

# A Socialist ACTION

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**Democratic Party convention:**

## Some new actors, same old script

By MARK HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO—There were few surprises, little discussion, and a lot of parties. The Democratic Party National Convention in San Francisco delivered what was promised—a prime-time show starring Walter Mondale and a cast of thousands. With some 13,000 media people and 5,300 delegates and alternates in attendance, the convention preempted the summer TV reruns for a rerun of its own: the quadrennial selection of the latest “lesser evil” alternative to the Republicans.

As Charlotte Saikowski observed in *The Christian Science Monitor* (July 18, 1984), “The nominations, the platform, the rules and credentials reports, have been largely worked out in advance—all calculated to provide a showcase for the party on nationwide television.”

The only real semi-surprise was the nomination of Rep. Geraldine Ferraro from New York as Mondale’s running mate. The Democrats hope Ferraro’s nomination as the first woman vice-presidential candidate of either major party will put some new life into a “brain-dead” campaign, as one journalist described Mondale’s election bid. Ferraro actually stands to the right of Mondale on many issues. She supports tuition tax credits for private schools and prayer in public schools. She opposes court-ordered busing and voted against the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill because of the “amnesty” provision. Ferraro’s nomination amounts to little more than vote-getting symbolism.

### Jackson seeks forgiveness

For many in attendance Jesse Jackson’s highly-charged address was the highlight of the convention. But his speech cut two ways. Jackson’s forceful plea for the rights of “the damned, the disinherited, the disrespected, the

despised” brought tears to the eyes of many delegates. But support for Mondale and an apology for any “pain” his campaign may have caused were the substance of his remarks. (Jackson recalled his visit with a dying Hubert Humphrey, who had phoned Richard Nixon to say that they must forgive each other and move on.)

Jackson’s conciliatory appeal for party unity and forgiveness, coming right after three of his four platform planks were defeated, marked, as James M. Perry and Jeanne Saddler observed in *The Wall Street Journal* (July 18, 1984), a “long step toward ensuring a place and a position for himself in the Democratic Party.”

No wonder that Mondale called Jackson’s address “one of the great speeches of our time.”

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Geraldine A. Ferraro and Walter F. Mondale

## Polish prisoners win amnesty!

By NANCY GRUBER

The expected amnesty for 652 political prisoners, including the four leaders of the Workers’ Defense Committee (KOR) whose trial had begun only the week before, was announced by the Polish government on July 21.

According to Eugenia Kempara, a member of Parliament who introduced the bill, this amnesty, the 12th since World War II, is broader than any of the preceding ones. Its terms apply to all political charges except treason, espionage, and sabotage.

These charges do not appear in the indictments of the KOR leaders or the seven other Solidarity activists who have been in prison for two-and-a-half years, and it is expected that they will be

released along with all the other prisoners within 30 days. The only Solidarity prisoners who may be exempted from the amnesty are Bogdan Lis and Piotr Mierzejewski, whose indictments include references to “high treason.”

The government has warned, however, that if any of those released are arrested and convicted again on similar charges within two years, their prosecutions can be reopened, and they may be subjected to harsher terms of detention. This condition has led Lech Walesa to predict that “If those freed are not permitted to operate in the organization they want to have, the jails will be full again within a month.”

General Jaruzelski proclaimed that the amnesty was motivated solely by humanitarian concerns. The Reagan

administration, on the other hand, credited the amnesty to the pressure of the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. government.

### Ten million boycott elections

Neither government has acknowledged what may be the most important factor in the granting of the amnesty: the growing resistance of the Polish people themselves—a resistance most recently expressed in the June 17 elections. According to Solidarity, which conducted a thorough and systematic on-site observation of the elections, more than 10 million people boycotted the elections.

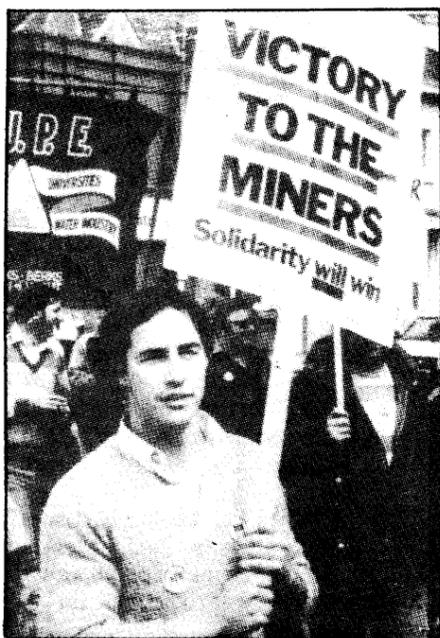
Abstentions ran at 40 percent, rising to 50 percent in several large cities. The government had admitted to 25 percent abstentionism. When one takes into consideration the bludgeoning by the media used to “persuade” the people to vote and the reprisals threatened for non-participation, an even clearer picture of the strength of the resistance to the Jaruzelski dictatorship emerges.

How the amnesty affects the four KOR leaders in *actuality* remains to be seen. Adam Michnik, in a series of letters smuggled out of prison, has hinted that he would refuse an amnesty and would force his jailers to evict him. Both he and Jacek Kuron have insisted upon an opportunity to prove their innocence.

The four KOR activists, Kuron, Michnik, Zbigniew Romaszewski, and Henryk Wujec, have been accused of plotting to overthrow the Polish government by force. Solidarity leaders had described their trial as the most important since World War II. Lech Walesa has referred to it as a trial of Solidarity itself.

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(See page 4 for coverage of British miners’ strike.)

## Duarte on world tour to sell his police state

By LARRY COOPERMAN

The West German government announced July 17 that it was lifting its ban on aid to the El Salvadoran government with the provision of \$18 million in economic support to that country’s right-wing government. The lifting of the ban imposed in 1979 came as Jose Napoleon Duarte, El Salvador’s new president, began his second major international tour—this time of West Germany, France, and Belgium.

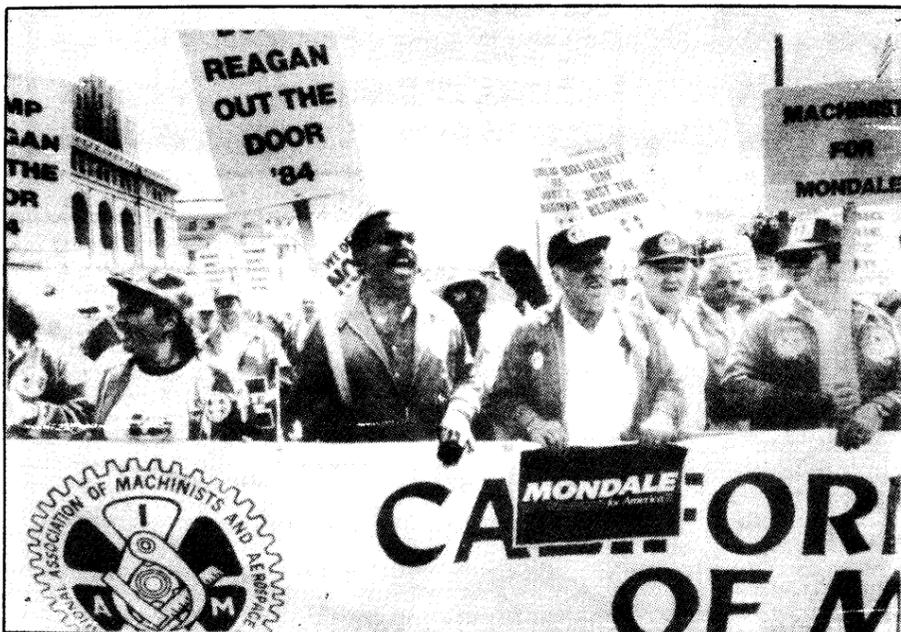
As it announced its financial support to the Duarte government, the West German government also declared, with unintended irony, its continued support for a “negotiated solution” between the FMLN/FDR and the Duarte regime. The action by the West German govern-

ment was taken two months after the Mexican government restored full diplomatic relations with El Salvador following a four year interruption.

Duarte’s diplomatic offensive is aimed at rehabilitating his government in the eyes of international public opinion. In the past five years, the government has been guilty of the murder of tens of thousands of Salvadorans, ranging from leftist rebels to uninvolved civilians. The government-sponsored terror has also forced hundreds of thousands to flee their homes and to seek asylum in Mexico or the United States.

Duarte, who has adopted various face-lifting measures since his election

# Quarter of a million turn out for Democratic convention rallies



'Vote Mondale-Ferraro' banners led off the July 14 labor demonstration at the Democratic Party National Convention.

By JEFF MACKLER

SAN FRANCISCO—A quarter of a million people marched and rallied here in several demonstrations held during the Democratic Party National Convention. The three major demonstrations were organized to support the Democratic Party and to pressure it into incorporating their demands into the party platform. But the great bulk of the participants also saw them as a vehicle for expressing their desires for jobs, workers' rights, equal rights for gays and lesbians, and no U.S. intervention in Central America.

The largest of the actions, organized by a coalition of the AFL-CIO, Teamsters union, and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, attracted over 100,000 trade unionists. The parade and brief rally had been carefully planned for several months by more than 50 central labor councils and their affiliated local unions. It was led by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other top labor officials. The lead banner, "Mondale and Ferraro," belied the "non-partisan" nature of the demonstration—as did the speeches, the press interviews, and the placards and floats prepared by march organizers.

Kirkland sounded the main theme. "There was a time not too long ago," he said, "when labor looked to government for a fair balance between the working man and industry. But not today. Not under Ronald Reagan. Today we don't have a government which represents everyone...our response must be to continue to march, to march to the polls to vote for our ideals and principles."

## "Boycott the Emporium!"

The march was the largest labor action in this area in recent decades. It demonstrated the capacity of the organized labor movement to mobilize its ranks in the tens of thousands. It was also an indication that workers are outraged at the mounting government attacks on their unions and standard of living.

One contingent after another featured placards and banners protesting the employer and government attacks on workers. Many unionists shouted together "Boycott the Emporium!" as they marched past the picket lines of the locked-out retail clerks [see story on page 12]. The march was a visible display of the potential power of U.S. workers.

At the same time the demonstration indicated that workers still have many illusions about the capacity of the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats, to solve the problems they are facing. The great majority of the contingents displayed placards in support of Mondale and the Democrats.

The action was organized by a layer of union bureaucrats whose conscious strategy is to subordinate the power and interests of U.S. workers to an alliance with the party of the bosses. These labor misleaders, who have moved to the top positions in the unions today as a result of a long period of relative class peace, have no confidence that union members can stand up to the bosses' offensive. They fear that a real labor fightback would bring to the fore a new generation of fighters who would both threaten their comfortable alliance with the Democrats and their own positions of power and privilege.

## Lesbians and gays march

A few hours after the last labor contingent left the Civic Center, the 100,000-strong National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights arrived at the Moscone Center, the site of the Democratic Party Convention. Led by some 65 gay and lesbian delegates and alternates to

## ...Duarte tour

(continued from page 1)

in May, is proving to be far more successful than his predecessors in gaining support for the Salvadoran regime from various Latin American and European governments. To the extent that Duarte succeeds in lining up these governments with U.S. policy in El Salvador, the threat of direct U.S. intervention increases.

## Build international antiwar movement

Despite these new pressures, the situation in El Salvador remains largely unchanged. The Salvadoran army is incapable of defeating the FMLN, but neither can the FMLN strike decisive blows against the government. Nonetheless, the FMLN continues to demonstrate its ability to take successful military action against selected government targets.

Most recently, the FMLN launched an offensive directed at the country's transportation system, blowing up several cargo trains and impeding traffic on the Pan-American highway. Radio Venceremos announced that the sabotage campaign had cost the government \$1 million.

As the FMLN contends with an increasingly difficult international situation, the importance of building a worldwide movement in solidarity with the Central American revolution becomes more apparent. The attitude of governments such as those of West Germany or even the Contadora nations toward U.S. intervention has always been ambivalent. They fear that a U.S. invasion of Central America would destabilize Latin America, given the present economic and social crisis of that continent. On the other hand, they

the convention, this demonstration was also designed by its organizers to put pressure on the Democratic Party.

Karen Clark, a Minnesota State Representative and a member of the convention's rules committee told the *San Francisco Chronicle*: "This is not a protest, but a show of support for the Democrats. The party is coming to terms in a fairly responsible way with its gay and lesbian constituents. This march will help mobilize gay and lesbian voters to show that they have a stake in the party and a stake in unseating Ronald Reagan."

While most of the platform speakers and march organizers echoed this theme, it was clear that the march also indicated growing support for the democratic rights of gay people in the United States. The march itself was a spirited demonstration by gay and lesbian activists and their supporters.

## "Vote Peace in '84"

The last of the major actions at the Democratic Convention was organized by the "Vote Peace in '84 Coalition," a group representing various church organizations, antinuclear weapons groups, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and others.

Estimates of the size of the rally range from 15,000 to 35,000. Almost every speaker, in addition to expressing

speakers. "The people of this country are very interested in one thing," she said. "We must vote peace in '84. Hopefully those Democrats across the street are going to hear our message and strengthen their platform and make their candidates go out and talk peace."

Daniel Ellsberg, a prominent antiwar activist who played a leading role in opposing U.S. intervention in Vietnam, focused his entire speech on the need to vote for the Democrats. Ellsberg claimed that the Democrats were "vying with each other as to who was actually more for the nuclear freeze."

The main speaker at the rally was Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson. After briefly outlining his own campaign platform, Jackson concluded with a call to "Vote Peace, Vote Jobs, Vote Justice, Vote Jackson."

The organizers of the "Vote Peace in '84" demonstration, like the leadership of the labor and gay marches, made a conscious decision to subordinate the independent power of working people and their allies to open support for the Democratic Party.

In so doing, they organized honest supporters of human freedom and social progress to lobby one of the parties responsible for the wars, anti-union attacks, and minority discrimination we face today. In this regard, the mass actions were not an aid to the struggle

## "The march was a display of the potential power of U.S. workers."

support for the rally's themes of opposition to nuclear weapons and to U.S. intervention in Central America, called for support to the Democratic Party in the coming elections.

San Francisco Supervisor Nancy Walker, who chaired the rally, reinforced its pro-Democratic Party nature with each introduction of the day's

for liberation, either in the United States or in Central America.

The true measure of the power of the movement to stop the war drive and bring about social justice will be shown by the ability of the working class and its allies to organize independently of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

oppose the extension of the socialist revolution in Latin America.

The antiwar sentiment of tens of millions of working people, peasants, students, and churchpeople in the countries of Latin America and Europe places constraints on their governments. Their readiness to protest provides the only truly reliable support to the Central American revolution against the plans of the U.S. government. The mobilization of that antiwar sentiment, as happened during the Vietnam War, can play a critical role in allowing the people of Central America to determine their own fate.

Demonstrations and protests are needed against the new U.S. plans for military action against the fighting Salvadoran forces. The National Security Council has been warning that the FMLN is planning a fall offensive. This July it called on the Pentagon to plan for U.S. air strikes against FMLN positions. It further asked the State Department and the Defense Department to draw up plans to circumvent, if necessary, a congressional veto of the additional \$117 million in military aid Reagan has requested for El Salvador.

The revelation of these plans by the Reagan administration came as it was reported that private U.S. sources contributed \$17 million in aid to the *contras* in Nicaragua last year.

In other Central America news, the FSLN announced that it would present Daniel Ortega as its candidate for president of Nicaragua in the elections scheduled for November 1984. The elections are expected to demonstrate wide-

spread support for the Sandinista regime, despite the sabotage campaign and military incursions organized by the U.S. government both directly and through the activity of the *contras*.

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**This is a reduced summer issue. Next month we will return to 16 pages.**

## Emergency national antiwar conference:

# Interview with Jerry Gordon

The following is an interview with Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America/The Caribbean to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, on September 14-16. Gordon, a trade unionist for many years, was national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, which organized a demonstration of one million people on April 24, 1971. The interview was conducted by Alan Benjamin.

**Socialist Action:** Why do you feel this conference is important today and what are its basic goals?

**Jerry Gordon:** The initiative for the Emergency National Conference developed after the invasion and conquest of Grenada, the mining of the Nicaraguan harbors, and the spate of articles in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* confirming Reagan's intention of going all out in Central America to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and to defeat the revolutionary movement in El Salvador.

These plans were also getting the active support of Congress, which consistently voted massive appropriations bills, the latest of which was an additional \$62 million for El Salvador. It was clear that the U.S. intervention—already far advanced—threatened to become qualitatively greater.

Today there is an imperative need for the anti-intervention movement to unite and plan actions of the most massive type possible. The purpose of the conference is to lay the basis for a united anti-intervention movement and to plan actions in the months ahead, after the elections, and in the spring.

The conference will also serve a critically needed educational function. It has the potential of attracting workers new to the anti-intervention movement who will want to learn more about the history and nature of U.S. involvement in Central America and the Caribbean.

At the same time, people with many different perspectives will be coming to the conference. Some of them feel that the anti-intervention movement ought to focus on the elections in November to defeat Reagan and elect Mondale and congresspeople who, they think, would be for anti-interventionism.

Others feel that what is needed is an



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independent, non-partisan anti-intervention movement that does not depend on the politicians and that believes that the policies in Central America are basically bipartisan and that what is required in this situation is a mass movement with significant labor involvement.

These opposing philosophies will be heard. The conference is intended to be totally open, totally democratic, and there will be plenty of time for discussion and debate.

The distinguishing feature of this conference is the greater involvement and participation of trade unionists. Trade unionists have been the moving force in getting the conference off the ground. Many organizations have come into the conference after viewing a list of labor sponsors and endorsers. This is a far cry from the situation in the early part of the Vietnam War, where representatives of the labor movement were few and far between and where the officialdom supported the war to its very conclusion.

This opens up new possibilities for the anti-intervention movement. From an immediate perspective it means that trade unionists and people in the traditional peace organizations, the solidarity network, and the religious, women's, Black, Latino, and other organizations can link up. This can lay the basis for a very powerful movement in this coun-

try, one that will have the capability of stopping the U.S. government's wars against the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

**S.A.:** You mentioned the importance of unity. At this point, have any of the national labor, peace, or solidarity organizations endorsed or helped to build the conference?

**J.G.:** This conference is being built from the grass-roots up by rank and filers and by local affiliates of national organizations. The people who are actively building it are members of national organizations and are urging their groups to circulate the call and to build the conference.

**S.A.:** How is labor support for the conference building?

**J.G.:** In addition to the 70 trade unionists listed as sponsors on the call, the Philadelphia Labor Committee on Human Rights in Central America and the Caribbean has endorsed, as has the Minneapolis Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean. Every day new labor endorsers are coming in. We have also written every chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union

Women in the country. The National Education Association has sent out 500 notices about the conference to the peace activists belonging to that union. Also, Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 and one of the call's first endorsers, has circulated 1000 calls and has informed us there will be a sizeable number of steelworkers at the conference.

**S.A.:** It seems as though the conference has already gained national attention. Ronald Reagan referred to it in a statement published in the *Washington Post*. What exactly did he say, and why do you think he said it?

**J.G.:** In the July 19 *Washington Post* an article headed "Reagan attacks totalitarian Nicaragua and pushes for rebel aid" reports: "The President said he read about a September conference to be held in Cleveland to protest military intervention in Central America. 'Well,' [the President said,] 'if 55 trainers in a country like El Salvador is military intervention, I think they are exaggerating.'"

I think that Reagan and the administration already recognize the potential that this first national conference has for helping to unite the anti-intervention movement and to organize and coordinate massive demonstrations. The advanced state of the intervention has fueled the cry for unity in the movement, and Reagan is already showing his concern about the Cleveland conference.

**S.A.:** The last thing I wanted to ask you is what our readers can do to help publicize and build this conference?

**J.G.:** Well, we are asking all concerned groups in the country to get the word out about the conference and to widely circulate the call. We want to ensure that this conference is as broadly representative as possible. Calls are available upon request from Emergency National Conference, P.O. Box 21672, Cleveland, Ohio 44121, Tel. (216) 398-0919.

The crying need of the hour is to translate the overwhelming popular sentiment against the war into mass actions in the streets to demonstrate beyond question that the American people not only oppose intervention but are going to actively fight and actively mobilize to put an end to it.

## Antiwar referendum gains momentum

By JOSEPH AUCIELLO

BOSTON—The Peace in Central America campaign to place a non-binding referendum on the ballot this November opposing U.S. intervention in Central America has expanded significantly during the past three months.

When planning began last spring, organizers hoped to gather signatures in 10 Massachusetts state representative districts. That goal has been surpassed due to the unexpectedly strong response the campaign has generated. Support has grown steadily as news of the referendum spread, with numerous organizations and individuals eager to petition in their own communities.

Petitions have already been confirmed in 37 districts. The referendum will therefore be on the ballot in all of Boston and Cambridge, and at least 10 other towns in the area. The many volunteers throughout the state may succeed in gaining ballot status in 41 districts.

The successful conclusion of petitioning means that local activists can now begin the educational work necessary to ensure the referendum's victory in the fall. A number of tasks are planned. Referendum organizers will be setting

up neighborhood house meetings, printing and distributing literature on Central America, and participating in voter-registration drives.

The organizers are building a demonstration in Boston on Sept. 22 along with the Central America Solidarity Association (CASA) around the slogan, "Vote No to War/Build Peace and Justice in '84."

A series of war-crimes tribunals are also planned for October in conjunction with the Lawyers' Committee on Central America.

These activities, organized entirely on a volunteer basis, require financial support. The amount of work that can be done for the referendum depends largely on the amount of money that is raised in the next few months. The campaign has opened an office, staffed from 9 a.m. to noon, to coordinate the effort in all the districts. Office equipment and supplies are also needed. Anyone able to help with time, money, or suggestions should contact the referendum campaign at 169 Mass. Ave., Boston, Mass. 02116, or phone (617) 247-1577.

The next issue of *Socialist Action* will include an interview with the coordinators of the referendum campaign.



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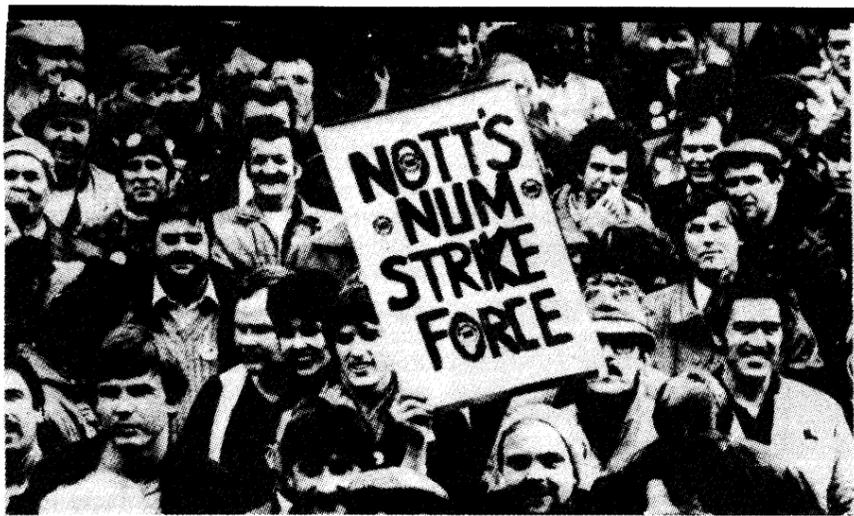
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## British miners' strike: Flying pickets return



By STEVE ROBERTS

LONDON—The British miners' strike against pit closures currently dominates British political life. Ever since the strike started on March 12 of this year television screens and newspapers have been filled with pictures of pitched battles between miners and the police.

Once again workers are resorting to the tactic of the "flying picket" to win their strike. The purpose of the "flying picket" is to stop all movement of coal by concentrating an overwhelming force

of miners drawn from all over the country against particular targets. In addition to pits that are still working, these targets include coal depots and seaports into which coal from the United States, Poland, and other countries is still being imported.

Such tactics have won victories for the miners in the past. In 1972 the miners confronted another Conservative government—led by Edward Heath—that was bent on destroying the unions. The turning point in the strike came with the "Battle of Saltley Gates" in Birmingham, Britain's second largest

city. Thousands of miners were joined by striking metal workers to block coal from being distributed. Despite a huge police presence, the combined force of workers forced the gates to close.

Although the government denounced the miners for defying the law, the incident was to prove the turning point in the strike. Heath's eventual fall at the hands of a second miners' strike in 1974 was widely attributed to his failure to beat the "flying pickets" led by Arthur Scargill, now the national president of the miners' union.

### Thatcher's plans and miners' response

Margaret Thatcher has learned the lessons of Heath's downfall. From the beginning of her administration in 1979 she planned the destruction of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which is rightly seen as the vanguard of the British working class.

Thatcher's plan had two elements. The first was to take on the nationalized industries in a campaign to return their most profitable parts to private capitalist interests. This was to mean the closure of unprofitable pits and the retention of a number of super-pits to be sold off to the oil monopolies.

The second element of the plan was to prepare a battery of anti-trade union laws and a modernized police force capable of engaging the miners in battle.

The government began the fight by threatening to close a pit in South Yorkshire, the most militant area of the miners' union. The miners in the area responded with an all-out strike and called on the rest of the union to support them. Two-thirds of the 180,000 NUM members did so. Those who refused were mostly concentrated in Nottingham, a traditionally more right-wing area.

The pickets were therefore first used to persuade their fellow union members

in Nottingham to join the strike. Up to 10,000 pickets from all over the country gathered outside important Nottingham pits. The picketing was soon confronted by the police.

Police were bused or flown into Nottingham from all over the country in the biggest police operation ever seen in an industrial dispute in Britain and at a cost of 2,000,000 pounds per day. Miners traveling to the picket were stopped at police road blocks and arrested. When they appeared in court, their main condition of bail was that they should not participate in pickets outside their area. In Parliament these measures were denounced as "police state" tactics not only by left-wing Labour MPs, but also by MPs of the bourgeois Social Democratic and Liberal parties.

### Police tactics, miners' tactics

Indeed the tactics of the police were close to those described by George Orwell in "1984."

Phones were tapped in an operation exposed by telecommunication workers. A special central police computer logged license plates of pickets' cars and monitored them through cameras set up on highways. As a result of police action over 3000 pickets have been arrested to date and two pickets have been killed.

The miners responded to the police tactics by raising the level and scope of their picketing. Each day sees over 40,000 miners on active picket duty. In order to evade the police roadblocks, the miners gather each day in the early morning to be told their destination by their elected leadership.

The leaderships of the locals meet at least weekly, and the delegates report back to mass meetings of the miners. The current strategy with regard to picketing cannot be implemented without the approval of the delegates.

In nearly all the striking communities the miners' wives also have a system of

### Interview with Kent miners:

## "We will stick to the end"

Michael Schreiber recently visited England and spoke to several coal miners who are on strike. We reprint below remarks of two of the miners, Brinley Hill and Gary Horfall, who are from the village of Aylesham in Kent. The interview took place in the Labour Party headquarters at Greenwich, a suburb of London, on June 27, 1984. That afternoon, 50,000 people marched through the center of London in a regional day of solidarity with the miners.

**Brinley Hill:** What we're fighting for in Kent is this: We've got three pits down there—Snowdon, Tilmerston, and Betteshanger. All of them are on the hit-list of closures that Ian McGregor, the American millionaire who is the new head of the coal board, has brought out. There are over 2800 jobs at stake in Kent.

**Gary Horfall:** Our village of Aylesham is dead. No one ever goes out. It used to be a happy place. If they

do close the mine, it'll be a ghost town.

**Hill:** There is no other work there. When they close a pit, it's a whole community they're closing. We're fighting for our families and the whole bloody community. I work at Snowdon. They tried to close my pit in 1981, but we stood up and fought against it. So, it was left open as a new development pit. That means going to a new vein. But the coal board only offered us 3 million pounds to do it, and provided that we cut the work force in half until the new vein was opened. We lost 400 men.

**Horfall:** We made two tunnels toward the new seam, but only got half way. Then, about six months ago, the coal board stopped it. There's enough coal in that new vein to last 100 years. There's no need to close the mine.

**Hill:** As a measure of the strength of feeling in Kent, if we take a fortnight ago, we occupied the Betteshanger pit to stop scabs from going to work. And three days ago, we occupied Tilmerston. The coal board had thrown out a scare



Striking British miners.

story that the pit had to be closed because it was deteriorating. We sent eight miners down to determine the truth for themselves. It wasn't so.

**Horfall:** Single lads like me stay up here all the time. Miners from Aylesham are based around Greenwich. Other miners, from Yorkshire for example, are based in other parts of London. In the evenings we speak at meetings and work to raise money, and during the day we picket the power stations. Most of the plants are being powered by oil that comes in by boat on the Thames, but the lorry drivers have pledged us their support. If we're there at the gates, they turn the lorries around.

**Hill:** This building, the Labour Party headquarters in Greenwich, serves as our control office. I have about 60 men to look after on a telephone list. If we hear from our office in Kent that there's something, let's say, at the Orgreave coke plant up near Sheffield, I tell the men that the big haul is for Orgreave—and we pull out of here and go there. We call that flying pickets.

A support committee meets here every Sunday. It is made up of Labour Party members, and other trade union members, and anyone else who wants to come along.

**Horfall:** The Greenwich support committee helps to organize food convoys that go down to our colliery. They have a soup kitchen in our local working men's club in Aylesham. The kids can come in and have a free meal. Older people who can't go far to picket help break out the food stocks when the convoys arrive.

**Hill:** The women are very active. They have a strike support group in our area of Kent, and there are committees all over the country. They not only help set up the kitchen, but picket, speak at public meetings, and defend our community. The Greenham Common women gave us help on the picket lines, and our women paid them back by going to Greenham Common to show support for their fight against war.

**Horfall:** As to violence, they always blame the miners. The government sent several thousand police to the Orgreave coke depot to show they could smash us. It didn't work, and anyone could see on Channel Four television, for example, that a policeman with a truncheon just pulled a man out of the crowd and banged him on the head. The man hadn't done anything.

**Hill:** To my belief, our battle is being won. Our union president, Arthur

### British dockworkers stop scab labor

As we go to press, delegates from the British dockworkers union have approved an agreement that halts their 10-day strike in solidarity with the miners. John Connolly, representing the Transport and General Workers Union, claimed victory in the settlement. "We have reaffirmed our position about the use of scab labor," he said.

The strike began July 10 to protest the use of scab workers to load iron ore at a British Steel Plant that the miners had picketed. Dockworkers were also battling to save an agreement that guaranteed about 13,500 jobs for life in return for selective

layoffs and to protest the government's plans to sell off state-owned shipping lines to private corporations.

More than 90 ports were shut down during the strike, and about 75 percent of Britain's foreign trade was effectively paralyzed. Both the National Union of Seamen and the National Union of Railwaymen ordered their members not to cross the dockworkers' picket lines. Jimmy Knapp, general secretary of the rail union, pointed out that the longshore strike "has arisen out of the miners' strike, and we've been 100 percent behind that from the start."

organization. They supervise the collection and distribution of food and clothes, and take their own initiatives such as a 10,000-strong demonstration in Barnsley, South Yorkshire, in May. Miners' wives have also taken the place of their arrested husbands on the picket lines, a step symbolized by the arrest of Ann Scargill, the wife of the NUM president, on a Nottinghamshire picket.

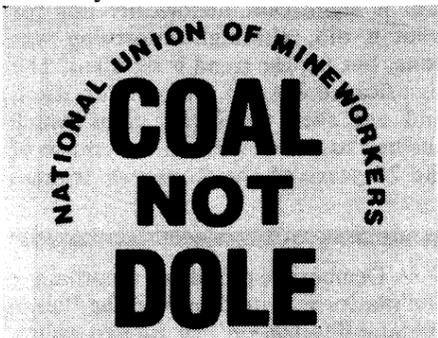
These preparations by miners and police came to a head in a new "Battle of Saltley Gates," this time held at the coke depot of Orgreave near Sheffield in South Yorkshire. For over a week thousands of miners battled with police. Arthur Scargill, who led the pickets personally, was arrested and suffered head and limb injuries.

British people who are fed the idea that their police are peaceable and unarmed were shocked to see on television "snatch squads" and helmeted police making repeated cavalry charges on the pickets. The pickets responded in self-defense by erecting burning barricades. The scenes resembled those in Northern Ireland and tended to confirm the charges of civil liberties organizations that Ireland was being used as a "laboratory of repression" for the British class struggle.

The coal employers, the National Coal Board, eventually stopped the shipments of coal from Orgreave to their destination at the Scunthorpe steel works. But the miners' strike is far from won. The indispensable condition for their victory is active support for the "flying pickets" from other workers—both nationally and internationally—to stop the movement of coal. With that support their fight against Thatcher can be won. ■

Scargill, is saying how there'll be power cuts at the end of August because coal stocks will be reduced. The railway unions have told us they'll carry no coal to the power stations at that time—and no oil either.

Unfortunately, most of the miners in Nottinghamshire are still working. They get higher pay than we do, because their pits are shallow, and they're paid according to the amount of coal produced. If Notts had come out with us, this strike would have been over weeks ago. Now we still have to battle for them to join us.



I'm still wary of being sold out by some people in the national leadership of the union. When Joe Gormley was president, before Scargill took over, he negotiated the present productivity deal behind the backs of the membership. There had been two ballots against it. Now he's been made Lord Gormley for his services.

There are several men on the National Executive Committee who are getting on in age and looking to receive lordships. You have 26 men on the NEC. About ten of them have never even been down the pit.

**Horfall:** If we don't win this, it's the end of the line, so to speak. We're the strongest union in the country. If we lose, they'll attack the whole union movement. That's their aim, anyway. To break the unions.

**Hill:** I'm going to stick to the end. ■

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## ...Polish prisoners freed

(continued from page 1)



Jacek Kuron

The joint history of the four defendants began in June 1976, when strikes broke out following the government announcement of a rise in food prices. In retaliation for these strikes workers were laid off by the hundreds in Radom, Ursus, and Plock, and some were given heavy prison sentences.

A handful of intellectuals and students including the four defendants, all of whom had histories of opposition to the Polish bureaucracy, decided to take charge of the workers' defense, and KOR was born.

In its first year it supplied regular aid to more than 600 families of the victimized workers. Around this activity was created a network of workers and intel-

lectuals who came to realize that more permanent organs for workers' defense were needed.

### KOR—A history of struggle.

In September 1977 a KOR outreach office charged with supplying aid to all those who ran afoul of the regime was created by Romaszewski and his wife Zofia. At the same time a newsletter, *Robotnik* (Worker), was started with Wujec as one of its editors. Kuron's apartment became the hub of information received clandestinely from all around Poland about repressive actions and demonstrations opposing them.

This news center was later (in 1980) formalized into an information bank of nationwide strike activity. These activities have enabled an exchange of experiences to take place among workers from all areas of the country and are continuing to play a role in the regroupment of the leadership.

Michnik, at the invitation of Jean-Paul Sartre, had spent much of 1976 in France, where he was able to publicize various defense cases and the objectives of KOR. Upon his return to Poland in May 1977 he, along with the other KOR leaders, was arrested. He was released in July because of the amnesty announced at that time.

Kuron was arrested again in August 1980 but released 10 days later after the victory of the Gdansk strikes, which gave rise to Solidarity. All four of the accused continued their leadership roles in the Solidarity movement. Kuron and Michnik started the "flying" university and an independent political review, *Krytyka*.

Three of the four were again arrested on Dec. 13, 1981. Romaszewski escaped the roundup at that time but was later captured and sent to prison in August 1982.

The charge against the defendants was seeking to overthrow the government by force. The *real* charge against them, however, is that they have courageously resisted the government's blackmail attempts—promises of freedom for the four (as well as for the seven other leaders who had been held without trial) if they will leave the country.

Their *real* crime in the eyes of the Jaruzelski government is simply that they have fought step by step for the right of workers to have their own organizations independent of the bureaucracy. They have steadfastly defended the most elementary of workers' rights.

No recognition of these rights has yet to appear from the government despite the amnesty. Indeed the brutality of the repression against Solidarity's organizing centers has been growing in the last few months. (See *International Viewpoint*, July 16, 1984.) And the amnesty specifically forbids renewed political activity on the part of those released from prison.

The international workers' movement must continue to support the struggle of Solidarity to form unions independent of the Jaruzelski regime and to demand the lifting of *all* restrictions on the democratic rights of the Polish working class. ■

## CIA makes a comeback

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

After a period of downturn in its fortunes during the 1970s, the Central Intelligence Agency is making a comeback. The infamous agency lost ground for a decade largely because of widespread public disgust with its role in the Vietnam War. But now, according to the June 25 *U.S. News and World Report*, the CIA is back at work "flush with money and manpower... operating on a scale not seen since the Vietnam War."

Lest it be thought that the CIA expansion is simply a Reagan gambit, beginning perhaps with his appointment of William J. Casey to be CIA director, *U.S. News* makes it plain that the CIA is championed by both the Republicans and the Democrats: "Congress, while attempting to keep a tight rein on the CIA, actually began pushing the buildup of the organization even before Casey took over and has strongly supported it since."

The CIA is now supposed to be battling against international drug traffickers as part of its expanded role—expanded, that is, beyond such "covert" actions as the organizing of the *contras* against Nicaragua; rigging elections, as in the agency's support of Jose Napoleon Duarte in El Salvador; and the usual spy and double agent scullduggery. The CIA fighting drug traffickers? It is to laugh! In Vietnam the CIA supported heroin smuggling carried out by the anti-communist Hmong mercenaries.

And now they are doing it again in Afghanistan. The March-May issue of *Counterspy* reports: "According to David Melocik, the Drug Enforcement Agency congressional liaison, '250 to 300 tons of opium were produced in Afghanistan in 1982,' enough to convert into 25 to 30 tons of heroin. The Drug Enforcement Agency estimates that 4 to 4.5 tons of heroin are smuggled into the United States annually. In a rare moment of candor for an administration official, Melocik even con-

cluded that 'American interests in Afghanistan are somewhat contradictory because the administration wants to fight drug trafficking but also would like to see the Afghans drive out the Soviets.'"

It is typical that the administration and the CIA, which is carrying out this covert paramilitary operation, are willing to support the most unsavory Afghan forces—those which, according to *Counterspy*, are financing their war, in part, with proceeds from the sale of opium.

According to the Dec. 26 *Newsweek*, the total annual CIA budget for its Afghanistan operation is about \$125 million. The June 25 *U.S. News* reports that the total CIA budget exceeds \$1.8 billion a year.

### CIA-fabricated material

Much of this money is used to manipulate foreign and domestic public opinion. An important instance of this was revealed by David MacMichael, who served until April 1983 as a CIA estimates officer specializing in Central American and Caribbean affairs.

MacMichael stated that intelligence reports of cross-border arms shipments from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran rebels "fell off to nothing" after the spring of 1981. He asserted that the White House has "systematically misrepresented Nicaraguan involvement in the supply of arms to Salvadoran guerrillas to justify its efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government."

*Time* for June 25 reports that Secretary of State George Shultz, not surprisingly, denied MacMichael's charges. After all, the claim of the White House that Nicaragua is the arms supplier to the FMLN in El Salvador is based on CIA-fabricated material. This does not mean that the Reagan administration is the innocent victim of the big bad CIA, but, rather, that the CIA is the eager servant of government policy with deceit and scullduggery as its special mission.



Efforts are under way to make the CIA even stronger. The June 25 *U.S. News* reports, "Some Pentagon and White House officials, backed by a few lawmakers, insisted that the CIA take up the task of assassinating terrorists before they could strike."

This is especially ominous considering that the word "terrorism" has taken on new meaning as the power of the witch-hunting phrase "communist conspiracy" has tended to fade. Now, "terrorist" is used to describe left-wing guerrilla forces, politically active revolutionary socialists who supposedly advocate "force and violence," or even progressive militants opposed to one or another policy or government supported by the White House.

The CIA is fundamentally an expression of U.S. capitalism's desire to preserve and maximize its openings for making money, in total disregard of such questions as "legality."

Congress' attempts "to keep a tight rein on the CIA" (*U.S. News* quoted above) are no help at all since both Democrats and Republicans stand united behind the need to keep the CIA powerful. Only the billionaires and their servants need the CIA. The rest of us don't. ■

# James P. Cannon speaks on two-party system

This August marks the 10th anniversary of the death of James P. Cannon, the founder and long-time leader of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. In the September issue, *Socialist Action* will run a series of articles commemorating Cannon's struggle to establish and defend the revolutionary continuity of the Marxist movement in this country. In this issue we are publishing excerpts from a speech, "The Coming Struggle for Power," published in *America's Road to Socialism* (Pathfinder Press, New York, second edition, 1975).

Cannon was born in Rosedale, Kansas, on Feb. 11, 1890, into a working-class Irish family. He joined the Socialist Party in 1908 and the Industrial Workers of the World in 1911. As a leader of the Socialist Party left wing after the Russian Revolution, he joined the Communist Party in September 1919 and was elected to its central committee in 1920.

A key leader of the CP in its first decade, he served on the Presidium of the Communist International and headed the International Labor Defense. Won over to Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928, he was expelled from the CP later that year for Trotskyism. Cannon organized the Communist League of America, the first Trotskyist organization in the United States, and served as editor of its newspaper, *The Militant*.

Cannon was a founder of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and participated in the founding conference of the Fourth International the same year, where he was elected to the International Executive Committee. Convicted with 17 other leaders of the SWP and of the Minneapolis Teamsters union in 1941 for opposing the war policy of the United States government, Cannon served 13 months in prison in 1944-45. Cannon was the national secretary of the SWP until 1953. He thereafter was national chairman, and later national chairman emeritus until his death on Aug. 21, 1974.

The following is an excerpt from a talk given by James P. Cannon at an SWP forum in Los Angeles during the winter of 1952.

## Out with Boss Party

## Politics!



What is this American two-party system, which so many people think is a matter of our will and our genius, and can endure forever? In reality, it is not a two-party system. There are not really two separate class parties, as today in England. England has a two-party system, with the Tory Party representing the capitalist class, and the Labour Party based on the trade-union movement. The struggle between the Labour Party and the Tory Party is at bottom a political expression of the struggle for power in England.

What we have in this country are not two separate class parties, but two factions of the same ruling class—the Republican faction and the Democratic faction. This was a very good and convenient system for rich and stable American capitalism. From one point of view, it flexibly contained the antagonisms within the capitalist ranks. It gave a political expression for the conflicts of interests between different fac-

tions and sections of the capitalist class itself. In another respect, the two-party system, expressing the interests of two factions of the ruling class, but pretending to represent all the people, was an excellent safety valve for popular discontent.

When people got fed up with the administration power, they could always find relief for their dissatisfaction. The traditional American slogan always was, "Turn the rascals out." The only alternative, however, was to put another set of rascals in. That never did much good, but it gave the people a little satisfaction without disturbing the bourgeois rule.

It was a good system for them, and many capitalists surreptitiously supported the campaign funds of both parties. That's a well-known fact; it's what they call "insurance." They have one preference and give \$10,000 for the campaign fund, and then they have a second preference and give \$5,000. So,

whoever wins is obligated to them.

That's a form of the confidence game known as heads I win, tails you lose, and it has been working wonderfully for a long time. And it could keep on working forever as long as the social relations are stable, and the capitalist class is not challenged on the political field by the workers.

Another advantage of the two-party system was that it gave the appearance of real political democracy. And this, I believe, is one of the biggest political fakes ever perpetrated in history. Of course, there have been all kinds of fakes in the world, but this one probably had the most suckers falling for it, and believing in it. That was its great value to the ruling clique.

The people thought they had a free choice every four years as to who was going to be president to represent them. But this was more appearance than reality. The machinery of both parties is tightly controlled by financial interests. The nominations are rigged every time. And the people's choice boiled down to a choice of two candidates selected for them by political machines, which in their turn were nothing but political instruments of the big money.

This political shell game was possible in its purest form only as long as capitalism was strong and secure and ascending in a stable capitalist world, and when there was no labor challenge to the capitalist rule in the country. Those conditions are fading away. The two-party system, in fact, has already been seriously shaken, even though outwardly the last election showed Republican versus Democrat as though nothing had happened in a hundred years. In reality the crisis of the thirties already began to undermine the two-party system.

### Labor awakens to politics

Labor began to organize by the millions, to awaken to politics, and to participate in an organized manner in the elections. The result of this uprising of the workers, engendered by the crisis, was the Democratic-labor coalition of Roosevelt and Truman. The traditional system remained formally Republican and Democrat, but the great change was that the Democratic Party began to represent a form of coalition of a section of the capitalist class with the organized labor movement.

This Roosevelt-Truman-labor coalition is significant historically not for what it did, although something was done, but for the trend it signified. The significance was not the coalition itself, and not even the social gains which accrued to the workers in the course of the 20 years of the Roosevelt-Truman

## ... Democratic Party

(continued from page 1)

But many of Jackson's supporters were not so enthralled with their treatment by the Mondale forces. "I am thoroughly disappointed," said the Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a Jackson supporter. "I think we have been song-and-danced."

Lamond Godwin, Jackson's chief strategist, admits, "There were no tangible gains from this convention as of yet."

Jackson was soundly defeated in his proposals to (1) cut defense spending, (2) affirm a "no first use" of nuclear weapons policy, and (3) eliminate runoff primaries in Southern states. Jack-



son could only claim a rather dubious victory in the "strengthened" language of the affirmative action plank. But support for quotas, which Jackson proposed as the only means to promote job equality for women and minorities, was rejected. Jackson's agreement with the Mondale forces on this plank reveals that he apparently prefers Democratic bluster to a policy with any real content.

The morning after Jackson's speech, Black delegates booed Mondale and Coretta Scott King, a Mondale supporter, at a meeting to shore up support for the presidential campaign. Jackson chided the delegates for booing but added, "Women got what they want in Geraldine Ferraro; the South got what it wants in Bert Lance. What did you get? You ain't got nothing."

Jackson knows he came out of the convention empty-handed. So what does he now want in return for his support to the Democratic ticket? Simply this. A commitment from Southern state chairmen to elect at least one Black congressperson per state, funds for a voter-registration drive, and Black influence in the top circles of the Mondale campaign.

Jackson's demands appear rather modest considering the debt he feels the Democratic Party owes him. "We

expect to do more than be heard," Jackson said. "We expect our interests to be responded to respectfully. After all, we have pulled in the progressive wing of the party that left and went third-party in 1980."

As for Gary Hart, his lone platform challenge was a "peace plank" urging restraint in the use of U.S. troops abroad. This plank was passed after it appeared that many Mondale delegates were ready to support his proposal.

But what kind of "restraint" do the Democrats urge? Hart's plank calls for the United States to refrain from using military force unless the military objectives are clear, local forces are working to resolve the conflict, and all non-military options have been exhausted.

Does this scenario sound familiar? Perhaps it is because practically every military adventure carried out by the United States in the post-war period has been justified by such a rationale.

### The Democratic Party platform

What can we expect from a Democratic presidency? "Look at our platform," Mondale said in his nomination speech, "there are no defense cuts that weaken our security; no business taxes that weaken our economy; no laundry lists that raid our treasury."

A Democratic president, according to the platform, would oppose the "automatic militarization" of foreign policy, but not the automatic increase of the defense budget.

A Democratic president would end support for dictators from "Haiti to the Philippines," but covert operations could continue if "strictly limited" to cases where "secrecy is essential."

A Democratic president would strive to "eliminate all nuclear weapons" in the world, but would refuse to declare that a Democrat won't be the first to drop the bomb in a new war. And a Democratic president, rest assured, would "apply military force when vital interests are threatened."

Mondale has also declared that he would end the illegal war in Nicaragua within the first 100 days of his administration. But a little cynicism goes a long way when this promise is measured against not only the party platform but the actual record of the Carter/Mondale administration in initiating the U.S. war in Central America.

The Democrats assure us that education, unemployment, social programs, a balanced budget, consumer protection, environmental issues, gay rights, labor rights, will all be of top concern to a Democratic president. But concrete pro-

regime. The real significance was the fact of labor participation in politics in an organized manner, for the first time.

Despite the distorted form this coalition of the Democrats and labor movement took, despite all the illusions and disappointments that it brought—and it certainly brought plenty—this entry of the unions into politics in a deliberate, organized manner, for the first time, was a tremendous step in a direction that cannot be reversed. Labor is in politics to stay. That's the conclusion we have to draw from the present development of the Democratic-labor coalition...

Labor is in politics to stay. But labor is not going to stay in the Democratic Party. And for good reasons. The imperative demands which labor must raise under conditions of the impending social crisis, will not and cannot be satisfied in the Democratic Party as it is now constituted. Even under the most favorable conditions, the participation of the organized labor movement in politics as a faction of the Democratic Party has yielded very meager results. For the past six years the top legislative demands of the unions have been a fair employment practices law and the



James P. Cannon

repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. They couldn't get either one out of their coalition with the Democratic Party.

When the real showdown begins, labor on its side will be obliged to present real demands. The most militant and reactionary section of the capitalists, on the other side, will be setting out to smash the unions. What good is this Democratic-labor coalition going to be to the workers in such a situation? Why, it's really ludicrous when you stop to think about it. The strongest opposition to the civil rights program, and the strongest support to anti-labor legislation in recent years, has come from labor's "partners" in the Democratic-labor coalition, the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party. That will not change. The capitalists, who in the last analysis rule the Democratic Party, will never permit labor to "capture it."

Under the pressure of the first big crisis the Democratic Party, as now constituted, will split, and the workers will

have to find another road. I don't mean to say that in the course of the crisis the coalition in government may not be tried again. There will be ups and downs. This current attempt of the American bourgeoisie to rule directly in their own name through the biggest millionaires in the country—this reckless experiment will go down in ruins under the first impact of the crisis. They may very well turn again to a new version of the Roosevelt-Truman-labor coalition. But it won't work. And the reason it won't work is that it can't give the workers what they need...

Consequently a coalition for class collaboration in government will not work the next time. Not under conditions of social crisis, when on the one hand the workers' demands will be far more extensive and imperious, and when on the other hand they will be threatened with the destruction of their unions. Labor will be compelled to take the next step in political action—to break the coalition with the Democrats once and for all, and to form its own party...

In my view, a labor party will be formed under conditions similar to those under which the CIO was organized. And the party formed under such conditions and by such means cannot be a conservative party any more than the CIO could be a conservative union of the old type. Such a party will be of necessity, from the very first start, a radical, semirevolutionary party, with the most militant workers and the conscious revolutionists pushing it to the left.

And in this situation of political awakening of the workers, when for the first time the American workers as a class begin to turn to politics on their own account—then the revolutionary Marxist party, which has foreseen the whole development, which has theorized it long before it began, will find its own native environment, its natural field of work. It will become, in this great expanding situation, what is said in the scriptures, the leaven that leaveneth the whole lump.

The revolutionary party represents the future of the workers' movement in the present. It begins with a theoretical program which foresees the whole line of social development, and assembles its preliminary cadres on that basis. This theoretical understanding and faith in the future deriving from it are the conditions for the existence and dogged perseverance of the revolutionary party in time of stagnation and reaction. But for its rapid expansion into a popular party of the masses, it requires a great surging class struggle. That will come with the next crisis which is already ripening.

posals to reverse the corporation-induced attack on working-class America are nowhere to be found in this fog of platform bombast.

#### "Chronic vice president"

In this election, however, even the rhetoric falls a little flat. What is more, only watered-down oratory drones out of the mouth of a man described by columnist Jack Anderson as a "chronic vice president who would represent America ideally at state funerals."

(*San Francisco Chronicle*, July 16, 1984)

What Walter Mondale wants is to get elected. Every smile, every gesture, every speech, and every promise is motivated by this single desire. But all Mondale has to offer are more of the same pro-business policies of the last two administrations. This, not Reagan's alleged popularity, is why the Democrats face an uphill battle to win this election.

Millions of working people understand in their hearts that it won't make any difference who is elected. That is why record numbers of people choose not to vote and will continue to do so until working people begin to organize

their own electoral alternative—a labor party based on the unions.

"We chase around like a bunch of scriptwriters," Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) candidly told *The Wall Street Journal* (July 16, 1984), "zapping the president with oneliners—totally oblivious to the distance between real America and Democratic rhetoric."

What ever Hollings' intentions, that's the real truth, straight from the horse's, or in this case, the donkey's mouth.

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## Should gays support Democratic Party?

By ANN MENASCHE

Fifteen years after the Stonewall rebellion in New York City marked the birth of the gay liberation movement in the United States, gays and lesbians have made some significant gains toward eliminating the discrimination against them.

Over 50 cities and counties have at least some degree of legal protection against anti-gay discrimination. Pennsylvania and Wisconsin have passed comprehensive gay-rights laws. More than half the states now have no restriction on private adult consensual acts.

Public attitudes have changed. A recent nationwide *Los Angeles Times* poll reported that while a majority still oppose the gay lifestyle, 52 percent favored laws protecting gays from job discrimination.

In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association ceased viewing homosexuality as an illness. The American Psychological Association followed suit in 1975. Gay rights has won support from numerous labor unions, including the United Auto and Aerospace Workers Union, the California AFL-CIO, the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Postal Workers Union. And a number of church groups have come out strongly in favor of gay rights.

In 1978 California voters defeated the homophobic Briggs Initiative that would have excluded anyone "advocating" gay rights from the public schools. This spring a similar statute was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Hundreds of thousands of people have mobilized in recent years to demand full civil and human rights for gays and lesbians. Every year Gay Pride Parades are held all across the country. Parades in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles have attracted as many as 300,000 participants. In 1979 over 200,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., for lesbian and gay rights.

It is such independent mobilizations of the gay community and their supporters in the streets that are largely responsible for the gains made thus far. Despite the progress that has been made, however, most lesbians and gays still live in fear of losing their job, their home, or custody of their children if their sexual preference is discovered. Lesbian mothers still have children taken from them by the courts.

Gay rights legislations remains stalled in Congress. Gays are still frequently victims of police violence and continue to be witchhunted out of the military at the rate of 1800 per year. In the face of the AIDS epidemic that is killing gay men in increasing numbers and threatening to spread to the rest of the population, federal funding for research

remains inadequate. The AIDS epidemic has been used to justify a sex ban and police spying at gay bathhouses, and to spur greater opposition to civil rights legislation protecting gay rights.

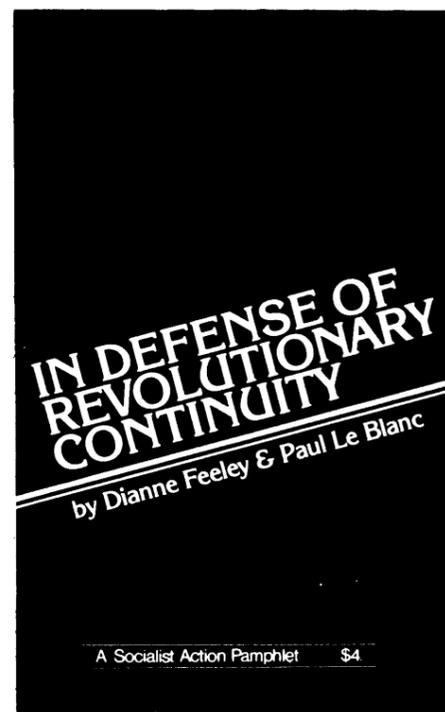
Even citizenship is still denied to gay people. Last year the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the refusal of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to naturalize a Texas resident because he is gay.

The point is that nowhere are lesbians and gays free from anti-gay bigotry and homophobia. Further progress toward achieving lesbian and gay rights is being jeopardized by the orientation of large sections of the movement toward the two capitalist parties. While the Democratic and Republican parties sometimes give lip service to lesbian and gay demands, they have no real interest in the liberation of gay people. Instead, their purpose is to weaken and derail the movement.

The lesbian and gay movement has become increasingly dominated by lesbian and gay Democratic clubs. Hoping to curry favors from the Democratic Party convention in July, much of the gay movement finds itself disarmed and demobilized by their reliance on the Democratic Party.

Rather than looking to the capitalist parties for support, lesbians and gays should look for allies among organized labor, women, Blacks, Latinos, youth, and those fighting against nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention in Central America.

A massive, visible movement for lesbian and gay rights must be built that is independent of the parties of the wealthy, and is subordinate to no one. ■



# Rail cutbacks and speedup lead to fatal accidents

MINNEAPOLIS—Workers on the Burlington Northern Railroad are hearing a new slogan from management. It is Corporate Culture. This does not refer to concerts or art exhibits offered to their culture-starved employees. It is a concept of partnership between workers and management—as the bosses see it.

Burlington Northern's concept is not new: Management and workers have an "equal interest" in improving productivity. Workers should therefore "cooperate" with management at every level. They do not need the union.

Burlington Northern brought in a new vice president, Thomas Matthews, to direct the Corporate Culture program. Matthews had just recently completed a stint as labor relations director at Continental Airlines. This is the airline that filed for bankruptcy, abrogated its union contracts, and then reopened after firing two-thirds of its employees.

The sort of "partnership" Matthews plans for the Burlington workers includes bypassing the union wherever possible, laying off workers, and speeding up those remaining on the job. This "partnership" is meant to deepen the attacks that the Burlington workers have already been subjected to for some time.

## Corporate greed

Over 19,000 Burlington employees have been laid off since 1980. Traffic on the road has not fallen off. In fact, it has increased. This has meant excessive hours and speedup for those still working. On a railroad, overwork and speedup spell danger and death. For Burlington workers it has meant 10 deaths in three accidents in three months.

A nerve center of a railroad is the train dispatchers' office. Here orders are sent out for the trains to move, stop, and go on to sidings. It is similar to an airport control tower except that trains cannot take evasive action when a collision is imminent.

Budget cuts have been made in this most sensitive department. Dispatchers have been forced to work seven days a week for nearly two months at a time. Training courses for new dispatchers have been cut from four weeks to two.



July 23 passenger train accident outside New York City

Inadequately trained dispatchers have been put to work, replacing experienced men who have quit because the long hours and pressure have been too much for them.

Burlington management has also failed to install safety equipment that modern technology has made available. There are stretches of single track on the Burlington lines where trains travel in both directions. There are no signals to warn the engineer if there is another train heading toward him.

Trainmen call these sections of road "black territory."

"Driving a 14,000-ton train through black territory can be scary," declared Robert Palava, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. "You do it in weather when you can't

see 40 feet in front of you. By the time you see something, it is too late and you try to jump. You cannot stop 14,000 tons in 180 feet like a car. The minimum is almost one mile."

## Not human error

The inevitable accident occurred June 15 on a stretch of single track near Brainerd, Minn. Two freight trains collided head on at an impact speed of 100 miles an hour. Three trainmen were killed and a fourth critically injured. A mixup in orders had assigned two trains to the same track at the same time. This was the third accident on the line in three months. Seven more trainmen had been killed in accidents in Colorado and Missouri.

The dispatcher on duty at the time of

the crash had just completed his two weeks of training. Veteran dispatchers said no one could be prepared for such a responsible position in two weeks. The responsibility for the accident lay with the management of Burlington, who would not spend the money to properly train the men who had such an awesome responsibility.

Burlington management put the blame on the young dispatcher and suspended him. They also sued the estates of the families of the dead trainmen, suggesting they might have stopped their trains and averted the accident.

Burlington workers responded to this vicious attack on the dead trainmen. Together with family members and other trade unionists, they picketed the Burlington Northern headquarters in Minneapolis, carrying signs that said "Corporate Greed—Not Human Error" and "Job Count Down—Body Count Up."

Speaking at a July 2 labor rally to protest Burlington Northern's safety policies, Cindy Burke, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1310, put the blame for accidents on Burlington's "no frills" approach to rail safety. "The real threat to safety on the BN railroad," she stated, "is the massive jobs cuts and speedup which have been instituted for the purpose of increasing profits at the expense of the public and the employees."

Referring to Matthews' proposed Corporate Culture partnership, Burke said she believed in partnership—partnership between unions. "Our idea of a partnership," she said, "is symbolized by this rally today where unions unite in defense of one another and take their case to the public."

To further this kind of partnership and fight cutbacks, the various crafts on the Burlington line have formed the Intercraft Association of Minnesota. By taking this step, the rail workers will be in a better position to fight Burlington Northern and its Corporate Culture.



## Armenians framed in Canada

Harout Kevork, Raffic Balian, and Haig and Melkon Gharakhanian, Armenian residents of Toronto, Canada, have been charged with attempting to murder and conspiracy to murder Turkish commercial counselor Kani Gungor in April 1982.

The accused were first arrested in May 1982 and charged with various counts of conspiracy and extortion. Held without bail for 112 days, all were released after an eight-week preliminary hearing resulting in a number of charges being dropped. The re-arrests of these left-wing activists two years after the event for which they are charged takes place against a backdrop of media hysteria about "Armenian terrorism."

Armenians' around the world have attempted to expose the still-denied Turkish slaughter of over a million Armenians and to regain their homeland, currently partitioned between NATO-member Turkey and the Soviet Union.

The magazine *Azad Hay* (Free Armenian), published by one of the accused, has campaigned for a unified, socialist Armenia for many years. It has never advocated terrorism.

The Committee In Defense of Armenian Political Prisoners

(CIDAPP) is working to defend these activists who are being held without bail. CIDAPP demands that the charges against the four be dropped and that they be freed. The committee has won widespread support for the democratic rights of the defendants.

Forward all contributions to Committee In Defense of Armenian Political Prisoners (CIDAPP), P.O. Box 456, Station Z, Toronto, Canada.

## New bulletin defends Trotskyism

By SEAN FLYNN

The July issue of *Socialist Action Information Bulletin* is devoted to a single article: Les Evans' "A Challenge to Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution."

With this extended essay, *Socialist Action* continues to defend the program of the Socialist Workers

Party—in particular the theory of permanent revolution—from its most recent detractors, the present leadership of the SWP itself.

In June 1981, *The Militant* published an article by Doug Jenness entitled "Our Political Continuity With Bolshevism."

This article, ostensibly a polemic with Ernest Mandel's "The Debate Over the Goals and Character of the Russian Revolution" (reprinted in the June issue of *Socialist Action Information Bulletin*), is actually a far-reaching critique of "Trotskyism."

The Evans essay, published here for the first time, responds to Jenness' claim that Bolshevik continuity bypasses the theory of permanent revolution.

It is a great step backwards for the SWP at this late date to embrace the algebraic formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" and to reject Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. We hope that the publication of this article will help reestablish the party's genuine continuity with Bolshevism.

S.A.I.B., Vol.1, No.6, \$2.00.

## Special offer on Information Bulletins

The first six numbers of the *Socialist Action Information Bulletin* can be purchased this month only for the special price of \$12.00 (includes mailing costs.) The *Information Bulletin* contains the founding documents of *Socialist Action*, a public faction of the Socialist Workers Party, as well as other theoretical contributions seeking to clarify and defend the program and heritage of the SWP and Fourth International against the attacks by the current SWP leadership. The six numbers of the *Information Bulletin*—each with a complete introduction presenting the material—contain the following articles:

Vol.1, No.1: "A Platform to Overcome the Crisis in the Party"; "28 Theses on the American Socialist Revolution and the Building of the Revolutionary Party"; "New Norms vs. Old: The Erosion of Proletarian Democracy"; and "Sound the Alarm."

Vol.1, No.2: "The Party's Default in the Struggle Against Imperialist War," by Lynn Henderson and Nat Weinstein; "Socialist Strategy for Class Struggle Transformation of the Unions," by Frank Lovell and Steve Bloom; "Trade Union Resolution," by Lynn Henderson and Nat Weinstein; and "If Ever You Surrender Your Right to Criticism, You're Dead!" by Tom Kerry.

Vol.1, No.3 (Part I): "Resolving the International Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership"; "The Iranian Revolution Four Years After"; and "The Iranian Revolution and the Dangers that Threaten It."

Vol.1, No.3 (Part II): "The Cuban Revolution, the Castroist Current, and the Fourth International," and "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland."

Vol.1, No.4: "Carlos Rafael Rodriguez' 'Contribution' to Marxist Theory," by Paul Siegel, and "Behind Shafik Jorge Handal's 'Self-Criticism,'" by Alan Benjamin.

Vol.1, No.5: "Lenin and the Theory of 'Democratic Dictatorship,'" by Les Evans; "The Debate over the Character and Goals of the Russian Revolution," by Ernest Mandel; and "The Need for a Revolutionary International," by Ernest Mandel and John Ross.

Vol.1, No.6: "A Challenge to Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution," by Les Evans.

# A limited chronicle of Zionism

By LENNI BRENNER

*The Fateful Triangle*, by Noam Chomsky, South End Press, 1983.

In one sense, it is easy to write a short review of any book by Professor Chomsky. It would be sufficient to remind the reader that he has long been known as an outspoken opponent of American imperialism and a devoted advocate of civil liberties. Now, again, he has brought his immense scholarship to bear on his special interest in Zionism.

Although he insists that the work is not meant to be a full history of the interrelationship between this country, Israel, and the Palestinians, the general reader would be hard put to find any more detailed discussion of that interrelation under one cover.

Chomsky, above all, is concerned with America's responsibility for the crime done to the Palestinians. Additionally, the book is the last word in the "war of words" that broke out here in the wake of the invasion of Lebanon. And there can be no doubt who wins the

## BOOK REVIEW

verbal contest, as Chomsky destroys the partisans of Israel he chooses to take on. Nevertheless, he has his severe ideological limitations, shared by others within the antiwar movement in this country.

Chomsky is at his best when he documents the viciousness of the Israeli state. He correctly maintains that "it is quite impossible to believe that there was no 'concurrence or assent' in the events that followed the entry of the Phalangists into the camps," and he condemns the Kahan Commission report as nothing short of "disgraceful from an intellectual and moral standpoint."

He is equally incisive when he denounces the myth of the "beautiful Israel" before Begin, and perhaps the most important function of the "Triangle" will be seen to be its ample documentation of the racist and murderous nature of the Israeli Labor Party, whom the naive hope will win the forthcoming elections in July and, somehow, set things right again.

Yet it was the Labor Party's Golda Meir who declared that the Palestinian problem was nothing more than an "invention of some Jews with distorted minds," and it was Yitzhak Rabin who proclaimed that Labor would never negotiate with any Palestinians, and cer-

its strategic bastion against Arab nationalism and the Soviet Union.

### "Reactionary windbags"

He exposes several American pro-Israeli propagandists as reactionary windbags, devoid of either morality or logic. As befitting the former henchman of Lyndon Johnson, Arthur Goldberg "has produced a most impressive contribution to contemporary thought: if some political entity can be destroyed by force, that determines its illegitimacy and the right of the conquerer to determine the fate of those whom it had pretended to represent."

He serves up all the incredible statements from Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. Said the failed antiwar activist Fonda: "I operate according to my conscience, and am attempting to convince President Reagan that the U.S. interest is bound up with friendship with democratic Israel, and not with feudal Saudi Arabia."

Chomsky is furious with Irving Howe, the renegade Trotskyist, now the doyen of red-baiters over at the Democratic Socialists of America: "Howe, typically without argument, simply attributes Israel's...isolation to 'skillful manipulation of oil' and that sour apothegm: 'In the warmest heart there's a cold spot for the Jews.'"

### Chomsky's weaknesses

However, Chomsky is at his weakest when it comes to concrete proposals as to how to bell the Zionist cat. In the past he has proclaimed himself to be a radical, finding praise for sundry anti-Bolshevik "council Communist" and "libertarian socialist" sectarians of the '20s and '30s but, in reality, he is a civil libertarian and moralist and nothing more.

Anyone who can say, in another place, "I, for one, would certainly not deny the right of free expression to Hitler," or that Marxism-Leninism is a "dangerous right-wing deviation from the international socialist movement," and then join Howe and a battalion of other envenomed opponents of the Palestinian cause in the ranks of DSA, is no revolutionary.

These weaknesses repeatedly present themselves in the "Triangle."

Thus, after recording the monstrous crimes of the Labor Zionists, Chomsky can tell us that "It is difficult to conjure a picture of Labor as constituting a meaningful opposition though one might reasonably argue that support for Labor is nevertheless justified when one considers what Begin and his cohorts are likely to do in the future."

This is just liberal garbage, of a piece

the United States to grant them sovereignty over the remainder. To him, this is "reasonable in essence," even if not "optimal," and he calls for this in the name of the "international consensus," which is absurd coming from one who never stops inveighing against "state-worship."

But the best argument against this classic reformist utopia is "The Fateful Triangle" itself, which demonstrates that there is no Zionist tendency of any weight, not even the Peace Now grouping, that calls for a two-state solution.



**"Recognition of Israel can never be the banner that will rally the Palestinians."**

And not without reason, as every Zionist knows that were the Palestinians to attain sovereignty in Hebron, they would only be inspired to struggle on until they liberated their entire homeland.

To be sure, Yasir Arafat frequently implies that he would "recognize" Israel, in return for a statelet. But now that he has discredited himself in paying court to the traitor Mubarak, what does this say about all who fantasize a compromise with the Zionist usurpers? That Chomsky ratifies such a bootless proposal testifies to his lack of revolutionary vision.

Chomsky makes one valid critique of the PLO: It must give up mindless terrorism against civilian targets. But beyond that and telling them to surrender 81 percent of their country, he has nothing to offer the Palestinians except

Palestinians, nor can it long hold the progressive Jewish minority that seeks a way out of the racist and theocratic straitjacket of Zionism. Assuming an Alignment victory in the elections, they will learn, soon enough, that it has no answers to Israel's multilayered crisis.

When the British dominated the country, they consciously saw the Zionist settlement as their "loyal Jewish Ulster," and it is indeed to Ireland that we must look for insight as to how the revolutionary movement will develop.

There, many Protestants, as individuals, have frequently come over to the nationalist cause, but they never were able to bring the majority of their community with them. Similarly, in our South, individual whites played an important part in the civil rights struggle, but again as a minority among the dominant stratum.

So too, in Israel, the progressive Jews must prudently assume that the majority of Jews will not break with the system that gives them privileges. The progressive youth will come to understand that they have only two choices: They can line up with the Zionists against the Palestinians, or with the Palestinians against the Zionists.

And one thing is absolutely certain: If they line up, no matter how critically, with the Zionists, they will never get rid of the Ashkenazi capitalist and bureaucratic elite that everyone knows, on one level or another, dominates their society. Until they are ready to build a democratic secular movement, side by side with the Palestinians and the Arab masses of the region, they can be nothing more than an ax without a handle.

### Liberalism and the peace movement

Closer to home, Chomsky avoids grappling with the very real impact that the pro-Israel prejudices of the majority of our fellow Jews has on liberalism and the peace movement. Although he properly denounces the brazen refusal of the organizers of the June 12, 1982, antinuclear demonstration to speak out against the invasion of Lebanon, which had just commenced, he offers no explanation for their silence.

But one of the reasons is fairly obvious. The demonstration's organizers did not want to alienate the many Jews who help support the peace organizations—and the liberal Democratic candidates, whom most of the peace movement supports—with their financial (and other) contributions.

This is also why the liberals, who can at least be counted on to speak against despotism elsewhere, not only are usually silent about Israel's crimes, but have frequently hailed these outrages. Chomsky himself points this out in the case of Hayden and Fonda, who showed up with the Israeli army in Beirut, although he fails to draw the implications from their sordid example.

Chomsky, and those who share his hesitations, actually do no service to the substantial element among the Jewish youth who share the internationalist values of their academic milieu; reject the middle- and upper-class values of their family environment; and already reject, to one degree or another, Zionism, as an intellectually isolated nationalist broom-closet.

People who want a peaceful, democratic, secular world and then turn around and oppose a democratic, secular Palestine are only deceiving themselves. Sooner or later, but inexorably, they will come to compromise with the enemies of democracy and secularism here. Chomsky has retreated to a reformist liberalism, but it still remains a liberalism with a human face, and his scholarly contribution, as in all of his books, is signal. "The Fateful Triangle" will be most profitably read by both the general public and the specialist. ■



tainly not with the Palestine Liberation Organization, even if it were to abandon terrorism and recognize Israel.

Chomsky documents the implacable hostility of the United States toward any accommodation with the PLO, noting that after an intramural capitalist debate, Washington overruled its Arabists and opted for a rejectionist Israel as

with what we shall soon hear from those who will rush to tell us to be sure to vote for any Democrat because he will be "the lesser of the two evils."

But, since Chomsky is a genuine moralist, he doesn't develop this theme, since he knows full well that only the most politically backward and careerist elements among Israel's 17 percent Palestinian minority vote for their committed enemies.

However, he does repeatedly insist that the Palestinians should bite the bullet and recognize Israel, that is to say, surrender their right to 81 percent of their patrimony in the hope of thereby, somehow, convincing the Israelis and

his fear that they may "go the way of the American Indians."

Here, he expresses the characteristic liberal conviction that things can only get worse, especially if the oppressed don't compromise. In fact he is out of touch. There was already a growing Israeli antiwar sentiment when he wrote the book in mid-1983, and since then the country has been plunged into a deep economic crisis, opening up new avenues for revolutionary development.

But this opportunity will only be seized upon by those with revolutionary audacity; and recognition of Israel can never be the banner that will rally the

Lenni Brenner is the author of *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, Croom Helm and Lawrence Hill & Co., 1983. He has also published a number of articles in recent issues of *Arab Perspectives* and *Freedomways* magazines.

# Letters to editor on FMLN/FDR peace plan

## "Outsiders cannot pass judgment on tactical decisions by FMLN/FDR"

Dear editor,

In January 1984, the Salvadoran FMLN and FDR presented a proposal for a "Government of Broad Participation."

[See *International Viewpoint*, No. 50, April 9, 1984, for English-language version of the document.]

This new proposal has been largely interpreted in the international solidarity movement as a shift in the position of the FMLN/FDR. For some people the shift was welcome. For instance, the editorial board of *Estudios Centroamericanos*, the journal of the Jesuit-run Central American University, stated that the FMLN/FDR's proposal "seems to reflect a decision to abandon revolutionary idealism in favor of a political realism."

Others, like the majority of the Political Committee of Socialist Action, saw reason for worry: "The structure of the provisional government, then, would at best postpone final resolution of the civil war in El Salvador. At worst, it would lead to the defeat of the revolution (*Socialist Action*, June 1984)."

In my opinion, it is impossible for outsiders to pass judgment on tactical decisions made by the FMLN/FDR concerning negotiations. Our task is to explain the new situation that confronts the FMLN/FDR and to demand "U.S. Out of Central America Now!" The international solidarity movement cannot have a position on the negotiations.

The Nicaraguan revolution, five years ago, opened a new period in Central America, showing that the United States could be defeated in its own backyard and breaking Cuba's isolation on the continent. It gave a new burst of hope to all revolutionists in the region, particularly in El Salvador, which everybody expected would be next.

The United States, surprised in Nicaragua, intended not to be caught off guard in El Salvador and, if possible, to turn back the wheel of history in Nicaragua itself.

The major aspects of U.S. intervention are all too well known: the invasion of Grenada, support to the *contras* on Nicaragua's borders, large-scale maneuvers in Honduras and at sea, and supply and training for the Salvadoran army. The scope of U.S. intervention in El Salvador has created specific problems for the FMLN/FDR. Moreover, U.S. intervention is far from being only military. It is also political and diplomatic.

Military aid has meant: (a) more than \$300 million of direct aid since the beginning of the civil war; (b) the training of the Salvadoran army by U.S. instructors; (c) participation in the day-to-day conduct of the war through the U.S. "instructors"; and (d) direct tactical help with immediate intelligence information provided by U.S. planes to the Salvadoran ground forces. The United States also took the initiative of reviving CONDECA, the Central American Defense Council. This military alliance could play an important role if an external military intervention was decided upon.

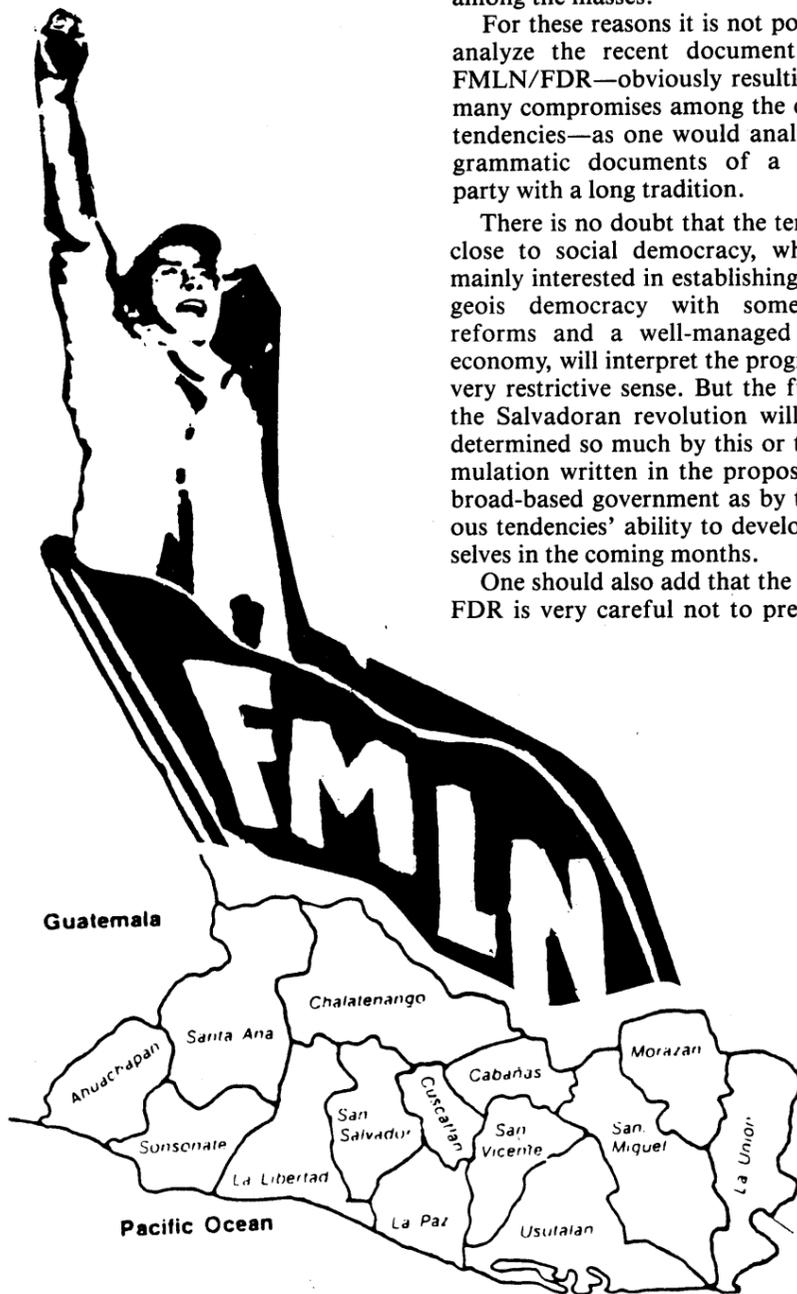
The political offensive has been primarily centered around the elections to provide the Salvadoran government with some legitimacy and to counter the demand for democracy raised by the FMLN/FDR. Far from showing progress in self-determination for the Salvadoran people, the recent elections were obviously manipulated by the United States. It has been publicly admitted before Congress that the CIA provided millions of dollars to ensure Duarte's election over d'Aubuisson.

The diplomatic offensive was designed to isolate the FMLN/FDR from its international support and to calm the fears of the U.S. Congress, the

United States' European allies, and most of the Latin American governments, including the Contadora group. In this situation, the Reagan administration had to display some willingness to consider negotiations. That was the purpose of Reagan's personal envoy, Richard Stone, when he met with representatives of the FMLN/FDR or, more recently, the reason for Secretary of State George Schultz' trip to Managua.

In this situation, the FMLN/FDR was confronted with the following problems:

1) Faced with an escalating U.S. military intervention that changes the character of the civil war and makes it more a war of national liberation, the FMLN/FDR had to try to unify all those willing to defend national inde-



pendence and to give them a program dealing with this new situation. The FMLN/FDR also had to try to win over those sections of the masses who are currently supporting neither side;

2) At the beginning of 1984, the FMLN/FDR had to counter the project of elections for March, presenting its own solution for the government of El Salvador;

3) On the diplomatic front, the FMLN/FDR had to try to make it as difficult as possible for the United States to unify the divided forces of imperialism and its allies in the region.

It is important to remember that the FMLN and FDR include several political and mass organizations whose origins range from the Communist Party, to social democracy, to radical Christian democracy. Though unity has generally increased among the different groups, unanimity has not been completely achieved between or within the organizations.

Marcial's and Ana Maria's deaths were tragic evidence of this situation, showing once again that the methods of

Some major points of the FMLN/FDR proposal of January 1984 are the following: "The broad-based provisional government will not be dominated by any one force but rather be the expression of broad participation by the political and social forces ready to scrap the oligarchic regime..."

"It is understood that it is to serve only for a limited period."

"The people's power organs that have developed in certain areas in the country during the war will be given legal status."

"Dissolution of the special security forces, the Death Squadrons, and their political arm, the ARENA party..."

"Laying the bases for reforming the system of foreign trade by extending control over the export of the country's main products—coffee, cotton, sugar, fish, and meat"... "the government will join the Movement of Nonaligned States, and in line with this reinforce the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid"... "will pledge not to permit the installation of foreign military bases or missiles on its territory"... "will not allow the national territory to be used for destabilization operations against the governments of neighboring countries"... "this process will culminate in the organization of a single national army incorporating the FMLN forces and the purged governmental armed forces. Until such a time, both armies retain their weapons."

democratic discussion in revolutionary movements are not a luxury—even in wartime. The differences of opinion are not only over the way to handle negotiations and alliances, but also over how to advance unity among the different groups and over the balance between military actions and political work among the masses.

For these reasons it is not possible to analyze the recent document of the FMLN/FDR—obviously resulting from many compromises among the different tendencies—as one would analyze programmatic documents of a political party with a long tradition.

There is no doubt that the tendencies close to social democracy, which are mainly interested in establishing a bourgeois democracy with some social reforms and a well-managed market economy, will interpret the program in a very restrictive sense. But the future of the Salvadoran revolution will not be determined so much by this or that formulation written in the proposal for a broad-based government as by the various tendencies' ability to develop themselves in the coming months.

One should also add that the FMLN/FDR is very careful not to present the

proposal for a broad-based government as the definitive solution to the problems of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. The transitional and short-term character of the proposed government is underlined. Its tasks are only to prepare the conditions for radical reforms such as the agrarian reform. A decisive victory of the workers will obviously require much deeper struggles.

The best reason for confidence in the future of the Salvadoran revolution is the current policy of the FMLN/FDR which, far from having illusions about the negotiations, is actively pursuing the armed struggle.

In the current circumstances, whatever internal struggle occurs in the FMLN, it is extremely important for the international solidarity movement to continue supporting the FMLN/FDR as a whole and to avoid duplicating their internal differences here.

It is not the task of the U.S. antiwar movement to ask the U.S. government to open negotiations. Our demand can only be "U.S. Out Now."

It is a principle shared by the entire movement that the United States should respect the right of self-determination of the Central American people and not interfere with their destiny. Dropping the principle of "U.S. Out" in favor of a call for negotiations will not make us more effective. On the contrary.

Yet, although I agree that "U.S. Out Now" has to be the central demand of the antiwar movement, that does not mean that I am for avoiding talking about negotiations. First, the FMLN proposals have to be publicized to show that there is a serious political alternative to the Duarte government and the prolongation of the war. Second, we can stress that it is not the FMLN/FDR that refuses to negotiate but the Duarte government and the Reagan administration, for whom the only road to "peace" is a military victory over the FMLN. Such a victory would only be possible now with the introduction of foreign troops—most likely from the United States.

Leo Rivlin  
New York City

## "Too early to pass judgment"

Dear editor,

The discussion that is taking place in the pages of *Socialist Action* on the FMLN/FDR peace plan is important. My own thoughts might seem contradictory but in fact reflect the complexities of the issue.

On the one hand, I support the right of the FMLN/FDR to call for negotiations. This position can be used to help expose the goals of the U.S. government and thus isolate it internationally. I believe that it is premature for us in this country to point out the *potential* problems in the peace plan's formulations.

In spite of the goals of the reformist elements within the FMLN/FDR, Reagan and the Salvadoran military today are not willing to negotiate with the revolutionary forces in El Salvador. The workers and peasants continue to struggle and moreover, *today*, no wing of the FMLN/FDR is proposing to put

down its arms as a pre-condition for negotiations.

On the other hand, the peace plan currently endorsed by the FMLN/FDR, if actually implemented, could mean an accord with Duarte on terms that would set back the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. If at some point in the future an unprincipled accord is reached, it would be our duty to point this out. However, this is not the situation today.

Our primary task in the "belly of the beast" is to help build the broadest based mass-action movement to demand "U.S. Out of Central America," not to win support for a negotiated "settlement" to the war in El Salvador, as many leaders of the solidarity movement propose.

Lita Blanc  
San Francisco

# Supreme Court deals blow to affirmative action

By ROLAND SHEPPARD

The June 12, 1984, U.S. Supreme Court decision on affirmative action and job seniority is a blow to the gains won by the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

The court ruled in the case of Black Memphis fire fighters that union seniority lists could not be modified to meet affirmative action quotas. For there to be any modification of seniority, the court ruling stated, it was not sufficient to prove that discrimination existed. It was now necessary to prove individual discrimination as well as actual *intent* to discriminate.

Now the court wants to take us back to the old days when the law of the land for Blacks, women, and other minorities was "last hired—first fired."

The administration and the corporations cheered this decision, as was to be expected. Unfortunately, many of the union leaders who were content with the racist status quo in the past have also applauded the ruling.

Both affirmative action and seniority are important gains of the working class in preventing discrimination against workers. Recently there have been attacks upon and erosion of *both*

affirmative action and seniority rights. But the unions must adjust seniority to protect affirmative action gains and must begin to unite the rank and file so that an effective fight for jobs can be waged.

The bosses try to pit higher-seniority workers who are laid off against Blacks, Latinos, women, and other oppressed minorities. The unions must counter this by opposing all layoffs. They must call for a 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay to keep everybody on the job and to put to work the millions of workers now unemployed.

The German workers have pointed the way in this fight. They launched a nationwide campaign for a 35-hour week. In this country the fight for the shorter workweek can only be won by a united working-class movement that puts the interests of its most abused brothers and sisters first.

Centuries of discrimination against Blacks and women have been overcome only to a token extent through affirmative-action hiring. But now even these gains are being wiped out by this recent Supreme Court decision. The labor movement must take a stand in solidarity with the most oppressed and exploited layers of the working class who will be the victims of this latest anti-worker decision.



## Pinochet, Mobutu, and Marcos

Dan Chumley, Audrey Smith, and Meleccio Magdaluyo are three U.S.-backed dictators in the San Francisco Mime Troupe's new musical production 1985. Unfortunately, this spirited satire winds down to the conclusion that to avoid a disastrous 1985, it is necessary to vote in 1984 as "Jesse would want you to," i.e. for the Democratic Party ticket. A most melancholy finale, and unprecedented for the Mime Troupe!—M.S.

# Budget cuts hit higher education

By ANN ROBERTSON

An invisible cancer has been eating away at the heart of higher education during the past decade. Thus far it has succeeded in dramatically lowering the quality of education for working-class students. It has converted academic freedom into a dead letter. And finally it has created a whole generation of second-class teachers.

In the 1970s college and university administrators were faced with shrinking budgets and with young radical faculty members who were willing to challenge their administrative decisions. With almost cynical malice, administrators confronted both problems with a single stroke and created a new type of faculty member known as the lecturer.

A lecturer is hired by the semester so that the university is under no obligation to rehire the individual, though many lecturers are retained for years. In addition to lacking job security, lecturers are paid a mere fraction of the salary of their full-time equivalents, and in general receive no job benefits.

They can be given anywhere from one to five courses at any single university. Those who receive only one or two are then compelled to seek additional courses at other nearby schools or find entirely different sources of supplemental income so that much of their time is spent commuting on the nation's highways. Women and minorities are more apt to be found in positions as lecturers than as full-time faculty.

Already these lecturers account for more than one-half of the teaching faculty in the nation's community colleges and for one-third of the faculty in all institutions of higher education throughout the country. Institutions such as state and community colleges, which attract working class students, have clearly been hit the hardest.

The quality of education has consequently been drastically diminished. The necessity for these faculty members to seek additional employment in order to eke out a modest living allows them less time to meet with students and prepare classes. Moreover, this intensified exploitation has produced a wave of demoralization among lecturers so that many simply perform a minimum amount of work for their meager monetary rewards.

Furthermore negotiations between faculty and administrators for better working conditions have been complicated by the existence of this division of the faculty into two separate classes.

Administrators have succeeded in playing one group against the other and have not hesitated to threaten to transform more full-time faculty members into lecturers when they demand "too much."

The fightback has begun but the struggle will be long and hard. Faculty unionization is on the rise and lecturers have consequently won significant gains. But quite frequently full-time faculty and lecturers have found themselves in different bargaining units and hence have been forced to negotiate separate contracts. Unfortunately this has often been the result of the enthusiastic campaigns launched by some full-time faculty members who, by employing a kind of primitive logic, have hoped that by removing lecturers from their union the problem that lecturers pose will magically disappear.

Gradually, however, faculty members are beginning to perceive the disastrous consequences of this twisted logic. In the California State College system the United Professors of California, which vied unsuccessfully for the role of bargaining agent, persistently argued for a bargaining unit that would comprise full-timers and lecturers together. Eventually they prevailed on this point.

The working class has been robbed in the night of a significant degree of quality from higher education, but as the news leaks out and the crime is exposed the fightback will intensify. The working class will win back its investment in quality education and no doubt will demand a heavy payment in interest as well. But in order for victory to be secured, the capitalist system, which places profit for the benefit of a few above the humanistic development of the many, will have to be completely abolished.

### Errata

The July issue of *Socialist Action* contains the following mistakes made in the transcription from tapes of articles by Ralph Schoenman: "It is the case of what the Jesuits call insensible ignorance" should read "invincible ignorance." "Walter Mondale's chief de-sensitizer is Harold Brown" should read "chief defense adviser." "This involves more tonnage in the period of nine months than was used during the entire Second World War" should read "more tonnage in a period of nine months." "The economic spokesperson for George McGovern's campaign is Robert K. Liston" should read "Robert K. Lifton." "Ironically, even the bourgeois reforms invoked as a debate for supporting the Democrats" should read "invoked as a bait."



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## Emporium workers locked out

# S.F. retail clerks strike Macy's

By FRANCES SHAW and BEN WIESE

SAN FRANCISCO—On July 7, 2100 members of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100 went on strike here against Macy's department store. The strike also includes four warehouse facilities in the city and in South San Francisco.

The Emporium-Capwell department store, in a show of employer solidarity with Macy's, locked out 1200 members of Local 1100 on July 10. Emporium-Capwell, which is part of the wealthy conglomerate of Carter, Hawley, and Hale, sought to divide the Local 1100 membership with the lock-out, hoping to pit Macy's workers against Emporium workers. But their lock-out has only strengthened the resolve of Macy's and Emporium employees to stand together in this fight.

On July 23, 10 Local 1100 members were arrested for peacefully picketing in front of the doors of the two department stores—a violation of an undemocratic court injunction. Among those arrested were Walter Johnson, president of Local 1100 and Dick Williams, Local 1100 secretary-treasurer.

### Takeaway demands

The main issues that led to the strike and lock-out are the employers' demands for concessions. The two major takeaway demands are a two-tier wage and benefit package and an employer-controlled health plan. The two-tier plan proposed by the department store owners would place all new



In addition to these takeaway proposals, the employers offered a 20-cent-per hour wage increase for the first year and a 15-cent-a-year increase for the second and third years of the contract. This proposal amounts to less than 2 percent a year over three years—much less than the pay lost by Local 1100 members over the past three years due to inflation, and less than half the current "low" inflation rate of 5 percent.

### "Not less, but more in '84"

The Local 1100 membership, under the slogan of "Not less, but more in '84" recognized the takeaway demands as a serious attack on their union. Local 1100 is a small but union-conscious island of organized department store workers in a sea of nonunion stores. Together Macy's and Emporium have over 40 stores in Northern California. Only four stores are union. Three of these four stores are now on strike or locked-out.

Since the strike and lock-out began, union members have maintained militant and effective picket lines at the Macy's and the two Emporium stores. Business at all three stores is down 60 to 80 percent. There are 20 to 25 pickets at each door. (Macy's has 6 doors.) And they are hard to ignore.

Union members and supporters have been using whistles, tambourines, bull-horns, and chanting and singing enthusiastically. At the super-profitable Macy's store alone, \$4 million in sales have been lost in the first two weeks of the strike. The strike will be won if the pickets continue to have this kind of impact.

Local 1100, with 5500 members, is the second largest union in San Francisco. The union has an excellent record of supporting other unions and progressive causes. Support for the coal miners' strike of 1978-79, the 1980 oil workers' strike, the 1980 San Francisco hotel workers' strike, the 1983 Greyhound strike, women's rights, gay rights, and opposition to South African apartheid and the death penalty are just a few examples of the progressive record of Local 1100.

### First amendment under attack

In response to the highly effective picket lines, the employers moved quickly to obtain a court injunction that bans all picketing in front of the doors and all noisemaking devices.

The Labor Committee for the First Amendment has been formed by the many friends of Local 1100 to fight this undemocratic and unconstitutional injunction. Among the endorsers of the support committee are leaders of the central labor councils in the Bay Area and leaders of the Teamsters, the Longshore and Warehouse Union, and the Building Trades Council. Two mass ral-

lies and picket lines have been held with over 1000 people on July 19 and July 21.

The giant retail conglomerates of R.H. Macy's and Carter, Hawley, and Hale have jumped on the takeaway steamroller that is rolling throughout the country. They are relying, like every employer, on court injunctions, cops, and friendly politicians to defeat the union.

The unions were built in defiance of court injunctions against picketing. The unions were built in defiance of police strikebreaking. The great strike battles of the 1930s were won because the full power of striking workers and their allies was unleashed in defiance of the courts and the police. The fact that

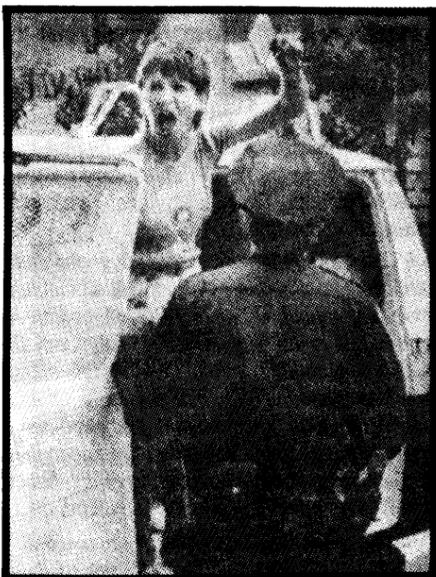
department store employees in San Francisco are unionized is a result of the great labor battles fought during the 1930s.

To win this strike Local 1100 members and their supporters cannot submit to union-busting injunctions. Because of the broad support for Local 1100, the members have so far been able to successfully defy the injunction. But if the injunction-wielding judges, the mayor, and her police are allowed to stop effective picketing, the union will suffer a serious setback.

A determined fight can inspire the San Francisco labor movement to bring the full weight of its power into the battle. Every time our picket lines are attacked by the police, every time one of us is arrested, more and more unionists and others can and should be mobilized to march on the picket lines and demonstrate in support of the strike.

A victorious and speedy end to the strike can be ensured if the Local 1100 strike becomes a rallying cause for the labor movement in the Bay Area. A victory for Local 1100 would set an example for all working people that could help turn around the current defensive stance of the labor movement against takeaways into a new offensive to improve and advance living standards for working people.

**NO TO ALL TAKEAWAYS!  
NO TO THE EMPLOYERS' TWO TIERS!  
NO TO THE UNDEMOCRATIC INJUNCTION!  
YES TO THE FIRST AMENDMENT AND THE RIGHT TO PICKET IN FRONT OF THE DOORS!**



Karen Shieve, picket captain, being taken away by police on July 23.

hires at a lower wage scale, with straight time for Sunday and holiday work and no night premium pay. (Present employees get 10 percent extra for night premium pay and double-time pay for Sundays and holidays.)

Macy's and Emporium want to use the lower-paid workers in the two-tier system as a dead weight to pull down the wages and benefits of all employees. Two classes of union membership would be created that could be exploited to full advantage by the bosses. For Local 1100 to accede to the employers' demand for a two-tier wage system would greatly weaken the union, if not deal it a mortal blow.

The other major takeaway sought by the department stores is a company-controlled health plan that would mean a reduction in health coverage while imposing a large increase in employee payments. Under the old contract, members (including dependents) paid no more than \$3 per month. The employers' demand is for employees to pay up to \$30 per month.

## Socialist candidate supports strike

### Statement to strikers by Sylvia Weinstein

*Don't shop Macy's. Don't shop Emporium.  
On strike, shut it down. San Francisco is a union town.*

Macy's and Emporium hoped to divide Local 1100. In fact, the membership has closed ranks and become as one.

You have said NO to the two-tier wage proposal that would establish separate and unequal classes of union members.

You have said NO to glorified law clerks who seek to deny your right to peacefully picket.

Over 3000 pot-banging, whistle-blowing, chanting, and marching union members have drawn the line—Local 1100 says, "The buck stops here!"

Why should profit-fat corporations be allowed to force concessions from working people, who are already hard-pressed to make ends meet? Why should peaceful pickets be denied the right to walk on the sidewalks of San Francisco?

As an active feminist, I know from personal experience that Local 1100 always extended its hand to help organize support on issues ranging from childcare to the ERA.

I also know that Local 1100 and its president, Walter Johnson, have unfailingly come to the aid of striking unions like the coal miners in 1978, the oil workers in 1980, and the Greyhound workers in 1983.

Local 1100 practices solidarity as a matter of principle in its relations with other unions and progressive causes.

Macy's and Emporium have money. But the just cause and determination of Local 1100 members can overcome anything scab money can buy. Local 1100 can convince and inspire working people that we are a force more powerful than all the corporations.

It's time for the whole labor movement to respond to the employers' campaign to isolate and divide one union from another. It's time for labor, Blacks, women, Latinos, and gays to recognize that justice is a common cause. It's time for all of us to recognize that today the Macy's and Emporium picket lines are our common ground.

The San Francisco General Strike began on July 16, 1934. Many of the gains won for the labor movement in that fight still remain. I believe the picket lines at Macy's and Emporium can revive the powerful traditions that made labor strong. The retail clerks represent the interests of all working people in their fight for a decent contract. A united Bay Area labor movement has the power to stop the takeaway drive of Macy's and Emporium.

I have been proud to walk on your picket lines. I pledge the full support of my campaign to help spread your message far and wide.

In solidarity,

Sylvia Weinstein  
Socialist Action candidate for  
San Francisco Board of Supervisors