

A Socialist ACTION

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Vol.2, No. 6



June 1984

50 cents



—Blade Photo by Lee Martie

Police clash with striking workers at Toledo's AP Parts plant.

Toledo strikers battle cops

By GLEN BOATMAN

TOLEDO, Ohio—On May 21, 1984, nearly 50 years to the day since the historic Toledo Auto-Lite strike left two dead and 25 wounded in 1934, union members from the United Auto Workers and other unions fought a pitched battle with police at the AP Parts plant. This clash was the most violent labor action since the Auto-Lite strike of 1934 and the International Harvester strike of 1912.

On an hour's notice, at 3 p.m., hundreds of trade unionists began assembling at the AP Muffler and Tailpipe plant to protest the company's use of 120 scab workers. Between 2000 and 3500 unionists eventually joined the protest. Violence erupted about 4:30 p.m. when police rushed and arrested several protesters following the raising of a banner that said, "UAW strong!"

Just prior to this, an empty car-carrier truck had been driven into the entrance gate to block it. Following the beating of one trade unionist and the handcuffing of others, the police were met with a hail of rocks and bottles. The police responded with tear gas, and a fierce 45-minute battle ensued.

During this time rocks and bottles rained upon the police and paddy wagons. Numerous windows in the plant were smashed, and unionists tossed back tear gas canisters. Police broke out their riot gear, helmets, shields, pellet, and tear gas guns. The battle erupted on several occasions into the evening. Forty-one trade unionists and unemployed workers were ultimately arrested. Most were charged with aggravated rioting. The preliminary hearings are scheduled to begin June 4.

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U.S. pushes war drive after Duarte victory

By LARRY COOPERMAN

On May 6, Jose Napoleon Duarte, won a run-off election victory over Major Roberto d'Aubuisson by a margin of 54 to 46 percent. The contrast between the two candidates has been played up in the news accounts around the world.

Roberto d'Aubuisson, after all, is the notorious leader of the death squads. He reputedly ordered the murder, in 1980, of Monsignor Romero, El Salvador's popular archbishop and an outspoken critic of the Salvadoran government.

Duarte, by contrast, has a reputation as a moderate. He had been the apparently victorious presidential candidate in 1972, when the military again committed massive electoral fraud to prevent his victory.

Immediately following the recent election, the first prisoner exchange took place between the Salvadoran government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). On May 23, moreover, five national guardsmen were tried and convicted in the 1980 murder of four American churchwomen in El Salvador.

Perhaps the Salvadoran government is changing?

Death squads with a human face

The election of Duarte is being played as the Reagan administration's best card to convince the American people that its growing intervention in El Salvador is not intended to prop up a regime responsible for over 40,000 murders, or for the smashing of unions and peasant associations.

Duarte, while punishing the Salvadoran soldiers who confessed to the murder of the churchwomen, at the same time retained General Vides Casanova as minister of defense. According to a U.S. government report, Casanova was responsible for the cover-up following the brutal murder and rape of the

four women. For Duarte, it is more convenient to find a handful of soldiers to punish so that the affair can once again be buried and easily forgotten.

In fact, it is not just more convenient for Duarte to limit the investigation of the murders—it is necessary. No Salvadoran government can last long that does not have the support or the toleration of the Salvadoran army and its clandestine detachments—the death squads.

The U.S. role in the elections

Reagan administration officials now admit that the CIA funneled more than \$600,000 to Duarte's Christian Democratic Party. U.S. policy intended to prevent the possibility of a victory by D'Aubuisson, whose election would have been a barrier to the open provision of military aid to El Salvador's rightwing regime. Hedrick Smith noted in the May 13 *New York Times* that the victory of Duarte, who vowed "to halt the rightwing death squads, pursue land reform, and seek a dialogue with the insurgents, not only suited the Administration but helped to disarm Democratic critics."

The real significance of the Salvadoran elections was demonstrated by Duarte's international diplomacy. Immediately after his victory, he went on a short tour of Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala, and then flew off to Washington.

In Costa Rica, according to Guillermo Ungo of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), Duarte informed the Costa Rican president of his desire to hold a dialogue with the Salvadoran rebels. Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge has reportedly agreed to "facilitate dialogue towards a negotiated settlement" to the civil war in El Salvador.

At a news conference in San Jose, Costa Rica, Ungo reiterated the FDR's proposal of initiating a dialogue "with-

(continued on page 2)



Salvadoran Atlacatl Brigade during special training in the United States

Iran-Iraq war widens, U.S. arms Saudi Arabia

The war between Iran and Iraq, now in its fourth year, has entered its most bloody stage yet. In recent months, conclusive evidence has indicated that the Iraqi regime has been using chemical warfare on a wide scale and as an important part of its military strategy. For its part, Iran has demonstrated a willingness to send tens of thousands of teenage boys to the front to be sacrificed in the widening carnage caused by the war.

The two countries attempt to strangle each other economically by blockading each others' ports. The Arab League has sponsored a hypocritical resolution condemning only Iran for its recent bombing of four tankers in international waters.

More on Iran-Iraq war, See page 17

The bleeding of the Iranian and Iraqi toiling masses through the prolongation of the war has been pushed forward by the imperialist countries, which have profited from the arms sales to both countries.

In this context, U.S. imperialism has delivered 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Saudi Arabia. Moreover, it has offered to insure "freedom of navigation" through the use of its military power in the Persian Gulf. And it has begun discussions within NATO to find a common military response to the Gulf war.

This Gulf war has already resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. The U.S. intervention threatens a wider and bloodier war.

No U.S. intervention in the Iran-Iraq war!

End the fighting now!

...Duarte visit to U.S.

(continued from page 1)

out preconditions." He noted, however, that "Mr. Duarte has already put down preconditions about dialogue." Ruben Zamora, a leader of the FDR, pointed out that "fundamentally, the United States is interested in Mr. Duarte because he can bring around public opinion and persuade Congress to continue sending military aid to El Salvador."

In fact, the first actual result of Duarte's election has been the authorization of \$129.4 million in military aid by a 212-208 vote of the House of Representatives. Democratic Majority Leader Jim Wright was instrumental in forging a Republican-Democrat majority over the official proposal of the House Democrats. In the face of Duarte's visit, other prominent Democrats were visibly weakening in their "opposition" to the proposed \$62 million in emergency military aid.

Clarence Long, Democratic repre-

sentative from Maryland and liberal critic of the Reagan administration's Central American policies, stated bluntly, "He's a moderate. He's our kind of man." Representative Michael Barnes, also of Maryland, noted, "Duarte makes a powerful plea. I'm sure they're not going to send him back empty-handed."

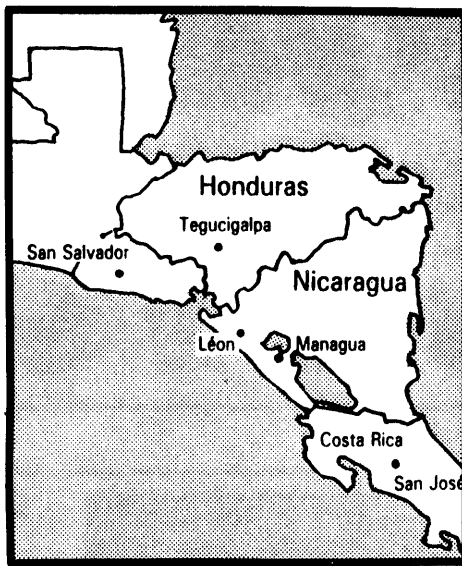
In fact, a solid majority of 267-154 voted to approve the new military aid. The prosecution of the guardsmen accused of the murder of the nuns released another \$19 million in U.S. aid. The Reagan administration intends to seek to supplement this figure with another \$112 million in aid for the next four months, plus \$132.5 million for the fiscal year beginning in October.

A revealing amendment

In short, Duarte's visit can only bring a prolongation of the military conflict and an escalation of the bloodshed. The hundreds of millions of dollars in aid will allow the Salvadoran government to carry on with its bloody and interminable war against the Salvadoran workers and peasants.

The collapse, yet again, of the Democratic Party "opposition" illustrates the problems of any strategy that relies on the Democrats. A Democratic representative from Washington, for example, offered an amendment to the aid package that would "prevent" the sending of troops to Central America, except in the following circumstances: (1) to protect the U.S. Embassy; (2) to resist a threat to the United States; or (3) to insure the evacuation of Americans. In other words, the U.S. government will not invade Central America unless it is necessary.

U.S. policy intends to mount the greatest possible pressure on the Central American revolution. The massing of thousands of *contras*—trained and equipped by the U.S. government and



led by the CIA—on the borders of Nicaragua is the first prong of U.S. policy in Central America. The second is the turning of Honduras into a giant U.S. military base for counterrevolutionary operations. The third is the massive reinforcement of the military capacity of the Salvadoran government.

This policy will not be defeated in Congress. The House Democrats will continue to obey the logic of imperialist intervention, as they have done since the beginning of the escalation of U.S. intervention under Carter.

The front line of the defense of the Central American revolution is the militias, the Sandinista Defense Committees, and the Sandinista army of Nicaragua; it is the resistance of the FMLN in El Salvador; and it is the gigantic international solidarity which the Central American revolution has evoked throughout the world.

That international solidarity must link up with the massive sentiment against U.S. intervention that exists in the United States. It must combine to build an effective worldwide protest against the crimes of the U.S. and Salvadoran governments, whether led by a Republican or a Democrat, a D'Aubuisson or a Duarte.

Stop attacks on SWP offices!

Recently, several local offices of the Socialist Workers Party were violently attacked. Between March 10 and April 7, the Atlanta office was shot into three times. On April 24, the Los Angeles headquarters was firebombed. Two days later, the Seattle office was heavily damaged by arson. The Seattle office had been defaced previously with Nazi stickers and slogans.

Socialist Action offers our support to the SWP against all forms of violence and harassment against them. We also protest the refusal of city officials in Seattle, Los Angeles, and Atlanta to publicly denounce and apprehend the perpetrators of these attacks. The government's inaction can only serve in the future to encourage right wing violence against all groups of social activists.

We in Socialist Action pledge our active solidarity and offer our help to the SWP in its defense campaign.—THE EDITORS

N.Y. rally set for June 9

By JIM MORGAN

NEW YORK—"Stop the U.S. War in Central America and the Caribbean!" This is the headline of a leaflet being distributed by the New York Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. This broadly endorsed Coalition has called for a civil disobedience action on June 7 and a mass demonstration on June 9.

The mass rally will take the form of putting the U.S. government on trial for its criminal activities. Large puppets will represent President Reagan and members of his administration. Witnesses will testify from El Salvador, Nicaragua, and other oppressed nations. After a march from the United Nations past



Coalition puts Reagan on trial for war crimes

the Republican presidential campaign headquarters, the trial will take place at 2 p.m. in front of the Times Square Army Recruitment Center.

The criminal charges outlined are: "Drawing this nation into another Vietnam War by:

- "Bombing the civilian population of El Salvador.
- "Mining the ports of Nicaragua.
- "Sending billions of our dollars to the repressive regimes of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, and the *contras* fighting against the Nicaraguan people.
- "Illegally building a massive military infrastructure in Honduras and stationing thousands of U.S. combat troops there.
- "Continuing the military *occupation* of Grenada and militarizing other Caribbean islands as well."

The June 7 civil disobedience is to be directed against the N.Y. offices of the CIA, Defense Department, State Department, and Immigration Service. A "subpoena" will then be served on the administration to appear at the "People's Trial" of June 9.

The text of the coalition leaflet is generally good, but unfortunately concludes with the statement, "In this election year it is crucial we defeat Reagan, while putting all politicians on notice that we will be out in the streets to stop the U.S. war on Central America and the Caribbean." The first part of the statement implies support to the Democratic Party candidate, which goes against the principles of some Coalition members.

The N.Y. Chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), one of the two main support groups of the Coalition (the other being Mobilization for Survival), is pushing vigorously for more civil disobedience, as well as involvement with the pro-Democratic Party forces.

Members of Socialist Action are involved in leafleting and building the June 9 demonstration to try to make it as massive as possible. This is a top priority for us as we see the growing danger of rapid escalation toward another Vietnam War. We will carry signs in the demonstration calling for "U.S. Out of Central America Now!" and "Hands Off the Central American Revolution!" And we will distribute a statement to the demonstrators with our proposals for building a movement to stop this war. ■

Socialist ACTION

June 1984

Editor: Alan Benjamin
Associate Editors: Mark Harris
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Managing Editor: Nancy Gruber
Business Manager: Kate Curry

Editorial Board: Les Evans, Dianne Feeley, Jeff Mackler, Jim Richter, Nat Weinstein

Staff: Paul Colvin, Larry Cooperman, Robin David, May May Gong, Millie Gonzalez, Hayden Perry, Linda Ray, Phil Ruble, Joe Ryan, Kwame M.A. Somburu, Marion Syrek, Sylvia Weinstein

Socialist Action is published monthly for \$6 per year by Socialist Action Publishing Association, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Application to mail at Second-Class Postage Rates is pending at San Francisco, Calif. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Rates: 3 issues for \$1.00; 12 issues for \$6.00; Canada and Mexico \$12.50; \$30.00 airmail for all other countries; \$14.00 surface mail for all other countries.

New Socialist Action Information Bulletin

The political debate within the Socialist Workers Party since 1979 has in large part centered around the programmatic content of the party leadership's "turn to the Cubans." To the Trotskyist Opposition within the party (since purged), the problem lay not in the leadership's correct orientation to these "revolutionists of action," but rather in a trend towards an adaptation to the programmatic weaknesses and not the practical strengths of the Castroist current. These weaknesses — over permanent revolution, workers' democracy, and political revolution — have their roots in the distortion of the Marxist program which resulted from the Stalinization of the USSR and the world communist movement.

The depth of the SWP leadership's adaptation to these weaknesses has been reflected recently in their endorsement of the ideas contained in Carlos Rafael Rodriguez' "Lenin and the Colonial Question" (*New Internationalist*, vol. 1, no. 1, Fall, 1983), and Shafik Jorge Handal's "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution, and the Unity of the Left" (*Intercontinental Press*, Nov. 15, 1983), both of which blur, if not distort, key elements of the revolutionary Marxist strategy for the uninterrupted revolution in the underdeveloped countries. Not surprisingly, both Rodriguez and Handal have long histories in the Stalinist movement. Rodriguez was for decades a central leader of the Cuban Popular Socialist Party, while Handal today heads the Communist Party of El Salvador.

This issue of *Socialist Action Information Bulletin* is devoted to a critique of these two articles. Paul Siegel's "Carlos Rafael Rodriguez' Contribution to Marxist Theory" shows the true Stalinist roots of the Rodriguez-Barnes-Jenness two-stage theory and the genuine Leninist continuity of the theory of permanent revolution. Alan Benjamin's "Behind Shafik Jorge Handal's 'Self-criticism'" probes the ambiguities in Handal's self-criticism, revealing the wide margin within Handal's schema which would allow for a strategic, i.e. governmental, alliance between the proletariat and the "progressive, anti-imperialist, and anti-oligarchical" national bourgeoisie, an alliance which has always formed a cornerstone of Stalinist policy, and which just as inevitably proved a deathtrap for the "democratic, anti-imperialist" first stage of the revolution.

Both Siegel and Benjamin were unjustly expelled from the SWP in early January of this year for refusing to repudiate a statement allegedly made by a reporter of the SWP minority at a California state SWP convention. Siegel is a retired professor of English and a long-time contributor to the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. He has published various books on literature and Marxism. Benjamin has joined Socialist Action since his expulsion from the SWP and is currently the editor of *Socialist Action* newspaper.

Vol. 1, No. 4. Price: \$2.00 (includes mailing cost).

Opposition swells against dictatorship

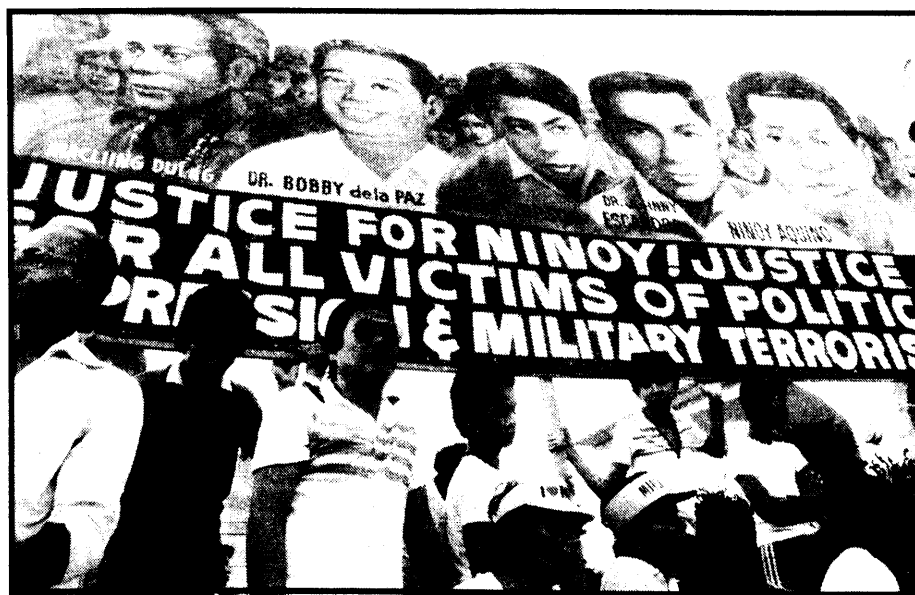
By ROBERT CAPISTRANO

Despite widespread intimidation and voter fraud, opponents of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos appear to be winning a substantial minority of seats in the May 14 elections to the largely powerless National Assembly.

According to the May 22 *New York Times*, opposition candidates had won 51 out of 183 elected positions and were leading Marcos' "New Society Movement" (Kilusang Bajong Lipunan—KBL) in 31 other races. (An additional 17 seats are to be appointed by Marcos.) In metropolitan Manila, where nearly 20 percent of the Philippine population resides, up to 15 of the 21 open positions have been won by anti-Marcos candidates. As Marcos told *CBS News*, "Our instructions to our people to allow the opposition to win some seats might have been taken too literally."

The road to the elections was marked with "irregularities." According to the April issue of *Ang Katipunan*, it was estimated that in Manila alone the number of registered voters was 37 percent higher than census figures. Further, UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization), the party of the "elite opposition," was denied ballot status as the major opposition in numerous areas, thus allowing local officials to deny the party the right to have poll watchers.

To further complicate the picture, disgruntled KBL members who had been denied candidate status by their own party began filing as "opposition" candidates, complementing other "opposition" parties apparently funded behind the scenes by the KBL. Last but not least, more than 20 people have been assassinated in election-related violence. And to guarantee the sanctity of the ballot-box in this tense climate, Marcos broke an earlier vow to demilitarize the elections by "deputizing" the Philippine Constabulary and the Integrated National Police to guard the polls.



Workers demonstrate in Manila against President Ferdinand Marcos

While Ferdinand Marcos remains firmly in control, the surprising May 14 election results reflected the deep opposition to the dictatorship which had been galvanized by the brazen assassination last August of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. At the same time, the respectable showing for the elite opposition buoyed U.S. and oppositionist hopes for an "orderly" transition from Marcos' rule—a transition which would leave U.S. economic and military interests, and those of the anti-Marcos capitalists, intact. To the United States the most important concern is the continued existence of its strategic Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Base.

Boycott urged

In the months prior to the elections, debate raged within the broad anti-Marcos movement over whether to take part in the elections. Nationalist middle-class forces, organized in the Justice for Aquino-Justice for All movement and the Nationalist Alliance for Justice,

Freedom, and Democracy, joined with the labor unions of the May First Movement (Kilusang Mayo Uno—KMU) in advocating a boycott. These forces argued that only the elimination of the dictatorship and the ouster of U.S. bases could begin to solve the Philippine crisis, and that participation would only give credence to the continued existence of the dictatorship. The underground National Democratic Front also urged a boycott.

While the extent of the boycott is not yet known, the earlier Jan. 27 plebiscite turned out less than 40 percent of the eligible voters despite stiff penalties for not voting. Boycott activities for the May 14 elections culminated in a mass rally in Manila on May 13.

Proponents of participation saw the situation differently. The U.S. Embassy, for example, in Manila viewed a respectable opposition participation in the elections as both a key face-saving measure for the regime and a means of setting the stage for an "acceptable" coalition transition government. It, therefore, lobbied heavily among elite

opposition politicians. Similarly, UNIDO leader Salvador Laurel was granted meetings with Vice President George Bush, State Department officials, and congresspeople during his recent trip to this country.

Seek "politics as usual"

UNIDO participation was critical in giving the elections credibility, both in the United States and in the Philippines. A coalition of 12 parties, UNIDO seeks a return to premartial law "politics as usual," when elections were dominated by parties representing the interests of various factions of the oligarchy.

Martial law and the resulting economic hegemony of Marcos and his cronies undermined the basis of the old jockeying. A return to premartial law politics has been further eroded by the deterioration of the Philippine economy and the mass unrest that followed the Aquino assassination. On May Day, for example, the KMU mobilized 50,000 people in Manila calling for the dismantlement of the dictatorship.

Despite its early blustering about boycott, the elite opposition was pressured to participate in the elections by the threat of the mass movement getting out of hand, and by U.S. encouragement. Even Cory Aquino, the widow of the slain oppositionist, urged participation.

Caught between Marcos and the mass movement, the "elite opposition" of the Philippine ruling class is in a quandary. The hopes raised by the election results cannot be sustained. Marcos remains in power, backed by 250,000 troops and the United States, which as yet has no other option than to support him. Marcos soon renegotiates Philippine repayment of the foreign debt with the International Monetary Fund. In the long run, the May 14 elections will be seen as one of many stopgap measures designed to hold back the aroused workers and peasants of the Philippines. ■

Farewell Pierre Frank

By PHILOMENA O'MALLEY

The following article is reprinted from the May 21, 1984, issue of *International Viewpoint*, a news publication of the Fourth International.

Pierre Frank was a revolutionary militant for 60 years. A leader of Trotsky's Left Opposition and a founding member of the Fourth International, he remained an active leader of the Fourth International, and its French section, the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, until his last years.

In this long life of revolutionary activity he met and inspired many, some who spent only a short time in the Trotskyist movement, others who, like Frank himself, made a lifelong commitment to it.

At his funeral at Pere Lachaise cemetery in Paris on April 27, 1500 of these past and present comrades came to pay their last respects to Pierre Frank.

It was this aspect of the funeral that the French press particularly remarked: the ability of the Fourth International to bring together both the other Trotskyist groups in France, and former members of the movement whose subsequent development has taken them away from the revolutionary Marxist movement.

Thus, *Le Monde*, the top Paris daily, noted not only the presence of a large contingent of Lutte Ouvriere and a delegation of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste led by Pierre Lambert, but also a number of former Trotskyists now well-known in other fields. David

Rousset, for example, a Trotskyist in the war years and now a retired Gaullist deputy, or Fred Zeller, Trotsky's secretary and envoy to Spain in the 1930s, who afterwards became the grandmaster of an order of freemasons.

Le Matin, the Socialist-inclined daily, devoted a two-page spread to the funeral and the "Frank generation" of the Trotskyist movement. This report also highlighted the internationalism of Frank and the movement he spent his life building.

It noted the presence of Vlady, son of Victor Serge, now a well-known painter in Mexico. Also present were Mohammed Harbi, leader of the Algerian National Liberation Front in France in the 1950s, and Zbigniew Kowalewski, exiled leader of Solidarnosc in Poland.

Particularly noted was the presence of two leaders of the Sandinista youth of Nicaragua, presently touring Western Europe, whose offering of red roses was placed on the coffin. Other wreaths also gave an idea of the internationalism of this event, from the Vietnamese Trotskyists, from sections of the Fourth International in Europe and North America, and from the Antilles.

The hundreds of members of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) who had left work for the afternoon to come to pay their last tribute bore witness to the new breath of life the Trotskyist movement won from the radicalized youth of 1968 and the succeeding years.

Marguerite Metayer, Pierre Frank's companion for some 40 years, was in the front ranks, accompanied by leaders



of the LCR. Also a political militant from her youth, she was deported at the age of 20 to Ravensbruck.

The cortege was an impressive sight as it wound its way on a bright April day from Place de la Nation to the Pere Lachaise cemetery. Behind an immense portrait of Pierre Frank came a guard of honor with the red flags marked with the symbol of the Fourth International, followed by the international and other guests and then the large number of comrades and friends of the movement, many wearing red carnations. As it proceeded, there came a soft slow singing, of the Russian "Song of the martyrs" or "The Internationale" accompanied by a single trombone.

So impressive it was that *Le Matin* noted, "not since the death of Trotsky has any leader of the Fourth International had such a funeral," and *Le*

Monde paid tribute not only to the internationalism and continuity of the Trotskyist movement, but also to the LCR's ability to impress with its symbols and imagination.

Before the cremation, Ernest Mandel on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; Jose Iriarte Bikila, Basque leader of the section in the Spanish state; Jakob Moneta of the German section; Barry Sheppard of the American Socialist Workers Party; Charlie van Gelderen of the British section; and Alain Krivine in the name of the LCR, paid their last tributes, recalling the political acuteness, the consistency, the internationalism and the humanity of this man who "loved life and the revolution," in the words of Alain Krivine. And whose life, as Ernest Mandel said, "is intertwined with the history of the Fourth International." ■

U.S. seeks "open door" policy in China

By RALPH FORSYTH

Students of recent Chinese history were not surprised by President Reagan's recent visit to that country. In late March Chairman Deng Xiaoping had met the Prime Minister of Japan, Yasuhiro Nakasone, to discuss international relations, to assure safety of Japanese investments, and to protect copyright agreements in China. The announced aims of Reagan's visit were similar to those of the Japanese, with the additional intention of selling commercial atomic energy reactors and U.S. arms to the Chinese.

The fact that the top leaders of two of the most advanced capitalist countries in the world visited China within two months reflects their growing fear of Soviet military influence in Southeast Asia and their hope to enlist China as their "client" buffer state in the region. These fears of the United States and Japan have become acute since Vietnam's decision to give the Soviet Union access to the U.S.-built Cam Ranh Bay military installations and to allow Soviet troops to stage amphibious landing exercises.

In addition to sharing the fears of all the western capitalist countries about the "destabilization" of their influence and markets in Southeast Asia and Pacific Basin areas, the United States and its allies continue to salivate over the prospects of "opening up" China as a huge market and source of cheap labor. The Chinese, in turn, are fearful of Soviet hegemony in the area; they have been engaged in sporadic border disputes both on their Russian and Vietnamese borders. In addition China has been supporting rebel forces in Kampuchea, which Vietnam has occupied for five years. China, of course, would also like to make a deal to regain Taiwan.

This kind of geopolitical strategy is routine for advanced capitalist countries. But China?

Revolutions sold out

In the 1950s and 1960s many radicals around the world became enamored with Chairman Mao's revolutionary rhetoric about uncompromising struggle against colonial rule and imperialism. Many of these radicals saw China as the



500,000 and one million PKI members during 1965 and 1966. The PKI has yet to recover from that massacre.

Other betrayals of indigenous revolutionary movements by the CCP occurred in the early 1970s in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Pakistan, and the Sudan. The romantic dream of Chinese revolutionary fervor was finally destroyed when China officially readopted the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" in 1971, and then invited Nixon to visit in 1972. The symbolism of Nixon's trip to visit Mao was probably more important to both sides than any formal or informal agreement. Since that time the revolutionary rhetoric has

These real gains can not be minimized or forgotten. These gains, however, are now in jeopardy, and China could quickly sink back to economic and social chaos.

The basic problem that China has faced is that the leadership of the CCP, starting well before the revolution, became an entrenched bureaucracy in the Stalinist model. Even though this bureaucracy has enjoyed a considerable degree of popular support—earned because of the economic and social progress—it has opted to seek continuing accommodation with the hostile capitalist world around it in order to maintain its control. It has also prevented any form of workers' democracy to develop in China.

This monolithic bureaucratic grip has remained constant despite the swings of internal economic policy and the changes of the palace guard. Even before the revolution, Mao took iron clad control of the CCP, using membership in it as a source of reward and punishment for loyalty and adherence to his policies. The Cultural Revolution, ostensibly aimed at eliminating bureaucratic excesses (other than those of Chairman Mao) consisted, in part, of disciplinary measures to deal with Red Guard students and other dissidents who were challenging Mao.

Show trials

In a parallel with the Khrushchev revelations, the world first learned about the privileges and excesses of the Chinese bureaucracy when, after Mao's death in 1976, the new chairman, Hua Kuo-feng, jailed and conducted show trials of the "Gang of Four." These trials were obvious propaganda shows to prepare the Chinese people for a radical change of economic policy; an attempt to solve growing unrest over disappointing agricultural and factory productivity.

These internal economic changes have been remarkable even for the most cynical China watchers. An article by Orville Schell (*The New Yorker*, Jan. 23, 1984), which appears to agree with other reports from independent sources, describes these changes in some detail. This new policy was rubber stamped in 1978 by the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Central Committee which, characteristically, had no pre-conven-

tion debate among rank and file CCP members.

Schell concludes: "Virtually the entire fabric of Maoist ideology and the legacy of agricultural collectivization have been discarded as 'leftist errors.'" Businesses, which were completely state owned and directed prior to 1978, have increasingly become independent economic units expected to make "profits" for the state. Privately owned businesses are reported to be shooting up all over China. An April 9, 1984, article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* says there are 5.8 million registered private enterprises in China; each concern may only legally employ up to five persons who are not allowed to have another job. The state gives employers a "free hand" in setting salaries, benefits, and working hours—an ominous portent of future labor unrest.

A quote from *Selected Works* by Deng Xiaoping, published last July, said it was now ideologically correct "to make some people rich first so as to lead all the people to wealth." This complete transformation from conditions in Mao's era, when even the local shoeshine boy worked for the state, is apparently designed to form an "entrepreneurial" form of society where state-owned and private enterprises will compete for customers. Whoever is least efficient will fail.

A May 16, 1984, article from the *Los Angeles Times* quotes Premier Zhao Ziyang as saying that 14 coastal cities will be authorized to offer tax reductions including 100 percent ownership to foreign investors. Zhao was quoted as predicting the "special economic zones" will "form a line along the coast for China's opening to the outside world." These zones, it was stressed, will demand increased productivity from the Chinese workers, and will provide cheap labor and attractive conditions to foreign capitalists.

So far this decollectivization of the land and the introduction of profit incentives and foreign investment have apparently had a stimulating effect on China's economy. The Chinese government announced that between 1978 and 1982 agricultural output had increased by 7.5 percent. They claim the annual income to the average peasant has more than doubled. Western reporters have

(continued on page 5)

Deng: "Ideologically correct to make some people rich first so as to lead all the people to wealth"

progressive force for world revolution that would bypass the Stalinist degeneration in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European bloc countries.

Unfortunately, this vision of China was never true. A review of China's foreign policy since the 1949 revolution—documented in Les Evans' book "China After Mao" (Monad Press, 1978)—shows a remarkable consistency. The record shows that except for the two cases in which China justifiably felt directly threatened by U.S. military intervention (Korea in 1950 and Vietnam in 1965), Chinese foreign policy has followed the Stalinist model of accommodation with existing national bourgeois governments, while, all too often, brutally selling out indigenous revolutionary movements.

For example, in 1954 (after the battle of Dienbienphu) the French were decisively defeated in Vietnam. But the Soviet and Chinese leaders agreed with the Western powers (in the Geneva Accords) to partition Vietnam; a decision which unnecessarily delayed the final victory for 25 years.

Similarly, China betrayed the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) by directing its accommodation to Sukarno in the early 1960s. Predictably, Sukarno turned on the PKI (as Chiang Kai-shek did to the Chinese Communist Party—CCP—in 1927) and slaughtered between

ended and all but the most ultraleft Maoists have come to recognize reality.

Little has changed in China's foreign policy since Nixon's visit. China announced its support of NATO, joined the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, refused to support the Angolan MPLA after the South African invasion in 1975, and has supported the repressive Mobutu regime in Zaire and the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. It is widely believed that these decisions were part of a deal for economic investment, technology, and trade with Japan, the United States, and Western European nations.

Gains of revolution jeopardized

China's revolution, like Russia's, was accomplished amid the ruins of a war-ravaged society where capitalism and imperialist influence had virtually collapsed. The threat of direct U.S. military invasion through Korea and the dynamic upsurge of the Chinese masses pushed Mao's CCP to nationalize basic industry, control foreign trade, and institute land reform in a primarily peasant society; i.e., to establish a workers' state.

Remarkable economic and social progress has been made, and, despite constant imperialist hostility, the average Chinese worker or peasant is much better off than before the revolution.

Dominican workers protest IMF austerity

By ANDRE DUBOIS

The following is a slightly abridged version of an article which appeared in the May 21 International Viewpoint, a news magazine of the Fourth International.

The Dominican Republic police and army killed more than 200 men, women, and young people in attacks on the crowds demonstrating April 23-25 against brutal austerity measures. That was the way the government run by the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), a member of the Social Democratic Second International, proved its reliability to the International Monetary Fund and the imperialist banks.

For months, the PRD government had been negotiating a new agreement with the IMF. On April 19, the Dominican president, Jorge Blanco, announced that the government had accepted the IMF's conditions. In fact, this regime—which trims its sails to suit the demands of imperialist finance capital, the multinationals, and the small layer of Dominican rich—simply capitulated.

The president hoped to be able to take advantage of the Easter holiday to avoid a mass reaction and defuse the discontent. But he lost his bet. On April 23, the People's Struggle Coordinating Committees in two neighborhoods issued a call for a demonstration.

The response was immediate and vast. In the capital, as well as in the cities of San Cristobal, San Francisco de Marcoris, and Barahona, tens of thousands of working people came into the streets. They demanded breaking off the negotiations with the IMF, freezing the prices of necessities, and establishing a minimum wage of 250 pesos with automatic cost-of-living increases.

This outburst of desperation by impoverished and hungry people struggling to survive was seen by the Social Democratic government as a "provocation." So it ordered its repressive forces to open fire.

The world capitalist economic crisis hit the Dominican Republic rather late. But when it struck, the impact was brutal. Today, it is estimated that the real unemployment rate is around 32 percent. About 58 percent of the economically active population is considered to be suffering from both unemployment and underemployment. Thus, out of a total population of 6 million, less than a million have a real job.

In 1980, it was estimated that a family of five needed 500 pesos a month to live on. But the minimum wage is only 125 pesos. Moreover, for the last four years real wages have steadily melted away under the impact of growing inflation.

Now, in the spring of 1984, the IMF is going to impose measures that will have the following results for the masses of working people: a wage freeze, going hand in hand with a drastic increase in the prices of necessities; slashing of the already meager social spending; increased unemployment provoked by the reduction of state investment; a new wave of bankruptcies by small and medium enterprises in industry and agriculture; and the elimination of a lot of subsidies designed to cushion the effect of rising food prices.

The IMF imposed these measures as

into a concentration of 1.4 million inhabitants.

In March 1984, the five labor confederations, including the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), which is the backbone of the labor movement and the class-struggle wing of it, called for a "great national day of protest against hunger" on April 7.

The first congress of the Independent Peasant Movement (MCI), held March 22-25, reflected big steps forward in organizing the poor peasant masses independently of the various bourgeois parties and state institutions. The fight



April 23 protest in Santo Domingo raises the specter of the 1965 revolution

the condition for making new loans that would enable the Dominican Republic to repay the imperialist banks, which in past years have provided credit at nearly usurious rates.

But that is not all. U.S. budget deficits are skyrocketing because of the high levels of arms spending, among other things. The result is an upward thrust of interest rates in the United States driving up the value of the dollar. And the higher the dollar goes, the deeper into the quicksand this pushes the countries that owe debts in dollars.

And now the IMF, which is controlled by the United States, is demanding that dominated countries—such as the Dominican Republic—tighten their belts until they choke in order to balance their budgets! That's the real provocation.

By demanding that the negotiations with the IMF be broken off, the Dominican workers and peasants directly challenged this shameless imperialist exploitation and the complicity with it of the Dominican ruling party.

Since March, a mass movement had been taking form in the Dominican Republic. Hunger marches multiplied, for example, in the capital, which as the result of the rural exodus, has swollen

against the measures dictated by the IMF and cooperation with the CGT were central themes of the congress.

So, the protest movement and the mass rebellion that occurred in late April were based on a buildup of forces that had been going on for a whole period. It was thus not by chance that immediately following the first clashes on April 23, the five labor confederations, including those linked to the ruling party, called for a general strike. On May 1, despite the imposition of martial-law measures, they managed to hold a successful day of protest. The breadth of the movement is shown also by the lining up of peasant, student, and peasant women's coordinating committees behind the trade-union organizations.

The April 23 and 24 events opened a new stage in the class struggle in the Dominican Republic. The repression was savage, the worst seen since the April 1965 war, when the island was occupied by 42,000 U.S. troops, and 5000 Dominicans were killed. This time, the masses showed that they are not ready to bow to the dictates of the IMF and the threats of the army and police

force controlled by the United States.

In the wake of the first clashes, the mass organizations began to collaborate more closely. The MCI and the peasant women's organizations joined the Coordinating Committee of Peasant Unions. And this time, unlike in the past, the Dominican Left Front (FID—Frente de Izquierda Dominicana) was able to provide the initial, decisive elements of a leadership for the struggle. This is a key factor that will certainly be a major obstacle to any attempts by the populist sectors of the PRD, such as the wing led by Pena Gomez, the chairperson of the Second International, or by the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) of Juan Bosch.

Jorge Blanco's government is on the defensive politically. That is why it resorted to machine guns and open repression. The crisis of this regime will continue to deepen. However, precisely as a result of this, the government is stepping up the repression. Thus, on May 7, the security services, which work hand-in-glove with the CIA, arrested about a hundred trade-union and left political leaders, including Rafael Taveras, a leader of the Bloque Socialista and the FID.

In order to understand the full importance of the struggles of the Dominican masses and the late April massacre, these events have to be put in their wider context. A gigantic confrontation is developing throughout the Central American and Caribbean region, which is close to the heart of American imperialism, as well as close to Cuba.

Support for the Dominican working people, for the political forces united in the FID, must become an integral part of the broad movement of solidarity with the Central American revolution. ■

Distributors of *Socialist Action* in Canada:

Socialist Workers Collective
412A College St.
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...China visit

(continued from page 4)

joyfully reported these statistics as "proof" that capitalist incentives are superior to a socialist economy in terms of efficiency of production.

However, the cost to the society as a whole is becoming painfully evident, and there are indications that longer-term projections are very bleak. These new policies have already meant worse working conditions for millions of Chinese workers, along with steady attacks on all the gains of the revolution. Letting the capitalist fox, even though leashed, into the socialist chickenhouse may have temporary stimulating effects but abdication of longer-term planning and cooperative sharing of wealth produced from the land and the factory can be disastrous.

Unemployment and crime

The evidence for this social deterioration can be seen in the increasing reports

from the Chinese government itself of unemployment (up to 12 percent in some cities), profiteering on the black market, tax cheating, increased crime, large scale smuggling, and illicit foreign exchange. In the previously quoted article, Orville Schell graphically describes peasants standing guard at night over their land during harvest to prevent theft, chopping down roadside trees for firewood, and stealing concrete blocks from canals to build houses. In fact the decollectivization of land has obviated the use of modern farm machinery, which is only efficient on larger farms.

If, in fact, the increase of agricultural productivity is due to short term profit incentives, but is accompanied by a rapid deterioration of the infrastructure, there could be real trouble for the fragile existence of 800 million peasants. The communes that previously built and maintained irrigation and hydroelectric projects, maintained the roads and the health, welfare, and educational services are apparently being disbanded. Factories building more sophisticated

farm equipment are becoming unprofitable and are stopping production as the bigger communes are broken up. If these processes continue, irrigation and conservation practices will steadily deteriorate until the dust bowl conditions of the 1930s and 1940s reappear with each peasant family trying to scratch out a living with hand tools.

Need for political revolution

The recent events in China are a result of the economic and political dead-end into which the entrenched Chinese bureaucracy has led the workers' state. Since the 1949 revolution the Chinese rulers have sought to maintain their privileges and monopoly of power by punishing political dissent and by cooperating with powerful capitalist states.

Today, the Chinese bureaucracy is clearly intensifying its role as the transmission belt for capitalist restoration. But for capitalism to be restored in China, it would require a qualitative defeat of the Chinese working class in a process of counterrevolution. This has

not occurred yet.

As in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Chinese bureaucracy deeply fears any kind of mass action as a threat to its control. A massive opposition movement known as the "Peking Spring" movement developed from November 1978 to March 1980, when it was brutally repressed. With over 30 underground publications, many of them calling for "socialism with proletarian democracy" and solidarizing with the struggle of the Polish workers, this movement objectively posed the need to renew with the traditions of the Russian revolution under Lenin and Trotsky.

The Chinese working class has risen up against bureaucratic mismanagement and control in the past. Today it is resisting the escalated attacks on the gains of the revolution. It is only a matter of time before this mighty force of hundreds of millions will find its path toward the political revolution that will remove the parasitic bureaucratic caste, defeat the threat of capitalist restoration, and place the workers and peasants in control of society through their organs of workers' democracy. ■

Women's rights under attack; feminism is not the problem

By STEPHANIE COONTZ

The women's movement has accomplished remarkable gains in the past 15 years. Hundreds of laws discriminating against women have been overturned, affirmative action programs have been won in jobs and educational institutions, and women have been awarded millions of dollars in back pay for previous discrimination. In addition, issues such as sexism and rape have become subjects of serious concern and effort.

Yet the women's movement has been unable to translate these gains into concrete improvements in most women's lives. Women earn 62 cents for every dollar a man makes, and it takes a woman four years of college to earn, on the average, about the same pay as a male high school graduate. Less than half the back pay awarded to women has ever actually been collected, and the

Betty Friedan's latest book, "The Second Stage," (New York: Summit, 1981), argues that the women's movement has increased the conflict between men and women, thus alienating women who want to relate to men and to children. She maintains that the movement now needs to work out a cooperative approach to human rights, one that does not attack family values.

Now, I think we need to bend over backwards to be fair to these people. Lasch is not advocating a return to the patriarchal family of the 19th century, and he does put his finger on a real problem with liberal feminist approaches to the family. They often allow the capitalist state an extraordinary amount of freedom to manipulate family life along the lines laid out by "experts" whose aims may be very different from those of feminists or socialists.

"feminism was a response to the failure of the American family..."

only new area in which there has been a really significant increase in the percentage of women workers is the professions.

Unfortunately, this seems to be related more to the proletarianization of professional jobs than to the opening up of new horizons for female employment. As the pay rates, skill levels, and degree of control over working conditions have been diluted for college teachers and low-level "managers," women have been increasingly recruited into these positions.

Internationally, the figures are even worse. Women are half the world's population and one-third the official labor force, yet they account for two-thirds of the world's working hours and take home only one-tenth of the world's income.

Meanwhile, the gains we *have* made are being rolled back. The ERA was defeated, and took a long time dying. Indeed, no state had approved it since 1977. Legal and political victories are being nullified by court rulings and by administrative interpretations that cut the hearts out of discrimination suits and affirmative action. The courts have now held, for example, that to be awarded back pay and promotion in many cases one must prove not only the *fact* of discrimination but the *intent* to discriminate. There are moves in Congress and dozens of states against women's abortion rights, and the New Right has launched a "pro-family" offensive that attacks every single right won by women and children over the past 20 years—not to mention some rights we thought we had firmed up 60 years ago!

Why are these gains under attack?

Why are we under attack in this way? And why have we been losing so many battles in the recent period? Many politicians and establishment journalists would have us believe that our demands have alienated people by their radicalism. We should get further into mainstream politics, they argue, and not push feminism too far. Recently even some supporters have begun to agree that it's our own fault.

Christopher Lasch argues that the women's movement has contributed to the weakening of the family—our one source of refuge from the impersonal relations of market society. He maintains that we need to defend the integrity of the family and extend its relations and values outward into the workplace, instead of allowing the family to be taken over by the market and state.

Friedan is dealing with a real dilemma felt by many feminists. Those who thought that the route to liberation was simply finding a career have been sadly disappointed. They have found that real personal satisfaction and a sense of self-fulfillment elude them in the job market just as surely as in the home.

These findings are surprising to anyone whose initial analysis was that women's only problem was not being in the public arena on the same terms as men. One response might be to question whether this was or is the only problem.



Militia women of revolutionary Nicaragua.

Friedan's conclusion, however, is not to challenge her original analysis but to retreat from her original solution to that analysis.

Friedan's retreat

We need to build up families, she says, because the family "is the symbol of that last area where one has any hope of individual control over one's destiny... of nourishing that core of personhood threatened now by vast impersonal institutions and uncontrollable corporate and government bureaucracies... Against these menaces, the family may be as crucial for survival as it used to be against... the old, simple kinds of despotism" (pp. 229-30).

Friedan does not advocate that we return to an isolated nuclear family. She does suggest ways of getting families more in touch with each other, ways of

reorganizing space so that there are more communal aspects to family life. Ultimately, however, her idea that the family should be the "new feminist frontier" boils down simply to changing relationships within the existing family structure, so that financial support and household work are shared equally.

Even if this were any kind of solution—and I will argue that it is not—it presents Friedan with a dilemma of her own. How do you avoid the personal, embittering struggle between men and women that she says has so hurt the women's movement if the only solution to our problems is for each individual man and woman in each individual household to work out for themselves how to share the tremendous burdens of keeping up a home and raising children in an age of unemployment, inflation, and declining social services? Even from Friedan's "pragmatic" point of view, this seems a solution doomed to raise the divorce rate further.

Friedan's solution—reforming the family so that it allows both males and females to meet their personal needs within it while they also participate in the existing systems of work and politics—rests on a misunderstanding of the history of the family.

The family under capitalism

The family has never been a refuge against either "the old, simple kinds of despotism" or the new complex ones. Patriarchal family values were not developed as an alternative to state control but as a microcosm of it, a place to prepare children to accept the hierarchy in society at large. The idea that the family can serve as a "democratic" institution fulfilling our personal needs is a relatively recent one, inextricably linked to the rise of capitalism.

As work and home moved apart and the traditional security of the propertied middle class vanished in class polarization between employers and employees, the middling ranks of society turned to the private nuclear family as a source of the personal interaction they no longer found in work or community. They stressed intense emotional ties between mothers and children, to wean their children away from the peer pressure of working-class neighbors and to inculcate the personal characteristics that would win their children trusted positions as managers or assistants to the capitalists.

Although the personal exercise of patriarchal power by the household head was somewhat modified in this process, other family members did not win freedom from male dominance and



hierarchy. Their dependence was simply enforced less through the personal power of the paterfamilias and more through the "impersonal" workings of the economy, the dominant bourgeois culture, a new kind of state intervention into family life, and the pervasive illusion that the private family—a creation of capitalist society—could be an escape from it, if only the perfect family could be created.

As working-class militancy and ethnic organization increased at the end of the 19th century, threatening the status quo with new social and economic solidarities, the private family was forcibly imposed on the working class in the form of housing "reform," the campaign against boarding and lodging, new welfare restrictions, and the invention of "juvenile delinquency." All these innovations were used to break down working-class and ethnic peer-group associations and to isolate people into separate, competitive nuclear families. Corporate advertisers played on the isolation of both working-class and middle-class families to create new "needs" for their products.

The "democratic" family was a failure from its inception. It forced women into emotional and financial dependence, taught children to distrust and compete with their peers, and haunted men with the prospect of not being able to provide for their "dependents." Its inherent contradictions—not feminism—caused such reactions as the rise in divorce, the creation of a "youth culture," the high rate of female depression, and the escalation of male hostility toward being "trapped" in marriage and fatherhood. Feminism was a response to the *failure* of the American family, and cannot cater to nostalgia for a nonexistent time when the family supposedly "took care of its own."

Crisis of social system

To the extent that we accept the idea that the family must be so arranged as to meet all the emotional and material needs of its members, we are accepting the idea that people's emotional and material needs are neither a social responsibility nor an appropriate subject for collective action—that they are solely a private concern. We are accepting an economic system that takes no responsibility for our most important social resource—our children—and a social system that penalizes any *collective* action to provide ourselves with physical and mental satisfactions.

What Friedan sees as the crisis of the family is in fact the crisis of our present social system. It is a crisis that does not revolve around the personal ways that individuals relate within the family but around the *lack* of social ways for them to relate in the larger community. The solution to the crisis must be to challenge the private nature of both our "public" lives and our family lives: to oppose the idea that there are no social rights to jobs, education, food, or social interaction and that these needs should only be met by a limited circle of relatives or friends.

"But wouldn't such demands just

...women's rights

exacerbate the situation?" I suppose Friedan would counter. Wouldn't they just further alienate us from the people who are already turned off by the lengths to which feminism has gone? This, too, stems from a false premise. The crisis of the women's movement has not been caused by our alienating people who think we have gone too far. It has been caused by our inability to go far enough within the present system and the refusal of leaders of the women's movement to admit that.

Just as women of the 1920s often "oversold" the vote, pretending that this important democratic right was a total solution to the problems faced by women as workers and as mothers, so also have leaders of today's feminist movement often oversold our legal and political demands. Making sex discrimination illegal is an important democratic reform, but it doesn't touch the structural problems that define most women's lives. For more and more women, equal rights—or even affirmative action in any particular job category—doesn't mean too much, since they are being channeled into a dual labor market, where the few males involved have the same low wages as the women.

Women's lives worsen

At the same time, many women's lives have become worse in the past 15 years—not because of feminism, certainly, but despite it. The fastest growing poverty group in America today is that of woman-headed families. One in five children (and one in two Black children) now live in poverty-stricken families, most of them female-headed, while inflation and unemployment have slashed the living standards of even two-earner families.

This kind of situation makes us vulnerable to right-wing attack, unless we are very clear about what is responsible for the problem. There are those who say that feminism has caused the breakdown of the American family, that

equal rights for women have put men out of work, that women's drive for autonomy has created the sense of powerlessness felt by most youth in today's society. And to the extent that feminists claim that we *have* won our most vital demands, or that we *can* solve women's needs within the system as long as we can hold off any last resurgence of "machismo," it is not unreasonable to *blame* feminists when, after all our so-called victories, people's lives still keep deteriorating. When our leaders call upon people to "defend" feminism, they may well be met with the remark

their exploitation of the *entire* labor force. Women's work was first privatized in ancient state societies to "free up" males to be exploited in the public sphere. Later, as the market economy of early capitalism spread, women were cut off from independent access to the cash society and charged with the private reproduction of people's nonmarket needs. Once women were established as appendages of the family, daughters could be hired by employers who wanted a cheap, temporary workforce. Indeed, in the 19th century male crafts were systematically "deskilled" so that

institutions in this society that could well afford to meet our needs. These are the same people and institutions that oppose us—not because they cannot afford the programs we demand but because maintaining their power and privilege requires our subordination. Capitalism is a system where the private property interests of the few are set above the needs of the many. The corporations and politicians are not about to voluntarily relinquish the advantages they gain by paying women and minorities unequal wages and pitting working people and families against each other.



"Sex discrimination, like racism, pulls down everybody's wages"

that if we've already tried feminism, it's pretty clear that it doesn't work.

But if we're absolutely honest about the structural problems we face, the picture gets a little different. To those who say that feminism has caused the breakdown of the family, we can reply that feminism is a *response* to the breakdown of the family, which has been unable to withstand the social, economic, and psychological pressures put upon it when capitalism destroyed all the supporting institutions and communities that formerly shared the tasks of mutual self-help, identity-formation, and personal support.

Comparable pay for comparable work

To those who claim that equal rights for women have put men out of work, we can show that the changing labor structure of *capitalism* has put men out of work. The threat to male employment is not from equal pay for equal work but from the substitution of new, cheaper types of work for the older, more unionized ones. So long as women are not paid for *comparable* work, men will lose jobs, not by women replacing them at the old worksites, but by the opening of new worksites and job categories that can be staffed by the cheaper labor of women and youth. Men's only protection is to support not just equal pay for equal work but *comparable* pay for comparable work, so that employers have no incentive to replace old jobs by new ones. To do that, however, requires a challenge to the basic operation of the capitalist labor market.

To those who see women's quest for autonomy as a threat to male power and children's self-development, we need to explain the real history of female oppression, which was integrally related to the drive of state societies to increase

employers could turn over many jobs to women and children.

Since the Depression of the 1930s, wives have also been drawn into the labor market, as families have struggled to maintain living standards in the economic cycles of advanced capitalism. But their continued association with the family ties them to lower-paid jobs in the public sphere and the double burden of managing the home, so that working wives average an 80-to-90-hour workweek.

This dual oppression of women also hurts men in two ways. First of all, the greater the discrepancy between male and female wages in any particular locale or industry—and this holds for Black and white wage gaps too, incidentally—the lower the average wages of *all* workers in that area. So sex discrimination, like racism, pulls down everybody's wages. Second, cost experts estimate that the value of a woman's household labor, measured in terms of what it would cost to buy the cleaning and childcare service on the market, almost invariably *exceeds* the amount of her husband's wages by a considerable sum.

The existence of sexism, in other words, fools men into accepting a wage that is lower than the actual cost of reproducing their labor power. It is capitalism, not feminism, that strives to bring men down to the level of women and children. Our intent is to raise the position of everyone, challenging private oppression within the family and public oppression in the labor market.

Feminism not yet tried

We need to be very clear with the American people that this country *hasn't tried* feminism yet. The only way to give it a fair shot is to change the social and economic imperatives that make women a source of cheap labor and force the individual family to absorb the buffetings of the capitalist economic cycle.

Women are not trying to take away what Blacks, the elderly, or the white male workers have. They haven't got enough to make it worth our while. According to U.S. government statistics, the bottom 60 percent of families in America have to share, among them, only about 10 percent of the nation's wealth. That's hardly enough to fight over. If we have to compete with anyone, we plan to go where the real money is—to, say, the two percent of the population who have at their disposal an amount of wealth larger than an entire year's gross national product. Or to the biggest single piece of the U.S. budget—the military.

We know that there are people and

It is no service to our cause to pretend that we don't have to challenge this system. In my opinion, the current crisis of the women's movement flows not from our critique of the family but from the fact that our leadership has retreated from the social implications of calls for equality, has backed off from mobilizing our power in the streets, and has pretended that we *can* win our demands by wheeling and dealing in the inner circles of power.

Women's movement leadership retreats

The policy of relying on deals and power-brokering has disarmed the women's movement politically. Keeping a low profile has only given the right wing the courage to organize—in imitation of the tactics that we pioneered—while our own power has been negotiated away. In Georgia and Florida the NOW leadership, in return for promises of support for the ERA by "friends" of the movement in the legislature, agreed not to "rock the boat" by organizing demonstrations. The promises were promptly broken and the ERA was defeated.

The greatest gain of the women's movement in recent years was the extension of the ERA deadline, which was won only when 100,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Washington, D.C. Yet that gain was frittered away by a return to the policy of individual lobbying and campaigning for professional politicians—a policy that dilutes our power by involving us in individual bargaining and endless see-sawing back and forth between "lesser evils."

Our task now is not to dilute our demands but to be dead honest about what we can and cannot offer the American people. We promise no quick fixes—no magic candidate who's going to miraculously grant our needs. We will have to win every victory by struggle and can count no gain safe until we succeed in overturning the whole private profit system that keeps us doubly exploited, in the workplace and the family. So we need to be quite clear that feminism is not just "good old traditional American politics"—just business as usual except that half the businessmen are women. Feminism requires us to link up with our allies who are also under attack by capitalism, from the ghettos and factories of America to the trenches of Nicaragua. Feminism is as American as the Fourth of July, I'll grant you that; but let's remember what the annual picnic speeches tend to gloss over: The Fourth of July was the day the colonists declared their revolutionary independence from the old monarchical system. The question of home rule was settled then. The struggle now is over who should rule at home. ■

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

We have just published No. 4 of our *Socialist Action Information Bulletin*. (See review in this issue.) In forthcoming issues of this bulletin, we will be printing a series of articles

by Les Evans and Ernest Mandel in response to Doug Jenness and Jack Barnes, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. These articles answer the open and public attack by the SWP leadership on Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and on the program and heritage of the SWP and of the Fourth International.

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

British miners stand firm!

By STEVE ROBERTS

LONDON—As the strike by the National Union of Mineworkers enters its ninth week there is every indication that it will be one of the most bitter and lengthy industrial disputes in Britain since the Second World War. The Conservative government's desperate attempts to defeat the coal miners have been underlined by the poor showing of the Tories in parliamentary by-elections and municipal elections on May 3.

While every political party claimed a victory from the election results, the real picture was that Margaret Thatcher, in her fifth year of office, suffered a political setback at the hands of the opposition parties. The elections showed that Labour is becoming stronger in the big cities and industrial areas outside the relatively prosperous southern region.

In a by-election held in a Welsh mining valley, Labour increased its vote from the general election, with the Tories coming fourth behind the Welsh nationalists. Labour also won a major-

ity on Birmingham's council—Britain's second largest city, as well as adding Edinburgh and Southampton to the number of cities they already control. And in what was a clear rejection of Tory attempts to abolish the largely Labour-controlled metropolitan authorities and curb local government spending, the Labour Party in Liverpool increased its majority. The council is now set on a collision course with the government over its refusal to conform with spending limits that would result in massive cuts in social expenditure.

These results, however, by no means entail that Labour would win a general election. Extrapolations from the votes indicate that while the Tories could possibly lose their overall majority in a future election, the alliance between the Social Democratic Party (formed after a rightwing split from the Labour Party) and the old bourgeois Liberal Party would hold the balance of power.

The future course of political events will nevertheless be affected in large measure by the result of the miners' dispute. Despite the timing of the strike—



Police clash with pickets at Agecroft colliery Salford as miners' strike enters tenth week

coming during the spring and summer, a traditionally low point for coal consumption—the action is beginning to bite into industry. In the Nottingham coal field, where a majority of the miners are breaking the strike, mass pickets of 10,000 miners have assembled outside scab pits. Mass pickets too have started to appear outside the

Ravenscraig steel plant, where management and rightwing steel union officials have collaborated to bring in scab coal. The mass pickets have been met by a huge police presence; 1500 arrests have been made so far.

The miners are receiving strong support from the left of the labour movement. A day of action has been called by the leftwing Scottish Trades Union Congress and action has been taken by the rail and transport unions to make their boycott of coal movement more effective. Other sectors of workers are also beginning to move into action—most notably the railworkers and teachers.

One early victim of this rising militancy is the architect of the "new realism" policy of class collaboration, the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Len Murray, who announced an early retirement. Labour's right wing too has suffered a bloody nose with its prediction that the Labour Party would suffer electorally because of the miners' strike. It didn't.

The left wing of the Labour Party, led by Tony Benn, is bringing pressure to bear on Neil Kinnock, Labour's new leader, to fully support the miners. They want him to break with the "new realist" strategy that has led Kinnock and other prominent Labour leaders to join in the calls of the media for the miners to stop the militant tactics being advocated by their union president, Arthur Scargill.

As the strike continues it has become clear that flying pickets and active solidarity from the whole of the labour movement are the only way that the strike will be won in the face of intransigent opposition from the coal employers and the government. International solidarity is needed too. Donations and messages of support can be sent to: National Union of Mineworkers, St. James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

...Toledo strikers battle cops

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At least one union member and three police were treated in hospitals. Eighteen police vehicles were damaged; several had all their windows smashed out. One police van was set on fire and six cruisers had to be towed away.

The scabs and salaried personnel could not be safely evacuated until the following morning. The plant was closed for the day.

Company forces strike

The demonstration was called by the Toledo Area unit chairman of the UAW as the result of pressure from the ranks. Oscar Bunch, president of UAW Local 14, which represents the striking AP workers and workers at the GM hydro-matic plant, blamed the events on AP Parts. He called for a marathon bargaining session, and for AP to refrain from using "replacement workers for two or three days."

AP is demanding a \$5.84 an hour cut in wages and benefits, attacks on seniority, pensions, and other issues. The average hourly wage is \$8.75 and wage cut demands by AP would amount to \$3.67 an hour or 42 percent.

AP originally threatened to pull out of Toledo if the union did not accept the concessions package. The UAW workers turned down the offer, but chose not to strike. Even before the contract deadline was up in March 1984, AP had erected a chain link fence topped with barbed wire around the entire plant while frost was still in the ground.

AP also hired 20 union-busting goons to build guard posts on the roof of the plant. AP workers continued to work, but the company imposed its new package unilaterally breaking seniority and craft work rules.

More than 100 workers were laid off and others were disciplined for not working fast enough under the new speed-up conditions. Drinking coffee and chewing gum became disciplining offenses. Workers began to wear their disciplinary slips in their hats.

Under increasing harassment, the AP unit of Local 14 went on strike on May 2. The union attempted to stop scabs with a mass picket in early May, but the company obtained an injunction that limited pickets to six per gate. Finally, negotiations broke down on May 19, by which time 120 scabs were crossing picket lines daily, escorted by the hired goons. This led to the demonstration on May 21.

The company has requested that the restraining order on pickets be expanded to include all unions that have

bolstered the picket lines with their solidarity.

Negotiations have resumed under supervision of a mayor's appointed special committee of labor, management, and citizens' representatives. Rumors report progress on some issues such as seniority rights, pensions, and in-plant transfers.

On May 24, however, an 85-vehicle caravan carrying 220 supervisory and scab workers passed through the gates under the direction of the Toledo police. Pickets shouting at the scabs were filmed by the company helicopter hovering overhead. The company received a new restraining order from the courts that now limits pickets to four per gate, and includes all UAW units in its jurisdiction. The latest word is that negotiations will continue.

The UAW, unfortunately, is willing to settle for a less-concessionary package, which includes a \$2 per-hour wage cut and giving up one week's vacation, three holidays, and eight cost-of-living increases. The package also exempts AP from some benefits fund payments.

UAW is the largest union local in the Toledo area with some 23,000 members in nearly 90 plants. This is a crucial test for the UAW and unionism in Toledo and all workers in Toledo recognize this.

The 1934 victory of the Auto-Lite strike was the beginning of the UAW in Toledo. Over the next year, 19 plants were organized, and in 1935 the first successful strike against GM was won

here at the Toledo Chevy Plant.

Committee to hold rally

On June 3, a Toledo Area Solidarity Committee which grew out of the Greyhound strike support work is holding a "Labor Victory Celebration," commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Toledo Auto-Lite strike. The rally is taking place at the County Courthouse in downtown Toledo. A similar rally took place on June 1, 1934, and drew 40,000 trade unionists and unemployed workers.

Despite opposition by the UAW, and red-baiting by the top leadership, the rally is heavily supported by the Jeep unit of UAW Local 12, representing 6000 workers, and the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-912 on strike at Sun Oil refinery. It is also being supported by the Toledo Community Organization Job Corps and Unemployed Group, Local 8 of the IBEW, Local 901 of the ICWU, Local 50 of the Plumbers and Steamfitters, Local 6 of the Sheetmetal Workers, and the Ohio Education Association, Northwest Ohio Chapter. The turnout is certain to be increased by the escalation of the strike activity in Toledo in recent weeks. ■

Glen Boatman is a member of OCAW, Local 7-912, on strike at the Sun Oil refinery since March 21. He is not a member of Socialist Action. He was on the scene at AP Parts Co. on May 21.

Bill Farrell's life celebrated

By ASHER HARER

Over 100 comrades, friends, and family of Bill Farrell met in Berkeley, Calif., on May 6 to celebrate the life of this veteran Trotskyist. Bill Farrell was born in New York City in 1910 and died in Moraga, Calif., on April 1, 1984.

People spoke of Bill's sense of humor, his kindness, and his political and intellectual influence on their lives. One young woman said, "I was a wide-eyed 13-year-old when I first went into Bill's bookstore, asking, 'What is this world?'... Bill and Ada played a vital role in who I am today."

I first met Bill in 1938. We were both founding members of the Socialist Workers Party. He was a merchant seaman, a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Bill had a rare talent for communicating political ideas (and he was a great story teller). He played an important part in building the party's

influence among maritime workers prior to World War II. He wrote a very popular column for *The Militant* called "On the Line," which dealt with workers' problems.

Back on the West Coast, Bill participated in the great post-war maritime strikes of 1946 and 1948. In the winter of 1949, on the "Alaska Run," Bill contracted pneumonia, which he had previously suffered from, and his illness developed into tuberculosis. This time he was in the San Francisco Marine Hospital from 1950 to 1955. He didn't waste his time. He organized his fellow patients into a discussion group, distributed the party press, and wrote "Stories for Kevin" for his young son, who was not permitted into the hospital.

Bill came out of the hospital with only one lung, unable to go back to sea. Now Bill's education came to the rescue. He became a bookseller. In a few

years, Farrell's Bookstore, on Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue, had become a local institution. It carried all kinds of books, but specialized in radical writers like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, James P. Cannon, and others. When Bill retired he turned his store over to the SWP, who ran it for a while as Gramma Books.

For health reasons he resigned from the SWP, but he never ceased being a dedicated revolutionist, a loyal Trotskyist. After the Barnes group cancelled the 1983 SWP convention and bureaucratically expelled the opposition, Bill and Ada were among the first to express support for Socialist Action, to subscribe to the newspaper, and to make a financial contribution.

The last time I saw Bill, a week before he died, he questioned me about Socialist Action. How were we doing—new subs—new recruits—young students—workers? I answered yes to all his questions. He smiled and gave me the "V for Victory" sign. ■

Labor activists discuss strategy

This month's Forum presents a discussion on some of the important issues confronting the labor movement today. The employers' offensive against working people has witnessed wage cuts, plant closings, and outright union-busting. Millions of unemployed workers have been excluded from the current "recovery." The crushing of the air traffic controllers' (PATCO) strike in 1981, the Continental Airlines union-busting bankruptcy ploy last fall, and the recent defeat of the Greyhound workers, all underscore not only the extent of the employers' campaign for concessions, but the sorry record of the labor officialdom's response to the anti-union drive.

Many activists in the labor movement are discussing and debating what needs to be done to turn around this steady erosion of workers' rights and benefits. The current strike of hotel workers in Las Vegas and the strike at the AP Auto Parts Co. in Toledo are clear indications that this discussion takes place amidst signs that a new militancy is developing in the ranks of labor.

As the working class confronts the anti-union designs of the corporations, the task of mobilizing the workers in the most effective way—on the shop floor and in the political arena—will be posed with increasing sharpness. Socialist Action con-

siders this discussion a necessary step toward transforming the labor movement into the kind of fighting instrument that built the CIO and that must today go further by extending the fight against the corporations into the arena of independent political action.

We offer the views of labor-leader activists who are involved in this discussion and fightback. Ignacio De La Fuente is the directing business representative of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union, Local 164, Oakland, Calif., which is currently on strike against a Bay Area foundry. David E. Mix, president of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), Local 1225, San Francisco, was a leader of the strike against the Greyhound Corp. Ed Mann is a former president of Local 1462 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in Youngstown, Ohio, and a member of the Workers Solidarity Club in Youngstown, a group organized to provide support for striking workers. In 1980 Mann ran as an independent candidate for Congress, although for health reasons he was forced to call off his campaign. Jeff Mackler is a member of Socialist Action and a former organizer for the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Local 1423, Hayward, Calif. He is currently a member of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association.



Picket line at the Basic Tool and Supply Co. in Oakland, Calif., on May 31. Police protect scabs running through the gates.

Ignacio De La Fuente:

Unions need new direction

Socialist Action: Your molders local, like most of the locals in the Bay Area, has been hard hit in recent periods by attacks from the employers, plant closings, and layoffs. What plans does the local have to fight back?

Ignacio De La Fuente: There is no question that there is a concentrated attack on organized labor and the workers in this country. I think we are one of the few unions in the last few years that has held our ground in regard to concessions and givebacks. That doesn't mean that we are not under attack just like any other union. In the last year, for example, we engaged in strikes against about 20 companies. The companies demanded concessions and pay cuts and

that is something that we definitely refused to do.

S.A.: What about the argument that today labor unions have to make concessions in order to keep the companies profitable because only profitable companies can afford to keep the plant open and pay wages? That seems to be the philosophy—"what's good for the company is good for the union?"

De La Fuente: I disagree 120 percent with that philosophy. Coca-Cola, a multinational corporation, eliminates jobs here in the United States and goes to Latin America to exploit people in those areas. But when they get unionized, they throw people out and close down the plants.

I think the unions have to understand that it is a political question why companies are doing that, and why it is not the workers who are to blame if the companies are not profitable. Do we have to suffer and make starvation wages because that is the only way we are going to help the companies make more money?

S.A.: The official labor movement is getting ready for the Democratic Party National Convention in July. The AFL-CIO and almost every single union is supporting Mondale. What do you think of the official labor movement's strategy of backing the Democrats and dumping Reagan as the solution to their problem?

De La Fuente: Well, you know, we've always been put in a position of voting for the lesser of two evils. That has always been the mistake of organized labor. I think everybody feels that anybody is better than Reagan and I agree with that, to a certain extent, as long as people do not have any other alternative.

I think we are the only major industrial country in this world that does not have a labor party. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can ever have the interests of working people in mind. There has been some talk among people about the formation of a labor party and, to tell you the truth, I think that this is the only solution for the American worker. There has to be a political party with a political voice that has nothing in mind except the interests of the working people in this country. Unfortunately, we are not at that stage.

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Ed Mann:

We must remember how to fight

Socialist Action: What do you say to the argument that if Reaganism is not defeated this year it will mean the demise of unionism in the United States?

Ed Mann: I don't think it will mean the demise of the union movement, if there is a movement, in America. I think that as long as you have people working for wages there will always be a union, or an attitude that there should be a union. The labor movement has to have a rebirth. We have to go back where we came from because it appears that we have forgotten how to struggle to get where we're at. And I don't see anything wrong with struggling to better your working conditions.

S.A.: What is happening with the various presidential campaigns here in Youngstown?

Mann: There is a group supporting the Jackson campaign. The Democratic Party here is split between Hart and Mondale. Mondale seems to have the support of the international unions in the area. I got a strange phone call from the Hart campaign. They wanted two unemployed steelworkers to meet with him and have a commercial film made. It's apparent that they only want to use the unemployed as puppets on a string, to come at their beck and call. They leave and we're here and nothing really changes.

I know Mondale was part of the

Carter administration when we were trying our damndest to get government loans so the workers in the community could run the steel plant here. We couldn't get the time of day from them. And now they want to come in and say what they are going to do for Youngstown. I don't anticipate they will really do anything.

S.A.: Do you think that workers can ever gain by supporting a Democrat?

Mann: No. Because I don't think things will really change. I think we need more of a socialist type solution. Look at the fact that we don't have national health care, for example. People are worried about their health. Look at the utilities that are owned by private companies where people have to worry about whether they are going to heat or eat. Look at the young Blacks, for example, who are in their thirties and have never had a decent job. It's atrocious that a country this size can't come up with some new ideas. And I don't see where the Democrats or the Republicans have any new ideas.

Most people around Youngstown were raised to think the church will take care of you, the school will take care of you, the company will take care of you, the union will take care of you. You've got to take care of yourself. Some of the things you may have to do to get some

results might not actually be legal in the strictest sense. Look at the sit-down strikes and the early organizing days, the period of Debs when they took on the National Guard in some areas and even won. I think workers have to take

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Striker at Trumbull Memorial Hospital in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1982. Workers Solidarity Club, led by Ed Mann, and local unions mounted a solidarity campaign with the hospital workers that included weekly marches and picketing, in defiance of a court order that attempted to limit picketing.

...De La Fuente: new direction

(continued from page 9)

It has to happen, but I don't know if it is going to happen in my lifetime.

I think that the strategy of backing Mondale, even before he is nominated by the Democratic Party, is a sign of political pressure that the workers are putting on the leadership. It is a sign that, not the leadership of the AFL-CIO, but the workers themselves are sending a message to the leaders saying we cannot continue this way.

For various reasons the American worker has been politically more isolated than any other worker in the world. One reason is that the worker in the United States has had better conditions than workers everywhere else. And for years organized labor, up until maybe the last five years, was able to go to the negotiating table and negotiate a few cents more here and there. We lost so much steam, so much of our fighting ability, over the last 20 years because we didn't do anything. We got whatever they gave us and they gave us a little because they were making tremendous profit.

S.A.: In the past your local has played an important role in fighting government attacks on undocumented workers. Could you tell us something about the suit that your local filed, and



why the local felt it was important to get involved in an issue like this one?

De La Fuente: I've been the business agent for the Molders union for the last five years. One of my beliefs is that everybody needs a union, no question about it. Every worker needs a union and somebody to represent them. But I think that organized labor has failed over the last two decades to really be concerned with the needs of the workers in general. Labor unions were formed for one specific purpose—to represent workers. They were never formed to represent just white workers, yellow workers, green workers. Many labor unions have made the mistake of not looking at it that way.

In 1982 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) started raiding factories that we represent and harassing people. They were harassing our members, arresting our members. We felt it was just one more attack on workers in this country. They didn't raid big office buildings or fancy places. They raided factories where workers were represented by unions. They didn't raid that many nonunion factories. At the same time that it was an attack on a certain class of people, it was an attack on labor itself. It was a way to go after union shops and harass organized labor.

We have seen that these people, the so-called "illegals," are used to break strikes. These people are exploited. These people are used to keep the wages of American workers down. In the Los Angeles area, for example, where there is a heavy Mexican-American and illegal alien population the wages are a lot lower than in this area. It is not a secret that these people are used to replace workers on the job. It is not a secret that companies call the INS only when these people want a union.

S.A.: What are the main reasons why your union has taken such a strong position in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America? Why have you sponsored meetings of Central American trade unionists to come to the United States to present their views?

De La Fuente: There is a tremendous connection between workers in Latin America and workers in the United

States. We are not safe in this country from the methods used to destroy unions in a country like Guatemala. What is the difference between the way Reagan destroyed the air controllers' union (PATCO) and what they have done to the bottlers union at Coca-Cola in Guatemala?

We believe that the money we pay in taxes to the government should not be used to kill workers in other countries. They exploit workers in these countries and the jobs that we lose here they move there. I don't think that we have opposite interests from workers in these countries who are trying to organize unions and to get better wages.

Some of my members ask me, "Why do you care about El Salvador or Guatemala? We are here and we have enough problems ourselves." The reason why they are using my tax dollars to maintain a dictatorship in El Salvador should be my concern. Working people are the ones who pay the most taxes in this country. Multinational corporations don't pay the taxes. We pay the taxes. It should be your business, my friend, if the Guatemalan people are making \$1.50 a day. That is the reason why you are going to be making less money here.

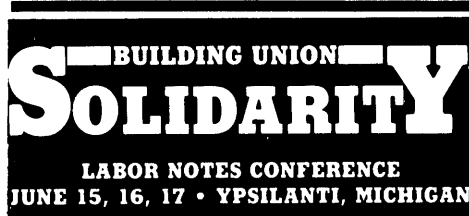
S.A.: There have been a number of defeats nationally such as the Greyhound and PATCO strikes, and with the autoworkers and steelworkers. What do you think is the mood of the workers? Are we going to see further defeats or are we going to see a more organized fightback?

De La Fuente: I definitely hope that we are going to see a more organized fight. I think that the workers are going to start putting more and more pressure on their local unions and their international unions. I think that organized labor itself, especially the big leadership, has to understand that you have got to do something. We have to completely change our posture and our strategy. We are at war with these people. We see it every day now.

I believe that most of the unions have lost their guts. And they are going to have to go back and rethink some of the positions they have taken. The opportunities were there, with PATCO and Greyhound, for organized labor to make a showing to this administration. I don't know if we will ever again see an opportunity like we saw with PATCO or Greyhound for organized labor to come together behind one single union and say "no more!" But the AFL-CIO blew it. They could have had the backing of the majority of American workers in not allowing Reagan to destroy PATCO and not allowing the Greyhound settlement.

S.A.: What do you think the labor movement should have done?

De La Fuente: What should have happened with Greyhound and with PATCO is that the AFL-CIO should have said we are going to call a general work stoppage. I don't want to say this because it sounds radical. I think at that time there was no other solution. The AFL-CIO should have said to the present administration, "We are not going to allow you to destroy this union. You've gone as far as you are going to go with organized labor." I think that would have been a very simple decision to make. The majority of organized labor would have supported that. ■



For further information, contact Labor Notes at (313) 883-5580.
Labor Notes, P.O. Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220

...Mann: how to fight back

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things into their own hands, not as individuals, but as a union. And I think they can change things.

S.A.: Have you given any more thought to the idea of running independent campaigns for office?

Mann: I think there is room for an independent with a good grass-roots following who would not say, "I'm going to run and here is my platform," but would say, "let's run together and let's develop a platform so we can reach out to the people who really need some changes." But I wonder about one person in Congress being any more than just a spokesman for people. Probably the way to do it is to really build from the community itself, run people for office within the community, change the community before you think about changing the country and the national government.

We have what we call a solidarity club here in Youngstown. There are about 200 people—men and women of all colors and persuasions. I think down the road it is very likely we could run people for city council or the state legislature.

S.A.: I know you said that you worry about a labor party being a bunch of Kirklands or Meanys...

Mann: Or McBrides.

S.A.: Have you given any thought as to how a real labor party could develop?

Mann: Yes, I think a farmer-labor party structured much like the old ones were has potential. You have to take care of the immediate needs of the people in your area. You don't come in and say here is our platform. You say let's build a platform. But really start it from the bottom and develop the ideas that people want to move forward on. Don't come in with three or four big international unions and the AFL-CIO and say, "Here is what we are going to do for you." That's been our problem in the union movement. You pay your dues and the international will do it for you. I think you've got to do some things for yourself. And that means the people on the bottom have to be totally involved.

S.A.: One of the things you mentioned you are involved with is strike support. Can you talk about some of the experiences you have had?

Mann: Most of them have been very frustrating. We have seen a very strong move by the companies around here to bring in professional union-busting

respond to this?

Mann: So many unions have given concessions without any control over the decisions the company will make on how to use the benefits of those concessions. How many companies have agreed to use the money that they have won through concessions to modernize the plant, to give the union some say-so in what product is made, what it will be sold for, the quality of the product? The workers are just getting promises and some of those promises have not been fulfilled, and I don't think they will be. I think the name of the game is who has the power, and if the corporations have the power they couldn't care less what the workers want.

I feel very strongly that if there are going to be concessions, and this is the real world, you had better have some say on what those concessions will mean to the workers. The management rights section of every contract actually strips you of any power at all in management decisions.

S.A.: If the money is used for modernization that will cost jobs too.

Mann: Not if there is a shorter workweek.

S.A.: What do you think needs to be done to get that?

Mann: You know, we've established child labor laws, workers' compensation, social security, and safety and health laws. We've got everything from legal aid to eye care to medical care. What is wrong with making the issue of a shorter workweek one of the issues for the unions to fight for? There are people still living in Youngstown who remember the 12-hour day. But we achieved the eight-hour day. It was within our lifetime that these things have changed, and they can change still more.

S.A.: What about the question of the military budget and the large amount of money that is spent for the military rather than basic human needs? This is an issue where the AFL-CIO has gone along with the Pentagon, saying we need to defend the country. What do you think of that?

Mann: Defend the country from whom? From ourselves? I'm sure we are not under as terrific a threat as the media would like us to believe. The media is controlled by the big corporations and the Defense Department. If we think we can be the policeman of the world then we've got another guess

"Workers have to take things into their own hands, not as individuals, but as a union."

legal teams. The international unions really don't want any help. They don't want anybody to come in on their turf. A lot of these strikes are unwinnable because of the way they are structured. Nobody wants to challenge injunctions or have sit-ins and so on.

There has to be somebody out there that supports strikers because international unions are very business oriented in the way they operate. They want to run everything from the top down and they want very little input from the rank and file.

S.A.: You say that many strikes are unwinnable the way they are structured. How would you see them being winnable?

Mann: Well, I think you have to reach out to the community. You have to prepare ahead of time when the contract is running out. You have to gather the support of the people in the community. You have to have some credibility within the community. You cannot just be a union for the people who are in that plant. You have to be a union for the whole community.

S.A.: People are told now that they have to accept concessions—that the companies are going broke—and if they don't accept concessions there are a lot of other people who want their jobs. How do you think the unions should

coming.

I don't think our country is going in the right direction. We are always looked upon, maybe not honestly, as the helping hand of the world. Now the helping hand has got a gun in it. We're quick to sell defense and military equipment to many foreign countries. We criticized Germany for being the arms provider of the world in the early part of the century. Now we've become that.

S.A.: One of the big campaigns the union officials, such as the steel union, have been on is this big anti-imports campaign, where they say that we need to protect the profits of the employers. What do you say about that?

Mann: I think imports are a bogeyman. They exist but let's not kid ourselves. Money has no patriotism, the dollar has no loyalty. Imports are a fact of life.

I don't think the workers around the world are our enemy. What about the Mexican, Taiwanese, and Korean workers? They are being abused in these countries. A lot of them don't have unions, the union leaders are killed off, and everybody who is a radical is run out of the country. Let's look at what the United States did in Chile. The country democratically elected Allende, and the U.S. government did everything to destroy him—and they did. ■

Jeff Mackler:

Supporting Democrats won't win strikes

OAKLAND, Calif.—Can 47 striking foundry workers in Oakland beat an employer bent on breaking their union and replacing union workers with scabs? Labor's recent track record would lead many unionists to say "no." The leadership of the union disagrees.

Ignacio De La Fuente heads the 2000-member International Molders and Allied Workers Union, Local 164, in Oakland. Last year, profit-hungry employers forced strikes in 20 of the 27 units he represents. The results? No concessions.

The Molders union in the Bay Area,

however, like the steelworkers and machinists, usually goes to the bargaining table with a contract proposal which specifies that for the first six months or year of the new contract there will be no changes in the basic wage and fringe-benefit package.

In effect, the contract is extended and a "reopener" clause inserted that provides for future salary and fringe benefit negotiations. Employers who refuse such a deal face a determined union, capable of maintaining militant picket lines, keeping scabs out of struck plants, and seeking the support of the

rest of the labor movement. Using this approach, the molders have, until now, avoided major concessions and made some very modest gains.

A few weeks ago the molders were faced with a new challenge that threatens to do grave harm to their union. Following the expiration of the six-month contract "extension," the Basic Tool and Supply Co. refused to negotiate an increase in wages or benefits. Despite increased production and the addition of new hires, the company insisted they had no money. As in the past, Local 164 prepared for a strike.

But this time, on the first day of the strike, Oakland police escorted company scabs into the plant, breaching the union lines for the first time in decades. Strikers who attempted to defend their jobs were arrested. A few days later reinforcements from local unions in the Alameda County Central Labor Council, including council Secretary-treasurer Richard Groulx, beefed up the picket lines to include more than 200 workers. Nevertheless, Oakland cops proceeded to arrest everyone in sight. The club-swinging strikebreakers smashed the picket line and the scabs, who are paid \$5 an hour, went to work.

Officials on the spot

This strike poses a number of special problems for the labor officialdom in the Bay Area. The scab company is located some 50 yards from the headquarters of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, which represents some 62,000 workers in 132 local unions. If the strike is broken, it will happen directly under the nose of the top leadership of the Bay Area labor movement.

This embarrassing possibility has not been overlooked by the labor tops. On May 15 Groulx; Jimmy Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); Frank Souza, district representative of the International Association of Machinists (IAM); and others mobilized hundreds of supporters to pack the regular meeting of the Oakland City Council and demand that the scab-herding cops be called off the struck plant.

In addressing the Council, Groulx recalled the historic Oakland general

stop the scabs by themselves. Demoralization begins to set in. Perhaps another big rally is held; sometimes a third and fourth. The rallies are more for show than anything else. Eventually the strike ends. More often than not, the union is severely weakened. In some cases, as in the recent Oakland Grove Valve strike, the union is all but smashed.

The strike at Basic Tool and Supply Co., however, is still at the beginning stage. The leadership of the Molders union has indicated it will not take part in a rerun of past defeats. They have put out a call to the whole labor movement to join the picket lines and come to their aid. The local leadership has won wide respect in the Bay Area for its consistent solidarity with many of the key strikes in recent years.

Labor can win

There is no doubt that the labor movement has the capacity to win this small battle in Oakland. But more than one-hour picket lines once a week of a few hundred people is required. There are 2000 molders, 10,000 longshoremen, 70,000 teamsters, and 62,000 AFL-CIO members organized in the Bay Area. This constitutes a mighty force that could guarantee that a small number of striking molders do not have to be isolated and defeated.

This union force could also provide the nucleus for a new political party in the Bay Area, a labor party based on the unions; a party whose only interest is to fight for the working class and its allies.

The current leaders of the labor movement don't see things this way. In the Bay Area and elsewhere they are mobilizing their full energies, not to fight against the mounting employer offensive, but to back the Democratic Party candidate for president.

The strikebreaking role of the Democrats in Oakland and elsewhere is conveniently forgotten. The cuts in social services engineered by the Democrats are forgotten. The war policies of the Democrats are forgotten. The Democratic-supported budget cuts are forgotten. They only remember to repeat the words to the "new" song, "Dump Reagan."

"This union force could provide the nucleus for a new party, a labor party, to fight for workers and their allies."

strike of 1946. Herman, in his turn at the podium, reminded the Council of the 1934 General Strike led by the ILWU, which effectively closed down the port and city of San Francisco. Others followed in a similar vein, pontificating on the past achievements of the labor movement. After the thunder had subsided, the Council agreed to conduct an investigation into the role of the cops on the picket lines. Meanwhile, a second mass picket is set for May 31.

With few exceptions, the strike differs little from those that have ended in defeat over the past several years. The scenario is all too familiar: A corporation, seeking to maximize its profits at the expense of workers, decides to make a serious effort to break a union. Either by hiring professional thugs or by agreement with local police, the company establishes its "right" to operate by running scabs through union pickets. Following a number of protests from local labor bodies, a large picket is organized, usually by a combination of the AFL-CIO labor council, the Teamsters, and the ILWU. The picket line is militant, tough, and spirited.

Sometimes the labor officials are arrested. The next day and the next week pass. The picket line is reduced to the striking workers who are unable to

The molders are not just facing a small-time company intent on squeezing out a few more dollars in profit. Basic Tool and Supply Co. has hired the top-gun law firm in the area to break the union. Together with the cops, and with the support of other corporations in the area, the company will fight to make its point loud and clear: "Labor cannot win."

The molders are challenging this view. They are relying on their own strength and seeking to mobilize their allies in struggle. They have the power and numbers to win. "We will not rely on the courts or the politicians," says Ignacio De La Fuente. "We will rely on the workers. We make no concessions."

The fighting spirit evident among the molders is becoming more and more common as workers begin to understand that only the mobilization of their own power can bring victory. Out of these initial battles will emerge a new generation of fighters capable of taking on the bosses and their political parties.

And as this process unfolds, workers in the millions will see that protecting the bosses' profits runs counter to maintaining and improving their own standard of living. They will see that production for human needs and not profits is in the best interests of all workers. ■



Socialist Action/May May Gong

Greyhound workers on strike in San Francisco in December 1983

Dave Mix:

We could have won

Socialist Action: Can you fill us in on what has been happening since the Greyhound strike?

David Mix: I think there is a peculiar thing going on that the company didn't expect. They really felt we were going to come back to work with our tails between our legs. And that hasn't happened. People are still very upset, very angry. And so they are not being passive, and that's a real problem for Greyhound.

S.A.: Since you did vote against the settlement, what alternative would you have recommended to win the strike? Do you think the strike could have been won?

Mix: I think so. There were several threats that Greyhound threw out. Number one was that they would continue to operate with nonunion help. I don't think in reality that could have happened. It would have taken a good five years for them to operate at full-scale capacity. So if we could have overcome that fear and kept our own people from going back to work I think we could have prevailed. Another threat was that they were going to liquidate, sell the bus company, franchise it, or whatever. Of course, we were unprepared to counter any of those threats, but I don't think they would have carried through on any of them. I think the whole thing was a ploy on their part, and I think if we would have challenged them we could have won.

S.A.: What role do you think the rest of the labor movement could have played, in practical terms, in mobilizing broader labor solidarity to help you win the strike?

Mix: Again it is an organizational problem. We are all going to have to look at this very carefully in the future—unions helping each other—because we've got probably the most power, we've got unbelievable resources in terms of manpower and financial

power. We just have to learn how to use it. If you take the general funds or the trust funds and everything else combined of all the unions we far exceed any corporation or collective group of corporations in finances. So if we can get ourselves together and help each other we can do it.

The whole idea of winning strikes or disputes with companies by going after the financial backers of the various companies is something that people have talked about for years. If Crocker Bank has a strong connection with the hotels in Las Vegas that aren't willing to settle, then consider the impact, for example, of all the local unions in this area saying "Sorry Crocker, we're not going to do any business with you any further."

S.A.: In San Francisco there was significant support for your strike from people in the community and members of the labor movement as a result of the work done by the Greyhound Strikers Support Committee. What was your assessment of that?

Mix: We were just elated by the amount of support we got. Of course, we never knew it was out there. Basically it came through Walter Johnson of the Retail Clerks Local 1100. He helped put the committee together, along with the San Francisco Labor Council. And there was a lot of financial support and moral support. And a lot of physical activity—rallies, picketing, and everything else.

S.A.: Were you successful in keeping people off the buses?

Mix: I think so. We could have done more. We should have laid out some plans, some strategies. Because that is what it comes down to—how do you keep the people off the bus? Nobody really ever sat down and formulated any type of ideas as to what should be done

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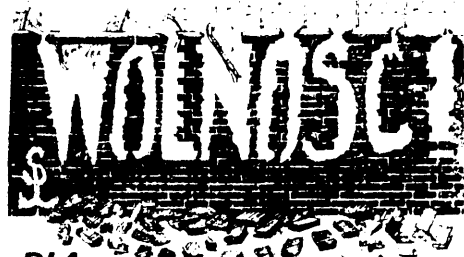
Free the Polish political prisoners!

The following article appeared in the April 9, 1984, issue of *International Viewpoint*, a biweekly magazine published under the auspices of the Fourth International.

There were 244 political prisoners in Poland at the beginning of February 1984. Ninety-three of them had already been sentenced to prison, in general for periods of between three-and-a-half and seven years. The latest reports we have indicate a considerable increase in arrests of people suspected of clandestine union activity in several towns.

One of the towns particularly affected by the latest wave of repression is Wroclaw, the capital of Lower Silesia, a region where the union Solidarnosc, and the political group called "Fighting Solidarnosc," are particularly active.

In the last week of January there were mass strikes and protest actions against the new price rises in many Wroclaw factories. Since then there has been



"Free the political prisoners," taken from Poznan's Solidarity bulletin

a wave of arrests and people "taken in for questioning" in factories, offices, and universities.

Just before Jan. 10, the secret police questioned around 100 scientific and cultural figures in Wroclaw who had signed an appeal to international and Polish public opinion in solidarity with the seven national leaders of Solidarnosc and the four KOR activists imprisoned for 10 years without trial. Seventeen Solidarnosc activists were recently arrested in the small town of Gorzow. In Torun, four Solidarnosc

members were taken, beaten, and threatened with death before finally being released.

Warsaw, Lublin, Szczecin, and Cracow have not escaped this repression. The Polish media announces new arrests of Solidarnosc members every week. The bureaucracy also harasses lawyers. There are more and more suspensions, attacks by "unidentified wrongdoers," burglaries, and arrests of those who undertake the defense of Solidarnosc members.

The repression also hits at activists from the independent peasant movement. On Dec. 11, 1983, the president of the National Resistance Committee of Peasants, 71-year-old Jozef Teliga, was arrested. Teliga was a leader of the anti-Nazi resistance and a political prisoner during the 1950s.

The body of Piotr Bartoszcz, a peasant unionist of the Bydgoszcz region, was found in a mine on Feb. 9. No one disagrees with the assumption that he was murdered by the secret police. He was not the first victim of the wave of terror.

After the murder of the Warsaw highschool student Grzegorz Przemysk last spring, another student, Andrzej Debski, fatally beaten by a militia patrol, died in a Warsaw hospital at the beginning of January.

In many prisons—Barczewo, Braniewo, Strzelin—there have been hunger strikes by the imprisoned unionists. Well-known leaders of Solidarnosc—Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Piotr Bednarz of Wroclaw, Andrzej Slowik and Jerzy Kropiwnicki of Lodz, Patrycjusz Kosmowski of Bielsko Biala, as well as the socialist militant Edmund Baluka—won important concessions in Barczewo prison after a hunger strike in autumn 1983.

Since then they have been continuing the struggle for the rights of political prisoners along with Leszek Moczulski and two other leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). On Dec. 7, they were attacked by the prison guards. Shortly afterwards, Frasyniuk was found guilty of having

... Mix: could have won

(continued from page 11)

to win the strike. Our International is 30 years behind the times. They think you just put up a picket sign and that's it. That doesn't work anymore. And it's a good question—how do you keep people off the buses? Nobody really sat down and talked about it, besides carrying picket signs and passing out flyers. That was successful up to a point, but we should have done more.

S.A.: An argument often heard is that workers have to make concessions in order to save jobs—to keep the company profitable and in business is in the interests of the workers. In other words, "What is good for the company is good for the workers." What is your answer to this argument?

Mix: Well, it depends first of all on whether it is true or not. In our case it wasn't true. The record showed that it wasn't true. Even if it were true, if Greyhound were at the poverty level and actually needed concessions to survive, I'm not sure I would buy the package then. Management will typically get themselves in trouble and only come to the people for concessions when they are in trouble. When things are good, profits are high, they never allow the people to take part in the operation. They keep the people totally out of their, what they term, management prerogatives. They tell you they are losing money and then they want to take it out of your pocket. Even if it were true and

the company was losing money and it was felt that we should give a little bit to keep the company stable—to save our jobs—which we would consider, except we need something in return. We need some type of control in management—control of the company. And that could be a fair arrangement.

S.A.: What do you think of the AFL-CIO's endorsement of Walter Mondale?

Mix: Who else are they going to endorse? Who else is out there? That's the problem.

S.A.: What do you think of the idea of the labor movement beginning to put forward its own candidates, develop a program, and run for office on the basis of a campaign that speaks to the interests of working people? Do you think that is possible or practical?

Mix: That is difficult to say. There is a danger in becoming too pro-labor, too pro-working class. There has got to be a fine balance between both sides. I might be playing the devils advocate here but you cannot give labor everything and expect the economy to survive. On the other hand, you cannot give it all to the corporations and expect to survive.

The problem we have with Reagan is that he is so damned pro-business the rest of us don't have a chance. But if you go to the other side with a strictly pro-labor candidate, that will backfire on us. It is fine to have the working class here but you have to have the corporations there. If there are no corporations to work for, you have no working class. There has to be big-business. But at the same time business has to treat us fairly and equitably.



Anna Walentynowicz at one of her previous trials in March 1983

"insulted" the assistant governor, which he allegedly did while he was being beaten.

Seven union activists in Strzelin prison stopped their hunger strike on Jan. 27, having held out for 55 days. Five of their comrades—including Janusz Palubicki who was a member of the national underground leadership of Solidarnosc and president of the Poznan region—had shortly before been transferred to the hospital in serious condition. They wrote in a statement, "As we consider that risking our lives or long-lasting mental or physical deterioration is not desirable from a humanitarian point of view, and taking account of the voices from outside, we have decided to stop our hunger strike."

From Barczewo prison, Frasyniuk wrote, "We have decided to hold on. However, I call for wide and active support for political prisoners, particularly those who could be easily forgotten."

The regional strike committee in Lower Silesia wrote, "The political prisoners' hunger strikes demand admiration and respect. They bear witness to the unshakeable spirit of those who have been condemned for fulfilling their duty to Solidarnosc and to society. Prisoners' hunger strikes are often the only means of struggle they can use to defend themselves against the bad treatment meted out by the regime, and to preserve their dignity.

"This form of struggle severely harms the health of the prisoners. Soci-

ety will need the health and strength of our comrades again. The fate of the prisoners rests in large measure on those of us who remain outside the prison walls, and our activity. It is up to us to create a situation in which they will no longer have to have recourse to hunger strikes.

"The RKS asks all the union organizations, all members of Solidarnosc to demand freedom for the political prisoners and to testify to their conditions. This can be done in any way they choose, by individual or collective appeals to the Diet or the Council of State, protest letters to prison governors, letters to the prisoners, material help to them and their families."

It is the duty of the international workers' movement to respond to this appeal, by protesting vigorously against the increase of repression in Poland through which the military-bureaucratic dictatorship hopes to crush Solidarnosc's will to resist.

Send letters, telegrams, and resolutions demanding the status of political prisoners and an unconditional and general amnesty for the imprisoned Solidarnosc militants to the president of the Diet (Marszalek Sejmu PRL, Warszawa, Poland) and to the Council of State (Przewodniczacy Rady Panstwa PRL, Warszawa, Poland).

Support for the prisoners, in the form of letters, telegrams or resolutions, should be sent to Wladyslaw Frasyniuk or Andrzej Slowik, Zaklad Karny, Barczewo, Poland.

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Solidarity is still alive!

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

The following are major excerpts of a talk given by Ralph Schoenman to the Pittsburgh Socialist Action Educational Conference on April 28, 1984. Schoenman is the former director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. Immediately after the declaration of martial law in Poland, he was one of the coordinators of Workers and Artists for Solidarity, an organization that sponsored national meetings of trade unionists, socialists, and intellectuals in support of Solidarity.

I want to begin by discussing the attitude of the bourgeois world toward Solidarity because one of the problems that we all face is the fact that the established order in the capitalist world presumes to speak for the Polish workers' movement. They do this for the purpose of shoring up capitalism and of associating socialism in peoples' minds with the miserable regime of Marshal Jaruzelski.

In that respect the U.S. ruling class and the Stalinists share a basic premise. Both equate socialism with a police state. Both equate socialism with a privileged and ruling bureaucracy. Both equate socialism with a tremendous disparity between the earnings of workers and the privileges of the state functionaries and party bureaucrats who dominate them and, indeed, usurp the social product. But there is nothing quite so hypocritical as a defender and spokesperson of the ruling class who cries crocodile tears over suppression of working people. The reality is quite a bit different.

When a state of war was declared by Marshal Jaruzelski, despite all the fanfare among Western governments condemning martial law, their behavior told another story. *Business Week* reported, "Western banks privately applaud martial law because they believe the army's action will end the political impasse that has paralyzed the economy." Thomas Theobald, chairman of the board of Citibank, said the following: "The only thing we care about is can they pay their bills?"

Irving Gazelle of the international brokerage firm of Bayer, Stearns, and Co., which represents prominent banks and holding companies from Japan and Korea to South Africa and Brazil, went so far as to support a possible invasion by the Soviet Union. He said, "If the Polish government is successful in gaining control, or if the Russians take over, it will be unfortunate for the people, but the loans will be repaid."

A *New York Times* article on the very morning following martial law made clear that the banks had pressed for this solution, citing numerous "off-the-record interviews with financial leaders" who expressed the hope that the military takeover would improve Poland's financial situation. The article concluded that, verbiage aside, this was the official view in Washington. And, certainly, actions bore it out.

Reagan bails out the junta

On the same day that Ronald Reagan joined Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu of martial-law Turkey in the television spectacular, "Let Poland Be Poland," he quietly signed an order to bail out the Polish junta and the banks by having the U.S. government pay the banks \$71.3 million of current interest owed by the Polish regime. This put the United States on record as standing behind the entire debt. And this was apart from the \$1.6 billion which the United States underwrote and guaranteed.

This support by what can accurately be called the captains of capital, I think, affords clear insight into the nature of the Polish oligarchy and the real relationship of Western capital to the Polish workers' movement.

In early January 1982, the Polish junta imposed price increases for essential goods and services of 400 percent, causing a drop in real wages—despite nominal concessions—to levels as low as \$112 a month. This is a lesser wage than that received by non-industrial workers, and less than the average \$180 a month paid Black miners in South Africa.

Poland is the 10th largest industrial producer in the world, yet its level of production has plummeted in the three



Striking Polish workers

years following martial law, declining 17 percent in 1981 alone. Poland's indebtedness to the banks reveals the real consequences of the International Monetary Fund plan for the Polish economy and for the well-being of Polish workers.

It was precisely this disaster and its causes—the relationship between the privileged, autocratic rulers and their dependence on Western banks—which Solidarity had sought to expose to the nation in its free press. It was this very betrayal of the workers' interests that fueled workers' demands for free trade unions, workers' control of economic decisions, and the democratization of the state.

Corruption and privilege

For two years Solidarity brought this message to the Polish nation: The vast mismanagement was inextricably bound up with corruption and great privilege. Solidarity revealed that the top functionaries in Poland were paid eight times as much as millions of lesser-paid workers. The special stores; the black market goods; subsidized cars and medicine; and foreign travel, villas, and servants created an actual income differential of 24-to-1 between leading administrators and the workers. Thus, economic planning in Poland was based upon the material interests of a ruling group which found itself under increasing challenge from workers who could no longer tolerate privation in the presence of such advantage.

When the strike wave of the early 1970s began, the regime sought to provide consumer goods, but not by intruding on privilege. The government bor-

rowed heavily from Western banks, expecting to invest in exportable goods and thus increase consumer imports. In short, the regime counted upon the expanding capitalist economy in the West and found itself with huge debts when the recession hit. Imports became too costly, and Western purchases of Polish exports simply never took place.

Who shall rule?

The strike wave frightened the junta into granting concessions which threatened inexorably to pose the question of who was to rule in Poland: the workers or the bureaucracy, Solidarity or the oligarchy. On August 26, 1981, Lech Walesa, during the legendary strike in Gdansk which gave birth to Solidarity, made the following statement:

"We want free and truly independent trade unions. We are not fighting against the socialist system. We do not want to disturb the principle of social ownership of production. We consider our factories to be the property of the Polish nation. But we demand that we will be the real masters in the factory and in the country."

The Polish workers are not fighting to restore capitalism. In a country like

Nor are the Polish workers either conservative or backward on account of their identification with the Catholic Church. There are several peculiar features about the role of the church in Poland. Poland has historically been a nation subjugated, a nation under siege, a nation being carved up, a nation being colonized. The church has a real national meaning to the Polish people. The church is a symbol of national identity and national resistance that transcends the specific religious ideology, if you like, of the church as such.

The church is an instrument and a vehicle for national expression and resistance to oppression which people are drawn to out of their cultural and historical experience. This does not necessarily imply either the conservatism or religious orthodoxy of the church itself.

At the same time it is important to say that the hierarchy of the church has a very ambivalent relationship to the regime itself and is constantly playing the role of a brake upon the workers' movement and upon Solidarity. Even as it gives lip service—and a modicum of support—to the workers' movement, it has sought to put the church in a better position to exact concessions from the



"Strike!"

Poland, words like "socialism" and "Marxism" are monopolized by a state apparatus that is privileged in the most obscene way and is brutal in every respect. It is obvious that when people challenge that type of order they don't want to use words that have been reduced to empty slogans to express their own demands.

But when you look at what the Polish workers were doing, what they were seeking, you can see very clearly what their objectives were. When they set up self-management committees in factories, when they put forth demands for workers' control of factories, when they called for elections of managers in every plant and when they devised the tactic of the active strike in which millions of Polish workers not merely struck plants but operated the plants during the strike—posing by that very means the question of power—you are not looking at a pro-capitalist movement.

I would be surprised if one could find in all the congresses, all the publications, and all the debates within Solidarity, any articulated point of view defending the principle of private property or discussing in any serious or sustained way the idea of a capitalist restoration in Poland. Not even the enemies of Solidarity, namely the Polish and Russian bureaucracies, could lay their hands on such documents, such debates, or such programmatic demands. It's not, I think, an accident. The Polish workers—Lech Walesa by no means the most radical of them—were very clearly able to distinguish between the benefits of social ownership and the ruthless privilege of the bureaucrats who oppressed them and expropriated their product.

regime and to arrive at some sort of modus vivendi with the ruling bureaucracy itself.

Not so long ago, in fact, when some of the younger and more militant priests, including Lech Walesa's own priest, were being transferred and harassed both by the church hierarchy and by the regime, there was a very militant and strong workers' reaction to that phenomenon, and many of the attempts at accommodation which the church has made with the Jaruzelski regime were met with great bitterness by the Polish workers.

Indisputably the most advanced, the most extraordinary, and the most promising of all workers' revolutionary struggles in the modern period, in my judgment, is that which unfolded and remains unfolding in Poland. Despite the serious setbacks and the loss of political initiative by Solidarity, I do not feel pessimistic about the prospects of Solidarity.

I cannot believe that the 10 million workers, the mass of the Polish people, after what they achieved and what they experienced, are any more reconciled to that miserable regime than they were two and three years ago. On the contrary.

Indeed what Solidarity has done for us is to leave us a legacy which we can take to workers to whom the word "socialism" stinks in their nostrils because they identify it with police states, with the absence of the right to have a public meeting or a newspaper. And now we have the Polish workers' movement to show workers in the United States and Western Europe what we mean by socialism, and that is perhaps the most precious legacy of all. ■

The FDR/FMLN's peace proposal

By Socialist Action Political Committee

The following is a statement by the Political Committee of Socialist Action on the recent peace proposal submitted by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front/Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN/FDR) of El Salvador. Given the importance of this plan, and the repercussions it is beginning to have in the antiwar movement in this country, we have chosen to publish the PC statement along with a statement on this plan by PC member Larry Cooperman (pp. 16,17), who presented a minority view to this leadership body. The discussion on this plan is taking place within our organization and within the solidarity movement at large. We hope this presentation of different positions will be of interest and value to our readers.

On Feb. 9, 1984, the Salvadoran FMLN/FDR (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front/Revolutionary Democratic Front) announced their call for a "Provisional Government of Broad Participation."

This is a call for a "broadly representative government" which would aim at a "cleaning up of the army, [the] dissolution of the criminal police bodies, the formation of a single national army integrating our fighters, the necessary socio-economic transformation, and upon this base, the holding of truly democratic and honest general elections" (FMLN "Open Letter to the People of the United States," dated Jan. 18, 1984.)

This proposal for a provisional government hopes in the short run to stave off a U.S. invasion of El Salvador on the scale of Vietnam by paralleling the diplomatic efforts of the Contadora Group (the governments of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama) to initiate negotiations. The Contadora Group seeks to avoid both U.S. intervention and the extension of the revolution to their own backyards through a negotiated settlement of the Central American class struggle.

Timed for the March 25 general elections, the FMLN/FDR proposal is also aimed at those layers of El Salvador's population who as yet support neither the junta nor the liberation forces. On this plane, the FMLN/FDR is attempting to broaden its popular appeal while narrowing the social base of the dictatorship.

Although four years of prolonged warfare have weakened the military junta ruling El Salvador and forced it to rely increasingly on U. S. military and economic aid for its survival, the liberation forces have been unable to dislodge the enemy.

At each critical stage, the United States has deepened its intervention in Central America as a whole in an attempt to contain and roll back the Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan revolutions. Under these conditions,

this approach implicitly concedes the "right" of the U.S. government to force national liberation struggles to settle for something less than the full aspirations of workers and peasants fighting a U. S.-backed capitalist government. Such a concession infringes on the right of an oppressed people to determine their own destiny—a concession even more unpardonable if made by the anti-intervention movement in the oppressor country.

The antiwar movement should remember that the initiation of negotiations will not ensure the end of the fighting. The Vietnam War continued on for three years after the beginning of peace talks.

The axis of genuine solidarity with El Salvador must be the building of a mass, non-exclusive movement around the principle that the United States has no right to negotiate anything in Central America. Today's movement must unequivocally call for "United States Hands Off Central America!"

The utmost clarity on this principle is necessary in order to keep the full onus of the ongoing civil wars in Central America where it belongs—on the United States.

The FMLN/FDR proposal would at best strike an uneasy and shortlived truce between the two sides. This would be crystallized by the following:

(1) the formation of a "broad-based provisional government" which "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 oligarchy;"

(2) a cease fire in place leading—upon accomplishment of the objectives of the government—to "the organization of a single national army incorporating the FMLN forces and the purged governmental armed forces;"

(3) "agreements to guarantee the national security of both El Salvador and the United States." ("Proposal for a Provisional Government," reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, April 9, 1984.)

While these terms may be the most that the FMLN/FDR can extract from the United States at this time, the anti-intervention movement here is not bound by the same constraints. It must base its clear stance on the principle of self-determination and on an understanding of the roots of the Salvadoran revolution.

The Salvadoran civil war

The ferment which is wracking El Salvador exists throughout Central America. In El Salvador today it is undergoing its sharpest expression—an armed struggle between the workers and peasants against social and economic injustice, on the one hand, and the U.S.-backed capitalists and landlords defending their privileges and profits, on the other.

Nicaragua saw the first victory for



A region of El Salvador liberated by the guerrillas of the FPL

or more probably into urban unemployed.

Secondly, the inability of the industrial sector financed by the Alliance for Progress to find an adequate outlet for its products (particularly after the Central American Common Market faltered), led to widespread unemployment and suffering among the workers.

The resulting discontent gave rise in the mid-70s to the mass organizations and fronts of these exploited classes; formations which emerged initially from a break from the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) in 1970, led by Cayetano Carpio of the Fuerzas Populares de Liberacion (FPL), and later by other political-military fronts which in 1980 came together to form the FMLN.

The 1979 officers' coup which overthrew General Carlos Humberto Romero aimed at reforming the system through a limited land reform and other measures while striving to repress and contain the growing mass opposition. But the limitations of a capitalist economy subordinated to the Western powers—particularly the United States—exacerbated by the intransigence of the great capitalists, doomed the project from the start.

This new government, despite the participation of then-Christian Democratic ministers like Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, as well as the PCS, continued the repression and murder of Salvadoran workers and peasants. Within months these forces felt compelled to leave this government and, although a minor numerical component, join with the already existing political-military organizations that had up to this point carried on the fight against the dictatorship.

The Salvadoran revolution, then, is at heart a struggle of the workers and peasants against their U.S.-backed exploiters. The army of the exploited confronts the army of the dictatorship. The fundamental aspirations of the toiling classes will be finally attained only through the establishment of a workers' government in alliance with the peas-

antry—a government which, in order to meet and defend the immediate social and economic demands of the majority, must challenge the property rights of the ruling class.

The lesson of the Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban, and now of the Nicaraguan revolutions points to the indispensable necessity of destroying capitalist power before the revolution can be consolidated.

The intensification of the war and its shift to the countryside, however, has led to the repression and partial demobilization of the urban mass movement. Some of the recent strikes in the cities were even led by forces outside of the FMLN/FDR.

There thus exist layers of the population who oppose the current government but yet do not support the liberation forces. Many of them, including many workers, voted for the Christian Democrats of Jose Napoleon Duarte in the recent election as a "lesser evil" to Roberto d'Aubuisson's ARENA party.

This is the background to the new peace proposal which expresses major changes from the FDR program of 1981. The FMLN/FDR calculates that these changes are necessary to forestall further losses and avoid direct U.S. military intervention.

The Platform of a Government of Broad Participation

The platform of the "Provisional Government of Broad Participation" contains many planks which are seen as beginning to meet the needs of the workers and peasants. These include economic demands such as laying the basis for agrarian reform, for the nationalization of the banking and financial system to provide credit for the masses, and for reforming the system of foreign trade and investment in order to limit the ability of foreign capital to undermine the economy.

On an immediate basis, the government would end the war and lift the state of siege, restore civil liberties and prosecute the torturers and killers of the

U.S. has no right to negotiate anything in Central America. Today's movement must call for "U.S. Hands off Central America."

Salvadoran revolutionaries have the right to gauge the situation as they see it, and make whatever proposals they deem necessary to preserve and further their struggle.

In the United States, however, some sectors of the non-intervention movement have sought to make support for the most recent FMLN/FDR proposals—that is, support for a *compromise* which the revolutionaries have felt forced to offer—a criteria for judging the level of one's solidarity with El Salvador. This approach is misguided.

Despite the intention of its advocates to identify with the Salvadoran revolu-

the workers and peasants over a similarly repressive regime—a victory which has provoked the savage resistance of a United States anxious to avoid its repetition anywhere else in the Americas.

The socio-economic roots of the Salvadoran revolution are two-fold. First, the dispossession of the peasantry from the land over the past several decades led to the concentration of land ownership in the hands of the coffee, cotton, and sugar barons. This resulted in the transformation of large numbers of small farmers and sharecroppers into rural wage workers, if they were lucky,

regime, and dismantle the repressive apparatus and death squads. It would take measures to rebuild the economy, create jobs and housing, control prices and renegotiate the foreign debt, and launch a literacy campaign. It would conduct general elections and "restore independence and national sovereignty."

These planks are more than the junta and the United States are prepared to accept, and have so far been unilaterally rejected. But should the government's military posture deteriorate further and the United States be unable to intervene en masse, they may be forced to reconsider their stance toward negotiations with the FMLN. (Duarte has now taken a stance in favor of "negotiations" in the course of his run-off election contest with D'Aubuisson.)

Under such circumstances, it should be recognized that the structure of the proposed provisional government would give the Salvadoran ruling class and the United States room to maneuver, and possibly to derail the revolution. *To the United States, this potential would be more significant than the written objectives of the government.* How is this so?

The Elimination of the oligarchy

Part I of the FMLN/FDR proposal points out that the death and devastation suffered by El Salvador has been foisted on the country "by the oligarchical society." It notes that "the state serving its interests has created a bloodbath in its death agony." Hence, any solution to the crisis in El Salvador must begin by "eliminating the previously cited factors, which are the causes of the conflict."

By using the term "oligarchic society," the FMLN/FDR proposal recognizes that the "oligarchy" consists of much more than the death squads and the extreme right. Rather, these repressive forces are the tools used by the big capitalists to maintain their rule in society.

In part II of the proposal, the FMLN/FDR proposes that the rule of the oligarchy be replaced by a provisional coalition government "not dominated by any one force" and under which "private property and foreign investment will not be counterposed to the interests of society?"

Included within it would be "representatives of the workers' movement, the peasants' movement, teachers' organizations, public employees' organizations, professional associations, universities, political parties, employers organizations, representatives of the FMLN/FDR, and of a purged national army."

These passages suggest, on the one hand, that the proposal is aimed at the undecided layers rather than at the present regime as such. The liberation forces do not expect the oligarchy to give up power without a fight. As in Nicaragua and Cuba, the overthrow of the government of the oligarchy will require a military victory.

But more significantly, on the other hand, these paragraphs show that to end the bloodshed, the FMLN/FDR are willing to share power with all opposition sectors, including those "political parties, employers' organizations," and elements within the army who, while opposing the oligarchy, favor the continued capitalist exploitation of the workers and peasants.

If faced at some point with the decision to directly intervene to avoid defeat, the United States might see in such a government the chance to maintain a capitalist foothold in El Salvador and the possibility of turning the tables in the future. This foothold is the coalition with the "anti-oligarchical" capitalist class.

The oligarchy does not include all capitalist sectors in El Salvador, but only the dominant agricultural sector closely tied to the United States. Alongside it are the urban industrial capitalists who, like Alfonso Robelo in Nicaragua, have been hemmed in by

oligarchic rule. (Robelo, a millionaire, was formerly a member of the Nicaraguan Junta of National Reconstruction.)

So far, no section of the capitalist class has come out in favor of the FMLN/FDR proposal. Nevertheless, should a "provisional government of broad participation" be established, the inclusion and maintenance within it of this group would have the potential for blunting the revolution and restructuring capitalism in El Salvador.

Given the dependence of the Salvadoran economy on a world market dominated by the Western powers, no section of the capitalist class, including the Robelos, will be able to survive economically unless it makes the appropriate concessions to world imperialism.

And no government that wishes to maintain a coalition with this sector can

'The aspirations of the Salvadoran masses would be best defended by the extension of the revolution throughout Central America...'

avoid bending to its economic needs. But such concessions would undercut the efforts of the provisional government to "restore independence and national sovereignty" from U.S. domination. Such concessions, however, provoke workers and peasants to resist, leading to the outbreak of renewed fighting.

The Danger of Maintaining the Old Army

This potential inherent in a coalition government of opposing classes would be heightened by the continued existence of a restructured section of the present Salvadoran army. In Nicaragua, the effects of the counterrevolutionary actions of the "opposition bourgeoisie" since July 19, 1979, have been blunted by the fact that the National Guard had been destroyed and replaced by the Sandinista People's Army; its remnants chased into Honduras.

Part III of the FMLN/FDR proposal calls for the "dissolution of the special security forces, the Death Squadrons, and their political arm, the ARENA party." This, of course, is essential. Unlike the 1980 "Platform of the Democratic Revolutionary Government," however, the current proposal does not propose the creation of a new army from the liberation forces. Rather, part IV of the proposal states that the ultimate aim of the negotiations is the "organization of a single national army incorporating the FMLN forces and the purged governmental armed forces."

In El Salvador, as in many countries, the army sees itself as the ultimate defender of the status quo. As the history of Latin America in recent years proves, the army is not a neutral force standing above society and above politics. The government of Salvador Allende in Chile was overthrown by an army with nearly a century-old tradition of non-interference in civilian affairs. Even "progressive" generals like Velasco and his successors in Peru were forced to turn to repression when they were unable to reform their capitalist economy and meet the needs of the masses.

In El Salvador, the "progressives" of this type were purged from the army in late 1980 with the exile of junta member Col. Adolfo Majano and his faction. After four years of repression and genocide, no section of the Salvadoran officer corps is free from some share of guilt. Hence the continued maintenance of even a purged section of this army will preserve a capitalist weapon of last resort, and will continue to pose a deadly threat to the revolution.

Can a coalition government survive?

Because of the structure of the government and the army, the provisional government of broad participation—even if it can be established—will be

inherently unstable because of its attempt to reconcile opposing class forces only recently removed from the battlefield.

The links of one section of the coalition to foreign capital will undermine any attempt to fundamentally meet the needs of the worker and peasant majority and secure national independence. For this reason, the government will be paralyzed and unable to erect a society in which "private property and foreign investment will not be counterposed to the interests of society?"

In the end, this stalemate will have to be decided in favor of either the capitalists or the workers and peasants. In recognition of this, the FMLN/FDR proposal states firmly that pending the success of the provisional government in meeting its objectives, "both armies will retain their weapons?"

The structure of the provisional government, then, would at best postpone final resolution of the civil war in El Salvador. At worst, it could lead to the defeat of the revolution. Moreover, the consequences of this dilemma, forced on the Salvadoran liberation forces by the United States, is not restricted within the boundaries of El Salvador. As reflected in the sections on foreign policy, the FMLN/FDR proposal can have a profound effect throughout the region.

The Security Interests of the United States and El Salvador

A further concession which the revolutionaries have felt forced to make to the United States is a pledge to "propose agreements to guarantee the

security interests of both countries." In exchange for U.S. promises against "aggression or destabilization" against El Salvador, the provisional government would "pledge not to permit the installation of foreign military bases or missiles on its territory," or "allow the transit of foreign arms and troops across its territory?"

Such assurances would be limited, if not illusory. In Nicaragua, the United States mines the harbors of a country with which it exchanges ambassadors!

Only the mobilization of the entire population has kept the United States and the counterrevolution at bay. In Cuba, only the mass mobilization of an armed people and the threat of worldwide protests possibly destabilizing capitalism in the imperialist centers, as well as the danger of nuclear war with the USSR, has prevented another Bay of Pigs.

The security of the Salvadoran and Central American revolutions cannot be maintained solely by military means. Grenada showed that on a purely military scale, the U.S. colossus is overpowering. Rather, the defense of the revolution must be political—in the mobilization of the Central American masses, the extension of the revolution throughout the region, and the building of a movement in the United States itself. This movement must understand that El Salvador's right to self-determination rises above—and demands more

than—support to the episodic negotiation proposals of the liberation forces. Such a movement, independent of the two capitalist parties, would be capable of stopping U.S. intervention anywhere in the world. Over a decade ago, such a movement forced the retirement of two presidents and the withdrawal from Vietnam of an expeditionary force of half a million troops.

It is the responsibility of the antiwar forces in this country to lay the basis for such a movement—a movement which will allow the people of Central America to determine their own destiny, truly free from outside intervention, and free from the need to negotiate with and make concessions to the United States. ■



Dean Hinton, former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, with El Salvador's Gen. Guillermo Garcia

national security interests of both countries?" In exchange for U.S. promises against "aggression or destabilization" against El Salvador, the provisional government would "pledge not to permit the installation of foreign military bases or missiles on its territory," or "allow the transit of foreign arms and troops across its territory?"

This proposal would put the revolutionary forces in El Salvador in a bad position. It serves to legitimize the demand of imperialism that all friends of the Salvadoran workers and peasants, including Nicaragua and Cuba, cease any aid in any form to the fighters in El Salvador.

Having financed the Salvadoran civil war, and with its military bases in Hon-

Another view

By LARRY COOPERMAN

The Central American revolution is at a critical juncture. Like every attempt to break the bonds of oppression, it is met by fierce resistance from the old propertied classes and by the very symbol of reaction in the world today: U.S. imperialism.

That resistance takes the form of violence, to be sure. The 1000 deaths of Nicaraguan workers and peasants at the hands of the contras, the over 40,000 murders by the Salvadoran death squads, and the 50,000 deaths wreaked by Somoza's National Guard during the Sandinista revolution all testify to the barbarity and the desperation of the *ancien regime*.

The U.S. government is on the side of the barbaric policies of the Central American ruling classes. It trains, supplies, and increasingly leads the military operations of the reactionary armies in Central America. Honduras has become one large U.S. military base from which the United States is reported to have run not just reconnaissance missions but actual combat missions as well. And the CIA is more and more openly directing, organizing, and carrying out the attacks on key economic targets in Nicaragua.

U.S. diplomacy is another arm of its policy of war and counterrevolution in Central America. In Nicaragua, this meant demanding elections until elections were called; then it meant opposition to the elections which are going to clearly demonstrate the popularity of the Sandinistas.

And it meant demanding that the Nicaraguans halt arms shipments to El Salvador; but what the imperialists—who admit that one-half of the FMLN's arms are captured American weapons—really want is to stop the boundless solidarity that the Nicaraguan people feel for their brothers and sisters in El Salvador. In the final analysis, the United States cannot tolerate the example that Nicaragua continues to set for El Salvador and the rest of the continent. Imperialism's real objective remains the crushing of the Sandinista power.

In El Salvador, through diplomacy combined with increasing military aid and intervention, the United States has sought to divide the revolutionaries. It proposes "negotiations" over the terms of participation in El Salvador's rigged elections. It hopes to win over a Guillermo Ungo or Ruben Zamora, who had participated in the 1979 "progressive junta." Or perhaps it can entice a section of the guerrillas to lay down their arms.

The FMLN/FDR's diplomacy

On these questions, the FMLN/FDR has taken a clear position. The FMLN/FDR has rejected the idea that free elections can be held in the middle of a civil war; that elections can be free when the death squads and the military have a free hand. And it clearly is not laying down its arms to participate in an electoral farce.

The FMLN/FDR, like the U.S. government, has used diplomacy to try to exacerbate differences in the enemy camp. The position they have held since 1981 is for a negotiated political settlement to end the bloodshed. This position stands in stark contrast to the refusal of the Salvadoran and U.S. governments to enter into any negotiations. This intransigence, in fact, did exacerbate differences between the United States, the Western European governments, and certain Latin American countries. Out of these differences came the Franco-Mexico initiative and the Contadora nations' attempt to mediate the conflict.

The new proposal of the FMLN/

FDR for a Government of Broad Participation intends to increase the demoralization in the Salvadoran army, win over war-weary sections of the Salvadoran population, and place the aggressive actions of the U.S. government in as unfavorable a light as possible.

On its own terms, it proposes a coalition government formed by the FMLN/FDR on the one hand, and the Salvadoran government on the other. This new government would include all political parties except Arena, the ultraright-wing party of Major d'Aubuisson. Likewise, the new army would be composed of the FMLN and the Salvadoran armed forces purged of the death squads.

Such a coalition government has never been formed successfully by opposing sides in a civil war. During the Vietnam War, for example, the conditions of the Paris Peace Accords, which proposed a coalition government, were never implemented. Instead, there was a renewed conflict under more favorable conditions—given the departure of thousands of American troops—and the Provisional Revolutionary Government was able to victoriously enter Ho Chi Minh City (then Saigon) two years later.

Even in Nicaragua, where the anti-Somoza forces formed a coalition government after the Sandinista victory of 1979, this government merely sheltered two opposing classes with antagonistic aims for a brief period of time. As the Sandinistas implemented a series of social measures to accompany the military victory, and as the mass mobilizations continued, the opposition bourgeoisie, one by one, dropped out of this government. Today, the most important leaders of the opposition bourgeoisie have reunited with the Somozaists to wage a counterrevolutionary war against the Sandinista government.

The FMLN proposal for such a coalition government is unacceptable to any wing of the Salvadoran government or bourgeoisie. The Salvadoran government, stripped of its ultraright sector, which includes the high command of the armed forces and most of the officer

"The FMLN/FDR has used diplomacy to try to exacerbate differences in the enemy camp."

corps, is a government that could not defend the interests of the oligarchy. And the Salvadoran bourgeoisie—stripped of the oligarchy—is only the shadow of a social class.

Socialist Action does not take a position in favor of a coalition government in El Salvador—we are in favor of the victory of the FMLN as we have always been. However, we also support the right of the FMLN/FDR to engage in whatever diplomacy and conduct whatever negotiations they deem necessary. Our central responsibility is to aid in the construction of a massive movement in opposition to the U.S. government's intervention in Central America.

Where the PC Majority goes wrong

The point of view expressed by the PC Majority statement, while it correctly points out the inherent difficulties of a coalition government, incorrectly takes the position that the new FMLN/FDR proposal could lead, under given circumstances, to the defeat of the revolution:

"These planks are more than the Junta and the United States are proposed to accept and have so far been unilaterally rejected. But should the government's military posture deteriorate further and the United States be unable to intervene en masse, they may be forced to reconsider their stance toward negotiations with the FMLN. (Duarte has now taken a stance in favor of "negotiations" in the course of his



Street meeting in Nicaragua

run-off election contest with d'Aubuisson) Under such circumstances, it should be recognized that the structure of the proposed provisional government would give the Salvadoran ruling class and the United States room to maneuver, and possibly to derail the revolution. *To the United States government, this potential would be more significant than the written objectives of the government*" (original emphasis).

And later, the article states even more clearly: "The structure of the provisional government, then, would at best postpone the resolution of the civil war in El Salvador. At worst, *it could lead to the defeat of the revolution* (my italics). Moreover, the consequences of this dilemma, forced on the Salvadoran liberation forces by the United States, is not restricted within the boundaries of El Salvador; as reflected in the sections on foreign policy, the FMLN/FDR proposal can have a profound effect throughout the region."

These passages contain several errors:

1) They are based on the real possi-

bility of the realization of a "government of broad participation" under conditions in which the FMLN is close to victory, and the U.S., "unable to intervene", proposes a class collaborationist government which the FMLN accepts!

2) It fails to understand that the real policy of U.S. imperialism is one of military defeat of the revolutionary forces from Guatemala to El Salvador to Nicaragua, not one of negotiations. Duarte's stance, like that of the U.S. State Department, is in favor of negotiations over the conditions of participation in elections in which the FMLN or a section of it would lay down its arms. He absolutely rejects "power sharing."

And Duarte is intelligent—he wasted no time in coming to Washington to lobby for millions and millions of dollars of arms for his true objective: military escalation.

3) It is wrong because it is an absolutely premature and therefore incorrect judgement. There is a raging civil war, with thousands of U.S. troops in Honduras ready to invade when necessary, and *no* visible movement towards a negotiated settlement on any basis.

Yet, the PC Majority statement decides to engage in speculation. What if, they ask, the FMLN is close to toppling the Salvadoran regime? What if the U.S. is unable to intervene militarily? What if, on the verge of being defeated, the Salvadoran dictatorship

accepts the peace plan, the revolution is derailed, and capitalism is saved in El Salvador?

In the current situation, the FMLN is not close to toppling the regime, and the United States is hardly "unable" to intervene. But, if these conditions were met, based on the trajectory of the struggle of the FMLN, there is no reason to believe that it would stop short of victory. In that case, the proposal for a government of broad participation would be a scrap of paper, just as the 1973 Vietnamese accords were.

The Vietnamese peace accords

Premature judgements often look preposterous when they are measured by the test of events. One week before the Provisional Revolutionary Government marched into Saigon in 1975, Dick Fidler wrote the following words in the socialist magazine *Intercontinental Press* in an article with the incredible title "PRG Signals Readiness to Compromise with Saigon:"

"All observers agree that only a major political deal with the liberation forces could head off the complete defeat of the puppet Saigon government.

"*The Provisional Revolutionary Government and the North Vietnamese leadership are seeking such a deal*" (my emphasis).

Later in the article, he cautions: "It remains to be seen if all of the elements advocating a compromise political deal will be successful. It is not excluded that the momentum unleashed by the collapse of Saigon's puppet armies and the advances of the liberation forces could yet inspire a mass uprising within Saigon itself, or result in the total breakdown of all civil administration in that city. In that case, the Provisional Revolutionary Government may well find itself forced to march into the capital, just as Mao's armies were forced to occupy Peking in 1949."

These conclusions, which seem unbelievable today, flowed from an error that Fidler made in his analysis of the Vietnamese Accords, which is similar to the one that the PC Majority makes on the significance of the latest FMLN/FDR proposal. He believed that these accords, which called for a coalition government, could be the basis for a betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, and for the salvation of capitalism. He compounded his error in cautioning that the PRG "may well find itself forced to march into the capital." This implied as well that the PRG had no conscious intention of liberating the capital, just a few days before they actually did so.

The position of the International

(continued on page 17)

New phase of Iran-Iraq war

By EVAN SIEGEL

The recent events in the Iran-Iraq war [See page 1] have highlighted an unusual situation. The United States is determined to use the escalation of the war to step up its military presence in the region, while its allies—notably the Gulf sheikdoms—are reluctant to take the United States up on this offer.

This reluctance stems from the fear of being too closely associated with a government which has given unconditional support to Israel and to the most reactionary regimes in the area. The Arab masses have drawn the conclusion that any openly pro-U.S. regime is a corrupt and brutal puppet of the United States. Despite the dismal record of the “nationalist regimes,” they associate an anti-United States posture with a fight for national sovereignty and opposition to the Israeli regime.

U.S. policy has the aim of developing a closer cooperation with the conservative Arab regimes that have wanted to maintain their distance from the United States in order to safeguard their “nationalist” credentials.

The United States also intends to protect its more immediate interests in the Gulf War by stopping Iranian air attacks on Gulf trade—perhaps slapping Iraq's Sadaam Hussein on the wrist if he gets carried away—and sending the Iranians a message to reconsider their plans to advance on Iraq.

Background to the war

The war began in the context of a period of chaos in Iran. Prof. Richard Cottam, a leading American observer of the Iranian political scene, had this appraisal: “By September 1980, when the Iraqi attack occurred, the regime was probably down to its core support. It had lost support of ethnic communities that adhere to Sunni Islam and was badly weakened in the large and important Turkish-speaking Azeri community. It had purged and hence alienated the large, secular-minded middle class. And it generated little strong support in Persian-speaking rural areas” (*Current History*, January 1984).

Indeed, the political faction put in power by Khomeini and led by Abol-Hassan Bani Sadr, was coming under sharper attack by the Islamic populists for being conciliatory toward the United States. The United States, for its part, had unconsciously harmed Bani Sadr's fortunes by supporting him against the clerical populists.

Meanwhile, the “hostage rescue mission” of April 1980 ended in a debacle which revealed widespread cooperation between a portion of the military and the United States. Six coup attempts followed in rapid succession. Trade relations were hampered by Iran's image as an unstable, pariah regime.

The Iraqi regime under Sadaam Hussein had been seeking to break out of its isolation from the mainstream of the Arab world. It played up its role in organizing a united front of Arab nations against the Camp David accords, as well as its role in opposing the regional danger to the reactionary regimes that the Iranian revolution represented.

Fighting breaks out

In spite of increasing tension between the two countries, Iraq's invasion of Iran caught the Islamic Republic by surprise. President Bani Sadr was unable to convince his rival, Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Rajai, that the attack was about to take place.

The bulk of the fighting was carried out by the local Revolutionary Guards and the inhabitants of the area affected by the fighting. The Iranians fought with Molotov cocktails and rifles against tanks and artillery. Nevertheless, the major port city of Khorramshahr was successfully defended for several months.

This first phase of the war—from the time of the invasion to the lifting of the Iraqi siege of Abadan in September 1981—was characterized by the blunting of the initially successful Iraqi offensive. After two months, the Iraqis adopted a more defensive posture.

This phase was also characterized by the paralysis of the Iranian armed



forces. This paralysis reflected the political struggle in Teheran between the fundamentalists and the liberals.

Prime Minister Bani Sadr was assiduously wooing the army, spending most of his time at the front. The suspicion of his fundamentalist opponents was naturally increased by this behavior. The fundamentalists preferred the Revolutionary Guards who shared their religious and political outlook.

The dismissal of Bani Sadr in June 1981 led to a wave of street fighting and of assassinations directed at IRP leaders. For its part, the IRP government lashed out at anyone it suspected of being sympathetic to the opposition, leading to a bloodbath unprecedented in modern Iranian history.

It was during this time that the Iranian forces began to score some victories over the Iraqis, driving them back toward the border. Within the army, officers loyal to Khomeini began to be promoted to provide a counterweight to figures like General Fallahi, who was closely associated with Bani Sadr.

This recomposition of the government and the army began to bear fruit. “Operation Jerusalem,” launched in November 1981, began the practice of “human wave assaults” carried out by Revolutionary Guards and hastily trained members of the Mobilization Corps. This was followed by “Operation Clear Victory” and “Operation Holy City,” which finally drove the Iraqis out of Khorramshahr.

This period was characterized by the success of the military operations, the breaking of the Mojahedin opposition, and the restarting of the Iranian economy through increased oil sales. It was during this period that the United States broke its silence on the Gulf conflict. Caspar Weinberger revealed the pro-Iraq tilt of U.S. foreign policy when he stated: “An Iranian victory would not be in our interests.”

The third phase was the invasion of Iraq by Iran. Faced with a firm but weakening defense against an inexhaustible enemy, Iraq chose to begin bombing civilian concentrations in Iran. In February 1984, Iran adopted the same policy, declaring that all Iraqi cities were fair game for Iranian missiles.

...Peace plan: Another view

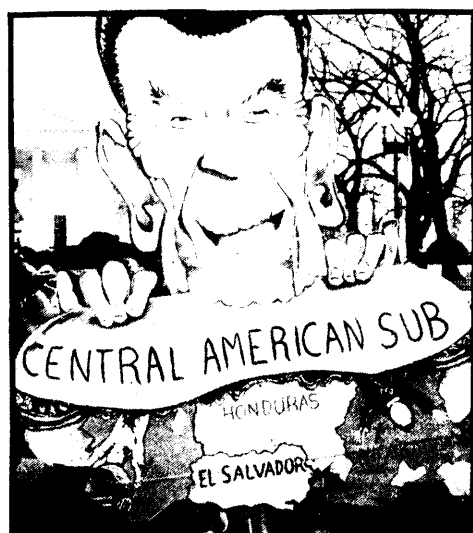
(continued from page 16)

Executive Committee (IEC) of the Fourth International, the leadership of the world Trotskyist movement, took a much more balanced approach to the Paris negotiations. In a resolution passed in late 1972, it pointed out the following:

“...we must clearly explain that there is no possibility, in Vietnam or elsewhere, of “national concord” between the exploiting and exploited classes. The Fourth International remains opposed to coalition governments with the bourgeoisie, whatever the specific composition of these governments.

“But this principled opposition to any coalition government does not entitle us automatically to define all cases of such governments as popular front regimes stabilizing and defending the economic rule and the state of the possessing classes. . . it was not the case in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and China, where the presence of bourgeois ministers did not prevent the socialist transformation from occurring. The decisive thing is the nature of the state, that is the class character of those who control the armed forces.

“...All indications are that the cadres of the NLF and the Vietnamese CP are systematically preparing the South Vietnamese population for this



mass political struggle. The U.S. withdrawal, like the perspective of reunification with the North and the acceptance of the principle of free elections with the participation of all political parties today consigned to clandestinity, will inevitably stimulate mass struggles and will further tilt the balance of forces in favor of the revolution?”

In the case of the Vietnam accords, they led not to the defeat of the revolution but to the strategic retreat of U.S. imperialism which withdrew thousands of its troops. While this did not guarantee the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, it did alter the relationship of forces in favor of the revolution.

There is no guarantee of the victory of the Salvadoran revolution. It faces formidable obstacles from the United

States and its Salvadoran puppets. The revolutionaries still have to find a way to reactivate the insurgent mass movement that impelled the development of the FMLN and the FDR in the first place.

Solidarity with the FMLN

At this stage, victory or defeat will be determined by factors of international solidarity and aid, by the development of the Central American revolution as a whole, and by the pace of the class struggle and its military expression in El Salvador. It must be absolutely clear that speculation about the possible effects of the Proposal for a Government of Broad Participation under hypothetical conditions only blurs what we must say clearly.

Socialist Action supports the FMLN/FDR and we support its right to negotiate and its right to conduct its own diplomacy.

Socialist Action believes that today, more than ever, there is a crying need for a massive opposition to U.S. policies in Central America. This opposition must express itself publicly, in the streets, and convince the millions of others in the United States who oppose intervention to join in. In those millions, there is the potential to stop the criminal U.S. military and economic intervention which is the main prop of the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Internationalization of the war

Iran's new policy indicated its belief that the offensive would spark an insurrection by the Iraqi population against Sadaam Hussein. But this belief proved to be wrong. Even the Shi'a majority failed to show any signs of ferment.

The most dangerous aspect of this new phase of the war—at least in terms of its internationalization—was the escalation of attacks on shipping in the Gulf itself. More than a dozen vessels have been hit since January in the Persian Gulf. Iraq's hitting of two Saudi freighters well south of the war zone marked a further escalation of the conflict.

The Baathist regime in Iraq became determined to break the stalemate over the war by: (1) making it impossible for Iran to export oil; and (2) forcing the intervention of outside powers, especially the United States.

The U.S. State Department has declared the United States would only condemn Iraqi attacks on shipping in the Gulf—not Iran's. This stance is totally hypocritical, among other reasons, because Iraq has been responsible for over 60 attacks on Gulf shipping in recent years.

The U.S. government, however, has to tread carefully. As the *New York Times* pointed out recently: “Some of the Gulf nations say they are concerned that a public request for U.S. military aid would appear to bear out charges by Iran that Saudi Arabia and its Gulf allies are puppets of Washington!”

Farrakhan: No leader for Black people

By JOSEPH HARRIS

With his melodic oratory he rallied and he railed. Indeed, he was an accomplished singer. Minister Louis Farrakhan, during his tenure as head of Harlem's Temple No. 7 and as a national representative of Elijah Muhammed, seemed often to approach the speaking majesty of Malcolm X himself.

Close observers, however, discerned key differences—differences which reflected their two distinct personalities and political trajectories. Farrakhan dazzled while Malcolm blinded. Farrakhan tap-danced while Malcolm relentlessly pressed forward.

Malcolm's uncompromising principles led him to break with a leader, Elijah Muhammed, to whom he had devoted a huge part of his life. Farrakhan seemed incapable of such bold actions. Despite his close personal ties to Malcolm X, Farrakhan not only remained in the Nation of Islam after Malcolm's expulsion, but took part in the campaign of vilification against Malcolm.

After the death of Elijah Muhammed, his son, Wallace D. Muhammed, took over the reins of the Nation of Islam—now renamed the American Muslim Mission. Farrakhan worked after 1978 to restore the nationalist legacy of the Nation of Islam. But he has now discovered a new apparatus and leader to claim his allegiance. The apparatus is the Democratic Party and the new leader is Jesse Jackson.

"I believe the Rev. Jackson has transcended himself and is an instrument that Allah is using for a much larger purpose than perhaps he himself realizes," states Farrakhan. "Jesse Jackson is the last chance for Black people in America. When I hear him talking, I don't hear Jesse, I hear God talking



Louis Farrakhan

through Jesse. He's talking about justice and including the poor masses who have been shut out. That sounds to me like God." With such evangelistic fervor has Farrakhan become a partisan of Jackson.

Farrakhan, in fact, played a major role in Jackson's dramatic efforts to secure the release from Syria of the agent of imperialist policy, Lt. Goodman. Farrakhan's mastery of Arabic seems now to have purposes other than decrying the crimes of racism.

Nation of Islam derailed

Farrakhan may now maintain the fiction of an Islamic grouping loosely based on his particular interpretation of Elijah Muhammed's political heritage. Such an outfit will undoubtedly function as a "progressive" pressure group for reformist Black (and possibly other) elected officials. However, Farrakhan's

move spells the end of the Nation of Islam as an *autonomous* political formation in Black America.

Despite its abstentionism and passive role in the fight for Black self-determination, it was the Nation of Islam's autonomy that the U.S. ruling class feared most. The Nation of Islam played an important role in the radicalization of Black youth during the 1960s and 1970s, with its rejection of the idea that the American system had the capacity to end racism. Equally important was its support for revolutions in the colonial world, its encouragement of the study of Black history, its mobilizations of Black people, and its stand against support for the twin parties of American racism—the Democratic and Republican parties.

With its complete independence from the ruling institutions of U.S. society, the explosive potential of the Nation of Islam was not lost on the U.S. ruling

class. But this autonomy, first undermined by the all-American patriotism of Wallace D. Muhammed, is now virtually eliminated by the present positions of Louis Farrakhan.

"The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return?" "The Negroes put the Democrats first, and the Democrats put the Negroes last," was how Malcolm X correctly summed up the relationship between the Democratic Party and Black people.

This was a view Minister Farrakhan also subscribed to until recently. It is a view verified by the abysmal conditions of Black America. It is a view central to regenerating the mass mobilizations that alone are capable of reversing the defeats suffered by Black and working people in the recent period. Minister Farrakhan, by his new-found affinity for the Democratic Party, has shown that he undoubtedly will not be a major part of that process of regeneration. ■

New play rediscovers Margaret Fuller

By MILLIE GONZALEZ

Margaret Fuller Ossoli, considered by some one of the most important women of the 19th century, has been rediscovered in "The Margaret Ghost," a new play by Carole Braverman. Fuller was the first major female literary critic, and first female foreign correspondent in the United States. The play, divided into three acts, spans crucial aspects of her life: her involvement with the Transcendentalists, her career as a reporter for the *New York Tribune*, and her years in Italy during the civil war of 1847.

Act I covers her involvement with the Transcendentalist movement in Boston, where she collaborated with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne,

and Henry David Thoreau. At this time, while Fuller is editor of *The Dial* (the Transcendentalists' newspaper), she is also writing a biography of the German novelist Johann Goethe. Although on the surface it appears that Fuller is leading an active life, she seems restless, preoccupied with what others think of her. Indeed many consider her a freak. The Victorian era of the 1830s was not very kind to women like Fuller who rejected the limitations society imposed on them.

Gradually, however, Fuller breaks away from the Bostonian enclave of intellectuals. Bell Gale Chevigny, in her book, "The Woman and the Myth," explains Fuller's growing dissatisfaction with the Transcendentalists who, "while critical of the established order, offered

no alternative program for change?"

Her career as the first female reporter for the *Tribune* is covered in Act II. Her pen is very sharp in her depiction of urban life and shows a concern for women's rights and the plight of the newly arrived immigrants.

To the consternation of Horace Greeley, who as editor of the *Tribune* insists that she focus on literary criticism, Fuller increasingly uses her column as a mouthpiece for the exiled Italian revolutionist, Giuseppe Mazzini. The play portrays Fuller as waging an internal battle concerning the extent to which she should participate in the fight for the social reforms she called for. Chevigny states in her book, "Writing was a struggle, because in it she felt she committed herself to one part of herself while betraying another."

Reporter in Italy

At Mazzini's invitation, Fuller goes to Italy. She witnesses the rapidly unfolding events as a reporter for the *Tribune*. By now it is evident that Fuller has broken with the Transcendentalist movement and has rejected a philosophy of distancing oneself from the real world. The play depicts a conversation with Hawthorne in Italy that reveals this new aspect of her consciousness. Hawthorne, who is cynical about the Italian revolution, states, "What has the world gained from so much bloodshed but a change in tyrants. Men's hearts are corrupt." Fuller argues back, "It's not men's hearts that are corrupt, but their institutions."

Act III centers on her life in Italy with her husband, Giovanni Angelo

Ossoli, with whom she has a child. Ossoli is enlisted in the nationalist Civic Guard, while Margaret writes on the civil war and tends to the wounded at the front lines.

Unfortunately the play at this point fails to do justice to Fuller's life. During the period 1847-48 Europe was convulsed with social revolutions. The Italian civil war was but the first in a series of mass upheavals that shook the major capitalist regimes of Europe. The play doesn't sufficiently reflect the influence of these social events on her political development. There is no mention of her relationship with novelist George Sand, one of France's leading feminists, or with Adam Mickewicz, the nationalist Polish poet. Too much time is spent on her personality and ambitions, while her political development and participation in these social events in Europe are only touched upon lightly.

Fuller, Ossoli, and their child were killed when their boat returning from Europe sank off the coast of Fire Island May 17, 1850. Her eyewitness account of the Italian civil war, which would have been an important contribution to the understanding of modern Italian history, was lost in the accident.

But Fuller left a legacy which is succinctly summed up by Paula Blanchard in her book, "Margaret Fuller from Transcendentalist to Revolutionist:"

"She brought a unique journalistic perspective to mid-century revolutionary Europe, where she was put in the position—the irony of which she fully understood—of seeing the Old World transformed by early American ideals, even while America itself began to turn away from them." ■

...AIDS epidemic

(continued from page 20)

about preserving murderous, unpopular governments in Central America, than it does about preventing its own people from dying from AIDS.

The Appropriations Committees of both houses of Congress will be holding hearings in June or July to consider the 1985 AIDS budget. In light of the new research and the hearings soon to occur in Congress, it is more crucial than ever that gays, lesbians, and their supporters launch a national campaign to demand massive emergency funding to end the AIDS epidemic. What is done now can make a difference in saving lives.

The May 1983 candlelight march in

San Francisco where thousands demonstrated behind the banner "Fighting for Our Lives" is an example of the kind of actions that need to be organized.

Some initial organizing has begun. The May 12 edition of *Gay Community News* reported an AIDS conference recently held in Boston. The keynote speech was given by Larry Kramer, one of the founders of New York Gay Men's Health Crisis. New York has the highest incidence of AIDS in the nation.

According to Kramer, Congress and the executive branch officials failed to budget adequate funds for AIDS because no one pressured them. Kramer blamed inadequate gay leadership on a national level. "The only thing that works is visibility, noise, constant repetition," Kramer said. ■

'Good Morning, Revolution:'

'The Black Experience'

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

"The Black Experience," The Ayer Co., Salem, N.H., 03079

This catalog of books issued in observance of Black History Month is far superior in quality, range, and depth to any previous collection that I am familiar with. It is possible to acquire some useful knowledge of Black history just by reading the descriptions of the publications.

The publisher is right: "Rarely—if ever—has such a massive array of titles on the Black experience been assembled. The earliest books represented here were published in 1729; the latest, in 1982." Organized into 42 subject categories, the catalog covers virtually every aspect of Black history.

Here are just a few of the significant titles in the catalog:

- "Black Africa," a collection of *New York Times* articles on Africa from 1880 to 1972. "Black Africa" chronicles a continent "in transition from colonial-imperial domination by the Western European powers to the sweeping national liberation movements of the 1960s"

- "Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions: 1830-1864," details the efforts of such noted Black freedom-fighters as Frederick Douglass, Martin R. Delaney, and others, as they met to map out their fight against slavery in the South and to gain equal rights for Blacks in the North.

- "These Are Our Lives" was a product of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) writers' project set up during the Great Depression. This volume contains first-hand accounts by Black and white farmers and workers from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, describing the effects of the Depression on their lives.

- *The Crisis* consists of several volumes covering the history of the first 50 years of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). For much of its history, *The Crisis* was one of the few, and at times the only national publication in the United States that challenged the widely accepted concept of white supremacy. These volumes are divided into three sections: 1910-1927, 1928-1940, and 1941-1960.

- "American Slavery As It Is" consists of the testimony of a thousand witnesses. It is a carefully documented collection that exposes the horrendous brutality of slavery in the United States. It was first published in 1839 by Theodore Weld, a prominent, uncompromising white abolitionist.

I highly recommend this catalog to all serious students of Black history. Today's activists and revolutionaries will be amply rewarded by having ready access to this treasure.

Michael Jackson and a blue-eyed child

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

I am torn between despair and pride. Johnnie, my 5-year-old grandson, wants to grow up to be just like Michael Jackson. He comes over to our house with his "unbreakable" tape recorder and his cassette of the song *Thriller*. He plays *Thriller* and *Beat it* at the loudest volume for hours. He is also determined to "break-dance" like the other kids in his childcare center.

This blond, blue-eyed little boy, along with millions of children, has as his role model a talented young Black man, Michael Jackson. There is even a Michael Jackson costume for children. Some of his friends already have one.

Johnnie doesn't understand that over 20 years ago, Black children his age and even younger were marching in the streets of Birmingham, Selma, and Little Rock. Marching through the valley of death, surrounded by armed white racist cops and thugs deputized to defend the white supremacy of the Jim Crow system.

The children just kept on marching—despite the powerful water hoses that hurled them to the ground. Their parents took the children on the protest marches convinced that it is better to stand and fight together—even if confronting this racist system could cost them their very lives.

The television screens allowed millions of viewers to witness the criminal violence unleashed against Blacks who were fighting the racist conditions in this country. It was a sickening sight. The myth of "happy Black folk" had been destroyed forever.

Johnnie doesn't understand the reason he wants to be like Michael Jackson, instead of John Wayne or Elvis Presley. Nor is he aware that Jesse Jackson, a Black man, can run a serious campaign for president of the United States because of the massive civil rights demonstrations and sit-ins of the 1960s. He doesn't understand that all of this could never have happened just by voting.

Black rights were not won by voting for Democrats—they were won in the streets by the independent action of millions of Blacks. Only by organizing independently and in opposition to this oppressive, capitalist system and its political parties can we be assured that children never have to face the racism of Birmingham again.

I'm torn between listening to *Thriller* for the umpteenth time, and my pride in this little blue-eyed boy who wants to be just like Michael Jackson. May his tribe increase.

Letters to the editor

Carpio death

Dear friends,

After reading the documents in your March issue on Salvador Cayetano Carpio and the split in the FMLN, I would like to subscribe to *Socialist Action*. It is just incredible to me that no other periodical I have seen has really dealt with these issues which are certainly of great significance to the struggle in El Salvador. I will be very interested in learning about further developments on these subjects as more information becomes available.

Margaret Low
Los Angeles

Dear people,

I enjoyed the March issue of *Socialist Action* very much. It was the first issue I had read. Your approach of giving history to the issues addressed in the article educated as well as informed me. It is important to put events in their historical perspective and not merely to report them and make generalized comments.

I particularly found the Forum on the split in the FPL in El Salvador to be valuable in addressing the cause or at least trying to uncover it.

None of the other publications I receive on Central America attempted to do so. I enclose \$1 for three months to see how I like the paper initially. You are doing respectable work.

Kara Fishman
Evanston, IL

Dear editor,

What U.S. readers need to know most desperately concerning the issue of Central America is the state of the anti-intervention movement. As far as El Salvador, we need information on the overall situation, but it should be presented in a way that urges unity in the struggle and combats centrifugal tendencies. The presentation of sensitive material should be extremely cautious.

We can say only one thing for certain concerning the statements around Carpio (*Socialist Action*, March, 1984)—they reflect a serious debate over perspectives in the revolutionary vanguard in El Salvador. As to the substance of the charges against him—we have nothing from either side of the question except the assertions of militants engaged in a heated struggle over what to do.

David Rossi
Houston

Mel Mason

Dear *Socialist Action* editor:

Since your newspaper is calling for support to the Socialist Workers Party campaign for president, don't you think that you should comment on their campaign newspaper, *The Militant*, having dropped all criticism of Jesse Jackson in the last many issues, and having leaped to Jackson's defense against the obviously correct charges of anti-Semitism against him?

The SWP has recently released a statement in the name of Mel Mason, their presidential candidate, again denying Jackson's blatant anti-semitism and equating criticism of Jackson on this score with an attack on the entire Black community.

Arthur Maglin
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Editor's Reply:

The issues you raise are far too complex to take up in a brief answer. In the July issue of *Socialist Action*, we will be running a special "FORUM" section on the 1984 elections and our support of the Mel Mason campaign.

Socialist ACTION

WHERE TO FIND US:

Boston Socialist Action
P.O. Box 1046 GMF
Boston, MA 02205

Buffalo Socialist Action
P.O. Box 275
Buffalo, N.Y. 14207

Chicago Socialist Action
Box 80 B
2520 N. Lincoln
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 248-1094

Cincinnati Socialist Action
P.O. Box 3033
Cincinnati, OH 45201
(513) 242-9043

Cleveland Socialist Action
P.O. Box 6151
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 429-2167

Houston Socialist Action
University of Houston
Box 551, 4800 Calhoun
Houston, TX 77004
(713) 643-2030

Los Angeles Socialist Action
18653 Ventura Blvd
Box 217
Los Angeles, CA 91356
(213) 343-4511

Michigan Socialist Action
P.O. Box 4523
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Minneapolis Socialist Action
P.O. Box 14087
Dinkytown Station
Minneapolis, MN 55414

New York Socialist Action
P.O. Box 20209
Cathedral Finance
693 Columbus Ave
New York, NY 10025

Phoenix Socialist Action
P.O. Box 5161
Phoenix, AZ 85010
(602) 951-0354

Pittsburgh Socialist Action
P.O. Box 10769
Pittsburgh, PA 15203

Puget Sound Socialist Action
P.O. Box 2903
Olympia, WA 98507

San Francisco Socialist Action
3435 Army Street, Rm. 308
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Washington, D.C. 20010
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By ANN MENASCHE

In the face of a serious and rapidly spreading epidemic which has already struck 4177 people, 43 percent of whom have died, the government's response has been inadequate funding on the one hand, and increased political repression and stirring up of homophobia on the other.

The disease is acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). It was first recognized in San Francisco in 1981. AIDS impairs the immune system, leaving the body vulnerable to various opportunistic illnesses. The fatality rate for AIDS is more than 85 percent two years after diagnosis. The number of victims has been doubling every eight months.

Most experts believe that AIDS is transmitted through intimate sexual contact which involves exchange of body fluids. Seventy-five percent of its victims in the United States thus far are gay men. AIDS has also struck Haitians, intravenous drug users, hemophiliacs, women who have had regular sexual contact with AIDS patients, and children born to these mothers. Forty percent of people with AIDS are Black or Hispanic. Because most AIDS victims are gay men the epidemic has been used as an excuse to deny gay civil rights and to clamp down on gay sexuality.

California state Sen. H. L. Richardson exploited fear of the AIDS epidemic this spring in his campaign against passage of AB-1 in the California legislature. The bill would have outlawed employment discrimination against lesbians and gays. It narrowly passed both houses but was vetoed by Gov. George Deukmejian.

On April 9, San Francisco Public Health Director Mervyn Silverman issued a ban on all sexual activity in gay bathhouses and sex clubs in the city. The ban is to be enforced by periodic unannounced inspections by the city health department.

This decision was the result of a compromise reached between city officials and gay Democratic politicians, physicians, businessmen, and other "leaders" of the gay community. Dr. Silverman and Mayor Feinstein, along with some of these gay misleaders, originally proposed the closing of the baths. Gay Supervisor Harry Britt, a Democrat, was in attendance at Dr. Silverman's press conference and approved the sex ban.

Bathhouses closed

This measure was taken despite widespread opposition in the gay community to government moves against the baths. At a community meeting in San Francisco May 24, attended by 100 people, speakers opposing closure of the baths outnumbered supporters five to one. Since the sex ban was announced, however, two bathhouses have felt compelled to close their businesses.

Many gays believe that the way to stop the spread of AIDS is through education, not repression. Gay historian Allan Berube wrote in the April edition of *Coming Up*, a San Francisco lesbian and gay newspaper, "Today, gay men need our bathhouses more than ever, but as radically changed institutions. Although there is no known cure for AIDS, it can be prevented if gay men limit their sexual activity to what is now being called 'safe sex'.... The closing

of all gay bathhouses on the other hand will force casual sex underground, may help spread AIDS, and will invite a wave of political repression."

Gay activists in other parts of the country agree. Said Nicholas Ifft, presi-

ahead for the gay community in the name of stopping the spread of AIDS. The closing of gay bars? The passage of new anti-sodomy laws?

The AIDS crisis is not the first time that San Francisco city officials have



Socialist Action/May May Gong

dent of Philadelphia AIDS taskforce, "All available evidence indicates that the transmission of AIDS is associated with specific behaviors and not with locations where these activities occur."

Many gays suspect the move is a political rather than a medical one, an attempt to "clean up" the city before the Democratic Convention in July. "It's hard to imagine that (the Democratic Convention) is not related," Allan Berube told the *Washington Post*. The "clean up" effort is apparently something gay Democratic politicians are willing to go along with.

Many gays worry about what lies

taken repressive measures against a minority group during an epidemic. At the turn of the century, health officials dealt with an outbreak of bubonic plague in San Francisco's Chinatown in a similar fashion. They imposed a quarantine on the entire area and forbade Chinese- and Japanese-Americans to leave the state. Door-to-door searches were conducted, numerous buildings in Chinatown were condemned and destroyed, and proposals were even made to set up detention camps for San Francisco's 14,000 Chinese. Just as bubonic plague was seen at the time as a disease exclusively affecting orientals, AIDS today has been falsely characterized as a gay disease.

But if a cure is not found, AIDS may eventually spread to the heterosexual population. Heterosexuals are clearly not immune from the disease. The April 17 *New York Times* reported that in Zaire, a country one-eighth the size of the United States, epidemiologists estimate that there have been 3500 to 7000 cases of AIDS, an incidence 10 to 20 times higher than in the United States. Yet, 40 percent of the patients are women and few of the males are homosexuals. Specialists in Zaire say that the disease may be spreading through "normal" heterosexual contact.

Money for AIDS

While the ban on bathhouse sex was being imposed in San Francisco, scientists in France and the United States were vying for credit for the discovery of a retrovirus which they claim to be the cause of AIDS. The *New York Times* observed in its April 26 editorial, "Certainly, no one deserves the Nobel Prize...what you are hearing is not yet a public benefit but a private competition for fame, prizes, and new research funds."

According to Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler, it will be two more years before an anti-AIDS serum is developed. French researchers estimate 10 years. Everyone agrees that a cure is even farther off.

How long it actually takes to find a cure for AIDS largely depends on the amount of funding that is provided for research. Thus far, government funding has been grossly inadequate. In its 1984 budget, Congress appropriated \$64.8 million in military aid for El Salvador and is now considering—with bipartisan support—supplemental appropriations of another \$61.8 million in emergency military aid. The American government apparently cares more

(continued on page 18)

SF gays and lesbians mobilize against war

By ANN MENASCHE

SAN FRANCISCO—Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention in Latin America (LAGAI), an anti-intervention and solidarity group that aims to build gay visibility and participation in the peace movement, has initiated an anti-intervention contingent for this year's Gay Freedom Day Parade June 24 in San Francisco. One-quarter million people are expected to attend the parade.

The contingent will be demanding an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Plans include printing anti-intervention armbands and distributing them throughout the parade.

Over 150 gay, solidarity, and peace groups have been invited to participate in the contingent.

For more information contact LAGAI, P.O. Box 4971, San Francisco, CA 94101; Tel. (415) 864-5821, ext. 16.



Youth join Chicago Peace Walk

By ABRA QUINN

CHICAGO—"It was huge, it was enormous, it was fantastic!" This was the enthusiastic reaction of Tom Rainey, a senior at Evanston Township High School (ETHS) to the Second Annual Mother's Day Peace Walk in Chicago on May 13.

Another member of the 15-strong ETHS contingent, David Panofsky, added that while the turnout at the Mother's Day Walk was similar to that in 1983 (between 5000 and 6000 people), this year's crowd was much more diverse in its composition and its political positions.

Although the Help End the Arms Race (HEAR) coalition, the North Shore Peace Initiative, and the Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign played the central role in organizing the march—just as they had last year—the large turnout of a crowd which was not wholly North Shore, middle-aged, or

suburban was due mainly to the organizing efforts of the Peace and Anti-War contingent.

Its slogans of "No U.S. Intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua," and "U.S. out of Lebanon" were reflected on many banners and placards throughout the march. These slogans had the effect of broadening the political message of the demonstration beyond the official slogans of "End the Arms Race, Save the Human Race," and "Save the Children." The Anti-Intervention contingent itself was well organized and made up at least one-fifth of the march.

Another sign of this diversity was the growing evidence of "youth" participation. At least three high school groups were represented, including catholic high schools, St. Scholastica and Loyola Academy. Young people were also present in a highly visible Punk/Anarchy contingent. High school speakers were featured on the stand, and this, coupled with the inclusion of new wave

bands and a high school peace essay contest, proved to be a good draw.

Waiting in the wings of the Grant Park Bandshell, I had a good opportunity to hear all of the speakers. They ranged from Sister Marjorie Tuitt, who emphasized the connection between domestic crises and U.S. intervention abroad, to Aaron Friedman, who parodied Jesse Jackson in his "I Have a Scheme" speech.

When it was my turn to speak, I was glad to see that my faithful ETHS contingent had not left. As I announced the victorious results of our Evanston High School's Nuclear Weapon Free Zone single-issue referendum, my contingent led the wave of cheers.

The crowd was very receptive to the plea for a united antiwar/freeze movement. As people began trickling away, the Peace Walk ended on a note of anticipation of a more united peace movement.