Don't embarrass him!

They have accepted the argument advanced by foes of women's rights that we must keep quiet about abortion rights, or we will lose the ERA.

They have accepted the argument that we must prove we understand that equal rights today means equality of misery and suffering. The pie is shrinking and equality means less for all.

### Ruling class is anti-ERA

The ruling class and its entire political apparatus have decided to kill the ERA. They don't have to be obvious about it. All they have to do is *nothing* for another ten months, and the ERA is dead.

If you have watched the non-progress of the ERA through the state legislatures for the last several years, it's clear. If you have observed what they are doing to the rights and living standard of the working class in general, the pounding we are getting, you could not possibly come to the conclusion that they are still debating, considering whether or not the Equal Rights Amendment should be passed.

The ERA is not dead because the Republican Party won in the last elections. The Carter administration and the Democratic Party killed it in state after state legislature, year after year.

The fundamental error with the strategy of the NOW leadership is that they are looking in the wrong place for allies. They are looking for friends among the political hirelings of the ruling rich.

We say no, we must look to the millions of working women and men, to the oppressed nationalities who understand better than any other sector of the population why legal equality is worth fighting for, to young people.

### Two different strategies

From these two different class perspectives, two different strategies must flow.

One is that subscribed to by Friedan and many women in the NOW leadership. Support the imperialist war preparations, accept that equality means

greater suffering and less for all, trade abortion rights for promises on other issues, praise the appointment of another reactionary to the Supreme Court because she's a woman—all on the false assumption that the only way we can win anything is by proving we are loyal to *them*, ready to play *their* game, according to *their* rules, on *their* home court.

From this strategic orientation flows the tactics: writing postcards, lobbying, campaigning for liberal Democrats, some of whom are anti-abortion, against conservative Republicans, moving to transforming NOW from an activist organization into a "board"-run outfit with a paper membership, occasionally getting women into the streets in controlled numbers for "media events" like the June 30 ERA rallies this year, and red-baiting anyone in NOW who disagrees with this disastrous strategy.

The other strategy is that supported by thousands of women who are members and activists in NOW, and others who are not, who want to fight. We say we won't water down our program because we can't. Our demands are not optional luxuries. They are life-and-death questions for millions of women and men. Our stance is we will fight uncompromisingly for women's rights no matter who we have to fight against, no matter where it takes us, no matter who objects. Our assumption is that the only way we can win is by reaching out to, educating, and mobilizing women in their millions as part of a fight that encompasses even vaster forces on a national and world scale. Our allies are not the Kennedys and McGovern, nor the Kirklands or the Frasers of the labor bureaucracy, but the ranks of the working class and the oppressed the world over.

From this orientation flows our tactics. *Outside* this strategic framework demonstrations, picket lines, teach-ins, speak-outs, and petition campaigns cannot win. *Within* such an orientation they are decisive tools for involving broad layers of people in struggle, raising consciousness, confidence, and combativity, and taking what is rightfully ours. We call for an end to subordinating our demands and methods of struggle to the forces that control the two capitalist parties.

We say let's build a mass, democratically controlled, activist organization of all women who want to fight for our rights. One that reaches out to the millions of working women—Black, Latina, and white.

These are the alternative perspectives that are being discussed throughout the National Organization for Women as we all try to understand where we are today, why our gains of the last decade are under such ferocious attack, and what we can do to effectively fight back.

This brings us full circle to the place where we began.

We cannot understand what is happening nor chart a way forward if we isolate the struggle for women's equality from the broader framework of the class struggle here and abroad.

If we see only the blows that are coming down on us, if we look only at the disarray and disorientation of the largest organized forces in the women's liberation movement, such as NOW, the picture is bleak indeed.

It can lead to one of two errors.

Either demoralization at the enormity of the struggle and a retreat from the battle, a rationalization and abandonment of our goals à la Friedan.

Or to a kind of ultraleft desperation. Let's chain our

bodies to the fences until the ERA is passed, or find some other tactic that would make it possible for a small handful to make the difference.

But if we look at the broader picture we get a more realistic and more optimistic perspective.

Women as well as the working class in this country are going to suffer some defeats, probably some big ones in the coming period. Not because the will to fight is absent, but because it will take time for a leadership that is willing to fight the bosses and their parties and government; for a leadership with a class struggle, not a class collaborationist, orientation to emerge from the battles that are coming. It will take time and experience for a large number of women to see there is something fundamentally false with the perspectives advanced by the national leadership of NOW, and begin to chart a different direction.

That process will not be limited to the women's liberation movement, because the same erroneous policies are pursued by those who are today leading the trade unions, the major Black organizations, and other working class forces.

And that process will not be limited to the women's liberation movement because the fate of our battles cannot be isolated from what is happening to the working class as a whole.

Sometimes women can move ahead faster, showing the way to others, but women will not take giant strides toward achieving our demands, while the working class and Black people and other sectors of the oppressed are being driven backward.

We will all go forward—or backward—together.

That is why developments like September 19 are so important. One of the reasons why the founding of a National Black Independent Political Party is a step forward for women. Why the discussions taking place in various union circles about the need to break from the Democratic Party and organize a labor party, based on the trade unions, are part of the solution to the crisis of perspective in the women's movement. Why strikes like those in San Jose, California; protests like those in Lynn, Massachusetts; conferences of women coal miners; strong women's committees in unions such as the autoworkers, steelworkers, and machinists; and the development of new women leaders in the Black movement; show us where the forces will be coming from to forge a leadership of the women's movement that does have a working class perspective.

When we see things in this broader panorama; when we see that we are not alone, but have the most powerful allies possible; when we realize that it is the brutality and force of the rulers' offensive against us that will give rise to greater consciousness and forge new leaders; then we have a correct framework in which to orient ourselves as we build the women's movement in all its forms—NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, women's committees in the unions, action coalitions, women's committees in Black groups, or whatever forms emerge.

It also gives us confidence that out of the battles to come, and the sometimes tortuous process of groping for the road forward, many women will reach the same conclusions that those of us in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have reached: that the road to women's liberation lies along the path of struggle for a workers government and a socialist society.

(Last of a series.)

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"Feminism and the Marxist Movement" is a brief history of the contribution that socialists have made to the women's rights movement.

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## By Evelyn Reed

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# 'We believe in total equality of Black women'

An important new organization, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), held its founding congress August 21-23.

The congress adopted a charter that is the most advanced program of any organization in the Black movement. It calls for opposition to 'racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalism.'

Because we think the NBIPP's formation and its charter are of great significance to Black Americans and to all working people, we are reprinting the charter in full.

Last week's 'Militant' published the sections on Health Care, Political Equality, Economic Development, and Repression.

This week we are reprinting the sections on The Rights of Women.

## THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

We believe in the total social, political and economic equality of Black women. We recognize that Black women have the right to realize their full potential as human beings. We believe that Black women should play an integral role in whatever endeavor they so choose. We believe that Black women are held down by triple oppression: as Blacks, as women and as workers. We believe that women have the right to the final choice of human reproduction, i.e., freedom over their own bodies. Black teen-age women (and men) require substantial education in the areas of sex and male/female relationships, knowledge which could reduce unwanted teenage pregnancies. Black women have the right to defend themselves against sexual/physical assault and should receive support from oth-

er men, women, the community as a whole and the party in this effort. We believe that sexism (including the idea of women as sex objects) and the male supremacist concept of female subservience is an unnatural, reactionary view indicative of the ideological backwardness which we must overcome. We must continue to search for new concepts on the Black male/female relationship and understand that the continual domination of Black women by men (and



NBIPP

## What the Black party stands for

society as a whole) will perpetuate the political backwardness of humankind.

### THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- Affirmative action programs and an end to sex discrimination in the work place and other areas of society leading towards full economic, political and social equality for women.
- Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Equal pay for equal or comparative work for women.

- Maternity leave with pay for all women.
- Free day-care for all who need it.
- No compulsory or uninformed sterilization of women.
- Free comprehensive health care programs to address the special reproductive and related health care needs of women.
- Continued funding of sex education in schools with emphasis on male/female relationships.
- Support programs for pregnant Black teenagers and preventive programs to discourage unwanted pregnancies and encourage development of a positive self-concept.

### TO ACHIEVE AND REALIZE THE ABOVE THE PARTY WILL:

- Wage an uncompromising fight for complete equality of Black women within the Party itself.
- Conduct a massive educational campaign within the party and the Black community about the need to struggle against sexism and to fight for the complete equality of Black women.
- Work to support the Equal Rights Amendment, but while doing so speak to the special needs of Black women and the need to struggle against racism and sexism simultaneously.
- Fight against all constitutional or legal barriers to abortion (denying women the right to make a personal decision to choose whether or not they wish to terminate a pregnancy) upon demand.
- Support all legislative, legal and organizational measures to achieve the above-listed demands.

# Black party takes important step on nonexclusion

By Malik Miah

One of the most significant developments to occur at the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) founding congress, held August 21-23 in Chicago, was the decision to adopt a nonexclusionary stance in the membership and leadership policy of the party.

The delegates to the congress decided that the NBIPP would include in its membership all the currents and views in the Black movement that support Black political action independent of the capitalist parties—the Democrats and Republicans.

The NBIPP includes in its ranks ministers, nationalists, Pan Africanists, socialists, and communists.

These different tendencies bring into the NBIPP their respective analyses of the Black struggle and where we need to go. But all are united around our support for the program of the NBIPP.

The party's decision to welcome all who support its goals is new in this type of formation in the Black movement.

The decision by the congress to take this stance was not easy or automatic. How it came up and was resolved is worth reviewing. It is a valuable lesson for all of us.

## Criteria for leadership

The guidelines for electing national officers at the congress—"Criteria for Nomination of National Officers"—were proposed by the National Party Organizing Committee (NPOC).

The guidelines contained two sections: general criteria and restrictions.

The first section contained ten general points on leadership.

The second section, "Restrictive Requirements Regarding Nominees," included seven points. Most were agreeable to the delegates. For example, point six said, "No candidate should have a position past or present employment or consultation arrangement with a government police or intelligence agency such as the FBI, CIA, State Bureau of Investigation, highway patrol, city police, etc."

This restriction was applauded by everyone.

However, two proposed restrictions led to an important political debate. The two points, put forward as separate motions, involved the life or death of the new party.

These were points five and seven. Point five read: No Black elected offi-

cial will hold office who is registered as a member of the Democratic Party, Republican Party, or any other political party."

Although point five did not originally include the phrase, "or any other political party," this was added as an amendment from the floor.

Point seven said: "No candidate shall be eligible for National Office in NBIPP if that candidate is also a National Officer of another political organization."

## Initial confusion

At first reading, most delegates did not see the motions as excluding anyone from building the party. But, as the discussion unfolded the true effects of points five and seven began to surface.

On point five, most delegates were opposed to elected Democrats and Republicans holding leadership positions in the Black party. They initially missed the fact that the proposal would also exclude from leadership activists in the Black party who belonged to socialist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party or Communist Workers Party. These two parties have helped to build the NBIPP since the Philadelphia conference.

Some delegates recognized this would exclude SWP and CWP members from the leadership, but they argued that this was correct. After a limited discussion the motion on point five was passed by a three-to-one margin at the Saturday session.

Clarity, however, began to be reached around the discussion on point seven. It became clear to delegates who voted for point five that the motions could exclude more than just socialists from leadership—and even membership—in the party.

For example, point seven, if adopted, would exclude the Rev. Ben Chavis from NBIPP's leadership. Chavis is an officer of the Commission for Racial Justice and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

As a result of the debate in the state caucuses and plenary session, the vote on point seven was much closer than point five. It passed, but by a slimmer margin: 122 for, 96 against, and 17 abstentions.

After the Saturday night session some of the leaders of the larger delegations to the congress held a meeting to discuss what occurred at the plenary. They were alarmed by the direction the discussion

had taken on points five and seven. The debate on these two motions was heated but clarifying. There were three opinions expressed

## Three points of view

First was the position that points five and seven were necessary evils that the NBIPP should have to protect itself from members who were active in other, multiracial political organizations.

The second position was that NBIPP should have these two exclusionary points to keep communists and socialists from "taking over" the Black party.

The third position was that there should be no restrictions on the leadership level or the membership level.

A significant number of party leaders decided that maintaining these two exclusionary motions could wreck the party.

Therefore they decided to go to the plenary on Sunday morning and make a compromise proposal.

Brother Mtangulizi from Richmond, California, placed a motion on the floor to suspend the congress rules in order to hear a compromise motion on point seven. He said it was clear that the polarization Saturday night had to be overcome to keep unity and build the party.

By a vote of 213 for and 21 against, the motion to suspend the rules passed.

Brother Mtangulizi then presented the compromise motion to point seven, "That the Central Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party develop a clear set of criteria for re-

call of and discipline of all NBIPP officers and officials if in its judgement there is a conflict of interests in carrying out their responsibilities."

Afterwards, a standing vote was taken. The compromise motion passed by an overwhelming majority. Point five was never rediscussed, but it was clearly superseded by the compromise motion.

## Broad unity

It was clear that if the NBIPP leaders did not intervene Sunday and reverse the exclusionary motions, NBIPP's viability would be in serious trouble. The membership must have the right to elect their own leaders. They know who their leaders are. They know who is leading their chapters and organization nationally.

Once exclusionary policies are adopted on any level, it can lead to the exclusion of socialists and communists because of their ideas. If socialists can be excluded, then others can be too, brothers and sisters such as Rev. Chavis, Professor Manning Marable, members of the NAACP and Operation PUSH, trade union officials, and others.

Of course, the logic of leadership exclusion is membership exclusion.

The leadership team in NBIPP, fortunately, came to grips with this question at the congress. They understood that the only way to build a mass-based party from the bottom up must mean including all points of view in the Black community supporting independent politics.



Black party contingent at Solidarity Day AFL-CIO march

Militant/Lou Howort



# Who will solve the crisis in Iran?

By David Frankel

Over the past three months a wave of terrorist attacks has taken the lives of scores of top Iranian leaders and dozens of local officials. The attacks began shortly after the People's Mujahedeen Organization responded to the repression against it by announcing in mid-June that it was "launching war" against the Khomeini regime. Since then, more than a thousand Mujahedeen supporters have been executed by the Iranian government.

Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi declared in a July 21 statement, "The reactionary dictatorship has completely consolidated the power of the state in its hands." Rajavi announced that he was joining forces with former President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr in a National Resistance Council, which he said would coordinate opposition to the Khomeini government.

Support for the bloc between Bani-Sadr and Rajavi was quickly expressed in an advertisement published in the July 24 issue of the Paris daily, *Le Monde*. Signed by such prominent left-wing intellectuals as Gérard Chaliand, K.S. Karol, Albert Soboul, Maxime Rodinson, Ken Coates, Lucio Colletti, and Laurent Schwartz, the ad deplored "the turning back of the revolution and the monopoly of a power-hungry minority."

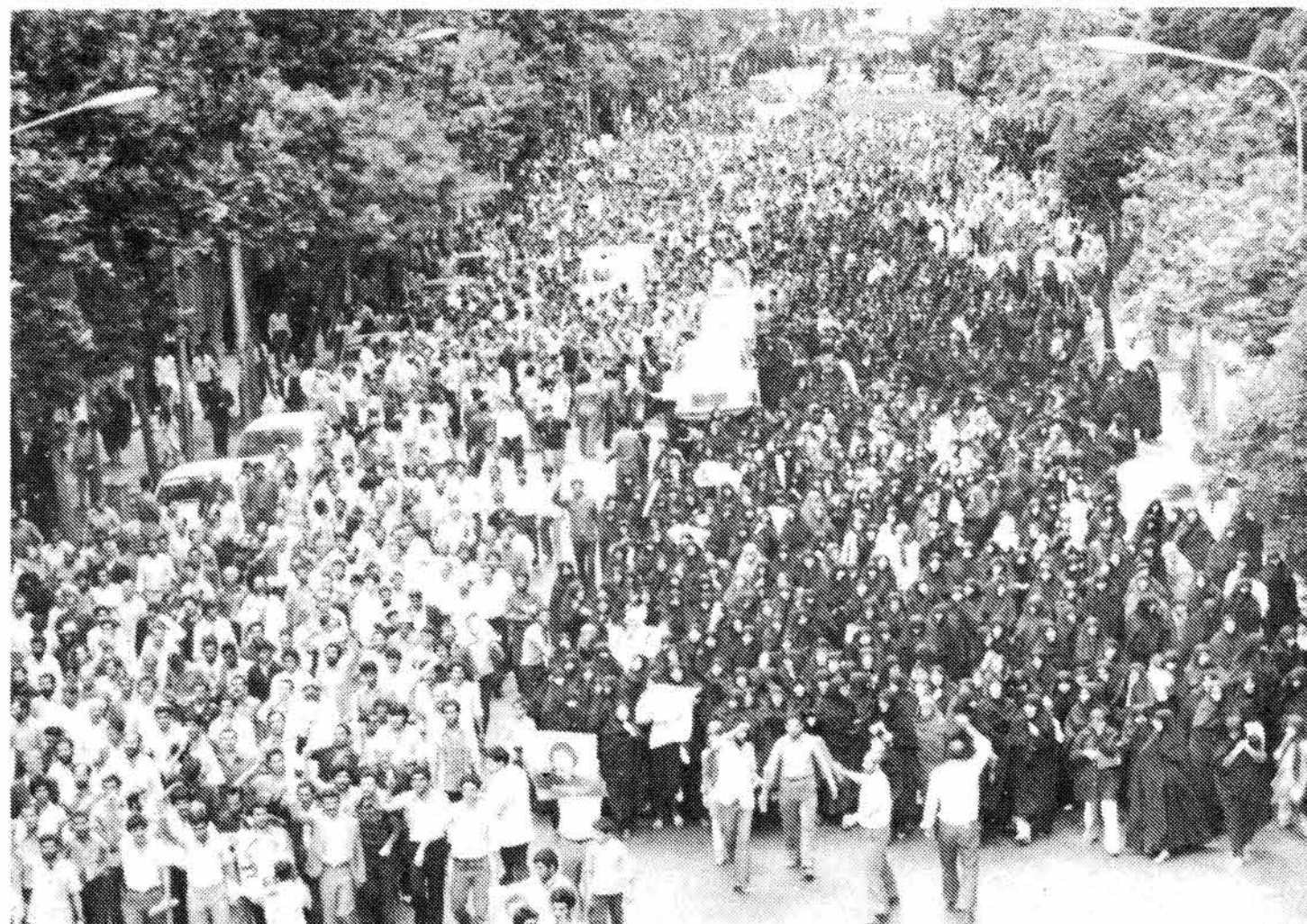
Describing Iran today, the ad said: "The prisons overflow with men and women arrested on the flimsiest pretexts, the national and religious minorities are cruelly oppressed, thousands of paid thugs impose their reign of terror. . . . All free expression is muzzled. The President of the Republic [i.e., Bani-Sadr] has been driven out for having had the courage to confront all this. . . ."

"We, who all supported the struggle of the people against the Pahlavi regime, now call on the Iranian democratic forces to unite in order to triumph. We support all their efforts."

## Democracy vs. dictatorship?

A similar view of the struggle in Iran as one between democracy and dictatorship was presented in the July 1 issue of the *Guardian*, a left-wing weekly published in New York. As an article by Shahrzad Azad put it, "the defense of the democratic gains of the revolution has become the principal task of the Iranian left."

An editorial in the same issue of the *Guardian* declared: "At this point, in our opinion, supporters of the Iranian revolution should join in backing the militant left's resistance to the clerical dictatorship in order to save the gains won in the struggle against the shah



May 1980. Iranians demonstrate in support of Miami Black rebellion. Iranian workers see U.S. imperialism as main enemy, and victims of U.S. government as allies.

and to forge a force capable of getting that revolution back on the track before it's completely derailed."

Although later issues of the *Guardian* expressed some reservations about the bloc between the Mujahedeen and Bani-Sadr, there was no such hesitation on the part of Diana Johnstone, a regular contributor to the U.S. social democratic weekly *In These Times*.

Describing an interview with Bani-Sadr, Johnstone noted in the September 16-22 issue of *In These Times* that "the first elected president of the Islamic Republic thinks there is still a chance for the left to bring down the dictatorship of the mullahs and get the revolution back on its course of democracy and national independence."

As president of Iran, Bani-Sadr took responsibility for carrying out military operations against oppressed nationalities such as the Kurds, jailing socialists and others for their political ideas, and opposing the struggles by the workers for greater control of industry and by the peasants for land reform. Neverthe-

less, Johnstone praised Bani-Sadr's support for "organization of the country through democratic councils."

Also praised by Johnstone is the position of the ruling party in imperialist France, where she is based. She explains that "on Aug. 14 the French Socialist Party issued a statement highly favorable to the deposed president. . . . 'This statement amounted to implicit endorsement of the position taken by Bani Sadr as true representative of a revolution betrayed.'"

No doubt the social democrats currently administering France's colonial possessions would also like to be able to pick and choose the "true representatives" of revolutionary movements in Martinique, French Guiana, and New Caledonia.

## A faulty framework

By taking the Khomeini government and its repressive policies as their starting point, the Mujahedeen and their supporters end up with a political framework that leaves out of account two of the three most important political forces in Iran—imperialism and the Iranian working class.

This becomes evident if we recall the real gains of the Iranian revolution. Perhaps the most important of these was the organization of the working class. The general strike led by the oil workers was the final nail in the shah's coffin. Following the mass uprising in February 1979 that toppled the monarchy, *shoras*, or workers committees, were organized in factories throughout Iran. These *shoras* continue to exist under the Khomeini regime, as do peasant committees in many parts of the country.

Oppressed nationalities also improved their position as a result of the revolution. Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and others were able to arm themselves on a massive scale, and in the case of the Kurds they were also able to organize in their own independent organizations. Although these gains have been subjected to savage attacks by the Khomeini regime, they still exist.

In short, the oppressed and exploited masses in Iran are in a far stronger position to fight for their interests than was the case before the revolution.

Under the pressure of the workers

and peasants, the government was forced to nationalize major industries and to pass a land reform law. Gains such as these have not been reversed, although the Khomeini regime—like any capitalist government—has done its best to limit the implementation of reforms and undercut them.

Even more dramatic was the turnaround in the relations between imperialism and Iran following the revolution. U.S. military bases were shut down and U.S. advisers were sent packing. The shah's support to the U.S.-engineered Camp David accords was repudiated and oil to Israel and South Africa was cut off. From a counterrevolutionary bulwark in the Middle East, Iran was transformed into a cauldron of revolutionary opposition to imperialism.

## The imperialist threat

For the past two and a half years, U.S. imperialism has been operating full time to try to reverse this state of affairs. Since late 1979 it has been actively trying to overthrow the regime that issued from the revolution. That was the meaning of the shah's admission to the United States in October 1979, and the economic blows and military threats that followed the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

In April 1980 President Carter launched his abortive commando raid against Iran, and in September 1980 the Iraqi regime—with encouragement from Washington—invaded Iran in hopes of toppling the Khomeini government.

But the threat from imperialism is not just present when U.S. warships are stationed off the Iranian coast, or when an imperialist-backed army is threatening to occupy the country's major cities. Such military actions are only the most dramatic and visible expressions of a much more pervasive form of domination.

Imperialist domination of Iran is continually reasserted through the day-to-day functioning of the capitalist economic system. Iran must buy machinery and spare parts for its factories and oil refineries from imperialist corporations. It must export its oil in imperialist-owned tankers and sell it to imperialist companies.

Continued on next page

## U.S. denies visas to UN officials from Iran

Washington has denied the Iranian government the right to choose its own delegation to the UN General Assembly.

The State Department announced September 26 that "Iranian officials who participated in the seizure of the United States Embassy or in the holding of our hostages would not be permitted to enter the United States for any purpose."

"We have received a partial list of the Iranian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly which includes the name of an official who would not be admissible," said Rush Taylor of the State Department.

The individual Taylor was referring to is apparently Ahmad Azizi, an undersecretary in the Iranian foreign ministry.

Azizi, who was formerly Director of

Hostage Affairs, led the Iranian team in the negotiations over the hostage release.

The U.S. move to deny visas was protested by an Iranian UN official. "Every government can choose whom it wants as its representative," the official told the *New York Times*. "The U.S. should not interfere."

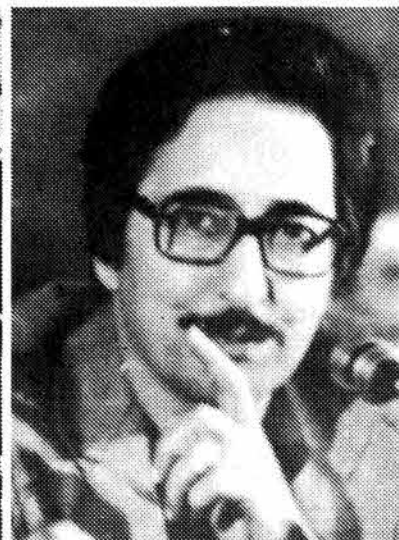
In a related move, the U.S. government recently cancelled visas for four Cuban officials who had planned to attend a conference here on trade and diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, on September 28 some eighty cops attacked a protest by Iranian students at the UN. Twenty-five Iranians were badly injured.

A spokesperson for the Muslim Student Association, which organized the demonstration, said its purpose was to protest the Iraqi war against Iran and U.S. support to Iraq.



# ...terror campaign in Iran plays into



Iranian worker; Bani-Sadr. Mujahedeen look to liberal capitalist politicians for solutions, not to working class.

*Continued from preceding page*

Economic sabotage against the Iranian revolution was carried out openly by Washington and its allies during the year-long hostage crisis. On September 21 Bani-Sadr, the "true representative of a revolution betrayed," called on the imperialist powers to renew their economic boycott. In any case, Iran's economic dependence presents the imperialists with countless opportunities for carrying out operations within the country and for destabilizing its government.

Washington makes no secret of its hostility to the Khomeini government. But if U.S. officials are to be believed, it is not doing anything about it. One does not have to be a Marxist to find this unconvincing. Iran, after all, remains the second-most populous country in the Middle East, with enormous oil reserves.

Asked where he would put Iran on his "worry list" in an interview published in the September 13 issue of the *Washington Post*, Secretary of State Alexander Haig replied: "I would put Iran second only because of the strategic importance of Poland."

Haig ranked Central America third.

## Fighters for democracy?

Although the Mujahedeen leadership has endorsed the bombing campaign that has wiped out dozens of top Iranian officials, it is clear that there are other forces involved as well.

No organization ever took responsibility for the blast at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) on June 28 that killed seventy-two government and IRP leaders.

After the August 30 bombing that killed President Mohammed Ali Rajai and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar, Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi admitted that he did not know "exactly who planted the bomb," but he praised the action.

On the other hand a representative of Azadegan, a monarchist commando organization responsible for hijacking an Iranian gunboat in August, did claim to know who did the bombing, although he refused to give out any further information.

Azadegan is led by Gen. Bahram Aryana, the last chief of the shah's army. It also numbers among its members Adm. Kamal Habibolah, the last head of the shah's navy, and has recruits currently inside the Iranian armed forces, as was shown during the hijacking.

Shahpur Bakhtiar, the shah's last prime minister, is known to have close ties with the Iraqi dictatorship. Bakhtiar has called upon his supporters in Iran to rally behind Azadegan as well.

According to Fred Halliday, writing in the September 26 issue of the U.S. liberal *Nation* magazine, "Bakhtiar would like to see a democratic monarchy in Iran on the British or Swedish model."

A true democrat, Bakhtiar "is not opposed to a republic if that is what the Iranian people want."

Halliday does not bother to remind his readers that when the Iranian peo-

ple were demonstrating in their millions precisely for a republic, Bakhtiar ordered the army to shoot them down.

We will come back to the question of dictatorship and democracy in Iran, but first let us take a closer look at the bombings.

## Who is doing the bombing?

Unlike the usual street attacks carried out by the Mujahedeen, which have involved small arms and hand grenades, the bombings have been highly sophisticated operations. The first one on June 28 devastated the IRP headquarters in Tehran, the second on August 30 blew up the prime minister's office, and the third on September 5 destroyed the office of Iran's prosecutor general, Ayatollah Ali Ghodosi.

In each case the bombs were planted inside heavily guarded buildings and set to explode precisely at a time when the targeted officials would be meeting there. The last two, moreover, were sophisticated incendiary devices.

It is not too hard to figure out that members of the government's own security apparatus must have been involved in planting the bombs. And much of this apparatus, including the high command of the armed forces and the secret police, was taken over intact after the fall of the shah.

Johnstone goes so far in the *In These Times* article cited earlier as to claim, "An estimated 80 percent of old Savak agents work for Khomeini's new secret police, the Savami."

It never occurs to Johnstone to ask whether these ex-Savaki are also working for their old buddies in the CIA.

This omission is particularly striking since Johnstone herself points out, "In the past few months, the top ranks of the mullocracy have been thinned with a deadly accuracy unique in the history of political assassination."

That's right. Not even the Vietnamese liberation fighters were ever able to pull off anything like it. But Johnstone is so impressed with the "true representative of a revolution betrayed" that she never asks what is behind this startling success. Certainly the Mujahedeen, however brave and self-sacrificing their ranks, were never so effective in their actions against the monarchy.

## How Iranian workers see it

None of the self-appointed defenders of democracy in Iran talk about the role of the working class in the recent events, and for good reason. Unlike the Mujahedeen, with their base among the students and intellectuals, and unlike the petty bourgeois radicals in the United States and Europe, the Iranian workers have not forgotten about the role of imperialism in their country.

"Death to America, the great Satan!" was the chant as a vast crowd estimated at between one and 2.5 million turned out in Tehran August 31 for the funeral of President Rajai and Prime Minister Bahonar.

The massive anti-imperialist mobilizations that have taken place following

the bombings have been played down in the imperialist media, but it is clear that the Iranian workers and peasants see these bombings as attacks on their revolution.

In calling for a campaign of terrorism against the Iranian government the Mujahedeen, who have been unable to win the masses of workers and peasants to their political perspective, are trying to impose their program on the majority by force. In the process, despite the subjective desires of the Mujahedeen fighters, they are providing left cover for an imperialist-backed destabilization campaign.

Writing in the September 16 *Guardian*, Shahrzad Azad skirted the question of majority rule in a rather gingerly fashion. As Azad put it, "a surprising aspect of the Islamic regime is that it has survived the past two-and-a-half years at all."

"This may have much to do with their still sizeable base of support within the society. The pasdaran [Revolutionary Guards], for example, continue to get volunteers from among the urban and rural poor."

Noting that economic conditions for the masses continue to deteriorate, Azad continued: "This fact creates possibilities for left intervention on the political level, a necessity given the continuing support for the regime among a section of the masses. . . . How this can be carried out in the present conditions, however, remains to be seen."

Instead of helping to push forward the process of political clarification and independent organization among the workers and peasants, the Mujahedeen's resort to armed action against the government has hampered it.

## Class perspective is needed

Defending his bloc with Bani-Sadr, Rajavi declared in an interview in the August 16-17 issue of *Le Monde* that "we are united on one precise point, that of democracy and rejection of the dictatorship." In keeping with his explicit rejection of Marxism, Rajavi does not even pretend to start from a working-class perspective.

What about the question of democracy in Iran? It is certainly true that the IRP regime has carried out harsh repression. But it does not follow that its overthrow would represent a step forward for the class struggle. That depends on what forces carry out the overturn, and in what manner.

So far, despite extensive repression, Khomeini has been unable to launch a frontal assault on the workers organizations in the factories. The shoras still exist, and they carry out activities in defense of the workers interests.

U.S. imperialism would like to see a military takeover and a Chilean-style junta that would smash the workers or-

ganizations in Iran. That is what its destabilization campaign against the Khomeini regime is designed to lead to.

The Iranian workers correctly understand that they must defend the Khomeini regime against such attacks by imperialism.

Defense of the IRP government against attacks from the right is not the same as support to the regime's political course, however. This is a political distinction that seems to be beyond the capacities of the *Guardian* to understand.

*Guardian* staffwriter John Trinkl complained in the July 15 issue of that newspaper: "The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the largest Trotskyist group in the U.S., notes the suppression of the left but nonetheless calls for the Iranian left to support the government—the very same force executing its members."

## Bolsheviks in 1917

Does Trinkl think that the Bolsheviks supported the capitalist government headed by Alexander Kerensky during the Russian revolution? In August and September 1917 the Bolsheviks defended the Kerensky government against a rightist coup attempt by General Kornilov even though Kerensky had been responsible for suppressing workers' demonstrations, jailing Leon Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders, and driving Lenin underground.

Revolutionary socialists are *not* for the overthrow of the current capitalist government in Iran by Bani-Sadr, Bakhtiar, the Mujahedeen, or any other forces aligned with imperialism. We are for the mobilization of the workers and peasants and their taking of governmental power through their own organizations.

Calls for the overthrow of the Khomeini regime in the name of democracy at a time when the Iranian revolution has yet to run its course are *counterposed* to the perspective of fighting for a workers and farmers government in Iran. Defense of "democracy" is the propaganda line of U.S. imperialism in Iran. Socialists put forward a program of struggle around specific measures designed to advance the organization and interests of the workers and peasants, and fight for democratic rights within the context of this broader struggle.

## Role of religion

One of the factors that has led many on the left to see Khomeini as the overriding threat to progress in Iran and to ignore the far more reactionary role of imperialism is a non-Marxist analysis of the role of religion in the revolution. Instead of seeing the revolution and its forces in class terms, it views religious ideology as the central element.

The editors of the *Washington Post* talk about the conflict in Iran between "secular radicals" and "clerical zealots,"



Iraqi invasion of Iran is part of imperialist inspired attacks on Iranian revolution.



# imperialist hands

not between classes and political parties. In the same way, the editors of the *Guardian* talk in their July issue about "the near-feudal Islamic fundamentalists who wish to restore social, economic and political practices that are in contradiction to the objective conditions facing Iran in today's world."

When the religious verbiage is stripped away from the policies pursued by the IRP, however, it becomes quite clear that these have nothing to do with restoring some kind of feudal economic or social system. The IRP government continues to export oil, to run a modern industrial sector, and to participate in twentieth-century institutions such as the United Nations and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

More to the point, it continues to defend capitalist property relations, with all that is implied by such a policy. Capitalism, not religion, is the source of the IRP government's attempts to drive down the wages of the working class, to maintain the national and sexual divisions among the workers and peasants, and to suppress political opposition.

But in accepting the racist propaganda in the imperialist media against the religious "fanatics" and "mad mullahs" in Iran, the petty bourgeois leftists are led to support Bani-Sadr and the liberal capitalists as representatives of civilization. Thus, the *Guardian* credits Bani-Sadr with trying "to lead Iran into a form of modern economic and social development" and with trying "to prevent the clerics from imposing their almost pre-capitalist social and economic vision upon the Iranian masses."

Furthermore, figures like Bani-Sadr are seen as *more progressive than the toiling masses*. The latter are dismissed as being under the sway of religious fanaticism. Fred Halliday, for example, quotes without comment in a July 15-28 *In These Times* article the opinion that the masses "are dominated by 'medieval' forms of political ideology."

Religious ideology has a different content depending on which class is involved. The religious ideology of the rising bourgeoisie during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries expressed their revolutionary aspirations, while the religious ideology of the feudal landowners in the same period was counterrevolutionary.

In the same way, the Islamic ideology of the IRP leaders today is used to defend capitalist rule, while the Islamic ideology of the workers and peasants expresses their hatred of imperialism and their desire for social liberation.

## Reliance on workers rejected

Because of their lack of confidence in the working class, the petty bourgeois opponents of the Khomeini government end up by placing their trust in the liberal capitalists. That is what we have seen with the bloc between the Majaheeden and Bani-Sadr. And through reliance on the liberal capitalists, the political stance of the petty bourgeois leftists converges with the position taken by imperialism.

Diana Johnstone concludes her article by noting: "The liberal bourgeoisie and the bazaar were a main force behind the scenes in the revolution that overthrew the shah and the international parasite bourgeoisie around him. . . . The liberal bourgeoisie may succeed in regaining national leadership by championing freedom and democracy and channeling various grievances towards a moderate solution. Neither the left nor the monarchists have enough popular strength to win."

But it was neither the liberal bourgeoisie nor the "left" who overthrew the monarchy in the first place. It was the Iranian workers and peasants, who Johnstone never mentions. And it is the workers and peasants—not the liberal bourgeoisie or the Majaheeden—who offer a way forward for Iran today.

Everybody agrees that Iran is in a deep crisis. Industrial production has plummeted since the revolution while



Some radicals echo imperialist charge that Iranian masses are backward because of their religion. They ignore fact that Islamic ideology of workers and peasants expresses hatred of imperialism and desire for social liberation.

inflation and unemployment have increased enormously. A huge economic burden has been imposed on the country by the Iraqi invasion, and the Khomeini government has been unable to drive the Iraqi army out of Iran.

## Crisis in Iran

Meanwhile, the Iranian capitalists—just like the capitalists in Nicaragua—are sabotaging the economy by sending vast amounts of capital abroad, by refusing to import essential raw materials, by refusing to invest in needed maintenance and repairs for existing factories, by speculation and hoarding, and by laying off workers and closing down enterprises.

On top of all this, the government has proven incapable of defending itself against the imperialist-backed destabilization campaign. Its only answer has been acts of repression that have helped to isolate Iran internationally and that are aimed as much against the workers and peasants as a whole as against the terrorists.

## Road forward

Iran has reached a dead end under the rule of the capitalist IRP and Khomeini. What is needed to get out of this impasse is the organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants. The Sandinista government in Nicaragua has set an example of the kind of measures needed to accomplish this.

- To begin with, it is necessary to carry out a revolutionary war against the Iraqi invaders and against the imperialist-backed destabilization campaign within Iran. This means arming, training, and mobilizing the masses under the direction of the shoras, the peasant committees, and other mass organizations.

Although the regime has taken token steps toward implementing such measures, which have been widely demanded, it has refused to carry out its promise to build an "Army of 20 Million."

- An essential step in any revolutionary war against imperialism and its allies is a thorough purge of the military and governmental apparatus. The hold-

overs from the monarchy must be cleaned out.

- Organization and mobilization of the working class is key to solving the economic crisis as well as the political crisis posed by the counterrevolutionary military onslaught. The shoras, for example, have already attempted in many instances to counter capitalist sabotage by keeping tabs on production and on the business dealings of their enterprises, as the trade unions are doing in Nicaragua.

- Nearly one-third of Iran's workforce is still involved in agriculture. It is necessary to carry out the long-promised land reform under the direction of peasant committees in the countryside, and to make available cheap credit and technical assistance to the peasantry. This would inspire the poor and landless peasants and stymie the capitalists who are sabotaging agricultural production.

Such measures, in conjunction with the establishment of a state monopoly on foreign trade, would constitute a giant step toward overcoming the economic crisis.

## Oppressed nationalities

- Roughly half of Iran's population is composed of oppressed nationalities such as Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and Arabs. Division along national lines was one of the main tools that imperialism used to perpetuate its domination over Iran. Failure of the government to recognize the rights of the oppressed nationalities and in particular to stop its war against the Kurds can only create new openings for imperialism.

A policy of recognizing the right of autonomy for Kurdistan, of providing immediate economic aid to compensate for the war damage there, and of helping to revive the cultural life of the area would bring peace to Kurdistan and help in the defense of the revolution against the Iraqi invaders and imperialism.

- Finally, to inspire the masses and encourage their mobilization, a broad program of progressive social and political measures is essential. The organization of the masses and their participation in solving the crisis facing Iran requires complete freedom of assembly, association, and the press. It would be pushed forward by a massive literacy

campaign such as the one organized in Nicaragua. And all of these measures would be inconceivable without the full participation of women, one half of the population, and the advancement of their rights.

Such policies are anathema to the IRP government, to the liberal capitalists grouped around Bani-Sadr, and to the U.S. imperialists. But the struggle to convince the masses of the need for such a program and to organize them around it offers the only road forward for the Iranian revolution—toward the establishment of a workers and peasants government that would rule in the interests of the vast majority instead of defending the privileges of the capitalist class.

Instead of cheering on one or another capitalist politician in Iran—like the signers of the *Le Monde* ad quoted at the beginning of this article—workers in the imperialist countries can make a contribution toward allowing the Iranian revolution to develop under the most favorable circumstances by exposing the role of imperialism and supporting the struggles of the Iranian people against imperialist intervention and destabilization.

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# 4,000 protest Duarte visit in San Francisco

By Barry Sheppard

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 4,000 demonstrators surrounded the Jack Tar Hotel here September 27 to protest the banquet inside for José Duarte, the military-backed president of El Salvador.

The head of the bloody regime was greeted by the chants of "Duarte, Duarte, there's no doubt, San Francisco wants you out," "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador," and others by the spirited demonstrators.

The action was organized by the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and Casa El Salvador and supported by dozens of community, church, and labor organiza-

tions, as well as most organizations on the left.

The banquet for Duarte was organized by the Salvadoran Patriotic Forces United, a right wing group representing the pro-dictatorship minority in the El Salvadoran community in the Bay Area. Among the largely upper class people attending the banquet, however, were other El Salvadorans, many who have had relatives murdered by the regime, who interrupted Duarte with shouts of "Duarte murderer." Police moved in to remove them and a number were arrested.

Seven of the hotel's thirty banquet waiters and waitresses refused to serve

the banquet. Two waitresses joined the demonstration outside.

The demonstrators, while determined and angry at the presence of the representative of the genocidal regime, was disciplined and peaceful. The riot police were out in big force, however, and included mounted troops.

The police tried to set up a provocation, utilizing a small group of some fascist-minded members of the Moonies, who vociferously shouted anti-communist and pro-Duarte slogans and tried to pick fights with the demonstrators. The police used their horses to allow this small group to block a section of the sidewalk. Marshals organized by

CISPES helped prevent the Moonies from disrupting the demonstration, however.

As the demonstration was moving from the hotel to a rally nearby, however, the police seized upon a scuffle between a few people and the Moonies to forcibly disperse a section of the demonstration with horses and clubs. Some demonstrators were injured. Bystanders waiting for a bus were clubbed to the sidewalk by the cops.

Duarte came to San Francisco to drum up support for his regime, but succeeded instead in spotlighting the opposition to the junta and to the danger of U.S. intervention.

## ... Salvador dictator comes to Washington

Continued from page 3

State Department smear of the Salvadoran liberation struggle as being "a communist conspiracy."

"The Salvadoran rebels are terrorists," Duarte told reporters when he appeared on CBS's "Face the Nation" on September 20. He accused the government of Nicaragua of serving as a conduit for arms. He presented the civil war in El Salvador as the staging ground for a communist takeover of all South America.

Even the reporters questioning him began losing patience as Duarte began to sound more and more like a broken record put out by the State Department. At one point an irate reporter interrupted Duarte and instructed him to stop making speeches.

In view of the powerful resistance being put up by the El Salvadoran people, as well as international antiwar sentiment, Reagan and Duarte have been forced to give more lip service to a "political solution" of the crisis.

This "political solution" consists of convincing the American people that the Salvadoran military junta, responsible for the deaths of 32,000 Salvadorans in the last twenty-three months, can guarantee democratic elections in El Salvador.

On "Face the Nation," Duarte reiterated the junta's call for elections and

that the liberation forces lay down their arms as a precondition for their participation in the elections.

A *Washington Post* editorial on September 22 assessed the credibility of Duarte's performance in presenting his case. "On the crucial issue of checking the pervasive official violence sponsored by the junta's military and extremists, he gave the impression that it was pretty much beyond him. He could not say how the civilian opposition might be brought into elections conducted by a hostile army that is not under his command and that has for decades spoiled democracy: it annulled his election in 1972."

Former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White summed it up, "The U.S. government knows perfectly well that if Guillermo Ungo (the Revolutionary Democratic Front leader) ran, he would be dead within a day."

The significance of Duarte's tour can be seen by the timing and context in which it is taking place.

It comes just weeks after rebel forces in El Salvador, led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), launched a powerful offensive in which they attacked and held the town of Perquín and launched attacks on army posts and patrols in widely scattered parts of the country. The rebels had withstood several months of an army counteroffensive and showed they

could strike at will against the government's forces.

It also follows just weeks after Mexico and France, in a major foreign policy break with the Reagan administration, issued a joint statement recognizing the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front as "a representative political force."

The tour represents an attempt by the Reagan administration to salvage their tattered El Salvador policy at a time when the antiwar sentiment in the United States has been sharpened by the astronomical increase in military spending at the expense of vital social programs.

It was no accident that Duarte's visit also coincided with a Senate vote on a foreign appropriations bill which gives the Salvadoran junta \$114 million in combined military and economic aid.

Both Duarte and President Reagan strongly lobbied the Senate to remove amendments requiring the Reagan administration to report every six months on progress in ending human rights violations in El Salvador, implementing reforms, and political liberalization.

Touted as a courageous antiwar act by liberal senators, the amendments don't stop any aid from going to the junta. But the fact that the Senate voted in favor of maintaining the amendments was a slap in the face of both the Reagan administration and the Salvadoran junta.

It reflects the pressure felt by the politicians from the deep antiwar sentiment that exists in this country.

During Duarte's stay in Washington an angry group of protesters demonstrated near the Capitol.

In San Francisco, 4,000 people turned out to denounce him and the junta as murderers and to protest U.S. military aid to the junta.

As he addressed the UN General Assembly on September 29, an all-day picket marched in front of the UN building. Later in the afternoon 500 solidarity activists marched from the UN to an armed forces recruitment center in mid-Manhattan shouting, "Money for jobs, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

When he met with Puerto Rican Congressman Roberto García in New York, García asked how the junta could figure out that Cuba was involved in the civil war in El Salvador, yet couldn't figure out who the murderers of the four nuns were. The meeting appeared as a major story in the largest Spanish-language daily in New York City, *El Diario*.

This is why, as the September 28 *New York Times* puts it, "... the President's political advisors still regard El Salvador as a domestic political liability."

The thousands of antiwar, antidraft activists gearing up for the fall campaigns in solidarity with El Salvador and Central America intend to do everything possible to keep it that way.

## What's Going On

### GEORGIA ATLANTA

**HOW ATLANTA CAN FIGHT REAGANISM: HEAR ANDREE KAHLMORGAN, SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR.** Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

**ELECTION NIGHT VICTORY PARTY.** Tues., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. No Donation. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**THE KILLING OF RON SETTLES.** Speakers: Professor Amen Rah, Cal. State Long Beach; Michael Zinzun, Coalition Against Police Abuse. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call: (213) 225-3126.

### SAN DIEGO

**REAGAN'S BUDGET CUTS: WILL THEY PREVENT A NEW RECESSION?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, author of *Capitalism in Crisis*. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

**THE CURRENT STAGE OF STRUGGLE IN EL SALVADOR.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### SAN JOSE

**THE GUTTING OF SOCIAL SECURITY.** Speaker: Richard Gregory, convenor of Grey Panthers. Sun., Oct. 18, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. (just off the Alameda). Donation \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

### COLORADO DENVER

**FOR A HUMANE IMMIGRATION POLICY.** Speakers: Lalo Dblgado, noted Chicano poet and activist; Eric Wright, field secretary, American Friends Service Committee. Fri., Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### INDIANA GARY

**SECOND NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT.** Conference organizers encourage all interested trade unionists and safe-energy activists to attend. Nov. 20-22, 1981. Aup: United Food and Commercial Workers, United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, Graphic Arts International Union, Furniture Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Molders and Allied Workers, Woodworkers, and Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. For more information contact the Labor Committee, 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone (202) 265-7190.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.** Speakers: Ismael Ahmed, director of resources, Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services, recently returned from Lebanon where he witnessed Beirut bombing; Ed Youmans, attorney active in defending Palestinian rights; others to be announced. Sun., Oct. 11, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**ROOTS OF THE MIDEAST CONFLICT: ANTI-ZIONIST PERSPECTIVE.** Panel discussion. Sun., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**FILM: LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA.** Discussion to follow. Sat., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. (near Broad St.) Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NORTH CAROLINA GREENSBORO

**CUBA: SLIDE PRESENTATION FROM A RECENT TOUR.** Speakers: Meryl Lynn Farber and Hilde Edler, two members of Young Socialist Alliance who participated in recent YSA Cuba tour. Sat., Oct. 10, 7 p.m. The Hong Kong House (downstairs, also known as Night Shade Cafe), 332 Tate St. Donation requested. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### WINSTON-SALEM

**CUBA NIGHT.** Cuban dinner and slide show. Speaker: Meryl Lynn Farber, member Teamsters Local 391 and Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., Oct. 3, 6 p.m. dinner, 8 p.m. slide show and discussion. 216 E. 6th St. Donation requested. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**SALT OF THE EARTH.** Film of miners strike in New Mexico in 1951. Sun., Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation \$2. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

**DIABLO CANYON: NUCLEAR DISASTER IN THE MAKING.** Speakers: Bill Kalman, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

### UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

**STOP MX.** Speakers: Steve Sleater, Chairperson of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1497; Representative of MX Information Center; Joe Navarro, Citizens Party and Professor of Political Science; Dan Dickson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 10, 7 p.m. 677 S. 700 E. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### TEXAS DALLAS

**SOLIDARITY DAY—SEPTEMBER 19. EYEWITNESS REPORT BACK WITH SLIDE SHOW: WHAT NEXT FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT.** Speakers: Alan Epstein and Lee Olsen, Socialist Workers Party; Representative of PATCO. Sun., Oct. 4, 7 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 5442 E. Grand Ave. Donation: \$1.50, students and unemployed \$0.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

**REVOLUTION IN POLAND: IMPACT OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT.** Speakers: Linda Loew, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore 5442 E. Grand Ave. Donation: \$1.50, student and unemployed \$0.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

### TEXAS

## Protest murder of Black youths

**DEMONSTRATE IN AUSTIN TO PROTEST JUNE 19 DROWNING OF THREE YOUNG BLACKS IN POLICE CUSTODY IN MEXIA, TEXAS.** Saturday, October 10. March will assemble at 11 a.m., 1005 E. 11th Street, then proceed to state capitol building. Rally there at 1 p.m. Sponsored by Black Citizens Task Force and Comanche Three Defense Committee.



# Letters

## Whoops

The article by Mary Nell Bockman about the nuclear fiasco of the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS) in the September 18 *Militant* was very good. It did, however, leave out one detail: in spite of its name, WPPSS is owned by public utilities in Oregon as well as Washington.

The Central Lincoln County Public Utility District owns less than 3 percent of WPPSS 4 and 5 (the two nuclear power plants that have been shut down while under construction), and if they incur no more debts they will have to more than double their rate

immediately to pay off the bonds.

Many other Oregon public utility districts are in the same situation. Indeed, no project in the nuclear industry has a better acronym than WPPSS, which is commonly pronounced "whoops."

Ron Richards  
Newport, Oregon

## Hunger strike

We the freedom fighters here at the Lucasville prison in the state of Ohio, as of September 10, 1981, are fasting until death in protest of the racist, inhuman treatment of

prisoners at the Lucasville prison.

As of the above date, we will passively resist all orders in a nonviolent manner. We will refuse to speak to any employee of the Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections.

We have participated in every nonviolent protest imaginable seeking redress to our grievances. However, our grievances have only been met with further administrative abuse.

We would rather be dead than to continue to be subjected to the consistent racist and inhuman treatment that is bestowed on us here by guards and administration

officials.  
*A prisoner*

## Diablo Canyon

Two members of the Socialist Workers Party and I traveled recently to San Luis Obispo, California, to talk with supporters and participants in the blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant.

After driving four hours from San Jose, we arrived and proceeded to drive another forty minutes looking for the Diablo Canyon area.

Unable to pinpoint the area on a map, we finally decided to stop at a shopping center to ask for directions. We were pleasantly surprised to find out how friendly people were when we told them we were looking for the protest camp at the power plant site. Directions were promptly given along with an issue of good luck.

We encountered lots of cars sporting "I support the blockade" signs, and bumper stickers calling for "Stop Diablo Canyon."

Upon arriving at the blockade camp, we were admitted through the media section and given a tour of the area. We met people from all over—other parts of the state as well as out of the state.

After leaving the camp, we drove around to gather further reactions from local citizens to

the power plant and the protest blockade. We were not the only ones cruising around. A lot of cop cars were out on patrol, with no less than four cops per car.

It is obvious that people are not pleased with the idea of living so close to a nuclear power plant. There seemed to be a high number of houses up for sale in the area. One barn on a farm had painted on its side the words, "Stop Diablo Canyon," with a picture of the sun next to it.

Late in the evening, we dropped by the Abalone Alliance headquarters to get additional information on the power plant. The office was a real organizing center with people going in and out all the time. Just in the five minutes we were there, at least fifteen people streamed through.

Judy Stranahan  
San Jose, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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## The Great Society

**Complexly?**—"We're not going to be able simply to present a whitewash of the FBI."—An FBI spokesperson discussing the slated ABC weekly, "Today's FBI." The show will bear the official FBI seal of approval. Agents will suggest plot lines and all scripts must be approved by the agency.

**Deliberate speed**—WASHINGTON, Sept. 19—The Nuclear Regulatory Commission completed a two-year task yesterday when it appointed a three-member licensing board that will conduct a safety investigation of the Indian Point 2 and 3 nuclear power plants.

**Must've been chewing gum**—At a celebration of the opening of the Gerald Ford Museum, the ex-prez told his former French counterpart, Giscard d'Estaing, that he regretted not having visited France during his presidency. He attended a major conference there while in office.

**Not to mention funeral costs**—BOSTON, Sept. 16 (AP)—Doctors studying the high price of intensive care found that treating someone who eventually dies is twice as expensive as helping those who survive. . . . Total hospital bills and related charges for intensive-care patients who died averaged

\$15,874, while the cost for survivors was \$7,012.

**A puzzle**—A White House Secret Service guard was charged with armed robbery of a Maryland bank. We knew there were bank robbers in the White House but we didn't realize they robbed from the banks.

**Everything's fine**—Twelve hours after it was indicated on monitoring instruments, technicians at Three Mile Island located a new leak at the crippled nuke plant. Officials assured no radiation escaped. Meanwhile, the Department of Energy disclosed that radiation

escaped during a recent Nevada bomb test, but assured it was "extremely minor."

**Things-are-tough-all-over dep't**—"Inflation has spoiled the tradition of gracious overseas living, with charming villas and plenty of servants."—A news article on how life in the U.S. Foreign Service isn't what it used to be.

**Shopping tip**—Those interested in our report on the vogue in leather clothing (dresses \$1,200) should check out the L.A. furniture store which is offering leather easy chairs, reduced from \$1,500 to \$995.



Harry Ring

## If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.  
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**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.  
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**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.  
**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.  
**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.  
**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.  
**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.  
**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823.

Tel: (814) 238-3296.  
**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.  
**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.  
**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.  
**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.  
**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.  
**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.  
**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



# THE MILITANT

## Blacks say 'enough' to Va. Dems Will field own candidates in gubernatorial race

By Craig McKissic

MARTINSVILLE, Virginia—Showing their concern and dissatisfaction that candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties are not addressing the issues facing Black people, about 100 representatives of the Fifth Congressional Voters League met here at the Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church on September 13 to announce the launching of an independent, write-in campaign for governor.

The Democratic candidate in the November 3 election is Lt. Gov. Charles Robb, the son-in-law of Lyndon B. Johnson. Attorney General J. Marshall Coleman is the Republican candidate.

The Fifth District comprises a number of cities and counties in the south side area of Virginia. This was the scene of civil rights battles during the early 1960s to force employers and store-owners to hire Black workers. Many of those in the Voters League were participants in those demonstrations.

### Black voters ignored

Ron Charity, chairman of the league, told the *Militant* that following the state Democratic convention this past spring, leaders of the Democratic Party boasted that liberals and Blacks had nowhere else to go. He said, "This raised the idea of running our own write-in campaign and choosing our own candidates. We're not doing this just to send someone to Richmond, but to let these candidates know that we are tired of the way they ignore and treat Black voters."

*Craig McKissic, a member of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 2461, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Virginia. He is running a write-in campaign with Miesha Patterson, SWP candidate for governor, and Rohima Miah, candidate for delegate to the House of Delegates from the 49th district. Patterson and Miah work at the Newport News Shipyard and are members of United Steelworkers Local 8888.*



Black Voters League candidate for lieutenant governor, Jesse Jeffress, addresses gathering that announced ticket independent of Virginia Democrats and Republicans. Seated behind him are league chairman Ron Charity, left, and attorney general candidate James Ghee. Cora Tucker, not pictured, is league candidate for governor.

The Voters League aspires through their campaign to build a political base in the Black community to resolve the root causes of the conditions "in which we find ourselves."

The league intends to run a serious campaign addressing the real needs of Black people in education, health care, and employment. They stress the need to turn around the tradition of undemocratically excluding Blacks from the political process and to stop the practice of tokenism in regard to Blacks.

Cora Tucker, a Halifax County housewife, was chosen by the Voters League to be its candidate for governor. Tucker has been a longtime civil rights activist and founder and president of Citizens for a Better America, an organization involved in civil rights activities.

She has been involved in voter registration campaigns during which she

personally registered at least 1,000 voters each year for the past several years. Aware of the dangers and threats that confront her because of her activity, Tucker told the meeting, "Any cause that is not worth dying for is not worth fighting for."

In accepting the league's nomination for governor, Tucker said, "The cause for which we are fighting today is a whole lot more important than all of us put in this room together. The time is here for us to be able to tell our grandchildren that we fought to make it better for you to participate in the political process."

Attorney James Ghee, currently completing his first term on the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors, was chosen to be the candidate for attorney general. He emphasized that this campaign was more than just a protest.

"There is no difference between Chuck Robb and J. Marshall Coleman as far as the lives of Black people are concerned."

Jesse Jeffress, a Lynchburg accountant and graduate of Hampton Institute, was chosen by the Voters League as their candidate for lieutenant governor. He captured the sentiment of the meeting by describing how "for too long, my friends, we have been lying within the foliage of the Democratic Party. This write-in campaign is the two-by-four that is going to knock the Democratic mule in the head, and the mouse that will scare the Republican elephant."

Robb's campaign office sent a Black spokesman to the Voters League meeting who made a futile attempt to turn back the bold step being taken. Jeffress sharply answered, "I want you to tell Mr. Robb that it's not enough to invite us to a birthday party for Dr. Martin Luther King when there's no cake on the table. Not enough when the problems which Dr. King so vigorously fought for so many years still exist today."

"It's not enough for Mr. Robb to claim he is for higher education when you can go to any school for emotionally disturbed children and there is a higher percentage of Black students in these classes, even though we are a smaller percentage in the overall population. And not enough to say he is for higher education when Black students are the victims of 60 percent of the suspensions in the public schools."

"And finally, please tell Mr. Robb that we conducted an auction and we reserve the right to accept any and all bids. And your offer is too late because this auction is over."

### Back Solidarity Day

Already endorsed by the Fourth Congressional Voters League, the candidates plan to raise \$30,000 among supporters to get the campaign on the road throughout Virginia.

A supporter of the Voters League spoke on the need for everyone to go to Washington on September 19 for Solidarity Day. An NAACP chapter in Danville chartered a bus.

## Arms cuts 'a sham,' says socialist councilman

By Janice Lynn

SEASIDE, Ca.—At a September 25 special city council meeting here, socialist Councilmember Mel Mason blasted the Reagan administration's proposed military budget "cuts" as "nothing but a sham."

The special session of the council was held to discuss a proposal by Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to reduce the 7th Infantry Division at Fort Ord by some 10,000 soldiers. Portions of Fort Ord are located within the city of Seaside.

In the days preceding the meeting, the local news media were full of stories about the "devastating" economic consequences such a move would have. Interviews were conducted with auto dealers, merchants, and realtors.

"This kind of talk is lost on the average citizen of Seaside, who never really benefits from the presence of Fort Ord, either job-wise or otherwise," Mason declared at the city council meeting.

Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that most jobs at Fort Ord are out of the reach of the average Seaside resident. "The unemployment rate in Seaside is still offi-

cially around 12 percent," he said, "in spite of Fort Ord."

He also denounced the realtors and landlords who are now complaining that a 14-15 percent vacancy rate would occur if there were a reduction of troops at Fort Ord: "The onus still goes back on these same people to provide more affordable housing for our local citizens, as well as for the lower-echelon soldiers and their families, instead of looking at these soldiers as something to exploit in order to make a profit."

At the council meeting, Seaside Mayor Glenn Olea tried to have a resolution passed protesting the proposed cuts at Fort Ord, stressing its importance to the "military defense of the nation."

The resolution also called for increasing the military readiness of the 7th Infantry Division, "in an effort to be ready for a national emergency."

Mason declared his opposition to this prowar resolution and its demand for increased military spending.

"A lot of people are being misled by these so-called military cuts," he said. "The military budget that Reagan has proposed is actually something like \$27 billion more than the Carter budget.

This talk of military cuts, as far as I am concerned, is nothing but a real sham to make it look like they are cutting the military budget."

"They hope it will keep down public dissent over the real cuts that are taking place in programs like CETA, Social Security, school lunches, subsidized housing, food stamps, federal loans, Medicare, and senior citizens' programs."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Mason pointed out how the Reagan administration was pushing right ahead with its war buildup.

Weinberger told a House Budget Committee meeting September 25 that the administration would be working on "capabilities for deterring or prosecuting a global war with the Soviet Union."

"Such a war would not be in the interest of American workers," Mason said. "I think what we really need are more jobs and more job training programs like CETA, a program that is suffering a real cut."

With only a minimum quorum of three members at the city council meeting, and with Mason's opposition, the mayor hastily postponed a vote on the resolution.



MEL MASON

Militant/Salm Kolis