

# A Socialist ACTION

1984 elections:  
**Mel Mason for president!**

Vol. 2, No. 2

February 1984

Fifty cents

## U.S. HANDS OFF LEBANON!

### Navy shells Beirut

By LARRY COOPERMAN

U.S. policy in Lebanon has been badly shaken in the wake of renewed fighting that has forced the resignations of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel's cabinet and nearly toppled Gemayel himself. The United States government has been attempting through the alternate use of diplomacy and military shows of force to prop up the Gemayel government. However, after a deadlock in "national reconciliation" talks between Syria, the Lebanese government, and Shiite and Druse opponents of Gemayel, renewed fighting broke out. On Feb. 6, in only one-and-a-half hours, Moslem militias overran West Beirut. The Lebanese army, already badly demoralized, suffered mass desertions. French and American troops stood by helplessly as the Green Line separating Moslem West Beirut from Christian East Beirut was re-established.

#### Americans retreat

In the face of the breakdown of the fragile ceasefire in Lebanon, U.S. allies have been anxious to extricate themselves from the situation. Some, like Britain, have already announced their intentions to depart, while others tie their departure to the U.S. plans for withdrawal.

In the meantime, U.S. battleships continue to pound Syrian lines and the Beirut suburbs. One Syrian general has been reported killed by the shelling. Druse leaders have accused the U.S. Navy of indiscriminate shelling of civilian areas in the Moslem sectors.

The U.S. shelling came as Reagan announced a policy of phased withdrawal of U.S. forces from Beirut to warships off the coast of Lebanon. This was a reversal of his previous policy that he had defended in his Jan. 25 State of the Union address: "We must have the courage to give peace a chance. And we must not be driven from our objectives of peace in Lebanon by state-sponsored terrorism."

#### Syria and the United States

Because Syria has important influence over the Moslem militias—they are their main supplier of weaponry—and because it occupies a portion of Lebanese territory, the Reagan administration has sought in a variety of ways to gain Syrian acceptance of the Gemayel government. Initially the United States engaged in a policy of military pressure designed to coerce Syria into (1) withdrawing from those parts of Lebanon it controls, and (2) allowing the rightist Lebanese government to gain control over the areas of Lebanon under Moslem control. Later it appeared that the United States would be willing to see a diplomatic solution to the Lebanese crisis that allowed Syria to retain control over the Bekaa valley, so long as the other areas of Lebanon were consolidated under the control of the central Lebanese government.

Israel has stated its unwillingness to become deeply involved in the current crisis in Beirut. Despite some recent shelling of the Beirut area, Israel still has to contend with the economic costs of the occupation of southern Lebanon, the

growing demoralization among its troops, and the divided opinion within Israel on the invasion itself. Thus Israel, too, may favor an agreement that leaves Lebanon partitioned, so long as there are guarantees that the Palestinians will not be permitted to organize on Lebanese soil.

Syria bitterly opposed the Lebanon-Israel peace treaty that Gemayel signed at Israeli insistence. It worries that a series of Arab countries could sign separate treaties with Israel before Syria has achieved its objectives, notably the return of the Golan Heights. Therefore, Syria has tried to gain a better bargaining position. All of its allies in Lebanon, from the Druse to the Palestinians, have lost much of their independence from the Syrian government. And Syria may very well come to an agreement at some point

(continued on page 4)



Phalangists invade a Palestinian neighbourhood (DR)

## "No union can stand alone"

### OIL

by Carl Finamore

Carl Finamore is a steward at the Chevron refinery in Richmond, Calif. He is a member of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-5.

Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) negotiating committees from Texaco and Chevron have been forced to bargain well past the Jan. 8 expiration date of their contracts. Texaco wants an "unrestricted right" to contract out jobs to non-union labor at lower wages. Chevron is holding out for similar concessions from maintenance workers at its Richmond, Calif., refinery and is hoping to implement cross crafting there.

Texaco and Chevron are expected to press the advantage gained by the corporations in the earlier Shell and Union-76 Oil settlements. Shell won the ability to hire non-union workers in several maintenance classifications. The Union-76 Oil contract permits the company to replace most maintenance jobs with non-union labor. The oil companies' strategy to replace OCAW members with underpaid workers is designed to drive down wages and benefits in the future.

Concerned unionists criticize the OCAW International leadership for not declaring a national strike against the oil companies' drive for takeaways. They point out that as more locals settle, the bargaining power of the remaining units is decreased. Without a national bargaining strategy, individual locals are left alone to resist the companies.

International officials have skirted the question of contracting out union jobs by not declaring it part of the national industry-wide negotiations. For example, while the national Shell, Texaco, and Chevron negotiations bogged down on the contracting out issue, Union-76 Oil workers in California were on strike over

this precise question. Ultimately denied complete support by the International, the two relatively small California locals were unable to withstand the full force of the oil industry, and settled after 12 days.

#### Oil workers fight back.

Nonetheless, Local 1-326 in Rodeo, Calif., mounted an impressive campaign to gain support for their strike. Acts of solidarity spread quickly after the murder of picket Greg Goobic by a scab truck driver. Dozens of unions, including the state and local AFL-CIO central labor councils, Teamsters, and Longshore union locals offered help.

Speaking engagements were organized to explain the strike and to solicit funds and picket volunteers. Other OCAW refinery and chemical plants in the area agreed to organize their membership for picket duty. A memorial march for brother Goobic on Jan. 25 drew 500 unionists and attracted widespread media attention.

Most strikers believe that because of growing support from the labor movement, Union Oil had to retreat from many of their original takeaways. The company backed off from its major demands for a two-tier wage structure—which would have paid new employees as low as 40 percent less. Despite the active labor solidarity, however, a spokesman for the OCAW International told reluctant local negotiators to settle because they "would be on strike forever" if they didn't accept the contracting out demand.

#### Cross crafting

Chevron has sensed the weakness of the International leadership, and has added a demand for cross crafting to that for contracting out. In at least one settlement—at the large ARCO refinery in Houston—major concessions to cross crafting already have been made. For

(continued on page 9)

### AEROSPACE

by Sherry Frumkin

Striking United Aerospace workers in Long Beach, Ca. voted overwhelmingly Feb. 9 to end their 115-day walkout against the McDonnell Douglas Corporation. In a hand vote, they ratified a new contract proposal worked out in negotiations with company officials during the last day of the strike.

In recommending a yes vote on the new offer, Local 148 President Bob Berghoff called it "a necessary step to save the union at a time when it was in danger of being unable to guarantee our members jobs."

The union was able to defeat a number of company takeback demands. The victories include the retention of rules of seniority and craft jurisdictions. Other non-economic issues will be settled according to the language of the old contract if no settlement can be reached in 30 days. All strikers will be allowed to return to work in place of strikebreakers, and many workers who were laid off previously will be recalled.

However, the union was not able to beat back the company's demands for a two-tier wage scale. New hires (not including workers recalled from lay off) will start at a lower hourly wage. Another major concession wrung from the union was the dropping of a cost-of-living clause—except for higher paying jobs.

At the time of the vote, more than 2,000 of the 4,600 union members were still out on strike. Only 800 union members had crossed the picket line up until Jan. 31, when the UAW International leadership forced the local to vote a second time on the exact proposal which the local had rejected 15 weeks earlier. Although the Jan. 31 offer was again defeated (by 72% percent) hundreds began to return to work in the belief that

(continued on page 9)

# Go ahead for U.S. invasion

by Larry Cooperman

On Feb. 1, the Reagan administration announced that it would seek Congressional approval of major increases in military and economic aid to Central America. This aid proposal contains most of the recommendations of the President's Commission on Central America, popularly known as the Kissinger Commission.

With deliberately moderate language, the report is designed to bolster Reagan's Central America policy before the American public. Its conclusions fall along

with their estates. All attempts at land reform have been blocked either at the level of government, or in the countryside itself. In El Salvador, the AIFLD-sponsored land reform, which was halted after its first phase, was used by the Government as an opportunity to identify peasant leaders who were subsequently killed by government troops or death squads.

The Kissinger Commission notes that, "In the short run the region will continue to rely largely on the earnings which come from the export of commodities."

financed and directed by a group of self-exiled millionaires in Miami." It further noted that the six exiles "organize, fund, and direct death squads through their agent, Major Roberto d'Aubuisson." Major d'Aubuisson is a central leader of El Salvador's government, having recently resigned as speaker of the Constituent Assembly in order to run for president.

Similarly, on Jan. 29, the day after Americas Watch released a 260-page report detailing a rise in human rights violations in Guatemala, the Reagan administration agreed to begin to sell helicopter parts to the Guatemalan government, the first such open and direct cash sale since 1977. The Americas Watch report noted thousands of urban killings by death squads, forced reloca-

squads to operate in an even bolder fashion, which would risk greater isolation for El Salvador's government internationally. Paradoxically, the victory of Duarte might mean the same thing, since he has no authority over the ultrarightist sectors in El Salvador. In his previous term as president, Duarte demonstrated a total incapacity, if not lack of desire, to control the death squads.

### The Commission and the FDR/FMLN

The Kissinger Commission referred to the present situation in El Salvador as a "stalemate—a condition which in the long term favors the guerrillas." It noted that the "government of El Salvador is severely hampered by the erosion four years of war have produced in the country's basic institutions—by the difficulty it has in enforcing its authority and carrying out its functions."

The Commission's oblique reference to the Salvadoran government's inability to "carry out its functions" is the nearest the report came to noting the actual reason for the present military situation—the popular support enjoyed by the FDR/FMLN and the isolation of the "elected" Salvadoran government. The Commission's report glossed over the recent history of El Salvador which caused the present situation.

Over the past decade there was a rapid expansion of popular organizations, trade unions, neighborhood associations, women's organizations, and peasant groups. These organizations represent hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans, and have sponsored strikes and demonstration involving an immense percentage of the country's total population.

### Attack on Nicaragua

The Kissinger Commission portrays Nicaragua as "a base for Soviet and Cuban efforts to penetrate the rest of the Central American isthmus." It calls for a two-pronged approach involving (1) the continuation of support to the counter-revolutionaries who are presently staging raids into Nicaragua and (2) offering restored economic aid in exchange for major political concessions.

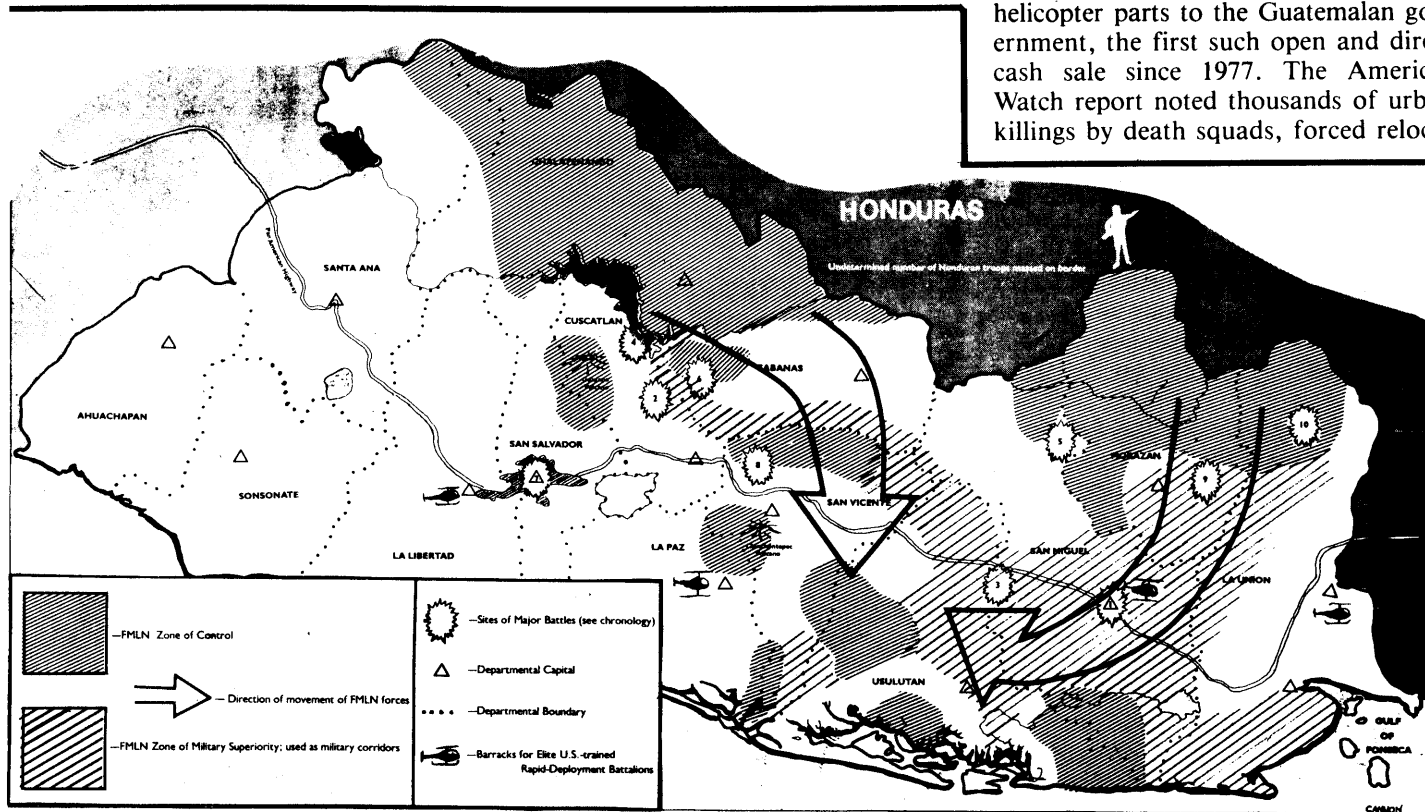
In fact, it is only the Sandinista government in Nicaragua that has begun to tackle the multitudes of problems that are the legacy of underdevelopment and imperialist exploitation. Besides their economic performance (which has been better than the other Central American countries in the recent period), they have, as even the Kissinger Commission admits, "made significant gains against illiteracy and disease."

### U.S. Out Now!

The threat of direct U.S. military intervention in Central America has never been greater. The CIA-armed and funded counterrevolutionaries ("contras") are losing their war against the armed and mobilized Nicaraguan people. The FDR/FMLN are making major gains against the tottering Salvadoran junta.

The Kissinger Commission, with its bipartisan cover (even Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO was a member) has given the green light to greater U.S. intervention in the Central American region.

It is more urgent than ever to respond to this report by building a broad, mass anti-intervention movement that can stay the hand of the U.S. warmakers. ■



Over the past two months, the FMLN has demonstrated the capacity for impressive military campaigns. Last Dec. 30, the guerrillas successfully overran a major army base in the province of Chalatenango. Two days later, they destroyed the important Cuscatlan bridge. On Jan. 15, the rebels returned to attack the same military base in Chalatenango as they simultaneously staged a light attack on another military outpost three miles away.

In response to the advances of the FDR/FMLN, and to the increased mobilization of the Nicaraguan people, the U.S. government sent several dozen Navy warships, thousands of U.S. Marines and more than 100 fighter-bombers off the coast of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Close to 800 U.S. troops are scheduled to remain in Honduras.

Clearly the "Big Pine" maneuvers, where U.S.-commanded planes and ships landed Honduran armed forces into

Honduras in a mock invasion, is a practice run for an invasion of Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration has to choose between allowing the extension of the revolution in Central America, or rapidly increasing its military intervention. Clearly it is choosing the latter.

U.S. Hands off Central America and the Caribbean!

familiar lines: support for counterrevolutionary attempts to destabilize the Nicaraguan government; rejection of a negotiated settlement with the FDR/FMLN of El Salvador; an increase in military aid to the Salvadoran government to \$400 million per year; and the expenditure of \$8 billion over five years for the economic development of the region.

### Central America today

All of the proposals submitted by the Kissinger Commission, ranging from the scholarships in higher education to the establishment of private development corporations, will fail to alter the poverty in which the majority of Central Americans live because the region's economies are dominated by imperialist economic interests and by a handful of oligarchs who own a vast percentage of the land. American investment alone, soared from 12 percent of the total investments in the region in 1970 to 33 percent in 1979.

On the key issue of land reform, the Commission does not make a single specific recommendation. Rather, it limits itself to stating that "in programs of land reform, ways should be found to insure that the redistribution of land provides the new owners with a valid title, that governments promptly allocate resources as they become available to insure that former owners are effectively compensated, and that in the end the system enhances incentives to expand the nation's total agricultural output."

However, the Central American governments, with the exception of Nicaragua, are dominated precisely by those landowning classes who refuse to part

The derogatory label attached to the Central American countries (Banana Republics) stems from precisely this economic deformation. Though the Commission recommends the lowering of tariff barriers by the region's trading partners, this proposal fails to alter the basic composition of the export commodities themselves. Without an end to the subordination of the Central American economies to imperialist economic interests, the doubling of economic aid proposed by the Kissinger Commission will be siphoned off through corruption and investment abroad to the pockets of a few wealthy Central Americans and their North American benefactors.

### Death squads and human rights

The Kissinger Commission professes a strong desire to curb the death squads operating in Central America. However, the United States government itself has shown no propensity to take any steps toward curbing the activity of right-wing Salvadoran exiles operating in the United States. Despite having assembled a list of 28 exiles providing aid to death squads in El Salvador, no action has been taken against any of them. Robert E. White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, identified six wealthy Salvadorans in Miami as contributors to the death squads. He said, "I don't believe there was then, or is now, any serious campaign to insist that the Salvadoran military be placed under the law." His 1981 cablegram to the State Department stated that, "many Salvadorans and some official Americans have been aware that rightist death squads are

tion of tens of thousands to "re-education camps," and the pressing of 700,000 Guatemalan civilians into support tasks for the military.

### The Kissinger Commission and elections

In a section of the report entitled, "The Search for Peace," the Commission claims that, "a true political solution in El Salvador can be reached only through free elections in which all significant groups have a right to participate." The Commission calls on the FDR/FMLN to negotiate "mutually acceptable" procedures for the elections, scheduled for March 25.

But even the U.S. government is demonstrating some uneasiness over the elections, since these are shaping up as a major conflict between Major D'Aubuisson and Jose Napoleon Duarte. Should D'Aubuisson win the elections, it is likely that he will authorize the death

February 1984

**Socialist ACTION**

Editor: Alan Benjamin

Associate Editors: Mark Harris, Michael Schreiber

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, Linda Ray, Marion Syrek, Sylvia Weinstein

Published monthly by the Socialist Action Publishing Association, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Phone: (415) 821-0458.

Subscriptions: U.S.: \$6.00 for 12 issues; outside U.S., Canada, Mexico: \$20.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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

# Local coalition example for antiwar movement

by Paul Le Blanc

On January 28-29, 1983, the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) held an extremely important National Coordinators Conference in Washington, D.C.

CISPES, the largest of three Central America solidarity networks in the United States, has recently sought to reach out to broader sectors of the U.S. population for the purpose of building a massive anti-intervention movement. It has played a key role in distributing information and literature, in touring Salvadoran speakers, and in mobilizing protests against U.S. involvement in the Central American region. At the same time, however, in the course of the discussion on strategy for 1984 which the national leadership initiated last summer, the anti-intervention perspective has been increasingly linked to an orientation toward electoral politics.

The January 28-29 conference approved a "Dump Reagan" strategy for 1984, opting to work in close collaboration with the Jesse Jackson forces inside the Democratic Party. The vote was 88 to 2, with 2 abstentions. The only people eligible to attend and vote were members of the national administrative committee, national staff members, regional coordinators, and sub-regional coordinators.

"I felt as lonely as the Maytag repairman," complained the coordinator of the CISPES West Virginia/Western Pennsylvania sub-region. Maytag is the appliance manufacturer which claims its products are so good that its repairmen can only sit around in glum isolation from the rest of the world.

This particular sub-regional coordinator had fully supported the electoral-oriented strategy advanced by the CISPES

take a searching look into the future in order to prepare for the new challenges facing the antiwar movement. There was general agreement on the need to see Central America and the Caribbean on a regional level, rather than simply as a set of separate countries. After all, U.S. policy-makers are responding to a region-wide revolutionary upsurge with a regional counter-revolutionary strategy: isolate revolutionary struggles from each other, weaken one by crushing another, eventually defeat them one by one with the help of all reactionary forces in the region. The conference went on record supporting the merger of the El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua solidarity networks in the U.S.

Serious disagreement arose, however, over the best form and target for antiwar outreach efforts during the Presidential election year. Some argued forcefully for a "Dump Reagan" focus, working in the Democratic Party with Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition." While many were sympathetic to the "Rainbow Coalition," they remained unconvinced, however, that this perspective provided an adequate focus for the anti-intervention movement. The proposal to make "Dump Reagan" a central focus lost 17 to 3, with 1 abstention. The proposal to join the "Rainbow Coalition" lost 13 to 3, with 3 abstentions.

At the end of the full discussion, the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 12 to 0, with 2 abstentions:

"We support the perspective of building a broad-based anti-intervention movement rooted firmly in the majority sectors of the U.S. population. We urge the following:

"1. CISPES should give particular attention to relating the issue of anti-intervention to the situation of U.S.

Jesse Jackson campaign offers the best means for relating to the constituencies identified here. Others responded that political divisions within those constituencies and within anti-intervention coalitions would make such a strategy divisive and counter-productive.

Several insisted, however, that the only "relevant" way to protest U.S. policy would be to dislodge Reagan, which can only be done with a Democrat. That Democrat would not be Jesse Jackson, it was conceded, but some other politician who would presumably be influenced by the "Rainbow Coalition" if Jackson does well in the primaries.

A majority of delegates at the sub-regional conference felt that "relevance" like this would not be fruitful. They obviously found a different perspective more persuasive, one reflected in the four points they adopted. A position paper circulated at the conference, entitled "A General Perspective Framework for the Central America Movement," attempted to articulate that outlook

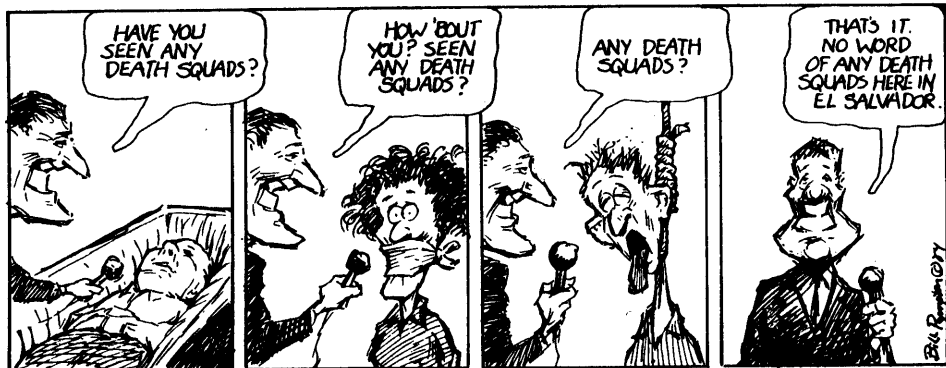
more fully. It said, in part: "It's through action that other people are drawn into our movement and that the policy-makers feel the pressure of mass sentiment..."

"We must recognize that there are no gimmicks which will allow us to leap over the task before us: building and maintaining a sustained antiwar opposition. Understanding that there will be both ebb and flow of antiwar consciousness and participation on the part of large masses of people, we must pose a consistent and visible alternative to the war policies of the U.S. government. Those war policies, which will inevitably fail to stop the revolutionary tide, are destructive to the interests of the people of the United States as well as to the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. This objective reality, combined with the visible and powerful alternative posed by the anti-intervention movement through its many and varied activities, will create a massive antiwar pressure to which the policy-makers and politicians must ultimately submit." ■



Michel Lowy, well-known Marxist scholar, shown above speaking to over 100 people at a New York Socialist Action forum. Lowy and Eleni Varikas, a Greek feminist, addressed hundreds of activists at several campuses and Socialist Action forums during a successful six-city tour of the United States.

PLYMPTON



national leadership. Yet he felt compelled to vote *against* this very perspective because a clear majority in his sub-region had decisively opposed it. He had two votes to cast, and they were the only votes against the electoral strategy.

The National Conference vote is, of course, simply one stage—though a very important one—in the ongoing perspectives discussions that have been going on in the Central America solidarity/anti-intervention movement for over three years. The discussion is certain to continue into the future. It's worth taking a look, therefore, at the kind of thinking which resulted in this dissenting vote.

On Jan. 21, representatives of Central America committees in the West Virginia/Western Pennsylvania sub-region of CISPES gathered in Morgantown, West Virginia to discuss past work and future perspectives. The two largest groups represented were the Central America Mobilization Coalition (CAMC) of Pittsburgh and the Latin America Solidarity Project (LASP) of Morgantown. Both have more than two years of solid experience behind them and have done important labor, religious, community and student outreach.

The primary purpose of the sub-regional conference was not to discuss past accomplishments, however, but to

working people, and the slogan of "Jobs Not War" should be added to those being projected by CISPES.

"2. We must take to heart the understanding of the revolutionaries of Central America regarding the importance of reaching out to those sectors of the working class that are organized to defend the interests and dignity of those who labor. The labor movement has a central role to play in the anti-intervention movement, and we must work to involve unions in anti-intervention activities.

"3. In addition to projecting outreach to labor, the religious community, the Black and Hispanic communities, and students, CISPES should give attention to forging links with the women's movement.

"4. Throughout 1984—before, during and after the elections—we must work to build a strong antiwar movement that will be capable of effectively limiting and finally eliminating U.S. intervention in Central America. To achieve this end, CISPES and its affiliates should refrain from throwing support to any political candidates. By exerting politically-independent pressure, we can have the greatest impact on all U.S. politicians and policy-makers."

Some activists had asserted that the

## Letter from Polish Prison

Adam Michnik, one of the founders of the KOR (Workers Defense Committee), has been imprisoned at Warsaw's Rakowiecka St. detention center since martial law was imposed in December 1981. He is one of five KOR members who is awaiting a trial at the hands of the Jaruzelski regime.

On Dec. 10, 1983, he sent a letter to Interior Minister General Kiszczak denouncing the subhuman conditions in his prison cell and responding to the government's offer to allow the KOR leaders to seek exile in Western Europe. We are reprinting excerpts from this letter which are translated from the French.

I know very well, General, why it is necessary for you that we leave Poland. You would like to drag our names through the mud in your newspapers to an even greater extent, explaining that we have finally shown our true face. You would like to be able to say that we have been receiving orders from abroad all along and that now we are finally giving in to the attraction of capitalism's luxuries. You would like to demonstrate to the entire world that you are good-hearted liberals and that we are spineless creatures. You would like to tell the Polish people: "Look at them! Even they have capitulated. Even they have stopped believing in a free and democratic Poland."

Well no, General, I will not do you this favor. I do not know what will await me in the future. I don't know if I will



Adam Michnik

have the fortune to live to see the great day when truth will triumph over falsehood and when Solidarity will triumph over the current anti-working class dictatorship.

But it is a fact that for me, General, the value of our struggle does not lie in the chances of our victory, but in the righteousness of the cause for which we have carried out this struggle.

I hope that my refusal to be banished from Poland will contribute to develop the honor and dignity of a country which you are making more miserable with each passing day. May you receive this refusal as a slap in the face; you who so easily thinks you can trade with the freedom of others!

For me, General, prison is not a particularly harsh affliction. On this December night, it is freedom which is being proscribed, not I. It is not I who am imprisoned today. It is all of Poland which is behind bars. ■



# Chicago antiwar forces advance toward unity

by Steve Ashby

The author is a member of CISPES, the Chicago Antiwar Coalition, and was on volunteer staff in Chicago for the November 12 Coalition.

The Chicago antiwar movement has made great progress in recent weeks in increasing moves toward unity among the anti-intervention forces, the antinuclear weapons movement, and the Palestinian solidarity movement.

After the recent demonstration of 50,000 on November 12, 1983, protesting U.S. intervention in Central America (and Grenada), the coalition in Chicago decided to continue to exist—unlike what happened after the March 27, 1982, demonstration. This was possible because of the strength of the Chicago November 12 Coalition (which involved over 60 groups and sent nine buses and over 500 people the 1,000 miles to Washington D.C.), and because of the growing recognition of the need for a broader, and more ongoing antiwar coalition than CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador).

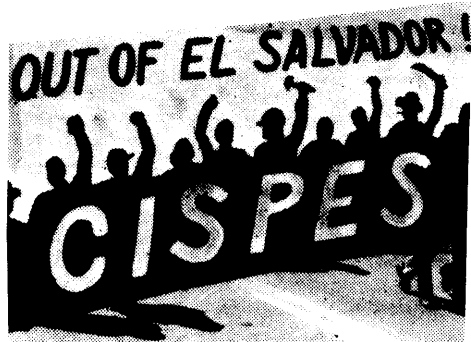
The Chicago Antiwar Coalition is organized around demands which are broader than those of the original November 12 Coalition:

- Oppose U.S. intervention in Central America, the Caribbean and Lebanon, and against people struggling for freedom, justice and self-determination in other parts of the world;
- Oppose the production, deployment and use of nuclear weapons, which threaten all of us with nuclear destruction;
- Oppose the recent militarization of this country and its consequences, including unemployment and cuts in social services;
- Oppose racism and all forms of discrimination;

Unfortunately, only a few other cities have followed the example of Chicago and have continued on the strengths of the November 12 Coalition to build a broad, united antiwar front. Extending the example of the Chicago coalition remains a major task of the antiwar movement nationally.

## Chicago antiwar conference

The Chicago Antiwar Coalition planned for its first major activity to be a regional, antiwar conference this spring that could take up the connections between U.S. intervention in Central America, U.S. intervention in Lebanon, and the escalation of the nuclear arms race. What was hoped for was a conference that could seek to involve the churches, the antinuclear weapons groups, the unions, as well as the solidarity and anti-intervention forces.



However, an exciting development in the peace movement forced the postponement of such a conference until the summer or fall.

The American Friends Service Committee, together with the Illinois Freeze Campaign, the 8th Day Center, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Disarm Now Action group, New Jewish Agenda and some church activists have called a conference for April 14, 1984, at Loyola University in Chicago. The Conference is entitled: "The Middle East: Flashpoint for Nuclear War."

Two years ago these same forces organized thousands of Chicagoans to go to the massive June 12 demonstration where there was virtually no discussion of the Palestinian issue from the platform. For these groups, which represent the antinuclear weapons wing of the antiwar movement, to call a conference against U.S. intervention in Lebanon, is a big step forward toward building a unified, broad, antiwar movement.

## ... Lebanon

(continued from page 1)

with Israel that would betray the Palestinians' fight to return to their homeland.

This situation, in which Syria is in a position to deal yet another damaging blow to the Palestinians' fight for the right to self-determination, is partially the product of the defeat suffered by the PLO in 1982 and partially the result of the bitter fighting that broke out between rival factions of Fatah at the end of 1983. Having lost much of its relative independence with respect to the Arab regimes, one wing of the PLO is forced to rely on the Syrians, who tipped the balance of the internal fight in its favor.

Yassir Arafat, on the other hand, sharing the essential strategy of reliance on the Arab regimes, is forced by his most recent debacle to embrace Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. For the Palestinians, either of these roads, the one that leads to Damascus or the one that leads to Cairo, is a dead end.

### The background

The siege of Beirut by the Israeli army in 1982 provoked, among the Jewish population, the greatest opposition to Israeli militarism ever expressed in the history of the Zionist state. (This opposition was to grow even more massive after the massacres at Sabra and Shatila.) At the same time, the siege, with all of the terrible pressure exerted on the PLO, posed a series of questions to the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters. Should the fight have been continued until the end,

with all that that would have entailed for the population of Beirut and the fighters themselves or should a withdrawal have been negotiated? The debate over this issue became sharper after the withdrawal, spreading to various aspects of PLO diplomacy. This led to demands for reforms within the PLO, including a demand for Arafat's ouster.

While Israel succeeded in its objective of ridding Beirut of the PLO and of installing a rightist regime, it continues to pay the various costs of the invasion and continued occupation. The high casualty rate, the spectacle of the brutal siege of Beirut, and the Israeli role in the massacre at the refugee camps led to a differentiation among the Jewish population and to massive demonstrations against the invasion of Lebanon. Secondly, the financial cost of the invasion and of maintaining a permanent occupation force has been an important factor

### JUST OFF THE PRESS

Socialist Action Information Bulletin  
Vol. 1, No. 2. February 1984

This issue contains antiwar and trade union documents of SWP opposition submitted to SWP National Committee plenum shortly before the authors' suspensions. Also includes 1979 remarks by Tom Kerry, longtime party leader, warning of erosion of democratic centralism in the party.

Given that the conference will not include the issue of Central America, the Chicago Antiwar Coalition is planning an April forum that will be publicized at the Middle-East Conference. This forum will take up the need for an antiwar movement that is ready to educate and respond to any escalation by the United States of the arms race, or of U.S. intervention in Central America, the Caribbean or the Middle East. The Coalition enthusiastically endorsed the conference, and will be discussing with conference participants the need for a bigger, broader, regional antiwar conference in Chicago later in the year.

Another positive development in the Chicago antiwar movement is the organizing around the May 13 Mothers Day march against the nuclear arms race.

For the last two years in Chicago, the peace and antinuclear weapons groups have organized massive marches in the Spring: 20-30,000 in 1982, and 5-10,000 in 1983. The slogan of the marches and demonstrations has been, "Help End the Arms Race—Save the Human Race." While the protest marches have been important and highly successful, the march organizers have refrained from explicitly attacking U.S. intervention

abroad in the march slogans. In previous years they have feared that by adding anti-intervention slogans they would limit the size of the march by alienating those people who are for a nuclear freeze, but confused about U.S. intervention abroad.

Leaving aside the question of the correctness of this fear in past years, 1984 marks a turn for the Mothers Day March in Chicago. The Coalition this year has decided that, while the focus of the march will remain "Help End the Arms Race," three sub-slogans will be added for the first time.

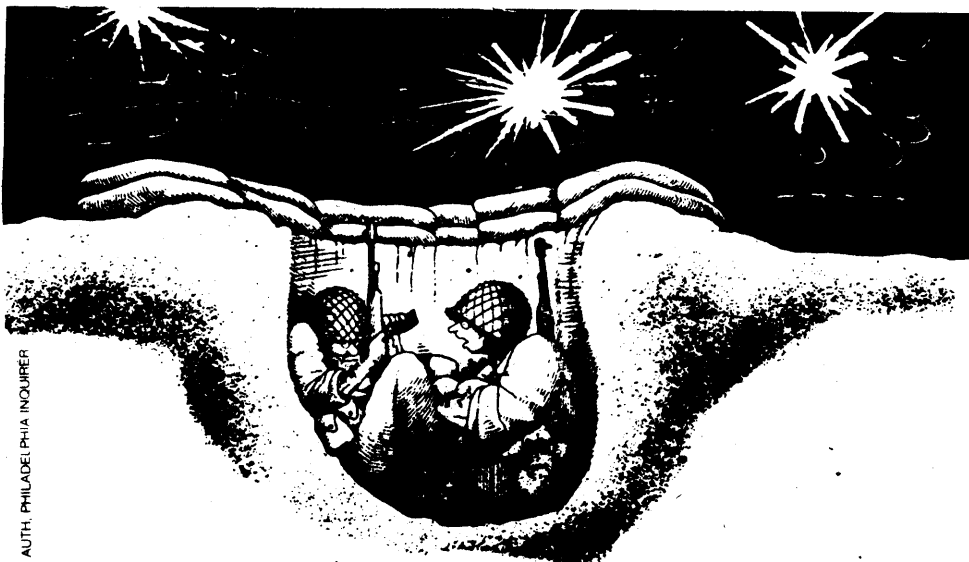
They are: "U.S. Out of Central America," "U.S. Out of Lebanon," and "Cruise and Pershing Missiles Out of Europe."

This is, again, a big step forward for the Chicago antiwar movement; a big step toward a broader, more political, unified antiwar movement that directly confronts the policies of the Reagan administration, and places the blame for the war danger and nuclear arms escalation directly on the U.S. government.

Clearly the "Big Pine" maneuvers, where U.S.-commanded planes and ships landed Honduran armed forces into Honduras in a mock invasion, is a practice run for an invasion of Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration has to choose between allowing the extension of the revolution in Central America, or rapidly increasing its military intervention. Clearly it is choosing the latter.

U.S. Hands off Central America and the Caribbean! ■



'It's bizarre. We all learn Spanish and then they ship us to Lebanon.'

in the exacerbation of already serious economic difficulties. Lastly, Israeli policy has led to a crisis in the legitimacy of the Zionist state, both domestically and internationally. These factors explain Israel's desire to shove the burden of establishing a strong central state in Lebanon onto the multinational force.

The crisis in the PLO over the withdrawal from Beirut was the beginning of a more general crisis. But the initial debate missed the most important aspect of the situation of the Palestinians. A more fundamental question had to be asked: How is it that the Palestinians found themselves in this situation? It was the isolation of the Palestinians, bereft of any important support, material or military, whether from the Arab states or the Soviet Union, that left the Palestinian movement with only two undesirable options. That isolation demonstrated graphically the failure of the PLO's policy of nonintervention in the affairs of the Arab countries. Those Arab countries, whether "moderate" like Saudi Arabia, or "radical" like Syria, view the Palestinian struggle both from the perspective of their antagonism to the Zionist state and from their hatred of revolution and their fear of the Palestinian masses. Therefore, they responded to the invasion of Lebanon with crocodile tears, paper resolutions, and little else.

### United against PLO

European and American imperialism saw in this situation the possibility of establishing a strong rightist state in Lebanon, capable of preventing renewed ferment among the Palestinian masses and of keeping in check the aspirations of the

majority of Lebanon's population, which is Moslem and poor. To that end, the United States, Italy, and France twice sent troops to be part of a "multinational peacekeeping force."

The difficulties in establishing a strong central state in Lebanon are apparent and cause the U.S. government to continue to consider the option of a joint military strike with Israel. For this reason, the U.S. recently announced its decision to have closer military ties with Israel. It continues its present policy because of two factors. First, any government fortified by a massive military sweep would be far more hated and isolated than a government based on a negotiated settlement. Secondly, the U.S. government is concerned over the impact of such a drive on American public opinion, especially if it occurred in the context of heightened expectations of U.S. military intervention in Central America.

In the aftermath of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the forced departure by Arafat from Tripoli, the weakened Palestinian national movement finds itself, afflicted with open fighting among its own ranks, the crushing presence of thousands of imperialist troops, and the continuing Israeli occupation of parts of Lebanon. To emerge from this situation will require the linking up of the struggles of the Palestinians with the struggles of all the oppressed throughout the Middle East. It will require the forging of ties with the opponents of Zionism and militarism within Israel. And lastly, it will require the massive solidarity of working class, antiwar, and political organizations in the imperialist countries. ■

## Mel Mason for president!

Socialist Action urges working people to support Socialist Workers Party candidates Mel Mason for president and Andrea Gonzalez for vice president of the United States. The Mason-Gonzalez ticket represents the only real alternative to the Democratic and Republican political parties in the 1984 elections.

\* \* \*

In a January 26 statement in response to Reagan's "State of the Union" address, Mason presented a series of demands that are at the center of his campaign:

- "Not one penny for U.S. wars in Central America and the Middle East!
- Stop the U.S. war against Nicaragua!
- Use the trillions of dollars now used for military purposes to launch a massive public works program to build much-needed housing, hospitals, mass transit, and schools. If, along with such a public works program, the workweek was reduced to 30 hours with no reduction in pay, millions of jobs would be created."

These and other planks in the SWP election platform clearly establish the campaign as independent of the two capitalist parties.

"The Democratic and Republican parties are both servants of the ruling rich," Mason said in his initial campaign statement. "Working people need their own mass-based political party to represent us in the political arena and lead political struggles in our interests 365 days a year."

"We need a party of our class, a labor party based on a fighting union movement, that will champion the interests of workers, farmers, Blacks, women and every other victim of this decaying society," Mason said.

Mason and Gonzalez are against Jesse Jackson's strategy of reforming the Democratic Party. They advocate the formation of a labor party and of an independent Black party to fight for the interests of all working people.

The Mason-Gonzalez ticket is the only one to express the need for independent political action which can point the way forward toward the establishment of a workers' government in the United States. ■

Hatcher (a vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee and currently Jesse Jackson's campaign manager); former Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs; the vacillating Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones); and Jesse Jackson, who fulminated against the Democratic Party but joined the other misleaders in sabotaging efforts of the politically conscious nationalist militants to build an independent Black political party.

Those misleaders succeeded, with the help of a little bureaucratic manipulation, in counterposing a Black agenda and a National Black Political Assembly to an independent Black party. At subsequent meetings, their orientation toward Democratic pro-capitalist politicians continued. At the 1976 meeting they told the 1,000 assembled activists that a major progressive Black politician had promised to be their presidential candidate in that year's elections.

Ron Dellums was the big "catch" unveiled on the last day of the convention. The Great Black Hope thanked the

party progressive candidate.

The party that resulted from that convention unequivocally proclaimed itself to be opposed to both the Democratic and Republican parties. It called them bourgeois parties of a "regime that... represents the interests of a minority." NBIPP characterized itself as a progressive party that "exists to serve the interests of the working class and the poor—therefore our party will actively oppose racism, sexism, capitalism and imperialism."

These positions adopted by the founders of NBIPP cannot be maintained or implemented if NBIPP is involved in supporting "progressive" or so-called independent Democrats—thereby also supporting the Democratic Party. In the context of the 1984 presidential elections, some NBIPP members advocate supporting Jesse Jackson, continuing the serious error made by those Chicago members who supported the Democrat Harold Washington for mayor.

A major justification offered by some

## Black party at the crossroads

by Kwame and Zakiya Somburu

*Kwame Somburu, formerly Paul Boutelle, was vice-presidential candidate on the 1968 Socialist Workers Party ticket. Zakiya Somburu is currently co-chairperson of the San Francisco-Oakland chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).*

The National Black Independent Political Party was founded in Philadelphia, Nov. 23, 1980, at the end of a three day convention called by the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA). Approximately 1,500 Black activists attended this convention. NBIPP developed out of the oppressive political, social, and economic conditions suffered by Black Americans for hundreds of years, and out of our collective experience in trying to fight that oppression.

This most recent and advanced form of Black organization had its roots in the Black political convention of 1830. That was the first attempt to organize Blacks politically-independent of America's rulers. In the 20-year period before NBIPP's founding, there were many other attempts at political organization.

There were many and varied reasons for the eventual failure of these fledgling attempts. It is a fact, however, that a major direct and indirect role in wrecking every one of them was played by the Democratic Party.

On June 28, 1964, one of the most articulate, courageous, intelligent, and dedicated fighters for Black liberation, Malcolm X, launched a secular Black unity movement at a public gathering. It was called the Organization of Afro-American Unity. In his political remarks at that meeting, Malcolm revealed the vast gulf in consciousness and commitment between himself and the many

political hucksters and misleaders of Black people. He stated:

"We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out.... We propose to support and organize political clubs to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community. We don't support any Black man who is controlled by the white power structure."

Malcolm characterized capitalism as a system that "needs some blood to suck" in order to survive. He said that capitalism must be eliminated here and in the world in order for real liberation to come into existence. He characterized the role played by different segments of the Democratic Party as "a giant political con game" to keep Blacks politically impotent and in the party's clutches.

Malcolm exemplified the type of leadership that is urgently needed in the Black liberation struggle today. Malcolm's political analyses and sagacity have been continuously ignored (except for occasional lip service) by practically all those who are considered to be leaders or spokespersons for the Black masses. Most political developments and activities in the Black movement since his tragic assassination by agents of the U. S. ruling class on February 21, 1965, provide lucid examples of this.

NBIPP's modern genesis was the Black political convention of 1972 in Gary, Ind., attended by 8,000 Black activists. Many of those in attendance were strongly in favor of building an independent Black political party. But the convention leadership was composed of Black agents of the Democratic Party such as Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard



In his *Ballot or the Bullet* speech Malcolm X said, "You put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last." Feb. 21 marks the anniversary of his assassination 19 years ago

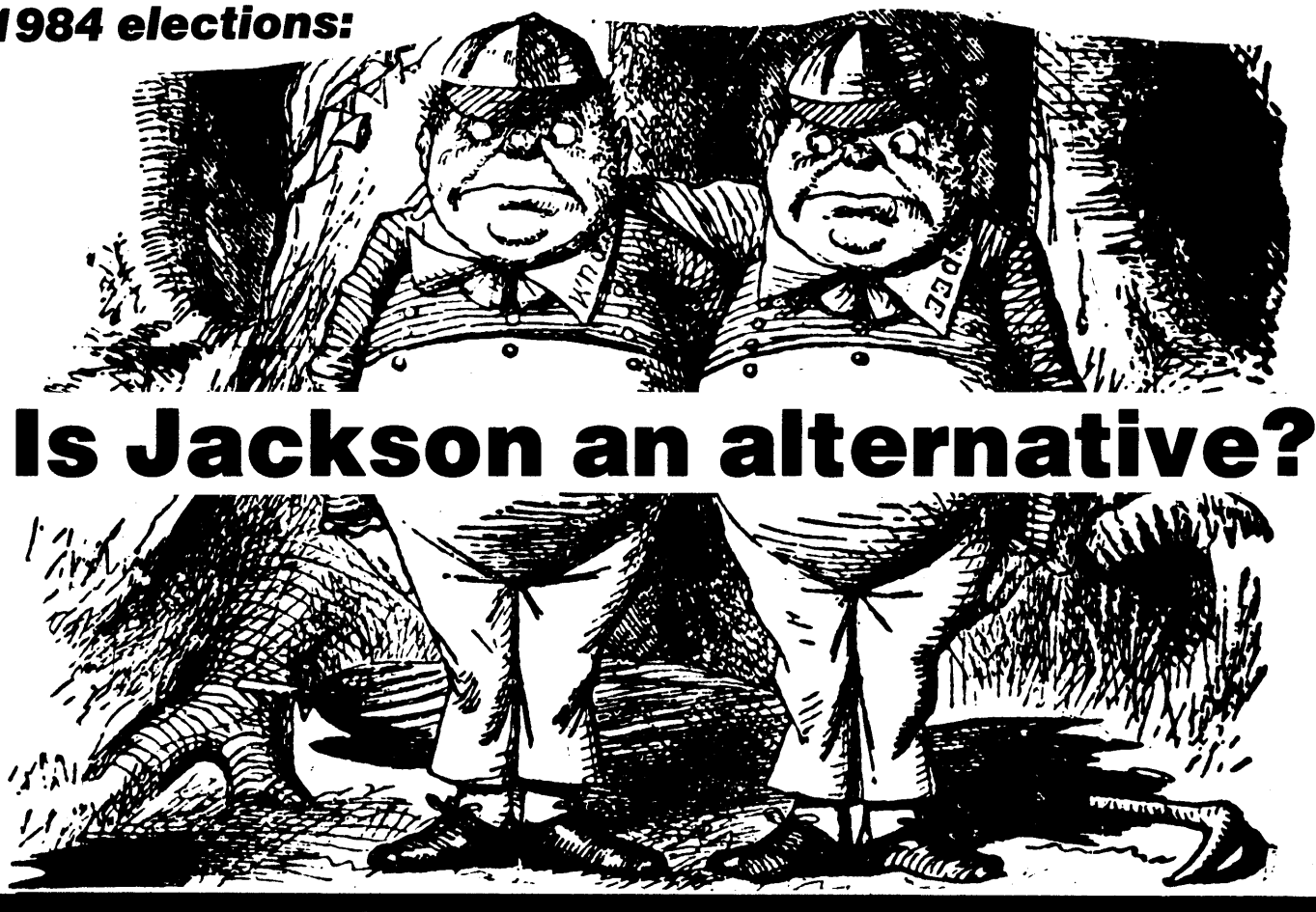
convention for nominating him, and after a speech devoid of any real substance, tearfully declined—stating that he would remain in the Democratic Party and encouraging the activists to do likewise. His declination shocked and demoralized the assemblage.

After a few years of wound-licking by the NBPA leadership, Black activists convened another convention in New Orleans. Although the delegates were far from unanimous and spent several days expressing divergent views on the Black party issue, the convention adopted a call for a founding party convention to be held Philadelphia in November 1980. It also voted not to support any capitalist presidential candidate in the 1980 elections, and counseled Blacks to vote "no" on all of them or to vote for any minor

NBIPP members for supporting Jackson's candidacy is the urgent need to defeat Reagan. They go so far as to say that any Black person who is not actively working in the "anti-Reagan movement" is not really serious—is "irrelevant." They believe that NBIPP's political activities should be geared to the level of those who blame Reagan for their woes and who think that all their problems will be solved by putting someone else in the Oval Office.

This is the type of simplistic approach to politics that America's powerful, sophisticated rulers and their agents want the masses to have. But no one individual is responsible for the problems and no one individual can solve them. As

(Continued on page 7)



# Is Jackson an alternative?

by Mark Harris

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, calling for a "Rainbow Coalition" of Blacks, Latinos, women, and poor people, has stirred hope among many Blacks and working people that a serious challenge to Ronald Reagan's reactionary policies can be mounted in the November 1984 election. In the context of an election campaign noted so far for its lackluster slate of Democratic contenders—the "Somnax Seven"—Jackson's fervent appeal to the "dispossessed" has aroused significant enthusiasm in sectors of the Black community. It is the latest expression of a new activism for Black political representation that has witnessed the election of Harold Washington as mayor of Chicago and the close finish by Mel King in the Boston mayoral race.

The bipartisan drive against working people has meant increased misery for the Black community. Although it affects all working people, the question of jobs, decent housing, and education is most acutely posed for Blacks. The Center for the Study of Social Policy reported last year, for example, that the median income for Blacks was only 56 percent that of whites, while unemployment among Black males was 45 percent. The momentum of Jesse Jackson's campaign is obviously inspired by the desperate economic and social straits in which Black people find themselves in this country. Millions of working people have an uneasy feeling that Democratic front-runner Walter Mondale and his fellow candidates will just provide more of the same for the next four years.

And they are right! Walter Mondale, John Glenn, Ernest Hollings, Alan Cranston, Gary Hart, George McGovern, and Reuben Askew offer nothing but empty rhetoric for the more than 9 million people out of work in this country. None of these candidates can even begin to speak to the real concerns of American working people. None of them offers any real challenge to the U.S. military threat in Central America. The cutbacks in social services that have hit the poor and "dispossessed" so hard are passed over with glib platitudes.

### Jackson's stand

But what about Jesse Jackson? Is he playing the same old tune as Mondale and the other Democrats, or does he strike a different chord in this orchestrated electoral performance put on every four years by the twin parties of finance capital?

Jackson's pronouncements that he opposes U.S. intervention in Central America and would redirect funds toward social programs battered by the last two administrations give the appearance of being out of sync with the bipartisan pro-business policies of both Dem-

ocrats and Republicans. A closer examination, however, reveals that Jackson's strategy is entirely in harmony with the big-business priorities of the Democratic Party leadership. Let's take a look at Jesse Jackson's positions on some of the major issues.

During the teachers' strike in Chicago in the fall of 1983, Jackson's organization, Operation Push, brought suit against the union in an effort to break the strike. Such a bold antiunion move is quite in line with Operation Push's "self-help" philosophy, which teaches Black youth that the road to success lies in hard work and study. Striking teachers disrupted this "pull yourselves up by your bootstraps" approach by closing the schools. The teachers in Chicago, most of whom are Black, were fighting for better wages and against larger class loads and further layoffs—all demands that would benefit the quality of education. The perspective of Operation Push, with its emphasis on individual initiative and support for Black business, misleads Black people by attempting to hide the fact that racism is a structural feature of the capitalist system.

Many activists in the movement against U.S. intervention in El Salvador see Jackson as the only candidate firmly opposed to the U.S. war drive. But Jackson's actual position is that "we must link American economic and military support to improvement of human rights in El Salvador." This is the same formula used by many liberal Democrats to prettify Washington's continued support for a government that has murdered tens of thousands of its citizens. What kind of "American economic and military support" does Jackson want to provide for a regime that is despised by its people?

Jackson wants U.S. troops to leave Lebanon but insists that an international "peacekeeping force" remain. This is a change from his view last fall that it would be "immoral" for U.S. marines to pull out unilaterally. Such a move, Jackson cautioned at that time, would precipitate a "bloodbath" in Lebanon. This line of reasoning—however modified today—should ring a bell in anyone who remembers Vietnam.

Attacked by right-wing Zionists for his supposedly pro-Palestinian sentiments, Jackson's answer to Israeli aggression against the Palestinians is only to urge moderation on both sides—to "reconcile" the factions, "just like President Carter, at Camp David, reconciled Egypt and Israel." The failure to provide a home for the Palestinians, Jackson warns, will only push them toward extremism, thus making life for Israel "more difficult." But the deep hostility of the Palestinians to the Israeli state is a product of their actual physical displacement from their homeland by the imperialist-backed colonial settlers who

rule Israel. No "Camp David" solution that avoids the question of the decades-long Israeli aggression against the Palestinians can even begin to address their demands for justice.

Jackson's position on the U.S. military presence in western Europe is no better. "If the American conventional forces were to pull out of Europe," Jackson cautions, "that wall would begin to walk. The Iron Curtain would begin to shift...." Echoing Reagan's Cold War mind-set, Jesse Jackson reveals his essential identity with the political framework of the more overt advocates of the imperial interests of the United States.

Jackson, in fact, does not call for any sizable cut in the "defense" budget. He only wants to eliminate the "massive waste, fraud and abuse in the military," proposing to start with the \$750 billion in projected cost overruns in the \$1.6 trillion military budget for the next five years. Even George McGovern's call for a 25 percent reduction in military spending, which would still provide for a military budget greater than that of any previous administration, goes further than Jackson's position.



### New life for Democrats?

Jesse Jackson's perspective, as his stand on key issues reveals, is rooted in an unquestioned acceptance of the capitalist system of private ownership of industry and finance. Thus there is no contradiction between Jackson's social perspective and his political ambition in the Democratic Party. Jackson wants to reform the Democratic Party as a tool to reform the capitalist system. This is a perspective destined to fail.

The strategy of Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" is above all to revitalize the Democratic Party by attempting to bring into its fold several million previously unregistered Black voters. Jackson's candidacy, as he himself admits, seeks to "expand" and not "divide" the Democratic Party.

Jackson explained the nuts and bolts of his strategy in a recent interview. "In

1980, Ronald Reagan's victory margin over Jimmy Carter in eight Southern states worth 72 electoral votes was 192,000 votes. There were 3 million eligible but unregistered Black voters in those states. In Massachusetts, Reagan won by 2,500 votes, when there were 64,000 unregistered Blacks. If the Democratic Party makes room for the locked-out, if it commits significant resources to register the unregistered, it cannot lose."

Jackson's campaign clearly fits in well with the overall Democratic Party perspective for the 1984 election. Jackson can play an indispensable and unique role among the Democratic candidates by bringing into the party a sizable number of new voters. The payoff for Jackson and his allies, it is hoped, will be increased leverage to press for key appointments and policy concessions from the next Democratic administration.

The Democratic Party is well aware that little over 20 percent of the voting age population voted for Carter in the last elections. They know that Reagan's so-called mandate occurred in the context of an election where half the eligible voters chose not to cast their ballot. And it is precisely their fear of seeing the old "New Deal coalition" continue to disintegrate that has motivated them to seek out and promote the Jesse Jackson candidacy.

In its own way *In These Times*, a social-democratic newspaper, confirms this analysis of the importance to the Democratic Party of Jackson's campaign. Concerned that none of Jackson's Democratic opponents has aroused much popular enthusiasm, *In These Times* expresses optimism that Jackson's bid "has the potential to save the Democrats in 1984." The most tangible selling-point of Jackson's campaign is its potential ability to register 12 million new Black voters who might provide the necessary margin of victory for the Democratic nominee in November. Jackson's challenge, furthermore, could force Mondale "to lift his present campaign above its present level of torpor." *In These Times* hopes this may stimulate a "little enthusiasm" among union members for the likely candidacy of Mondale. The editors caution, of course, that Jackson "will have to stick around and help get out the vote after he loses the nomination." But rest assured, they inform us, Jackson can be counted on to fulfill his party obligations, since this is "his ticket to a role in the next administration."

Explaining their support of Jackson, the editors of the radical weekly *Guardian* maintained that his campaign in the Democratic primaries "could help future attempts to break the two-party stranglehold."

"What could well happen," the *Guardian* reasoned, "is that the Jackson campaign will raise his supporters' expectations to a level the Democrats can't hope to meet. Ultimately, if the platform of the 'Rainbow Coalition' is stuck to, such people will increasingly see their objectives can best be pursued outside the Democratic Party."

The *Guardian* turns logic on its head with this argument. Jackson of course makes it abundantly clear that he has no intention of running as an independent. But even if he chose to run as an "independent" after losing the Democratic Party nomination, the character of his campaign would remain the same: to build a power base to exert pressure within the Democratic Party. Such "power caucusing" can only lead to frustration and demoralization among the many backers of Jackson who will conclude that despite their best efforts, the demands of Blacks and others for social justice have once again been frustrated by the manipulations of the politicians.

Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago, elected with the enthusiastic and overwhelming support of the Black community, began to carry out an austerity program (which he cleverly intertwined with an attack on the corrupt patronage system) from his first day in office. While city workers are laid off, Washington and his city council opponents haggle



over how the city can save money at the expense of working people. Meanwhile the huge financial debt owed by the city to the banks, which is at the root of the cutbacks in city services, goes unquestioned by all.

The road to independent political action does not wind through the Democratic Party. This party stands, in fact, as a detour that, time and time again, has sidetracked the working class from taking the road toward a break with capitalist politics. Every effort to transform the Democratic Party into a "people's" party has proven to be useless. The only people whose interests this party protects are the ruling rich, who own and control it.

Jesse Jackson's efforts to reinvigorate the Democratic Party will only serve at this stage to undercut the potential of Blacks and working people to move forward to the formation of a real working-class party. The enormous ferment in the Black community, which provided the impetus for Jackson's campaign and the election of Washington as mayor of Chicago, reflects both the degree of the crisis facing Black America and the potential power of an organized political movement for Black rights. This is why Black Democrats like Jackson and Washington are so crucial to the ruling class. The politicians who run the Democratic Party are seasoned masters of political co-optation who understand the importance of a well-oiled mechanism for maintaining influence over the majority of working people. Don't forget that the corporate rich are quantitatively a tiny minority of the population. They are the ones who need the support—or at the least the passive acceptance—of the large majority of the population who work for a living.

#### Logic of "lesser evil"

The logic of "lesser evil" politics finds its strength here. Every four years the same arguments resurface to justify support for the latest Democratic incarnation of truth and goodness. Remember President Johnson's promise to keep the United States out of Vietnam? The majority of labor, peace, and radical groups felt it imperative to support the "peace candidate" Johnson over his saber-rattling Republican opponent, Goldwater. But history has recorded Johnson as a liar who plotted war while talking peace.

Even in 1976 when Republican Ford ran against Democrat Carter in a campaign where the differences between the two candidates appeared inconsequential to many, the advocates of the "lesser evil" argued that as bad as Carter was, he was infinitely superior to Ford and his election would mark a victory for labor and the left. Carter, after all, talked about cutting arms expenditures, supported full employment, a national health program, the Equal Rights

Amendment, and funds for the cities and schools. After Carter was elected, of course, the military budget rose to record levels, unemployment continued to increase, Medicare and Medicaid were cut back (not to mention the demise of his national health program), cities and schools continued to deteriorate, and the ERA failed to pass. Everything Ford promised Carter delivered.

A common argument among those on the left who now support Jackson and are preparing to back Mondale (or whoever gets the Democratic nomination) in November is that a second-term Reagan



Memorial march for murdered oil striker in Rodeo, Calif. Bosses' attacks on workers raise need for labor solidarity and independent political action

will be an "unrestrained" Reagan free to accelerate his right-wing program without having to worry about reelection. This view reflects a profound pessimism about the capacity of labor and its allies to determine the course of events through independent mass action.

#### Mass social movements

A central theme running throughout American history is that it is the mass social movements of the people themselves that change society, win rights, and determine the course of history.

The goal of industrial unions appeared limited, before the 1930s, to the province of socialists, communists, and a few old Wobblies. But the Depression of the 1930s precipitated a mass social movement of industrial workers who, by using mass pickets, sit-down strikes, and wildcat tactics, succeeded in organizing the major industries into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The racist Jim Crow system of segregation in the South came crashing down

only through the mass sit-ins, pickets, boycotts, and demonstrations by Black people and their supporters during the late 1950s and 1960s. The civil rights movement "transformed" Lyndon Johnson from a former Texas cracker politician into the signer of the Voting Rights and Civil Rights Acts of the 1960s.

Has anyone dared to suggest that Richard Nixon ended the draft in 1973 because of his long-standing moral opposition to forced military service? No. Nixon not only ended conscription but was forced out of Vietnam, as *Progressive* magazine editor Sidney Lens

recently observed, because "the massive demonstrations in the streets made it impossible for him to rule."

"The only relationship the Democrats will permit," Lens goes on to say, "is one in which we will be subordinate and insignificant. Our strength is in the streets; that's where our effort should go in this election year." Lens is right, as far as he goes: the rights of working people are won through mass social movements of the people themselves. But this is not enough. The mass antiwar movement made it impossible for Nixon to rule, as Lens notes, but the fact that there was no antiwar party, that is, a party rooted in working class struggles, meant that the succeeding administrations of Ford, Carter, and Reagan could attack, and in some cases reverse, the gains won in the streets. The mass social movement in the 1930s that gave rise to the industrial unions continued to elect the "friend of labor," Franklin Roosevelt, who channeled the industrial union movement into the straitjacket of the Democratic Party.

#### Labor needs a party

The logical and necessary extension of the power of masses of people in the streets is the development of an instrument at the political level to fight for the interests of working people. A party with the means and resources to mobilize working people around their own demands could prove to be a catalyst in the development of a coordinated political struggle that organizes and taps the potential of the workers and their allies for mass action on every front.

President Reagan—with the total support of the Democratic Party—has been carrying out a resolute drive for drastic cuts in social programs and services. Funding in education, housing, health care, and food have been trimmed to the bone. Unemployment compensation has been cut while millions suffer the catastrophe of being without work. Social security and welfare programs are cut while utility rates and rents skyrocket beyond the means of those on fixed incomes. Women and minorities face pervasive discrimination as affirmative action programs are gutted. Unions are faced with concerted employer assaults on wages, working conditions, and benefits while the vital signs of corporate profits register healthy increases under Reagan's "economic recovery."

Reagan's bipartisan cutbacks are carried out in the name of a "balanced

budget" while the federal deficit, a result of unparalleled military spending, reaches new heights. Reagan's proposed 1985 budget shows that the increase in interest payments to the banks on the federal debt exceeds all the savings achieved in health, education, welfare, and social service programs over the past three years. By 1986 Reagan hopes to devote \$364.8 billion a year to military expenditures. The Center for Defense Information notes that this amounts to almost \$1 billion a day or about \$700,000 a minute! Ronald Reagan clearly counterposes social needs to a massive arsenal of destruction and warfare. The Democratic Party, in turn, follows safely in the Republican tow while millions drown in the wake of "Reaganomics."

A political challenge to this bipartisan assault is the most pressing task facing all working people today.

A political party run by and for working people, Blacks, women, and others could propose solutions to the crisis we face in a way that challenges the whole idea of "politics" as it has been understood in this two-party system. What is needed is a mass labor party whose elected officials would use their positions to expose the lies and distortions of the big-business policies of Democrats and Republicans. Such a labor party would also insist that—

- Jobs are not expendable items in the profit ledgers of corporations, and workers should not pay for the economic crisis.

- Unemployment can be tackled by reducing the workweek to 30 hours while maintaining a 40-hour pay scale.

- Additional jobs can be created by a massive public works program to supply what our ravaged cities so desperately need—decent housing, recreational centers for young people, renovation and upkeep of parks, road repair, expansion and upgrading of mass transportation facilities, etc.

- The money for social programs should be taken from the swollen coffers of the Pentagon.

Is there any doubt that such a party would express the desires of millions of people?

Imagine if the unions used their money and resources to elect their own candidates, to organize demonstrations and strikes, and to start their own daily newspapers and radio and tv stations to explain the issues from the standpoint of the interests of working people. The support that many working people gave to the invasion of Grenada could have been effectively challenged, for example, if a political party existed that could have broken through the mountain of disinformation from the Democrats and Republicans that so confused and misled the American people. This would be even more true in regard to the marines in Lebanon, since a large sector of the population already opposes the U.S. presence there. Wouldn't millions of people support a party that pledged not to vote one dime for the U.S.-sponsored slaughter in El Salvador—something even the most liberal of Democrats refuse to do.

The basis for launching an independent political party, one in which the American workers, Blacks, and others can put forward their own program, already exists. It lies in the unions. But it will require that the union leadership refuse to throw away union money and resources to elect the latest "lesser evil" Democrat.

Any relationship with the Democratic Party, as Sidney Lens points out, will invariably "subordinate" the interests of the working class to those of the ruling class. The strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party compels labor and its allies to tone down their demands and curtail the independent expression of their own power. The establishment of a real working-class political party implies a thorough break with dependence on capitalist parties. It would signify a qualitative leap forward in the working class struggle for power—a struggle that can only culminate in the establishment of a socialist society. ■

## ... Black party

(Continued from page 5)

Malcolm said in November 1964 regarding the Johnson vs. Goldwater election, "It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it's the system." The approach of NBIPP's charter is clearly to replace the system, not individuals. Our party does not purport "to be opposed to Reagan" or any other individual. NBIPP should go about the serious and relevant task of educating Black Americans about the true nature of this heartless, exploitative capitalist system and its "giant political con game," as Malcolm aptly described it.

Jesse Jackson is a committed member of the Democratic Party. He supports capitalism. He supports Zionism and its political state, Israel, which he calls "the most brilliant flower in God's garden." He supports imperialism and its NATO alliance and differs only in tactics and style from Reagan, Mondale, and others of that ilk in their support of the basic status quo.

Malcolm was severely critical of the Jackson type of leadership. At a 1964 Detroit meeting he said: "Any time you throw your weight behind a political

party (Democratic) that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promises that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that political party, you're not only a chump, but you're a traitor to your race." It is not likely that Jackson will get the Democratic nomination. He has stated that if he does not get it, he will marshal his forces and supporters behind the Democratic nominee in return for some concessions. The first stage of the Jackson sucker trap is to mobilize unwary Blacks and others into supporting him. Then it is relatively easy to hook most of them into the politically backward movement to stop Reagan. NBIPP and other politically advanced organizations should vigorously oppose this and instead give serious consideration to supporting the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Mel Mason for president, and Andrea Gonzalez for vice-president. They are the only candidates committed to carrying out the basic program of NBIPP. These writers urge support for the Mason-Gonzalez campaign. ■

# Mexico '82 presidential candidate: ROSARIO IBARRA

Rosario Ibarra, a renowned human rights activist, was the presidential candidate of an electoral coalition formed by the PRT (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Mexican section of the Fourth International) in the 1982 Mexican elections.

The first woman to run for any major office in the history of Mexico, "Rosario," as she was popularly known, captured the attention of the millions of oppressed and exploited of Mexico. Her campaign synthesized the need for working-class political independence, and focused on the defense of democratic rights—in particular the fate of the over 500 "disappeared" political activists.

A high point of her campaign was an election eve rally of 50,000 people in Mexico City. Despite massive electoral fraud, the PRT presidential candidate obtained nearly 500,000 votes. *Bandera Socialista*, the newspaper of the PRT, estimated that the actual vote was probably closer to twice that amount.

*Socialist Action* reached Rosario Ibarra at her home in Mexico and was granted the following interview. Given the coming elections in this country, we think her comments will be of particular interest to our readers.

**Socialist Action:** How did your presidential campaign involve the organized and unorganized women of Mexico, and what was your message to the oppressed women you spoke to?

**Rosario Ibarra:** The electoral coalition that ran me for president brought together large numbers of women who are working in organizations where there are men and women. But there were also many women's organizations participating in the campaign. On one occasion they held a very important and militant meeting in Mexico City which was attended by well over a thousand women.

Our campaign also reached sectors of the unorganized and marginalized women. For them the campaign was a call for hope. They saw in me the opportunity to carry forward their struggle. They said, "Well, Rosario is a housewife. She is just like us and speaks like us. She doesn't give speeches with big words that no one can understand. She isn't like the women from the PRI who are only capable of reading speeches written by the bosses."

## INTERVIEW

I spoke to the women—and to working people in general—about their problems and how to solve them. I told them that politics doesn't have to be a dirty business, but that it is made dirty by dirty politicians and their corrupt system. I said that the repressive exploiting class makes politics dirty, but that with struggle, we can keep it clean as we fight for our rights—for those things that the working people of Mexico need.

Across the country, numerous committees of peasant women and women in the shantytowns sprang up in support of our campaign. Everywhere people identified with us and expressed their solidarity with the first woman in the history of Mexico to run for president.

**S.A.:** In several articles we read that the election campaign had reached remote towns where quite spontaneously workers and peasants came out onto the streets to greet you. How did you feel when you saw such an outpouring from the people?

**R.I.:** Actually it is an overwhelming feeling, but I felt sad because those people hoped for a change with these elections. Yet the electoral road will not provide that change—of that I am completely sure—in a country where electoral frauds are carried out daily and where the government resorts to "political reforms" as an escape valve for popular discontent.

**S.A.:** How did you utilize this campaign to advance independent working class politics?

**R.I.:** We used the campaign as best we could to raise consciousness about the necessity of a revolutionary change. We said that you can never trust—not even for a single moment—any party of the



ruling class. Take, for example, the case of Jesse Jackson and of the Democratic Party in the United States. Even if Jesse Jackson has the best intentions in the world and is a person above reproach, he will not be able to change the conditions in your country, because the Democratic Party is a party that has forced people into war, into exploitation, into poverty, into racism, and into Yankee intervention in other countries. In Mexico, and in the United States as well, it is important to get rid of the idea held by some people that by exchanging a bad president for a good one, or one ruling-class party for another, they are going to change things.

**S.A.:** Your example then is one of a candidacy that can be placed at the service of the struggles of working people and their allies...

**R.I.:** That's it. We did not want to speak about the virtues of the "political reforms" or about the good that would result if we came to power through the electoral process. We used the campaign to link up with the struggles of all the oppressed and exploited and to say that it is necessary to completely change the existing structures and to end the system of exploitation. We said that the workers and peasants should govern, not a few exploiters who take turns in power as if they were some sort of hereditary monarchy. And the people understood this perfectly. The political capacity of the Mexican people is enormous. We often repeated what a great Mexican political thinker once said, and that is that there is "a latent socialism in the Mexican people. I think the government now regrets having given us this political opening. They saw that our campaign was a danger...."

**S.A.:** Didn't people tell you that you have to be "realistic"? In the United States, this is said by many of the left groups who are supporting Jesse Jackson as the only "realistic" alternative.

**R.I.:** In the United States you have a well-cemented two-party system with the Democrats and Republicans taking turns in office. In order to draw the American people into the electoral game, they must be given the illusion that there is a "real" contest at the voting booths. But it is really nothing more than a facade.

**S.A.:** Could you tell us something about the National Front Against Repression (FNCR) of which you are the main leader?

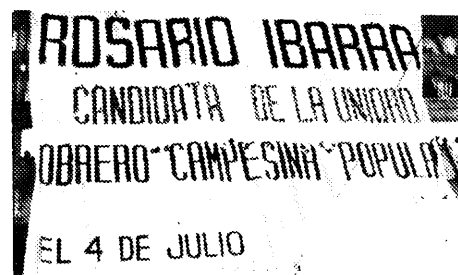
**R.I.:** Originally, we formed a committee of relatives to defend the political prisoners, the detainees, the disappeared, and the political exiles. In the committee we only had relatives for quite valid reasons—anyone could come and say "I am a sympathizer," but really be with the police. So we accepted only relatives of

entire people to solidarize themselves with our struggle. We brought to the president—first to Lopez Portillo and now to Miguel de la Madrid—thousands and thousands of signatures of Mexican citizens who wanted freedom for the political prisoners.

That was the situation from 1977 until 1979, when we said that we had to involve the organizations more deeply in this work. We realized that if they were not permitted to take any initiative, they would not want to continue to participate. So the leadership of the committee called for the formation of the National Front Against Repression in 1979.

In December of 1979 we organized a big march and conference on the International Day for Human Rights. On December 12, the FNCR was born. It was composed of 52 national organizations, although in a short time it had many more. Since 1979 it has been a united organization and has served as the base for broader coalitions such as the National Workers, Peasants, and Popu-

lar Assembly, which has more than a hundred organizations. The FNCR has maintained itself and grown because it has a clearly defined objective: the struggle against repression. We have placed ourselves in a very good position. We have the ability to initiate dialogues and to call actions. We have also organized various conferences: the Conference against the Repression of the Daughters of the People of Chiapas; a conference in Juchitan, Oaxaca; a conference in support of the struggle of the people of Chihuahua; a conference against the oppression of the native population in Oaxaca. Right at this moment the FNCR is organizing a conference to be held in Mexico City in late February on the struggle of women, and the oppression—and repression—they face in Mexico. This will be the first such national conference ever held here on this issue. There have been various "round tables" before on women's issues, but this is going to be a conference with the participation of radical women, working women, and women from the shantytowns.



**S.A.:**...yet the mothers keep coming out onto the streets of the Plaza de Mayo demanding that the political prisoners be released and that those responsible for the thousands of disappeared be punished...

**R.I.:** That's right. The mothers are out there but the new government is trying to marginalize them, to isolate them—something they could not do with us because we have tied ourselves to the struggles of working people. We waited at the factories at 5 a.m. We went to the universities. We went to the fields. In short, we traveled throughout the country, calling out to the people. We stopped in the doors of churches calling on the

entire people to solidarize themselves with our struggle. We brought to the president—first to Lopez Portillo and now to Miguel de la Madrid—thousands and thousands of signatures of Mexican citizens who wanted freedom for the political prisoners.

That was the situation from 1977 until 1979, when we said that we had to involve the organizations more deeply in this work. We realized that if they were not permitted to take any initiative, they would not want to continue to participate. So the leadership of the committee called for the formation of the National Front Against Repression in 1979.

In December of 1979 we organized a big march and conference on the International Day for Human Rights. On December 12, the FNCR was born. It was composed of 52 national organizations, although in a short time it had many more. Since 1979 it has been a united organization and has served as the base for broader coalitions such as the National Workers, Peasants, and Popu-

lar Assembly, which has more than a hundred organizations. The FNCR has maintained itself and grown because it has a clearly defined objective: the struggle against repression. We have placed ourselves in a very good position. We have the ability to initiate dialogues and to call actions. We have also organized various conferences: the Conference against the Repression of the Daughters of the People of Chiapas; a conference in Juchitan, Oaxaca; a conference in support of the struggle of the people of Chihuahua; a conference against the oppression of the native population in Oaxaca.

Right at this moment the FNCR is organizing a conference to be held in Mexico City in late February on the struggle of women, and the oppression—and repression—they face in Mexico. This will be the first such national conference ever held here on this issue. There have been various "round tables" before on women's issues, but this is going to be a conference with the participation of radical women, working women, and women from the shantytowns.

Socialist Action

**SUBSCRIBE  
NOW**



## ...oil

(continued from page 1)

example, a new classification of refinery mechanic in Houston requires the worker to know the skills of a machinist, pipefitter, and boilermaker. If this trend continues, there will be an inevitable decrease in the quality of work performed and an increase in safety hazards to the workers. To pursue their drive for profits, the companies must attempt to destroy the traditional craft training programs and undermine the special craft status which has enabled these workers to enjoy relatively high wages and decent job security.

The ultimate goal is to eliminate individual crafts and create one category of workers trained in a variety of skills. The objective would be to cut costs by speed up and reduction in current craft wage rates and size of the workforce. Whatever the outcome of this round of negotiations in oil, the companies can count on continued resistance to their overall plan to eliminate the crafts.

### Some prospects

Virtually every union in the building trades, in the steel, auto and electrical plants, from the Teamsters to Longshore unions are losing jobs and bargaining strength as employers spread the use of lower paid non-union labor. Many of these unions function in the refineries and are threatened by the contracting out language as much as OCAW. All unions are our natural allies in this fight. The labor outreach actions taken at the Union Oil refinery in Rodeo were positive, but they were confined to one local area. We need a national mobilization of trade union solidarity.

At the Chevron refinery here in Richmond, Calif., a Union Solidarity Coalition was formed, which includes seven different unions. Prior to the current OCAW negotiations each union cooperated in educational efforts, in organizing new members, and in mobilizing refinery workers in rallies. The lessons learned in Rodeo are being applied in Richmond—no union can stand alone. A national drive with this theme would increase the power of oil workers—and workers in other industries—to resist concessions.

## ...aerospace

(continued from page 1)

the International had pulled the rug out from under them.

However, spirits remained high among the workers who gathered for the Feb. 9 vote. One way that many expressed their pride in having fought the company was by wearing a T-shirt that read: "We struck, we stuck, scabs suck."

The Local 148 membership had been kept mobilized and informed during the strike with mass meetings each Monday and Tuesday as the strikers came in to pick up their strike benefits. A strike support office was opened in the union headquarters and was staffed by striking workers, union officials, and volunteers from other unions.

Several thousand supporters of the strike marched in a mass picket line and rally on Jan. 27 and again on Feb. 7. Striking Continental Airlines pilots and attendants were there—unmistakable in their full uniforms. About 400 Douglas

workers likewise made the trip to Los Angeles International Airport on Jan. 27 to join one of the most militant picket lines yet organized in the Continental strike.

Toni Carpenter, a Continental flight attendant told the Feb. 7 rally, "These planes are going to be up in the air, built by scab workers, flown by scab pilots, with scab flight attendants pouring coffee down the throats of those foolish enough to fly in them—unless the workers all stick together."

Local 148 President Bob Berghoff echoed the need to "join labor together because we need to fight together," when he announced the kick off of a labor coalition against concessions. While he spoke, supporters of the strike signed up scores of unionists to participate in the group.

In the past few years workers have taken defeat after defeat. There is a growing sense among the most militant layers of the labor movement that bigger and more difficult battles lie ahead. These militants can turn back the bosses' offensive by recapturing the proud past of the labor unions that won their battles under the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

The aerospace workers in California, the copper miners in Arizona, the Greyhound workers, the Continental Airlines workers—and all other unionists fighting to hold the line against the corporations—are helping to write a new chapter of labor solidarity. ■



## HUNGER

(continued from page 12)

Clearly, the problem of world hunger is no longer caused by a physical lack of food production capacity. The earth now possesses the material means and technological ability to feed all its inhabitants. Yet hunger persists.

Why do good harvests and huge surpluses create a crisis? How can there be too much food in a world still plagued by malnutrition, hunger, and even famine?

Why spend tens of billions of dollars to decrease food production? Isn't that a criminal policy in a hungry world? Why not spend that money to increase the food supply until everyone on earth is assured an adequate, healthy diet?

The problem is not technological, but social. It is a result of the supply-and-demand system that determines the price of food at any given moment, and therefore who will or will not be able to afford to buy it. The supply of food is the amount available: the current harvest plus whatever is in storage. The demand, however, is not a measure of how much food people need, but of how much they can afford to pay for it. As the *Times* articles explain, "half the world is undernourished. These people live in countries that cannot pay for America's exports. 'There is a surplus in the world if you equate production with the numbers of people who can pay for it,' said Mr. Renshaw [a European Common Market official]."

A good harvest increases that "surplus." When the supply goes up, the price goes down. That means that the farmers' reward for a job well done is reduced income. If the surplus continues to mount and prices continue to drop, farmers go bankrupt and agricultural production comes to a standstill; the system locks up.

Ironically, this is the ultimate logic of the "free enterprise" system that supposedly offers incentives for hard work and high productivity. In fact, it can only function in an economic environment of relative scarcity. When the level of productivity reaches the stage of being able to provide more than enough to satisfy everybody's needs—as is now the case with agriculture—the market system based on supply and demand ceases to work efficiently and begins to turn in an irrational direction.

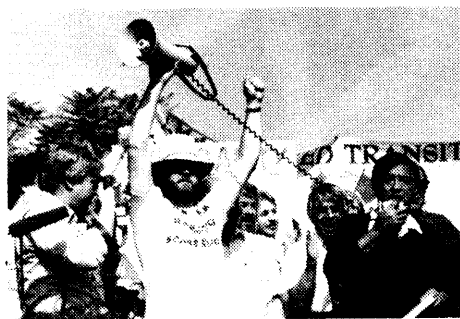
That explains the "logic" behind the U.S. government's huge payments to restrict food production: its strategy is to keep the supply of food low—that is, to create an artificial scarcity—in order to keep the price of food high. Working people get a raw deal coming and going: our tax money is being spent to drive up our supermarket bill. Yet within the bounds of the free market system, the

only choice is between restricting production or allowing a total collapse.

Governmental policy-makers add insult to injury by demagogically waving the free-market flag, pretending that they are adamantly opposed to the very policies they are carrying out: "The Reagan administration argues that reducing government's role in agriculture and encouraging a return to open markets could solve many problems." This is the purest hypocrisy imaginable; they are fully aware that "reducing government's role in agriculture" would lead straight to paralysis.

The only solution to the twin crises of hunger and overproduction must be found outside the market system. Food must be produced and distributed according to a rational determination of human needs—that is, a plan—rather than by the blind forces of supply and demand. American governments, be they Republican or Democratic administrations, have resisted meaningful concessions in this direction, because any such steps are alien to the capitalist economic system and anathema to the capitalist class, which controls the Democratic and Republican parties.

The *Times* articles, for example, mention that the confluence of widespread hunger and bulging grain warehouses suggests "possible increased uses of



"Huelga! Farmworkers" Cesar Chavez addresses Feb. 7 solidarity rally for McDonnell Douglas strikers

Likewise, "the use of agricultural surpluses to feed America's hungry has encountered almost as many problems as foreign food aid." Food processing corporations have complained that "giving away food hurts their business, by replacing purchases the poor might have otherwise made with food stamps."

### Are the farmers to blame?

While farmers have been put in a position of dependence upon government subsidies for survival, it is important to understand that most do not benefit from the irrational policies that restrict food production. Those who do benefit are, for the most part, millionaire

## WORLD'S HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING



American farm surpluses to aid the needy overseas." Among the many phony excuses offered to explain why this cannot be done, the real reason is hinted at: "a move to distribute America's surpluses abroad threatens to disrupt international trade...." In other words, giving the food away, which reduces the potential pool of paying customers, is bad for profits, so it won't be done.

rural capitalists such as former President Carter, the peanut "farmer."

The *Times* articles, discussing the government's farm support programs, makes this clear: "Much of the money went to a relatively few large, successful farmers, while little or nothing went to many less prosperous ones with small and medium-size farms.... Of the \$18.8 billion in price supports and farm

income supplements in 1983, about one-fourth went to the 112,000 largest farmers.... The 1.4 million smallest producers got little help from the Government."

Solving the food crisis will require doing away with incentives not to grow crops, but the farmers need not bear the burden of such a dramatic policy change. Rather than being subject to the whims of blind market forces as they are now, farmers should be guaranteed an income providing a decent standard of living, as part of a national food production plan.

In a word, the root cause of the hunger/overproduction crisis is *capitalism*. It can only be solved by the workers and small farmers themselves taking power out of the hands of the bankers, corporations, and landlords, and replacing the system of production for profit with a system that meets human needs. ■

In solidarity,  
Leo Frumkin



AVAILABLE SOON

### "In Defense of Revolutionary Continuity"

by Dianne Feeley and Paul LeBlanc

This 80-page pamphlet is a response to SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes' attack on Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. It surveys the history of the Marxist movement and present day realities, demonstrating the relevance of Trotsky's ideas in the "age of permanent revolution."

Price: \$4.00 (includes mailing cost)  
Can be ordered from

Socialist Action  
3435 Army St., Rm. 308  
San Francisco, CA 94110

# Fighter for the unemployed

by Dianne Feeley

Ernest Rice McKinney, a Black labor leader, socialist educator and founder of the Socialist Workers Party, died in Manhattan at the end of January. He was 98 years old.

McKinney was a central leader of the National Unemployed League (NUL) in the 1930s and editor of its paper, *Mass Action*. He was a fighter for civil rights, active in the NAACP and in organizing Black workers into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

Born in Malden, W. Va., in 1886, McKinney remembered his grandfather being brought home on a stretcher, wounded in a struggle to organize Black coal diggers. His father became a teacher and principal of a Black school in Huntington, W. Va. McKinney attended Oberlin College, where he, along with W. E. B. DuBois, organized a branch of the NAACP. He joined the Socialist Party in 1912. After serving in the army in France during World War I, McKinney moved to Pittsburgh. He became a social worker at Kingsley House and was secretary to the Western Pennsylvania NAACP in 1920-22.

McKinney was associated with A. Philip Randolph in helping to unionize Pullman car porters beginning in the 1920s. He also contributed to Randolph's magazine, *The Messenger*, a militant Afro-American paper with an internationalist and proletarian socialist orientation.

McKinney joined the Communist Party in 1920 but soon left. Yet his theoretical and tactical differences with the CP did not lead him to abandon politics. He was attracted to the work of A. J. Muste and the Brookwood Labor College. By 1929 these labor radicals formed the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA).

## Ernest McKinney 1886-1984

In the course of the 1930s the "Musteites" became a political party, the American Workers Party. At the end of 1934 they merged with the Communist League of America—a Trotskyist group that had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1928—to form the Workers Party.

### Unemployed leagues

The "Musteites" organized the National Unemployed League. The NUL was a militant organization built on the principle that the Unemployed Leagues must be rooted in the community, just as unions must be rooted in an industry. It sought to organize all the unemployed—the politically backward workers as well as the most advanced—in order to build the kind of nonexclusive, mass-based organization that could affect American society. Its leadership believed that the demands of the unemployed must develop out of their own concrete experience, and not be foisted upon them by any outside organization or group. It was to be through the power of united mass action that real change could come about.

Sit-ins, picket lines, mass marches on relief stations, as well as raising the demand for public hearings and then attending them in force were frequent methods the Unemployed Leagues utilized. The NUL combined both informal discussions and educational classes as a means to expose unemployed workers to the debate over a labor party as well as international events, such as the Spanish Civil War. McKinney was the education director of the Pittsburgh organization. He taught courses on American labor history and organized classes on public speaking, English for working people, and the principles and program of the NUL.

The Unemployed Leagues organized thousands into a militant, grass-roots movement, especially in the Pennsylvania and Ohio areas. The organizers saw the unemployed movement, not as a permanent feature of American life, but as a base upon which to set the stage for building a militant labor movement.

As a Black trade union organizer and socialist, McKinney fought for full social, political, and economic equality, but for him that meant a unification of Black and white workers. He was opposed to all expressions of nationalism, and he was the first Black writer to polemicize against the Garvey move-



Labor studies session in 1930s

Once the CIO got organized, McKinney noted, it "adopted basically the program of the NUL." That is the unions affiliated to the CIO adopted a program of organizing the unemployed, and of being not just "business" unions, but unions that fought for the aspirations of their members.

The Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party in 1936 and were expelled the following year. They reestablished themselves in 1938, founding the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). McKinney was the first Black elected to the SWP's National Committee, and served on its Political Committee.

McKinney had been reluctant to support the merger of the three unemployed groups—the Unemployed Councils, led by the Communists, the Workers' Alliance, led by the Socialist Party, and the Unemployed Leagues, led by the Trotskyists—in 1936. By 1938 he was convinced that the unified Workers' Alliance was dying under the impact of the Communist Party's popular front tactics. At a time in which militant mass action is most needed to respond to the Roosevelt administrations's cutting of public works programs and social services, McKinney argued, the unemployed movement was finding its hands tied by its leadership's support for Roosevelt.

At the founding convention of the SWP, McKinney submitted a minority resolution that projected the importance of organizing a new national organization of the unemployed—one that could conduct a fight. But organizing the unemployed dwindled under the impact of war preparations.

This conception limited his ability to understand the dynamic interplay inherent in Black working-class experience. He saw the SWP position supporting self-determination for Blacks—a position which grew out of discussions between C.L.R. James and Trotsky—as counterproductive to American working-class life.

Yet McKinney devoted many years to organizing Black workers in the fight for full rights. He was active in recruiting Black steelworkers to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) in the Youngstown, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania area. He experienced the difficulty of organizing industrial workers in places like Weirton, where the whole town was owned by the company.

On the eve of World War II, there was a major split in the SWP. About 40 percent of the entire membership, led by Max Shachtman, split over the question of whether the Soviet Union was a workers' state. The majority of the Socialist Workers Party understood that despite bureaucratic degeneration, the Soviet system represented important gains for the Soviet masses and the world proletariat. Although the bureaucratic dictatorship should be overthrown, the Soviet system was an advance beyond capitalism and should be defended. Shachtman and his supporters disagreed and were bitterly hostile to the Soviet Union. McKinney sided with Shachtman on this question. From 1940 until his resignation in the early 1950s, McKinney was a member and leader of the Workers Party, the party founded by Shachtman.

In the 1940-42 period McKinney organized Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the Southeastern Missouri and Northern Arkansas area. At the beginning of that period, McKinney remarked, labor meetings for Black workers could only be organized under the cover of religious meetings. But by 1942 open meetings could be held, although lynchings were still common in the area.

During World War II McKinney organized informal meetings with Black steelworkers and autoworkers in Buffalo, N.Y. While Black steelworkers had been active in an earlier strike, after the Little Steel formula was imposed upon the union, Blacks took a back seat in the organization. The purpose of these informal leadership meetings was to help Black unionists loyal to the union make demands on the organization that would enable it to fight for full rights for all working people. It also functioned to educate Black workers to see the union as a genuine instrument to help them overcome the prejudice they encountered daily. After several sessions, one of the workers told the story of how some white workers had approached Black workers at the mill. At first, the Blacks thought, well *now* they are in trouble and they come to us for help. Then they realized, no, it's the *union* that is in trouble, and that means all of us.

Over the last 30 years McKinney taught labor history to Black and labor groups as well as at Rutgers University. He rejoined the Socialist Party, remaining with its right wing. He worked closely with the United Federation of Teachers, conducting a course in human relations and helping the union establish its paraprofessional program. He was an adviser to the A. Philip Randolph Education Fund.

As a writer and labor educator, McKinney educated several generations of working people. He helped them to understand their history, discover their own capacities, and use these tools in the daily class struggle. ■

### Where to find us:

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

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

**Houston Socialist Action**  
University of Houston—  
Campus Activities  
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, Mich 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

**San Francisco Socialist Action**  
3435 Army Street, Rm. 308  
San Francisco, CA 94110  
(415) 821-0458

**Washington D.C. Socialist Action**  
P.O. Box 3467  
Washington D.C. 20009

## Socialist ACTION



Enclosed is \$6.00 for 12 issues of *Socialist Action*

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Union/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

**Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110**

# "Seeing Red"

by Asher Harer

Asher Harer was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. He is a retired longshoreman and a member of the Waterfront Writers and Artists.

*Seeing Red. A documentary film by Julia Reichert and Jim Klein.*

In "Seeing Red," a documentary about American communists, 13 ex-members of the American Communist Party and two current members tell their stories in their own words. All 15 are veterans of the class struggles of the 1930s and 1940s.

They give the reasons they joined—to fight for the rights of workers, to fight fascism, to fight racial oppression.

They tell of their years in the party as activists. Two relate their experiences in the Spanish Civil War. Most speak of the impact of the McCarthy period witch-hunts and the stunning blow of the Khrushchev revelations, when they learned that their god, Stalin, had murdered not only Trotskyists but good and loyal Stalinists. The revelations were devastating.

Howard "Stretch" Johnson: "It took me 15 years to pull myself back together."

of justice and equality for all, who went along with the CP as far as they could and then (with two exceptions) lost faith—not in socialism but in the CP.

Howard "Stretch" Johnson, once a Harlem CP leader, says, "Don't call me an ex-communist! Call me an ex-card-carrying member. I'm still a communist, but with a small 'c.'"

Reichert and Klein realized that a film about American communists would be a "terribly difficult" project. Reichert told film critic Judy Stone (San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 5, 1984) that people sympathetic to the party would feel the film-makers were too critical ("the Communist Party does not like this film"); the democratic socialists would think the film should have a "more critical edge," more emphasis on the party's subservience to the Soviet Union and on its lack of internal democracy; and the "far left" would want the party criticized for being "too reformist and selling out the working class."

Reichert was right in her estimate of the CP's reaction. In the West Coast People's World of Feb. 4, 1984, film critic Pele de Lappe says "Seeing Red left him with a 'sour aftertaste.'" He complains that current members of the CP—such as Angela Davis and Mickey Lima—were

"Stalin made very serious mistakes," she says. "But after all, he did a lot of good. And he was a leader of the Russian Revolution."

Only one of those interviewed blamed Stalinism as such for the degeneration of the American CP. For the most part, those interviewed just do not understand what happened. Nor does Julia Reichert, evidently.

In a conversation reported in the San Francisco Bay Guardian of Jan. 18, 1984, film critic Bruce Dancis reports that Reichert agreed that Stalinism did give socialism "a bad name." She also



agreed that the CP was extremely flawed" (by Stalinism) but she added, "I don't think ultimately it did hold back the cause of socialism." She couldn't be more wrong.

Let's start with the Spanish Civil War, 1936 to 1939, because in the film a surviving veteran of the Southern Front, which was led by the anarchists, tells how his group of 300 volunteers had only three guns. And so they were slaughtered.

Reichert, in her filmed commentary, tells how "the Republican army was out-gunned and again and again out-supplied. They appealed again for help but no help came... England, France, and the United States stood by... [although] the Soviet Union repeatedly called for a mutual defense pact [against Hitler and Mussolini who were backing Franco]."

In 1939 Madrid fell to Franco's army. Why? The overwhelming majority of the

ists, not even dribbles arrived. This is why there were only three guns for 300 men on the Southern Front.

In Spain itself, a Stalinist-type purge of "enemies on the left," the anarchists and Trotskyists, was under way. The firing squads were decimating the Republican ranks while Franco knocked at Madrid's gates. And Spain is only one of many Stalinist-betrayed revolutions.

After the Spanish defeat, Stalin flipped again and signed the Stalin-Hitler pact. Now Hitler became "a peace-loving man." But this alliance didn't last either. On June 22, 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, and the American Stalinists became the most rabid supporters of the "war effort," helping to break strikes in order to prove their loyalty to American imperialism.

With regard to independent workers' political action, a labor party, the American CP gave that up in 1936, when it supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a smart capitalist politician. In the ensuing years the CP degenerated as a political current within the working class. Now it is little more than a left wing of the Democratic Party.

One more question should be raised. Why does "Seeing Red" jump from the late 1950s to the anti-nuclear weapons movement in 1982? Was it because during the intervening years there was nothing of great interest to report?

The CP did not play a major role in the Black Freedom Now Movement or in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee that defended the Cuban Revolution. The Trotskyists did. The CP participated in the anti-Vietnam-War movement but did not have great influence, as did the Trotskyists in alliance with the student movement.

Since the 1940s the CP has played no important role in the American workers' struggles. So, if Reichert had wanted to go further than 1957, she would have found little of interest to report on the American scene.

Of course on the world scene, there have been the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, neither led by Stalinists. But there have also been the Stalinist invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968,

## FILM REVIEW

After the Khrushchev revelations the American CP lost 80 percent of its membership. Although a million people passed through its ranks since the 1930s, when it reached a height of 100,000 members, the party now numbers only a few thousand.

These 15 want their stories told. Rose Kryzak of Brooklyn, N.Y., still in the party, tells why she agreed to be interviewed: "If I die—why shouldn't there be a record? How could I have been so good when I was active and be so bad (now) when I tell people I'm a communist?"

And indeed, why not make the record? That is the question producers Julia Reichert and Jim Klein asked themselves. As a team they had already produced several films, including "Union Maids," which was nominated for an Academy Award as best documentary.

During the filming of "Union Maids" they had come in contact with several women who were communists in the '40s. The filmmakers were fascinated by the stories of these women. They decided to make a documentary about American communists with the object of undermining what they call "the great American taboo, communism," the taboo that stereotypes all communists, socialists, or any critic of capitalism as "treacherous agents of the international communist conspiracy"—scarcely human.

Reichert and Klein use still photos and film flashbacks to the early lives of those interviewed, interwoven skillfully with archival film footage of the 1930s and the music of folksinger Pete Seeger. There is a mass May Day parade organized by the CP, with marchers carrying—as in the USSR—huge pictures of Lenin and Stalin. There are shots of picket lines of unemployed, evicted Black sharecroppers camping along a highway, hunger marches, and film footage of a CP national convention held in Manhattan's Madison Square Garden, when Earl Browder was the national leader, with 20,000 in attendance, singing the "Internationale."

It does seem that the 15 were selected quite carefully. No renegades. They are all proud of their past, and many still hold to the ideas that made them radicals under the impact of the Great Depression and the labor struggles of that time. They come across as a group of honest, dedicated fighters, humorous and quite lovable, pursuers of the American dream

not interviewed, thus giving the film a "one-sided slant." He further complains that a fact sheet interview, expressing the premise of the director, stated that the CP collapsed "because of its ties with another country," and that "it had had influence over millions of people—and blew it and left us with nothing... [We had to] start from scratch in the '60s."

But what galls de Lappe most is that "Seeing Red" refers to the CP "only in the past tense." He insists that the CP is still "alive and well."



Sit-down strikes at Flint, Mich., General Motors plant in January 1937

Lester Cole, in the same issue of the People's World, calls "Seeing Red," "a cleverly made anti-communist film, so deceptively contrived that with its editing of important facts, leaving gaps that the uninitiated will not perceive, it can be quite beguiling and convincing."

Since the film deals only in passing with the sorry political history of the American CP and Stalinism in general, there certainly are many gaps.

Those interviewed speak about the lack of democracy, the demand for blind obedience, the bureaucratic centralism, the shock of the Khrushchev revelations in 1956. Khrushchev calls Stalin's methods "excesses." Rose Kryzak agrees.

Spanish workers opposed Franco. A major reason was that the Soviet Union, under Stalin, had long since lost faith in the world working class. Instead, it put its faith in alliances with one or another section of imperialist nations—and CPs throughout the world followed suit.

In Spain Stalin let the Spanish revolution suffer defeat in order to demonstrate to England, France, and the United States that the Soviet Union would be a trustworthy ally in a mutual defense pact against fascism. Soviet ships entering Spanish ports were not attacked, yet the guns and ammunition arrive in dribbles. And in areas where the fight was led by anarchists and Trotsky-

Afghanistan in 1979, and the attempt to crush Solidarity in Poland. The American CP was not responsible for the policies of the Stalinist leaders in the Kremlin, but it has gone along with all of them slavishly.

"Seeing Red" is a good film that does strike a blow against "the great American taboo." The producers can hardly be blamed for not dealing with aspects of political history they do not understand. And besides, they wanted to make a film that might possibly reach a mass audience. Let us hope that it does and that it will stimulate further study in the workers' and socialist movements in the United States. ■



# HUNGER

by Cliff Conner

The number of people going hungry throughout the underdeveloped world—and even in the United States—is on the rise. A major famine is threatening Africa. Meanwhile, there is a mounting crisis of food production. The problem is not a failure of enough production, but exactly the opposite: it is a crisis of *over* production.

The *New York Times* examined this topsy-turvy situation in a recent series of articles (Dec. 5, 16 and 18, 1983) entitled "Farming in America: The Paradox of Plenty." American farmers, it seems, have done their job too well. They have run amok, growing too much food, and that is why so many people don't have enough to eat. But not to worry: Reagan to the rescue! The champion of free enterprise and the balanced budget has been trying to keep the farmers in check by paying them tens of billions of dollars not to produce food. In spite of his efforts, however, the granaries are still bursting at the seams, and that's a crisis.

The facts and figures are mind-boggling:

- "...the government's farm support programs... cost \$28 billion in the last fiscal year. This is about \$3 billion more than all farm income, including direct government payments to farmers, and more than the government spent on welfare programs for the country's poor." (Emphasis added.)

- "The cost alone of direct payments and crop loans to farmers rose to \$18.8 billion last year from \$4 billion in the year President Reagan took office, a 470 percent increase in two years...."

- These "incentives" succeeded in keeping 82 million acres of farmland idle.

- "At last count, there was enough grain in government-financed stockpiles to make more than two tons of cereal for every American family. There was enough cheese, butter and dried milk



stored by the government to put more than 40 pounds of dairy products in every kitchen in the country.... The stockpiles in August were four times the estimated food assistance needs of the world's hungriest nations."

- Reagan's "payment in kind" (PIK) program gave 66 million metric tons of grain to farmers who would agree to leave part of their land idle. About half of that "would have been enough to raise the average calorie consumption of the 67 poorest nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East this fiscal year to minimum standards," said a

recent study by the Economic Research Service."

What is the meaning of these incredible statistics? First of all, the productive capacity of American agriculture is so immense that even Reagan's extreme efforts have been unable, as one writer put it, "to hold back the flood of overproduction on America farms." Reagan's PIK program "could not deal with...our huge excess capacity for crop production." (John A. Schnittker, *New York Times*, December 4, 1983)

(continued on page 9)

## The Revolutionary Imagination

by Paul Siegel

Paul Siegel is a retired professor of English literature. He is the author of several books on Shakespeare and literary criticism.

*The Revolutionary Imagination: The Poetry and Politics of John Wheelwright and Sherry Mangan*, by Alan Wald. Chapel Hill, 288pp., \$28.00

Alan Wald's *The Revolutionary Imagination* is the dual biography of two poets, John Wheelwright and Sherry Mangan, both of whom joined the Socialist Workers Party in the 1930s. Wheelwright continued to be active in the SWP until his death in 1940, and Mangan was a member of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International when he died in 1961.

Wheelwright was a Boston upper-class rebel who, convinced of the decadence of capitalist society, became a socialist. He participated in demonstrations, soap-boxed, and ran for office. With George Novack and other intellectuals he was active in the Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky at the time of the Moscow trials.

A colorful and eccentric personality, Wheelwright was a legend in literary circles. When Muriel Rukeyser first met T.S. Eliot, he immediately regaled her with an anecdote of how Wheelwright had come to address a socialist rally wearing a raccoon coat and a bowler hat. When he doffed these, he was found to be clad in formal evening clothes.

Matthew Josephson stated, however, that intimates of Wheelwright realized

that "his affectations of dress or manner were only of the surface, a comedy he liked to carry on. The man within was forthright and had a strength and courage for life on his own terms." His comrades in the SWP saw him as a serious revolutionist despite his eccentricities.

## BOOK REVIEW

During the months before his death as the result of having been run down by a drunken driver, he was at the peak of his achievement and perhaps happier than he had ever been in his life. His book of poems, *Political-Self Portrait*, had been well received, another collection was almost finished, and still another collection was to be chosen and introduced by the esteemed critic R.P. Blackmur.

At a time when many radical intellectuals were turning away from radicalism as a result of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Wheelwright was firm in his political commitment. He wrote Marya Zaturenska, the co-author of *History of American Poetry*, "More and more clearly the only answer appears to be world revolution."

Highly regarded in his day by fellow poets and critics, Wheelwright fell into obscurity after his death. However, in the last decade his reputation has grown.

New Directions press published his *Collected Poems* in 1972, and it was acclaimed in leading literary magazines. The poet John Ashbery stated in the *New York Times Book Review* that it



Sherry Mangan

was one of the hundred most important books of western literature published since World War II.

Mangan came from an Irish-American middle-class family with intellectual interests. A poet, novelist, and short-story writer, he was regarded as a young man of great literary promise in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Radicalized like Wheelwright, his friend and fellow member of the Harvard Poetry Society, Mangan refashioned his life. He became a foreign correspondent for *Time* and *Fortune* magazines, where he was respected for his insightful political analysis but held

in suspicion for his radicalism. At the same time he secretly worked for the Fourth International as journalist, editor, and translator and as a member of the secretariat.

Mangan labored prodigiously as a political activist, repressing his creative energy for the sake of the revolutionary cause, as an earlier poet and revolutionist, John Milton, had done to serve in Cromwell's cabinet. After some 12 years of activity, he felt that, with the International no longer so short-handed, he could give up many of his tasks to return to literature.

He went to Bolivia to do research for a novel about the struggles of the tin workers of that country, a novel that was never finished. His wife died of a heart attack in the high mountain air, and his own health was ruined. The last years of the former hearty high-liver and ebullient raconteur were spent in poverty and suffering but in continued struggle for the fulfillment of both his literary potential and political duty.

To a boyhood friend who asked him what socialism had done "for" him as well as what it had done "to" him, Mangan wrote, "For me" it has given me a guidance and a purpose far beyond any personal one that I might have conceived, save poetry itself. "To me," yes, Chas, I know what you are getting at—it has made me pay, and pay dear... But I won't change one opinion one iota because of it."

Wald's book is a study of the relation between literary modernism and political radicalism as well as a tribute to these two men. He points out that they were only two instances of writers who joined Marxist politics and modernist literary techniques. This significant tendency has been quite forgotten in the cultural histories of the period.

In the novel form John Dos Passos' *USA* trilogy, Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep*, and Nathanael West's *Day of the Locust* are manifestations of the tendency. In poetry the work of Muriel Rukeyser, Kenneth Patchen, and Kenneth Fearing is another manifestation.

In criticism the journal *Partisan Review* championed modernism against such attacks as that of Karl Radek, who at the first All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 dismissed the work of Proust and Joyce as the use of high-powered microscopes for the purpose of studying excrement. Because *Partisan Review* was briefly sympathetic to Trotskyism (Trotsky himself was skeptical about the durability of the editors' attachment to Marxism), it was vilified by the Stalinist writers.

The consequence was that modernism was more than ever regarded as opposed to Marxism. This, however, is an oversimplification despite the fact that many of reactionary outlook such as T.S. Eliot made use of its techniques, which Wald identifies as including complex symbolism, references to myth, stream of consciousness, recondite literary allusion, montage, a shifting and ambiguous mood.

But, says Wald, while "certain forms, genres, conventions, and devices may become associated with specific classes or stages of development on a historic scale (for example, the romance with feudalism, the novel with bourgeois society), artists have repeatedly demonstrated that they can appropriate all sorts of genres and devices for diverse ends." Just so, it might be added, we have the radical romanticism of Shelley and the reactionary romanticism of Scott.

*The Revolutionary Imagination* is the product of careful thought and of enormous and painstaking research. The time and labor have been well spent. ■