

Democrats and Republicans:



"One Big Property Party"

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Reform" in Vietnam and El Salvador

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

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



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

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

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Howard Petrick

Democrats: "Mondale, I guess."

By MARK HARRIS

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

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

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

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



Walter F. Mondale

promised to curtail once in office.

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

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

Carter-Mondale promised to cut the

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

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

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

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

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

Remember "human rights"?

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

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...Democrats

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

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

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

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

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

Hart's "new ideas"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liston set out for all with eyes to see

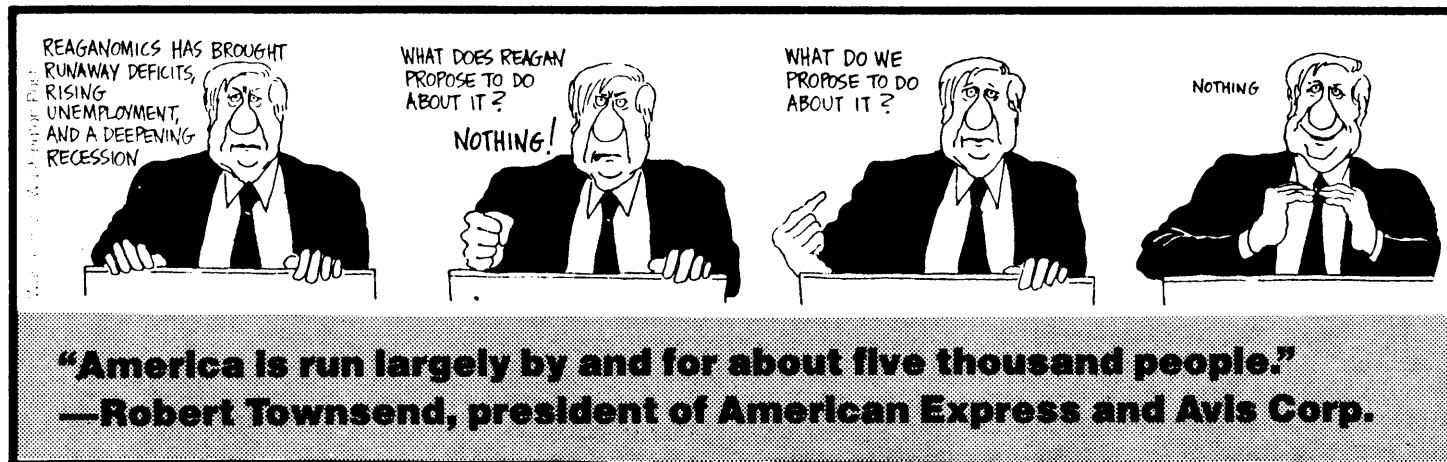
successors and are responsible to nobody. They treat the nation as an exclusive warehouse designed for their comfort and kicks. The president of these United States, in their private view, is head towel boy."

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

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

"Support what you want"

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



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

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

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

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

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

Both parties support capital

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Can Jackson reform the Democratic Party?

By LARRY COOPERMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rise of Black electoral hopes

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

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

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



Jesse Jackson

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

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

A split over strategy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Delegate fights and party unity

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

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

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

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

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

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

ing a diplomatic post.

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

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

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

Mel Mason for president!

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

...Mondale

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

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

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

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

Vague promises

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The leaders of the Democratic Party

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

"Mondale, I guess"

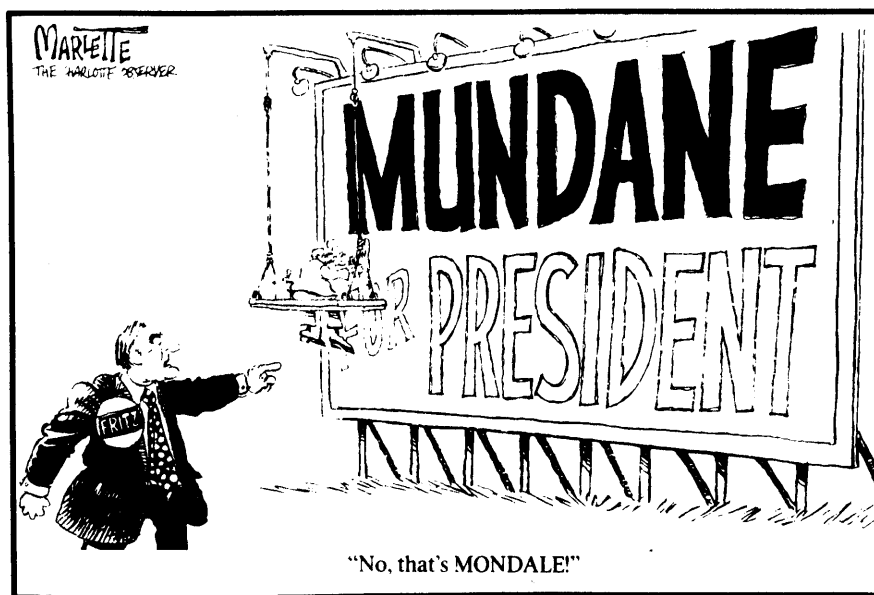
There has been a great deal of discussion in the media concerning the question of whether the Democrats can come up with a candidate with enough popularity to defeat Reagan. A June 7 *New York Times* editorial described the reaction of most Democrats, who when asked to name who they preferred as a presidential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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

In any event, Jackson has made it

"Working people should run the country"

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Vote Socialist—make your vote count!

...Mondale

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

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

All salute profits

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

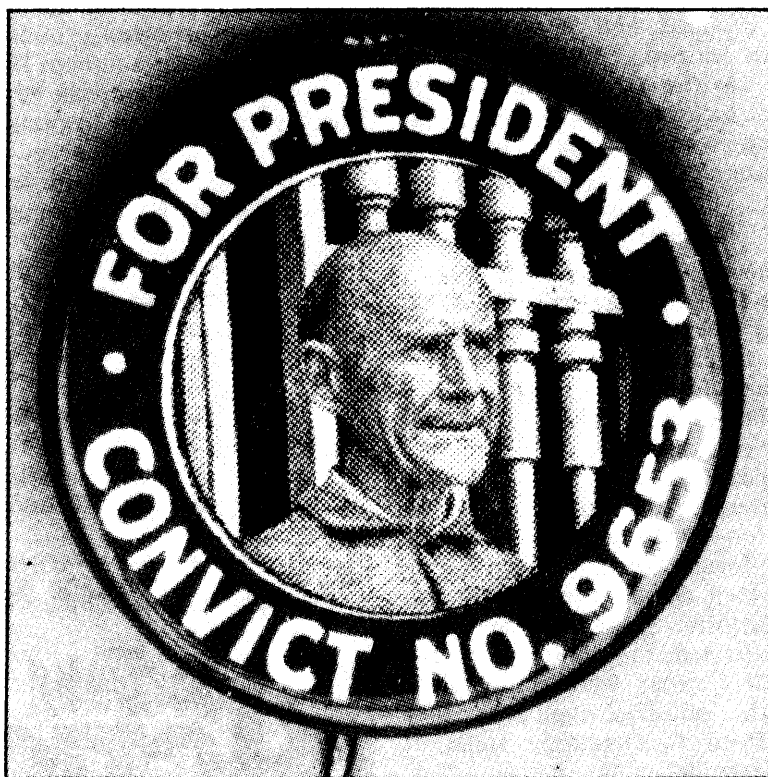
As a result, a litany of grievances, abuses, and suffering is piling up against the ruling rich of this country. The state of discontent, cynicism, and indifference that expresses itself negatively in the form of "voter apathy" can, at a later stage, translate itself into a new social movement for independent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

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

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

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

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



Eugene Debs, Socialist Party candidate for president in 1920.

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

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

Social Security disability benefits

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

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

"Fat Cat" politics—an American tradition

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

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

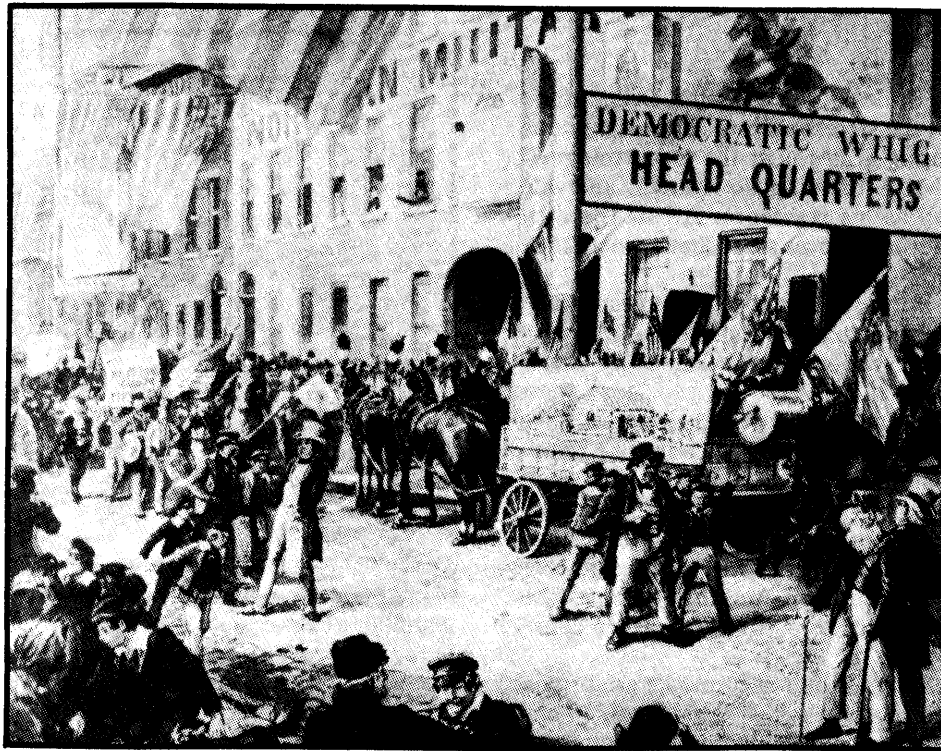
First two parties

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Workers organize

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

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

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

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

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

A second revolution

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

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

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

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

arming Blacks and preventing the formation of armed Black militias.

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

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

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

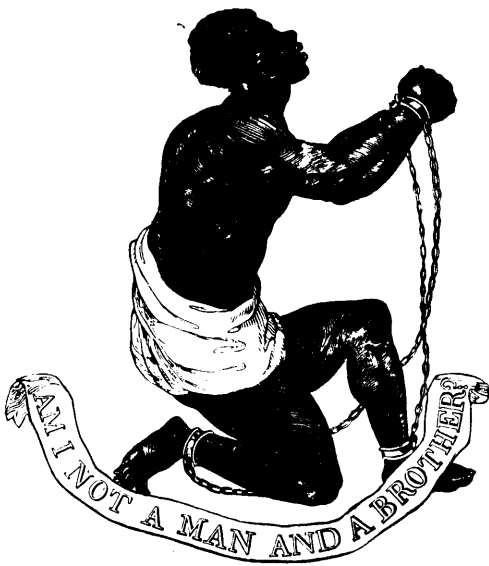
In 1877, after months of private meetings between both parties, a compromise was reached. The Republicans granted political and financial concessions to the Southern ruling class in return for control of the presidency. The Democratic Party became as pro-capitalist as the Republican Party. As U.S. capitalism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

A fox and a wolf

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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Gus Hall lines up behind Democrats

By NAT WEINSTEIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

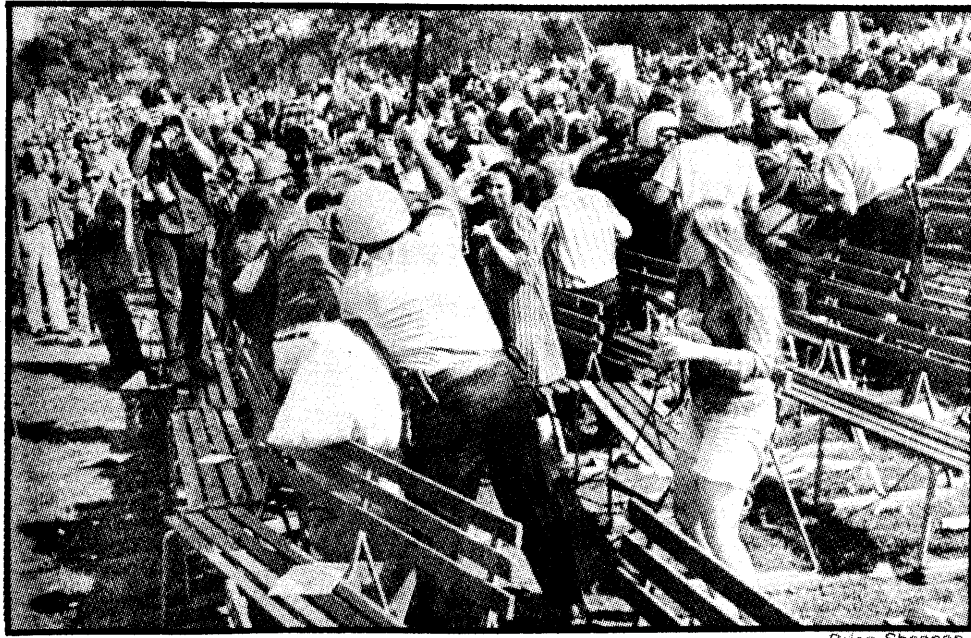
The Communist Party introduced its schizoid electoral tactic in 1936. CP leader Earl Browder was nominally the party's candidate for president, while in actual practice it was supporting capitalist candidate Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This duplicitous policy was expressed in its slogan: "Defeat Landon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

Why is independent action necessary?

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

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

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



Brian Shannon

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

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

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

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

Solidarity with boss betrays workers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Black Party needs new direction

By ZAKIYA SOMBURU

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reactionary role of the CP

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

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

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

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

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

In addition they have continually tried to erode and eliminate democratic decision making, and have purged NBIPP of dissident, politically progressive elements who were and still are loyal to the charter.

A significant step in that direction was the recent step taken by a meeting of the Administration and Policy Committee (APC) to expel all NBIPP members who were also members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

This latest action has been defied by some chapters and organizing committees around the country such as the Bay Area (San Francisco) and Baltimore, Md., chapters.

In April, the Baltimore chapter sent out to NBIPP members a position paper titled, "State of the Party: A Perspective of Why We Have Not Moved Forward." In it the Baltimore members state that "NBIPP is in a crisis," and that we have reached the lowest level of our "development or undevelopment."

After four years, they state, the charter has not yet been implemented, and the major cause "is an elitist clique" that wants to consolidate all of the decision-making power in its hands.

They characterize the purge of all SWP members as another stage of NBIPP's underdevelopment, and accuse the APC with overstepping its authority once again "by making policy that was contradictory to our charter." The statement urges NBIPP members to repudiate the expulsions.

I concur wholeheartedly with this sentiment. Now is the time to work with the Baltimore chapter and other members throughout the country to rebuild NBIPP on a much more solid and democratic foundation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A CAMPAIGN PROGRAM FOR WORKING PEOPLE

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO A JOB

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

tion against women and minorities.

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

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO AFFORDABLE HOUSING

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

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO HEALTHCARE

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

EDUCATION IS A RIGHT

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

STOP ALL GOVERNMENT AND POLICE HARASSMENT

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

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPANDED CITY SERVICES

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

HOW CAN THESE PROGRAMS BE FUNDED?

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

Weinstein for supervisor!



Sylvia Weinstein, candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

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

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

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

Commission on the Status of Women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOW CAN WORKING PEOPLE BRING ABOUT THIS PROGRAM?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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