

A Socialist ACTION

SPECIAL ELECTION
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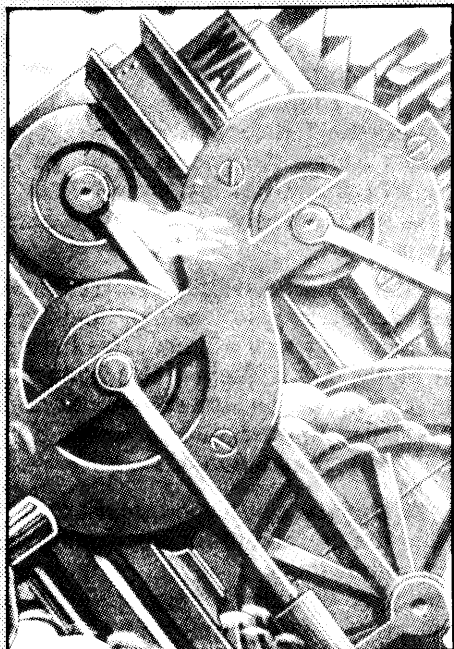
July 1984

50 cents

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The economy



U.S. deficit runs wild

By HAYDEN PERRY

Like a cancerous tumor the national debt is growing and swelling in the bowels of the American economy. From a debt of \$43 billion in 1940, this national obligation has ballooned in 1982 to the incredible sum of \$1,269,000,000,000. That is one trillion, two hundred and sixty nine billion dollars. And the debt is growing faster and faster, at the rate of \$27 million an hour. It took 193 years for the nation's debt to reach \$1 trillion in 1981. It is estimated that it will grow another \$1 trillion in five years if nothing is done to stop this slide to disaster.

National debts have not always been disasters. President Franklin Roosevelt fostered an increase in the debt to pump money into the ailing economy. The huge expenses of World Wars I and II forced the government to borrow heavily. But this was handled with ease.

With patriotic rallies in every town whipping up the war spirit, millions of citizens were persuaded to lend money directly to the government by buying war bonds. About 75 million Americans bought bonds in World War II, absorbing half the new debt at an interest rate of less than 2 percent.

The Vietnam War could not be financed by selling war bonds at 2 percent interest. It was not officially a war. How would it sound to be peddling "Peace Action Bonds!" Besides, any bond salesman would have been bowled over by the thousands of marching feet of antiwar protesters. So President Lyndon Johnson had to sell his bonds to the banks, insurance companies, and speculators at double the interest rates. Interest rates started an upward climb and national debt began to grow.

This tumor could have been excised at the start by taxation. The national debt could have been controlled by adequately taxing part of the vast corporate and individual wealth piled up in the richest country in the world. But this approach violates a cardinal principle of both the Republican and Democratic parties. You don't bite the hand that feeds you—you don't tax the wealthy who pay your campaign bills.

Even if Congress passes a tax law

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Simpson-Mazzoli bill:

A threat to all workers

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

"Give me your tired, your poor;
Your huddled masses yearning to
Breathe free."

—from the inscription on the Statue of Liberty, N.Y. Harbor

The U.S. Congress has passed a piece of legislation—the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill—that represents a major attack on immigrants, refugees, and U.S. workers.

With bipartisan support from 125 Democrats and 91 Republicans, the bill carried by a narrow margin of 216 to 211. "This is the worst, most nativist, most racist piece of legislation since the 1798 Alien and Sedition Act," said Bert Corona, a leader in the Latino rights movement in Los Angeles.

The legislation is headed now for a conference committee of Senate and House members who will iron out the few remaining differences in the versions of the bill passed by the two houses of Congress. Bill Tamayo, of the Bay Area Committee Against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, called the bill "part of the general assault on the civil rights of minorities and immigrants by Reagan, with the help of the Democratic Party."

What are the stakes?

What is the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill and what are the stakes in the fight against it? The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill is the first major piece of comprehensive immigration legislation passed by the U.S. Congress in over 30 years. It represents the reaction of the ruling class to a situation that they themselves have created. The economic policies of the ruling rich in the United States have meant economic ruin for millions of people who face starvation, malnutrition, and



Undocumented workers being rounded up by INS.

repression in countries throughout Latin America and elsewhere.

In Mexico, for example, over 45 percent of the people are unemployed or underemployed. Inflation is increasing at a tremendous rate. A social austerity program has been imposed on the Mexican government by U.S. banks, who demand that the government carry out cutbacks to pay the interest on International Monetary Fund loans financed by the banks.

Is it a surprise that impoverished Mexicans and others risk everything to come to the United States to find work and a chance for survival. The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, in typical U.S. government fashion, seeks to blame the victims of its own policies.

Thus, the provisions of the bill include sanctions against employers for hiring undocumented workers; sanctions against unions who refer undocu-

mented workers to employers through a union hiring hall; stiff penalties for use of falsified documents to prove legal residency status; limits on the number of immigrants accepted into the United States, including elimination of any visa preference for certain blood relatives.

The bill will eliminate due process for apprehended immigrants and refugees, allowing the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to expel them without granting a hearing. The House version of the bill creates a new program for importing "temporary foreign workers" for the harvesting of perishable crops.

Employer sanctions

While being presented as a punishment for employers who hire "illegals," this measure is actually a prohibition against the right of undocumented workers to have a job. The sanctions

(continued on page 3)

Nicaragua resists U.S. pressures

By LARRY COOPERMAN

Secretary of State George Schultz's surprise visit to Nicaragua in early June failed to produce even a slight shift in either U.S. or Nicaraguan policy. Schultz continued to place four demands on Nicaragua as the preconditions for an end to the CIA-organized *contra* war against the Sandinistas.

Schultz's demands included: (1) the withholding of Nicaraguan support of the Salvadoran guerrillas; (2) the withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet advisers; (3) a significant reduction in the size of the Nicaraguan armed forces; and (4) the respect of "pluralism, democracy, and human rights."

While the U.S. government raises a hue and cry over respect of pluralism and democracy, it opposes the actual elections that are scheduled for November in Nicaragua. These elections, in which all opposition parties can freely present candidates, will clearly demonstrate the support of the Nicaraguan people for the Sandinista government.

The Sandinistas, in a communique issued after Schultz's departure, reaf-



Nicaraguan "Somozistas" training in Florida.

firmed their position: "Internal affairs or any other question relevant to the sovereignty or self-determination [of Nicaragua] will not be made the object of negotiations." Nicaraguan Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega insisted that in order to achieve a political solution, "the United States must put an end to the war imposed on Nicaragua."

Schultz's visit had two real objectives. First, it aimed to pacify American public opinion in the wake of a series of revelations about the U.S. role in mining Nicaragua's harbors and the arming

of the *contras*. Second, the visit, which was arranged by the Mexican government, was part of a deal made during Miguel de la Madrid's visit to Washington, in which the Mexican government agreed to reestablish full diplomatic relations with the Salvadoran government.

Up until now, the Mexican government has allowed the organizations of the FDR/FMLN to maintain offices in Mexico City and hold frequent press conferences. However, it has recently

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New pamphlet from Socialist Action:

"In Defense of Revolutionary Continuity"

By SEAN FLYNN

In Defense of Revolutionary Continuity, a Socialist Action pamphlet by Dianne Feeley and Paul Le Blanc, 74 pages, \$4.00.

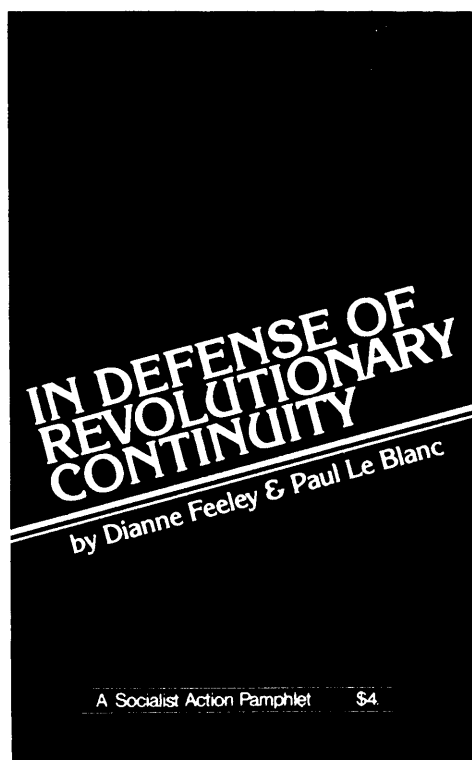
In "Their Trotsky and Ours," (*New International*, Vol.1, No.1) SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes insists that Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution has consigned its adherents to the sidelines of revolutionary history. To Barnes, the real continuity of revolutionary Marxism bypasses permanent revolution and flows directly from Lenin and his celebrated "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

In Barnes' view, such a "workers' and farmers' government"—a two-class coalition government that is not yet a "proletarian dictatorship"—is a necessary intermediate stage in the revolutionary process. Its task is the completion of the democratic, i.e., anti-imperialist revolution. Barnes urges his readers to cut their "sectarian" allegiance to permanent revolution and rediscover the "genuine Leninism" that is today propounded by the current led by the Cuban Communist Party.

In their pamphlet *In Defense of Revolutionary Continuity*, Dianne Feeley and Paul Le Blanc expose the fraudulent roots of Barnes' warmed over "old Bolshevism."

As Feeley and Le Blanc show, "permanent revolution,"—that is, the con-

cept that the Russian revolution could not overthrow tsarism and institute a far-reaching agrarian reform unless the



revolution was led by the working class and took anti-capitalist measures—was a key component of the Bolshevik strategy of 1917. How then does Barnes justify discarding the concept?

Barnes argues, first, that Lenin also believed that Russia would undergo an "uninterrupted" transition from the

democratic to socialist revolution, and that the "democratic dictatorship" was the instrument of that transition. Building on this view of pre-1917 Leninism, Barnes argues that Lenin's call for such a "workers' and peasants' government" avoided Trotsky's mistaken underestimation of the peasantry as a revolutionary force against feudalism.

Feeley and Le Blanc ably dismantle this theoretical construct, showing that Lenin embraced Trotsky's view of the course of the revolution in his famous *Theses* of April 1917. They also trace Barnes' arguments to their roots in the 1920s writings of Joseph Stalin.

Feeley and Le Blanc show that in Trotsky's view, the workers' government brought to power by the revolution would of necessity require the support of the peasant majority, manifested on the governmental level by representatives of that class. Because of the vacillating and atomized nature of the Russian peasantry, however, Trotsky insisted that the working class must have hegemony in the revolutionary government. "Underestimation of the peasantry," then, was a red herring used by Stalin to mask his retreat from Leninism.

Turning the argument on Barnes, Feeley and Le Blanc show that Stalin's resurrection of the "democratic dictatorship" during and following the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 made it possible for the conservative Soviet bureaucracy to justify relying on alliances with bourgeois forces in other lands to protect their "socialism in one

country," rather than depending on the extension of proletarian revolutions.

For the underdeveloped countries, this strategy has been a dead-end, dooming the revolutionary upheavals to defeat at the hands of even the "progressive bourgeoisie." The disaster of 1927 in China was repeated in Indonesia in 1965 and in Chile in 1973.

Barnes' rush to embrace this caricature of Leninism reveals the profound discontinuity with Bolshevism that is beginning to pervade the program of the SWP. It has its ramifications in the SWP's virtually uncritical support for the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini regime in Iran, and in its refusal to support any demonstrations in this country in protest of the crushing of the Polish workers by the bureaucracy.

Feeley and Le Blanc illustrate that the "turn to the Cubans" espoused by Barnes and the present SWP leadership and their adoption of the "democratic dictatorship" theory as expounded by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, is linked to the marginalization of the SWP as a force in the class struggle in the United States itself.

The SWP leadership's resurrection of the "democratic dictatorship," however, is a panacea which will not solve the crisis of the party. Rather, by introducing the concept of two-stage revolution, it threatens to undermine the entire programmatic foundation of the SWP.

In Defense of Revolutionary Continuity is a useful tool for reaffirming the profound links connecting Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution to the successful strategy utilized by the Bolsheviks in 1917. As in the Russia of 1917, permanent revolution today remains a powerful weapon in the arsenal of revolutionary Marxism. ■

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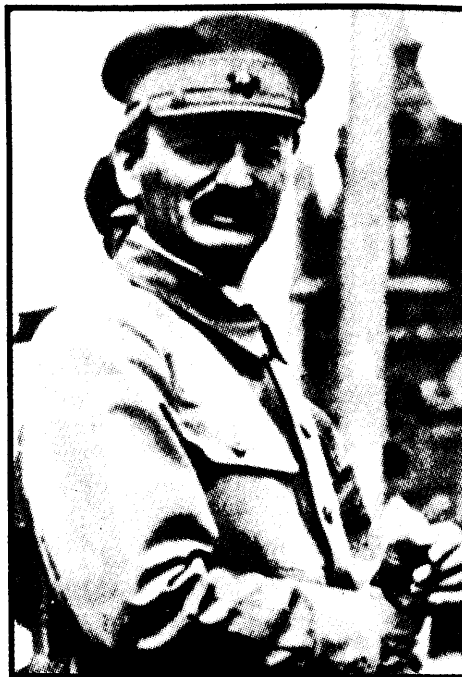
The latest issue of *Socialist Action Information Bulletin* contains articles addressing two key issues which came under dispute within the Socialist Workers Party during, and in the wake of, the SWP's 1981 pre-convention discussion.

These issues were first, the relationship of "Trotskyism" and Leon Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" to "Leninism" and V.I. Lenin's theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry;" and second, the role of and need for the Fourth International, the world organization founded by Trotsky in 1938. By their very nature, the disputes over these issues go to the programmatic foundation of the SWP.

This issue reprints three articles which defend the traditional positions of the SWP and the Trotskyist movement on these two topics. The first two selections, Les Evans' *Lenin and the Theory of Democratic Dictatorship* and Ernest Mandel's *The Debate Over the Goals and Character of the Russian Revolution*, were initial responses to the first signs of the SWP leadership's new interpretation of the Bolshevik strategy of 1917.

The third article, *The Need for a Revolutionary International*, by Mandel and John Ross, was written partly in response to the SWP leadership's support in its 1981 Draft Political Resolution for an as yet non-existent "mass Leninist International," which was implicitly counterposed to the Fourth International.

The Need for a Revolutionary International originally appeared in the Spring 1982 issue of *International Marxist Review* published in Britain. The Evans and Mandel articles on Leninism were published in an internal SWP bulletin in 1982 (in the case of Evans, 16 months after it was submitted for publication!), and were incorporated into the program of the Opposition Bloc in the SWP national committee in early 1983. This program was later adopted by the expelled members of the SWP who formed Socialist



Leon Trotsky

Action as a public faction of the SWP.

Les Evans is the former editor of the SWP's theoretical magazine, *International Socialist Review*, and helped edit Trotsky's writings on China and Spain. Expelled from the SWP in 1983, he was a founder of Socialist Action and is a



Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

member of its national committee. Ernest Mandel and John Ross are leading members of the Fourth International and of its Belgian and British national sections.

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Support socialist fund drive

Socialist Action was founded at a national conference in October 1983. In February our first National Committee meeting launched a \$16,000 fund drive to finance our growing activities, especially our burgeoning publishing efforts. These include the improvement of our monthly newspaper, the regular publication of the *Socialist Action Information Bulletin*,

and the expansion of our national organization.

In addition to our newspaper and information bulletins, we expect to begin publication of a theoretical magazine later this year. Please help to ensure that our expansion campaign continues to be a success. Send your contributions and subscriptions to Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

The August issue will be a reduced 12-page summertime issue. We will resume regular publication of a 16-page issue in September.—The Editors

Cannery workers fight frame-up

By FRANK JARAMILLO

Watsonville, Calif., was known as the *lugar de pajaros* ("place of birds") when it was still Mexican territory. Now it is known as the "frozen-food capital." It is in the heart of the Salinas Valley and is a working-class town of 30,000 people.

The first time I was ever in Watsonville, I nearly forgot that this town was in the United States. The people in the main square, in the restaurants, at the movie theatre, and in most of the stores spoke Spanish and wore clothes that were typical of the Mexican provinces of Michoacan, Guanajuato, or Jalisco.

The Salinas-Watsonville Valley is the most productive vegetable-growing region in the world. It produces 80 percent of the vegetables consumed in the United States, both fresh and frozen. This is produced and harvested by 10,000 agricultural workers, while another 7000 workers are employed in the industrial food-processing plants. Eighty-five percent of these 17,000 workers are from Mexico; 70 percent immigrated in the last 30 years, and 15 percent (Chicanos) were born in the United States.

I returned to Watsonville this past May 6, at the invitation of the workers from the food-processing industry to celebrate "Cinco de Mayo" (a Mexican national holiday).

These workers are organized in Local 912 of the largest and most powerful union in the United States, the Teamsters union. It is widely believed that this union is controlled by a *La Quinastyle* mafia, not unlike the one that runs the oil workers' union in Mexico. The Teamsters union has a discriminatory and disparaging attitude toward workers who have immigrated from Mexico and other parts of Latin America.

The Teamsters and Mexican workers

The president of the Teamsters, Jackie Presser, has said that the "illegals, whether Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, or Haitians, represent the most serious problem facing the United States. Besides being a threat to national security, their unwanted presence could cause an explosive situation." (*El Diario*, Jan. 24, 1984)

...attack on immigrants

(continued from page 1)

against employers will actually bring the employers into the enforcement apparatus of the INS, putting them in a position of checking employees' social security numbers and identification.

In any case, employers will be able to fill their labor needs through the "temporary foreign worker" provisions of the bill, which ensure a supply of low-paid workers who lack rights or protections.

People who work with refugees and immigrant service organizations are already reporting cases of employers firing undocumented workers, even though the bill is not yet signed into law.

Hispanic organizations have warned that the bill will result in increased discrimination against *all* minority workers. "To protect themselves employers will feel pressed not to hire non-white, non-English speaking people," said Cindy Forster, a volunteer with the American Civil Liberties Union Immigration Project.

The employers have always exploited the vulnerable position of undocumented workers. The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill will intensify this exploitation by bringing in cheap labor, and then expelling these low-paid workers as soon as their labor power is no longer needed.



The immigrant workers are not represented on the executive committee of Local 912, although they are a majority of the membership. They are also not defended in disputes with the employer, whether it is a matter of overtime, seniority rights, or degrading treatment from foremen.

That is why some 1000 workers and their families came together to celebrate "Cinco de Mayo" in its fullest sense, by honoring what this day means to the Mexican people. They are demanding respect for their nationality, for their democratic rights, for their union rights, and their right to have work.

At this gathering, the workers put on a play about a real struggle that had been waged at the Watsonville Canning factory. It described the following actual events:

Juan Parra came from Jalisco 13 years ago. He still barely understands or speaks English. In 1981 he operated a supply vehicle with a trailer to deliver vegetables to the packing lines. Juan had shown signs of rebellion against the insults and threats of his foreman, Ken Miller.

One day, as sometimes happens, the trailer came unhitched, which caused the packing line to stop for a few minutes. The foreman blamed Juan for the incident. The trailer was hooked up and the line started to run. Juan was cleaning up the place while the other workers finished unloading the trailer.

The foreman ordered him in an insulting voice to "unload the trailer" and Juan responded, "that's not my job." The foreman then said, "What are you good for, you stupid Mexican

son of a bitch." Juan could not contain his rage any more and, with the handle of the broom that he had been using to clean, he hit the foreman in the neck, causing him to collapse.

TDU organizes defense

Juan was charged with assault with a deadly weapon. The union, far from supporting him, formed an alliance with the foreman and the company. Only one small group, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), decided to support Juan. TDU is a national rank-and-file caucus formed to reestablish democracy in the union.

Twin Cities labor conference discusses Central America



Rosa Maria Rivera, a founding member of El Salvador's teacher's union, addressing June 23 Minneapolis Labor Conference on Central America.

Attended by over 80 people, mostly trade unionists, the conference approved a statement pledging to "do whatever we can" to get the U.S. government to withdraw all aid to the anti-labor dictatorships in Central America. The participants also denounced the U.S. war against Nicaragua, and called on the AFL-CIO to support these goals.

The conference also voted to establish an on-going committee of trade unionists and antiwar activists to further the mobilizations in defense of the right to self-determination of the Central American people.

This will ensure a permanent and highly controlled surplus labor force, expelling workers before they can unionize, and putting a permanent brake on all wages in the United States.

A provision in both versions of the bill will establish a "secure system to determine employment eligibility in the U.S." The House version requires a toll-free telephone number, which employers could call to validate social security numbers. The Senate version leaves it to the President to devise a system. Both versions smack of a police-state invasion of privacy in the style of the South African system of identity pass-cards for Black workers.

The trap of "amnesty"

The area where the Senate and House versions of the bill differ the most is around the "amnesty" provision. The House version offers legal status to undocumented persons who have lived in the United States continuously since Jan. 1, 1982. The Senate version requires persons to have lived here continuously since Jan. 1, 1977. There are further restrictions concerning learning English and studying U.S. history and government.

Opponents of the bill have warned that the "amnesty" provisions could actually result in deportation for many of those who apply for amnesty. Proving continuous residency will be difficult enough for those who have been living here without documents.

But if their application is denied, they could be quickly deported due to the lack of due-process provisions in the bill. Moreover, newly documented residents, under the amnesty provisions of the bill, would be denied most types of federal assistance for three to five years. This includes food stamps, health care, etc.

The AFL-CIO labor misleadership has gone along with the phoney argument that this bill will protect jobs and end unemployment. Instead of laying the blame on the employers who export jobs and import cheap labor at will, the labor bureaucrats accept the argument that foreign-born workers are stealing jobs from "American" workers.

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill aims to guarantee a large army of permanently low-paid immigrant workers who can-

The employer and the leadership of the local union threatened to fire those workers who supported Juan. They also used "La Migra" (Immigration and Naturalization Service) against those workers who were testifying for Juan, arresting them a few minutes before they were scheduled to testify.

The TDU organized and mobilized the immigrant workers, and forced the charges against Juan to be dropped, the foreman to be fired, and the release of Juan's witnesses from "La Migra's" custody.

Juan has not been able to return to work yet. But the TDU locally has been getting stronger because it has championed the struggles for human and democratic rights of the immigrant workers.

All over the United States, the bureaucracies of the Teamsters union and the AFL-CIO are guilty of using the "illegals" as scapegoats to cover up the real problems that confront North American workers.

But I am confident that North American workers will understand (as those in TDU have already understood) what the top union officials do not want to understand because of their privileged posts—that immigrant workers are their natural allies, not their enemies.

not organize to defend their rights. This bill is a fundamental attack on the rights of *all* workers in this country.

Several organizations who opposed the reactionary Simpson-Mazzoli Bill got sidetracked into trying to persuade Congress to pass a less reactionary immigration bill proposed by liberal Congressman Roybal. This bill would have substituted a beefed-up border patrol for employer sanctions. But this is no solution.

Only when the U.S. working class comes to the defense of the *right* of the most exploited workers to permanent residency status and citizenship will we be able to defend the job rights of every worker. A united response by the entire labor movement is a precondition for putting the working class back on the offensive against the employers.

Toledo rally marks 1934 strike

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

On Sunday, June 3rd, 800-1000 people gathered at the Lucas County Courthouse to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike. Mike Ferner, recording secretary, AFSCME Local 544, who co-chaired the rally, described it as a celebration by labor to explain why the Auto-Lite strike was a historic victory for working people all across the United States.

The Toledo Area Solidarity Committee (TASC) organized the rally. This is a group of Toledo area union members

"It is only together that we will survive."

that grew out of last fall's Greyhound strike support activity. TASC has helped organize rallies to defend several striking unions in Toledo. It has also conducted activities to win financial support for strikers including a raffle for the OCAW strikers at Sun Oil Co. which raised over \$1000 and a collection at the Fermi nuclear power plant which took in \$2800 and four truckloads of food for the striking UAW members at AP Parts Co.

Speakers at the rally included veterans of the 1934 strike, officers of some Toledo area unions, and representatives of Black and women's groups. These speakers discussed the lessons of the Auto-Lite strike and what is necessary to successfully counter the current attacks on unions.

Jerry Street, president of the Ohio Association of Letter Carriers and the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 100, spoke first. He explained that the Auto-Lite strikers helped win the wages, benefits, and working conditions that today's union members have come to take for granted. He warned of the danger of complacency. He called on those present to "rededicate ourselves as union members to be willing to fight for our survival and to help those who do not work as union members to organize and become union members." He set the theme for the rally as he said, "It is only together that we will survive."

Unionists recall Auto-Lite strike

A highlight of the rally was a tape by Ted Selander, one of the leaders of the 1934 Auto-Lite strike. His presentation (printed elsewhere in this issue) described the role of the courts, government mediators, and cops, and how the strikers, with the active support of the Lucas County Unemployed League, were able to win. He explained how a similar approach is needed today.

Participants in the Auto-Lite strike who spoke included Tim McCormick and Edward Lamb, the attorney for the strikers. Lamb described two significant features of the Auto-Lite strike. He said it was the first case of mass resistance to a court anti-labor injunction, and showed the potential of organizing mass production industries through rank-and-file involvement.

McCormick described the severe defeats unions had suffered during the Depression. He said that by 1934, approximately one-third of the entire AFL membership was located on Manhattan Island. He compared this to the bosses' current drive for concessions.

Ron Rinna, president of OCAW Local 7-912, on strike against Sun Oil Co., said that 50 years ago our fathers and grandfathers fought for union recognition. He said it is important to recognize the gains that were won and still exist, and to build on these gains. He

added that recent union-busting activities have shattered the false sense of security many workers had enjoyed. He said the only way we can protect our past gains and win is by recognizing the importance of solidarity—that no one individual, no one local union, and no one international union can stand alone. He ended by saying that with such solidarity, "we will win."

Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, detailed his union's attempts to organize migrant farm workers in the Midwest and their fight to win contracts with the major canneries. He pointed to the importance of solidarity to avoid additional PATCO-style defeats.

Jack Shertzer, secretary-treasurer, UAW Local 12 Jeep Unit, also spoke. Wally Smith brought official support from the Ohio Education Association. Tom Joseph, co-chair of TASC, member Local 50 Plumbers and Steamfitters, began the second half of the rally with a rousing appeal for union solidarity.

Community supports rally

In addition to the union speakers, representatives from a number of community groups spoke. Rev. Floyd Rose, president of the Toledo NAACP, detailed the gains of the civil rights movement and how they were won in the streets. He explained that, similarly, it was the events of May 21, when cops attacked several thousand strike supporters who had rallied at the AP Parts plant, that forced the company to the conference table. He called for a return to the picket line in ever larger numbers and explained the importance of supporting those arrested.

Judy Nablo, president of Toledo NOW, described the role of women workers. Margie Curtis of the East Toledo Jobs Center discussed the impor-



Police escort scabs out of AP Parts in Toledo, Ohio.

tance of the unemployed and employed working together.

Two chants expressed the mood of the crowd. They were: "Sun Oil Strike—We're Going to Win" and "AP Strikers, They're Not Guilty—Drop the Charges Now." A collection to aid the striking workers at Sun Oil, Interstate Trucking, and AP Parts raised \$727. Numerous strikers from all three plants attended the rally. There was also sizable participation from other Toledo UAW organized plants.

Unfortunately, the top officials in the Toledo AFL-CIO, UAW, and Teamsters failed to support the rally. They urged several speakers not to attend. A representative of the striking AP Parts workers, UAW Local 14 President Oscar Bunch, citing fear of court injunctions, was among those who declined to speak at the last minute.

Despite the opposition from the top labor officialdom, the size and composi-

tion of the rally and speakers' platform, and the number of local unions which supported it, showed a receptivity to the necessity of building active, visible support to striking unions. Growing numbers of working people are becoming convinced that past gains cannot be preserved nor future gains won by relying on a few skilled negotiators making back-room deals with the bosses. This sentiment is summed up by the Toledo Area Solidarity Committee brochure: "No longer should any worker in the Toledo area feel that they are alone when contract time comes around. The companies certainly don't—they bring in \$200-an-hour, union-busting law firms to handle negotiations and any resulting strikes. They determine which isolated union is to be next, and go after it like a pack of wolves. The Toledo Area Solidarity Committee's goal is to tell any union-busting corporations and their hired guns: *take on any union in Toledo, and you take on all of us.*" ■

Ted Selander's message to rally:

"A strike won on the picket line."

By TED SELANDER

The following is a transcription of a tape made for the June 3 Auto-Lite strike commemoration rally in Toledo, Ohio, by Ted Selander, a veteran of that strike.

Brothers and sisters, the key to an understanding of the magnificent Auto-Lite strike in 1934 is that it was a strike won on the picket line by a community uprising. I repeat: on the picket line by a community uprising. Toledo was in the grip of a tremendous popular upsurge of anger at the greedy bosses who hate to give their wage slaves a few cents more in their pay.

This was 1934 B.T.—B.T. meaning before television. As a matter of fact, it was before all the social gains which we fought for and won in the '30s—before unemployment pay, before food stamps, before social security, before the CIO, and before medicare, etc. When you lost your job in those days, the only thing you could get to feed your family were the hand-outs at a warehouse downtown where you stood in line for hours—sometimes in zero weather—and you worked one day for that. We didn't want a hand-out; we wanted jobs.

After four years of depression, the Toledo workers were in an angry mood because of the bank failures, the idle factories, the over-stocked granaries, and the 15 million unemployed. For four years we had poverty in the midst of plenty. Even the establishment was losing confidence in themselves and their system.

I don't think there was any real dif-



Toledo 1934 strike

ference between the Toledo Auto-Lite strikers and the workers involved in many of the lost strikes in the United States at that time. In practically every strike, the rank and file always displayed courage. The difference was in the leadership and their strategy and tactics. In nearly every strike the militancy of the rank and file was muzzled, many times snuffed out from the top.

The leaders are tricked by the courts, the labor boards, the mediators, the government, and the media to shift the fight from the picket line to the court and conference room. But all the while, the company keeps hiring scabs to take the strikers' jobs.

The recent series of articles in *The Union Journal* about the Auto-Lite strike is a good example because they are a devastating portrayal of how the company had the union leaders all muddled in a maze of hearings in the courtrooms and board rooms. They had succeeded in sidetracking the strike onto a dead end. The company was hiring scabs by the hundreds and claimed they now had 1800 workers. We understood what was happening. We knew that the strike was dying and doomed. Only some bold, dramatic action could revive it, and even then it would have to be followed up with plenty of action and support to give the company an all-out fight. And nothing short of an all-out

How strike was won:

Minneapolis 1934

By JAKE COOPER and HARRY DEBOER

This year is the 50th anniversary of the now famous Minneapolis Teamster strikes. It also marks the anniversary of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the San Francisco Longshoremen's strike.

The Teamster strikes have great significance for a number of reasons. First, they put to the test the correctness of the Trotskyist strategy for organizing a mass labor struggle.

Second, they signalled the start of a new era for the labor movement. The strikes combined all the old ideas of the IWW and the radical left on industrial unionism and put them to the test.

Third, they gave a tremendous lift to the Trotskyist party and helped to give it a solid national organization.

Fourth, they took Minneapolis from an open-shop town, where the employers' Citizens Alliance ruled the roost, to a union city.

The Teamster Local 574—later called 544—under the leadership of the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs, Harry De Boer, and a host of other outstanding militants, organized virtually thousands of workers into their respective unions.

Fifth, they proved that in every union struggle, labor must depend on its own strength and never on capitalist politicians. The slogans of Local 574 were "Labor must stand together as one" and "In Unity there is strength." These gave special meaning to the song, "Solidarity Forever."

Sixth, they gave special meaning to democracy and freedom of speech in the

unions. The membership was the highest body of the unions. No union officer could settle any contract without the agreement of the general membership meeting. Furthermore, it was written into the contract that it was a violation for any union member to cross any picket line. Any labor union in a struggle for union recognition or for better conditions could count on Teamster Local 574 for help.

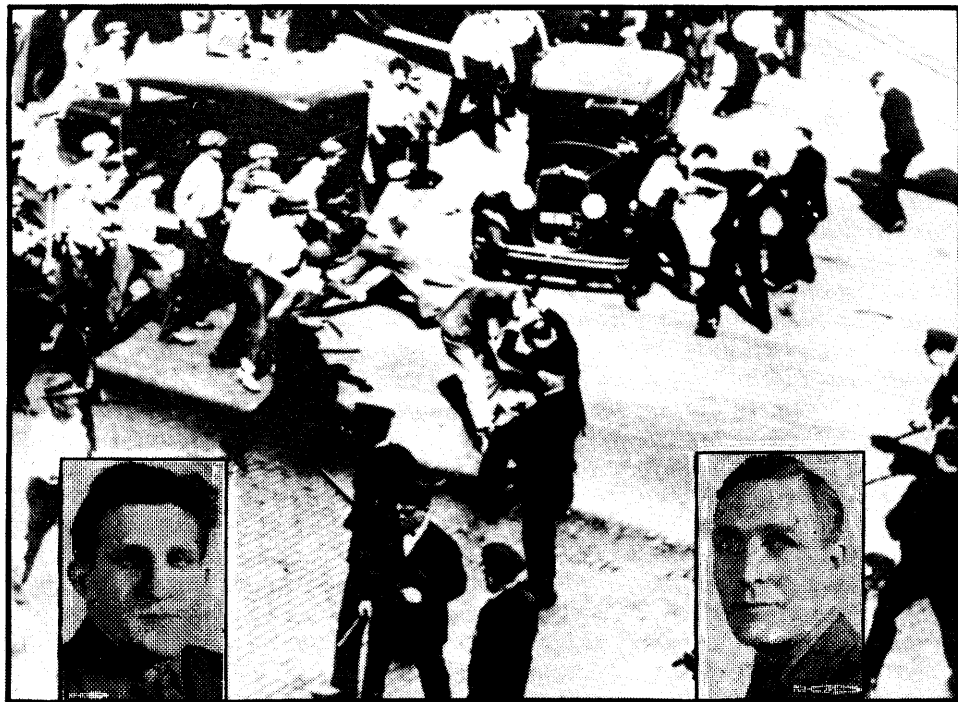
Unemployed joined strikes

Seventh, the Teamsters knew how important it was to make allies of the unemployed. They organized the Federal Workers' Section of Local 544 which assisted the unemployed and other welfare recipients, and saw that they got fair treatment from the relief agencies. They also organized workers on federal work projects like the Works Projects Administration (WPA), and fought for union wages on those jobs. They also told the unemployed workers that the struggle for shorter hours meant more work for them.

The unemployed then played an important role in the 1934 strike. Many were jailed or injured in the strikes. John Belor, who was unemployed, gave his life. The farmers were told, "Our fight is your fight. Workers can't buy what you produce without proper wages."

The union told the farmers they could bring their produce to market without harassment. The farmers in turn donated food to the union commissary, and actually helped patrol roads leading into the city against scab operators.

Every worker in the area was consid-



Jake Cooper and Harry DeBoer (insert) were leaders of the Teamster strikes.

ered an ally. And most workers responded. They knew and felt that Local 574's struggle was their fight also. The workers responded in mass to meetings called by Local 574. They reacted by keeping the union informed of what the employers and police were up to. They helped on the picket line and offered their services in the commissary and wherever needed. They were the eyes and ears of the union.

The strike was organized to the hilt. The union rented a giant garage for its headquarters. It housed a commissary to feed the strikers—medical assistance for injured pickets and committees to take care of the needy. Picket squads were always organized and ready.

The leadership organized a new mode of picketing. Flying squadrons in cars roved the city streets to see that no scab vehicles operated. Those they found were sent scurrying.

After those murders, the enraged strikers fought the guard for six days and nights—returning again and again to face tear gas and vomit gas, bayonet charges, and even rifle fire. During lulls in the battle, we stood on boxes educating the guardsmen about the issues in the strike and how they were being used against the workers. By the way, the casualties were not all one-sided. The hospitals were patching up not only strikers but police, deputies, and the National Guardsmen.

On June 4, the company surrendered and signed on the dotted line a union contract giving the strikers priority on jobs, a 5 percent wage increase, and other concessions; agreed to withdraw all court charges and to pay all court costs. The logjam in Toledo had finally been broken, and 19 auto plants were organized before the year ended. The road was cleared to make Toledo a union town.

Currently, I understand you have a very serious situation at the AP Parts plant where they have imported professional strike breakers—this Nuckols outfit with 40 goons. This same gang has broken strikes in a number of cities recently. A tremendous fight confronts the union. That's a hard nut to crack and they need support from the entire labor movement. Every union is threatened. I know what we would all like to see, and that would be that Local 14 and Local 12 and the Central Labor Union jointly organize a giant protest demonstration of organized labor at the AP Parts plant. (Applause.) That would prove to AP that the labor movement meant business.

As a participant in the Auto-Lite strike of 1934, I appreciate this opportunity to join with you in this 50th anniversary celebration. It is a credit to all of you who organized this anniversary to keep alive the memory of labor's untapped strength as demonstrated in the Auto-Lite strike and all the other battles which prove that in unions we are strong.

In Solidarity, Ted Selander

The Trotskyist leadership proved its theories on the street. The boss class controlled the political parties. It was simple to see in what direction the police clubs were aimed. Not once were the laws on the side of the strikers. Some workers saw the light and joined the Trotskyist party. The party showed considerable growth. In spite of the fact that Minneapolis was an open-shop city, the leadership of Local 574 organized support from most craft unions.

Minneapolis made union town

The employers, through the Citizens Alliance, tried every trick in the book to break the unions. They organized strike breakers, special deputies, and the police. They tried red-baiting against the union, assisted by Dan Tobin, president of the Teamsters International. The Teamsters answered every charge in their newspaper, the *Northwest Organizer*. The tremendous struggles and solidarity of the workers made Minneapolis a union town.

Today many labor leaders say that the Teamster struggle was a forerunner of the CIO. It showed how to organize workers on an industrial basis. Capitalism in the 1930s was in a terrible depression. The conditions of the workers were abominable. Today capitalism is again in a worldwide crisis. Workers are faced with an anti-union drive and the bosses are trying to take away all of the gains labor has made in the last 50 years by smashing unions, cutting wages, and imposing worse work conditions.

The methods that were proper 50 years ago can work today. The key is a revolutionary socialist party that preaches solidarity in the labor movement and that calls for an independent union-sponsored labor party. ■

...Selander

fight would do.

We consulted a nationally known labor fighter who had led several successful anti-injunction fights. We had the good sense to take his advice and act on it. As you probably know, we wrote a public letter to Judge Stuart telling him that we were going to violate his anti-labor injunction and call for mass picketing. By mass picketing we didn't mean a few hundred, we meant thousands. Could we get thousands down to that picket line? Well, that was the \$64 question.

We had spent the previous year organizing what some qualified observer said was the largest and most militant unemployed organization in the country—the Lucas County Unemployed League. We had held meetings and spoken in every section of the city and in the townships; organized countless marches, demonstrations, sit-ins; stopped evictions; won cash relief with a relief strike; and had held many, many other actions. Because of this vast experience, we felt sure that we knew the temper of the Toledo workers. We felt we had a good chance to be the fuse that could ignite a spirit of solidarity with the Auto-Lite strikers to get union recognition and perhaps even win the first union contract in the auto plants of Toledo.

It was apparent from everything we'd read, that the workers all over the country were beginning to stir.

On the first day that we violated the injunction, our mass picket line consisted of four individuals. That's right—just four. We were arrested, jailed, convicted, and let out on bail and warned not to return to that picket line. But we told the judge that we were going back. And we did—picking up some fifty pickets on the way. After that, there were a series of arrests, each one with a greater amount of pickets—first 46, then 108, and in between many smaller numbers. Every time we went back from the courts and jail, the picket lines

kept growing steadily until on May 23rd there were 10,000 reported on the street in front of the plant. (Applause.)

Now when you have a mass picket line of thousands, it enables you to counter the company's offensive moves. For example, they brought out a high-pressure hose and turned a stream of water on us. But it didn't take very long for a couple of hundred pickets to take the hose away and turn the water on them. (Applause.) Many times the police and deputies brutally clubbed the pickets, but before they could shove them into a patrol wagon enough pickets rushed in and grabbed the picket away and often gave them a taste of their own clubs. (Applause.)

You know that every good union has two educational committees: one to arrange lectures of all kinds and the other to educate scabs who won't attend classes. (Applause.)

Half the employees at the Auto-Lite were women who were among the very best strikers we had. (Applause.) A couple of days after the National Guard came in, the women grabbed a scab, took him into an alley, and stripped every bit of clothing off of him except his tie and shoes. (Laughter.) Then they marched him, naked as a jaybird, up and down the downtown streets. (Applause.) Next day the papers carried a large picture of him on the front page, but they had had their artist broaden and lengthen the tie to hide the family jewels. (Laughter.) You can bet that picture discouraged a lot of scabs, but it got a big round of applause from the unionists in Toledo.

The Auto-Lite strikers battled first the police, then the company guards and deputies, and finally the National Guard. The first day the Guard came in they fired without warning at the unarmed strikers, killing two and wounding 25. Unfortunately, I no longer remember the names of the two brothers who were killed, but they must not be forgotten. [Editor's note: the two unionists were Frank Hubay and Stephen Cioban.] They are among the many unsung heroes who fought and died to advance the cause of labor.

Socialist veteran tours Sweden

Jake Cooper and Harry DeBoer, veteran Trotskyists, were leaders of the Teamsters union Local 574 and of the Socialist Workers Party. They were among the Minneapolis 18 who were imprisoned during World War II for their opposition to the war.

Jake Cooper, a member of Socialist Action, will be in Sweden this month at the invitation of Socialistiska Partiet, the Swedish section of the Fourth International. He will be speaking at the SP's summer camp on "The Life of Carl Skoglund."

Skoglund was a leader of the historic Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934 and a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party. Skoglund was born in Sweden 100 years ago and was well known in his native country as a socialist and antiwar activist before coming to the United States.

Jake Cooper will also speak on "The Working Class Struggle in the United States—Yesterday and Today." Future issues of Socialist Action will report on Cooper's Swedish tour.

Workers Party charts course for labor

The biggest demonstration in the history of Latin America took place in Brazil last April as over one-and-a-half million people marched in Sao Paulo, shouting their demand for "direct presidential elections now!" In other Brazilian cities, similar mass mobilizations brought 15 to 20 million people into the streets in the period leading up to the April 25 vote in the congress on an opposition amendment which would have given most Brazilians the first chance in their lifetime to elect their country's president.

Not surprisingly, the amendment to introduce direct elections was defeated. In a heavily gerrymandered congress, it fell 22 votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Yet the failure of the vote represents only a partial setback.

The momentum built up around this campaign has been so widespread, and the crisis of the dictatorship so acute, that it is only a matter of time before new mass explosions will occur. The dictatorship, in fact, seems on its last legs.

The explanation for these gigantic mobilizations is obvious. Throughout the 20 years the dictatorship has ruled the country, rage has been building up against government repression, the hopeless poverty facing an estimated 40 million people, and the continuous inflation rate of around 200 percent.

In the drought-stricken peasant areas of Brazil's northeast alone, it is estimated that 10 million people have starved to death in the last decade. Moreover, with a foreign debt of nearly \$100 billion, the ruling junta has carried out an International Monetary Fund austerity policy which has cut real wages and thrown tens of millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed or underemployed.

Aware that the mass discontent was beginning to build up to explosive proportions, the dictatorship decided in 1980 to implement a political "reform" program known as the "abertura." It repealed martial law and censorship (the infamous Constitutional Decree No. 5) and decided to authorize the formation of opposition political parties. The junta's purpose was to defuse the political powderkeg, and to channel the discontent into the major bourgeois opposition parties.

What the junta did not expect, however, was that the Brazilian working class would take advantage of this political opening to develop its own independent strike movement; to create its own mass party independent of the parties of the bourgeoisie—the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores); and to form a new trade union confederation, the United Confederation of Workers (CUT).

Beginning with this issue, *Socialist Action* will be publishing a two-part series on Brazil's labor movement. The first article focuses on the emergence and development of the Workers Party (PT). Despite the differences between the situation in Brazil and the United States, the struggle to build a mass party based on the trade unions in Brazil is full of rich lessons for working people in this country.

By ALAN BENJAMIN

Beginning in 1978, a wave of wildcat strikes led by the Metalworkers Union of Sao Bernardo swept the entire industrial belt of Sao Paulo, Brazil's largest city. Demanding wage increases, job security, and an end to government intervention into the trade unions, hundreds of thousands of workers went out on strike against the multinational auto-



Luiz Inacio da Silva (Lula)

motive companies.

In March 1979, after holding massive assemblies where they elected new militant leaders in the government-controlled unions, 250,000 metalworkers in the ABC triangle of Sao Paulo (named after the industrial suburbs of Santo Andres, Sao Bernardo, and Sao Caetano) defied the laws of the generals and walked off their jobs. Soon the strike had spread to other unions across the country. Several unions, in fact, called strikes against the will of the established union leadership.

The government's response was not unexpected. Two strikers were killed. The militant strike leaders were expelled from the unions by military tribunals and jailed. They were accused of "inciting animosity between the Armed Forces and the people" and "inciting to collective disobedience of the law." Luiz Inacio da Silva, "Lula," the popular leader of the Sao Bernardo Metalworkers Union was sentenced to a three-and-a-half-year prison term.

Understanding that this was not a

fight against any one particular boss, but rather against the dictatorship, its courts, its press, and its agents within the trade union movement (the corrupt "pelegos"), the workers of the ABC triangle began to press for the formation of a political party that would fight for their interests.

A few months after the 20-day metalworkers' strike had ended with a partial retreat by the employers and the government, a series of local and national gatherings were held to discuss the formation of a new political party based on the reorganized trade union movement and independent of all the parties of the bourgeoisie.

On Feb. 10, 1980, a national congress of 400 delegates representing 20 unions from 17 states officially launched the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT). The congress brought together the most representative leaderships of the wave of strikes and elected a national executive commission headed by "Lula," Olivio Dutra, leader of the bank workers of Porto Alegre; and Jaco Bittar, leader of the oil workers of Campinas.

The congress also adopted a manifesto which stated the following: "The Workers Party arises out of the need of millions of working people to intervene in the social and political life of the nation, in order to transform it in the interests of the toiling masses. The most important lesson the Brazilian workers have learned in the course of their recent struggles is that genuine democracy can only be won by the workers themselves, otherwise it will be lost."

PT confronts numerous obstacles

The idea that the Brazilian working class should break with all the political parties of the ruling class and form its own political party had been advocated for many years by various currents in the workers' movement. The best example is the current grouped around the biweekly Marxist magazine, *Em Tempo*.

Founded in 1977, *Em Tempo* had organized a public debate on the need to form a workers' party. It also called for the formation of an independent and democratic trade union federation to replace the corporatist unions subordinated to the state apparatus; an end to the military dictatorship; and a free, sovereign constituent assembly. On

international questions, *Em Tempo* regularly published documents of the Fourth International.

But most of the other Brazilian political formations—particularly the Stalinist Communist Party of Brazil (PCB)—were violently opposed to the formation of the PT, and have done everything in their power since 1980 to prevent it from growing and gaining influence in the working class.

The PCB, which functions as the "left wing" inside the major bourgeois opposition party, the PMDB, attacked the PT for "dividing the opposition" to the junta and for "doing the dirty work of the CIA" in Brazil. In fact, it is the PCB which is doing the government's dirty work by urging the mobilized workers not to break with the parties and institutions of the capitalist class.

At the same time, a not insignificant layer of PT members and local PT leaders (many of them linked to the PCB) began to attack the class-struggle orientation of the PT, seeking at every stage

lems."

The congress, in a true spirit of international solidarity that has become the hallmark of the PT, also adopted resolutions in support of Polish Solidarnosc and the struggle for self-determination of the people of Central America. The congress pledged to organize a national campaign for the release of the Polish political prisoners and for an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The elections and further pressures

Despite the rigged character of the November elections, the PT obtained over 1.5 million votes, representing nearly 4 percent of the national vote. In the state of Sao Paulo, the PT vote was about 10 percent. Eight federal deputies, 13 state deputies, and dozens of municipal council members were elected on the PT slate. The party's membership grew to over 400,000.

The PT's major electoral success was in Diademe, a working-class city of



Rally demanding an end to the government persecution of the Metalworkers of the ABC industrial belt. The sign reads, "For the right to strike."

to dissolve the PT and bring it back into the fold of bourgeois politics.

After opposing the PT's initial platform, this rightwing current began a concerted effort to oppose the campaign for the legalization of the PT. Soon after, it opposed the leadership's proposal for the PT to run its own candidates in the November 1982 gubernatorial and congressional elections, insisting that the PT should critically support PMDB candidates. In both cases, the right wing argued that the PT was too small and not "viable enough" to challenge the government's restrictions and carry out any public activity.

After the elections, this current pushed for the PT to participate in parliamentary coalitions and "opposition" state governments with the various liberal bourgeois parties.

PT responds to the challenge

Against all the obstacles and pressures, the militant PT leadership, in collaboration with forces such as *Em Tempo*, set out to defend and implement the PT's class-struggle program. It began by organizing what was a successful mass campaign for the release of the imprisoned strike leaders. (One campaign rally on May 1, 1980, brought 80,000 workers to a soccer stadium in the ABC triangle.)

In 1981, after a year-long mobilization which saw the PT grow to over 300,000 members, the party won its legal status. In January 1982, the national executive commission presented a 12-point electoral program for a discussion and vote in the local party branches prior to the March 1982 PT national congress.

The proposal, which was approved by a large majority at the congress, called for running PT candidates for local, regional, and national office on the basis of a program of (1) "Jobs, Land, and Liberty;" (2) "An end to military rule;" and (3) "Socialism—the only system that can resolve our prob-

300,000 inhabitants, where the PT candidate, Gilson Luis Correia de Menezes, was elected mayor. After his election, Gilson pledged to organize a broad network of people's councils to support the new municipal council.

Yet, despite the fact that the PT had managed to organize spirited election rallies of over 100,000 people, the electoral results were not as large as many PT members had expected. The reasons for this—the lack of organization and solid roots on a national level—were fully detailed in a document adopted by the December 1982 meeting of the PT's national executive commission.

The lower-than-expected vote total, however, gave fuel to the right wing of the party who immediately issued their own public criticism of the leadership, decrying the campaign's "radical" and "divisionistic" character. In an interview in *Em Tempo*, "Lula" responded to these accusations, stating that "these party careerists might do better to find themselves another party. The objective of the campaign," he said, "was to organize and mobilize the working class, not just to seek votes."

Still, the campaign to paralyze the PT did not come to a halt. Nor, on the other hand, did the historic leadership of the PT stand still. In early June 1983, 113 PT personalities, including "Lula," issued a manifesto which reaffirmed the party's fidelity to its origins and program. The statement, despite a number of weaknesses, also confirmed the decision that the party is to be an activist party, a fighting party, and a class party.

The "Manifesto of the 113" soon gained the support of the large majority of the PT rank and file, thus enabling the party to play a decisive role in the founding and development of a national labor confederation (the CUT), as well as in the campaign for direct presidential elections. In next month's issue of *Socialist Action*, we will examine these two campaigns of the PT, and discuss the new problems confronting Brazil's labor movement.

L.A. rally backs Texaco strikers

By SHERRY FRUMKIN

LOS ANGELES—An umbrella organization of trade unionists in the Los Angeles area, the Labor Alliance Against Concessions, organized a rally and picket in Long Beach on June 9 in solidarity with the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 1-128, which is on strike here against Texaco. Some 250 trade unionists came out to participate in the Alliance's first public action.

The theme of the rally, held in a public park not far from the Texaco plant,

"We have the power to pull the plug."

was captured in the name of the Alliance's first newsletter, "Solidarity." One after another, the speakers—many of them unionists on strike—recalled the spirit of solidarity of the early trade union movement and the fighting unity of workers in the great labor battles of the 1930s and 40s.

The rally was chaired by Marc Rich, a locomotive engineer from United Transportation Union Local 1674 and one of the main organizers of the Alliance. Rich explained that the union movement needed "to stand together to build the kind of solidarity that, on the first day of a strike, could help the workers in their battle with the company." He said the experience in the Los Angeles area led the Alliance to believe

that "more and more workers are aware of the need for solidarity."

Chuck Sheehan, a leader of PATCO, (renamed DEPATCO since it was decertified) decried the government blacklisting of all the striking controllers, who are now unable to get any job with a government contract. Pointing out President Reagan's hypocritical support of the Polish workers, Sheehan reminded the crowd that "the day Ronald Reagan decertified PATCO was the same day he pledged support to Polish Solidarity!"

Striking Continental pilot, Moffet Tinsley, pointed out that the airline companies are thrilled with what is happening in the airline industry, and that the "banks love it because now they've got Continental workers paying for the planes."

Acknowledging that his has been one of the most privileged sectors of the



labor movement, Tinsley said: "Labor needs solidarity today more than anytime in our history. We've become too fat by ourselves. Continental pilots learned that lesson, and we're learning how to be union every day."

Jack Foley, district director of OCAW and vice president of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor told the rally that Texaco spent \$10 billion in its recent merger with Getty Oil, just at the time it said it had no money for Texaco workers. He reported that a Chevron-Gulf merger was also in the offing.

Increasing militancy of women

Of the 11 speakers, five were women trade unionists. This aspect of the rally reflected the rising participation of women in the labor force and the increasing militancy of women in the face of the employers' offensive.

Janice McConnell is president of the Lynwood Teachers Association. Her union had just won a strike against the Lynwood School Board with the help of area labor, students, and parents. She credited the teachers' victory to that support, and the support of many of the same unionists who now are organized into the Labor Alliance Against Concessions.

Luisa Gratz, president of the International Longshoreman's Union, Local 26, told the crowd: "We are the majority. We have the power to pull the plug. We are the ones who built this country. What difference does it make if we fly an airplane or make shoes? We are the people who make this country run."

Warning that "if Mondale is elected, it won't change anything; he's not a knight on a white horse," Gratz urged unions to organize a demonstration of 100,000 working people in Southern California to make a statement about labor's power.

Vicky Correa, a Latina striking gar-

ment worker at Davis Pleating, addressed the rally in Spanish. Through a translator she told the rally that the workers at her union have been on strike for 10 months, "confronting an owner who has no heart for workers who have worked for him for 20 or 25 years." Despite the protracted struggle, she said the workers "will never go back without a contract."

Lucia Morales, representing the Striking Copper Workers Tour Committee, deplored the plight of the copper miners who are up against giant Phelps-Dodge. "We copper miners say, 'Si se puede!'" she said, "just like the victorious farmworkers."

Tony Carpenter, striking Continental flight attendant, also pledged her union's continued solidarity with the Texaco workers.

"Get the Alliance going"

Bob Berghoff, UAW president of the McDonnell Douglas Local 148, told the crowd that it was the work of the people in the Labor Alliance Against Concessions that had helped build a rally of several thousand in support of his local when they were on strike.

"We only got together [in the Labor Alliance] after we got burned. We want to get the Alliance going so that three years from now we'll be a powerhouse," Berghoff said, urging the audience to get involved.

The formation of the Labor Alliance was well covered by the news media. A well-attended news conference had preceded the rally by a few days. And on the night of the rally, Channel 11 News did a major piece, complete with footage of the PATCO, Continental, and McDonnell Douglas strikes and the demonstrations organized to defend those unions. Echoing the tone of the rally, the segment concluded with the statement, "This is just the beginning."

Democrats look for votes at AFSCME convention

By RAY MARKEY

SAN FRANCISCO—The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) just concluded its 26th International Convention in San Francisco. Over 2700 delegates attended, representing over 1 million members. AFSCME is now the largest union in the AFL-CIO.

Three main items were on the agenda: The first was the election of the International president, secretary-treasurer, and International vice presidents. Gerald McEntee and Bill Lucy were re-elected without opposition. This election effectively ended the warfare within the leadership that surfaced with Executive Director of District Council 37 Victor Gotbaum's losing campaign against Jerry Wurf in 1980. Gotbaum was re-elected as International vice president.

The second major item was a celebration of AFSCME's successful organizing drives that have made it the largest public-service union in the AFL-CIO. AFSCME projects an additional increase of 200,000 members in the next two years.

The major theme of the convention, however, was the defeat of Ronald Reagan and the election of Walter Mondale. Keynote speakers echoing this theme included Walter Mondale, Willy Brown, Ed Asner, George McGovern, and Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, among others. Every aspect of Reagan's anti-labor, pro-military policies was scrutinized and attacked.

Mondale, reiterating the themes of his campaign, stressed that he would be a strong leader, that he is for the nuclear freeze, and that now is the time for all Democrats to unite behind his campaign. There were a number of labor party resolutions submitted, but the convention voted to table them rather than allow a discussion to take place on the floor of the convention.

AFSCME continued its progressive stance on most social and foreign policy questions. The convention re-affirmed its position in favor of the ERA, pay-equity, and the nuclear freeze. It attacked Reagan's military budget and opposed his position on the MX and Cruise missiles.

The convention took a strong non-intervention position on Central America, opposing the allocation of all mili-

tary and economic aid to these dictators as well as the use of U.S. military forces to either support or overthrow existing governments.

Secretary-treasurer Lucy reported that 40 percent of the members are women; 30 percent are Black or Latino. Of the total membership, 415,000 are state employees; 335,000 are city workers; 105,000 work in school districts; and 130,000 are divided among various titles.

Breaking the work force down in occupational titles, AFSCME has approximately 400,000 members in healthcare; 190,000 clericals, 110,000

technicals and professionals, and 100,000 in law enforcement and corrections.

Overall, AFSCME continued and even strengthened its position as a leading progressive force within the AFL-CIO. However, on bread-and-butter issues such as maintaining its members' standard of living and job protection, about the only advice the leadership offered was to elect Walter Mondale, or put another way, defeat Ronald Reagan.

Ray Markey was a delegate to the AFSCME convention from Local 1390 in New York City.

Librarians hit war drive

By NANCY GRUBER

DALLAS—The membership of the American Library Association (ALA), on June 25, 1984, at its annual conference, passed a resolution urging the withdrawal of all American military personnel and the cessation of all military aid and covert intervention in Central America. The motion, sponsored by the Social Responsibilities Round Table of ALA and its Task Force on Peace Information Exchange, was passed without discussion by a close, but decisive vote.

The ALA, founded in 1876, is one of the oldest and largest professional associations in the country. The membership of nearly 38,000, is drawn from library workers at all levels.

Until the early 70s, the association maintained a strict neutrality on all political questions and took positions only on issues which could be shown to relate directly to its stated major objective of "promoting and improving library service and librarianship."

Responding to membership pressure, ALA showed signs of change in the Vietnam era, and passed a landmark resolution calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

In recent years the association has passed resolutions supporting the Freeze movement and condemning the Ku Klux Klan, but the action clauses of the resolutions have been restricted to urging the dissemination of information on these issues.

Citing the Vietnam resolution as a precedent, the mover of the resolution

placed the Central American intervention in the context of the total proposed military budget of over \$290 billion, and pointed to the diminution of human services, including library service, that always accompanies militarism on such a scale.

The library workers in attendance at the membership agreed. ALA has now gone on record as joining the growing protest against U.S. intervention in that region.

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Bert Cochran, former leader of SWP

By MILTON ALVIN

Bert Cochran, until 1953 a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party for 20 years, died in June at the age of 70. He became a Trotskyist in the early 1930s and after leading a group opposed to a majority of the party in the 1950s, organized about 100 people who left to publish "The American Socialist," a monthly magazine of commentary on political questions.

Cochran made his first contributions during the early days of the upsurge of the 1930s. He became an organizer of skilled workers in the auto industry in the Ohio-Michigan area who joined the Mechanics Educational Society of America, one of the new militant unions that arose in that period. He functioned in Cleveland, Toledo, and Detroit, and was responsible for bringing many workers into the union movement.

In Toledo he also helped the large Lucas County Unemployed League, which had played an outstanding role in

Dunne, and Farrell Dobbs, and supported by Leon Trotsky. He lost the post of New York local organizer when the opposition, led by Max Shachtman, James Burnham, and Martin Abern won a majority of the delegates at a city convention held in the fall of 1939. Abern replaced him as organizer.

After the April 1940 split in the party, Cochran played a more important role in the leadership. He was a member of the party's leading bodies and in October 1945 he became editor of *Fourth International*, the monthly theoretical magazine of the SWP. He held this post until January 1949, using the name E.R. Frank, both as editor and frequent contributor.

It was in the late 1940s, as the Cold War and witch-hunt were heating up, that Cochran began to change his thinking. Up to this time he had been an orthodox Marxist and Trotskyist and a noteworthy party leader. But the failure of the union movement to go forward from the post-World War II strike upsurge discouraged him.



Auto worker strike in 1937. Cochran was a member of the UAW and a leader of the SWP's trade union fraction during the 1930s.

"The setback suffered by militants in the UAW was deeply felt by Cochran."

the Auto-Lite strike in 1934. He showed the unemployed leaders how to put their organization on a more solid footing, with payment of dues, membership cards, an office of their own, secretary, stationery, a flag, banners, weekly membership meetings, and so on. Up until then the unemployed had few of these attributes of an ongoing organization.

Cochran was only 20 years old at this time, but he looked older as he was partly bald and was also very authoritative in his manner. But he was also knowledgeable about what to do.

In the early part of 1939 he came to New York to take the post of SWP local organizer. He was a member of the party's national committee and political committee and carried a good deal of authority because of his union work in the Midwest. At that time the SWP had a multiple-branch setup in New York with 10 or 12 branches.

During the long drawn-out factional fight in the SWP in 1939 and 1940 he was a leader of the majority caucus that was led by James P. Cannon, Vincent R.

He suffered additional disappointment in the United Automobile Workers Union from the victory of the Reuther forces over the previous leadership known as the Thomas-Addes caucus. The latter had been allied to the Stalinists in the union for years, but by 1947 was not close to them any longer. Reuther draped himself in the American flag and started to brand anyone and everyone who was opposed to his taking full control of the UAW a "communist."

The Thomas-Addes group appointed Cochran editor of their caucus weekly newspaper which they called "FDR," after the late President Roosevelt. This was a crude effort to outpatriot the Reuther people. But it failed as Reuther had the backing of CIO President Philip Murray and other powerful support, and managed to oust the old leaders and take over full control of the union.

This setback suffered by the more militant elements in the UAW, plus many similar reverses in other unions,

was deeply felt by Cochran. At the 1952 convention of the SWP, where he made the report on trade union work, Cochran began by telling the delegates that his administration of the post of national labor secretary had seen more SWP members ousted from union offices of various kinds than any of his predecessors. This was supposed to be a joke but, unfortunately, it was the truth as well.

The 1952 convention was peaceful as Cochran's faction and the majority had reached an agreement beforehand to cool down disputes within the party. These had flared up from time to time for about two years. But the convention had hardly adjourned when the fighting started again. The dispute was over the question of whether or not to build a party. Cochran favored giving up the party and just publishing a magazine. There were also important differences on international questions. The Cochran group thought that World War III was imminent while the majority did not think so.

Ultimately the differences led to a split when the Cochranite members of the party national committee were suspended at a plenum held in early November 1953. The Cochran group had committed a provocation by boycotting an SWP 25th anniversary meeting and conclusion of a New York morality campaign a few nights before the plenum. They made it a question of discipline for their members not to attend.

Not one of their group came to the meeting as this writer can testify, as I was in New York at the time and present at the meeting.

At the next convention in 1954, the Cochranites were formally expelled from the party. One of the losses suffered by the SWP was the departure of a layer of party leaders who were of the generation next in line for top party leadership. Among them were Cochran, George Clarke, Harry Braverman, Joseph Andrews, Mike Bartell, Al Adler, and Ernest Mazey.

The main lesson to be drawn from the record of Bert Cochran in the revolutionary socialist movement is that even though he was a very talented person, other factors eventually worked to destroy his usefulness to the workers. For example, he stood high in the party leadership when the SWP leaders who had been convicted in the 1940 Minneapolis Trials had to go to prison.

The problem arose as to who should hold the post of acting national secretary of the party during their absence. Cannon told this writer more than once that on the basis of ability and experience, Cochran should have been chosen. But, Cannon said they decided to recommend Morris Stein for the post. Cannon said he and Vincent R. Dunne told Cochran privately why they were proposing Stein and not him. The reason was that he did not get along with many people, was too arbitrary, and so on. Cochran understood the criticism and took it with good grace. His relation with others improved after this incident.

But no matter how talented Cochran was as a writer, editor, speaker, political strategist, and popularizer of Marxist theory, including its philosophical side, he lost confidence in the future ability of the American workers to carry out their historical mission: the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a socialist society. That is why he opposed efforts to build the SWP and advocated publishing a magazine for "educational" reasons. He completely abandoned the ideas that he had taught the Toledo unemployed organization.

In his last years Cochran published a few books, the first in 1978 called "Labor and Communism, the Conflict that Shaped American Unions." This was reviewed by me in the December 1978 issue of *International Socialist Review*. In the preface to this book, Cochran thanks Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security advisor and prominent cold warrior, for his help and "unfailing consideration" during the term of his fellowship at Columbia University. This is a center of cold war Sovietology which Cochran would have avoided like the plague in former days.

All in all, the Cochran story is a sad one: a talented person who was influenced too much by conjunctural events that threw him off the track and disoriented him from the objective of the socialist revolution.

...Nicaragua

(continued from page 1)

been showing signs of an important shift in its policy toward the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

For example, the Ministry of Government recently issued a warning to Guillermo Ungo, president of the FDR, against making political declarations while in Mexico. Furthermore, Mexico sent its foreign minister to attend the inauguration of Jose Napoleon Duarte, in contrast to its refusal to even send observers to the 1982 Salvadoran elections.

Meanwhile, the *contra* attacks against Nicaragua continue. And the Reagan administration continues its propaganda campaign inside and outside of Congress to win support for overt, "legal" funding of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

The Reagan administration showed its "proof" of Nicaraguan aid to the Salvadoran guerillas—color slides of three pack mules and some dugout canoes—at a congressional briefing. The briefing was organized by CIA Director William Casey, Secretary of State George Schultz, and General John Vesey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Despite the recent cut-off of overt aid by the Senate to anti-Sandinista rebels—aid that will now have to be funneled clandestinely—tensions in Central



America continue to increase. As Viron Vaky, former U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela, noted in an opinion column in the June 18 *New York Times*, "What the Administration appears to have in mind, therefore, is simply to press the Sandinistas until they cry 'uncle'—until they agree largely without conditions to our demands. For the White House, 'negotiations' would be about working out the details—in effect, the continuation of confrontation by other means."

Yet the capacity of the Sandinistas to resist these pressures has been impressive and clearly signals their determination not to submit to the pressures of the United States. In mid-June, the Sandinistas succeeded in simultaneously pushing back the forces of Eden Pastora, who is recovering from an assassi-

nation attempt, and the forces of Alfonso Robelo's Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE).

In the case of ARDE, the Sandinista offensive was so successful that the arrival of 1000 *contra* refugees in Costa Rica caused that country's government to declare a national state of emergency. Even ARDE had to admit that the Sandinistas captured seven of their positions and that over 300 *contra* soldiers deserted.

That is why the United States, if it wishes to accomplish its objectives in Nicaragua, will have to rely on U.S. troops. And that is precisely why, at this time, the greatest responsibility of supporters of the Central American revolution is to build a movement powerful enough to prevent the U.S. government from carrying out its plans in that region. ■

Chilean workers challenge Pinochet regime

The following interview with Victor Toro was conducted May 2 in Chicago by Larry Cooperman. Toro is a Chilean trade unionist in exile in Mexico. He was a founding member of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria/Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and was on its central committee until 1979, when there was a split in the MIR. After the coup in Chile, he engaged in the underground struggle against the Pinochet dictatorship. In 1974, he was arrested and held in a clandestine jail. After being systematically tortured and held in complete darkness for a year, he was released to a public jail, weighing only 66 pounds.

After three more years in Chilean jails, Toro was released into exile. He has lived in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Mexico since then, and has traveled throughout Europe and Latin America testifying to his experiences in Pinochet's prisons.

He is currently on tour of the United States in order to explain the political situation in Chile and to build solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean working class against the dictatorship.

Socialist Action: You are a leader of the Metropolitan Workers Command (Comando Metropolitano de Trabajadores—CMT). Could you tell us about this union federation?

Victor Toro: The CMT is the result of a process of struggle and organization within the union movement. Its history begins with the coup d'état of Sept. 11, 1973, when the union movement was brutally smashed and destroyed by the military dictatorship.

Under harsh conditions, including a profound transformation of the economic and class structure of Chilean society, a new clandestine trade union movement developed that was democratic, organizationally autonomous, and independent of the state and its bureaucratic apparatus. This new movement, besides creating rank-and-file controlled unions, also initiated unions by branches of production, particularly in the textile and steel industries, as well as other local or regional forms of organization.

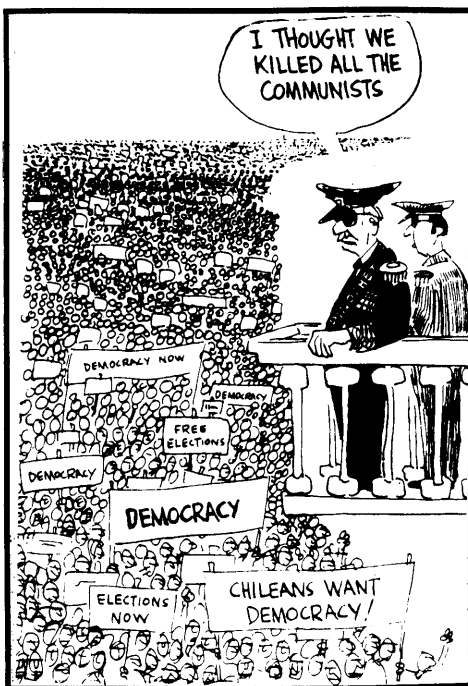
This whole silent and clandestine process that has been occurring these past years has led to several underground union conferences. A process of debate has also led to the adoption of a fighting program. This program was new not only in the way in which it proposed to organize the unions, but also in the way in which it conceived of the union struggle itself.

The last conference agreed on the following four points: (1) the rebuilding of the union movement from the base up; (2) full utilization of democracy in agreeing on plans of action and electing leaders; (3) a class-based platform for fighting the dictatorship; and (4) a conception of full autonomy for the union movement and its complete class and political independence from the state. These agreements led to the development and growth of the Greater Santiago Inter-Union Federation, which is today known as the Metropolitan Workers Command (CMT).

S.A.: What kind of protests can the union movement wage in Chile right now?

V.T.: The union movement has been through three phases in the course of the period of counterrevolution. After a first period of defeat and learning, a second phase consisted of the search for a new approach with respect to union demands and the struggle against the dictatorship. This involved the fight to oppose Pinochet's Labor Plan, which denies union rights such as the right to meet, the right to petition, and the right to strike.

The third phase began when the union movement abandoned its silence,



Nearly one million people marching in the streets of Santiago, Chile, on Nov. 18, 1983, demanding an end to 10 years of ruthless military rule. The banner reads, "No to the war councils; Free the political prisoners."

came out of clandestinity, and developed its struggle in the full view of Chilean society. This occurred with the first strikes, and through the first forms of protest which led to the active participation of the union movement in the national protests against the dictatorship.

In these national protests which began on May 8, 1983, and in which the working class and millions of opponents of the regime participated, the working class could still not paralyze production. In other words, it could not yet call a massive general strike, although it was able to put forward the general demands of the movement.

S.A.: What happened this past May Day?

V.T.: The recent May Day was the product of all the protests which have been occurring in Chile. The working class—the opposition—has won a lot of space for itself. The institutional conditions have not changed at all from the point of view of repression. Nevertheless, the people, the working class, and the unions have acted as if the repression did not exist.

In the period prior to May Day, the dictatorship was asked to legally authorize the holding of the demonstration. The dictatorship understood that, whether or not it granted legal permission, the demonstration was going to take place. Since there was nothing else it could do, it gave its permission.

The two most powerful organizations of the union movement, the CMT of Santiago and the CNT, participated in a united manner. They were joined by the three currents in the political opposition—the Democratic Alliance (Alianza Democrática—AD), the Coordinadora de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (Coordinating Committee of the Revolutionary Left—CIR), and the Popular Democratic Movement (Movimiento Demo-

cratico Popular).

We have heard through the official reactionary press, *El Mercurio*, that 200,000 to 300,000 workers came out. The real number is surely three times more than *El Mercurio* and the pro-imperialist press have been telling us.

S.A.: You spoke of three political currents in the country. Could you explain who they are and what they represent?

V.T.: The Democratic Alliance is composed of sections of the commercial bourgeoisie, of the small and medium industrial, agricultural, and mining bourgeoisie which were, for the most part, in the conspiracy against Salvador Allende. They supported the military dictatorship for a long time after the coup in 1973. The strongest political current within it is the Christian Democratic Party.

We define that alliance as a bourgeois

between the role played by the bourgeoisie and that played by the deteriorated Communist parties.

Today, the revolutionary left supports the tendencies within the CMT as the basic axis for advancing the struggle on both the organizational level and the level of trade union struggles.

S.A.: How do you see the future of the workers' movement in Chile?

V.T.: A broad agreement has been reached by the trade union organizations on the necessity of a general strike within the next 90 days. The first general strike will take up the platform of struggle of the protests for trade union, social, and economic rights. It will raise the demands for bread, liberty and democracy; for Pinochet's resignation; for the establishment of a constituent assembly; for the establishment of a revolutionary democratic government.

Finally, the strike will pass from "peaceful" struggle to much more radical blows against the regime. We are not talking about a definitive insurrectional strike against the Pinochet dictatorship, but rather the elevation of the struggle to strike at the economic, institutional, and military nerve centers that continue to support the dictatorship regime.

The strike will allow us to pass from the struggle to destabilize the regime to the open overthrow of the regime. In this context, popular assemblies are being created on a national level as well as in the factories, the fields, and the working-class neighborhoods. This situation is deepening the bourgeois and inter-bourgeois character of the crisis.

The situation in Chile is also of great concern to the different groups within the imperialist bourgeoisie (international Christian Democracy, the Socialist International, etc.) who understand that the class alliance that held the dictatorship together is breaking down. They are especially concerned with Chile's foreign debt, which stands at \$27 billion and is the fourth highest in Latin America after Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico.

S.A.: On a somewhat different note, how does the Chilean working class see the situation in Poland?

V.T.: When the events happened in Poland, the Chilean unionists in exile—but also within the country—took an attitude of sympathy with the union movement that challenged the political authority of the Jaruzelski regime.

We maintain a tireless criticism of the "process of the construction of socialism" such as has developed in Poland over the last 35 years. It has led to the establishment of a regime which is far from what we in Chile conceive of as socialism.

Perhaps this is because the political and economic conditions are quite different from those of Poland, but, nevertheless, we are opposed to the idea that—under a regime that calls itself socialist—so many millions of workers are repressed. We believe that socialism, on the contrary, can become a real possibility only when it is generated, impelled, and sustained from the ranks by the self-organization of the class, by the self-organization of the workers. ■

front in opposition to the military dictatorship which, undoubtedly, is trying to achieve changes in the current Chilean situation. Nevertheless, this section of the bourgeoisie and the Pinochet dictatorship itself are tied to the same dominant group of international finance and monopoly capital.

The Popular Democratic Movement represents the forces that were part of Allende's Popular Unity. It is made up of those forces whose political project was destroyed on Sept. 11, 1973. Politically, this grouping seeks to carry out the strategy of the international Communist parties.

With the Coordinating Committee of the Revolutionary Left, we are talking about the resurgence of a revolutionary left that would maintain the originality that marked the socialist movement in 1933 with the birth of the Socialist Party, and that marked the foundation, in 1965, of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, the Chilean MIR.

These two revolutionary organizations were intended to fill the historic vacuum in Chilean society existing

"Popular assemblies are being created on a national level as well as in the factories, the fields, and the working class neighborhoods."



...deficit runs wild

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that might tap some of the corporate riches, loopholes and exemptions are provided so the wealthy escape paying more than a small share. "Taxes should hurt," declared Ronald Reagan when he was governor of California. Then it was discovered he had paid no taxes the previous year on his hefty salary and dividends.

Reagan did not tell exactly how he was able to escape the hurt of taxes, but he had a whole range of options. He might have put his money into municipal bonds where the interest is free of federal taxes. He might have bought oil leases where the oil depletion allowance would wipe out his tax liability. He could invest in an elaborate tax shelter such as real estate investments that create phony losses and real profits.

These and many more loopholes have been provided the wealthy by both Democratic and Republican administrations over the years. It is estimated that taxpayers in the 70 percent and over tax bracket seldom pay more than 25 percent of their real income in taxes.

Then there is the notorious case of the dozen or more multimillionaires with incomes of over \$1 million a year who paid absolutely no income tax. This revelation created such a scandal that a nominal tax is now being imposed on the free-loaders.

The multimillionaires might still be

controls, the national debt blasted off into the stratosphere. In 1970 the Treasury borrowed \$16.7 billion; it borrowed 15 times as much in 1983. In 1984 it will borrow \$200 billion and another \$200 billion next year, and in the year after that.

The interest charge on the soaring debt is soaring even faster. It has risen 500 percent since 1945 and stood at \$134 billion in 1983. At this point the government has to borrow to pay interest on the old debt, thus adding new debt in an ever ascending spiral. The Treasury has to sell \$3 billion worth of bonds every day to keep the system going.

No buyers for U.S. bonds

The United States is the richest country on earth but how much financial strain can it stand? On May 11, 1984, it appeared for a while that the breaking point had been reached. The Treasury had \$4.75 billion worth of 30-year bonds to sell. The good faith and strength of the richest country stood behind them. They pay an interest rate of 13 percent. But there were no buyers. "The market is in a shambles," said one broker. "Investor psychology is such that no one even wants to hear about a bond."

The problem is that the supply of bonds is increasing while the demand is shrinking. Consumers have long since cashed in their war bonds and are borrowing themselves. The oil sheiks are no

national debt. They plan to close some loopholes in the tax laws and cut some more benefits to create a saving of \$148 billion in the next three years. This is no solution. The debt will still rise \$460 billion in that period. The intent of the bill is to push the hard choices for a real solution three years down the road.

Mondale and Hart have offered nothing better. Jesse Jackson proposes cutting the arms budget by 20 percent. This will never balance the budget, especially when he very properly wants to restore the benefit cuts. Jackson is operating inside the Democratic Party. This limits any proposals he may make.

The first step in solving the financial dilemma is to wipe out the entire arms budget, close the hundreds of bases overseas, eliminate the secret budget of the CIA, and cut off money to the con-

tras in Central America. This would be a real down payment on the debt. Taxing the millionaires and corporations on the full amount of their wealth would be a second down payment.

A resolution in favor of these two steps would never make it to the floor of the Democratic convention. The Democratic Party is not working on the solution; it is a big part of the problem.

Only a new party, a labor party, that breaks with the two-party power structure and mobilizes tens of millions of working people can force real changes in Washington. The astronomical national debt indicates that the system is running out of control. It is time for the common people of America to take control and halt the slide to bankruptcy and nuclear holocaust. ■

Labor Notes Conference stresses labor solidarity

By CARL FINAMORE

Six hundred and fifty activists from 52 unions, 28 states, and eight countries spent the June 15-17 weekend in Ypsilanti, Mich., discussing ways to build union solidarity against employer attacks on working people. Organizers of the Third National Labor Notes Conference had been concerned that recent setbacks for the labor movement would reduce attendance to under 500. The size and breadth of the conference is a sign of the increased frustration of a growing number of workers with the do-nothing policies of the labor tops.

In a workshop, Tony Mazzocchi, former candidate for president of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), referred to these defeatist policies as "going to the negotiating table waving the white flag."

Two opposition leaders in their unions, Pete Kelly, president of United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local 160, and Ron Weisen, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1397, spoke against the myth that concessions save jobs.

Indeed, figures show that employment was actually reduced when there was a deterioration in working conditions. The bosses use speedup and cross-crafting to lay workers off. Concessions have done nothing but line the pockets of the rich bankers and industrialists in this country. Mounting profits have been used in mega-merger deals which have not resulted in one job.

Many conference speakers noted that after several years of experience, more workers are beginning to shed their illusions in the concessions scheme. Top leaders of the USWA and UAW have felt this pressure by the rank and file and are now on record against any more giveaways.

Of course, it will take an organized and militant rank-and-file movement to make sure this lip service by the labor misleaders is turned into effective action against the employers. While several signs of renewed labor militancy have appeared, as in the Toledo AP Parts strike, conference participants realized working people remain on the defensive with the bosses holding the upper hand.

Solidarity support actions were emphasized as the best prevention against the drive to pick off unions one at a time. This was the dominant theme in the plenary and workshop sessions. And it was a theme not restricted to just the United States.

In his welcoming remarks, Kim Moody, staff writer for *Labor Notes*, referred to the German Metalworkers' strike for the 35-hour workweek as a "demand to save jobs." He also pointed to the recent victory by the Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers who benefited from an international labor boycott of Coca-Cola. Swedish workers, he noted, actually stopped all production and distribution of the soft drink in that country.

Moody's account of this victory was greeted with thunderous applause as if

to underscore the need for more international labor solidarity as an alternative to the "Buy America" campaign which pits U.S. workers against workers in other countries.

Next Round of Bargaining

Several unions will be negotiating this year. Contracts between the U.S. Postal Service and four unions will expire in July. These workers don't even have the right to strike. The unchallenged destruction of PATCO will undoubtedly strengthen the bargaining position of the Postal Service. Auto-workers at General Motors and Ford, and United Mine Workers members will also be entering into negotiations this fall.

While it is clear that these powerful unions have the strength to defeat the bosses' concession game plan, that strength which lies in the mobilized power of their membership may remain dormant. The sanitized version of labor negotiating we have been fed for the last 35 years simply won't work. In fact it never worked. The only thing ever accomplished was the demobilization of the American working class.

"Skillful" negotiating by labor bureaucrats has substituted for the action of the rank and file. A number of speakers in the plenaries and workshops addressed this problem. Many called for a return to the militant mass-action tactics of the 1930s and 1940s, which placed the welfare of the workers above the profit needs of the boss.

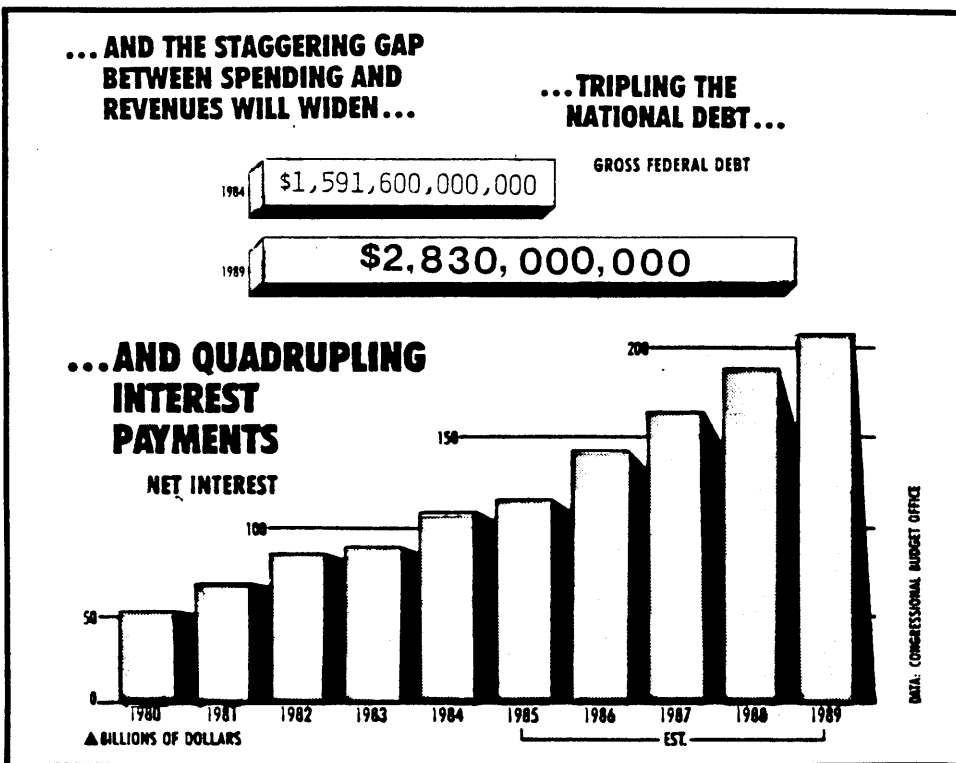
No main speaker mentioned the need to abandon the crippling alliance of labor with the capitalist Democratic Party, while in fact several did declare their intentions to vote for anybody but Reagan. Unfortunately the need for a Labor party did not receive enough time for discussion. But *Labor Notes* staffer Jane Slaughter did get a solid round of applause when she observed that concessions "took place before Ronald Reagan and they'll be here after he's gone"—until a militant labor movement is built to stop them.

Solidarity Network

Over 30 workshops were scheduled on topics including Central America, union organizing, affirmative action, unemployed, and plant closures. Separate meetings were also held for individual unions and geographic regions.

At the last session of the conference the *Labor Notes* staff presented its plans for establishing a national solidarity network. Much of this remains tentative since many activists had already begun to return home.

This conference presented convincing evidence that the terrible defeats suffered by labor have not eliminated important pockets of resistance which slow the capitalist austerity drive. These skirmishes are a necessary part of building a new leadership in the labor movement committed to preserving the rights of working people without regard to the profit claims of the small minority of super-rich. ■



enjoying their free ride except that the government needs the money. They need the money for invasions, police actions, for occupation of sovereign nations, for interventions, for overthrow of peaceful governments, for spying in every nook and cranny on the globe, for undeclared war and preparation for the final nuclear holocaust.

From the day 39 years ago when Japan surrendered, the United States has been rearming for another war, and every year save one for 22 years, the federal budget has run a deficit. The shortfall has been made up by borrowing, pushing the national debt up a few billions every time.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans deplore the rising debt even as they add to the deficits. Ronald Reagan made the evils of Democratic deficit financing a keynote of his campaign. He took office vowing to balance the budget. But he had two other priorities: to cut taxes further for his wealthy friends, and to build the most deadly war machine the world has ever seen.

Some voodoo economists told Reagan cutting taxes while vastly increasing expenditures for arms would result in a balanced budget—if he slashed benefits to the young, the old, the poor, and the sick. With the help of the Democrats, Reagan got most of what he wanted: tax cuts, record military budgets, and wholesale slashing of programs benefiting the poor. But he did not get a balanced budget. Instead he got a deficit of \$200 billion.

With Reaganomics at the financial

longer buying. Corporations are competing with the Treasury for loans. The Treasury has to beat the bushes at home and overseas to find lenders. It also has to raise its interest rates to make the bonds attractive.

This spells big trouble. With high interest rates people can't buy homes; small businesses go bankrupt. Debts of the Third World increase every time the prime rate rises. Reagan was the bad guy at the recent economic summit conference because high American interest rates drain money from Europe and halt its recovery.

If the bond issue does not sell there is a worse alternative. The Federal Reserve Bank has to buy them. This is a book-keeping operation that creates new assets, which the banking system can use to make more loans. This operation is known as monetizing the debt; turning the debt into money—an up-to-date way of printing money to pay the government's bills. How long can this process go on? It makes businessmen very nervous. They have visions of the printing press inflation of Germany in 1923 when it took a suitcase full of marks to buy a newspaper.

If the situation is so desperate you would expect to hear a lot about it from the Democratic candidates who are seeking our votes. Up to now they have had little to say because they have no solution. They can only nibble at the problem.

In Congress, the Democrats are working with the Republicans on what they call a "down payment" on the

Letters to the editor

Comments on FMLN-FDR peace plan proposal

Dear editor,

Socialist Action is to be congratulated on publishing the exchange between the Political Committee and a representative of its minority. Nothing so invigorates a revolutionary organization and its publications as an atmosphere of free-wheeling and open debate.

It engenders an environment in which members are freed from the subtle constraints which flow from a rigid obligation to present a pseudo-unanimity to the public on issues not only of moment, but around which there is necessary disagreement.

Nothing so prevents unconscious and not-so-unconscious tail-ending by cadre and members. Nothing so ensures that the public at large will perceive the party

Germany, were in a position to fight tooth and nail the German imperial attempts to strangle Bolshevism, and not to become lawyers for its stratagems.

It is also useful to review the lessons of the Vietnamese revolution and of the Paris Peace Accords.

These negotiations were imposed on the Vietnamese by Chinese and Soviet pressure to reach an accommodation with Nixon. As Nixon was clinking glasses with Mao, the bombs were falling on Haiphong.

Nor can one forget the role of the "North Vietnamese leadership" in 1945, when they sought to keep Indochina in the French Union; nor the role they played in 1954, when they abandoned the struggle in the South *after* it had



Paris, January 1973. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho (back to camera) initial cease-fire agreement.

assumed U.S. military enclaves at Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang. They were predicated upon a bourgeois coalition regime in Saigon, modeled on that which had already been agreed upon back in 1962 for Laos and Cambodia.

That is why Giap expressed such surprise at the unexpected disintegration of the puppet army. That is also why the "North Vietnamese leadership" tried to *restrain* the guerrilla units in the field who wanted to fight despite the "accords." The Saigon army collapsed. It was not defeated by the handshake with Kissinger.

The imminence of major U.S. intervention in Central America is a danger not only to the revolution, but to U.S. imperialism, whose leaders, bluster aside, are well aware of it. For any use of tens, if not thousands of U.S. troops will unleash an opposition in the United States that will engage the working class in a far more decisive way than it did in the 1960s.

This is the moment to deepen the revolutionary movement, not to curtail it. This is the time to extend the struggle, not to compromise it. This is the opportunity to spread imperialism thin in Central America—from Guatemala and Honduras, to Panama and Colombia.

The "Peace Plan" in El Salvador is the flip side of the pressure to back a bourgeois political program in the United States in November. It is the correlative of discerning "progressive content" in the campaign of Jesse Jackson as he delivers Black voters into the registry of the Democratic Party.

Today we must recover the legacy of Che Guevara, who did not call for "Negotiations Now," but for "Two, three, or more Vietnams;" who did not shrink from the prospect of U.S. intervention, but responded to it with the perspective of continentalizing the struggle.

Ralph Schoenman
Santa Barbara, Calif.

"We must recover the legacy of Che Guevara who called for two, three, or more Vietnams."

as vital, open in its attitudes toward ideas, and devoid of that party pride which treats non-members as *untermensch*.

The issue under debate is a crucial one, not only for the future of the Salvadoran revolution, but for the North American antiwar movement as well.

The FDR/FMLN proposal calls for a coalition government with bourgeois forces. It is a plan which occurs in a specific political environment under long-developing pressure. It proceeds from a rationale that imperialist, specifically U.S. intervention is imminent, and that this plan of compromise will stay the enemy hand.

A number of the political currents within the FDR/FMLN have, in fact, gone so far as to justify this turn in political program with the claim that a "socialist stage" is impossible for the Salvadoran revolution at this juncture. The argument in favor of the "Peace Plan," for them, has centered on a political demand that the Salvadoran revolution acknowledge the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution, and act accordingly.

The "Peace Plan" is being trumpeted as well within the leadership of CISPES as the correlative of the demand to "Dump Reagan." It is logical that it should, for it flows from the same premise.

The "Peace Plan," as formulated, will not put an end to the war being waged against the Salvadoran people. To say this is not to be presumptuous. The lessons of history—particularly the tragic events of China in 1927, France in 1936 and 1945, Indochina in 1954, and Indonesia in 1965—underline the fact that a clear political program is necessary if the masses are to avoid defeat.

It would be wrong for North American revolutionists to refrain from criticizing concessions made in El Salvador on the ground that these are revolutionary forces in the field who have the right to set their own priorities and strategy. It would be wrong to refrain from evaluating the meaning and merit of the program of any revolutionary leadership.

It is important to remember the example of the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk who, when feeling compelled to make major concessions, never felt compelled to dress up defeat as revolutionary virtue. When the German Social Democrats deplored Bolshevik weakness as a pretext for supporting the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Lenin labeled them "swine." He reminded them that if the Bolsheviks were under siege, they, in

been won, *after* Dien Bien Phu.

The Paris Accords of 1973 were *not* expected by the Vietnamese negotiators to lead to power in Saigon. On the contrary. I was in Hanoi throughout the time when the terms of these accords were first being pressed, having already been set in prior meetings in Moscow between U.S. and Vietnamese representatives.

These terms provided for a coalition regime in Saigon without Nguyen Cao Ky, but with Nguyen Van Thieu. They



...the important thing is solidarity

Dear editor:

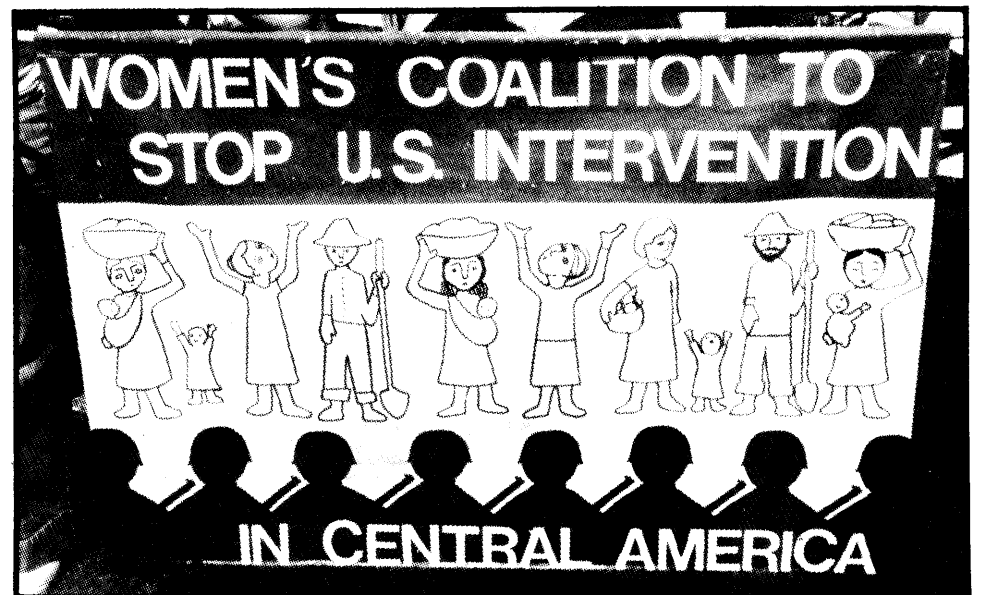
I found the two articles debating the FMLN/FDR peace plan in your June issue very interesting. They reflect the very real discussion in CISPES and the antiwar movement as a whole over these issues.

Much of the discussion in CISPES has been over the contents of the peace plan itself. I would share many of the criticisms raised by the Socialist Action Political Committee. I think the lessons of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Vietnamese revolutions show that you need a revolutionary victory that would totally replace the old state structure and the old army of the dictatorship and replace it with a new revolutionary government. As a member of CISPES, I've always supported the victory of the FMLN/FDR, for a FMLN/FDR government—not a coalition government with elements of the present junta and army.

In the discussion in CISPES a number of questions have been raised. Is the FMLN/FDR peace plan just a maneuver to win international solidarity? Is there a wing of the FMLN/FDR that really thinks that a negotiated, coalition government can work? What effect does the peace plan, which calls for a government with some of the big business sectors and an army with layers of the junta's army, have on the workers in San Salvador? Does it raise false and dangerous illusions in these sectors?

These are provocative and important questions. I'm not sure we yet have the information to know all the answers to them.

However—and this is where I would



disagree with the two articles—it must be emphasized that *the critical question* for supporters of the FMLN/FDR in the United States is *what strategy* to get the United States out. *This* is the key debate today in CISPES and the antiwar movement.

The debate is *not* whether you are for the whole peace plan, or have some criticisms, or oppose it. For example, I think the 1980 program of the FMLN/FDR was more correct, more revolutionary than the current one. But I was against a strategy in 1980, just as I am today, of demanding that our government negotiate with the rebels—which is the strategy the CISPES national leadership is arguing the movement should take. Whatever the FMLN/FDR's program, our task is to get the United States out—and the only way to do that is to focus all our energies on the simple

demand that they totally withdraw. If we focus our demands that the United States negotiate, they'll negotiate and negotiate until hell freezes over.

Our goal must be to unite activists with diverse views on the contents of the peace plan, around the strategy that the best way to help the FMLN/FDR is to build a massive movement in the streets of Blacks, Latinos, women, and labor, independent of the Democratic Party, around the demand that the United States get out of Central America.

Steven Ashby
Chicago

Socialist Action
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Women miners discuss challenges to UMWA

By KATE CURRY

Recalling the militant history of women in the United Mine Workers of America, UMWA Vice President Cecil Roberts received an enthusiastic response from the 250 participants at the Sixth National Conference of Women Miners held June 22-24 in Charleston, W. Va.

"If we allow management to play us off against each other, we'll never win...If one group of workers can be discriminated against, all workers can be enslaved...Coal is not male or female, it's just coal," he told the cheering miners. Roberts himself is related to Mother Sara Blizzard, who fought alongside Mother Jones and other women to bring unionism to the coal fields.

This pledge of support was welcomed by the women miners who have been hardest hit by the wave of layoffs which has affected 40 percent of UMWA members.

Indeed, larger and more efficient machines are being developed to mine coal with a reduced workforce. The UMWA has also been weakened by the expansion of mining into the poorly organized Western states, where low sulfur coal is available. The end result is that the UMWA organizes less than 50 percent of the coal mined in the United States.

With the contract expiring on Sept. 30, the union faces a stiff challenge from the steel, oil, and electric power monopolists, who now control mining. Only a policy which unites all the min-

ers—men and women, employed and unemployed—can hope to turn back the employers' demands for concessions.

Most women owe their jobs to the landmark work the Women's Coal Employment Project did to open up job opportunities for women. Federal records show the first woman miner began working in 1973. Today 3773 women work underground.

These women continue to face company intimidation and discrimination, including sexual harassment while underground. Several important victories have been won by women against the coal operators, who benefit from the divisions among miners.

Union supports women miners

At the conference, several top officers of the UMWA put the full weight of the union behind women in the mines. Unlike the previous regime of Sam Church, the Rich Trumka administration seems serious about women's rights.

Other issues discussed at the conference included the controversial union position on acid rain, which has placed the UMWA in opposition to environmental activists seeking to lower the pollutants in high sulfur coal and to use scrubbers in the smokestacks. Some participants disputed the union leadership's claim that environmental reform

will mean a loss of UMWA jobs.

The UMWA leadership also argued at the conference for their "selective strike" tactic as a response to the crippling impact of the widespread layoffs. By keeping some miners working while other members are on strike against selected targets, the leadership hopes to put pressure on the more aggressive coal operators, like Consol.

This strategy is a break with the militant tradition of "No Contract, No Work." Many miners are willing to try this new approach of selective strikes, while others believe that a nationwide coal strike is still more effective.

Actually, the British coal miners have set an example by expanding their strike to other industries. They have not limited their struggle to the coal industry, nor even to one segment of that industry. The conference heard reports on the British strike, and passed a resolution of support. The militancy of the British strikers will undoubtedly lead American miners to consider the same type of winning strategy.

The conference was a step forward for the UMWA, as women miners showed they were willing to continue their militant role of earlier years. Only this time, it will be as members of the union.

Mexicans protest austerity

By FRANK JARAMILLO

On June 5, 1984, the Second National Day of Protest (*Segundo Paro Civico Nacional*) took place in Mexico, involving more than one-and-a-half million workers and peasants in 27 of Mexico's 32 states.

The Day of Protest was organized by over 150 organizations, including unions and peasant, slumdweller, student, and left-wing political organizations. These groups belong to an umbrella organization known as the Workers-Peasants-Popular National Assembly.

The Day of Protest was called to demand a halt to the austerity policies and the repression of the current regime, which is following the dictates of the International Monetary Fund. On the same day as the protest, the Employers Federation of the Mexican Republic sent out a press release denouncing the protest as "a provocation organized by socialist groups who are taking advantage of the suffering and the shortages experienced by the people—yet the suffering is precisely the result of the socialist policies followed by previous governments."

In the industrial heartland of Mexico, Mexico City and its surrounding areas, where one-half of industry and one-third of the population is concentrated, 19 different mobilizations were conducted: protests in factories and schools, the holding of meetings and marches, etc.

In the provinces, it was primarily peasants, slumdweller, and teachers who participated in the protest through various actions such as the blockading of roads and organizing meetings and marches.

The organizers of the Second National Day of Protest consider it a success, since the level of participation was much higher than the First National Day of Protest of Oct. 19, 1983.

Marroquin denied asylum

In a decision which could affect tens of thousands of political refugees fleeing repression by U.S.-backed dictators, the U.S. Supreme Court on June 25 refused to hear Hector Marroquin's case for political asylum. The court ruling therefore leaves standing a lower court decision that Marroquin be deported. This is a serious blow to the democratic rights of all working people in this country.

Marroquin is a Mexican-born socialist who fled government repression in Mexico 10 years ago. For the last seven years he has been fighting INS efforts to deport him.

Marroquin has applied for permanent-resident status on the basis of his marriage to a U.S. citizen, but no decision on his case has been made by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

In a press release issued by the Political Rights Defense Fund, Marroquin noted the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, "which deports thousands of refugees fleeing death-squad violence back to El Salvador, while it welcomes Roberto d'Aubuisson, a well-known leader of the death-squads."

"At the same time," Marroquin continued, "the INS tries to silence outspoken opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America like myself through deportation, and it refuses visitor visas to critics of U.S. policy in Central America."

Socialist Action calls on all defenders of democratic rights in this country to send telegrams to the INS, demanding that Marroquin be immediately granted his permanent-resident status. Telegrams should be sent to INS Director, Commissioner Alan Nelson, Washington, D.C. 20536.



Hector Marroquin

Springsteen rocks in the U.S.A.

By JAYNE BURRIER

Critics everywhere are praising Bruce Springsteen's new album *Born in the U.S.A.* Don't be fooled by the title. This album is anything but a patriotic rock statement. Springsteen's songs spell out the hardships and evils of life in this country. Springsteen does not try to make overt political statements, but with his talent to create a mood and an image, his music casts a critical eye at the "American dream." With simple, streamlined lyrics, and Springsteen's intense vocals and driving rock beat, each song draws the listener into the dramas of ordinary people with their frustrations, disappointments, hopes, and dreams.

The title song *Born in the U.S.A.* offers a sampling of what Bruce Springsteen is all about.

*Born down in a dead man's town
The first kick I took was when I hit the ground
You end up like a dog that's been beat too much
Till you spend half your life just covering up*

*Got in a little hometown jam so they put a rifle in my hand
Sent me off to a foreign land to go and kill the yellow man*

*Come back home to the refinery
Hiring man says "son if it was up to me"
Went down to see my V.A. man
He said "son don't you understand now"*

*Had a brother at Khe Sahn fighting off the Viet Cong
They're still there he's all gone
He had a woman he loved in Saigon
I got a picture of him in her arms now*

*Down in the shadow of the penitentiary
Out by the gas fires of the refinery
I'm ten years burning down the road
Nowhere to run ain't got nowhere to go*

*Born in the U.S.A.
I was born in the U.S.A.
I'm a long gone daddy in the U.S.A.
Born in the U.S.A...
I'm a cool rocking daddy in the U.S.A.*

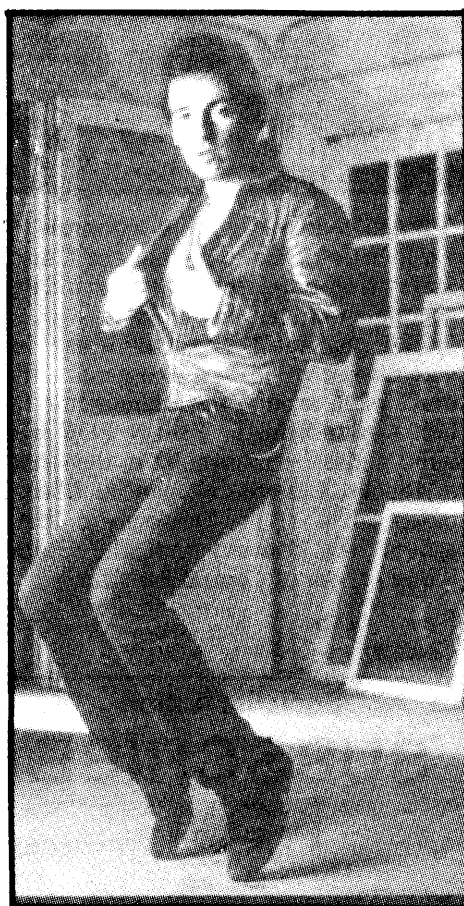
In *Cover Me*, Springsteen turns a

song about finding a lover into a social statement. "The times are tough now," Springsteen sings, "this whole world is out there just trying to score." He's seen enough and just wants a lover who will "come on in and cover me."

One of my favorite songs, *Glory Days*, tells the story of some friends whose zenith in life was their high school days. But now they are in the working world, just getting by, and when they get together the talk always leads back to boring stories of the glory days of their youth.

Even though many of the songs seem despairing, the upbeat music gives us the unspoken feeling that somehow, in spite of the blows and crushed dreams of the people Springsteen sings about, they all carry on. His characters have dignity despite their suffering. This is what enables the listener to identify with them.

What makes Bruce Springsteen's music so exciting is that his songs are about real life. His music displays a social consciousness and sensitivity to the everyday concerns of working people that is quite a rarity on today's rock scene. What is more, I might add, there is not a line in this album that is derogatory toward women. And that is no small accomplishment in today's rock music. This is rock music at its best.



Democrats and Republicans:



"One Big Property Party"

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

The basic rationale presented by "radicals" for a Dump-Reagan movement is that any Democrat will be less bellicose, and that the redistribution of the wealth in favor of the rich will be slowed, if not reversed, by almost any Democrat.

So compelling is this expectation that virtually every current within the anti-war movement and the nominal left can be expected, as the summer wears on, to join in the four-year lemming-like rush into the embrace of the Democratic Party variant of what G. William Domhoff aptly labeled the "One Big Property Party." (*Fat Cats and Democrats*, 1972)

It is a case of what the Jesuits call insensible ignorance. In 1898 William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic opponent of William McKinley, concluded his losing opposition campaign by serving as an officer in the invasion of Cuba. Not much has changed since.

Allan Nairn documents in the May issue of *the Progressive*, that the death squads of El Salvador, ritually decried by the Democratic Party and denounced by Ronald Reagan, were established by the State Department, the Agency for International Development, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Defense Intelligence Agency. Six administrations administered El Salvador's death squads over a period of 20 years.

It should be noted that the extermination program aimed at peasant, trade union, and religious figures was set up in El Salvador as part of John Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, with secret preparatory seminars held after the Declaration of San Jose in 1963. "Communism," John Kennedy instructed six Central American heads of state, "is the chief obstacle to economic development in the Central American region."

United States military and intelligence officials created and christened *Orden*, the paramilitary apparatus which permeated the countryside with a network of executioners whom they coordinated down to the village level. Under John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter, *Mano Blanco* operated with impunity, liquidating close to 100,000 people—not 50,000 as reported in the bourgeois press.

Democratic administrations, from Kennedy's onward, have been obsessed globally with counterrevolution on the cheap, the better to reduce deficits while operating repression more efficiently. In El Salvador, another benefit of the celebrated liberal program of the Alliance for Progress was the setting up of ANSESAL by Kennedy personnel. "An elite presidential intelligence service, it gathered facts on Salvadoran dissidents. Death squads were the 'operative arm of intelligence gathering,'" stated Nairn in the *the Progressive*.

High-ranking U.S. intelligence officials were assigned by consecutive Democratic administrations from Kennedy through Carter to earmark specifically those to be murdered by El Salvador's death squads:

"They supplied ANSESAL, the security forces, and the general staff with electronic, photographic, and personal surveillance of the individuals who were later assassinated by death squads. According to Col. Nicolas Carranza, director of the Salvadoran Treasury

Police, such intelligence sharing by U.S. agencies continues to this day." (ibid)

Under the Carter administration, the U.S. provided Roberto d'Aubuisson with the intelligence files he used in his 1980 telecast to finger trade unionists, Christian Democrats, and clergy as "guerrilla collaborators." Those named were assassinated shortly thereafter, or fled the country.

These U.S.-prepared television broadcasts inaugurated d'Aubuisson's Arena Party. The same U.S. officials "instructed Salvadoran intelligence operatives in the use of investigative techniques." (ibid)

These included "instructions in methods of physical and psychological torture." (ibid) Roberto Santzane, who directed ANSESAL, disclosed that the death squads were the prime instrument of U.S. policy in El Salvador, organized and expanded under successive Democratic administrations.

"Reform" in Vietnam and El Salvador

In Vietnam, under John F. Kennedy and Robert McNamara (who advises Mondale), the Land to the Tiller program was set up under Roy Prosterman. This involved the herding of peasants into strategic hamlets, and it was under this rubric that the Phoenix Program of William Colby unfolded.

Approximately 50,000 villagers, students, and priests were murdered in



Vietnam. Prosterman became the adviser to the Duarte Government in El Salvador, and he set up a "land reform" program under the exact same name used in Vietnam—"Land to the Tiller."

Now professor at the University of Washington, Prosterman is under contract to the Land Council of El Salvador. Peasant leaders who have surfaced in response to the land offered under this program have been murdered by *Orden*. The program has been sponsored by the American Institute for Free Labor Development and praised by Lane Kirkland in literature distributed by the AFL-CIO. The program has been

(continued on page A2)



Howard Petrick

Democrats: "Mondale, I guess."

By MARK HARRIS

"The people of this country have got to get that Presidency back," says Walter Mondale, the frontrunning contender for the Democratic nomination for president, "and get a President in that White House who knows what it's like to be a working person, and is on the side of working men and women."

Mondale's rote repetition of the standard Democratic Party assertion to be the party of working people contains one truthful, if inadvertent, admission—it is working people who will determine the success or failure of the Democratic Party's challenge to Republican President Ronald Reagan.

But a Democratic Party victory over Reagan will not signify a victory for working people. Beneath the veneer of the Democratic Party "alternative" now being marketed for the November election lies the big-business program of austerity and militarism that is in essence identical to the policy of Reagan.

Once again workers are being asked to buy the "lesser evil" of a Democratic administration as the solution to their needs. Walter Mondale intends to conjure up the image of a real alternative by pressing three major issues in his campaign against Reagan. The first issue, as the media pundits put it, is the "fairness question"—that Reagan's policies have hurt the poor and benefited the rich. Secondly, Mondale wants to give the impression that the world will be a safer place if he is elected; that the threat of war will be reduced if Reagan's bellicose policies are turned out of office. The third issue is the huge budget deficits, which Reagan had



Walter F. Mondale

promised to curtail once in office.

On all counts Mondale's "alternative" falls apart. Mondale, the "politician's politician," is a seasoned pro at promising everything and delivering nothing. It was not so long ago that Carter and Mondale made the same promises in 1976 to promote the interests of working people, minorities, and women against the openly anti-labor program of Republican Gerald Ford.

But what happened? In 1976, Carter-Mondale promised more jobs, but all the unemployed got was a jobs bill named after Mondale's mentor, Hubert Humphrey, that did not create a single job, while unemployment continued to increase.

Carter-Mondale promised to cut the

defense budget by \$5 billion to \$7 billion annually, but by 1980 they were proposing to spend a thousand billion dollars (a trillion dollars) over the next five years for defense.

Carter-Mondale talked about the need for a national health program. And that is what we got—a lot of talk—as medical costs skyrocketed and Medicare and Medicaid programs were cut back.

Carter-Mondale pledged to back the Equal Rights Amendment, but did next to nothing as the ERA went down to defeat, while gutting "costly" affirmative action programs and encouraging attacks on the right to abortion.

Carter-Mondale promised more funds for the cities and schools but that was nothing more than an empty campaign promise. The acute crisis in housing, jobs, education, and transportation has continued to worsen under both Carter and Reagan.

Carter-Mondale assured the labor movement that they would find a sympathetic ear in the White House, but their real sympathies were revealed when they intervened on the side of the employers during the United Mine Workers strike in 1978, invoking the Taft-Hartley act in an attempt to break the strike.

Remember "human rights"?

What about the new "human rights" foreign policy proclaimed by Carter-Mondale in 1976? Translated into real life this meant reassuring the shah of Iran of U.S. support the day after the shah gunned down thousands of people in the streets of Teheran on Sept. 8, 1978. "Human rights" meant urging

(continued on page A4)

...Democrats

(continued from page A1)

promoted by Walter Mondale and Gary Hart. Jesse Jackson has declared his support for the "land reform program in El Salvador."

Walter Mondale's chief de-sensitizer is Harold Brown, who is, in Alexander Cockburn's apt phrase, "the father and the mother of MX." But he is more than that. Brown, as the Russell Tribunal on U.S. war crimes in Indochina documented, organized the saturation bombing of Indochina in his capacity as secretary of the Air Force under Lyndon Johnson.

Brown was responsible for the selection of the bacteriological weapons, which included plague bacteria with which the fragments of fragmentation bombs were impregnated; gases which explode the pupils of the eye; phosphorus and napalm. Harold Brown was also secretary of Defense under Jimmy Carter and prepared not only the Rapid Deployment Force but the plans for U.S. intervention in El Salvador, which were first formulated in detail under Jimmy Carter.

Another of Walter Mondale's advisers has also advised Gary Hart. He is Cyrus Vance, the secretary of State under Jimmy Carter. But Cyrus Vance was also General Counsel to the Pentagon from 1961 to 1962, secretary of the Army from 1962 to 1963, and deputy-secretary of Defense from 1964 to 1967. During his reign, the U.S. Air Force dropped the equivalent in tonnage of two Hiroshima bombs every week in Vietnam. This involved more tonnage in the period of nine months than was used during the entire Second World War throughout the Pacific theater.

This perhaps illuminates why "Mr. Human Rights" Jimmy Carter, as governor of Georgia, declared a Lt. Calley day in Georgia after the My Lai massacre. In his race for governor, Carter promised to bring the politics of George Wallace to Georgia. He called Lester Maddox "his political model." The *Atlanta Constitution* labeled Carter's advisers the "stink tank," after the *Constitution* published a fake photo which Carter had fabricated of his gubernatorial opponent with his arms around a Black farmer. The doctored photo was distributed by Carter throughout rural Georgia.

Hart's "new ideas"

From 1964 to 1965 Gary Hart was director of a section of the internal security division of the U.S. Department of Justice. This division, it should be recalled, "monitored Communist front organizations." It reviewed orders by the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), and designated groups as "Communist infiltrated." (*The Nation*, March 31, 1984)

Hart calls for a "real increase" in defense spending, advocating "small aircraft carriers," which cost as much as the big ones. He is supported by the energy industry, the electronics industry and the banks, who have contributed generously to his campaign.

As manager of George McGovern's campaign in 1972, Hart told the *New York Times*: "Our strategy all along was to co-opt the left." (May 9, 1972)

The economic spokesperson for George McGovern's presidential campaign, as managed by Hart, was Robert K. Liston, former chief executive of the Transcontinental Investing Corporation. In an article for the *New York Times* (Aug. 13, 1972) Liston "made perfectly clear" what George McGovern represented: "It is one of his fundamental economic beliefs that the strength of the American economy is due mainly to the dynamic growth of the private sector led by corporations and other business. It is sound public policy to create the conditions for business to function effectively."

Liston spelled out the central theme of the McGovern campaign as one of co-option, the touchstone of Gary Hart's self-proclaimed utility to the rul-

ing class: "A program that promises to reincorporate in our capitalistic culture so many Americans who are presently alienated...to discharge blue-collar anger. Defusing blue-collar anger can help cut down strikes and absenteeism and result in more efficient performance. This will reflect in greater productivity and profit."

Liston set out for all with eyes to see

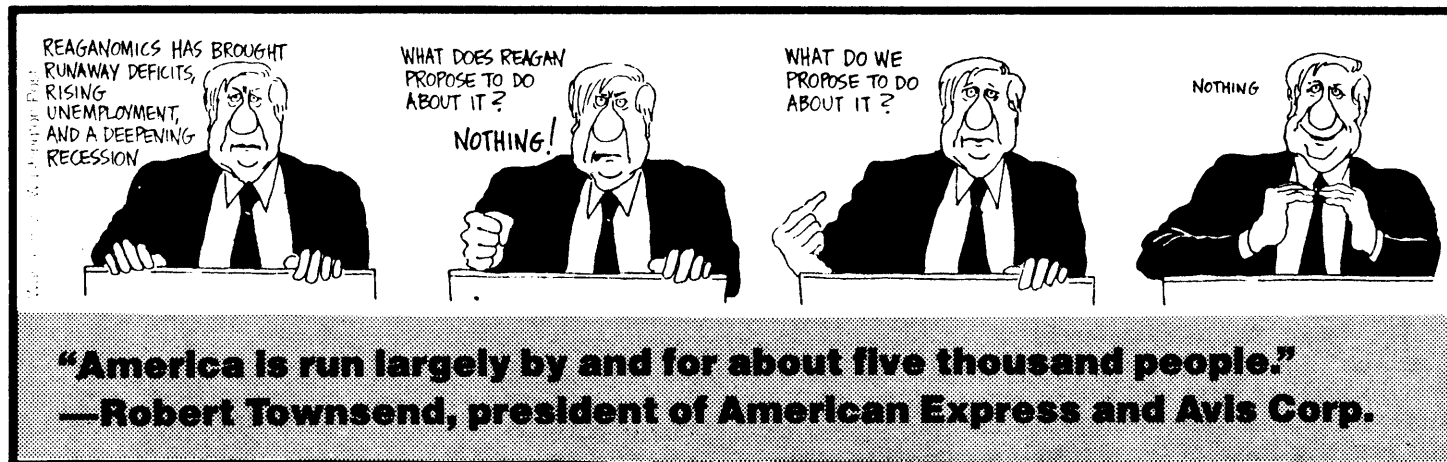
successors and are responsible to nobody. They treat the nation as an exclusive warehouse designed for their comfort and kicks. The president of these United States, in their private view, is head towel boy."

G. William Domhoff described the Republican and Democratic parties in a similar succinct fashion: "A Property Party with two branches is one of the

son's objectives, and each avows that only matters of tactics divide them.

"Support what you want"

Ezra Pound once wrote that the technique of infamy is to invent two lies and get people arguing heatedly over which one of them is true. Eugene Debs had different counsel. "It is far better," he told working people during the election



the role of the Democratic party when he said: "Unless some program is developed to accomplish this, we face a social upheaval that goes beyond the moderate changes called for by the McGovern program and threatens the profitability of business, if not the very fabric of our capitalist society."

The Communist Party, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and virtually all organs of the radical movement and the "socialist intelligentsia" stampeded the Black and antiwar movement into supporting the McGovern campaign in 1972, as they had that of Eugene McCarthy before him.

Never mind that Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, the Pentagon's chief protagonist in Congress, was McGovern's secretary of the Treasury-designate. Never mind that Arthur M. Okun, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under Lyndon Johnson, was George McGovern's nominee for a comparable post in his own administration.

Arthur Okun wrote in the *New York Times* that under his direction, the economic policies of the McGovern presidency would guarantee that "corporate profits would continue to rise through 1974 [and] would reflect his desire for healthy advances in private investment and corporate after-tax income." (Aug. 23, 1972)

This is why the chairman of Chase Manhattan, David Rockefeller, assigned Chase Manhattan director Patricia Roberts Harris, to be credentials chairman of the 1972 Democratic convention—the same Harris who represented State Department policy in Central America under Jimmy Carter.

Both parties support capital

The Democratic Party has controlled the presidency or the Congress for 44 out of 50 years. Since 1880, every major spokesperson for both parties has asserted that the primary task of corporate capital is to secure hegemony over world markets.

Since 1945, 15 million people have died in colonial wars, a direct consequence of the disappearance of an anti-capitalist movement after World War II. The dissolution of the left into the folds of liberal corporatism was led by the Communist Party and its coterie of liberals and left intellectuals during the 1930s and 1940s.

In the aftermath of World War II, U.S. capitalism was able to reconstruct capitalist Europe under the Democratic Party as a market for U.S. production and a barrier to revolution. Thus it was the dissolution of the left through default which allowed the present calamity wherein 2 percent of the population owns 87 percent of the wealth in the United States and averages 14 corporate directorships per person.

Robert Townsend, the president of American Express and of Avis Corp., put it this way in his book *Up the Organization*: "America is run largely by and for about five thousand people. The five thousand appoint their own

neatest devices ever stumbled upon by rich men determined to stay on top. It gives them a considerable flexibility, allowing them to form temporary coalitions with different elements of the underlying population as the occasion demands." (*Fat Cats and Democrats*, page 29)

This is the heart of the matter and it is why those who succumb to "lesser evil" temptations are serving the role of legitimizers of capitalist rule and are providing it with protective coloration.

"Despite the social and economic hardships suffered by hundreds of millions of Americans over the past one hundred years, the power elite has been able to contain demands for a steady job, fair wages, good pension and effective healthcare within very modest limits. One of the most important factors in maintaining those limits has been the Democratic Party. The party dominates the left alternative in this country and the sophisticated rich want to keep it that way." (ibid)

Jesse Jackson's contribution has been to arouse expectations and to prepare for illusions as he marshalls Black support for the One Big Property Party. It is not surprising, since Operation Push organized franchises for Burger King in Little Rock, Ark., and arranged for Bill Cosby to sponsor Coca Cola. Little else can be cited beyond such corporate services. Andrew Young, a member of the Trilateral Commission, shares Jack-

campaigns, "to support what you want and not get it, than to support what you do not want—and get it."

There is a fallacy often repeated that reforms can be obtained from a more moderate or more reasonable wing of the ruling class. In fact, historically, reforms have taken place in the United States when an independent political movement of the dispossessed or the widespread disaffection of the exploited have threatened the political monopoly of the parties of big-capital.

Paradoxically, the very limited reforms invoked by advocates of support for lesser evil politics only occur when there is movement independent of capitalist parties. Only when the ruling class feels the need to palliate and co-opt does it make concessions. Reforms are a reflection of the strategy of survival and are withdrawn the moment the movement has been deflected back into the arms of the ruling order. Witness to this are the gains of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.

Ironically, even the bourgeois reforms invoked as a debate for supporting the Democrats will only occur as a movement escapes their control. Nothing better teaches us, therefore, that elections provide an opportunity to pose a working-class alternative and to challenge capitalist hegemony. The greater evil is to postpone our task yet again. For the longer we wait, the longer it takes. ■

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Can Jackson reform the Democratic Party?

By LARRY COOPERMAN

The Democratic primaries are over. The three candidates, Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, and Jesse Jackson, who survived the initially crowded field, are busily preparing for the San Francisco Democratic Party convention on July 16.

Of the three candidates, only Jesse Jackson has presented a campaign substantially different from the typical Democratic Party primary campaign. It was preceded by an impressive voter registration drive which focused on unregistered Blacks, and consistently drew large, mostly Black, audiences to its events.

The Jackson campaign arose in the context of a decade-long retreat by all sections of the Democratic Party from New Deal/Great Society liberalism, which had been characterized by the granting of concessions to the working class to maintain social peace. Gary Hart, the "Atari Democrat," has become one spokesperson of that retreat, denouncing Walter Mondale's ties to the labor bureaucracy.

And Walter Mondale, of course, was vice president under Carter. The Carter presidency, which at times enjoyed a Democratic majority in both the House and the Senate, not only failed to enact the AFL-CIO's minimum program, but actually invoked the hated Taft-Hartley Act against the United Mine Workers of America during its 1977-78 strike. Furthermore, the Carter administration was responsible for initiating cutbacks in the majority of social service programs (cuts which Reagan has accelerated since 1980) and for raising the level of aid to the Salvadoran junta.

So the Jesse Jackson campaign, which has proposed military cutbacks, increases in social service spending, an end to U.S. intervention in Central America, normalization of relations with Cuba, and the strengthening of civil rights measures, has elicited substantial support.

This support comes from several groups, including (1) Blacks who see in the campaign a voice to express their interests as an oppressed minority, (2) liberals or left-liberals who are unhappy with the retreat of the Democratic Party from what they perceive to be its historic ideals, and (3) radicals and antiwar activists who see the campaign as an opportunity to force the Democratic Party to the left on the issue of U.S. intervention in Central America. A section of this group also views the Jackson candidacy as leading to an eventual break with the Democratic Party by millions of Blacks and others who will find their efforts frustrated within the Democratic Party.

The actual outcome of the Jackson campaign, however, will *not* be tangible benefits for Black workers, or a return to the previous "ideals" of the Democratic Party, or, much less, a break with the Democratic Party. *Rather, the campaign represents a coherent attempt to reform the Democratic Party.*

The rise of Black electoral hopes

While Jesse Jackson had a certain status as a civil rights leader, since he had worked with Martin Luther King Jr., he was also saddled with the reputation as a maverick. Despite being mistrusted by established Black leaders and elected officials, Jackson nonetheless rose to national prominence.

Jackson's presidential candidacy, announced after months of speculation about his intentions, followed the election of Black or Chicano mayors in several important cities. In particular, it followed the victorious election campaign of Harold Washington in Chicago, in which Jesse Jackson was centrally involved.

The rise of Black electoral hopes nationally, which led to the election of



Jesse Jackson

Black mayors in Chicago and Philadelphia, and which impelled the campaign of Mel King in Boston, was partially the result of the inability of Blacks to see another means of fighting for their interests. In particular, the inability of the labor movement to effectively respond to the social service cutbacks or to defend itself against the concessionary demands of the employers led Blacks to look to electoral solutions.

Despite the failure of capitalist electoral politics to provide a means for Blacks to defend the social conquests of the 50s and 60s—which were won through mobilizations for civil rights—the elections appeared to be the only avenue for pursuing the defense of Black rights. This situation was due, in part, to the unwillingness of the Black leadership to consistently organize mass mobilizations, despite the clear success of several demonstrations, especially the August 27, 1983, march for Jobs, Peace, and Justice which commemorated the historic 1963 civil rights march led by Martin Luther King Jr.

A split over strategy

From 1964 to 1980, Black participation in elections declined in relative terms. Voter turnout among Blacks, for example, had slipped from 58 percent to 51 percent during that period. While all sections of the national Black leadership identified with the Black mayoral campaigns and the voter registration drives, there was serious division over whether a Black should run in the Democratic primaries and, if so, whether Jesse Jackson should be the candidate.

Andrew Young, former U.N. ambassador under Carter and currently mayor of Atlanta, initially refused to support Jackson. Other prominent Blacks, including most of the Black mayors, Coretta Scott King, and Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, shared that opposition. In their view, a Black candidate would divide the Black vote in the primaries and possibly help to elect a more conservative Democrat, such as John Glenn or Gary Hart.

Professor Ronald Walters, in an opinion column in the June 12, 1983, *Los Angeles Times* supported the idea of a Black candidacy: "The threat to Blacks, severely buffeted by the policies of the Reagan administration, is that

any reasonable-looking Democratic nominee brought forward by traditional politics would take a Black vote and then, once elected, implement Reagan-like policies. . . . In effect, the question is whether to check and reverse the rightward drift of the party with a seriously organized campaign behind a Black presidential candidate.

"The legacy of unresponsiveness continues today as former Carter-Mondale operatives move to intensify the rightward shift of the Democratic Party in response to what they perceive as the conservative mood of the American electorate. . . . At the very least a Black presidential candidacy would sharpen Black political mobilization to the ultimate benefit of the Democrats. . . ."

The split over strategy among the Black Democrats in fact represented more than simply a debate over the

"Jackson made his attitude toward the (white) candidates clear: 'We need each other.'"

effects of a Black primary campaign in the Democratic Party. It also represented the concern of a section of the Black leadership that Jackson's candidacy, fueling raised expectations among Blacks, would add to discontent in ways that could spill over beyond election contests. This objection was cloaked mostly in attacks on Jackson's flamboyant personality, or accusations that his speeches ("hands that once picked cotton will pick presidents") were demagogic.

However, the evident success of the campaign (21 percent of the primary vote and 80 percent of the Black vote) quieted most of the critics. As the *Wall Street Journal* stated June 1, 1984, "Nearly all Black leaders, many of whom initially were antagonistic toward the candidacy, acknowledge the effectiveness of the Jackson effort." The success of the campaign in terms of Black voter turnout, indicated that there would be substantial benefits for the eventual Democratic candidate in the November presidential election. And Jackson, who has rejected running as an independent, made his attitude towards the other candidates clear when he stated bluntly, "We need each other."

Delegate fights and party unity

At the San Francisco convention, Jesse Jackson delegates may engage in a fight over delegate selection rules. These rules, which deny delegates to candidates with less than 20 percent of the vote in a given district in most states, and which grant all of the delegates in a district to a candidate with an absolute majority in a district, have led to a wide disparity between Jackson's popular vote (21 percent) and the number of delegates pledged to him (9 percent).

At various times, Jackson has threatened not to support any Democratic candidate who does not agree to changes in the delegate selection rules. It is that implicit threat that Jackson must wield to gain influence within the Democratic Party.

The points in Jackson's platform which aroused the hopes of millions of Blacks and others will probably be downplayed to focus on the convention fight over delegate selection rules. It is likely that Jackson will not even try to get the Democratic Party to incorporate recognition of the PLO, normalization of relations with Cuba, immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Central America, cutbacks in military spending, or increases in social service spending into its platform.

Rather, the main objective of the Jackson campaign is to translate its popular support into a permanent voice within the Democratic Party for the Black leadership. As Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young noted: "Blacks will never again be taken for granted. That's probably the legacy of the Jesse Jackson campaign."

However, just as the incorporation of the labor bureaucracy into the Democratic Party failed to achieve even the most minimal objectives of the labor movement, Jesse Jackson's strategy will fail to produce any important gains for the millions of Blacks who place their confidence in him.

The campaign *may*, however, result in important gains for a layer of the Black leadership, just as the incorporation of the labor bureaucracy into the top rungs of the Democratic Party produced tangible benefits to a layer of labor bureaucrats. Some labor leaders used those positions to obtain special privileges ranging from escaping prosecution on corruption charges to acquir-

ing a diplomatic post.

Despite the hopes of some activists that the Jackson campaign will lead Blacks toward a break with the Democratic Party, it is clear that its real dynamic is toward greater incorporation of the disaffected into the Democratic Party. To accomplish that it has successfully sought to overcome the alienation of many Blacks from the Democratic Party.

It is true that Jesse Jackson has succeeded in arousing hopes. However, the dashing of those hopes will not automatically produce a break with the Democratic Party. Without an authoritative leadership that points in the direction of independent political action, any disillusionment that does result from the campaign will most likely lead to demoralization.

The most likely result of the campaign is that it will lead to a renewed effort by Blacks to influence the course of the Democratic Party, even after the November elections. Just like the AFL-CIO's sad record in the Democratic Party, this would mean a prolonged and futile effort to reform a party that serves interests antagonistic to those of the vast majority of Blacks. ■

Mel Mason for president!

Once again working people are being led into the trap of supporting the "lesser evil" of the Democratic Party. The AFL-CIO, the National Organization for Women, and others are flying the "Dump Reagan" banner as the central task for all those who want to fight back against the U.S. war drive and the big-business policy of the present administration.

But the Democratic Party has been an equal partner in the *bipartisan* assault on the living standards of working people. The Democratic Party shares equal responsibility for the war drive and military buildup. The outrage against Republican Reagan, who openly proclaims the glory of big-business and high profits, is being channeled into support for the more deceptive, but no less malevolent, Democratic representatives of big-business.

The coming battles cannot be won simply on the picket lines and in the streets. A *political* mobilization of workers and their allies on the electoral front is also vital to a successful struggle. But this political mobilization must be independent, and in opposition to the capitalist parties. A labor party, based on the unions, is a burning necessity for a broad-based struggle against capitalist injustice.

A labor party, unfortunately, does not yet exist in the United States. But there is an alternative in 1984 that points in the right direction. The Socialist Workers Party candidates, Mel Mason for president and Andrea Gonzalez for vice president, represent an authentic working class alternative to the capitalist parties.

The developing combative mood among working people presents the opportunity for this campaign to bring the socialist program into the living struggles in the unions, the workplaces, the campuses, and the streets.

- A vote for the SWP candidates in this election will be a vote for independent working-class political action.
- A vote for Mason and Gonzalez will be a vote against the war policies of both Democrats and Republicans.



Mel Mason and Andrea Gonzalez, SWP candidates for president and vice president of the United States

- A vote for Mason and Gonzalez will be a vote for human needs before profits.
- A vote for Mason and Gonzalez will be a vote for a rational answer to unemployment—a workweek reduced to 30 hours with no cut in pay.
- A vote for Mason and Gonzalez will be a vote against the social diseases of racism and sexism.
- Most importantly, a vote for the socialist presidential candidates will be a vote for a break from the capitalist politics of the two parties, and for the building of an independent labor party.

Socialist Action urges a vote for Mel Mason and Andrea Gonzalez.
Vote Socialist!

...Mondale

(continued from page A 1)

Congress to give Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos \$300 million in military aid, as Marcos imprisoned opposition candidates after the 1978 National Assembly elections, torturing and killing many civilians in a mass crackdown.

Today Mondale does not even pretend to talk about "human rights" or cutting back defense spending. Instead he proposes a 4 or 5 percent increase in the budget for a military machine that stands as the mightiest arsenal in the world. And for what? For the same reason that the Carter-Mondale administration requested from Congress \$5.7 million in credits for the Salvadoran military junta in 1980: to prop up the death-squad junta that has murdered tens of thousands of its citizens; to counter "Soviet expansionism;" and to protect the investments of U.S. corporations.

Can anyone really expect Mondale's foreign policy to represent a fundamental shift from Reagan's bellicose posture? What about Mondale's support for instituting draft registration? Or his support for the U.S. invasion of Grenada? Should the people of Grenada differentiate between Mondale's Democratic support for Reagan's military invasion of their country and Reagan's actual policy?

What kind of advice does Mondale want the 200 U.S. military "advisers" he believes should remain in Honduras to give to the Honduran military? The same advice, perhaps, that U.S. advisers handed out to the corrupt Diem regime in South Vietnam in the early 1960s? Will Mondale expect the people of this country to swallow the same kind of reassurances to trust his Central America policy as Lyndon Johnson proffered during the Vietnam war and which Mondale, a supporter of the war, took as good coin?

Vague promises

At best Mondale and the Democrats offer only vague promises designed to placate working people. But specific proposals to remedy the ills facing working people will be hard to find. And that is no accident.

Robert Shogan and Sara Fritz quote Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro (D—N.Y.), chairperson of the Democratic convention Platform Committee, as saying "she will try to avoid addressing specific legislative proposals that she feared might offend more voters than they please." (*Los Angeles Times*, June 10, 1984)

Mary Jean Collins, vice chairperson of the National Organization for Women, which supports Mondale, expressed her displeasure that Ferraro "wants to say we support the ERA, but she doesn't want to say we support HR1 (the House legislation reintroducing the ERA). She wants to say we support immigration reform, but she doesn't want to say we support the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration legislation."

Collins apparently does not appreciate her candidate's delicate task: to proclaim the grand vision of a Democratic administration, but downplay the nuts-and-bolts of a program for *social austerity and military prosperity*.

Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson, despite their strong accusations against Mon-

non-starters... In these two areas, however, it should not be difficult to work out *mutually acceptable language*." (our emphasis) "It would be a mistake for partisans of either party," Powell concludes, "to assume that what Jesse wants and what the Democratic Party wants are fundamentally irreconcilable."

Of course, if Jackson lined up directly behind Mondale he would risk being lost in the frontrunner's shadow. That would not sit well with many of Jackson's supporters, who seriously hope his campaign will help spur a new social movement that can reverse the attacks on the rights of Blacks and others.

The leaders of the Democratic Party

clear that he understands the rules of convention politicking. "We should go to the convention with most of our areas (of disagreement) worked out so as to have a minimum amount of trauma and confrontation at that convention," Jackson says. "We have a higher mission—that is of course to defeat Ronald Reagan in November." (*Oakland Tribune*, June 7, 1984)

"Mondale, I guess"

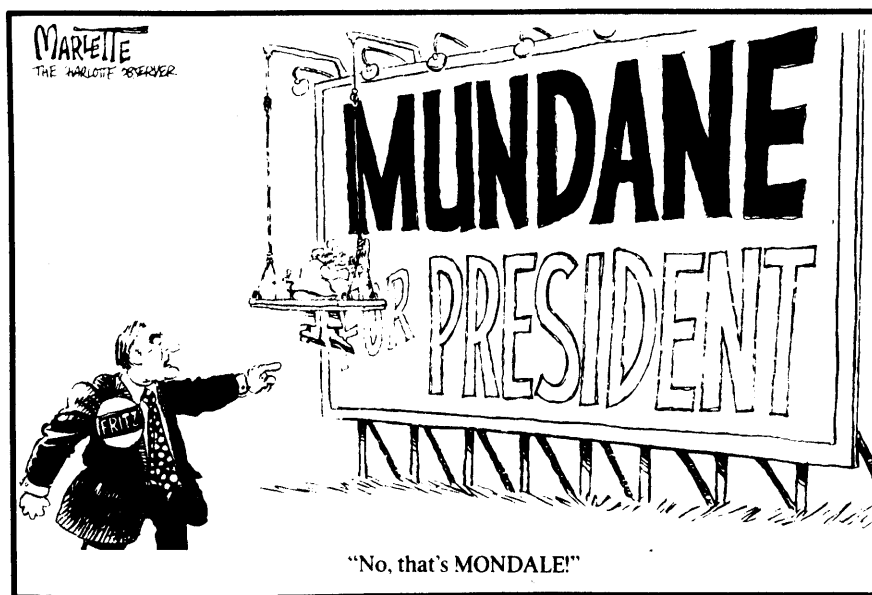
There has been a great deal of discussion in the media concerning the question of whether the Democrats can come up with a candidate with enough popularity to defeat Reagan. A June 7 *New York Times* editorial described the reaction of most Democrats, who when asked to name who they preferred as a presidential candidate said, "Mondale, I guess."

The tepid Democratic Party primary race has gone from the original "Sominex Seven" to the "Mundane One." But behind the superficial discussion of Mondale's "charisma," or lack thereof, is a very real problem for the Democratic Party.

As partners in the ruling class drive to cut social programs, re-establish the "military option" as a tool of U.S. foreign policy, and back up the employers' never-ending demands for concessions from the unions, the Democrats face an uphill battle to preserve their image as the party of common working people. Democratic Party appeals to build a "New Deal" or "Great Society" are distant slogans of another time. Gary Hart's "New Ideas" amount to the wisdom that the Democrats should not "promise everything to everyone."

Jesse Jackson's campaign, which is the only one that has aroused any real enthusiasm, banks on his ability to bring into the Democratic Party millions of Blacks who are disenfranchised and discontented with the "politics-as-usual" approach of both parties. The Democrats are not unaware that one factor in Carter's defeat in 1980 was the 3 million Blacks who voted in 1976 but did not vote in 1980.

Of course, all this does not signify any great popularity for Reagan. What it does reflect is the widespread discontent among a growing number of people who choose not to vote. In the 1980 presidential election 46 percent of the eligible voters did not vote. Thus, Reagan's so-called popular mandate amounted to a grand total of 27 percent of the vote. The Democratic Party received only 20 percent of the vote of



dale during the primary campaign, are now falling in line behind the frontrunner. Warren Weaver Jr. reports in the June 12, 1984, *New York Times*, that "Walter F. Mondale's rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination showed little interest today in challenging him on the platform to be adopted at the party's national convention."

The article reports that some committee members "thought it was significant that Mr. Jackson did not press today for a platform calling for large increases in spending on social programs." Jackson has instead focused on his objection to runoff primaries in some states and revising rules on delegate representation at conventions, issues likely to be resolved by mutual agreement.

As former Carter press secretary Jody Powell notes in his nationally syndicated column (June 12, 1984), "Specific commitments to new, big-bucks social programs and an actual real-dollar cut in the defense budget are also

are well aware of the popular support for Jackson, who received 22 percent of the popular vote in the Democratic primaries. But Jackson can be most effective in getting out the vote for Mondale if he does so from an arm's length.

For this reason, Mondale's supporters may stage a calculated media show at the convention, backing Jackson's demand for a minority report on certain issues, since Jackson may not have the support of the 25 percent of the Platform Committee required to present a minority report to the convention floor.

As Shogan and Fritz note in the June 10, 1984, *Los Angeles Times*, "For tactical reasons, Mondale's supporters might back Jackson on minority reports on certain issues. 'If he proposes a defense budget cut, it might be a good idea to have a floor debate on it and have the convention vote it down overwhelmingly,' one national committee member said."

In any event, Jackson has made it

"Working people should run the country"

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

On June 5, the Board of Elections and Ethics of Washington, D.C., voted to allow some homeless people who live in the streets to vote. The unanimous ruling involved two men who live on heating grates near the Department of the Interior, two who live behind the YMCA building downtown, and one who claims a porch of Constitution Hall as his residence. All of the men claimed that they could always be found at these places since that's where they lived.

In a democratic country such as ours it is proven that the rich have as much right to starve in the streets as the poor do. Just think of the choice these people have now: If they vote Republican, their vote might be taken away. But if they vote Democrat, they will remain homeless.

In the last few days the Supreme Court and the bi-partisan Congress have dealt major blows to the rights of working people in this country. The Simpson-Mazzoli bill sailed through the legislature with both Democratic and Republican support.

This bill will fine any employer who hires an "illegal" immigrant. Instead of fining the employer for paying below union scale, it will ensure the economic deprivation of hundreds of thousands of Latin American people who have come here to escape the U.S.-supported dictatorships of their own countries.

Today, "leaders" in the women's, Black, and union movements are urging their constituencies to vote for Mondale because he is the "lesser evil." They talk about the need to get into the "mainstream." Their "mainstreamism" requires that they shut their mouths, ears, and eyes to the crimes against the working class committed daily by the two ruling parties.

If you are going to vote, make your vote count. Vote socialist. Vote for Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea Gonzalez. Voting for the Democrats can only ensure that your vote won't count.

Have you ever been allowed to vote for massive low-cost housing; good medical care for every man, woman, and child; childcare and improved education for every child who needs it—instead of the MX missiles or the billions of dollars spent to prop up ruthless dictatorships. No!

Someone once said that if voting changed anything, it would be outlawed. Very likely. But the way things are changed is not through the ballot but by massive actions on the part of the oppressed against their oppressors. That's the way we won public education, social security, unemployment insurance,



250,000 workers demand 35-hour week in Hagen, Germany, in largest labor demonstration in the post-war period in that country.

the suffrage of Blacks and women, and our organized labor unions.

The way to preserve and extend our gains is by doing what the German workers are doing as they mobilize for a shorter workweek to control unemployment.

The labor unions, if they are to survive, must break with their policy of "lesser evilism" and build a party that unites Blacks, women, gays and lesbians, and all oppressed minorities with the organized working class in order to bring this country under the control of working people.

The labor unions were once the allies of the poor and unemployed. They were the social conscience of the nation. Today, they have the power to be that again, but only if the working class breaks with the policies of these "leaders" and forms its own labor party.

Working people make this country run—working people should run the country.

Vote Socialist—make your vote count!

...Mondale

the voting age population. A *New York Times* survey found that 38 percent of those voting for Reagan did so because "it was time for a change." Only 11 percent cited Reagan's conservatism as the explanation for their vote.

The fact is that fewer than half of those born since 1946 voted in the 1972, 1976, and 1980 presidential elections. Unable to translate their cynicism and indifference toward the "mainstream" politics of the two parties into a positive alternative—given the lack of an independent mass working-class party—the largest single category of the voting-age population has been consigned to the nether world of U.S. politics.

All salute profits

The fact remains that no one in the Democratic or Republican Party offers any alternative to the bipartisan austerity program and military buildup of the Carter and Reagan administrations. There is a bipartisan consensus among all the candidates of the two parties that U.S. investments in Central America must be protected. All the candidates agree that maintaining "friendly" regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, South Korea, etc. is a fundamental cornerstone of a "responsible" foreign policy.

All agree that "Soviet aggression" is the major threat to world peace. All agree, in other words, with the main elements of the Cold War policy that has led the United States to deploy its military forces over 215 times and its nuclear forces 33 times since World War II, as a Brookings Institution report stated in 1977. And much has happened since 1977! Mondale accuses Hart of "pulling the plug" on U.S. aid to Central America. Hart attacks Reagan for weakening U.S. defenses by not building up conventional military weaponry. Jackson says we can hold back the "Iron curtain" by maintaining U.S. troops in Europe. And Reagan accuses everyone of being soft on communism!

The Democrats offer no alternative to "Reaganomics." They only quibble over where cutbacks should be made. When challenger Reagan ran against incumbent Carter he assailed the huge Democratic deficit. Now challenger Mondale harps over the huge Republi-

can deficit. But Democrat and Republican favor pouring a never-ending stream of dollars into the largest contributor to the budget deficit—military expenditures. The fact is—all the candidates salute the flag of corporate profits.

None of the Democrats or Republicans even begin to address the deep social problems that confront working people. The United States, which once had the highest standard of living in the world (measured in per-capita Gross National Product), now ranks 11th among the industrialized countries of the West and Japan. And Reagan's budget projections through 1988 show that per-capita real spending for low-

have been terminated for over 350,000 people. The median Black family income remains 56 percent that of whites; about the same as the 1960 level. The poverty rate for Blacks under 18 is 43 percent. Women earn only 59 percent of what men earn. For Hispanic women the level is only 49 percent.

Health care costs are increasing more dramatically than any other component in the Consumer Price Index. The United States, which has no national health program, now ranks 20th in male life expectancy, 11th in female life expectancy, and 22nd in infant mortality. The infant death rate in Washington, D.C., is higher than in Jamaica, Cuba, or Costa Rica.

out union busting are the theme of militant employers. The National Labor Relations Board admits that justified claims of unfair labor practices increased 250 percent between 1970 and 1980.

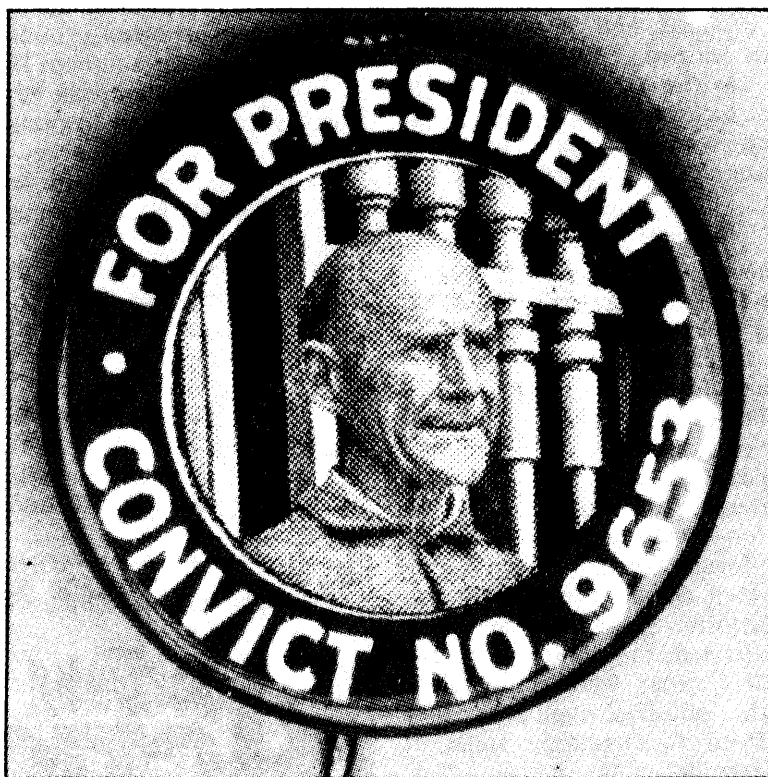
As a result, a litany of grievances, abuses, and suffering is piling up against the ruling rich of this country. The state of discontent, cynicism, and indifference that expresses itself negatively in the form of "voter apathy" can, at a later stage, translate itself into a new social movement for independent political action.

The strikes of hotel workers in Las Vegas, Nev., the AP Parts workers in Toledo, Ohio, the Greyhound workers, and the air traffic controllers are not only indicative of the anger and frustration developing among working people, but a harbinger of a new militancy that is sure to spread.

Today Mondale is making many of the same promises that Carter-Mondale made in the 1976 campaign. But the leaders of the AFL-CIO, NOW, and others in the Black, Hispanic, and anti-war movements, blinded by the logic of "lesser evil" politics, have forgotten the bad check delivered by the Carter-Mondale administration just a few years ago.

The chronic political amnesia that many of those jumping on the "Dump Reagan" bandwagon suffer from is born from the fact that they cannot see beyond the horizon of a society of private profit for the wealthy few. And in the absence of a mass independent working-class party that could offer a way out of the confines of capitalist politics, the leaders of the social movements see nowhere to go but around and around on the twin-party treadmill of capitalist politics.

What is needed is a new leadership committed to organizing a mass challenge to the austerity-war policies of the two parties, in the streets, on the job, and in the electoral arena. With such a leadership the potential power of working people could be genuinely mobilized toward the creation of a new society—one that considers human needs as the guiding principle of every social decision and action.



Eugene Debs, Socialist Party candidate for president in 1920.

income families will decrease 22 percent while military spending will increase 63 percent.

According to 1982 government statistics, 34.4 million people live in poverty in this country. Thirteen million people remain out of work. The real median income, which increased year after year following World War II, is now 3.1 percent below its 1970 level.

Social Security disability benefits

Illiteracy is growing. One out of every five adults cannot read. Several hundred thousand homeless people are struggling to exist, while cities like Phoenix, Ariz., pass new laws making it a crime to scavenge through city garbage bins or to lie down or sleep on city property.

Today only one out of five workers belongs to a union. Unrelenting demands for concessions and straight-

"Fat Cat" politics—an American tradition

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

The June 11, 1984, *San Francisco Chronicle* observes that "dollars mean privileges" at the Democratic Party convention. But the box seats, breakfast with the candidate, and other privileges for the party's rich contributors are only the tip of the iceberg. The policy of the Democratic Party is to preserve the number one "privilege" of big-business—private profit—as the law of the land. The "party of the common people" is in fact owned and controlled by "Fat Cats" and corporations. And that is a fact that goes back a long way.

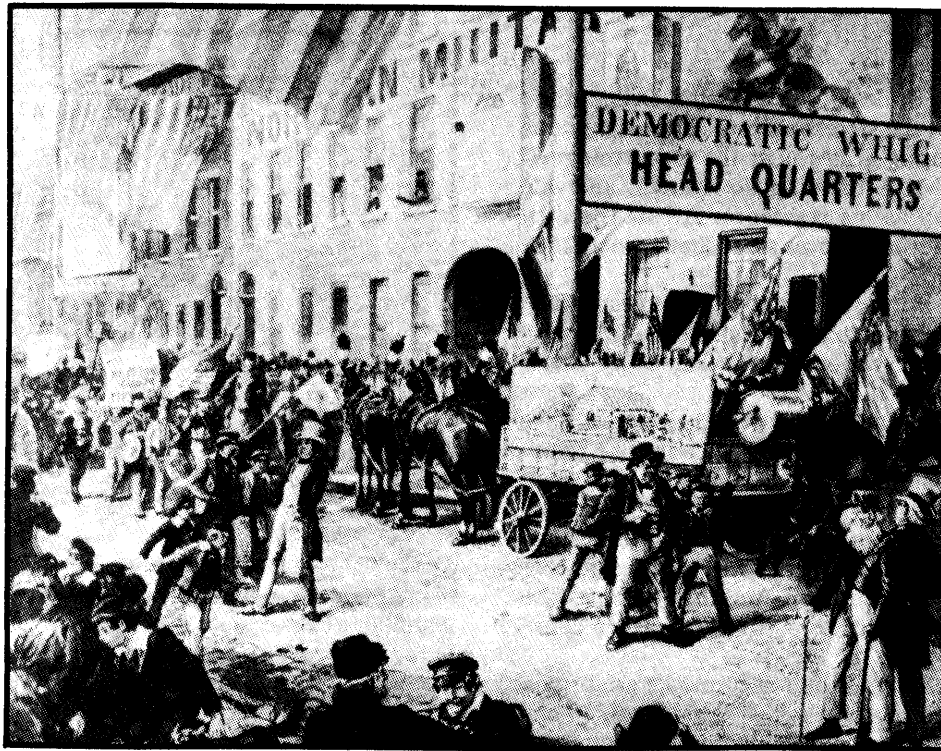
First two parties

The first two political parties in the United States were the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The Constitution that the leading politicians of these two parties drew up in Philadelphia in 1787 was a compromise agreement among the three leading classes that had fought the British government: the Southern slaveholders, the Northern commercial bourgeoisie, and the petty-bourgeois proprietors of town and country.

The Northern representatives favored a strong central government with a national bank. They later became known as Federalists. The Southerners were generally critical of those demands and were known as Anti-Federalists.

A strong central government and a national bank would give the Northern bourgeoisie control of the new government. The planters favored a loose union so that they could have unrestricted hegemony over their slave system. However, they realized that a strong government was necessary to enable them to enforce their control over the source of their wealth—757,000 slaves. The Northerners made concessions in order to assure the support of the Southern planters.

The various positions put forth by the delegates reflected the social base of their class and wealth. Classes come



Democratic Party (renamed Whig for this election) parade in Philadelphia in 1840.

build up the power of the nascent industrial bourgeoisie, and its senior partners, the merchants.

However, the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 strengthened the Southern planters as they mass-produced cotton for the textile mills of the British industrialists. Further support came from small farmers and skilled and semi-skilled Northern labor who, alienated by Federalist policies, gave the planters the power to defeat the Northern bourgeoisie in the contest for governmental power in 1800.

In the early 1790s militant working-class and farmer veterans of the Revolution began to organize Democratic Societies or Republican Clubs to fight against the Federalist government. Much of the leadership of these groups was composed of intellectuals, but the bulk of their membership was small farmers and workers.

Reactionary propaganda, oppressive legislation, and violent repression caused the gradual dissipation of the societies by the mid-1790s. But they served to crystallize the formation of the Democratic-Republican Party. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, two wealthy slaveholders, became the new party's leaders.

This party won every election from 1800 to 1824. In 1828 the name Republican was dropped, and the Democratic Party was formed. That year Andrew Jackson was the party's candidate for president. Jackson was a wealthy slaveholder, representing the newly-rich Southwestern sector of the slavocracy.

Workers organize

The developing industrial capitalist system in the Northeast drove the working class toward political awareness. Between 1828 and 1834 Working Men's Parties were formed in 61 cities with 55 weekly newspapers. They ran candidates for office and were successful in a few local campaigns.

The Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson co-opted these inexperienced political formations by incorporating some of their demands into the Democratic platform. Since the Democratic Party defended the interests of the slaveholders, who were antagonistic toward the industrial capitalists, they could afford to champion some of labor's demands.

Jacksonian Democracy represented a new stage in the politics of concealed class rule. Under the guise of representing "the common man" the Democratic Party began speaking in the name of the many, while actually representing the interests of the few.

In the South, the Democratic Party brutally maintained the slave system with oppressive laws and naked force. But in the North they supported such things as the 10-hour day and the exten-

sion of voting rights to workers in order to weaken the power of the industrial bourgeoisie. John Randolph, a Congressional representative of the slave-master Democrats said, "Northern gentlemen think to govern us by our black slaves, but let me tell them, we intend to govern them by their white slaves!"

A second revolution

The Civil War was actually a second revolution. Through force and violence, the Northern industrial capitalists, the abolitionist movement, and the free and slave Blacks (almost 200,000 of whom served in the Union Army), destroyed the system of chattel-slavery.

The destruction of the powerful Southern base of the Democratic Party gave the Northern merchants and financiers, who supported the Democratic Party, the reins of party leadership. When the bloodiest war in U.S. history ended, the victorious Northern capitalists were inclined to be lenient toward their former enemies. They wanted above all to stabilize class rule and prevent the deepening of the social revolution in the South that began with the end of slavery.

The victors needed social stability in order to establish the predominance of the new economic order—capitalist wage slavery. However, by 1867, they realized that a powerful political bloc still existed among Southern Democrats that was antagonistic to the goals of the Northern industrial capitalists. So Northern capitalists backed Radical Reconstruction in the South in order to abolish this last vestige of opposition to their rule.

During the Reconstruction era the Southern Democrats brutalized, terrorized, and murdered tens of thousands of Blacks and their allies. An estimated 20,000 were killed between 1867 and 1871. The Republican Party did little to prevent these atrocities. The Republicans actually took measures to prevent Blacks from defending themselves, dis-

arming Blacks and preventing the formation of armed Black militias.

The Southern Democrats were intent on keeping Blacks in a powerless state by any means necessary. In South Carolina, where Blacks had made the most political progress, the reactionary racists made preparations to ensure their victory in the 1876 election campaign.

Democratic para-military clubs were organized. Democratic Party organizations in the state received the following instructions: "Every Democrat must feel honor bound to control the vote of at least one Negro, by intimidation, purchase, keeping him away or as each individual may determine, how he may best accomplish it."

The presidential election of 1876 was very close, and the vote count was heatedly contested. The final tally showed that the Democrats had been able to buy, steal, and con a few hundred thousand more votes than the Republicans. But the Republicans challenged the count in some states and were able to block the Democratic victory.

In 1877, after months of private meetings between both parties, a compromise was reached. The Republicans granted political and financial concessions to the Southern ruling class in return for control of the presidency. The Democratic Party became as pro-capitalist as the Republican Party. As U.S. capitalism expanded across the globe during the latter half of the 19th century, both parties oversaw the emergence of an imperialist political and economic system. The motto of the two parties became, "What is good for U.S. business is good for the world!"

A fox and a wolf

A resolution of the National Convention of Blacks in 1864 castigated the pro-slavery Democratic Party and the vacillating Republican Party, which was founded in 1854. Their resolution stated, "In the ranks of the Democratic Party, all the worst elements of American society fraternize; and we need not expect a single voice from that quarter for justice, mercy or even decency. To it we are nothing, the slaveholders everything..." The Republican Party, they said, "has contempt for the character and rights of the colored races..."

Malcolm X characterized the Democratic Party as being like a fox, and the Republican Party like a wolf. Both are members of the canine family, with different methods but common goals. Jesse Jackson's present campaign will not alter the Democratic Party any more than any of the past attempts to "reform" the two parties have succeeded. Jackson is simply aiding the ruling rich by bringing his supporters into the "foxes' lair."

This brief sketch of an early period in our history confirms the fact that both parties represent the interests of one class—the capitalist class—and have never represented working people and Blacks. While many things have changed since the Black abolitionists gathered in 1864, their characterization of the Democrats and Republicans still rings true to this day. ■



into existence based on their relationship to property. And classes, in turn, form parties and governments to represent their interests.

James Madison, considered to be the father of the Constitution, wrote in essay No. 10 of the *Federalist Papers* that the primary function of government is the protection of property resulting from the "different and unequal faculties of man for acquiring property..." From the different types of property acquired, "ensues a division of society into different interests and parties."

In the same essay Madison states: "The most common and durable source of factions [a common 18th century word for political party] has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society."

The mercantile capitalists, led by Alexander Hamilton (first secretary of the treasury), organized themselves into the Federalist Party and won control of the government during its first 10 years. The Federalists worked feverishly to

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Gus Hall lines up behind Democrats

By NAT WEINSTEIN

Gus Hall, the Communist Party candidate for president, sponsored an ad in the June 3 *New York Times* captioned, "Why Politicos Fear Labor Independence."

This slippery little piece of double-speak portrays the "Jesse Jackson candidacy" and the labor bureaucracy's "delegate committees for Walter Mondale" as "a growing mass power that can put an end to the time-worn electoral system based on the two old parties of big Big Business." Hall goes on to make his basic premise clear:

"What do the old-line politicians, especially those on the Right, fear? They fear that labor's independent role—particularly if united with the surging Jackson movement—can be decisive in defeating not only Reagan but the Reaganites in Congress." Labor's independence, in this Orwellian logic, is expressed through helping one gang of capitalists win an election over another!

The Communist Party presidential candidate goes further in muddling up the conception of class independence by portraying the Democratic Party as reformable!:

"They [old-line politicians] fear labor's role at the Democratic national convention and the impact of labor's mass demonstration, scheduled for the opening day of the San Francisco convention. They fear the impact of labor and its allies on the convention's platform and the pressure for planks on peace, jobs and equality."

The logic of this analysis inescapably leads the reader toward joining the bosses' party to change its policies, as well as toward supporting its candidates. To remove any doubt as to his conclusion, Hall's final paragraph declares:

"Such a united force [labor and the Jackson supporters within the Democratic Party] can sweep away Reagan and Reaganism, make a 180-degree turn in U.S. foreign and domestic policy, and move on to a course of peace, jobs and equality."

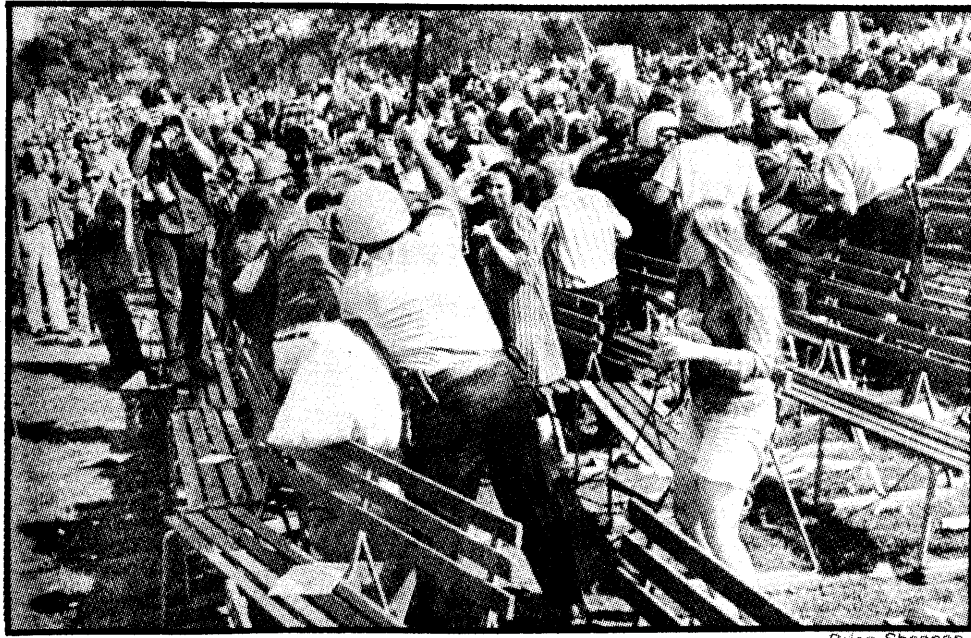
The Communist Party introduced its schizoid electoral tactic in 1936. CP leader Earl Browder was nominally the party's candidate for president, while in actual practice it was supporting capitalist candidate Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This duplicitous policy was expressed in its slogan: "Defeat Landon [the Republican presidential candidate] at all costs!" Today's "Communists" run "independently" under the slogan "Dump Reagan!"

Why is independent action necessary?

Political independence from capitalist parties has been the policy of the revolutionary workers' movement since the middle of the last century. Why is it a principle of such decisive importance? Why can't independent working class political action be advanced through building a labor-Black-women's faction inside the Democratic Party or any other capitalist political formation?

The key to understanding is simple: The working class and its natural allies constitute an enormous majority of the population. The capitalists, in contrast, are a tiny minority. They can rule only by deception or by naked force. They prefer to rule with the consent of the majority if they can. But they can only rule in a bourgeois democracy by convincing the majority to accept the stacked deck of capitalist institutions. This includes corraling the workers inside the political parties controlled by the employer class or its agents.

Today, once again, the judas goats among us give credence to *token* votes of resistance to "Reagan" policy in Central America and the Caribbean by the "anti-Reagan" Democratic Con-



Brian Shannon

Democratic Party convention demonstration in Chicago in 1968. Mayor Daley's cops swing their way into an antiwar rally in Grant Park.

gress. Antiwar forces, whose anti-interventionist sentiments are shared by a majority of American people, have been diverted from independent political action into campaigning for Democratic Party "peace" candidates.

The Democratic congressional majority is "unable" to stop funds that continue to flow into the war chests of the CIA and the "Contras" in Nicaragua, and of the bloody regime in El Salvador. The Democratic majority supports the largest war budget ever, while they quibble over whether a few billion dollars more or less should be spent for mass destruction. The effect of this charade of fake opposition between Democrats and Republicans is to defuse opposition to the actual U.S. intervention in Central America.

The same game is played in every sphere. Democratic Party pledges to repeal anti-labor laws have been repeated in every election from 1948 through the late 1960s. They remain unfulfilled. Today, the "friends of labor" don't even give lip service to this anymore.

Solidarity with boss betrays workers

Another harmful consequence of the policy of supporting capitalist candidates is that it becomes necessary, in order to convince the labor rank and file to vote for "labor's candidates," to actually support their outright reactionary policies!

When Democratic President Jimmy Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley to force United Mine Workers to mine coal during the 1978-79 strike, George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, backed "labor's candidate" Jimmy Carter's strikebreaking injunction. The same was true of the Communist Party, which in order to assist its friend Roosevelt, backed the government's strikebreaking efforts during the 1943 miners' strike.

The rule that the labor officialdom must follow is to never raise a demand that would "embarrass our friends." That's why, in the face of permanent increases in the army of unemployed, as a result of plant shutdowns and the introduction of new technology, the labor bureaucracy refuses to advance the central demand for a reduction in the workweek without a reduction in pay.

That's why, instead, the labor statesmen join the bosses in protectionist demands. The labor bureaucracy's demands for restrictions on imports go farther than those of the capitalists themselves.

Working people must break from the strategy based on the false notion of a community of interests between workers and bosses. The capacity of the unions to constitute a mass political party from the get-go is unquestionable. The infrastructure already exists. Every local

union in the country could become the headquarters of the local labor party club.

The millions of dollars in the hands of the capitalist parties could be more than matched by the millions of volunteer campaigners available to a party based on the unions. Control over city and even state governments could be won in short order. The political muscle of labor in the course of strike struggles could be multiplied qualitatively. A labor mayor could order the cops to keep their hands off pickets.

But more important would be the ability of a workers' party to tell the truth without fear of embarrassing its capitalist "allies." A massive campaign for a 35-hour workweek with no reduction in pay, such as the struggle now unfolding in Germany, could be launched here.

National Black Party needs new direction

By ZAKIYA SOMBURU

On Nov. 23, 1980, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) was founded in Philadelphia after a three-day convention that was attended by approximately 1500 Black activists.

The major purpose of NBIPP was to politically organize Black Americans in opposition to capitalism, imperialism, racism, and sexism—domestically and internationally.

NBIPP's charter states, "The Democratic and Republican parties serve the interests of the ruling class and not the masses of Blacks and other oppressed and exploited peoples. These parties protect and defend the interests of the bankers and industrialists. They have sold us out. The electoral strategy of NBIPP is independent of the Democratic, Republican, and other parties."

The charter also projected utilizing the electoral process to politically educate the Black masses, publicize, and advance the party's goals.

But the majority of NBIPP's leadership did not understand, nor agree, with the thrust of the charter.

These misleaders have continually put forth programs that lead away from Black liberation and toward Black accommodation to the Democratic Party, capitalism, and reformism.

Examples include their lack of leadership in presenting NBIPP's program in opposition to the dead-end electoral campaigns of Black Democrats such as Tom Bradley in his campaign for governor of California; Harold Washington in his campaign for mayor of Chicago; and the current campaign of Jesse Jackson, who is running for president.

A program that would articulate the needs of all working people, organized and unorganized, Black and white, female and male, employed and unemployed, old and young—as well as the needs of labor's natural allies—could unite workers and their allies into an irresistible force for political, economic, and social change.

Reactionary role of the CP

The Communist Party is up to its old tricks. They continue to give a left coloration to the class collaborationist official union leadership—running a Communist candidate for President, while applauding the policies of the official labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

A new period of struggle is opening up. Nothing can stop it. The workers will fight back. The first heat-lightning of the coming storm has already occurred. More such heralds of coming battles will flash before the generalized struggle opens up. Class conscious workers need to prepare for the coming fight.

A new leadership will be constructed capable of carrying out a class-struggle policy based on the *independent* generalized economic struggle of workers against bosses and the bosses government.

This class struggle left wing that will emerge must familiarize itself with the history of labor struggles, absorb its lessons, and be ever on the alert to extend this knowledge among workers.

The crowning lesson of past struggles, however, is the need to construct a revolutionary workers' party based on a scientific program derived from historical experience. Without such a party, as led the workers to victory in Russia in October 1917, a final victory will escape the grasp of the world's workers. Socialist Action is an organization committed to this goal. Join us! ■

San Francisco's board of supervisors race: Socialist program for working people

We live in one of the most beautiful cities in the world. San Francisco! Tourist mecca. Cultural events, night life, fancy hotels, and restaurants. "Baghdad-by-the-Bay." It's all here—if one has the money.

Yet San Francisco is not just one city, but two.

- **City of the rich.** Pacific Heights mansions. Towering corporate highrises. Expensive living space and dining places for the well-heeled and well-fed.

- **City of the workers.** Employed and unemployed—and the very poor. Sweatshop garment factories. Minimum wages. Small, overcrowded apartments. Exorbitant rents.

In the El Cerrito Apartments, 270 Turk Street: "Faye Balunsat lives with her husband, a clerk for Municipal Railway, and five children in a one-room, \$445-a-month apartment. 'The mice are running everywhere,' she said. 'If we leave any food in the kitchen, they eat it.'" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, June 20, 1984) On the tenth floor an old man had a heart attack. Firemen carried him down. The elevator is "broken"—for a long time. This is the elevator that crushed to death a 4-year-old Vietnamese boy some months ago.

Many are even worse off, hard hit by unemployment. They are Asians, Blacks, Latin-American refugees.

This is a prosperous city with a budget surplus! Yet the homeless sleep in the street in sight of luxury hotels, and huddle in soup lines a block from the Hilton Hotel.

The politicians can spend \$60 million to rehabilitate the cable cars—for the tourist industry—but where is the money for maintaining MUNI buses and streetcars?

The schools are understaffed and overcrowded while thousands of teachers remain unemployed.

The mayor and the supervisors, all Republicans or Democrats, serve the tourist industry, the corporations, and the real-estate interests—while working people are being driven out of San Francisco.

We, the working people, keep the luxury hotels running, but we can't afford to stay at them. We keep the hospitals open, but we are gouged out of our savings when we are ill.

We work in the garment sweatshops that produce the expensive clothes that eat up our paychecks. We work in the high-priced restaurants, where a day's pay barely covers the cost of one meal. We work in the industries that close up shop, move to another state or country where the wages are lower, and throw us out of work.

Working people produced the wealth that built this city. But working people don't run the city. The Democrats and Republicans run this city for the rich. Their motto is "Profits—First-Last-and-Always."

Our motto is "Human Needs *Before* Profits. Working People Make the City Run—Working People Should Run the City."

That is what Sylvia Weinstein's campaign for Board of Supervisors is all about. That is what Socialist Action is all about.

Sylvia Weinstein is a Socialist. She is running for the Board of Supervisors to bring working-class representation into city government. A vote for her is a vote of protest against government by the rich and for the rich.

A CAMPAIGN PROGRAM FOR WORKING PEOPLE

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO A JOB

- No layoffs of city workers—expand the work force to improve city services.
- Cut the workweek to 30 hours with no cut in pay to provide jobs for the unemployed at union scale wages.
- Tax the corporations to provide funds for jobs and social services.
- Affirmative action to end discrimina-

tion against women and minorities.

- Comparable pay for comparable worth for women in the workforce.
- Job training for young people at union wages.
- No building permits for contractors who run "two-gate" jobs (one entrance for union workers, one for non-union). Penalties for "run-away shops?"
- Solidarity with workers fighting against employer demands for concessions. City policy should be to support workers' struggles for better working conditions and wages.

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO AFFORDABLE HOUSING

- Strict rent control without legal loopholes.
- Stop replacement of rental units by condominiums.
- The stratospheric level of current rents should be cut back to an affordable price.
- Subsidized housing for the city's homeless.

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO HEALTHCARE

- More funds for city health facilities and staff. Emergency funding for San Francisco General Hospital to prevent disaccreditation.
- Adequate public financing for AIDS research. Stop attempts to legislate sexual behavior by closing the bathhouses. The victims are not to blame.
- Better pay and working conditions for city healthworkers.
- City policy should promote the right to free medical care for all on a local and national level.
- Funds for abortion clinics.
- Stop the harassment at the city's abortion clinics.

EDUCATION IS A RIGHT

- More funds for our overcrowded and understaffed schools.
- Rehire laid-off teachers and reopen closed schools.
- Reduce class size for a better learning environment.
- No more cutbacks in City College and community college programs.
- Expand bilingual education.
- City funds for free public childcare centers.

STOP ALL GOVERNMENT AND POLICE HARASSMENT

- City policy should provide for aid and refuge for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees—and all who are persecuted in their homelands.
- Stop all City cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) round up of undocumented immigrants—many of whom will face persecution or death if deported.
- Stop all police harassment in the Black, Latino, and gay communities.
- Voters here approved Proposition N in 1983, which called for an end to U.S. military aid to El Salvador. City policy should be to actively promote opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPANDED CITY SERVICES

- Tax the corporations to provide funds for city services and social programs.
- Upgrade MUNI service. Free public transportation.
- Funds for libraries, services to the elderly and disabled, and food for the hungry.
- Municipalize public utilities. We need gas, electricity, and phone service. These utilities should serve us, not the private enrichment of large corporations.

HOW CAN THESE PROGRAMS BE FUNDED?

San Francisco is the world headquarters for financial giants such as Bank of America. Downtown San Francisco is

Weinstein for supervisor!



Sylvia Weinstein, candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

Sylvia Weinstein is a long-time activist in the women's and socialist movements. She joined the San Francisco National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1973 and served on its executive board from 1975 until 1982.

She was active on the Reproductive Rights Committee and the Equal Rights Committee of NOW. She organized the first Day in the Park for Women's Rights in 1973 and was on the steering committee of Day In The Park until 1982. She co-chaired the March for Women's Rights in 1982. She is a founding member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

She served on the Childcare Initiative Task Force, set up by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, as well as the Health and Childcare Committee of the San Francisco

Commission on the Status of Women.

She was chairperson of the Children's Center Expansion Committee of the San Francisco Unified School District, which was instrumental in gaining \$1.6 million in additional funds for children's centers.

In the winter of 1983 she helped organize the Greyhound Strike Support Committee. She was active in the "Yes on Proposition N" campaign that opposed U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

She is the mother of two daughters and has three grandchildren.

Sylvia Weinstein joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1945. In 1983 she became a member of Socialist Action, a revolutionary workers' organization. She is a columnist for *Socialist Action* newspaper.

one of the world centers of wealth and power, and yet working people can hardly afford to live here. The social services working people depend on are in decline.

The way to reverse this state of affairs is to make the corporations pay. Tax the corporations, banks, and insurance companies to pay for social services in San Francisco. The corporate wealth amassed here was extracted from the sweat and blood of working people.

HOW CAN WORKING PEOPLE BRING ABOUT THIS PROGRAM?

This program for San Francisco is realistic and fair. But to bring about the much-needed change, where the human needs of the majority are the city's priority, working people need to organize a new social movement outside of the two parties of the ruling rich.

We must organize a movement that can tap the enormous social power of working people, women, Blacks; the unemployed, and everyone who has a stake in real social change.

We must rely on ourselves—in the streets, on the job, and in the elected offices. That is how every right we have ever won has been accomplished—through mass social movements on a grand scale.

Above all, we need a political party to fight for the needs of working people—a labor party based on the unions.

Both the Democrats and Republicans are carrying out an all-out assault on social programs and on the living standard of working people.

Both the Democrats and Republicans have overseen a vast stockpiling of nuclear weapons since World War II.

Both the Democrats and Republicans have led tens of thousands of young Americans to their deaths in wars against the Korean and Vietnamese people—and today threaten a new "body-bag" policy in Central America.

The bipartisan policies of the two parties are responsible not only for a declining standard of living but for a rising "standard of death and war" in this capitalist world.

The Democratic and Republican parties believe that capitalism is here to stay for all eternity. But they are wrong. Our wealth, our industry, all of our productive ability as a *society*, comes from nothing else but the hard work and energy of tens of millions of people.

But our *social* wealth is owned by *private* interests. We believe that all of the basic decisions on the use of our resources and industry should be made by the people who produce the wealth.

There is no "lesser evil" between the Tweedledum Democrats and the Tweedledee Republicans.

Don't waste your vote by voting for the Democrats or the Republicans. Vote Socialist in 1984. **Vote Weinstein for Board of Supervisors.**