

**S. Africa
today,
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OCTOBER 1986 VOL. 4, No. 10 50 CENTS

U.S. presses terror drive on Central American workers

Speaking at a "Vigil for Life" in Boston on Sept. 7, a Vietnam war veteran explained why he opposed the U.S. war in Central America.

"Because of our experience in fighting the war in Southeast Asia," the veteran said, "we have a duty, an obligation, to raise our voices in opposition to the immoral war in Nicaragua. We have to let

EDITORIAL

the public know that the war in Central America has already begun. It is already another Vietnam."

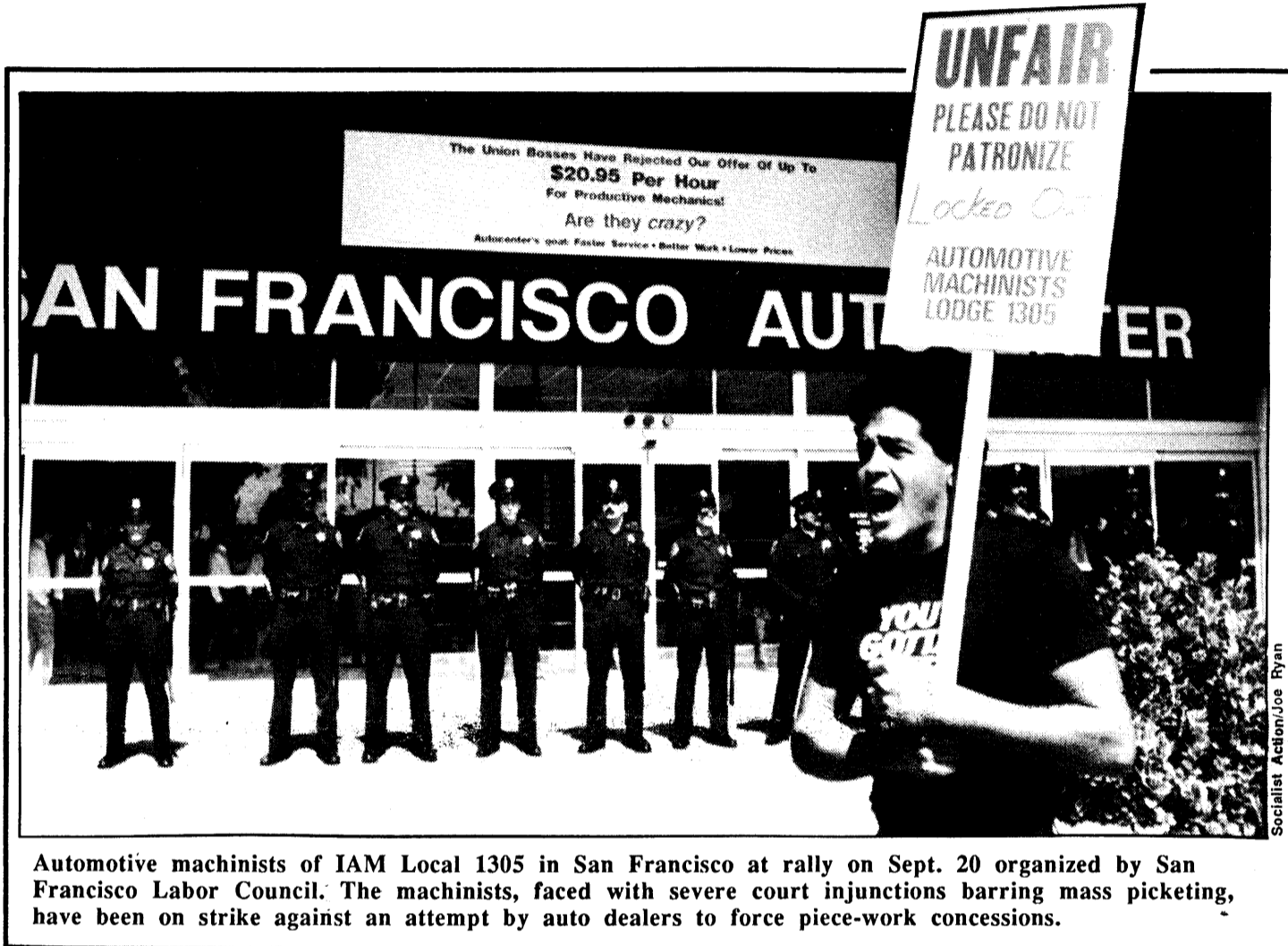
These words could not ring truer. In mid-August, Reagan declared that his administration backed a contra takeover of Nicaragua. The \$100 million in aid to the contras voted by Democrats and Republicans in the Congress is aimed at achieving this purpose.

U.S. military advisers are now openly training the contras. It is estimated that \$100 million has already been spent financing military operations in Honduras involving over 40,000 U.S. troops in mock invasions of Nicaragua.

The U.S. war against Nicaragua has killed tens of thousands of Nicaraguan people and resulted in the injuries or mutilations of many thousands more. Over 250,000 people have been displaced from their homes because of contra attacks.

Over the past seven years, the U.S.

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Automotive machinists of IAM Local 1305 in San Francisco at rally on Sept. 20 organized by San Francisco Labor Council. The machinists, faced with severe court injunctions barring mass picketing, have been on strike against an attempt by auto dealers to force piece-work concessions.

Hormel contract approved; union local charges fraud

By FRANK FLANARY

AUSTIN, Minn.—In a mail-in referendum completed on Sept. 12, workers at the Hormel meatpacking plant here approved a new contract with the company.

Members of the Original Local P-9, since reorganized as the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU), have been on strike at Hormel since August 1985. The new contract gives no guarantee that the strikers will ever be rehired.

Approval had been recommended by the international leadership of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW), which imposed receivership on Local P-9 in June. Trustees of the local announced that 1064 voted in favor of the contract and 440 opposed it.

About 90 percent of the scabs inside the plant approved the contract, according to UFCW estimates. About 45 percent to 55 percent of the strikers voted for it.

A representative of NAMPU told *Socialist Action* that scabs were permitted to vote before they had become union members. According to NAMPU, there are 650 to 700 people currently working in the plant, and 800 union members still out.

Speaking to about 100 Twin Cities

supporters on Sept. 12, former P-9 President Jim Guyette called the voting process and the contract "a fraud and a sham." He noted that workers voted only after seeing "a summary that's incomplete with no final language."

Prior to the election, Guyette and other Original P-9 members went before Federal District Court Judge Devitt requesting a temporary restraining order against the voting until all members had an opportunity to examine a final copy of the contract.

Guyette's affidavit also asked for a group discussion of the proposal, a statement indicating voting eligibility, and a neutral third party appointed as overseer on the voting process.

Judge Devitt refused the request. He said there would be "no irreparable harm" if the election went ahead and noted there was a 25 cent-an-hour pay increase offered for the first year.

Concessions remain

Essentially, the UFCW-negotiated contract is the same contract Hormel implemented in January of this year when it resumed limited operations with scabs. Holidays and sick leave are reduced. Workers can be dismissed immediately for

taking part in strikes, sympathy strikes, boycotts, secondary boycotts, and picketing.

The two-tier wage clause remains in effect until 1989, unless the contract covering the Hormel plant in Fremont, Neb., allows it after that year.

P-9ers were earning \$10.69 an hour until October 1984, when wages were reduced to \$8.23. Just prior to the August 1985 walk-out, Hormel offered \$9 an hour. Then, when it re-opened the plant in January 1986, Hormel offered \$10 an hour to P-9ers willing to cross the picket line and \$9 to newly hired scabs.

Under the new contract, workers will receive \$10 an hour, with new hires rated at \$9 an hour. Over a three-year period wages will top out at \$10.70, a one-cent increase over wages paid before the October 1984 wage cut.

UFCW negotiators, according to Guyette, never asked that P-9ers who stayed on strike get their jobs back. Nor did they demand that workers in Fremont, Neb., or Ottumwa, Iowa—who honored P-9's roving picket lines and were immediately dismissed—be rehired.

Local P-9 has had hard experience with

(continued on page 4)



Socialist Action/May Gong

'Reading, writing, and finking'



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

The school curriculum has now been expanded by California State Superintendent of Public Education William Honig to include "finking." It will not be long before "spelling-bees" will be replaced by "finking-bees" in our public schools.

Instead of competing on the spelling of a word, children will be urged to vie with each other over who can reveal the most about the personal habits of their parents. What do their parents drink? How much? What do they smoke? How often? What pills do they take? And most important, can they sneak a sample to their teacher?

Honig and Attorney General John Van de Kamp recently spoke at a San Francisco high school, where they approved of the recent incidents of youngsters turning in their parents to the police for alleged drug abuse. "I think it's a sign of success," Honig said. "That means they've found something wrong."

Van de Kamp declared with oily hypocrisy, "The thrust of this program is not to raise a generation of snitches, it is to get kids to deal with their own problems and when they see danger at home—danger to them—to be able to take the necessary steps."

This same program was highly successful in Germany from 1933 until 1945. Hitler's youth became experts at turning in their parents to the police. This played hell with the "sanctity of the family," but it sure curbed criticism of the Nazi regime.

Reagan's phony "war"

California politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, are rushing to enlist in Reagan's phony "war on drugs." Throwing caution to the winds, both parties are passing congressional anti-drug bills that would trash the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

The Democratic Party-controlled House of Represent-

atives just voted to impose the federal death penalty on people selling illegal drugs who cause someone's death. They also voted to require the president to send military forces to U.S. borders to stop drug smuggling. The troops would be given power to make arrests.

Most ominous, it would permit the use of improperly obtained evidence seized in warrantless searches.

One would hope that the Pentagon or the CIA would immediately disarm the contras in Nicaragua since even Reagan has admitted that they were caught smuggling and selling drugs. But I am willing to bet my life that

that won't happen.

The real meat and potatoes of this phony "war" is aimed at the working class—the real victims of drugs. Widespread testing of workers will mean wholesale firings of workers in violation of their civil rights. All experts agree that the "drug tests" are extremely unreliable.

Drug testing has become big business, and if drug testing was expanded to include the annual testing of the 100 million Americans in the work force, experts calculate that the costs would reach several billion dollars.

"In the climate where there's money to be made, inevitably

there will be incompetent and inadequately staffed laboratories," said Dr. Bryan S. Finkle, a leading toxicologist at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. Workers who are forced to undergo drug tests will have their lives in the hands of "incompetent and inadequately" staffed laboratories who are in it for the big bucks.

Socialists are well acquainted with capitalist "justice." The FBI, CIA, and Red Squads selectively enforce anti-drug laws against organizations that advocate radical social change. Members of these groups are rigorously prosecuted.

And you can bet your life that the government will selectively enforce its anti-drug policy against militant trade unionists.

Huge corporations such as rail, airlines, trucking, and nuclear energy are cutting the workforce in utter disregard of safety in their greedy grasp for higher profits. There will be more Three Mile Islands and more airline and railroad disasters that the corporate empires will blame on drugs to avoid their responsibility to pay death and injury claims.

Widespread drug use is a result of an economic system which puts profits before the needs of people. Drugs should be decriminalized to remove the current incentive for drug pushers to get people—particularly kids—hooked.

When there is no superprofit to be made from drugs, then the drug pushers and dealers will wither away. Instead of making criminals out of drug-victims, we should change this economic system so that every individual is treated with decency and justice. Only a socialist society can accomplish that. ■



Socialist candidate blasts Democrats

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Sylvia Weinstein, the Socialist Action candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, has been bringing the call for "human needs before profits" to working people and students.

"Socialists never lose an election," Sylvia Weinstein tells her audiences. "Through our campaign, thousands of people will be introduced to socialist ideas for the first time."

To break out of the stranglehold that the ruling rich have on politics, Weinstein is calling for an independent labor party based on the trade unions. She is getting a good response to the idea from many who have heard her speak at union and neighborhood meetings.

On Sept. 8, Weinstein addressed the San Francisco Central Labor Council. A large number of the 150 union delegates applauded in agreement when Weinstein charged that "San Francisco has now become a two-tier, anti-labor city under our Democratic Party mayor and Board of Supervisors."

Weinstein had a chance to debate the incumbent supervisors at a meeting of the Bayview-Hunters Point Democratic Club on Sept. 16. She received cheers from the mainly Black audience when she pointed out, "There isn't two-and-a-half cents worth of difference between the Democrats and

Republicans."

At a Sept. 20 rally in support of striking automotive mechanics [see photo on page 1], Weinstein exhorted the crowd from the speakers platform, "Who should run the

city?" The crowd shouted back, "the workers!"

Weinstein intends to carry the socialist program to students through speaking engagements at area colleges and high schools. The Students for Socialist Action group at San Francisco State University has arranged several appearances for Weinstein at class meetings there.

Street-corner literature tables will be set up in shopping districts around San Francisco every Saturday until the Nov. 4 election. The socialist campaign will wind

up with a dinner and rally on Saturday evening, Nov. 1. If you would like more information or want to help build the Weinstein campaign, please call (415) 821-0458. ■

Socialist Action meeting calls second national convention

Socialist Action has announced plans for its second national convention, which will be held in San Francisco on Nov. 27-30. Several major resolutions dealing with domestic and international issues will be discussed and voted on at the convention.

Initial draft resolutions were prepared at a National Committee leadership meeting held over the Labor Day weekend. These draft resolutions will be considered by the full membership of Socialist Action in a three-month preconvention period leading up to the national convention.

Each member is entitled to have his or her views printed and distributed to the membership during the preconvention period. This procedure enables the organization to democratically decide its political orientation and to act collectively in carrying out the decisions of the convention.

The convention delegates will also hear proposals for expanding the size and influence of Socialist Action through increased sales of the newspaper, publication of several new pamphlets, and recruitment of new members.

A special segment of the convention will debate the revolutionary strategy for the Philippines and Central America. Leaders of revolutionary socialist organizations from around the world have been invited to discuss these and other aspects of the world political situation.

Many of these international guests will also be featured at an "International Solidarity" rally scheduled during the convention. Socialist Action invites interested supporters to contact one of our local branches or the national office for more information on how to attend the convention.—The Editors



Closing date: Sept. 26, 1986

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Socialist Action. These are expressed in editorials.

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Socialist veterans celebrate 50 years of struggle

SAN FRANCISCO—The ILWU Local 6 meeting hall here was packed on Aug. 30 in witness of a unique event—a meeting in tribute to the activity of 13 socialist veterans who joined the revolutionary movement over 50 years ago. The meeting was sponsored by Socialist Action.

Four of the socialist veterans addressed the rally—Milton Alvin [see speech below], Jake Cooper, Ada Farrell, and Asher Harer. The other socialists who were honored were Henry Austin, Dave Cooper, Ruth Harer, Tiby Marton, Esther Perry, Hayden Perry, Dot Selander, Ted Selander, and Alice Snipper.

The work of these 13 comrades has spanned a range of activities from the mass union-organizing drives of the 1930s and '40s to the civil-rights struggle, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and the movement against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and '70s. In recent years, their work has continued in the women's liberation, antiwar, and trade-union movements.

Jake Cooper, for example, was active in the struggles of the Teamsters union in Minneapolis beginning in 1934. He helped to lead the packinghouse workers' strike in St. Paul, Minn., in 1948 and headed up food collection in Minneapolis for strikers at the Hormel Co. during the past year.

"I was just a young pup, about 17 years old when I got involved in the Teamsters' struggle," Jake Cooper told the rally. "I remember the kind of a world I came into. It seemed to have gone crazy. It was a world where the farms weren't producing, where the factories were glutted, and 20 million workers weren't working."

"About that same time in my life," Cooper continued, "a socialist came up to me and made some sort of sense out of that crazy world. He said that this world can be made rational if only we produce for use and not for profit. And I hung my entire life on this star. I have never given up, and that was 52 years ago."

Throughout their years of activity, the 13 veterans fought to build the revolutionary socialist movement—which is associated with the work and ideas of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and the American revolutionist, James P. Cannon.



Front row (l. to r.): Ada Farrell, Dot Selander, Tiby Marton, Milton Alvin, Esther Perry, and Ruth Harer. Back row: Dave Cooper, Hayden Perry, Asher Harer, Jake Cooper, Henry Austin, and Ted Selander.

After they were expelled from the U.S. Communist Party (CP) in 1928, Cannon and other revolutionary socialists formed a new organization, the Communist League of America, as a public faction of the CP. In 1936, the Trotskyists joined the Socialist Party. Two years later, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was founded. Most of the 13 veterans were founding members.

Almost three years ago, 11 of the veterans were undemocratically expelled from the SWP for protesting the leadership's revision of the party's historic program. Once again, after 50 years, the 13 comrades set about to help build a new organization—Socialist Action.

Sylvia Weinstein, socialist candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, offered congratulations on behalf of Socialist Action.

"Young people," Weinstein said, "should take a good look at these veterans and say: 'That's what I want to be when I grow up.' You can't be anything finer!"

Suzanne Forsyth, a Socialist Action member at San Francisco State University, told the rally, "The men and women we honor tonight inspire and teach young comrades like myself what it means to be a part of our movement. We can feel grateful and proud that we have joined this same movement."

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, addressed the

rally. He thanked Socialist Action members—young and old—for playing a "key role" in the San Francisco labor movement and other movements for social change. "The Peace, Jobs, and Justice coalition would not have been a success without the efforts of your organization," he said.

Robert Blowers, a representative of the Original Local P-9 strikers at the Hormel meatpacking company, expressed thanks to Socialist Action for its help with strike-support activities.

Other speakers included Emigdio Quintero, former Nicaraguan first secretary to the Organization of American States [see speech below], and Guy Benjamin, executive director of Athletes United for Peace.

Milton Alvin speaks: 'We have refused to be sidetracked'

By MILTON ALVIN

The following are excerpts from Milton Alvin's speech to the Aug. 30 rally.

I recently finished reading a book called "The Communist League of America 1932-34" [Monad Press]. It is a selection of articles, speeches, and other writings of the founder of our movement, James P. Cannon, during this three-year period.

This book is of educational value for those who are interested in our history and the lessons to be learned from it. The circumstances in which early American Trotskyists found themselves were not unlike those we in Socialist Action find ourselves in today.

After five years of independent existence, surrounded by enemies and opponents, the Communist League had about the same size membership as we have today. It had numerous problems in trying to intervene in class battles because of its small size, few resources, and the huge tasks it faced.

Yet, with all the problems, the movement persisted and eventually began to grow. In my opinion, this was due to strict adherence to the great principles discovered and defended by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. And a firm refusal to be sidetracked by any gimmicks and

revisionist concepts.

By the end of this three-year period, Trotskyists had participated in the leadership of the 1934 Minneapolis strikes. The same year, others from the American

Workers Party—who later joined the Trotskyist movement—played a great role in the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, Ohio. These strikes led the way to the formation of the CIO in 1935.

By this time, American Trotskyism was scarcely five years old. Our own organization, Socialist Action, has not yet reached its fifth birthday. But I am confident it will and, like its predecessor, it will prosper.

I base my optimism not on day dreams and fantasies—but on what has happened in the recent period. I am referring to the strike of the Austin, Minn., meatpackers of Local P-9 against the Hormel Company. The 1500 workers who are conducting this

battle have given an example of labor militancy and solidarity that all can learn from and emulate.

One outstanding feature of this strike has been the support that the union has won from workers and others all over the country. I don't think there has been another strike in American history conducted by so few workers that ever reached the level of support as that of Local P-9.

Like the 1934 strikes in Minneapolis and Toledo that paved the way for the CIO, the P-9 strike will prove to be the forerunner of even greater battles and victories to come. I look forward to this and the role that Socialist Action will inevitably play. ■

Nicaraguan leader speaks: 'Your work for peace is of historic value'

Following are excerpts from the speech by Emigdio Quintero-Casco, former Nicaraguan first secretary to the Organization of American States, to the Aug. 30 rally.

The imperialist policy of the U.S. government has unleashed a state terrorism against Nicaragua.

The guardians of the North American monopolies wish to destroy us because they consider themselves the legitimate owners of the resources of Nicaragua, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

They wish to destroy us because of the social gains made by the revolution; because our independent social development guarantees that the resources and wealth of our nation will contribute to the well-being of our people. They attack us because they fear that our neighbors—the exploited, the majority that die from hunger, and misery—will follow our example.

For this reason, the struggle waged by the Nicaraguan people is not only a struggle to defend our besieged nation. It is also a struggle for the right of all our peoples to live in peace and liberty—and to

decide our destiny for ourselves.

Recently the Reagan administration has continued to insist on the urgent need to "democratize" Nicaragua. But what it means by "democratization" is to turn the power away from the Nicaraguan people into the hands of the CIA mercenaries.

We will continue to defend—weapons in hand—the sovereignty and integrity of our nation. We will continue to pursue every avenue available to achieve the conditions necessary for peace in Central America.

In these crucial moments, faced with the escalated imperialist aggression, we urgently need international solidarity—solidarity that can be translated into concrete actions.

I would like to thank the organizers of this event and the honored guests for speaking out resolutely in opposition to the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. Be assured that your efforts in favor of peace in Central America will be of historic importance and will be remembered with great joy by the Nicaraguan people. ■

1912 textile strike stirs up debate over union strategy

By MIKE FLISS

LAWRENCE, Mass.—Twenty thousand people gathered here this past Labor Day to celebrate the 75th anniversary of one of the most important and successful strikes in the United States—the Lawrence textile workers' strike of 1912, also known as the Bread and Roses strike.

On Jan. 12, 1912, women weavers in Lawrence, faced with pay-cuts, walked off their jobs at the American Woolen Company. They were soon followed by more than 10,000 other Lawrence textile workers, all of them from a score of diverse nationalities.

For more than 10 weeks the strikers, organized by the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), resisted attacks and provocations by the mill owners, the cops, the courts, and the local and state governments. They set up democratically elected strike committees and soup kitchens, and organized daily mass strike meetings.

The strikers demanded a 15-percent increase in wages on the 54-hour basis, double pay for overtime work, the abolition of the premium system, and the return of all the strikers to work without discrimination.

On March 14, after 10 weeks of struggle, the 10,000 strikers accepted the mill owners' offer—which met all their demands in full or in part. The strikers returned to work, overjoyed at having won a tremendous victory.

More important, it was a victory for textile workers throughout New England: The mill owners, fearing similar strikes in other states, were forced to grant the same wage increases to between 175,000 and 250,000 textile workers.

Controversy and falsifications

The 1986 Labor Day Bread and Roses Heritage Festival was a time for both proponents and opponents of union struggles to air their views on this historic strike.

"For the rest of the country, the Bread and Roses strike is historic," said John Corliss Jr., president of the Bread and Roses Heritage Committee. "But in Lawrence it is still debated whether it was a good idea."

Three workers from the 1912 strike, two of whom scabbed throughout the strike, voiced anger over the use of the "Bread and Roses" title for the Labor Day festivity. "The strike was no bed of roses," said James Perry, "people were afraid to walk the streets." Rosario Comparino said, "There were no roses. There was no food, no butter to buy, no milk."

Others have attempted to portray the leadership of the 1912 as irresponsible "hot-heads"—much in the same manner the mainstream press today is portraying the leadership of the striking Hormel workers in Austin, Minn.

For example, the "Backtalk" section of the Sept. 14, 1986, issue of the *Lawrence Eagle-Tribune* published a letter from Jane J. Perry, which lashes out at Joseph Ettor,

the I.W.W. leader who was elected chairman of the Lawrence Strike Committee. "Apparently Ettor and his cohorts didn't want to tangle with the Guards," Perry stated, "so they left Lawrence, and shortly after some of the cooler-headed strikers sat down with the mill owners and settled the strike."

In reality, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, the two I.W.W. leaders at Lawrence, were unable to negotiate the settlement because they had been framed and jailed two weeks after the strike began for the shooting death of Anna Lo Pizzo, an Italian striker.

On Nov. 26, Ettor and Giovannitti were exonerated of the crime and were freed after 10 months in jail. In a display of

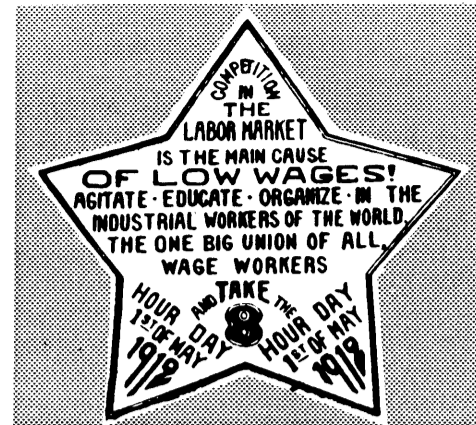
solidarity, 10,000 workers in Lawrence held a mass meeting to acknowledge their help in the strike and to celebrate their freedom.

Blaming the victims

Another widely echoed slander against the Lawrence strikers is that they were responsible for the violence during the strike. This accusation has also been raised by the bosses, the cops, and the courts against the striking Hormel workers, 18 of whom have been framed on trumped-up charges.

Robert L. Tyler, writing in *The Cotton History Review*, typifies this smear campaign. He states:

"The unrestrained radical press charged that women and children were attacked on



the train platform of the Lawrence depot by club-swinging police and that one pregnant woman even suffered a miscarriage from the effects of a police beating. In actuality the 'atrocities' probably involved nothing more brutal than the difficult and exasperating hustling of noisy and resistant women and children into an army truck."

Tyler goes on to blame the strikers for the "real violence."

It is well documented that "no violence" was strike policy. Joseph Ettor told the strikers, "They cannot weave cloth with bayonets...By all means, make this strike as peaceful as possible. In the last analysis all the blood spilled will be your blood."

The police and the militia working for the mill owners were the ones who practiced whole-sale violence. Richard Washburn Child, in the March 1912 issue of *Collier's* magazine, quoted a stockholder who said that "the way to settle this strike is to shoot down 40 or 50 of them." Mayor Scanlon of Lawrence is also quoted as saying, "We will either break this strike or break the strikers' heads."

Unity of exploited and oppressed

Putting aside the prejudices between the nationalities, the Lawrence textile workers united against the common enemy of their standard of living: the mill owners.

Joseph Ettor told the strikers that solidarity was necessary. He said, "Division is the surest means to lose the strike. Among workers there is only one nationality, one race, one creed."

The unity of all the textile workers was necessary to fight a system united against them. "The power of the capitalists is based on property," said Ettor. "They have the laws, the army, everything! In spite of all that, the workers' power is the common bond of solidarity."

The 1986 Labor Day message from Lawrence was clear: Workers today, as the striking textile workers of 1912, must identify a common goal and unite against the common enemy: a system of big business that enlists the courts, the government, and the press in its plan to increase its profits at the expense of the workers' way of life.

The strike of 1912 gives today's workers hope that with courage and purpose, the bosses' war against their standards of living can be defeated.



Strike leaders Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Bill Haywood, and Joseph Ettor

... Hormel contract fraud

(continued from page 1)

the international's procedure of recommending a vote without allowing the membership to read the final contract. In 1981, on the strength of a summary submitted by the UFCW, the P-9ers understood they were accepting a wage freeze in return for contractual recognition of their right to strike in 1984, when the wage freeze was to have ended.

But under the contract terms released after the vote, the strike weapon was not allowed until August 1985. Hormel imposed a 23-percent wage cut in October 1984 based on the language of the final contract, although the summary the UFCW had released before voting made no mention of this proviso.

As a result of this experience, P-9 members voted last year to never again ratify a contract solely on the basis of incomplete summaries.

The Original P-9 leadership has also

protested the international's procedure of holding an unsupervised mail-in referendum. International officials have refused to state why they authorized mail-in balloting for the striking Austin, Minn., plant and voting-booth balloting in all other Hormel units around the country.

The court affidavit submitted by Jim Guyette points out that "the UFCW has used a mail-referendum procedure in the past in Austin when it was dissatisfied with the decisions which members had reached through normal balloting procedures."

In January 1986, after the P-9 membership voted down a "mediator's proposal," the international arranged a re-vote by mail—in spite of the protests of the local. An independent accounting firm later reported that approximately 225 more ballots were printed than there were members entitled to cast votes.

Any suspicions about irregularities in the voting process were reinforced by an item

in the Dec. 30, 1985, *Longbeach Telegram*. The newspaper quoted UFCW International President Wynn as saying that if the Austin strikers rejected the upcoming proposed contract, "the International will order a mail-in referendum in which the outcome will be assured."

Boycott Hormel products!

Meanwhile, a National Labor Relations Board election is pending in which workers in Austin can vote to have either NAMP, the UFCW, or no union certified as their bargaining agent.

On Oct. 11, Original P-9 supporters from across the country are invited to Austin for a celebration of the United Support Group's one-year anniversary. According to Guyette, the gathering will be a working meeting where "boycott efforts will be redoubled."

"We want to focus on another National Boycott Hormel Day," Guyette told Twin Cities supporters. "Right now the company is hurting, and they have to be made to realize that the only way this is going to go away is to put everybody back to work."

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Socialist Action/Tina Beacock

Steelworkers delegates say 'Hell no' to concessions

By MARIE WEIGAND

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—During the past eight years, membership in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has declined from 1.4 million to 885,000. The loss of jobs in basic steel has been even more dramatic.

Earlier this year, steelworkers at LTV, Bethlehem, Inland, and National ratified new contract agreements with serious wage and benefit concessions. On Aug. 1, the nation's largest steel producer, USX, locked its gates in an attempt to force its workers to accept even larger concessions.

This was the backdrop as 2764 delegates gathered here for the 23rd USWA Constitutional Convention on Aug. 25-29. International officers, delegates, and guest speakers all focused on four major topics: the USX lockout, organizing, political action, and trade policy.

After hearing detailed reports on the situation at USX, delegates enthusiastically adopted a resolution in which they said "HELL NO!" to the company's outrageous demands.

USWA International President Lynn Williams compared union and corporate mergers. He said that just as a corporate merger fails to create a single new job, a union merger doesn't add one more organized worker. He stated the "fundamental answer is to have a bigger and stronger labor movement by organizing the unorganized."

Williams explained that the USWA's membership loss appears to have ended as a result of the recent organizing successes. The USWA is averaging five organizing wins per week. During the convention, six new members detailed what a Steelworkers victory had meant to them and their co-workers.

Although Canadian Labor Congress President Shirley Carr and President of the Executive Council of the Yukon Territory Tony Penikett described some of the advances brought about by the Canadian New Democratic Party, there was no discussion on the need to form a labor party in the United States.

Instead, Williams urged convention delegates to redouble their efforts to elect Democrats this November.

Despite the increased attacks from the steel bosses in the past few years, International officers still insist on joint company-union action to restrict imports. There is still little recognition that the interests of the steel barons and those of steelworkers are directly counterposed.

As USX is so vividly demonstrating, the interest of the bosses is to make the highest profits with the least possible number of workers—and with these

workers earning the lowest possible wages and benefits.

Foreign policy stance

The resolutions committee condensed the hundreds of resolutions submitted by local unions into 53 policy resolutions. Most of these were discussed on the convention floor. These included resolutions on collective bargaining, political action, women's rights, civil rights, world affairs, and national and state legislative policy.

The President of the Zambian Federation of Trade Unions opened the debate on the South African resolution. International Vice-President (Human Affairs) Leon Lynch then described the repression he witnessed during his trip to South Africa.

National Director of Canada Gerald Docquier gave a detailed account of South Africa's foreign policy against the people of Angola. After this discussion, delegates unanimously passed a strongly worded anti-apartheid resolution.

The World Affairs resolution stated: "The United States is financing a war of terrorism against the people of Nicaragua by supporting the so-called contras, whose leaders are mostly former officers of ex-dictator Somoza's National Guard."

The resolution continued, "The Reagan administration has repeatedly refused to negotiate with the elected government of Nicaragua and has undercut the Contadora peace proposals by refusing to participate." The resolution went on to criticize the

USX steps up attacks on locked-out workers

By MARIE WEIGAND

Since locking out 22,000 steelworkers at 25 major locations on Aug. 1, USX has refused to meet with United Steelworkers of America (USWA) negotiators to discuss a new contract.

While the USWA offered USX wage and benefit concessions of 82 cents per hour, the company demanded larger concessions than those forced on workers at other major steel companies.

USX has reduced steel cost per ton by contracting out maintenance, security guards, office, and some finishing operations to non-union companies. In some mills, more outside contractors than steelworkers were employed.

Not only has USX refused to consider the improved contract language covering contracting-out which was negotiated with other steel companies, but it has also demanded the right to continue sending out all work currently contracted out—including that which was in violation of the old agreement.

USX has also demanded the right to eliminate at least 1105 additional jobs. It has demanded wholesale job combinations and a decreased number of job classifications.

Much of the discussion at the 23rd USWA Constitutional Convention centered on the USX lockout. Delegates heard detailed accounts of the benefit, picket line, and communication networks.

After describing the AFL-CIO support

committee which will help with publicity, money, and pickets, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said, "If the line has to be drawn against these smug and comfortable elements of industry who are seeking the last drop of blood and the last pound of flesh from America's workers, this is as good a place as any to draw that line."

In addition to seeking help from other unions, International Vice-President (Administration) George Becker explained that civil rights organizations, women's groups, and students are also being contacted for help.

Every week, the USWA International sends out \$1.4 million from the Strike and Defense Fund to the 56 local unions representing the locked-out workers. Health insurance premiums are being paid from this fund.

The Federal government ruled that USX workers are eligible for food stamps. The states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Minnesota have declared this a lockout, which makes USX workers eligible for unemployment compensation. Most USX workers in Indiana and Alabama are also receiving the state benefits.

A number of local unions and USWA districts have begun organizing fund-raising efforts in behalf of the locked-out workers.

Solidarity with the USX workers was a prominent feature of many Labor Day parades and rallies. On Sept. 27, USWA Local 1014 in Gary hosted a support rally.

While refusing to negotiate, USX has stepped up its provocations. On Sept. 3, 43

Sandinista government for "restricting free speech, curtailing trade-union rights, and harassing critics in the Church."

When a few delegates said they welcomed the resolution's condemnation of U.S. intervention, but disagreed with its negative portrayal of the Nicaraguan government, Williams made it clear that this statement is as far as the USWA International officers are prepared to go in opposing U.S. foreign policy in Latin America.

Much convention time was allocated to a detailed line-by-line review of the USWA constitution. Although most changes were technical in nature, one which drew considerable discussion will allow supervisory personnel into the USWA with the approval of the International Executive Board.

Although Williams and other International officers asserted this change was simply to aid organizing drives in the public sector and promised that it would certainly not apply to steel mills, many delegates were concerned over the wording which didn't rule out any group of supervisors.

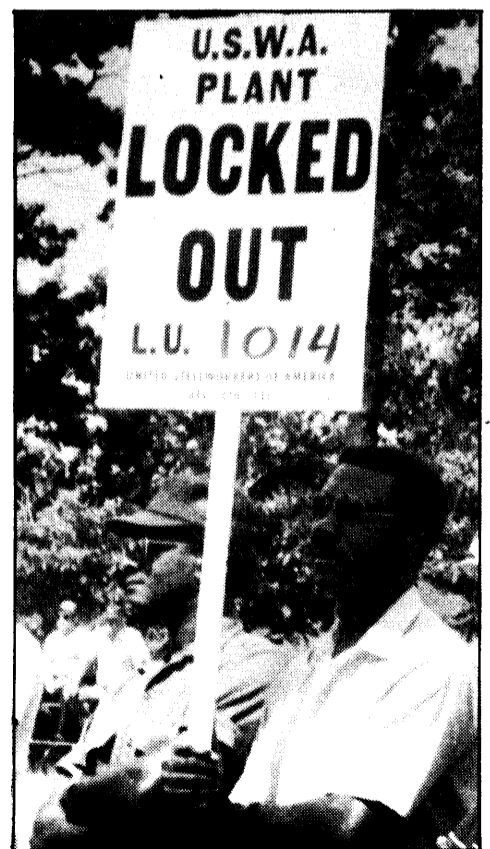
USWA's PATCO

There was a general recognition of the seriousness of the ruling-class attacks on steelworkers and other working people. Speakers called USX the USWA's PATCO, describing this as an attempt to break the union in the largest basic-steel company.

The importance of solidarity was also recognized. The USX support resolution concluded: "No locked-out USX worker stands alone. Every steelworker walks the picket line in Gary, Fairchild, the Mon Valley, Fairless, Lorain, Geneva, Baytown, Iron Ore Range, and other locked-out USX facilities. What's more, trade unionists everywhere stand with us. We cannot lose."

With regard to the LTV bankruptcy, delegates acknowledged that the threatened strike against all of LTV's profitable facilities resulted in the restoration of retiree benefits. They understood that this strike forced a favorable ruling from the bankruptcy judge and Congressional action.

Concessions bargaining was roundly condemned as delegates explained how concessions don't save jobs. Yet, there was no challenge to the basic framework of labor-management cooperation. Similarly, there was no challenge to the long-standing reliance on the Democratic Party. ■



Socialist Action/Tina Beacock

locked out steelworkers were arrested when they blocked an entrance to a mill in Gary, Ind.

On Sept. 21, USX made another attempt to move steel by rail at its Lorain, Ohio, works. This time, when approximately 200 pickets moved to prevent the company from shipping the steel, police arrested 12 workers. The following day, 38 more workers were arrested.

On Sept. 24, USX said it would no longer attempt to move steel out of its Lorain works in exchange for the union's agreement to allow the supervisors in and out of the plant. ■

SWP suit against FBI: A victory for working people

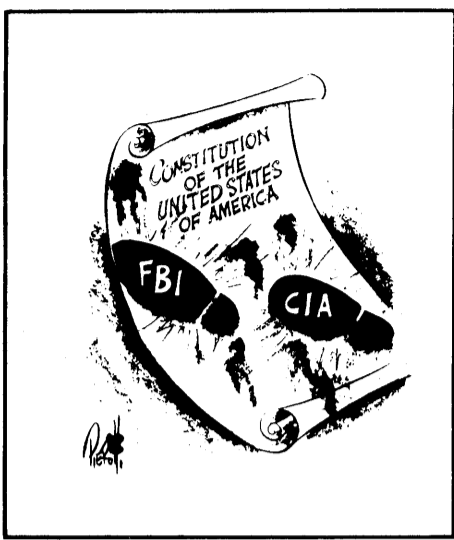
A federal court has declared it illegal for the FBI to harass those whose views are opposed by the government. Federal District Judge Thomas Griesa's decision outlaws for the first time the use of FBI undercover informers and agents against political activists.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), which initiated the suit against the FBI, were granted a judgment against the United States totaling \$264,000 for damages.

Of this amount, \$42,500 are in compensation for disruption by the FBI of the SWP and YSA, \$96,500 for surreptitious entries (burglaries), and \$125,000 for the FBI's use of informants.

Judge Griesa's decision documents the outrageous violation of the SWP's rights, starting with a 1940 directive from then-President Roosevelt to the FBI. Following this and subsequent directives from Roosevelt and every succeeding U.S. president, the FBI relentlessly hounded SWP members, causing loss of jobs and housing.

An FBI memorandum, Judge Griesa noted, stated that one of its aims was to "enhance the paranoia in these circles and [to] further serve to get the point across



[that] there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox." But Griesa fails to note that it is the American people who the FBI intended should get the point!

This, of course, was and remains the real reason motivating the capitalist governments, both Democratic and Republican, which set and maintained this policy. Not content with their monopoly over the government, the news, and educational media—and every other

instrument of the state—they aggressively use their secret police to intimidate the American people and block socialists from gaining a hearing.

In the years between 1960 and 1976, the FBI admitted to a rate of informants as high as 11 percent of the SWP membership! The ostensible justification for such intensive investigation of a political group is to find evidence of illegal activities. But throughout the entire period of FBI "investigation," not a single case was made against the SWP or YSA charging violation of any federal law.

The federal court decision, expanding the constitutionally guaranteed right to privacy, is an important victory for working people and democratic rights in general. It is now declared illegal to carry out burglaries, to steal—or copy private papers or plant microphones or tap phones or assign agents or hire informants—to disrupt the activities of the SWP or, in principle, any other group of political activists.

From now on, any such activity by the FBI or by any other cop agency will be in violation of the court ruling. Political groups will now be on strong ground to demand the protection of the courts against such invasions of privacy and

infringements of democratic rights.

But no one dare assume that these attacks against constitutionally guaranteed rights have ceased or will cease. Judge Griesa's opinion, itself, leaves ample loopholes for the legal reimplementing of a new wave of harassment and disruption of political rights by governmental agencies.

Judge Griesa's decision is seriously flawed by his dismissal of a series of claims against the government on technical grounds—not to mention the surprisingly low compensation he ordered to be paid to the SWP.

And Griesa's refusal to issue an injunction against "the future accumulation of records [harassment and disruption] of the political activities of the SWP," also on technical grounds, leaves the door open for continued—but less crude—violations of constitutional rights by the FBI and other secret police agencies.

Even so, members of Socialist Action—many of whom had been members of the SWP throughout this period of intensive FBI harassment and disruption—are especially gratified at this affirmation of political rights by a federal court.

However limited and flawed this decision may be, it will provide socialists a legal weapon in defense of democratic rights. And, perhaps most important, it constitutes an implicit indictment of the tiny minority of capitalists who once again prove they will use any means necessary to maintain their social and political dictatorship over U.S. society.—SOCIALIST ACTION POLITICAL COMMITTEE



War veterans fast in C. America protest

By ART LECLAIR

BOSTON—On Sept. 1, Charlie Liteky—a former Army chaplain, Vietnam combat veteran, and recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor—began a water-only fast to protest the government's policy in Central America. By Sept. 13, he had stood for 12 days on the steps of the Capitol building in Washington, D.C.

Liteky gained national attention when, on July 29, he renounced his medal of honor at the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, D.C. He said at that time, "My action is directed toward the inhumane foreign policy of my government, a policy that casts shadows of shame over the heritage of this country and places the United States outside the company of civilized nations."

Liteky returned the award he had received for saving the lives of 20 of his fallen comrades while under heavy fire. He said that he hoped his actions would draw attention to the U.S.-sponsored slaughter of innocent people in Nicaragua and be able to save lives once again.

Liteky has been joined in his "fast for life" by three other veterans. They are George Mizo (in Washington, D.C.) and Brian Wilson (at the United Nations), both Vietnam vets, and Duncan Murphy, aged 66, of Sulphur Springs, Ark., a veteran of World War II.

These men have vowed to continue their fast until there is some significant movement by the American people to join

their protest of the "inhuman and illegal undeclared war in Central America." In a joint statement they declared, "We must protest against those who have learned nothing from the bloodshed and the carnage and the sacrifice that was and always will be Vietnam."

On Sept. 7, Boston-area veterans began a "Vigil for Life." Ninety combat vets pledged to stand eight-hour watches around the clock on the Boston Common throughout the month of September. They intended to demonstrate to the White House and the American people that their fellow veterans on hunger strike are not alone in their demands for an end to the bloodshed in Central America.

As one vet stated, "Because of our experiences in fighting the war in Southeast Asia, we have a duty, an obligation, to raise our voices in opposition to the immoral war in Nicaragua—it's that simple. We have to let the public know that the war in Central America has already begun." He added, "It already is another Vietnam."

The sponsors of the vigil asked that messages of support be sent to the hunger strikers at: Veterans Fast for Life, P.O. Box 53271, Temple Heights Station, Washington, D.C. 20009.

To date thousands of letters and postcards have been received from Europe. Articles about the "Fast for Life" have also appeared in several major Central American newspapers.

Chicago antiwar march picks up momentum

By CARRIE HEWITT

CHICAGO—Plans for a Midwest regional antiwar demonstration to be held in Chicago on Oct. 25 were announced at a recent public meeting. The Chicago action will be part of a day of nationally coordinated regional actions for peace, jobs, and justice.

The Midwest regional demonstration is being organized by the Chicago-based October 25th Coalition, an umbrella group of anti-intervention, nuclear freeze, and solidarity organizations.

Following discussions at two coalition meetings, four central slogans have been adopted for the action: (1) "Stop the U.S. War in Central America and End Intervention in the Middle East" (2) "Cut all Ties with South Africa and End Racism at Home" (3) "Redirect Resources from the Military to Meet Human Needs and Defend Human Rights" (4) "Abolish All Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Power."

Plans for the demonstration call for marchers to assemble at 11 a.m. on Saturday, Oct. 25, at Lake Shore Park and to step off at noon for a march that will take participants past the Illinois National Guard Armory and the South African Consulate to the Federal Plaza, where a rally will be held.

The call for the Oct. 25 demonstration marks the first time in nearly three years that a coalition of antiwar and peace groups have united to organize an anti-intervention mobilization in the Chicago area. The last major antiwar march and rally took place on Oct. 13, 1983.

Support for the demonstration has picked

up in the past couple of weeks as more groups have joined in endorsing the action. Approximately 80 people participated in the coalition's second planning meeting held here on Sept. 17.

Sponsors of the march who have joined the coalition include a wide range of Chicago-area anti-intervention and peace groups such as the American Friends Service Committee, Chicago Committee in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, Chicago Chapter of the Gray Panthers, Chicago Peace Council, Chicago Pledge of Resistance, Comité El Salvador, Evanston Committee on Central America, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, and Women for Peace.

In addition to these forces, the coalition has been contacted by activists from outlying areas in Bloomington, Detroit, Kansas City, St. Louis, Madison, and Milwaukee who have expressed interest in organizing buses to come to Chicago.

Significantly, the October 25th Coalition has also been able to make some initial steps toward drawing support from outside the local anti-intervention milieu and has obtained the endorsement of the Chicago Metropolitan Chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Work committees are meeting on a weekly basis to help organize logistics for the march, fund-raising, publicity, and outreach. Those seeking information or wishing to participate in the work of the coalition may contact the October 25th Coalition, c/o Women for Peace, 343 S. Dearborn St., Rm. 1113, Chicago, IL 60604. Tel. (312) 663-1227.

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Socialist Action Forum



Different views on independent political action



This month's **FORUM** section is devoted to a discussion/debate on the Rainbow Coalition and the perspectives for independent political action in this country.

As in previous issues, we have invited leaders and activists in the movements for social change, who do not necessarily agree with us, to express their views. Our goal in this section is to encourage a wide-ranging discussion on subjects of interest to all those involved in the unions, the antiwar movement, and other social protest movements.

In this issue we are presenting the views of Ed Ott, a labor activist in New York City; Terry Bouricius, a leader of the Progressive Coalition in Vermont and a member of Burlington's city council; and Joe Ryan, a staffwriter for *Socialist Action*.

In addition we are including letters to the editor by John Trinkl, an associate of *The Guardian* newspaper and one of the coordinators of the recent West Coast Conference on Socialism and Activism; Erwin Knoll, editor of the *Progressive* magazine; and Lucy Rideout, a reader in Berkeley, Calif. These letters are accompanied by a response by the editor of *Socialist Action*.—THE EDITORS

Ed Ott:

'The Rainbow Coalition is a potential for building the left'

The following is an interview with Ed Ott, a labor activist in New York City. The interview was conducted on Sept. 15 by Alan Benjamin.

Socialist Action: In a recent article in *The Guardian* newspaper, you say that labor and peace activists should take the risk and work within the Rainbow Coalition in order to pursue the struggle for progressive politics. Why do you think this is necessary?

Ed Ott: I attended the [April 1986] National Rainbow Coalition convention in Washington, D.C., as an observer. The thing that struck me was the class composition of the participants. Jesse Jackson has attracted large numbers of community, grass-roots, solidarity, and left-labor activists.

These are the people who do all the work of the Rainbow on a local level. Some of them consider themselves Democrats. Some do not. Others are "not-just" Democrats. Many of them came through various forms of the left movement and are socialists ideologically. Their political agenda goes beyond anything the Democratic Party could ever be.

At the top, the Rainbow is clearly controlled by a group of professional politicians, but at the bottom it is a social movement.

From the point of view of those of us who are interested in coming up with some sort of socialist, progressive agenda in this country, the Rainbow Coalition is a potential. At this point it may, in fact, be the only place where the left can engage people from the mass movements in a serious political discussion and struggle.

S.A.: But the day after the Rainbow's convention, Jackson said he had no intention of leaving the Democratic Party.

Ott: That was clearly the majority sentiment at the convention. The question for the left becomes: Where do you engage people in the fight? The thing that is so interesting about the Rainbow is that while Jackson's view is clearly to stay inside the Democratic Party, the overwhelming amount of his grass-roots supporters question that position very seriously.

S.A.: So what kind of struggle should the left engage in inside the Rainbow and for what purpose?

Ott: We have to learn from the right wing about how they moved their ideological agenda within the Republican Party. We've got to lay out an ideological line that has our own values and our own standards and that holds people in the Democratic Party to the test. We must become the people who pull the political discussion to the left.

If Jackson runs for president in the Democratic Party primaries, we should accept him as the candidate of the

so-called Rainbow Democrats. Our objective must be to sharpen the issues around which the Rainbow presents itself, including such issues as Central America.

If the Rainbow Coalition is engaged in the Democratic Party primaries and doesn't win, we would not support the winners of the primaries unless these are people who support the issues as they have been laid out by the Rainbow.

The important thing is that in this process the revolutionary left can win new cadre, gain people who we lost in the past, and recruit new people on an ideological basis to a left-strategy.

S.A.: So then what is the risk of joining and working within the Rainbow?

Ott: The risk is that we go in as one thing but we end up as Democrats. The risk is that we lose the rest of our cadre to the Democratic Party, which we are losing an enormous amount to already. And I think that one reason we are losing them is that the left has failed to articulate an agenda to progressive people that allows them to be any place other than the Democratic Party and still engage in real politics.

S.A.: But isn't the Rainbow Coalition today just an appendage of the Democratic Party?

Ott: Absolutely, the Rainbow's structure and political framework is within the Democratic Party. That is the case objectively. But is it the case subjectively for the people who are there? We have to answer this honestly.

S.A.: Can't a genuine Rainbow be built independently of the Democratic Party?

Ott: At this point, no. The credibility of the revolutionary left is too low. The left cannot offer these grass-roots forces an arena in which they can struggle in real politics.

These people will not break with the Democrats at this point. They don't feel they have enough organizational strength to pull it off. I think a lot of these people feel that with the Rainbow they have a movement that can eventually be the basis for the formation of a labor party or a mass progressive third party-formation. Maybe they are hoping against hope that this can be done.

The question before us is do we rail at these people from the outside, as we have done for the past 10 or 15 years, or do we engage them in a discussion from the inside. I think that our own credibility and integrity is at stake here.

S.A.: But your proposal means trying to build a labor party by working within the Democratic Party...

Ott: The problem is that there isn't another vehicle. We have spoken of the need for a labor party for the past 30 years but have gotten nowhere. The left has to be honest with itself and recognize its own limitations.

I don't think that working along these lines in the

Rainbow is inconsistent with building a labor-party formation. We want an independent political party. That is needed. There is no disagreement on that.

In fact, one of the positive things about the Rainbow is that it may split the AFL-CIO leadership within the Democratic Party. You've already got several national labor leaders who, for whatever reason, are on the national board of the Rainbow. And that sends a very clear message inside the labor movement that there is the need for a discussion.

We must realize that there is the potential for sharper political discussion in the unions, using the Rainbow as the vehicle. I think that we can raise the need for a labor party if we can get serious political discussion going in the labor movement. That is certainly part of my own agenda.

S.A.: You have stated that it is necessary to go beyond united-front type coalitions like the one that arose against U.S. intervention in Vietnam. What, in your opinion, are the limitations of these coalitions?

Ott: I think there are some practical problems for the left in working within the antinuclear, solidarity, and anti-intervention movements. If you look at these movements from 1975 on, they are movements that go up and down in terms of their numbers, but never sink identifiable roots in the community.

Most people in those movements believe—and I think correctly—that they are expressing the views of the majority of people in this country when they fight for peace and disarmament and against U.S. policy in Central America. Yet they remain the political minority.

The people who advocate a united-front strategy have failed to consolidate these movements into any organizational or political form.

In addition, the advocates of united-front coalitions have failed to build the left. If anything, the revolutionary left has diminished in size and influence and is unable to lead mass forces in opposition to the government's policies in Central America or on nuclear weapons.

We don't have enough of a mass movement to make the political process respond to us by putting people on the street. Certainly, in the labor movement, if there are any strikes going on they are largely defensive. They are not of the nature that the powers-that-be are going to notice them and call for reform.

If there was a mass movement out there, the Democratic Party would not be coming to the conclusion that the answer to its problems is to drift to the right. There would be a real attempt to offer reform.

But today we're no threat. We've got to find a way to hook up with the masses somewhere.

The debate around the Rainbow is key. It has made me alter my views, although I am hesitant about the Rainbow because I don't know if it will get it together. The Rainbow could easily be a potential not realized.

But if it does take off organizationally, you're going to see some real fireworks. It's going to help revitalize the left, the real left. We'll be able to engage in some real politics and affect events and agendas, which we are not doing today.

Terry Bouricius: 'We're trying to dismantle the Democratic Party'

The following is an interview with Terry Bouricius, a member of the Board of Aldermen (city council) in Burlington, Vt., and a member of the steering and executive committees of the Progressive Coalition, which is running Bernie Sanders for governor in November.

Bouricius was first elected to office in 1981. He was reelected to the Board of Aldermen in 1983 and 1985 and is currently running for the Vermont state legislature on the Progressive Coalition ticket. The interview was conducted on Sept. 14 by Alan Benjamin.

Socialist Action: What is the Progressive Coalition and what are your relations with the Democratic Party and the Rainbow Coalition in Vermont?

Terry Bouricius: The Progressive Coalition is not like a lot of left-wing organizations or parties that have sprung up in the United States in the past. It did not come out of a study group, research, or ideas. It came out of a reality of radicals and socialists getting elected to office in Burlington.

I ran as a Citizens Party candidate for Board of Aldermen in 1981. Bernie Sanders ran for mayor as an independent. Our campaigns were connected in that we knew each other and had previously worked together in the Liberty Union Party. But our campaigns were not really coordinated.

When we won in 1981, it was pretty much a surprise. Once we got elected, an organization sort of formed around that unique event. It became apparent that the thing to do was to extend the success we had had in the electoral arena.

The first year after we were elected, the Citizens For Fair Play was formed. It dealt with the problems the new socialist administration had in dealing with the old-guard Democrats.

We ran as independent or Citizens Party candidates against the Democrats and the Republicans and were able to defeat them. Our major opponents up to this day have been the Democrats. We found it easier to deal with Republicans, who are principled conservatives, than to deal with the Democrats, who are unprincipled and have a hidden agenda of trying to oust us as upstarts.

The people around what was then the Citizens Party, the independents and radicals, and many new people and activists have all come together in what we call the Progressive Coalition. We have finally organized as an entity with a steering committee, executive committee, and a structure.

S.A.: What is the goal of the Progressive Coalition in the current statewide elections?

Bouricius: We are now broadening out to state politics, but not in any organized way. We are basically running as supporters of Bernie Sanders' campaign for governor. Bernie is running as an independent against the Democrats. I am the only candidate other than Bernie running on the label of the Progressive Coalition. Supporters of Bernie's are running in other places in the state, some as independents, some as Democrats.

That brings up the issue of how we relate to the Rainbow Coalition. The Rainbow Coalition in Vermont is probably more organized and more radical than the Rainbow in most places in the country.

One Rainbow leader, Ellen David-Friedman, is a socialist radical who got elected to the Democratic National Committee at the 1984 convention. But now they are sorry about that. They have since asked for her resignation many times. She's refused to resign.

The local Rainbow activists don't have any loyalty to the Democratic Party. They work for candidates who are running against Democrats. For example, Ellen David-Friedman has worked hard for Bernie's campaign for governor against Democratic incumbent Madeleine Kunin. She was the co-manager of the campaign for many months.

S.A.: In a recent article in the bulletin of the National Committee for Independent Political Action, Ellen David-Friedman explains that the Rainbow in Vermont "has constructed itself as an independent organization...while running and electing Rainbow Democrats and holding Democratic Party roles." Isn't there a contradiction here?

Bouricius: They use the phrase "having an inside/outside stance toward the Democratic Party" to define what they are doing.

S.A.: But aren't they totally committed to staying inside the Democratic Party? Isn't that the national line of the Rainbow?

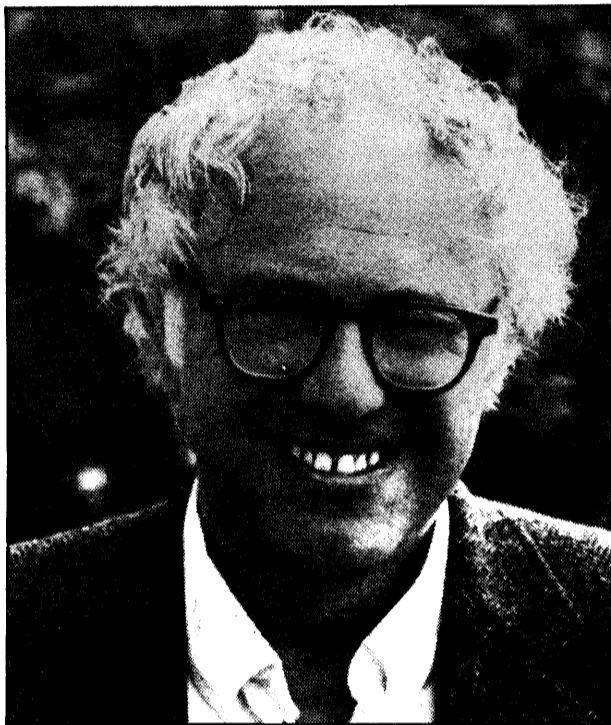
Bouricius: Nationally that's what's happening, but that is not really what's happening in Vermont. The

Vermont Rainbow has a structure and a leadership which meets and chooses to endorse candidates who are running against Democrats as well as endorsing candidates who are running in the Democratic Party primary.

S.A.: Why don't these forces decide to go it on their own and build an independent party in clear and open opposition to the Democrats.

Bouricius: That is the position that many of us in the Progressive Coalition have taken. We have urged people in the Rainbow to leave the Democratic Party—to split and form a new organization or join the Progressive Coalition. But there has been resistance.

There is a common feeling among many people in the local towns, for example, that they can take over the Democratic Party. Others who have the inside/outside strategy want to see how far they can push the limits of working inside the Democratic Party. They refer to this



Burlington, Vt., Mayor Bernie Sanders

as using the Democratic Party as the playing field for the conflict.

S.A.: But doesn't this only fuel illusions that this capitalist party can be a potential avenue for social change, when, in fact, it is the main obstacle...

Bouricius: That is the problem people like myself have. In Burlington we are very busy trying to smash and dismantle the Democratic Party, but people in other parts of the state feel this is not practical in their communities. They don't have the sense of success that we have had.

S.A.: You speak about the Progressive Coalition having a clear position on independent political action yet I hear contradictory signals from Bernie Sanders. Sanders told *The Guardian* newspaper last year that he was "opposed in principle" to working within the

Democratic Party, but that he campaigned for Mondale and Ferraro in 1984.

Sanders recently spoke at a fundraiser for the Berkeley Citizens Alliance (BCA), which is the local Democratic Party club. At the conclusion of the recent West Coast Socialist and Activists Conference, Sanders told our reporter that he was extremely impressed with the April convention of the National Rainbow Coalition and that while he would prefer it if the Rainbow were outside the Democratic Party, he would nonetheless urge support for the Rainbow and for Jesse Jackson. Yet Jackson is for funneling the disenfranchised back into the Democratic Party. Isn't this double-talk?

Bouricius: The '84 presidential election was absolutely the first and only time Bernie has ever been willing to say that he would support a Democrat. It is the lesser-evil argument.

S.A.: But wasn't it clear that Mondale would quarantine Nicaragua and that his policies were indistinguishable from Reagan's? Mondale made no pretense of even being a liberal...

Bouricius: There is a certain element of truth to that. That is why the campaign that Bernie ran with some people of the Rainbow Coalition was focused on attacking the administration and Reagan—and was primarily not a pro-Mondale campaign. There was a lot of torment in trying to figure out what to do.

As for Jesse Jackson, Bernie explained to him when he came to Burlington why we were trying to dismantle, supplant, and eliminate the Democratic Party here locally. Bernie did not support Jackson in the 1984 primaries. He did not want to play a role in the Democratic primary process at all and wanted to ignore the Democratic Party completely. That is the position that a lot of us took. Others here did work for Jackson.

Many people around the country view us as an example and sympathize with what we are doing—like the BCA. But Bernie didn't give political support to the BCA.

We don't have any affiliation, analysis, or strategy on a national level. We don't think that we're simply going to grow and grow and become an alternative independent pole nationwide. There are no illusions around that. We are basically a municipal organization.

S.A.: What are Bernie Sanders' prospects in these elections.

Bouricius: Bernie is an acknowledged major candidate, even though he is an independent. He is one of the viable candidates and is treated fully and equally by the news media.

His support is not breaking down along liberal or conservative lines. His support is far more class-based than liberal- or conservative-based. Many working-class people, when asked, will say they are conservative and yet they support Bernie. His campaign has captured the anti-big government, anti-establishment, anti-big business sentiment that has been captured by the right in most parts of this country.

There's a slim chance he will be elected. He's got at least as good a shot of being elected governor as he did of being elected mayor.

S.A.: What are your own prospects?

Bouricius: I am probably considered the front-runner. I am running against a young liberal Democrat, a career politician, who would probably support the ERA and oppose U.S. involvement in Nicaragua, but is fundamentally a liberal. If I am able to do my campaigning as expected, the odds are that I will probably win.

I am hopeful that, if elected, I will be able to form a progressive caucus within the legislature, probably with a few Democrats and at least one Republican, who is rather progressive. ■



Rainbow Coalition: False hope for social struggles

By JOE RYAN

Is the Democratic Party an institution through which working people, women, Blacks, Latinos, and gays can make gains and defend their interests?

For many in the radical movement today, the answer to this question seems to be "yes"—with a "maybe" couched in parentheses. For *Socialist Action* the answer is an unequivocal "no."

The great Black revolutionary, Malcolm X, once said in reference to the Democratic Party: "You can't get a chicken to lay duck eggs." But this biological miracle is precisely what many progressive activists and organizations say can be done.

Publications like *The Guardian* say that the political vehicle for this transformation is Jesse Jackson and the



Malcolm X

Rainbow Coalition. The rationalization for working within the Democratic Party is that the Rainbow can be used to promote unity on the left and, at the same time, build influence within the "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party.

Combined with this not-so-innovative approach to the Democratic Party is the perspective of eventually forming a third party—the class content and program of which is never mentioned. Will it be working class, middle class, capitalist?

Such a strategy is, at best, based on erroneous assumptions. In the first place, there is no "progressive" wing in the Democratic Party.

There is, however, a "deceptive" wing of this party that tries to sound progressive. This is the role played by the McGoverns, Cuomos, Kennedys—and, yes, "progressives" like Jesse Jackson and those in the Congressional Black Caucus.

The capitalist class can always manufacture politicians who will tell the masses what they want to hear. Their role is to sow the illusion that meaningful reforms can be accomplished by working within the framework of capitalist politics, especially during an election year.

Maintaining this illusion is essential to the ruling class in this country because it is its trump card for channeling social unrest—which there is no shortage of today—onto the safe road of working and voting for a "progressive" candidate in one of the two capitalist parties—invariably the Democratic Party.

Undoubtedly, the Jesse Jackson campaign and the Rainbow Coalition captured the hopes and aspirations of millions of the poor and disenfranchised during the 1984 elections. What made Jackson's campaign a new development in U.S. politics was the fact that he was a Black man seeking the Democratic Party nomination for president and that he expressed the concerns of millions of the oppressed—albeit with "liberal" phraseology.

But the objective of the Jackson campaign was not to mobilize millions of the oppressed in their own interests, but to funnel growing social discontent—exacerbated by increased poverty, a resurgence in racism and sexism, and the ominous threat of war—into the Democratic Party.

Jackson's base in the Democratic Party machine makes him a prisoner of the same capitalist class that is responsible for the exploitation and pauperization of millions of poor working people, women, Blacks, and other oppressed minorities.

Whatever Jackson's good intentions may be, as long as he maintains his loyalty to the Democratic Party and to the system of capitalist profit-making, all he can offer the oppressed masses, in the last analysis, are false hopes that will translate into disappointment and demoralization.

When the 1984 primaries were over, Jackson predictably delivered his Rainbow to Walter Mondale.

Many radical organizations and publications which

were disoriented by the Jackson campaign—like *The Guardian*—followed suit and delivered their support to Walter Mondale. It was a short step from support for the "progressive" Jackson to the "lesser evil" Mondale.

Keeping electoral coalition afloat

The "lesser evil" concept, of course, is not new. It is part and parcel of the political shell game that the capitalist class has played since the turn of the century. The object is to give the impression that one capitalist candidate is not as bad as the other.

The "lesser evil" concept tries to maintain the fiction that the individual politician is the decisive element in formulating policies as opposed to the class interests that the politician and his or her party represent.

But both the Democratic and Republican parties are the political representatives of the ruling class in this country. The differences between these parties aren't based on goals—about this they are in unanimous agreement—but on the tactical approach they should take toward implementing the policies of war and austerity against working people.

Hence, in 1940 working people voted for jobs and peace by reelecting Roosevelt—and instead got World War II. In 1964 workers and the oppressed voted for the "peace" candidate, Johnson, and got the Vietnam War. In 1976 workers were told to vote for the "pro-labor" candidate, Carter, who attempted to break the national mineworkers' strike and start a war with Iran.

By the 1980 presidential elections, capitalist politics

The question of what strategy is the most effective to put "pressure" on the U.S. government is also not a new one. During the course of the anti-Vietnam War movement, many attempts were made to counterpose campaigning for capitalist "peace candidates" (Eugene McCarthy in 1968, George McGovern in 1972) to mobilizing through mass demonstrations in the streets.

Which strategy was the most effective was demonstrated by events.

The "pressure" campaign exerted through mass action independent of the capitalist parties forced the Republican Nixon to pull out all U.S. troops in Vietnam, thus ensuring victory for the Vietnamese liberation forces.

The "pressure" campaign applied by hundreds of thousands of women in the streets to demand abortion rights forced the Nixon Supreme Court to grant this long overdue democratic right.

The "pressure" campaign put into effect by Blacks through sit-ins, marches, and open rebellions in the streets of U.S. cities was the force that ultimately eradicated "Jim Crow" laws in the South and established affirmative-action programs.

What a real Rainbow will look like

The idea of building a "Rainbow Coalition," a united movement of working people, women, oppressed minorities, and all the exploited has great merit.

A political organization that represents the interests of all the oppressed is a necessary prerequisite for the emancipation of the working class and its allies.

But a "Rainbow Coalition" that is tied to the capitalists and their parties will never win freedom. It will only serve as an objective support for the capitalist system. Such a coalition will only deceive and demobilize the masses.

Many radicals today complain that independent mass action in the streets is insufficient and that it is now necessary to move on to "serious" politics—by which they mean participation in the Democratic Party.

Obviously, if working people are going to put an end to the policies of this imperialist government, they will



"In 1964, workers and the oppressed were told to vote for the 'peace candidate' Lyndon B. Johnson and got the Vietnam War."

had moved increasingly to the right with the end of the post-war economic boom and the defeats of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Iran. The Democratic Party could no longer demagogically offer "peace and butter." The capitalist class was forced to begin taking back the concessions it had granted U.S. workers in the 20 years following World War II.

In 1980, nearly half the eligible voters failed to see a "lesser evil" candidate. Feeling there wasn't a dime's worth of difference between Carter and Reagan, they just simply abstained from voting.

The presidential choice, in fact, was so dismal that many progressive organizations and individuals gave their support to middle-class-based formations like the Citizens Party and the New Alliance Party. These "progressives" were faced with the reality that there was no credible Democratic Party "reform" vehicle to climb onto.

Electoral politics vs. mass action

After 1980, the ruling class understood the need to bring the abstainers back into the electoral process. They feared that behind this increased voter abstention lurked a steady accumulation of explosive discontent. This is what explains the overall friendly approach of the big-business media and the Democratic Party to the Jackson candidacy in 1984.

At a time when working people and their allies are faced with a relentless *bipartisan* assault on their living standards and democratic rights, the strategy promoted by many so-called progressives of promoting the Rainbow Coalition as a means to "pressure" the Democratic Party plays right into the hands of our class enemies.

need their own political instrument—their own independent political party—to do so. But this instrument cannot be the Democratic Party.

A genuine "Rainbow Coalition" will be a labor party based on the unions that will run *working class* candidates against the candidates of the capitalists.

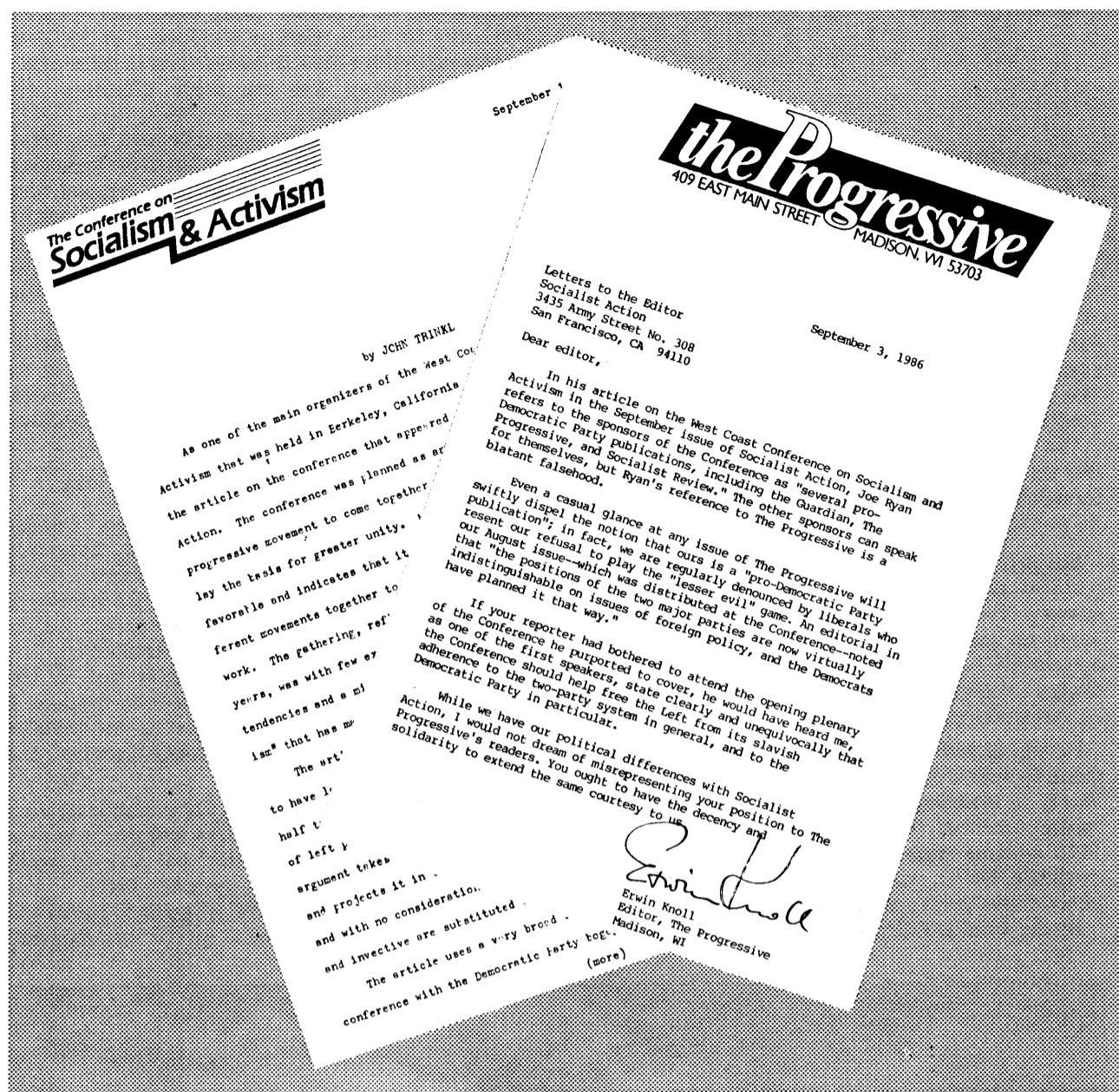
Such a party will arise not out of electoral combinationism within the Democratic Party—or through some middle-class, third-party formation—but out of the struggles of U.S. working people themselves. A labor-party will be the projection into the electoral arena of the fights and mobilizations of working people in defense of their economic interests on the shop floor and around the big political questions of jobs, peace, and justice.

A mass-action strategy in the trade unions and in the antiwar movement is key to mobilizing working people in defense of their own interests. The changes in American society since Vietnam have made it possible for large numbers of working people and their unions to join in the fight against imperialist war and against the attacks on their standard of living and democratic rights.

The attempt of many progressive organizations to jump over this process and find a short cut to political "quick fixes" is a manifestation of a certain amount of pessimism and lack of confidence in the ability of American workers to learn, and learn fast.

The orientation to the Democratic Party through the Rainbow Coalition will only set back the process of independent *working class* political action. The graveyard of history is filled with well-meaning people who tried to find political "short-cuts" and ended up Democrats. It is necessary to warn against such a course. ■

Our readers respond on left conference



Action reporter was out of the room when the question was discussed or simply didn't want to hear anything which interfered with his preconceptions.

The most blatant departure from reality was probably the characterization of Bernie Sanders, who—it is said—"evokes a vision of middle class socialism which sees the working class as marginal to the process of social change."

Anyone with the slightest familiarity with Sanders' three successful runs for mayor of Burlington, Vt., as well as his current campaign knows that he puts a working-class perspective at the center of his program. He has in fact been criticized for underplaying the role of social movements such as feminism and the peace movement by some on the left because of his emphasis on the working class. It was Sanders who was one of two major speakers concluding the conference. (The other was Anne Braden).

The article ill serves fruitful discussion of the matters at hand facing the left. Hopefully in the future, *Socialist Action* can concentrate its fire on our common enemies rather than engage in the kind of internecine warfare which has so plagued the left. ■

The Progressive editor claims falsehood

Dear editor,

In his article on the West Coast Conference on Socialism and Activism in the September issue of *Socialist Action*, Joe Ryan refers to the sponsors of the conference as "several pro-Democratic Party publications, including *The Guardian*, *the Progressive*, and *Socialist Review*." The other sponsors can speak for themselves, but Ryan's reference to *the Progressive* is a blatant falsehood.

Even a casual glance at any issue of *the Progressive* will swiftly dispel the notion that ours is a "pro-Democratic Party publication"; in fact, we are regularly denounced by liberals who resent our refusal to play the "lesser evil" game. An editorial in our August issue—which was distributed at the Conference—noted that "the positions of the two major parties are now virtually indistinguishable on issues of foreign policy, and the Democrats have planned it that way."

If your reporter had bothered to attend the opening plenary of the Conference he purported to cover, he would have heard me, as one of the first speakers, state clearly and unequivocally that the Conference should help free the Left from its slavish adherence to the two-party system in general, and to the Democratic Party in particular.

While we have our political differences with *Socialist Action*, I would not dream of misrepresenting your position to *the Progressive's* readers. You ought to have the decency and solidarity to extend the same courtesy to us.

Erwin Knoll,
Editor, *the Progressive*,
Madison, Wisc.

Berkeley reader likes article but...

Dear editor,

I attended the Sunday session of the West Coast Conference on Socialism and Activism last month in Berkeley and enjoyed reading your article on the conference in the September issue of *Socialist Action*. I would like, however, to take issue with the author on a couple of points.

First, DSA's Jim Shoch named Gary Hart and *Mario Cuomo* as the two "acceptable" Democratic Party presidential candidates, not Hart and Ted Kennedy as the article states.

Second, and more important, in the context of the author's criticism of the conference, Bernie Sanders did not mention Democratic Party politics as an option at the conference. He in fact stressed his own working-class base in Burlington, Vt., and his mayoral campaign's door-to-door organizing around issues as the key to his electoral success. He is opposed by a Democratic Party candidate in the November gubernatorial election.

While the afternoon's panel members and quite possibly the conference organizers promoted the Democratic Party alternative, Bernie Sanders did not. I feel that it was inaccurate to group him with the other speakers as a proponent of the strategy of working within the Democratic Party.

Lucy Rideout,
Berkeley, Calif.

The following are three letters from readers in response to *Socialist Action's* coverage of the West Coast Conference on Socialism and Activism. (See September 1986 *Socialist Action* article, "West Coast conference steers activists to Democratic Party.") A reply by the editor of *Socialist Action* is on the following page.

Conference organizer objects to coverage

By JOHN TRINKL

As one of the main organizers of the West Coast Conference on Socialism and Activism that was held in Berkeley, Calif., July 25-27, I read with some interest the article on the conference that appeared in the September issue of *Socialist Action*.

The conference was planned as an opportunity for different sectors of the progressive movement to come together, discuss tactics and strategies, and hopefully lay the basis for greater unity. Most feedback about the conference has been very favorable and indicates that it was a success in bringing activists from the different movements together to discuss common problems and perspectives for future work.

The gathering, reflecting a process that has been growing over the past few years, was with few exceptions marked by comradely debate among different political tendencies and a minimum of sectarianism. It was a reflection of the "de-sectarianism" that has matured in much of the left in recent years.

The article was an unfortunate step backward from this process. It is one thing to have legitimate political differences. It is quite another to present a stew of half truths, selected quotations, and mind reading as a report of the conference.

Students of left polemics will recognize the methodology used in the article. The line of argument takes whatever program or strategy one thinks is worst for the movement and projects it onto those one is arguing against—no matter how ill the fit and with no consideration for the actual content of an opponent's position. Animus and invective are substituted for analysis and insight.

The article uses a very broad brush stroke to tar everyone connected with the conference with the Democratic Party bogeyman. The heart of the conference—six panels and over 70 workshops where activists and socialists discussed strategies—was totally ignored.

The organizers for the conference included a number of independent activists as well as individuals from a

number of left organizations such as the North Star Network, Solidarity, Line of March, Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and—to a lesser extent—the Communist Party and the League for Revolutionary Struggle.

These groups have a wide variety of positions concerning the Democratic Party. The conference itself reflected a number of views concerning the Democratic Party from the view expressed by Jim Shoch of DSA of strategic support for the Democratic Party to that of Bernie Sanders, socialist mayor of Burlington, Vt., that it is necessary to do electoral work totally outside of the two-party system. The workshop that dealt specifically with this issue, "The Democratic Party and the Left," also reflected a range of views from DSA's position of support to Solidarity's position of complete opposition to the Democratic Party.

The article sets up parts of one presentation—that of DSA—as representative of the entire conference. It begins with a quote from Jim Shoch—who is wrongly characterized as a "keynote speaker"—and says that the unofficial goal of the conference organizers was "Stop Reagan and Vote Democratic." That may be how *Socialist Action* wishes to characterize DSA's position but it was hardly the position of conference organizers or conference literature.

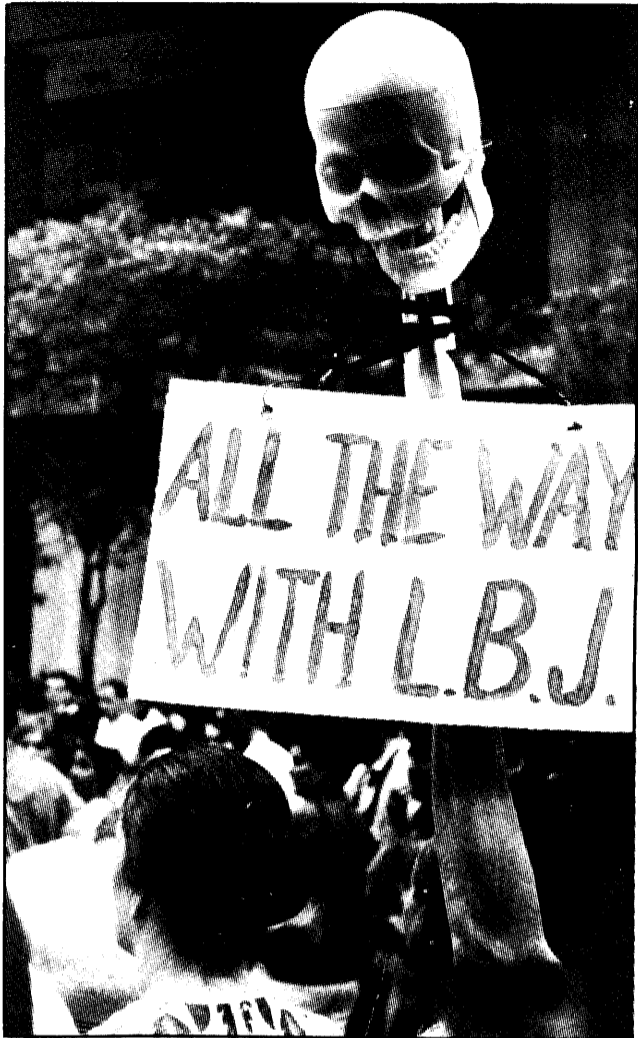
Organizers for the conference were also surprised to learn that they "believe the working class...is marginal to the struggle for social change." A major panel plus a number of workshops addressed the centrality of the working class. The article goes on to invent a "deep pessimism of conference organizers and panelists." If conference organizers were so pessimistic about the left, it is unclear why they would spend six months organizing a meeting to help work toward greater unity.

Socialist Action also rails against the use of the phrase "conservative era" in part of the subtitle of the conference, "Progressive Politics in a Conservative Era." Anne Braden, one of the main opening night speakers specifically said she didn't believe we were in a conservative era because so much activity was going on at the grassroots level.

One of the major organizers of the conference also noted at the conclusion of the conference that no one on the organizing committee believed we were in a conservative era in the sense that the whole country had moved to the right. The point was that the right wing was in power in Washington and setting much of the national agenda—"that the ruling class as a whole has turned to the right", as *Socialist Action* recognized in its article.

To say, as the article does, that the conference "identifies the rightward turn of the ruling class with the consciousness of workers"—which was specifically rejected at the conference—means either that the *Socialist*

Editor's reply: 'The Democratic Party is not just a 'bogeyman''



Harry Leblson

Over a year ago, Sid Lens, then editor of *the Progressive* magazine, contacted *Socialist Action* and asked for our help in organizing a series of conferences with the aim of promoting the unity of the various sectors of the "progressive movement."

We declined to take part in this effort because we believed that this broad "left unity" would not be based on clear and principled opposition to all wings of the Democratic Party.

We explained that while we sought to work with all forces in helping to build the broadest possible *unity in action* against the war policies of the U.S. government, we could not participate in an effort that in any way oriented working people toward the Democratic Party.

The first Lens-initiated conference was held in New York City in December 1985. Major sponsors of this East Coast Conference on Socialism and Activism included *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, and *the Progressive*, all of which have a long history of supporting the "peace" or "progressive wing" of the Democratic Party.

The Guardian, for example, called in 1984 to vote for Walter Mondale, the candidate who said he would have bombed Grenada and quarantined Nicaragua.

The Progressive has taken a certain distance from the Democrats in recent years given this party's rapid drift to the right, but its pro-Democratic Party record is no secret.

In 1964, it supported Lyndon Johnson. In September 1968, a *Progressive* editorial backed Eugene McCarthy as "the last hope for deliverance from the perilous plight that confronts us in this year of decision." And in 1972, it backed George McGovern to the hilt.

Today, in an August 1986 editorial in *the Progressive*, Erwin Knoll tells us that the Democratic Party has "capitulated" to the Republicans, that it has "lost its last eyelash of dignity," and that its policies are "now virtually indistinguishable on issues of foreign policy."

No, the Democratic Party has not capitulated, nor did it ever have any dignity. It was never, is not now, nor will it ever be a political instrument to serve the needs of working people. Its *domestic* and foreign policies have always been aimed at serving the needs of the capitalist class.

Knoll's best formulations still leave open the possibility of reorienting toward the Democratic Party. In no issue of *the Progressive* has there ever been a clear call for the labor and social protest movements to break decisively with the Democratic Party and form a labor party based on the unions and open to all the oppressed and exploited.

Middle-class-oriented, third-party formations like the Citizens Party, which *the Progressive* campaigned for in 1980 and 1984, are no substitute for genuine independent *working-class* political action. In fact, the Citizens Party has all but folded today, with most of its members and

leaders being taken back into the fold of the Democratic Party via the Rainbow Coalition.

As for *The Nation* magazine, it makes no pretenses of being a socialist publication. Its left-liberal line is clearly oriented at reforming the Democratic Party.

Objectives of conferences

John Trinkl, who was an organizer of both the East Coast and West Coast conferences, writes in his letter to *Socialist Action* that the goal of these gatherings is to overcome the fragmentation on the left and to move forward to greater unity. This is surely a laudable goal. The only hitch, though, is unity around what *political* program and for what purpose?

Trinkl, who is also an associate of *The Guardian* newspaper, provides an answer to this critical question in an article on the conferences which he wrote for the Spring 1986 issue of *The North Star*. Trinkl explains that "greater unity [of the left] will not be easy" but that already various political coalitions have sprung up that point the way forward for socialists and activists today.

The first coalition that Trinkl points to approvingly is the Rev. Jesse Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition. "The multi-racial, multi-issue Rainbow Coalition," Trinkl writes, "projected a strategic vision into the national political arena which is still valid."

Trinkl continues, "Another effort to overcome fragmentation is the National Committee for Independent Political Action (NCIPA), a loose network of activists around the country who work on a variety of issues [and] who voted to become a membership organization last year."

Trinkl, like most of the conference organizers who also support the Rainbow Coalition and NCIPA, argue that these two coalitions are expressions of independent political action. But unfortunately, the term *independent political action*, like the term *peace*, means different things to different people.

Jesse Jackson, for example, recently told the press that "Independence is not separatism." He continued, "Our tension in the [Democratic] party is not over whether we should remain Democrats or not, it is over the direction of the party."

At the conclusion of the National Rainbow Coalition convention last April, Jackson made it clear that his aim is not to build an independent political party. "We have too much invested in the Democratic Party," he said. "When you have money in the bank, you don't walk away from it."

The NCIPA's support for a wing of the Democratic Party is also cloaked with the term "independent." NCIPA in its draft political statement argues for the need to build a third "independent people's" party sometime in the future. But its tactics in pursuing this end "involve supporting some Democratic candidates." NCIPA's primary work has been support to the Rainbow Coalition and to local "left" Democratic Party clubs, like the Berkeley Citizens Alliance.

Gwen Patton, who is a representative of the Alabama New South Coalition on NCIPA's national steering committee, was one of the panelists at the West Coast Conference. "Independent politics and forming an independent party do not necessarily mean a third party," Patton stated. "Rather, they are organized vehicles to make the Democrats responsive. We run independent campaigns and then, as a matter of strategy, go back into the Democratic Party."

The conference itself, which our reporter covered fairly—to the chagrin of some of the organizers—was clearly stamped with the pro-Rainbow, pro-Democratic Party "progressive wing" orientation of its main organizers, sponsors, and speakers.

The Democratic Party is no "bogeyman," as Trinkl states. A bogeyman is an imaginary frightful being. There is nothing imaginary about the Democratic Party's direct participation in the attacks on working people here and abroad. The "common enemies" Trinkl urges *Socialist Action* to fight against include the Democratic Party.

Virtually all the organizations listed by Trinkl as endorsers of the conference have what they call an "inside/outside" approach toward the Democratic Party. Some, however, support the Jackson wing of the Democratic Party, while others (namely the Democratic Socialists of America) prefer the Cuomo/Hart wing of the party. (Our reporter incorrectly mentioned Kennedy and Hart as the DSA's likely presidential choices in 1988. It should have read Cuomo and Hart.)

The Communist Party USA, which according to Trinkl also helped organize the conference, has been one of the major road-blocks in the path of genuine independent political action. Today it is mobilizing to

"elect a [Democratic Party] congressional peace majority in the 1986 elections."

Even Bernie Sanders, who according to Trinkl represented the left wing of the conference, campaigned for Mondale in 1984 and now appears to be endorsing the National Rainbow Coalition and NCIPA. [For more on Bernie Sanders, see interview with Terry Bouricius in this section.] Jesse Jackson has supported Bernie Sanders' independent campaign for governor of Vermont as a vehicle to put pressure on the Democrats. "In areas where the Democratic Party is unresponsive, independence will be a live option," Jackson told *The Guardian* last April.

History of "independent" reform movements

Prior to 1936 and the false promises of Roosevelt's "New Deal," Marxists and others who called themselves socialists all agreed that it was impermissible to join or support political parties of the capitalist class. They were opposed to this in principle. They knew that the ruling class organized and financed the two-party system as a necessary part of its governing apparatus.

The 1930s saw the rise of a mass social movement, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), to which millions of workers flocked. The CIO was a semi-political movement with profound revolutionary implications. The key question for workers at that time was the need to organize politically as a class to carry on the struggle in the political arena.

This was also, of course, a key question for the capitalists who, under Roosevelt, attempted to adjust and reform the institutions of rule in order to absorb the discontent and upsurge into the traditional political forms.

In 1936, the leaders of the CIO, backed up by the leaders of the Communist Party and many in the Socialist Party, supported Roosevelt. They urged support for the Democratic Party and established for the first time the Black-labor-liberal Democratic Party electoral coalition.

But these reformists and labor bureaucrats, at least at first, could not campaign directly for the Democrats because opposition to this capitalist party was very deep among working people. (The second national convention of the United Auto Workers in May 1936, for example,



Oscar Cantarero

Nicaraguan woman and child. Mondale would have quarantined Nicaragua.

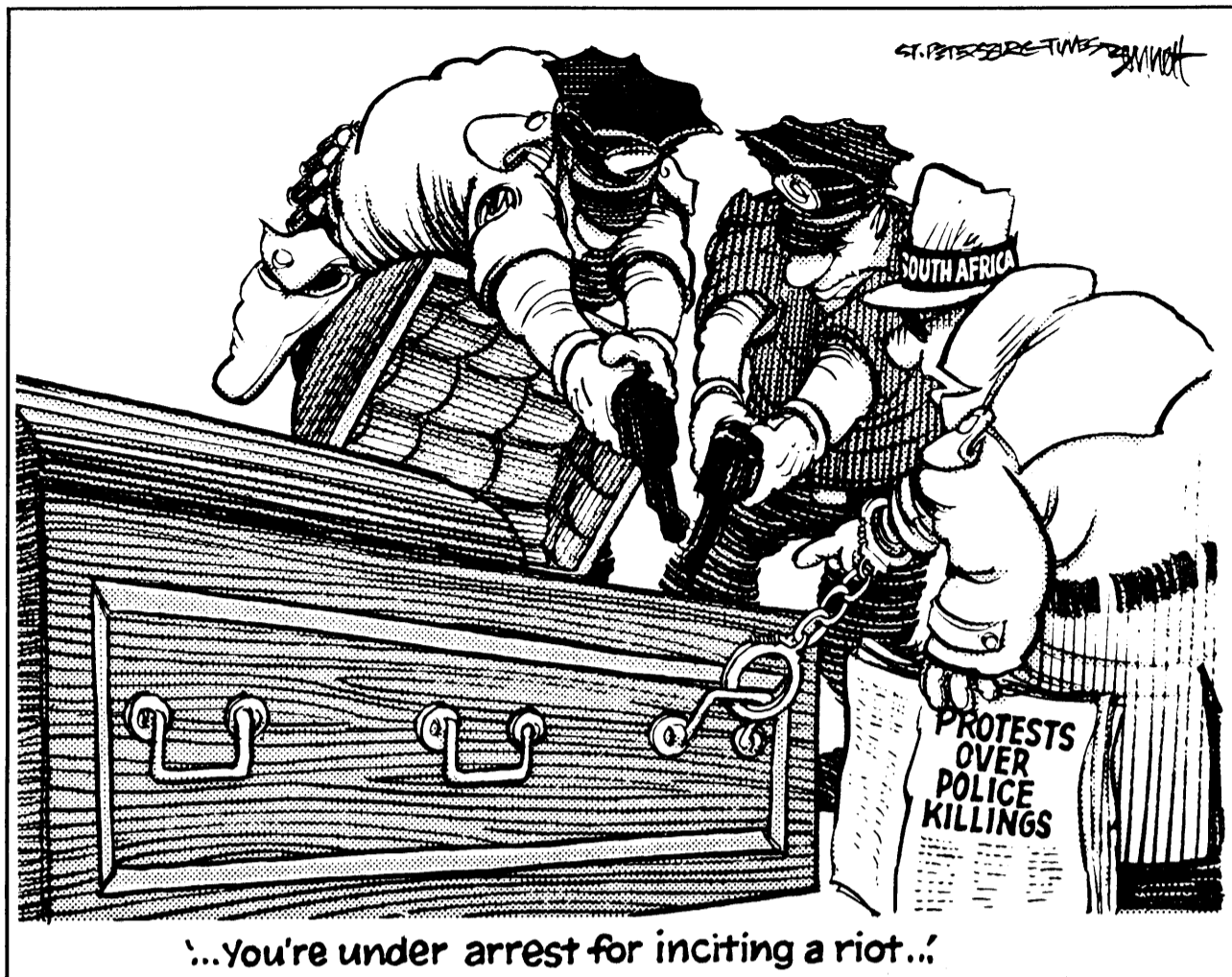
voted unanimously to form a labor party.) Instead the labor officialdom set up the Labor Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party, which, while seemingly "independent," turned around and called for a vote for Roosevelt.

There have been many other examples of so-called "independent" reform movements. These include the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace in 1948, the Peace and Freedom Party of the 1960s, and others. All were obstacles in the path of promoting a real break with the twin capitalist parties. It is no surprise that a recent editorial in *The Guardian* hails the National Rainbow Coalition as "offering the broadest political possibilities in the U.S. since Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party."

Since its formation, *Socialist Action* has actively participated in many broad and united action coalitions against U.S. foreign and domestic policies. We will continue to work with all in building mass actions like the anti-intervention demonstrations projected for the spring of 1987 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

But in our view unity—whether in demonstrations in the streets or in the electoral arena—can only be based on political independence from the parties of capitalism. That is why we must warn against efforts to work inside and reform the Democratic Party. This is essential in order to prepare the future working-class break with capitalist politics.—THE EDITOR

Capitalists glean profits from S. African terror



By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

More than 2100 people have been killed in political violence during the last two years in South Africa. The current rebellion began in September 1984, when Black residents refused to pay increased rent and service charges that had been imposed by township authorities.

During recent months, the rent strike has gathered new momentum, spreading to hundreds of thousands of households in over 50 Black communities around the country.

On Aug. 26, residents erected barricades in the streets of Soweto to obstruct the attempts of police to evict people who were in arrears in their rent. At least 50 people, by unofficial count, died in the police attack that followed.

On Sept. 4, a funeral for several victims of the Soweto massacre was attended by some 8000 people—until they were driven away by a police tear-gas attack.

On the same day, tens of thousands of Soweto workers participated in the largest work-stoppage in the area since the rebellion of 1976.

In mid-August, Black students in many parts of South Africa relaunched a boycott of the schools. The students are trying to counter government attempts to reregister students in order to weed out potential political activists. They are also protesting the presence of government security forces around the schools.

These mass protests—including Black students, township residents, and workers—have taken place in the face of unprecedented repression. The great majority of Black South Africans have stopped looking to the government for a way out of their oppression. And an increasing number are looking beyond—to the construction of a new social and economic system.

Neville Alexander, a leader of the National Forum in South Africa, put it this way in a recent article: Speaking about a growing trend, he said, "The liberation movement has switched from what was essentially a liberal capitalist discourse to what has become a democratic socialist discourse."

A "developed country?"

Capitalism has ravaged South Africa. But this fact might not be readily grasped. Statisticians for both the United Nations and the U.S. government separate South Africa out from every other country in Africa: It is the only one that they put in the category of "developed countries."

First of all, these researchers point out, South Africa produces one-half the electricity and six times the steel of all the other countries on the African continent put together. Some 42 percent of the economy is in industry (including mining). South Africa produces about 80 percent of its own necessary industrial capital—machines, steel, chemicals, locomotives, etc.

They also point out that South Africa has a relatively high average standard of living compared to the rest of Africa. The average standard of living is high in South Africa, of course, because white people there live well.

They have one of the highest standards of living in the entire world.

But there is another side to this equation. South Africa is *unevenly* developed—displaying in some sectors a poverty and misery equal to the most underdeveloped countries in the world.

The method by which wealth in South Africa has been concentrated in the hands of a few is precisely by despoiling a large part of the land and its people. African Blacks were driven from the land, their cattle slaughtered, and their handicraft industry destroyed.

This process gathered force during the 19th century to provide labor principally for the mines. After the Second World War, the South African mine owners increased their investment in manufacturing—which they still largely control compared to the British, American, and other foreign capitalists.

High profits and low wages

The South African capitalist class was able to reap unusually high profits in part because of the sheer abundance of mineral wealth in the country and the high market price of its products—especially diamonds and gold. But the capitalists have likewise prospered through the success of the government-sponsored apartheid policy, which keeps wages low.

A report on the earnings of one company several years ago found that if the wages of its Black employees were raised even to the level of the Poverty Datum Line—the barest minimum considered necessary for survival in South Africa—the capitalists' after-tax profits would fall 8 percent. If Black wages were raised to what the researchers considered a "more humane" poverty level, the company's profits would fall almost 22 percent!

How are capitalists in South Africa able to keep wages so low? Apartheid has three major techniques for the purpose:

- 1) Police terror and anti-labor legislation—to limit strikes and union organizing, etc.
- 2) Job segregation—Blacks have been prohibited from entering certain job categories by means of outright restrictions (the color bar), by restrictions on the right to travel and housing, and by educational handicaps.
- 3) A reserve army of labor maintained by means of the so-called Bantustans—which are considered "homelands" for the country's African Blacks, whether they were born there or not.

Under the system, Black workers considered resident in a "homeland" are permitted to work in white South Africa as "migrant workers," usually for a year. By 1976, almost three-fourths of the income of people in the "homelands" consisted of wages paid to migrant and commuter workers.

Meanwhile unemployment in the "homelands" ranges from 50 percent to as high as 80 percent, according to some accounts. Surveys have shown that in the Transkei, for example, 60 percent to 70 percent of the children die from malnutrition before they are 10 years old.

The system of "homelands" thus offers South Africa's

industries a labor force that is desperate for work—regardless of the low wages. When workers go on strike in the mines, for example, it is common practice to simply fire them and bring in a new group of workers from the "homelands" to take their jobs.

Economic problems increase

In times not too long ago, this situation made the capitalists—domestic and foreign variety—very happy. U.S. investors, for example, found their highest profit rate in the world in South Africa. They received twice their average rate of return for the rest of the world.

But then problems set in for the capitalist class—union organizing, strikes, and political "turmoil." Their profits were also affected by low industrial productivity due to the lack of skilled workers under apartheid.

And in recent years, another problem has become evident. The restrictions that apartheid places upon the power of Black people to earn money also limits their power to consume. In other words, industry cannot find enough buyers for its products inside South Africa.

For example, the *Financial Mail* newspaper estimates that auto companies can sell only 40 cars to every 1000 Black consumers. The automobile industry, centered in the Eastern Cape region, is currently running at only 40 percent of capacity.

It is no wonder that many of the heads of South African industry have endorsed more "liberal" policies that they believe could mitigate the excesses of apartheid while leaving the private-profit system intact. They have tried to foster the growth of a "middle-class" layer among Blacks, a relatively privileged grouping that would acquiesce to their plans for "reforms" and limited "power-sharing."

So far, however, the "liberal" capitalists have been largely thwarted. Most Black small-business people and other middle-class layers have been impressed by the power displayed by the working-class-led liberation movement and tend to side with it.

Independent Black unions

The major working-class organization in the country is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), a federation of unions claiming over 650,000 members. One tenet that COSATU holds to, according to General Secretary Jay Naidoo, is that workers must *lead* the fight for a new society while maintaining their class independence within the political fight.

Trade-union activists in South Africa have discussed the project of building a workers' political party. Such a party could gather strength by expanding outside the organizational framework of the trade unions to include community groups, women's committees, student groups, and unemployed organizations.

Although Naidoo stresses, "We do not see COSATU as a political party," the federation carries out many of the functions of a party. COSATU organizers, for example, are helping to set up some of the street committees directing the struggles in the townships.

At present, the project of building a workers' party has been put aside in order to concentrate on reinforcing the structure of the trade-union movement itself. And of course, the problems of organizing a party have been magnified under the state-of-emergency repression. But a workers' party is a logical and necessary outcome of COSATU's work.

A revolutionary leadership

In its founding resolutions, COSATU demanded that the corporations open their books for inspection by the workers in order to "strengthen the case for worker control and management of production." Demands of this sort are logical to workers in South Africa today and directed straight against the system of private profit.

Ultimately, working people in South Africa will find that their oppression can only be ended when the workers and the rural poor have taken power into their own hands. Half-way measures that aim at sharing power with alleged "progressive" capitalists are doomed to failure.

A revolutionary leadership must be built in South Africa, which can offer clear explanations of the way forward to the construction of a new society through socialist revolution. That is the project that we in the international Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, have before us. ■

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The following are major excerpts of an interview with Jay Naidoo, who is the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). At the time of this interview (July 3, 1986), Naidoo was in hiding after the imposition of the state of emergency in South Africa.

The interview was first published in the August issue of the *South African Labor Bulletin* (SALB). The entire article is reprinted in the Sept. 15 issue of *International Viewpoint*.

SALB: What has been the effect of the state of emergency on COSATU?

Naidoo: During this emergency, trade unions have come under quite direct attack from the state—our offices have been raided and trade-union personnel harassed.

The major impact is that in the initial period our communications were disrupted, and structures were not able to operate normally—meetings were either disrupted or banned outright. In the Western Cape our publications have been banned, and on the highveld our meetings banned.

In local areas, facilities for shop stewards have been denied to us. Scores of key leaders involved in sensitive negotiations have been forced into hiding. These were the practical effects in the first period.

Consequently a systematic program of action was drafted to achieve the demands that we set out. We called for an end to all harassment of workers, shop stewards, and officials; an end to repression; and a move toward democratic solutions to the problems of our country.

We also made demands that related specifically to our continued operation on the shop floor. [These included paid time-off for shop stewards on union business, guaranteed jobs and pay for detainees, and the right to hold union meetings on company property on company time. The demands were largely conceded by the major employers' federations—SALB.]

After the first spate of detentions there was a spontaneous reaction with thousands of workers coming out on strike, especially in the retail sector. But what began to emerge very rapidly was a more coordinated response to the attack on us.

Because of our depth of organization and the way it has developed there is an intense loyalty to our organization and its leadership. Our structures are very deeply grounded on the shop floor, and what is growing is an intense pressure from the grassroots to respond to the attack on us.

SALB: What has been the response of employers to the emergency?

Naidoo: Clearly there are different responses, but substantial numbers have distanced themselves from the state of emergency while others have come out in support of it.

As workers see it, and for clear historical reasons and experiences, the employers share joint responsibility for the attack being made on us, and for us there is no evidence that they have brought substantial pressure on the state to end the emergency.

Some employer organizations have openly welcomed the state of emergency and say that it has restored economic stability to the country. Our response is that it would be naive for employers to believe that the state of emergency has crushed or pacified the workers' movement. It has in fact strengthened our commitment to end the system of economic exploitation and apartheid.

We welcome the attitude of certain employers, but statements of disassociation do not really resolve the attack on trade unions. The employers have conceded us facilities, while many employers are using the state of emergency to attack us and regain ground that they have lost.

We are saying that this will not go unchallenged, and that we will not forget those employers who are using the present phase of repression to attack us.

SALB: What is your response to the claim that unionists have been detained for their political involvement rather than for trade-union work?

Naidoo: In response to Le Grange's [Minister of Law and Order] statement that no trade unionist has been detained for trade-union activities, we believe that the attack on the labor movement is a political attack, and our response, of necessity, has to be a political response.

General secretary of S. African union federation:

'Workers are fighting for the democratic rights of all'



The launching of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in the Western Cape in March 1986. Despite state of emergency, trade unions are in the forefront of the fight against apartheid.

In the South African situation it is impossible to separate the struggle for workers' rights on the factory floor from the broader struggle for political freedom. Worker leaders on the factory floor have a democratic right to represent and lead workers in the townships where they live.

The fact that the vast majority of people in South Africa are denied access to the structures of political decision-making would mean that political grievances would be channeled through the only avenues available to them—the trade unions.

Therefore leaders and workers who take up problems that face our communities

—housing, rents and forced removals—see this as a legitimate extension of their activity on the factory floor. If the state attempts to attribute the problems of South Africa to "agitators," then that would make every union member an agitator.

SALB: How does the current state of emergency compare with last year's emergency?

Naidoo: The concrete difference is the level of organization of the labor movement and of the community-based organizations. The labor movement has developed over a decade of bitter and militant struggles. Its organization had, of necessity, to

develop in such a way that would ensure its survival in a repressive system.

The basic principles have been those of workers' control and workers' democracy. That has rooted the labor movement very deeply on the shop floor and ensured that a substantial layer of leadership emerged.

The guiding slogan of our organization is that the union must be on the factory floor and not in the offices. That would mean that the labor movement in South Africa will survive any onslaught made on it.

The political climate is also very different in that there is a very high level of political awareness and confidence.

S. African metalworkers leader:

'Workers are building the street committees'

Moses Mayekiso is the general secretary of the South African Metal Workers' Union (MAWU) and the chairman of the Action Committee in Alexandra, a Black township outside Johannesburg. He was arrested last June under the state of emergency.

The following interview with Mayekiso was given to MAWU's newspaper, the *South African Metal Worker*, before his arrest. The interview subsequently appeared in *Azania Frontline*, the newsletter of the Azania Liberation Support Committee in London.

MAWU: Why was the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) formed?

Mayekiso: People were disorganized in Alexandra and they wanted to be united. There were meetings—little meetings—of residents discussing how to organize Alexandra. At the end of the day, we held meetings street by street trying to hear how people wanted to organize Alexandra. People decided that they should form yard, block, and street committees leading up to the Alexandra Action Committee.

MAWU: Where did the major influence come from for those democratic structures?

Mayekiso: Most of these people were workers, so the structures were based along trade-union lines—accountability, elections

every year, and so on.

MAWU: What is the AAC's function?

Mayekiso: Its function is to coordinate the affairs of the township and to deal with the political and social problems. For example, we have begun to deal with the problem of unemployment. We are planning to have unemployed cooperatives in each and every street, so that everyone who is not working will be doing something for the community.

We are also looking at child-care structures, transport problems, cooperative buying, and a first-aid system. Maybe in each street there will be a person who will learn first aid.

MAWU: What role do the people's courts play in these structures?

Mayekiso: There are little courts and central courts. Each yard has a committee which deals with its own problems. If that committee cannot solve the problem it is taken to the block committee. If it cannot be solved there it is taken to the street committee and then to the Action Committee.

All these committees are acting as courts. People at the central court are delegated to receive complaints and to mediate. We are not really acting in the same manner as the present courts. We would like to get people to come together

and discuss their problems.

MAWU: What are the sentences?

Mayekiso: In Alexandra this is problematic, because how do you sentence a person? We do not believe in corporal punishment, but we have been lucky because people listen to whatever decision is made there. If the person listens, then we don't need to implement any punishment.

We have been discussing punishment for the person that does not listen, but we haven't reached a solution. But the "neck-lace" will never be used because we believe the courts have an educational function. They are there to politicize the offender.

Most crime in the area is caused by the capitalist and apartheid systems, so we tell the offender that he mustn't allow himself to be used by them.

MAWU: Do workers have an important role in the Alexandra Action Committee?

Mayekiso: Alexandra is very different from other townships, as the majority of the people living there are workers. Unlike Soweto, we don't have rich businessmen. Workers are directly involved in the various committees and they bring with them their experience of unions' democratic structures.

We believe that our struggle must be led by the working class, and therefore workers should play a greater role in community organizations. In Alexandra, shop stewards play a leading role in the community by being elected onto block committees and so on. So there are direct links with organized workers.

Also, the Action Committee has sub-committees to organize the unorganized factories, because we believe that unless those factories are organized, our struggle in the townships won't really be successful.

British author studies path of revolution in El Salvador

By DAVE PACKER

The Long War, by James Dunkerley, Verso Publishers, Second Edition, 1985, \$10.95.

"The Long War" is undoubtedly one of the best Marxist accounts of the history and political economy of El Salvador. The new edition of this now classic work (first published in 1982) includes a lengthy postscript, which brings the analysis up to date.

In "The Long War," Dunkerley focuses on the principal strategic problem that

BOOK REVIEW

revolutionaries confront in dependent countries during the epoch of imperialism. "The national liberation movement in El Salvador," he writes, "is similar to all other post-war anti-imperialist mobilizations in that it incubates two revolutions: the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist."

There are no real disagreements between the Salvadoran left and the bourgeois opposition on the priority and the objectives of the national-democratic revolution.

These objectives, Dunkerley tells us, can be summarized in three main points: (1) a solution to the agrarian question through the abolition of pre-capitalist modes of exploitation; (2) national liberation in the unification of the nation and its economic emancipation from foreign domination; and (3) democracy in a secular republic based on democratic freedoms.

Dunkerley explains, however, that considerable differences do exist over the adequacy of these objectives "to develop El Salvador...within the capitalist mode of production." He goes on to state that "the one irrefutable lesson of history is that there do not exist in backward capitalist states the social conditions for the full realization of a bourgeois-democratic program."

This difference—in reality a difference over the class character of the unfolding revolution—does not revolve around the question of armed struggle as such, but rather around which class leads the revolution and problems of class alliances.

Which class shall lead?

The anti-government forces in El Salvador differ over whether the revolution will be bourgeois or proletarian (with the

bourgeois-democratic tasks accomplished "in passing").

According to Dunkerley, the aim of the reformist wing of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), represented by Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, is one of a "strong reforming state capitalism that will take over the bulk of the economic infrastructure and mediate competition between capitalists in an economically and socially more rational manner than has hitherto been obtained."

For these forces within the FDR (together with the Salvadoran Communist Party), the maintenance of an alliance with the liberal bourgeois parties is of strategic rather than tactical importance for the establishment of a distinct capitalist stage of development.

Dunkerley argues that the 1980 Programmatic Platform of the FDR/FMLN [Revolutionary Democratic Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] is a classical radical populist program, a minimum program that, at best, leaves open the class character of the revolution. It is designed to unite the broadest sections of the popular masses in struggle against the regime and its imperialist backers.

Dunkerley explains that since the March 1982 elections in El Salvador, "the policies of the FDR/FMLN underwent significant alteration," and that this shift "also corresponded to a shift in the balance of forces within the popular bloc." It was the reformist wing that benefited from this.

During this period increased attention was given to the possibility of reaching a negotiated settlement with the regime. Dunkerley writes that this "should cause little surprise in itself; such an option was not clearly proscribed by the 1980 Programmatic Platform."

It is, of course, correct and necessary to employ every tactical option in a difficult situation that can give advantage to the popular forces. On the other hand, the approach to these negotiations marked a



Magnum/Susan Meiselas

significant change in policy objectives.

The new program for a Government of Broad Participation (GAP), Dunkerley writes, "suppressed many of the radical objectives of the FDR's Programmatic Platform of 1980 and, for the first time, outlined terms of ceasefire, negotiation, and the establishment of a government that would include but not be dominated by the popular forces. The document guaranteed the survival of the existing regular army under such a regime...This policy came fully to the fore in the La Palma talks."

FPL: The eye of the storm

Throughout 1983, it was becoming clear that the social-democratic current led by Ungo and Zamora had gained political support from the PCS (Communist Party) and forces in the FPL (Popular Liberation Forces, a left-wing split from the PCS which based itself on the Prolonged Popular War strategy). The FPL became the eye of the storm.

... State terrorism

(continued from page 1)

government has also spent more than \$600 million to prop up the hated military-civilian government in El Salvador. "After this [U.S.] assistance," states the Sept. 14 *New York Times*, "the Salvadoran military

is larger, better-armed, and more politically savvy than ever."

Behind a façade of "democracy," the government of José Napoleón Duarte has been carrying out bombing raids aimed at terrorizing and depopulating the countryside, where the fighters of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Forces (FMLN) have wide popular support. In 1985 alone, the government carried out 1081 air and artillery strikes in the rural areas.

Since Duarte came to office in 1984, over 150 trade unionists have either been murdered, tortured, arrested, or fired. Strikes—like the one in April involving 1500 members of the Union of Telecommunications Workers (ASTTEL)—have been declared illegal and the Salvadoran army brought in to militarize work sites and take over strategic operational positions.

Of the 60,000 Salvadoran civilians murdered in the last six years by government security forces and the death squads aligned with them, not a single Salvadoran military officer or soldier has been brought to trial.

The policy of the U.S. government is a policy of state terror against the working people of Central America.

At home, the attacks on working people have also escalated. Poverty, unemployment, union-busting, cutbacks in social programs, and homelessness are on the rise. Money that could be spent to meet human needs is being used to finance the U.S. government's dirty wars.

On Oct. 25, tens of thousands of people will be marching in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Los

Dunkerley writes, "For the outside world this crisis, hitherto unknown or only vaguely perceived, came to a head in April 1983 with the murder of the organization's second-in-command, "Ana Maria" (Melida Anaya Montes), and the suicide of its commander "Marcial" (Salvador Cayetano Carpio)."

Dunkerley makes a qualified and guarded attempt to disentangle these tragic deaths. He situates these events in the political context of the time, in particular the revision of the 1980 Programmatic Platform.

Dunkerley quotes approvingly from an article written by revolutionary journalist Adolfo Gilly in the Mexican periodical *Nexos*, which describes the FDR/FMLN's proposal for a Government of Broad Participation in the following terms:

"A program of a revolutionary and democratic government, of radical reforms and the transition to socialism has been substituted by a program of class collaboration over a long period, of moderate reforms that do not exceed the proposals of the christian democracy and of the reformist military junta of 1979 or indeed the limits of the bourgeois republic."

Least surprising, perhaps, is the role of the PCS in the change in policy. Dunkerley writes:

"The party [the PCS] had not ditched its popular-front policies in the spring of 1980 but had simply been obliged to reformulate them within the strategy of armed struggle.

"[Its] contacts with Cuba and the Soviet Union as well as its historic ties through the UDN [National Democratic Unity] to the social democrats and Christian-democratic dissidents gave it a unique position within the popular bloc. Radicalized in terms of methods, it had not significantly altered its long-term strategy."

Dunkerley's book makes an important contribution to the on-going discussion about the character of the Salvadoran revolution. It is essential reading for all those interested in the struggles of the Central American workers and peasants. ■

This is an edited and abridged version of a review that first appeared in the November/December 1985 issue of International, a magazine published by supporters of the Fourth International in Great Britain.

Angeles and other U.S. cities in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and to U.S. support to apartheid in South Africa. They will be marching for peace, jobs, and justice.

Oct. 25 will be an opportunity to show the warmakers in both the Democratic and Republican parties that sentiment in this country is widespread against the government's policies of war and austerity.

Oct. 25, moreover, will be a time to lay the groundwork for massive nationally coordinated anti-intervention demonstrations in the spring of 1987 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

Big opportunities exist to broaden out beyond the traditional peace and solidarity organizations and to involve the trade unions, churches, and student organizations in a powerful movement in the streets against the U.S. war in Central America. This is the task ahead in the coming weeks and months.—The Editors

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Black socialists were targets of FBI disruption program

By KWAME M. A. SOMBURU

The recent court victory won by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against the FBI awakened many memories in me about political activities that I took part in during the 1960s and '70s.

That was a period of mass radicalization in the United States. Millions of Black Americans were involved in and affected by the civil-rights, Black Power, Black-nationalist, and antiwar movements—and by national-liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere.

The SWP's involvement in those movements was exemplary during that period. Its successful activity flowed from its correct application of the analytical and programmatic tools of Marxism to U.S. conditions. I was one of a number of Black people who were attracted to the socialist movement at that time.

A major portion of the government's cloak-and-dagger operation was aimed directly against the spreading of socialist ideas to Afro-Americans. This was revealed in the 300-page trial decision by Federal District Judge Thomas Griesa. The decision states that "one objective of the FBI was to foment racial strife within the SWP."

I was a member of the SWP for 18 years (for 14 years under my former name of Paul Boutelle), until 1983. Because I was one of the party's most active Black members for a number of years, I was among those selected for special harassment. My case is described in detail in Judge Griesa's decision.

The FBI unsuccessfully attempted to utilize constructive criticism regarding racial attitudes that I had made at an SWP national convention, plus a legal charge against me (of which I was subsequently found not guilty), to accomplish its nefarious tasks.

The informants also reported to the FBI that I expressed statements that the SWP used me because of my color. My anger was not against the SWP or the revolutionary movement, but against the tactics employed by people—who we now know were FBI agents—who were trying to get me out of the SWP and the revolutionary movement.

The FBI sent me two anonymous racist letters, allegedly written by SWP members. This tactic was devised, the brief revealed, "in order to increase the friction" that it mistakenly believed was developing

between me and the SWP. The informers reported that the first letter made me "visibly angry" and that the second gave me a hostile appearance and caused me to miss some meetings.

As one of the FBI's targets, I am elated over the

SWP's victory. It is a gain for all those who are involved in struggle against the American capitalist ruling class and its government agencies.

It is a relatively small victory, however, when weighed against the tasks yet to be accomplished. The spying and disruptive tactics will not cease. The government is determined to stop socialist ideas from acquiring influence in the struggles of Blacks, workers, and other victims of the system.

Despite the threat of government harassment, Socialist Action will continue to maintain in its activities the revolutionary goals, traditions, and principles on which the Socialist Workers Party was founded—and which the SWP lived up to for most of its existence. ■

New study condemns rise in unnecessary Caesarean births

By SUZANNE FORSYTH

In 1984, 21.1 percent of births in the United States were delivered by Caesarean section. This represents a 400-percent increase since 1968, when figures were first compiled. And the figures are continuing to increase by 1 percent a year, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. In some teaching hospitals, numbers as high as 25 percent to 40 percent have been reported some months.

A new study by two Chicago obstetricians recently reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, claims that the number of C-sections could be halved. In the Netherlands, where the infant-mortality rate is the lowest in the world, C-sections account for only 2 percent of all births. Two percent to 4 percent is the accepted estimate for the average number of *medically necessary* Caesareans.

A Caesarean presents an added risk to the mother's life because it is major abdominal surgery and requires the use of anesthesia. C-sections increase the mother's risk of death four fold, and postoperative infections by 33 percent. The amount of anesthesia required for surgery may cause respiratory distress, delayed motor development, and neurological defects in the newborn.

Fetal heart monitors are now used routinely in most hospitals although they offer no advantage during a normal delivery (the monitors are essential during high-risk deliveries) and even introduce their own added risks. Dr. Kenneth J. Leveno of the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School studied 34,995 pregnant

women in a Dallas hospital and found the unnecessary monitors led to a higher incidence of Caesareans—but not healthier babies.

Caesarean sections represent greater profits for hospitals and physicians, with the average cost being \$4130, or 50 percent higher than a normal vaginal delivery. Hospitals and doctors gain the opportunity to use procedures, personnel, and equipment which wouldn't normally be covered by the patient's insurance.

Another motivation for unnecessary Caesareans is that they allow doctors complete control over births—deliveries can be done at the doctor's convenience. Dr. Stephen A. Myers, a co-author of the Chicago study, commented, "The bottom line, I think, is that a Caesarean is often much easier for an obstetrician. They don't have to stay up all night waiting."

Clearly, the problem of unnecessary Caesareans is a political question as well as a medical dilemma. The question is whether people in general—and women in particular—have the right to decent medical care and to make informed decisions about their health.

The women's movement has helped to raise many questions about routine medical practices that have discriminated against and hurt women. But too often the feminist movement has offered only individualistic solutions—such as home births or midwifery.

What is really needed is an entire medical system that is community controlled and centered around people's needs—not doctors or profits; a system where people are offered free or low-cost care with the maximum choice to make informed decisions regarding their health. ■

Our readers speak out

Khrushchev

Dear editor,

The article by Joseph Hansen on the Moscow Trials in the September issue of *Socialist Action* was very appropriate.

However, the introduction should have been updated to include the Khrushchev revelations in 1956. It was then admitted that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups. Many of the victims of these "trials" were exonerated.

Unfortunately to this day Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, has not been exonerated. To this day Trotsky does not even exist in the Soviet Union.

The hope for a better future in the Soviet Union still exists. The confirmation of this was best expressed by the Solidarity movement in Poland and will be expressed by the Solidarity

movements to come in all of the bureaucratized workers' states, including the Soviet Union.

Roland Sheppard,
Mill Valley, Calif.

Gets around

Dear editor,

I thought that *Socialist Action* readers might be interested in the following incident. Like many school teachers, I take university classes during the summer. This summer I took a history class in which we read George Orwell's wonderful "Homage to Catalonia."

I drew the professor's attention to the interview with Harry Milton, the American Trotskyist who fought in the Spanish Civil War, in the July *Socialist Action*.

The professor was so taken with the interview that he read it

aloud to the entire class, and xeroxed the complete Spanish Revolution commemoration supplement. He credited *Socialist Action* for the interview. *Socialist Action* gets around!

Adam Shiels,
Chicago, Ill.

A correction

Dear editor,

In my article in the September issue of *Socialist Action* ("Protest targets unsafe Fernald uranium plant"), I refer to the plant as being under the control of the Defense Department. Technically, while it is admittedly producing uranium products for weaponry, it is under the control of the Department of Energy. I apologize for the mistake.

Doris Marks,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Naomi Berman: A fighter in defense of Marxism

Naomi M. Berman, a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and a leader and activist in the women's and union movements, died on Sept. 16 after a seven-year struggle with cancer. She was 64 years old.

At the age of 16, Naomi joined the labor-Zionist youth movement. In 1940 she broke with Zionism, and five years later she joined the SWP.

Naomi worked for the best part of her life as an office worker. From 1947 to 1950, she worked in the electronics industry at RCA and was active in a campaign to organize professional workers.

In 1960 Naomi worked in the reading clinic of the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education. She was instrumental in the struggle for a women's center on the campus.

In 1974 Naomi joined the National Organization for Women and became very active in its Philadelphia chapters. She was particularly outspoken for her views in support of a mass-action perspective and a policy of independent political action for NOW.

In 1978 Naomi was selected by the SWP to become Pennsylvania state candidate for lieutenant governor on the ticket with Mark Zola. She was a leading party spokesperson and Trotskyist educator.

Naomi never hesitated to express her honest opinion. Her criticisms were always presented in a constructive manner. But she was not unprincipled or a compromiser of principles.

When she began to see the leadership of the SWP revise its programmatic principles and democratic traditions without the opportunity to have a democratic convention for discussion, she expressed her concern and slowly began to be ignored and isolated in the political life of the branch.

On Jan. 3, 1983, she was confronted by a loyalty-type oath which she refused to sign on principle, and was expelled from the SWP.

Naomi never lost her socialist vision. After her expulsion from the SWP, she joined the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, through which she pursued the struggle to reverse the SWP's undemocratic expulsions and to overcome the programmatic and ideological revisionism that, like a cancer, had grown in the SWP.

Naomi Berman died a fighter, a revolutionist, and a materialist. She expressed the best of the humanist tradition in her concern for others.

A memorial meeting will be held for Naomi in October. For more information on time and place call (215) 877-2606. Contributions to her memory may be made to MADRE, 853 Broadway, Rm. 301, New York, N.Y. 10003.—HASKELL BERMAN

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Deportation drive expanded as courts OK factory raids

By HAYDEN PERRY

After an orgy of self-adulation during the Statue of Liberty festivities last summer, the U.S. government returned to its program of tightening up the immigration statutes to conform more closely to the present needs of the capitalist class.

Although the Simpson-Rodino bill failed to pass the House of Representatives on Sept. 25, the government is still pressing hard to obtain a comprehensive "immigration reform" bill.

But to do this the government must be able to come up with a bill that is acceptable to all the conflicting ruling-class interests. So far, this has not been possible.

Corporate farmers, for example, want a "guest worker" or "bracero" program to supply them with temporary labor at harvest time. Restaurants, hotels, and the garment industry prefer to recruit undocumented workers, who are believed to have absolutely no legal rights and will work for sub-minimum wages, limited benefits, and substandard working conditions.

Racists and others want all immigration of non-white people stopped. The U.S. government is caught between those who mistakenly view undocumented workers as taking jobs from U.S. workers and employers who rely heavily on undocumented immigrants as their labor pool.

But virtually every recent study of the immigration issue—from the Rand Corporation's study of Mexican immigration to the recent report by Beryl Sprinkel, President Reagan's chief economic adviser—has concluded that immigration creates jobs.

Moreover, the widespread belief that immigrants receive more in public services than they pay in taxes is not supported by the facts. "The average immigrant family pays more in taxes and receives less than the average native family," said Julian Simon, demographer at the University of Maryland.

War on the Mexican border

The United States is unique among major industrial nations in sharing a 2000-mile border with an impoverished country. Mexico's standard of living has been exacerbated to the point of desperation by U.S. and world bankers, who are squeezing billions of dollars in interest out of the Mexican economy. Every turn of the screw by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) increases austerity in Mexico, closes more factories, and sends more workers fleeing north.

In addition, there are tens of thousands of refugees from Guatemala, El Salvador, and other Central American countries traveling across the border by way of Mexico. They are fleeing the right-wing death squads imposed by the U.S. government with U.S. taxpayers' money.

As a result, a virtual war is being waged to repel "invaders" from south of the border. Armed patrols, helicopters, heat-seeking radarscopes, and Vietnam-type body sensors planted along the border confront the undocumented immigrants on their journey.

Besides these hazards, the foreign workers may be stuffed in the trunk of a car, dumped in the middle of the desert, waylaid and robbed by bandits, and arrested, beaten, and thrown back across the border by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Despite these setbacks, the desperate Mexican worker or Central American refugee will try to reach a U.S. city at any cost. They are welcomed by employers who

ignore the minimum wage, social security taxes, and union contracts.

The system has been so profitable in the Los Angeles area that employers will turn down applicants who can demonstrate a legal right to be in the country. The restaurant, hotel, and garment industries

has a Spanish accent or an Hispanic appearance. Thus, Simpson-Rodino puts the jobs of all Latino workers in this country at risk, even those who are U.S. citizens.

Three hundred and fifty thousand temporary farm workers could be brought

increase" in immigration operations in the next few years.

A federal judge has given the INS the green light to conduct lightning raids on work places to round up workers who have no papers, and bus them directly to the border.

After the three years are up, only those workers who have been in the United States continuously since Jan. 1, 1980, (1982 in the Rodino version) will be eligible to apply for legal status as residents. To qualify the applicant must prove he or she never left the country even for a brief visit, never received public welfare, and can meet about 33 other requirements for immigrant status.

It is estimated that as few as 10 percent of the undocumented will gain legal status under this bill.

Meanwhile, many who come forward as candidates for legalization could be summarily deported. Those who finally qualified as legal residents could not claim any federal welfare benefits for a further six years. For workers who toil in the sub-basement of the economy, this could be a sentence of starvation.

Some liberals are calling for support to the bill because a clause gives some Haitian immigrants legal status. However, a separate bill (H.R. 23) that includes these same provisions has been introduced. It is not necessary to support the Simpson-Rodino bill in order to gain justice for Haitian refugees.

Political refugees excluded

No provision is made in Simpson-Rodino for the Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and others who have fled from death squads in their countries. The INS insists they are only refugees from a poor economy.

At hasty hearings, often held at isolated detention camps where the refugees have no legal aid, immigration officials summarily deport them. This often results in persecution or death upon their arrival in their home country. Rarely are the refugees informed of their right to appeal.

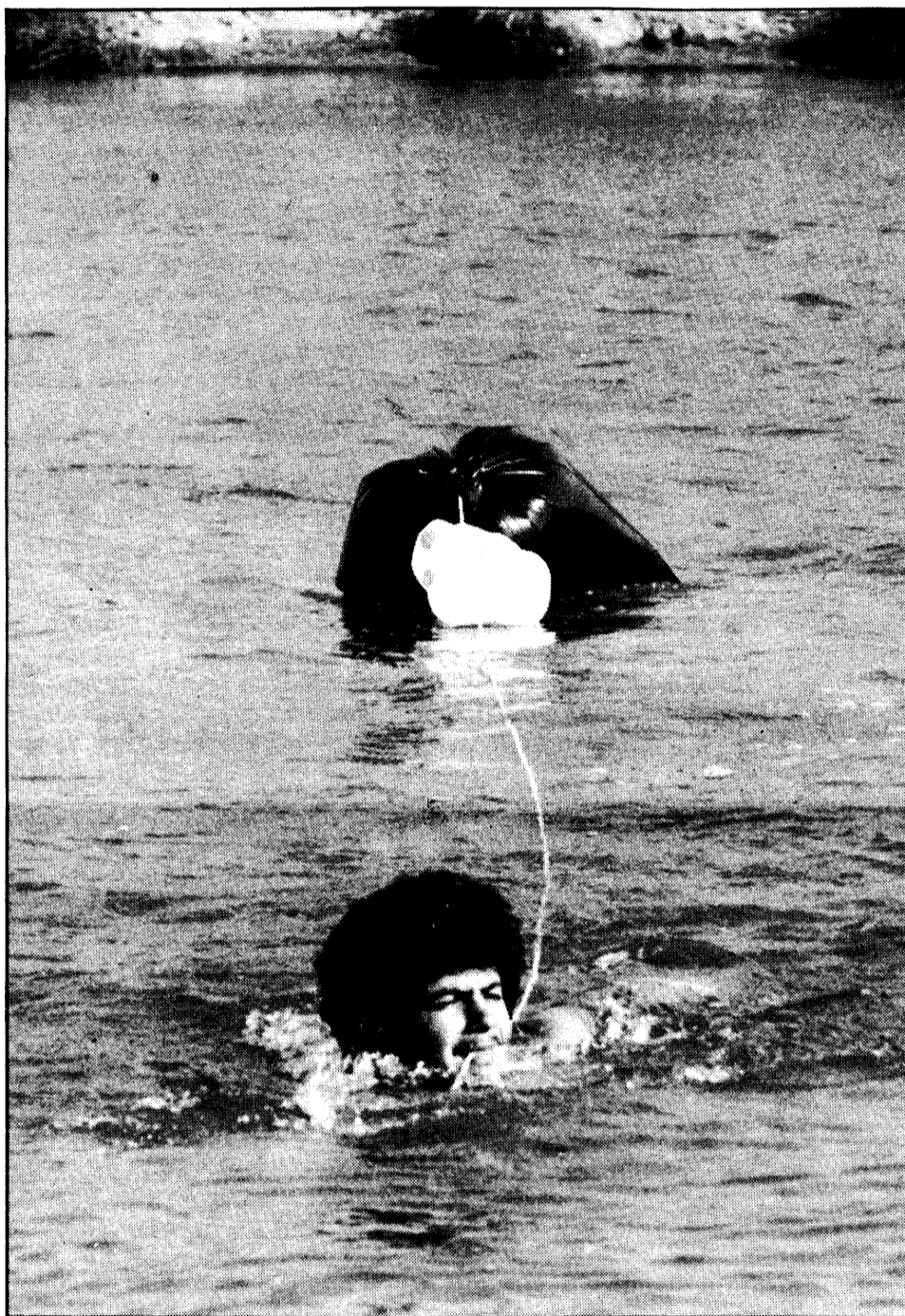
Another bill before Congress, the Moakley-Deconcini Bill would grant the status of "extended voluntary departure" to refugees from political persecution. This would give them the right to stay here until it is safe to go home.

But it will ultimately only be safe for them to return home when the U.S. government ends its war of aggression on the workers and peasants of Central America—when it ends its dirty war against Nicaragua and ends all U.S. military and economic aid to the Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Honduran governments.

Mexican workers, too, should not have to risk their lives to seek a job in the United States. After the United States ripped off a third of their country in 1848, Mexicans retained the right to travel in and out of communities on both sides of the border. Their right to cross the border was only questioned when unemployment rose here during the Depression of the 1930s.

But unemployment can be eliminated in the United States. The U.S. labor movement should demand a shorter workweek with no loss of pay to give a job to every person in this country. In addition, millions of new jobs can be created to construct and staff the hospitals, schools, and housing facilities that the United States desperately needs.

Most Mexican workers, of course, would prefer to stay home. That will be possible only when the burden of Mexico's international debt is lifted, when the stranglehold of U.S. imperialism is broken and Mexican workers are masters in their own house. ■



Impact Visuals/Philip Decker

"Because of hunger and poverty, the desperate Mexican worker will try to reach a U.S. city at any cost"

would be crippled if all the immigration laws were enforced.

Simpson and Rodino bills

The intent of the immigration bills in Congress (Simpson in the Senate and Rodino in the House) is to stabilize a system that has been running out of control.

To slow down the flow of immigrants from south of the border, the bill would make it harder for the undocumented workers to get a job. Under Simpson-Rodino, employers who knowingly hire workers without documents would be fined. South Africa has used a similar law against employers who hire Black workers whose passes are not in order.

Of course, an employer could claim he did not know the worker was undocumented and hire him or her anyway. This would put the worker even further at the mercy of the employer. The employer could also play it safe and refuse to hire anyone who

in under this bill. They would be eligible for permanent status only if they remain agricultural workers for five years. This is a revival of the indentured servant laws of colonial days.

Legal barricades

Some liberals are supporting Simpson-Rodino because it makes a provision for eventually legalizing the residence of some undocumented workers. But very few workers will be able to get through the series of legal barricades erected by the bill.

First, no one can apply for legalization until three years after employer sanctions have gone into effect. This will give the INS time to conduct the most intensive deportation drive against all undocumented workers.

In preparation for this drive, the federal government plans to build a detention facility for 300 inmates near San Francisco. An INS official said the facility is needed for what is planned to be a "dramatic

A ^{Socialist} ACTION

SYLVIA WEINSTEIN
FOR BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

What Difference Would A Socialist Supervisor Make?

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

San Francisco is a "Democratic" city. The mayor and most members and candidates for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors are Democrats. The election campaigns are always touted as "independent," but these "independent" Democrats receive huge campaign contributions from the rich of this city. And those who pay the piper call the tune.

San Francisco has been turned into the playground of the rich. Large areas of the city have been given over to tourist attractions and luxury hotels. Housing for the working class and the poor has been torn down to allow for construction of high-priced condominiums and office buildings.

The Western Addition, which used to be primarily a Black neighborhood, looks like it has been stepped on by Godzilla. Redevelopment was supposed to provide new employment opportunities for Blacks. But it provided few jobs and forced most of the residents to leave their community for other areas.

Labor has also felt the whip of our Democratic politicians. Striking workers have been thrown in jail for violating court injunctions that restricted their right to picket. City police are used routinely to herd strikebreakers through picketlines.

I am running for the Board of Supervisors with a different idea in mind—the overwhelming majority of the people of San Francisco, the workers, are the ones who should run the city.

What would that mean?

It would mean that the needs of working people—jobs, housing, education, and public services—would come first. Working people have created tremendous wealth for the employers who run this city. On top of that, workers are disproportionately taxed while many big corporations pay nothing. It's time to return that wealth to the people.

The **Socialist Action** campaign says that working people can and must organize themselves into a politically independent party, a labor party based on the unions, that will represent their interests. My campaign offers San Francisco voters an alternative to voting for the Democrats—and Republicans too. Both of the major parties are responsible for the attacks on working people.

I became a socialist over 40 years ago. I am more convinced than ever of the rightness of socialism. I believe that working people have the potential to build a new society that is in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed.

About the candidate

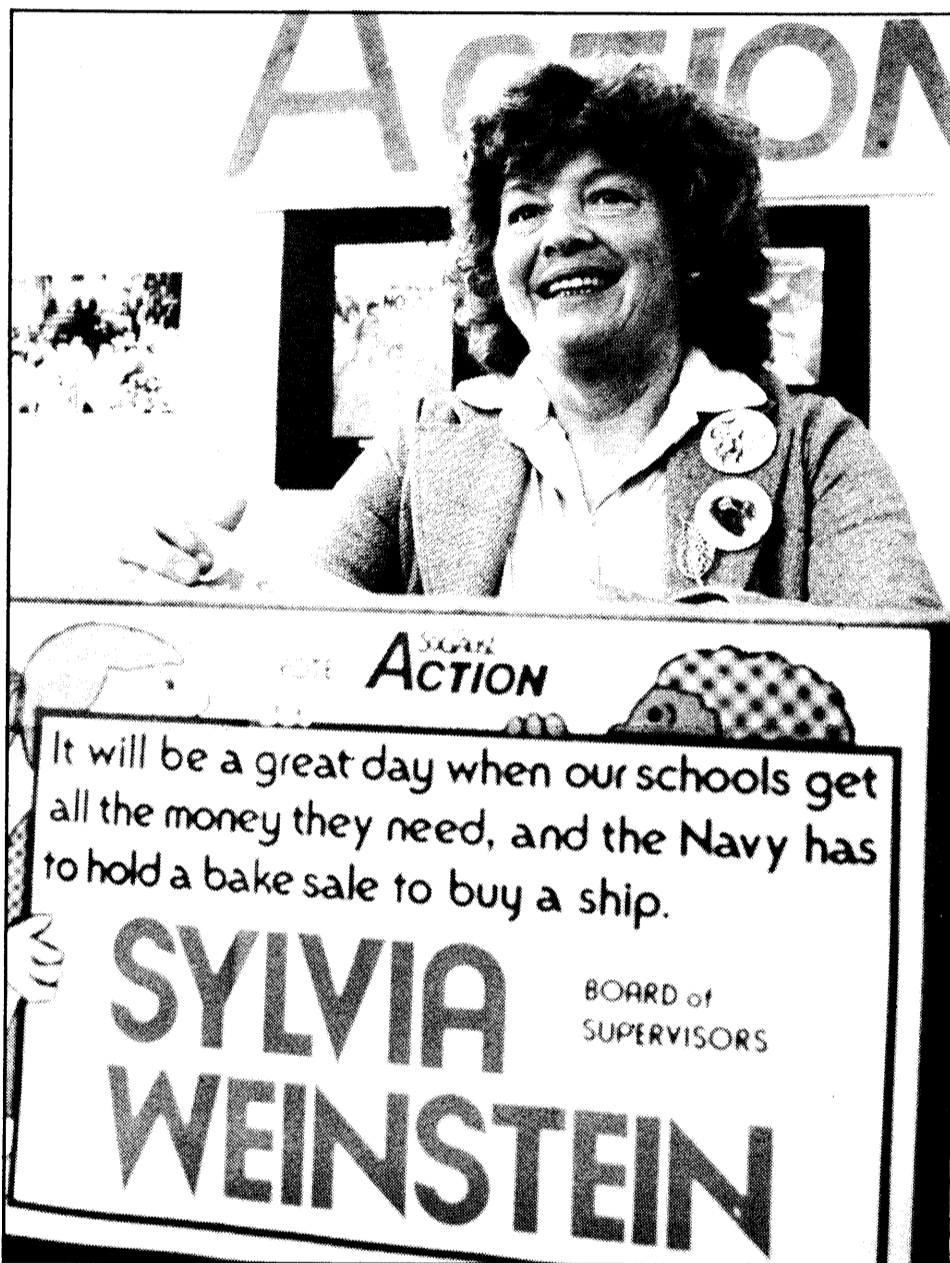
Sylvia Weinstein is a long-time activist in the women's movement and the socialist movement. She has been a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW) since 1973 and served on its Executive Board from 1975 until 1982. She serves on the Reproductive Rights Committee of NOW and was active in building the March for Women's Lives in March of this year.

Weinstein is a leading proponent of expanding public childcare and served on the Childcare Initiative Task Force and the Health and Childcare Committee of the Commission on the Status of Women. She also served on the Children's Center Expansion Committee of the school district, which helped get increased funding for childcare on the heels of the passage of the Childcare Initiative.

Weinstein has organized several solidarity campaigns for workers on strike here and around the world, including Polish Solidarity. She is active in the struggles against U.S. Intervention in Central America and against U.S. ties to apartheid in South Africa.

Sylvia Weinstein is a founding member of **Socialist Action** and a columnist for **Socialist Action** newspaper. She has been a socialist since 1945. She has three grandchildren.

In 1984, Weinstein was a candidate for Supervisor and received over 10,000 votes.



Socialist Action recommendations on State propositions

Proposition 54-New Prison Construction Bonds

•Building new prisons will do nothing to end the inequities that cause crime.
—VOTE NO!

Proposition 61-Public Employee Compensation Cutbacks

•No attacks on wages and benefits of public workers—VOTE NO!

Proposition 63-English As Official State Language

•This is a racist attack on Californians whose first language is not English.
It could impair bilingual services and education.—VOTE NO!

Proposition 64-LaRouche AIDS Quarantine Initiative

•This hysterical legislation does *nothing* to help find a cure for AIDS, a disease which is *not* casually transmitted. In fact, if passed, this legislation will increase the spread of AIDS by keeping people from seeking medical attention for fear of losing their jobs and further victimization.
—VOTE NO!

Human needs before profits

The socialist program

We have a right to expanded city services!

Make MUNI service free. Why should we pay for transportation through our taxes and pay again through high fares? This would also relieve traffic and help clean up air pollution downtown.

For safe work places. Speed up removal of toxins from the city and all its workplaces. No nuclear-powered or armed-ships in San Francisco Bay.

Increase services to the elderly and the disabled. Assure food and housing to the hungry and homeless living on the city's streets. Stop threatening basic services such as libraries.

PG&E has made enough profit from selling us the products of the natural resources that the city owns. Municipalize all the utilities—gas, electricity, telephone. End the regressive and exorbitant sewer tax. Utilities should be run by working people to serve our needs, not for the profit of a few.

Halt all forced drug testing—a violation of the Constitutional right of privacy.



Socialist Action/Joey Ryan



Socialist Action/Joey Ryan

Health care is a right!

Women must be guaranteed the right to exercise their constitutional and human right to abortion without harassment at clinics. No license to operate for phony pregnancy clinics whose purpose is to violate a women's right to choice. Provide women with a *real* choice—full support services for women who want to carry a pregnancy to term. Free abortion on demand to all women who choose it.

Upgrade emergency ambulance service.

Vote no on Proposition 64, the LaRouche Initiative!

The AIDS epidemic will only be ended with massive infusions of government funds for adequate research and a public education campaign geared at prevention. Full health, social, and economic services for all AIDS victims.

A city-wide united effort must be made to halt the growth of incipient fascist movements like that of Lyndon LaRouche.

Education and childcare are rights!

San Francisco classrooms are overcrowded. Closed schools should be reopened and fixed up. Smaller class sizes are necessary for improving education. Hire more teachers to give our children the best

education that can be had.

Thousands of children, whose parents are at work or school, come home to empty, unsupervised homes after school. Infants and toddlers wait on long lists for a place in a good childcare center. Childcare centers, operated by the school district with trained teachers, must be available for all who want them, regardless of income. Every

elementary school should provide quality after-school care and recreation for children of working parents.

The dramatic rise in teen pregnancies must be countered at the schools themselves with on-site clinics to dispense birth control information and devices.

Decent housing is a right!

Strict rent control. Void the vacancy de-control and all other loopholes. Make it city policy that rent cannot exceed 10 percent of the tenant's income.

For a publicly financed program to build more public housing. Low-cost subsidized housing for all who need it.

Working people have the right to live in the city they built. Stop tearing down homes and neighborhoods to provide tax-free highrise monstrosities for the corporations. Stop the process of "urban removal" of Black people from San Francisco.

Upcoming Socialist Action Forums

Aug. 30, 8 p.m. •50 Years of Revolutionary Continuity, 255-9th St., S.F.

Friday night forums this fall, 8 p.m. at 3534 Army St., #308, (between Mission and Valencia), S.F.

September •The English-only Ballot Issue—A Symposium

•The Chinese Revolution

October •The Constitutional Right to Privacy—Abortion, Drug Testing, Gay Rights—A Panel Discussion

•Sylvia Weinstein Campaign Rally

November •Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

•Issues Surrounding Genetic Engineering

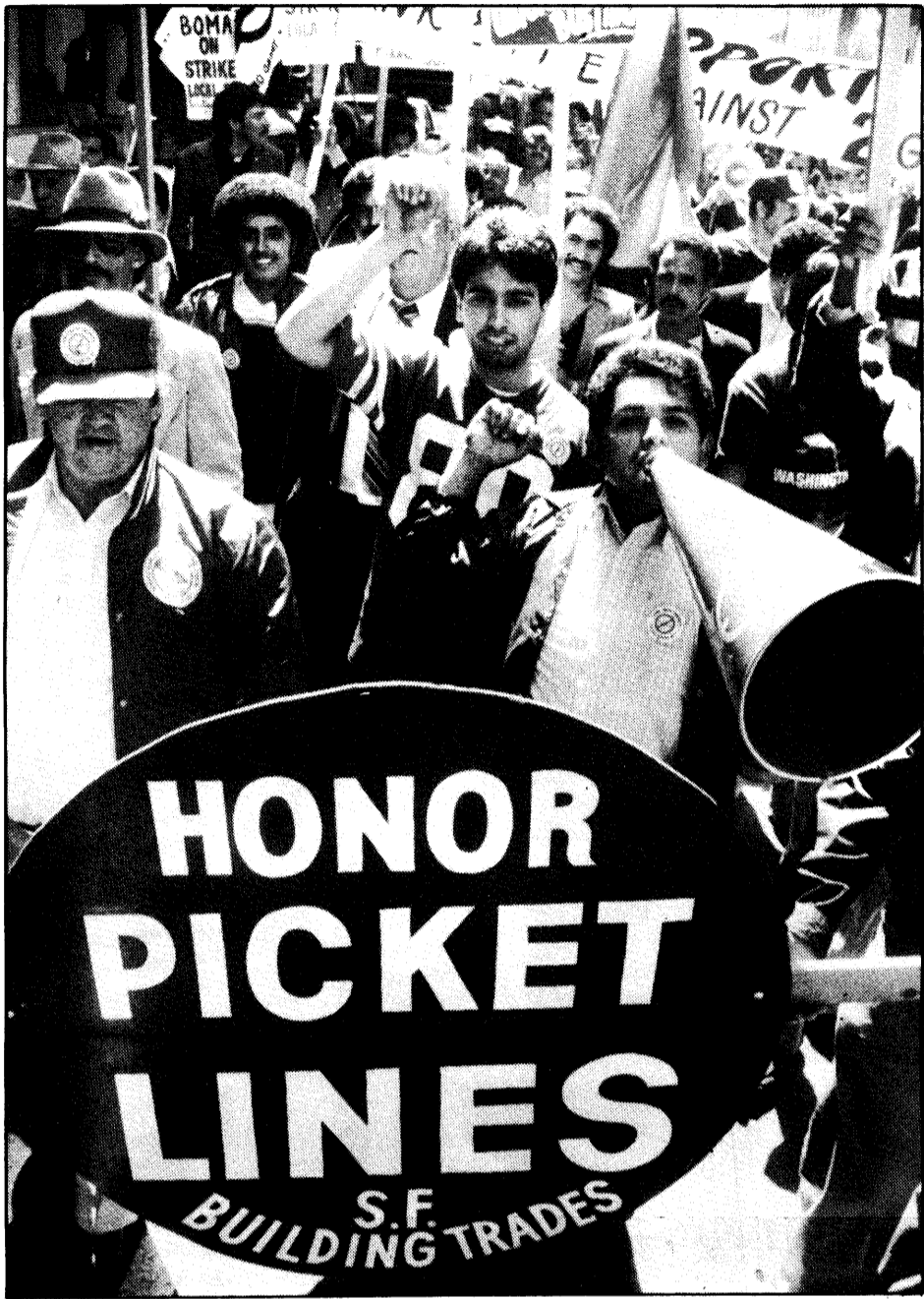
For more information call: 821-0458.

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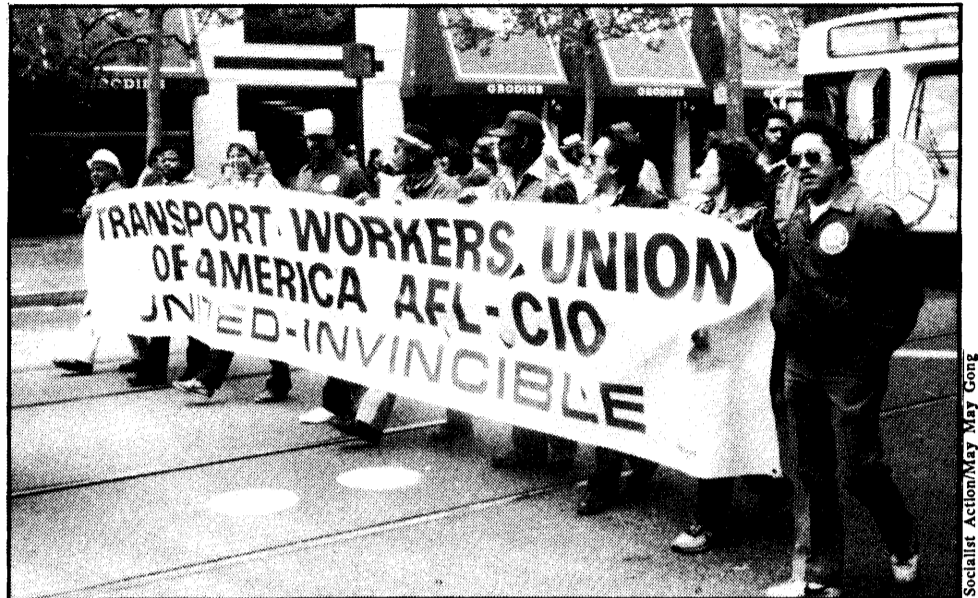
Socialist ACTION

Socialist Action is a monthly newspaper that provides unique coverage and analysis of the women's liberation, anti-intervention, and anti-apartheid movements, and the fightback against concessions. Right now you can receive *Socialist Action* at your home for only \$6 for one year.

... for San Francisco



Socialist Action/Joey Ryan



Socialist Action/May Gong

How can such a program be implemented?

San Francisco is world headquarters for many giant corporations and banks. It is a world center of wealth and power. This wealth should be fairly taxed to pay for the services which are the rights of working people.

Of course San Francisco is part of a country whose giant federal budget is spent on war preparations and a nuclear arsenal capable of eliminating human life and destroying the earth's atmosphere and its ecology. The city should add its official voice to the movements of protest that cry out for Peace, Jobs and Justice, Not War!

The increasing U. S. intervention in Central America, including the hundreds of millions of our tax dollars spent there to arm dictators and the CIA-run war against the government and people of Nicaragua, is against the interests of the American people.

The war budget is only a benefit to the

profiteers who own the companies that produce the military hardware and research. For the rest of us it is a giant impediment to building a prosperous and humane society.

In order to win such a program, working people need to organize a political party of their own. And it must be outside of the two parties of the ruling rich—the Democrats and the Republicans. We need a labor party, based on the strength of working people through their organizations—the labor unions.

It's foolish to fight the boss for better conditions on the job and then turn around and vote for the bosses' political parties to run the government. A workers' political party should and can run the government in the interests of working people.

This is what the campaign of Sylvia Weinstein is all about. Weinstein is a socialist. She is a member of Socialist Action, an organization that campaigns for these ideas and works hard in movements for social change to bring them about. A vote for her is a vote of protest against government by and for the rich and for a government by and for the working people.

Employment is a right!

The fairest solution to unemployment is to divide up the available work with no loss in pay. Make it city policy to cut the workweek to 30 hours with 40 hours pay.

Strict affirmative action programs—with quotas—to end job discrimination against women, Blacks, Latinos, and Asian people. Comparable pay for women workers must be city policy in word and deed.

Job training for youth at union-scale wages.

San Francisco must stay a union town. No building permits for contractors who run "two-gate" jobs (one entrance for union workers, one for non-union).

Stop the union busting practice of "contracting out" of city services to non-union labor. All city work must be done by union labor.

Stop the use of city courts and police to

break strikes or restrict the democratic rights of workers on strike to picket.

Oppose the Gann initiative Proposition 61—and all attacks on public workers.

End discrimination against immigrant and undocumented workers. Vote No! on Proposition 63, the racist "English-only" ballot initiative, which would eliminate the multi-language ballot and harm bilingual education particularly for Latinos and Asians.

Oppose Proposition 54, the California bond issue for new prisons. Prisons are no solution to California's problems. Full employment is.

San Francisco must live up to its claim to being a "sanctuary city." Stop all harassment of foreign-born workers regardless of documentation.

Stop the union busting practice of "contracting out" of city services to non-union labor. All city work must be done by union labor.



Socialist Action/Tina Besock

YES, I WANT TO HELP THE SYLVIA WEINSTEIN CAMPAIGN!



- I can help distribute campaign materials.
- I can arrange a meeting for Sylvia at my school, organization, or home.
- I am interested in attending a class on socialism.
- Put me on Socialist Action's mailing list for upcoming forums and other activities.
- I want to subscribe to *Socialist Action* newspaper.
 - Enclosed is \$6 for a 1-year subscription.
 - Enclosed is \$3 for a 6-month subscription.
- I am enclosing a contribution of \$ _____ to Sylvia's campaign.

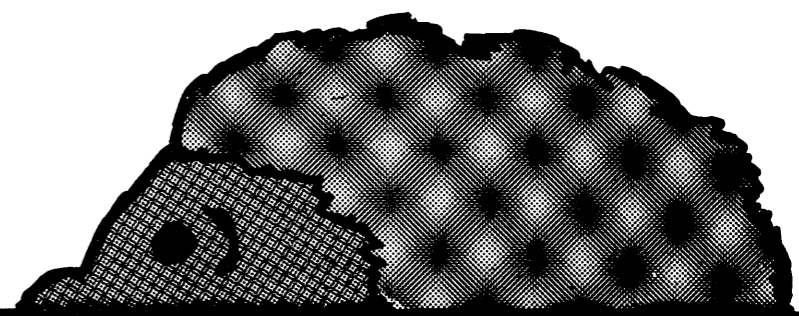
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Please send donations and requests for more information to:
Sylvia Weinstein for Supervisor Committee, Treasurer May May Gong,
 c/o Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., #308, San Francisco, CA 94110,
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BEFORE PROFITS**

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SUPERVISORS**

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