

A Socialist ACTION

Evolution
of P.L.O.
strategy,
See. pp. 7-10.



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50 CENTS

Washington scandals fuel massive antiwar protests

By CARL FINAMORE

Over 130,000 people in Washington, D.C., and 80,000 in San Francisco marched on April 25 in nationally coordinated actions reminiscent of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

It was the largest turnout in the streets of San Francisco since those powerful days of protest nearly 20 years ago. And it was only the steady downpour of rain, the driving wind, and the 42-degree temperature

Unionists say "no" to red-baiting, See. pp. 4-5.

which kept the size of the Washington, D.C., action from mushrooming upwards.

The large size and youthful composition of the demonstrations is a sign of the times.

A new generation of young people is becoming radicalized. This was first demonstrated in a large way two years ago, when tens of thousands of students staged sit-ins across the country to protest their universities' investments in South Africa.

Anti-government sentiment has grown markedly in recent months due to the increasing number of scandals on Wall Street and in the White House. The biggest "honchos" in the loftiest board rooms of the U.S. financial and political circles have been exposed as criminals.

Wall Street brokers have been arrested and handcuffed for selling secrets—and cocaine. Leading government officials have resigned or been fired in an attempt to cover up secret and illegal funding of the contras.

The need to mobilize was further highlighted when newspapers across the United States reported the April 23 South African police attacks against striking Black railway workers. At least six workers were killed and 16,000 fired.

The April 25 demonstrations were, therefore, able to attract thousands of people who were marching for the first time in their lives. And many of these first-timers were trade unionists.

This was even before President Reagan admitted that he had lied to the American people about the contra affair; something he now attempts to justify with the arrogant claim that he is "above the law."

Red-baiting attacks

The significance of these protests was not lost on the right-wing media, which launched numerous red-baiting attacks on the demonstrations.

Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, for example, claimed in the *Los Angeles Times* that the demonstrations were "communist-inspired." She wrote: "The mobilization [is] a

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1500 rally in San Francisco on May 4 to protest U.S.-contra war which was responsible for the death of U.S. engineer Ben Linder on April 28. The contras shot Linder at point-blank range.

South African police storm Black unions

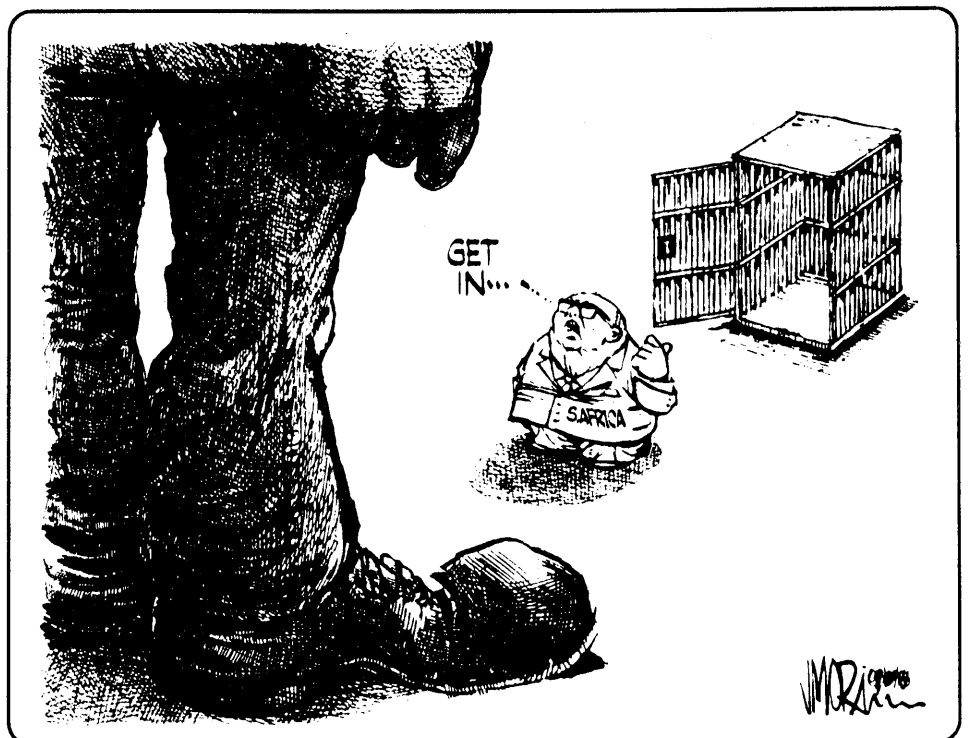
By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

The South African government has ordered an increased clampdown on Black trade unions and political organizations. Government officials announced that the year-old state of emergency, under which some 30,000 people have been jailed without charges, will be extended and tightened.

President P.W. Botha has tried to justify the government's show of force by raising the specter of "communist influence" in the Black freedom struggle.

Following the large vote for the ruling National Party in the whites-only parliamentary election on May 6, Botha declared that the government had been given "a very clear mandate on the question of security."

The election results had not yet been fully counted when police stormed the headquarters of several Black trade unions. The entire negotiating team of the striking workers on the state railways in the Johannesburg region was arrested. The general secretary of the Municipal Workers Union of South Africa was detained in Durban.



At the same moment, the national office of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was wrecked by bombs. The attack came several days after police ransacked the building on the pretext that there were "trained terrorists" inside. Over 400 unionists were arrested.

"The police are being used to break up meetings wherever they can find them," said Mike Roussos, a spokesperson for the

rail workers' union, a COSATU affiliate.

The rail strike started in March, when Black workers walked off the job to protest the firing of one worker on a minor infraction. The strike was a direct challenge to the government, taking place in a strategic industry several weeks before the elections.

On April 22, police opened fire on a

(continued on page 11)

Crisis in our schools, See pp. 14-15.

What a way to make a living...



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

On May 14, Wanda Feathers, a 28-year-old package sorter with a three-year-old daughter, wore a black arm-band to work. She was protesting what she called "part-time poverty." She is employed at United Parcel Service in Oakland, Calif., and can get only 15 hours work per week. She cannot support her family on her take-home pay.

"I've been here seven years and all I get is 15 hours a week," she said. Management cut her and other employees back from 20 hours weekly two months ago and shifted work to other terminals.

Wanda Feathers is just like most workers in this country. She wants to earn a decent, honest living. But when you read

the newspapers these days you can see that honesty and hard work is not where it's at. If this young woman would only become a gun-runner for President Reagan she could clean up.

The televised investigation of the Iran-contragate scandal reveals the real nature of the so-called "high morality" of those associated with contragate and the government. Sometimes the hearings sound like a scenario written for a Marx Brothers movie.

The scene where the wrong Swiss bank-account number was given and some lucky businessman wound up with an extra \$8 million in his account could have been written for "Duck Soup." And the "patriotic" gun-running ex-general who sought to make a fortune from U.S. taxpayers by buying "our" military weapons cheap and selling them dear to Iran could have been written for Groucho, himself.

A person has to have a strong stomach to sit through the contragate hearings. Most sickening is the gentle, almost humble way the investigators question the murderous thugs sitting before them. The questioners almost break into tears when they ask the witnesses

to report their war records—especially their bombing of Vietnam during that criminal imperialist invasion.

What the viewer is witnessing is a love affair between those doing the questioning and those who carried out the criminal activities being investigated. The "defendants" had in reality done exactly what this country has done secretly for many years.

Capitalism in action

There is hardly an oppressed underdeveloped country that has not felt the whip of U.S.

imperialism across its back. Openly or in secret, the United States has intervened in these countries to protect the interests of yankee capitalists. So it's no wonder that the "investigators" are being gentle.

Watergate investigators were harder on Nixon because here were two bunches of bums, the Democrats and Republicans, and one crew was pulling dirty tricks on the other. That was a no-no. But contragate is capitalism in action. That's the real way the system works.

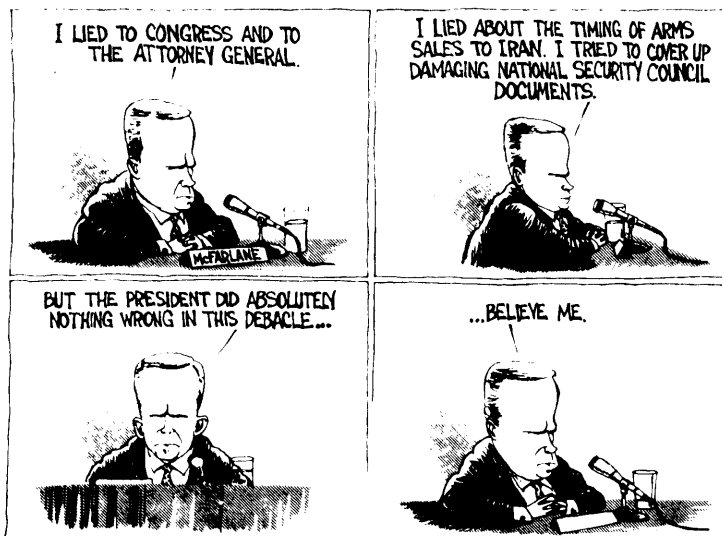
Both parties are determined to

crush the Nicaraguan revolution, if at all possible. They would like to use hired thugs instead of United States troops because they know that the people of this country would not allow another Vietnam to develop without a fight. So it must be kept secret.

Millions of dollars have gone into this example of "Texas chain-saw imperialism" in Nicaragua. And when Congress temporarily stopped aid to the contras, money was raised from every tin-horn dictator in the world to finance the killers in the interim.

I started out with the story of Wanda Feathers, who was fighting part-time poverty in order to raise her daughter. Her child, like all our children, should have a nutritious diet, free quality child-care centers, good schools, decent housing, and good health care. Her parents should be able to make a living wage. That's what should be happening in our country.

Instead, what we are watching is the immense waste of our tax monies on a crew of murderous thugs who are out to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution—all in the name of "freedom" and "democracy."



1000 march for abortion rights



Pro-choice activists outmobilize Falwell supporters five-to-one.

By KATE CURRY

CINCINNATI—A thousand marchers gathered on May 16 at the Hamilton County Courthouse to show that a majority of the population in this country supports a woman's right to choose abortion. The march and rally was sponsored by the Cincinnati chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Marshals, who had been trained by the

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), ushered late-comers into position behind two huge gold banners with purple letters proclaiming the themes of the march: "Someone you love may need a choice" and "Keep abortion safe and legal."

Sheri O'Dell, national vice president of NOW, helped lead the march. Bill Baird, long-time reproductive rights activist, marched at the head of the parade, despite the fact a counter-protester had spit directly in his face during a pre-march news interview. Sallie Bingham, writer/director and founder of the Kentucky Foundation for Women, also helped lead the march and rally.

Sara Beth Eason, the student who was expelled for her pro-choice views from Catholic school in Toledo, Ohio, marched with her parents and addressed the crowd.

Falwell's hecklers

A dozen hecklers followed the marchers all the way to Fountain Square, threatening physical violence. Their hateful comments were barely audible as the crowd constantly chanted pro-choice slogans throughout the entire march.

The parade route had been marked with

signs reading "Go Home NOW."

Marchers were uncertain what would await them as they reached the square. Jerry Falwell, TV preacher and heir to the debt-and scandal-ridden PTL club, had come to town to organize a counter-rally right beside the NOW rally.

Although organizers of the NOW-sponsored rally were forced to get various permits, insurance, and pay for police protection, no such fees were required of the anti-choice bigots. The area directly in front of the stage had been fenced off with double rows of bike racks to separate the two groups.

Falwell's crowd proved to be only 200. He told reporters that PTL needed \$1 million by May 18, said his prayers, and left after a half hour. Most of his supporters left with him.

It was a great day for freedom of choice in Cincinnati. Even the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, which is editorially opposed to abortion, admitted in the front-page headline of its May 17 issue that "NOW Outrallies Abortion Foes."

The *Enquirer* also stated that "Abortion protesters who attempted a counter-demonstration to Saturday's massive pro-choice rally were, in the end, out-shouted, out-numbered, and just plain fenced out."

Union women honored

By SUZANNE FORSYTH

SAN FRANCISCO—Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) chapters in San Francisco and the East Bay sponsored a spirited reception on May 15 in honor of working women's week and to give awards to outstanding women trade unionists. Because there had been so many strikes in 1986, CLUW decided to honor groups instead of individuals.

The first union presented an award was Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. The CLUW member presenting the award described the militant Local 2 women, a large number of them Latinas, as "representing a movement that defies tradition and stereotypes and says that all women of all races can unite."

The next group honored was the

Immigrant Asian Women's Advocates, a group organized to educate Asian women workers on their rights. The women accepting the award reminded the audience of the need for unions to reach out to the unskilled and recent immigrant workers in their native tongues and to organize the unorganized.

The TWA flight attendants, who are still on strike after 14 months, were also recognized, as were the Chicana cannery workers of Teamsters Local 912 in Watsonville, Calif. These workers had struck for 19 months and endured incredible hardship to save their union. The Watsonville women have been a special inspiration to the labor movement for their courage and perseverance.

The last group to be honored were the Kaiser Hospital workers. These women emphasized that their fight against the two-tier wage system was crucial to the future of the entire labor movement.



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In our next issue:

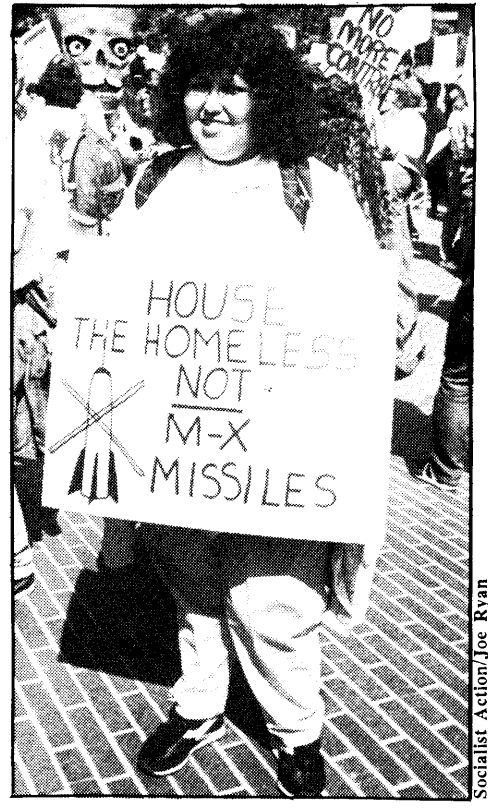
"Contragate: The coverup and the truth"

Socialist Action National Secretary Jeff Mackler analyzes the contragate affair, not as a high-level conspiracy headed by Oliver North, but as the historic practice of the U.S. ruling class.

Drawing on the findings of the unprecedented Christic Institute lawsuit, Mackler traces the imperial policy of U.S. warmakers over the past 25 years.



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

... April 25

(continued from page 1)

classical popular front activity organized and directed by narrow sectarian hard-left groups committed to supporting such liberating revolutions as those in Angola and Nicaragua."

Newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst Jr. was even more vehement in his slanders of the demonstrations in an editorial which ran in all the Hearst newspapers. Quoting the CIA-financed *Washington Times*, he stated:

"The leftist organizers of the Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and South Africa received, according to the *Washington Times*, \$3 million from Nicaragua's communist dictator Daniel Ortega. The latter had been given the money by Libya's Col. Khadafy to finance nationwide protests and demonstrations in this country against President Reagan's Central American and South African policies."

Of course, the truth is just the opposite. These reactionaries were alarmed precisely because the protests were so broadly sponsored and so massively attended. As Maureen Fielder, co-director of the Catholic Quixote Center, wrote in a widely published response to Jeane Kirkpatrick:

"This mobilization has generated more right-wing attack than any since the Vietnam War—not because it espoused the 'hard-left' politics Kirkpatrick charged, but precisely because it was a mainstream mobilization of people who represent the moral force and numbers to change U.S. policy in Central America." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1987)

Strong labor participation

The April 26, 1987, *New York Times* reported that the Washington, D.C., "event drew substantial support from labor unions, with possibly a third of the marchers bearing union placards or insignia."

Over 100 union-sponsored buses came from New York City alone. Entire cars on the 18-car train which brought demonstrators from Boston were reserved by trade unions. Local unions in other cities which had never organized for an antiwar or anti-apartheid protest before also filled buses for this march.

Actual labor participation in the Western States march was much smaller, largely because the International unions placed most of their emphasis on the Washington, D.C., action. But, nonetheless, some important gains were made on the West Coast.

Eight Northern California labor councils endorsed the demonstrations, with the San Francisco Labor Council donating office space for a Mobilization staff member to coordinate labor outreach.

All this occurred despite an extensive campaign to discourage labor participation in the national demonstrations. [See article by Jeff Mackler on page 4.]

April 25 showed that it is possible to successfully mobilize beyond the relatively

small numbers of the organized anti-intervention and anti-apartheid movements. Where do we go from here?

Independent mass-action

Some speakers at the East Coast April 25 rally attempted to persuade the crowd that the effective way to promote change is through electing Democratic Party candidates. Washington, D.C., Congressman Walter Fauntroy welcomed protestors "on behalf of the members of Congress who have labored during the past five years."

Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson said, "It's time not only to march together, but to coalesce and vote together... If we stand together and vote together, we can win together."

But relying on Democratic or Republican politicians is the opposite approach that was used to make April 25 a success. The mobilization was a grass-roots, issue-oriented movement which appealed to people regardless of their party or candidate preference.

And despite the claim by Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition that it is a social protest movement, its attempt to reform the Democratic Party prevents it from playing an active day-to-day role in the struggles of working people.

Both parties are simply electoral machines designed to promote the interests of the ruling rich and to steer dissent away from mass actions. That's why William Randolph Hearst Jr. could conclude his red-baiting attack on the April 25 mobilization by making an appeal to stay off the streets.

"Demonstrations held these days," Hearst wrote, "imply lack of confidence in, if not a threat to, our form of democratic government. The place to demonstrate is at the ballot box with your vote."

The Rainbow Coalition was only recently reactivated for the 1988 elections. This reveals, once again, that its priority is to work to reform the Democratic Party—rather than to mobilize the American people.

The Rainbow Coalition's last "action" was in 1984, when it worked overtime to channel the Black and "disenfranchised"



Socialist Action/Tina Beacock

voters into supporting Walter Mondale for president—even after Mondale made it clear that he, too, would have invaded Grenada and that he would quarantine Nicaragua.

What next?

Building national and local mobilizations involving masses of people in action, like the demonstration on April 25, can force the government to retreat from its reactionary policies.

Working inside the Democratic or Republican parties has the opposite effect. Both capitalist parties defend the profits of big business over the needs of the majority.

The policies of war, racism, and poverty go beyond Ronald Reagan. They are bipartisan—expressing the interests of the ruling rich as opposed to the needs of working people and their allies.

Contra funding and aid to the repressive regimes in Central America has been approved by a Democratic-controlled Congress, which has also consistently failed to pass full sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The power of the antiwar movement will be retained and increased by maintaining a clear focus on mobilizing people around the issues of the national mobilization. Resisting efforts to dissolve the movement

into a campaign committee for some liberal candidate will be the key challenge in the months ahead.

The movement's links to young people in high schools and universities can be strengthened by organizing teach-ins, rallies, and picket lines exposing the lies and deception of the government's policies.

The strong participation and commitment of working people and trade unionists to the antiwar movement can be deepened by emphasizing that U.S. corporations shut down plants and break unions in this country only to resettle in other countries, where U.S.-backed dictators have imposed slave-labor working conditions.

American workers have a stake in opposing U.S. interventions and in upholding a high standard of working conditions everywhere in the world.

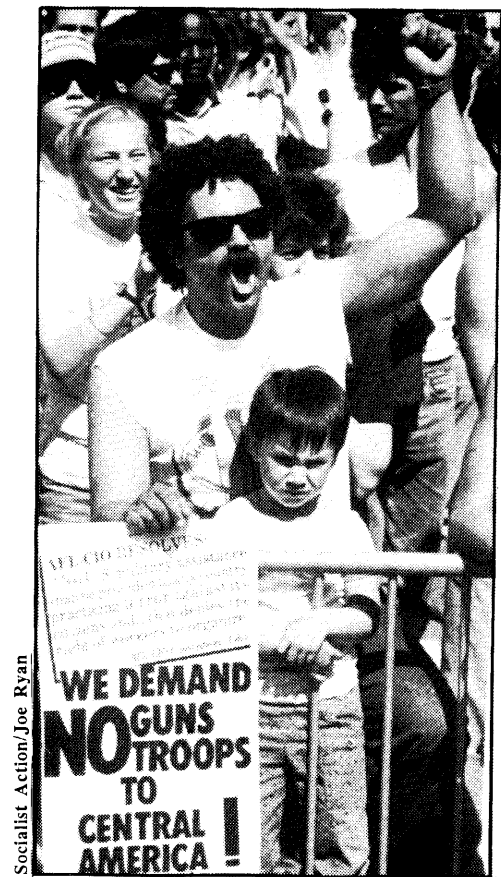
The momentum of April 25 should be directed toward activities in the fall aimed at educating and involving new layers of workers and youth. This is the best preparation for the next big mobilization of the American people. ■

Carl Finamore was co-staff director of the April 25 Western States Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.



Socialist Action/Tina Beacock

Thousands of unionists say "no" to red-baiting



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

By JEFF MACKLER

"Red-baiting, Shanker-style!" received a sledge hammer-blow on April 25, as tens of thousands of trade unionists marched on the nation's capital.

This expression, targeting Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, appeared as the headline of a quarter-page, union-sponsored *New York Times* advertisement (April 24, 1987) that urged a mass outpouring against the war policies of the U.S. government.

The ad charged Shanker with "dragging up the tired clichés about 'radical left-wing groups'...who use trade unionists, religious leaders, community activists and other people of good will." It was placed in the *Times* by Stanley Hill, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the largest union in the New York City area.

The ad was written in response to Shanker's weekly paid column in the same newspaper the previous week. Shanker's column consisted of a red-baiting tirade against the leadership of the organizers of the April 25 protest.

Shanker drew heavily on a 16-page report released by President John T. Joyce of the International Union of Bricklayers. This report was distributed nationally with the assistance of the U.S. government/CIA-influenced American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). It was sent to AFL-CIO affiliates with an accompanying "memorandum" from AIFLD functionary David Jessup.

Shanker's paid ad recited the litany of false accusations, half-truths, and lies, which, in the past, sufficed to undermine the credibility of those who struggled against the war policies of the U.S. government.

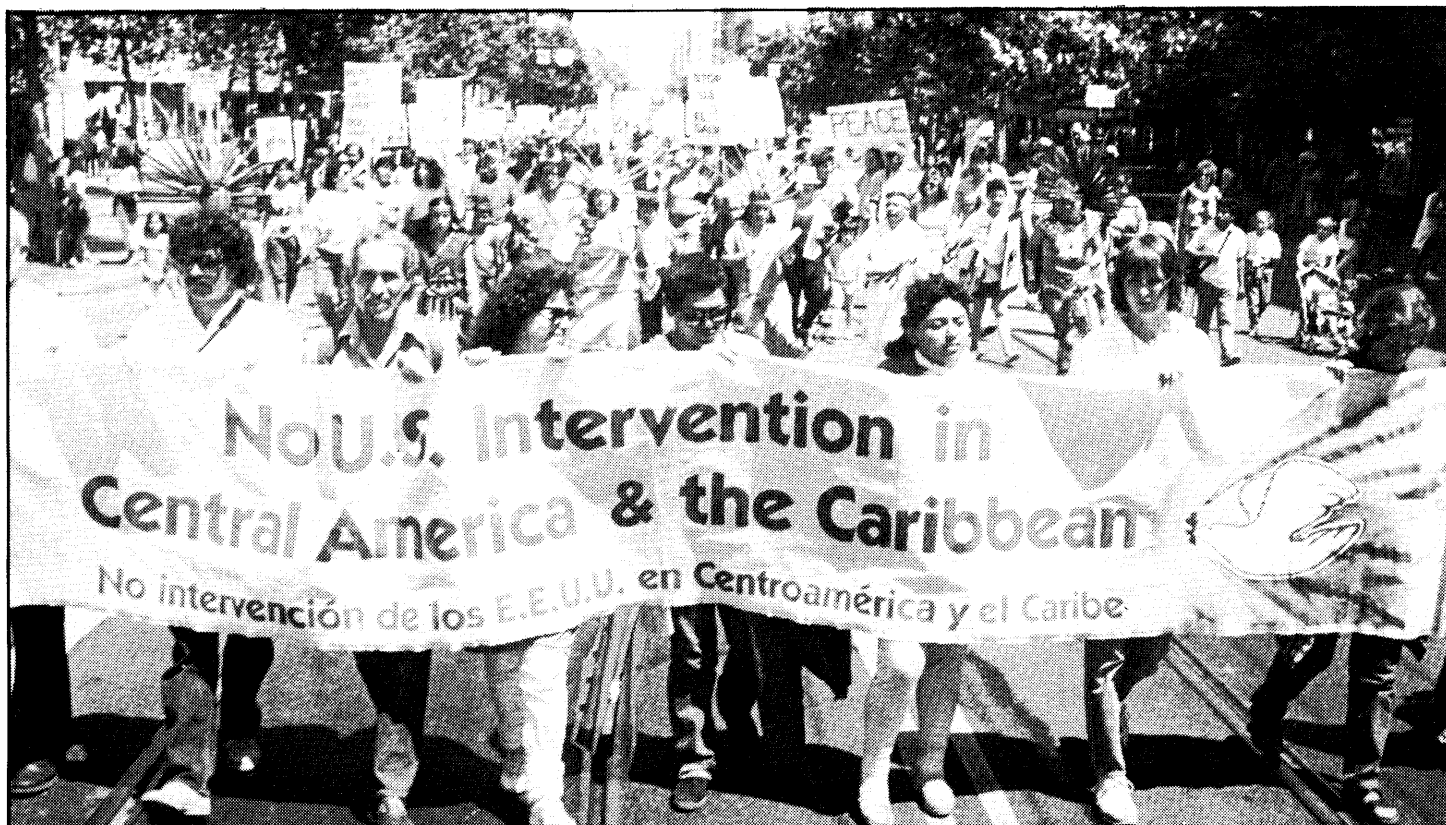
In past decades—and until recently—the virulent anti-communism and red-baiting of bureaucrats like Shanker had been effective in separating the ranks of labor from many issues worthy of their support.

"Infuriating clichés"

Recalling his mother's advice to "Watch out who you hang out with; they could get you in trouble," Shanker did not wince at associating the labor and church-initiated April 25 action with his most cherished hate words. These included "Marxist-Leninist, guerrilla forces, the USSR, the P.L.O., communists" as well as a number of newer enemies, like the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

These words, according to Stanley Hill, were "The same infuriating clichés and innuendos we heard in the days before Dr. Martin Luther King's legendary March on Washington in 1963."

Jeff Mackler was a member of the steering committee of the April 25 Western States Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.



Over 80,000 marched in the April 25 Western States Mobilization in San Francisco.

Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

American history. And officers in labor who warned against it then, now proudly proclaim the inspiration and achievement of that march."

"That march," Hill continued, "made Hill's ad publicly and aptly characterized Bricklayer President Joyce as "an active pro-contra supporter," who "also felt it necessary to warn about 'Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.'"

But Hill's boldness in the face of a public declaration of war against the march by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, which included written threats of charter revocation directed at all those state and local AFL-CIO bodies that formally supported the April 25 protest, was not the courageous act of an isolated individual.

The April 25 protest was supported by the presidents of 19 national unions,

including five of the six largest AFL-CIO affiliates, and by an unprecedented number of local, state, and regional trade-union bodies representing the majority of the organized labor movement in the United States.

"You can't hang back"

Hill did not neglect to state this key point emphatically. He noted:

"Nobody's going to mislead anybody on this march. Presidents of the United Auto Workers; Communication Workers; Machinists; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; SEIU; Food and Commercial Workers; 1199; my international union, AFSCME; and 11 other international unions will be marching with their rank and file tomorrow:

"They'll be walking away from the old

ideas and feeble rhetoric that has served labor so poorly recently. I will be proud to be with them—and with 50 busloads of DC 37 members who will head for Washington at 6:45 a.m."

Hill concluded with a reference to the advice Shanker had received from his mother regarding who you should hang out with. Hill noted, "My mother warned me too. Her warning may have been more important. She said that when the need is there 'you can't hang back.'"

"We are right now"

More than one-third of the marchers on April 25 in Washington, D.C., were trade unionists from across the country who were organized in the lead contingent.

They obviously believed that the "need was there" to protest against the war moves of the government and its refusal to break with the racist apartheid government of South Africa. They called for "Jobs, Not War." Half of this contingent was comprised of Black trade unionists.

Kenneth T. Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, put the number of trade unionists present at 45,000.

Blaylock observed, "There's a difference of opinion, obviously, within organized labor about the problems of Central America. But that doesn't bother me. We are right. Labor was split in 1963 on civil rights. It was split later over the Vietnam War. We were right then and we are right now."

One of the keynote speakers at the Washington demonstration was Ed Asner, actor and past president of the Screen Actors Guild. In his remarks to the rally, Asner addressed the AFL-CIO's policies in Central America:

"It's hard to swallow the AFL-CIO's rhetoric about democratic trade unionism when we're faced with the shady, truly subversive activities of their American Institute for Free Labor Development—its meddling in the politics of Central America, mirroring the role of the administration and quite possibly the CIA."

"Disregard for free speech"

Asner also felt compelled to take up the Shanker/Kirkland smears of the demonstration. "It is hard to believe the AFL-CIO's rhetoric about free speech abroad in the face of their abysmal disregard for free speech at home," he said.

This was an obvious reference to Kirkland's letter of March 23, 1987, in which he cited the AFL-CIO constitution

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Socialist Action/Tina Beacock

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as mandating affiliates to toe the AFL-CIO line. [See May 1987 *Socialist Action*, "Labor defies threats by AFL-CIO's Kirkland.]

Kirkland's letter was issued after a number of local affiliates in several states had endorsed the April 25 actions. While a few of these—such as the labor councils in Portland, Ore., and Baltimore, Md.—reluctantly rescinded their endorsement, the great bulk refused to buckle under Kirkland's pressure.

All eight Northern California central labor councils refused to rescind. A number wrote Kirkland bitter letters stating their disagreement with his action. Kirkland, it should be noted, sent out his letter in his individual capacity—and not with the authority of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council, which had discussed the April 25 action at its February meeting and declined to take action.

A few of the Northern California labor councils chose to avoid a head-on collision with Kirkland in the face of the possible loss of their charter.

These councils are reported to have sent letters after the demonstration stating that they were complying with Kirkland's letter by informing their affiliate union locals of its contents. At the same time these councils continued their endorsement—and in some cases active support—for the demonstration.

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, remained a co-chair of the Western States Mobilization in his "individual" capacity. Johnson, who played a key role in helping to initiate the West Coast coalition, marched behind the lead banner of the 80,000-strong march in San Francisco.

Debate in Sacramento

The debate in the Sacramento (Calif.) Labor Council was led by Susan Paradis, head of the council's public employees section.

In preparation for the meeting, Paradis and a group of council delegates compiled and distributed some 50 packets containing background material on the Central America discussion in the labor movement. Included was information listing the 43 times the U.S. government has intervened with troops in Central and South America over the past 100 years.

Following initial attempts to stifle debate, a letter which had been previously approved by Paradis's council of delegates was presented for consideration. It charged Kirkland with acting against the interests of working people and the AFL-CIO. It also included a sentence indicating that the council was complying with Kirkland by informing its affiliates of his letter. It was approved by a near-unanimous vote.



Socialist Action/Tina Beacock

Over 130,000 marched in cold rain in Washington, D.C., to protest U.S. policies abroad.

The open defiance by AFL-CIO affiliates of their misleaders and the mass participation of trade-union members in united actions against the racist and pro-war policies of the U.S. government are a sign of the changing times.

New wind in labor movement

A good example of the new wind in the labor movement was referred to in an April 25 article by Rick DeVecchio in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Under the headline, "U.S. Trade Unions Shifting Focus to Foreign Workers," DeVecchio quotes Carl Finamore, a staff director of the April 25 Mobilization, who stated:

"The 'Buy America' consciousness, pitting American workers against foreign workers, is still dominant. But what is a growing minority consciousness is that workers in America and South Africa, for example, have a common need to raise both our working conditions."

DeVecchio interviewed a young South African woman, Nomonde Ngubo, a representative of the United Mineworkers of America and a coordinator of the UMWA's boycott of Shell Oil. Ngubo was a featured speaker at the April 25 demonstration in

San Francisco. DeVecchio reports that she "was hired by the UMWA to attempt to persuade South African mining companies to improve miners' wages and conditions."

His article continues:

"The UMWA says it is losing jobs because a South African coal mining company owned by Royal Dutch Shell...is underpricing American coal producers by 10 percent in the United States. Hoping to restore American jobs as well as improve the welfare of South African miners, who earn a tenth of American miners' wages, the union is leading an international boycott of Shell oil and gasoline."

Ngubo stated, "The corporations themselves are united. So labor solidarity is an important tool."

DeVecchio reports that workers at a Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co. plant in South Africa struck last year in sympathy with American union members laid off when a New Jersey plant closed down.

He continues by describing the financial support given to striking Salvadoran textile workers by the Bay Area Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The low wages of the Salvadorans effectively

reduce the wage rates of their U.S. counterparts.

Similarly, the Communication Workers of America has initiated a program to monitor the worldwide wage policies of IBM Corporation.

DeVecchio concludes, "The attempt to redefine the problem of foreign competition as not only a parochial economic issue for labor but also as a human rights question has helped labor unions enlist the support of civil rights and church groups."

The government-promoted corporate austerity drive is convincing increasing numbers of U.S. workers that they have no common interest with the bosses or their twin parties of war, racism, and poverty.

U.S. workers are learning by experience that their real allies are the working people in every country, who have no other interest but to live in a world where there is peace, jobs, and justice for everyone.

The capacity of the red-baiting union bureaucrats to derail the growing struggle against war and for jobs and human rights has been dealt a great blow. The credit belongs to all those who worked so hard to make April 25 a truly historic event. ■

Rail workers confront new ploys for union-busting

By GORDON BAILEY

Over 120 rail workers met on May 8 in Minneapolis, Minn., to confront a new threat from rail management—the shortline. This is a financial ploy by the railroad owners that threatens working conditions, wages, and jobs on every railroad where it is applied.

The meeting was sponsored by the Inter Craft Association of Minnesota (ICAM), a coalition of rail unionists that seeks to promote labor solidarity.

A statement issued by ICAM describes the mechanics of a shortline operation. For 100 years the Minnesota Transfer Railway has shuttled freight cars between railroads in the Minneapolis area. It was owned jointly by the Burlington Northern, Soo Line, and Chicago Northwestern railroads. They operated the line under union contracts. A few months ago the line was sold to a new entity, the "Minnesota Commercial Railroad."

Immediately upon purchase, all labor agreements and seniority rules were terminated, and all workers were fired.

Some of the jobless workers were permitted to re-apply for employment—at about 80 percent of their former wages. They returned to their old jobs as new employees, with no accrued seniority and no union.

The Staggers De-Regulation Act of 1980 allows the sale of railroad property to "non-railroad entities" and permits the termination of all labor agreements. This invitation to union-busting is being eagerly seized by railroad bosses who set up non-railroad entities controlled by themselves.

Aside from the Minneapolis shuttle road, the first born-again railroads were rural lines of under 100 miles, hence the designation "shortlines." But railroad managers soon moved to bigger things.

A 600-mile regional railroad was carved out of Illinois Central trackage. The Soo Line sold its 2000-mile Lakes States Division, converting it overnight to a non-union operation at the cost of over 900 union jobs. Other union-busting conversions are planned. "Clearly the disease has become an epidemic," the ICAM statement said.

Cynthia Burke, president of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1310 and chairperson of ICAM, spoke at the meeting about the bosses' attack and outlined a union strategy to defeat it.

Strategy to defeat attack

"One problem," Burke said, "is that the rail managers and the federal regulators share the same goals—and, increasingly, the same personnel. Drew Lewis, who fired PATCO air controllers when he was secretary of the Department of Transportation, is now chief executive of the Union Pacific Railroad."

Burke continued: "A key component of our self-defense strategy will be exposing the financial deals behind these shortlines. ICC regulations, which permit these overnight sales, have been carefully written to deprive the public of any information, much less say, about planned shortlines. The rail magnates fear public scrutiny and public debate on this issue."

Burke proposed that the unions challenge the railroads' secret shortline operations by calling for hearings, Congressional investigations, and full disclosure of all the financial documents involved in these transactions.

"We can point out that Congress has a responsibility to investigate and open up the books on these sales," she said. "If they



do not, our unions can consider setting up independent boards of inquiry with representatives from farmers, unions, consumer groups, and others."

Burke continued: "The carriers are using every trick in the book to attack our unions. We need to campaign on every front and use every resource we possess to stop this de-unionization process in its tracks. But if it is not enough, we should make it clear that we are prepared to defend our unions by whatever means necessary, including the exercise of our ultimate strike weapon."

"As the most unionized industry in the United States, we possess enormous economic power," Burke concluded. "We have to begin now to organize and build the kind of intercraft, interroad solidarity that can win." ■

Packinghouse workers discuss union strategy

By LINDA KELLAM

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Eighty-five packinghouse workers and union activists from across the country met in Austin, Minn., on May 1-3 to "discuss the common problems which exist in the packing industry."

The meeting was organized by rank-and-file unionists throughout the upper Midwest. They included members of the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU), an independent union organized by former P-9ers after their strike against the Hormel Co. was broken by the company with the collusion of the leadership of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW).

Other participants included striking workers from the Cudahy plant in Wisconsin; workers from Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Neb., who lost their jobs for supporting the P-9 struggle; as well as workers from as far away as Edmonton, Canada, and Birmingham, Ala.

The meeting was presided by Lynn Huston, a former executive board member of P-9. Non-packinghouse participants included such "honored guests" as Jake Cooper and Peter Rachleff, leaders of the Twin Cities P-9 Support Committee, and Rowena Moore, a 76-year-old Black organizer of a meatpacking union in Oklahoma 50 years ago.

After lengthy discussion of the employers' drive for concessions and the role of the UFCW officialdom, the participants adopted a "Workers' Bill of Rights."

No effective strategy

While the need to fight back against concessions was underscored by all participants, the conference failed to put forward a program that could effectively confront the employers' concessions drive.

Mid-way through the conference, attorney David Twadell gave a major presentation in which he outlined the strategy of the

Corporate Campaign. Twadell explained that strikes are "unwinnable and even save the companies money"—whereas the Corporate Campaign is designed to impose the maximum amount of expense and inconvenience on the employer.

Twadell's presentation, which is based on the erroneous concept that workers are in a "new period" of struggle, was flawed from start to finish. It failed to point out that employers will pay whatever amount of money is necessary to bust unions and atomize the labor movement.

Twadell also dismissed as "obsolete" the lessons of the early labor struggles that led to the formation of the industrial unions. Twadell, for example, argued that it was hopeless for P-9 workers to challenge the National Guard, which was brought in during the strike by the Hormel company in order to escort scabs through the gates.

Twadell's proposals fly in the face of the history of the labor movement of this country. Workers have had to confront the bosses, the undemocratic injunctions by the courts, and the cops in order to defend their picket lines. In fact, the class-struggle strategies of the 1930s and '40s—mass picket lines, sit-down strikes, and labor solidarity—are more urgent today than ever before.

Jake Cooper spoke during the discussion period and explained that strikes are not "obsolete." Workers in a strike situation must shut down the entire operation of the employer and stop the flow of profits, he said. He pointed to the need to unleash the power of labor's rank and file against the capitalists, the courts, and the politicians.

While the conference had many shortcomings, all the participants seemed to feel it was an important and worthwhile event.

As one of the organizers noted, "This conference was a modest step forward in that, for the first time, it brought together a militant layer of packinghouse workers to discuss these issues." ■



Socialist Action/Kathleen O'Nan

Chevron workers fight drug-testing

By KATHLEEN O'NAN and DAVE CAMPBELL

EL SEGUNDO, Calif.—About 100 members of the Chevron unit of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Local 1-547 held a lunch-time picket line and rally at the refinery here on May 7 to protest Chevron's unjust and arbitrary drug- and alcohol-testing policy.

The protest grew out of the employees' outrage at a recent incident, which was used by the company as a test case of its new, unilaterally implemented policy.

On Feb. 24, 1987, Tom Baughman, a fire marshal, objected when his normal work load was tripled. He protested this increase as unsafe to himself and to his fellow employees.

Instead of rescheduling the work or providing adequate job coverage in line with the company's own safety rules, Baughman was required to undergo drug-testing. He was placed on suspension without pay pending the test results.

Baughman, who has a perfect attendance record for the past seven years, does not fit any profile of an individual under the influence of drugs. The company simply used this policy as a method to control a worker who would not agree to abide by unsafe and hazardous work conditions.

Baughman and OCAW 1-547 filed a grievance protesting this harassment. The company, in a formal grievance hearing, admitted that perhaps "proper procedure" had not been followed. But they would not agree to remove the suspension from his record or reinstate his back pay, despite the fact that his test results were negative.

The union leafleted the plant the next

work day, calling for the protest rally. Responding to this, one day later, the company attempted to bypass the normal grievance procedure by offering to make a settlement privately with Baughman. He did not accept the offer. The grievance is still pending, and legal action against the company is being considered.

At the May 7 rally, which received extensive press and TV coverage, Baughman described the drug-testing process as "humiliating and degrading." He gave details of the lengthy procedure, including the fact that he had been stripped and forced to submit to urinalysis in front of male and female witnesses.

This came as no surprise to the many Chevron employees who have recently been confined under guard to their control rooms for personal searches, while dogs have been brought in to sniff for drugs in their lockers.

Program is unconstitutional

The rally was also addressed by Paul Schrade, a former regional director of the United Auto Workers and currently the co-chair of the Workers' Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California.

Schrade explained that drug tests have varying degrees of inaccuracy—sometimes up to 30 percent and higher—and that even expert toxicologists cannot always agree on what the tests indicate. He also pointed to the program's unconstitutionality.

But the fact is that the courts have thus far ruled that, in private industry, laws protecting individuals' rights to privacy do not apply and that the Fourth Amendment, which prohibits unreasonable search and seizure, can be dismissed.

The company's drug-testing program has nothing to do with on-the-job impairment or concern with workers' safety.

Chevron's attacks come in the midst of an aggressive organizing drive in which the union has increased its membership by 23 percent at the El Segundo refinery. The union has taken a militant fightback stance.

The drug issue is a smokescreen behind which the bosses can intimidate and harass workers and attempt to get rid of so-called troublemakers—like union militants, organizers, and whistleblowers. ■

Kathleen O'Nan is a former Chevron employee and former member of OCAW 1-547. Dave Campbell is the Chevron unit chairman and the Organizing Committee chairman of OCAW 1-547.

Community protests GM plant closing

By JOHN HALL

NORWOOD, Ohio—On Sunday, May 3, an estimated 4000 people demonstrated against the closing of a General Motor's assembly plant that employs 4300 workers. The plant is scheduled to close Aug. 26.

Labor officials, who had billed the action as a "March For Fair Trade," urged the crowd to "Buy American." Sen. Howard Metzenbaum called for support to the Gephardt amendment, which would prohibit a foreign country from exporting to the United States more than 175 percent of the amount of U.S. goods it imports.

This protectionist proposal would only harm workers in both countries. Plant closings cannot be stopped by supporting "fair trade" legislation such as the Gephardt amendment.

Such legislation takes the side of an American corporation against a foreign corporation. It is a fight about profits—about which capitalist will enlarge its share of the market at the other's expense. It is not in the interest of working people to take sides in such a fight—no matter what the labor bureaucrats or the Democratic and Republican politicians say.

Concessions don't save jobs

In November 1986, GM announced the closing of 11 plants by the end of the decade. Two of the plants are located near Cincinnati: the Norwood plant and the Hamilton-Fairfield plant.

Within a month the United Auto Workers union (UAW) proposed and won approval from the workers at both plants for concessions in an effort to convince

GM to keep the plants in operation.

The Norwood proposals called for increasing the assembly-line speed by 10 percent and the establishment of an employee drug-testing program. The inclusion of union representatives on the testing committee scarcely improved the proposal.

Labor bureaucrats support concessions to save their jobs, not those of the rank and file. Concessions can only be stopped by the rank and file mobilizing themselves, other unions, and the community for an all-out fight to defend their jobs and standard of living.

Property tax increase

A special election was held May 5 to pass a tax levy, which would raise \$2.1 million in additional revenue. City officials claimed it was necessary to pass this levy to offset the loss of jobs and a cut of \$545,000 in federal funds. The tax levy was narrowly defeated—but it was promptly announced that it would be on the ballot again in November.

Neither the Republicans or the Democrats are able to save our cities from bankruptcy and decay. Their only proposal is to put the burden of taxation on those least able to pay. What is needed is a labor party based on the unions and other working-class organizations.

A labor party would oppose any additional taxes on working people and demand that the money now going to the military budget be used to fund public-works projects, to provide needed services like child-care, and to pay unemployment benefits at union scale. ■

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Evolution of P.L.O. strategy for Palestinian revolution

The recently hailed unification of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) failed to address the question of the Palestinian "mini-state" vs. a "Democratic Secular Palestine."

The following article, the first of a three-part series, traces the evolution of these counterposed demands and their influence on the course of P.L.O. strategy. Part two will focus on the 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War and the P.L.O.'s reliance on the Arab states. Part three will discuss the meaning of the current Middle East peace conference proposal.



Donald McCullin

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

"It is time to rip away the veil of hypocrisy. In the present as in the past, there is no Zionism, no settlement of land, no Jewish state, without the removal of all the Arabs, without confiscation." (Y'ben Poret, Israeli Ministry of Defense, 1982)

The central question confronting the Palestinian revolution is how to overcome the substitutionism which has characterized the strategy of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) from its inception.

It is inordinately difficult to make a revolution from the outside. This difficulty is compounded by the nature of all the regimes of the surrounding countries, which suppress the Arab revolution within their own frontiers and look upon the Palestinian ferment with fear and trepidation. This is the basic setting within which a revolutionary strategy must unfold.

An exile leadership can provide cogent theory and a support apparatus for the mobilization of the masses within Palestine, but it cannot be a surrogate for mass struggle.

The attempt to bypass the self-activation of the Palestinian masses can lead in one of two directions: maneuvering among the imperial powers and their client states in order to exact favor; or random, symbolic armed "encounters," which leave the masses passive observers and which are disconnected from any coherent political perspective.

In practice, rhetorical tub-thumping aside, random acts of violence become an adjunct to political maneuvering,

with the aim of "scaring" the adversary into diplomatic concessions—concessions which depend wholly upon the stratagems of an unimpaired Zionist state and its imperial sponsor.

The actual history of the P.L.O., in its various permutations, painfully bears this out. Much of this is documented in "Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker," a remarkable biography of Yasser Arafat published in 1985 by Alan Hart (Sidgwick and Jackson, revised edition) and "written in cooperation with Yasser Arafat and the top leadership of the P.L.O."

Soviet bureaucracy and "mini-state"

Hart, citing Arafat and his chief spokesperson, Khalid al Hassan (Abu Said), describes how in 1965, "when Fatah [the P.L.O. leadership current headed by Arafat] was fighting for its existence," the Soviet Union was firmly on the side of those who wanted the file on the Palestinians to be closed.

"The Soviets," disclosed Khalid al Hassan, "were strongly advising [then Egyptian President Gamal Abdal] Nasser to crush us with speed and by any means. They told him that the idea of a Palestine liberation movement belonged to 'folklore.'" ("Arafat," p. 187)

Khalid al Hassan delineates how Nasser sought constantly to induce both Israel and the United States to negotiate a settlement involving a token territory for the Palestinians which would, at once, "guarantee" Israeli security and entail recognition of the Zionist state.

I can add my own footnote to this account. In 1962, while I was forming the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation with Bertrand Russell, Nasser asked us to

take a proposal of his to King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, President Karim Abdel Qassim of Iraq, Prime Minister Sa'ab Salem of Lebanon, and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion of Israel.

Nasser proposed to recognize the state of Israel in exchange for a disarmed Palestinian statelet to be set up by the Arab regimes in the West Bank and Gaza with a narrow corridor through the Negev.

Ben-Gurion and his then defense minister, Shimon Peres, dismissed the plan contemptuously, making racial comments about two of the Egyptian interlocutors, Salah Dessouki, governor of Cairo Province, and Ibrahim Hamil Abdul-Rah'man, secretary-general of the United Arab Republic.

In fact, Nasser's attempts at an arrangement for a "mini-state" were aimed at the permanent liquidation of the Palestinian movement, the meaning of which was not lost upon the leaders of Fatah, who opposed the scheme.

Khalid al Hassan was in the right wing of Fatah but he understood, in this period, the consequences of Nasser's "mini-state" proposals for the Palestinians. He told Alan Hart:

"Had the Israelis withdrawn from the territory occupied after 1967, the Arab states would have made their peace, including Nasser, a peace which would have killed Fatah and the Palestinian liberation movement. We would have been finished and our cause would have been lost." (ibid., p. 241)

Democratic Secular Palestine

It was precisely because the Fatah leadership registered the disastrous meaning of the "mini-state" formula that it developed, for the first time, a political program for the Palestinian movement.

To counter the mounting pressure on all the Arab regimes to come to terms with the Zionist state, Fatah issued an official declaration in Paris in 1968 which set forth a program for the establishment of a "Democratic State of Palestine."

The PLO leadership of Fatah described their concept as a formula for the dismantling of the Zionist state by politics. The democratic state of Fatah's vision was one "in which Jews and Palestinians would live as equals and without discrimination." Arabic and Hebrew would be the official languages of a non-sectarian state. A Jew, it was stated, could be elected president.

What was notable about this brave proposal was not only its challenge to all the regimes of the region and to the Soviet Union's call for the liquidation of the Palestinian "folklore" movement, but its direct appeal to the Jews of Palestine.

Fatah had made a historic turn in seeking to win the Jews away from allegiance to a colonial ideology and a settler state by proffering them the Palestinian revolution and movement as *their* revolution and movement—no less than it was that of their Arab brothers and sisters.

Yasser Arafat was as eloquent as he was specific:

"What we in Fatah were telling the world, even in those days, was so clear, so obvious. We were saying 'No' to the Zionist state, but we were saying 'Yes' to the Jewish people of Palestine. To them we were saying, 'You are welcome to live in our land, but on one condition—you must be prepared to live among us as friends and as equals—not as dominators.'

"I myself have always said that there is only one guarantee for the safety and security of the Jewish people in Palestine—and that is the friendship of the Arabs among whom they live. It is so clear, so obvious." (ibid., p. 275)

A program to address the masses and to win them "through politics" for the dismantling of the Zionist state and for its replacement by a democratic, secular state is the direct opposite of a "mini-state" dependent upon sanction by both the Israeli state and, above all, U.S. imperialism.

Shift toward "realism"

The Soviet bureaucracy reacted sharply to Fatah's attempt to transform the P.L.O. into a revolutionary movement with a program and strategy aimed at mobilizing the masses and winning them for a revolutionary transformation of a settler regime.

The Soviet leaders told Arafat that they were fully committed to the existence of the state of Israel and that they had not the slightest intention of supporting or encouraging Palestinian militance or military capacity. (ibid., p. 279)

(continued on page 8)

(continued from page 7)

Two of Fatah's principal leaders, Khalid al Hassan and Abu Jihad, went to Moscow to explain Fatah's program. They left Moscow, to cite Khalid al Hassan, "With the clear impression that the Palestinians would not receive Soviet support for their cause until they were ready to accept Israel's existence inside the borders as they were on the eve of the [June 1967] Six Day War." (ibid., p. 277)

The bitter irony is that it was the Soviet bureaucracy's cynical efforts to eliminate the Palestinian revolution that prepared for Fatah's later abandonment of a political program for the Palestinian revolution and its turn to the very regimes which Fatah had correctly perceived to be antithetical to their cause. [See article by Ralph Schoenman in next month's issue on the P.L.O.'s subordination to the Arab regimes.]

"Because we were ourselves beginning to be educated about the reality of international politics," reflects Hani al Hassan, Khalid's brother, "we realized that we couldn't expect to advance our cause without the support of at least one of two superpowers. We had knocked on the door of the United States and its Western allies and we had received no answer, so we wanted to try with the Soviets. We had no choice." (ibid., p. 278)

Retreat to "mini-state" position

Fatah's leaders soon lost all confidence in the possibility of sustaining the political program which they had once proclaimed—that of a democratic and secular Palestine for which they had planned to struggle by mobilizing the Palestinian and Jewish masses.

In February 1974, a P.L.O. working paper was formulated which retreated from this program to the formulas of Nasser, Sadat, and Jordan's King Hussein. The paper proposed "To establish a national authority on any lands that can be wrested from Zionist occupation." (ibid., p. 379)

Arafat and the majority of his Fatah colleagues in the leadership were now committed to working for a negotiated "settlement" which required the Palestinian people to accept the loss "for all time" of 70 percent of their original homeland in exchange for a "mini-state" on the West Bank and Gaza.

Yasser Arafat openly acknowledged that the entire Palestinian people were opposed to this policy. Alan Hart writes:

"Arafat and most of his senior colleagues in the leadership knew they needed time to sell it to the rank and file of the liberation movement. If, in 1974, Arafat and his colleagues had openly admitted the true extent of the compromise they were prepared to make, *they would have been repudiated and rejected by an easy majority of the Palestinians.*" (emphasis added; ibid., p. 379)

Concealing secret diplomacy

Arafat was now embarked upon a course in which he could not tell the truth to his own people about the political line which he and his colleagues had taken. The words are those of Yasser Arafat:

"Our tragedy at the time was that the world refused to understand there were two aspects, two sides, to the question of what was possible. First, there was the question of what it was possible for the Palestinians to achieve in practical terms—given the fact that the *two* (emphasis added) superpowers were committed to Israel's existence...

"But there was also the question of what it was possible for the Palestinian leadership to persuade its people to accept. When a people is claiming the return of 100 percent of its land, it's not so easy for leadership to say, 'No, you can take only 30 percent.'" (ibid.)

The disparity between the public posture and the private practice became the touchstone of P.L.O. political practice in this period, with considerable confusion and demoralization among the masses arising from it. Yasser Arafat is frank about this:

"You say to me and you are right, that our public position on the compromise we were prepared to make was ambiguous for many years while we were educating our people about the need for compromise. But I must also tell you that our real position was always known to the governments of the world, including the government of Israel.

"How? From 1974, even from the end of 1973, certain of our people were officially authorized to maintain secret contacts with Israelis and with important people in the West. Their responsibility was *to say in secret what at the time we could not say in public.*" (emphasis added, ibid.)

Outwitting and isolating the "left"

This clandestine policy was carried out for five years, from 1974 to 1979, with neither awareness nor endorsement by the elected members of the Palestine National Council. It required diplomatic maneuvering and lobbying.

It also required, to quote Alan Hart, "outmaneuvering and outwitting those [in the P.L.O. "left"] who were opposed to the mini-state." Hart explains:

... Palestinian revolution



Donald McCullin

"The late 1970s and early '80s were years of unremitting tragedy for the Palestinian people."

"If he had been put to the test of actual negotiations by Israel between 1974 and 1979...Arafat could not have delivered peace on the basis of the mini-state formula without splitting the P.L.O." (ibid.)

But inducing the "left" to acquiesce proved to be like pushing on an open door. And by the time of the 1979 Palestine National Congress, George Habash and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) had endorsed the "mini-state" plan.

During these five years, as well, the P.L.O. became dependent upon the Saudi regime for its finances and its political base. Khalid al Hassan's account is revealing:

"It was on a train journey from Alexandria to Cairo that I convinced King Faisal [of Saudi Arabia] to be the mediator between us and the Jordanians. There were four of us in that compartment—Sadat, Faisal, Arafat, and me.

"We [Arafat and al Hassan] didn't need to tell Faisal that if we lost control [to the "leftists and radicals in the P.L.O."], it would lead in time to the collapse and defeat of Arab moderation and, eventually, the downfall of the pro-Western Arab regimes. That's what is at stake—and still is. And Faisal knew it." (ibid., p. 342)

Khalid al Hassan's political views could not have been made any clearer when he told Alan Hart: "I am an...unashamed rightist. I'm an anti-communist." (ibid., p. 380)

Sending signals to Israel

The late 1970s and early '80s were years of unremitting tragedy for the Palestinian people. Tens of thousands were slaughtered by King Hussein in Jordan in the "Black September" days of 1970. Many more were to perish later in Lebanon, while 300,000 youth in the occupied West Bank passed through Israeli prisons under conditions of sustained and institutionalized torture.

"Today," Yasser Arafat told Alan Hart in 1979, "my people are prepared to live...in a mini-state of their own.

It is a miracle. How far we have traveled in five years." (ibid., p. 380)

Khalid al Hassan reinforced the theme. Detailing the progress, he informed Alan Hart that 1974 "was such an important year." He continued:

"In the leadership we were committed to an accommodation with Israel, and as leaders we were already working to convince our people that there did have to be an accommodation with those who had taken our land and our homes.

"It is true that we could not declare our real hand in public; but in politics... the moves that matter never take place in the open. So there was nothing unusual about the fact that we were using secret channels to tell the world about our real positions.

"In that context, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of Said Hammami's [Arafat's personal foreign emissary] work. If the Israeli government of Yitzhak Rabin had responded to the signals we were sending through Hammami, we could have had a just peace in a very few years." (ibid., p. 392)

Yitzhak Rabin is the current Israeli minister of defense. He is the author of the "Iron Fist" policy in the West Bank, the presumptive site of Khalid al Hassan's "mini-state."

Rabin has presided over the dramatic increase in Israeli settlements, the deportation of Palestinian intellectuals and political leaders, the mass arrest and torture of students, and the declaration that "Labor [one of Israel's ruling-class parties] will never surrender Judea and Samaria [the Biblical names for the West Bank]."

"What were we hoping for from Israel?" Khalid al Hassan continues, "I'll tell you. In 1974 we were hoping the Israelis would say the following, or something like it: 'We hear you, and we are interested... Let's keep in touch and...we might one day find ourselves talking about an accommodation with you.'" (ibid., p. 393)

Alan Hart informs us that, "Unfortunately, Rabin's

government was not remotely interested."

Special envoys murdered

In January 1978 Said Hammami was shot to death in his office in London. He was the first of Yasser Arafat's special envoys to be murdered. From January 1978 to December 1983, over 20 more would be assassinated. These were people who sustained contact with Israeli officials and with various European governments.

Hart writes: "Most, if not all of those who were eliminated, had one thing in common: They were generators of support for the P.L.O. in places where successive Israeli governments had previously enjoyed a complete and unchallenged freedom of influence." (ibid., p. 394)

The assassinations were attributed to Abu Nidal, who had broken with Fatah when he ascertained that its leadership had undertaken a policy of negotiating an acceptance of the Israeli state.

The decision to conduct this policy in secret, concealing it from the members of the Palestine National Congress and from the Palestinian people, facilitated the gruesome attempt to resolve political differences regarding the future of the Palestinian revolution by cold-blooded murder.

Fatah leader Abu Iyad reveals, however, that the Mossad—the Israeli intelligence agency responsible for countless assassinations of Palestinian intellectuals and political leaders—had, together with the CIA, wholly penetrated the organization of Abu Nidal. Abu Iyad tells Alan Hart:

"Mossad was the agency which actually selected...many of Abu Nidal's targets. Mossad agents, two or three to start with, penetrated Abu Nidal's organization... The actual operation to make the penetration was organized by the Moroccan intelligence service and the CIA." (ibid., p. 396-7)

An extraordinary meeting

Khalid al Hassan proceeds to tell Alan Hart about an extraordinary meeting with the personal envoy of President Nixon, General Vernon A. Walters, who was then deputy-director of the CIA.

Richard Nixon had made it "perfectly clear" to the P.L.O. that Walters was coming as his special representative. The two P.L.O. spokespersons were Khalid al Hassan, identified as "Fatah's leading rightist," and Majid Abu Sharar, regarded as a prominent Fatah "leftist." Khalid al Hassan explains:

"First we told General Walters about the background to

our thinking on the need for a political settlement. But the main business was to brief him fully and in detail about the reality of our commitment to peace with Israel.

"We were also very honest with him about our internal problems. We said we were leaders who were leading from the front, and that we had many obstacles to overcome before we expected to convince our people of the need to make peace with those who would still be occupying 70 percent of our homeland when the peace was made." (ibid., p. 398)

Walters proceeded to grill the Palestinian representatives about their relations with the Soviet Union and "leftists." Khalid al Hassan continues:

"Yes, we have some so-called Marxists, some so-called radicals, and some so-called leftists in our ranks [but] most of what he had heard about our relations and involvement with the Soviets was bullshit." (ibid., p. 399)

General Walters then pressed Khalid al Hassan on how a Palestinian "mini-state" would perform and project itself in the Arab arena. "Are you going to speak the Palestinian language or the Pan Arab language?" Walters asked:

The reply assured the U.S. general that the Palestinian state would be nobody's puppet. It would have its own voice and a determination not to be dominated by any Arab regime.

Overthrowing Jordan's Hussein?

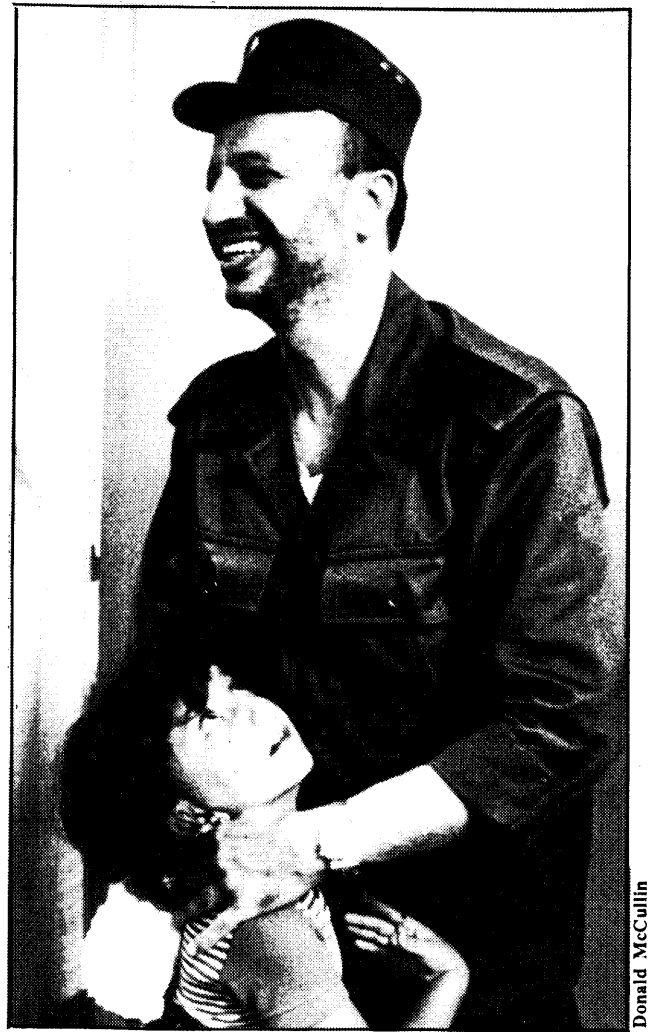
But Walters, it became clear, was mainly concerned about how a Palestinian "mini-state" would relate to the established regimes.

Khalid al Hassan stated: "He [Walters] simply said, 'What about Amman [Jordan's capital]?' What he meant was, 'Okay, let's suppose you have your mini-state...what about Hussein? Will it be your policy to overthrow him in due course?'" (ibid., p. 401)

"We told him," relates al Hassan, "all the reasons why this was another 'bullshit question.' We explained why it had never been our policy to overthrow Hussein and why it never could be." (ibid.)

Alan Hart recounts that General Walters assured Khalid al Hassan that he was impressed by what he had heard and that President Nixon would be equally impressed. Khalid al Hassan explained: "It was not only *what* he [Walters] said, but the way that he said it. He told us, 'If what you say is so, and if I am right to be impressed, then we Americans have lost a lot of time.'"

Khalid al Hassan and Vernon Walters made a "firm agreement" to meet again as soon as possible after Nixon



Donald McCullin

Yasser Arafat, chairman of the P.L.O.

had been briefed, with a third meeting to follow. No such meeting was ever to occur.

Yasser Arafat and both Khalid and Hani al Hassan believe that the Israeli government engineered Watergate, the discovery of the break-in, and the Nixon tape disclosures to "break Nixon before he forced Israel to make the necessary withdrawals for peace." (ibid.)

According to Alan Hart, Khalid al Hassan and Yasser Arafat drew the conclusion that the "Jewish lobby in America," through Kissinger, "sabotaged what was effectively a Nixon-P.L.O. dialogue, a dialogue which Nixon authorized as part of his own effort to explore the possibility of a comprehensive settlement on the basis of a total Israeli withdrawal from territory occupied in 1967 in return for total peace, and a measure of justice for the Palestinians." (ibid.)

Arafat and al Hassan singled out Kissinger's role in the "sabotage" effort because of his distorted account of the meeting between the P.L.O. leadership and General Walters. In his book, Kissinger had written that the P.L.O. spokesperson told Walters that the Palestinian state would never be confined to the West Bank and Gaza and that the Palestinians would overthrow Hussein and absorb Jordan.

Desperate illusions

What the brief encounter between Walters and the P.L.O. leadership reveals is that Arafat and al Hassan believe that certain ruling class figures desire "a measure of justice for the Palestinians" and stand ready to reverse U.S. policy and coerce Israel into accepting of a Palestinian state.

This scenario reflects the desperation with which the Fatah leadership clings to the illusion that U.S. imperialism can be induced to scuttle the Zionist state on which it relies for the destruction of every revolutionary current in the region.

The entire political perspective of the Fatah leaders and of the P.L.O. is reduced to pursuing this chimera—appealing to one client leader after another to serve as interlocutor: Mubarak of Egypt, Hassan of Morocco, Hussein of Jordan, and Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

In March 1977, Yasser Arafat sent a 25-page document to then President Jimmy Carter. The Fatah leaders had finally obtained approval of a "mini-state formula in principle" at the Palestine National Council.

The document sent to Carter, according to Alan Hart, "set out the reality of the P.L.O.'s compromise position, and it explained in detail that a Palestinian mini-state, in a confederation with Jordan, would not and could not be a threat to Israel's security." (ibid. p. 432)

After all the decades of suffering at the hands of the Zionists with their relentless program of fragmenting the entire Arab East, their conscious design of "Armenianizing" the Palestinian people, the Fatah leaders asked of Carter what they had already asked of Nixon, only to be rewarded with the Civil War of 1975-1976. [See next month's *Socialist Action* for more on the Lebanese Civil War.]

In less than a year, the Israelis invaded Lebanon. In 1978 they devastated the villages and camps of the



(continued on page 10)

... Palestinian revolution

(continued from page 9)

Lebanese South, beginning the countdown to the invasion of 1982.

On October 1, 1977, a joint U.S.-Soviet declaration required the Arab states and the Palestinians to make peace with Israel and formally recognize the Zionist state. Israel was to make withdrawals from territories occupied in 1967.

Here was Yasser Arafat's response:

"I was very happy, very excited. It was an historic moment. For the first time the two superpowers were committed to doing something for us Palestinians. Truly, I believed there would be peace with some justice for my people. I was more optimistic than at any moment in my life." (ibid., p. 433)

Arafat went further. According to Alan Hart, he was "bending over so far backwards to be helpful that he even said the Palestinians did not have to be represented by a P.L.O. official."

Israel remains intransigent

Needless to say, Israel was not prepared to withdraw from the West Bank or to acknowledge any Palestinian right of self-determination. Israel, with U.S. backing, proposed, "a small measure of local authority on the West Bank, under Israeli occupation." (ibid., p. 434)

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin sent Moshe Dayan to Washington. Carter tore up the joint U.S.-Soviet declaration and issued a U.S.-Israeli document prepared by Dayan. The Palestinian problem was "one of refugees," and Dayan, with Carter's backing, declared that Israel would walk out of any meeting in which the question of a Palestinian state was raised.

Arafat now turned to the Saudis. They produced the Fahd Plan, a variation on the theme of a "mini-state," in return for "complete and final peace and recognition of Israel by all Arab states and the P.L.O."

The plan collapsed. Twenty minutes before the Fez conference was to open—the conference at which the Fahd Plan was to be discussed—Syria walked out. Khalid and Hani al Hassan considered that, despite all their concessions, the conference was sabotaged because no one wanted the P.L.O. to remain a factor as long as the Palestinian people aspired to real self determination.

Once again came the moment of truth.

"Both the Soviets and the Americans," declared the al Hassan brothers, "had a hand in causing the Fez summit to collapse. Neither of the super-powers wanted there to be a major initiative before [Israeli Defense Minister Ariel] Sharon had been given his chance to finish the P.L.O." (ibid., p. 438)

Collusion to liquidate P.L.O.

It was Nov. 25, 1981. Six weeks later Sharon was in Christian East Beirut to brief the Phalange on what was to be done when the invasion started. He took the commanders of the Israeli trained killer-militia on a tour of the points they were to seize.

By the end of January 1982 there was a meeting of the Arab Gulf defense ministers, a secret meeting. Arafat stated that when the meeting was over, the ministers sent a message to Washington that they would not "make any military moves" against Israel in retaliation for the prepared Israeli invasion of Lebanon. (ibid., p. 449)

"After that meeting," records Arafat, "I met with a very important Arab leader. I will not tell you which one, but I will tell you what he said to me. He looked me in the eyes and said exactly this: 'We know there is going to be an attempt to liquidate you. You will ask us for help and it will not come. Be careful.'" (ibid.)

Arafat went even further in his assessment of all the Arab regimes and their relation to U.S. determination to destroy the P.L.O. and the Palestinian movement. He said:

"The Reagan administration was saying, in effect: 'We are grateful that you will not obstruct an Israeli invasion of Lebanon and we will reward you...when the P.L.O. has been destroyed.'" (ibid., p. 450)

Arafat now learned that his "Arab brothers" were not intending to help him—they were not even willing to supply him with anti-tank weapons to slow down the Israeli advance. Arafat chose then to meet with Brian Urquhart, under-secretary-general of the United Nations.

Arafat asked the U.N. under-secretary to give a message to Israel's leaders: It was as follows: "Please tell these stupid people in Jerusalem they will be sorry when I'm gone. I am the only one who can deliver the compromise to make the peace." (ibid.)

Israel invades Lebanon

The defense of Beirut against the 1982 Israeli siege was a heroic chapter on the order of the defense of Leningrad against Hitler's army during World War II.

Beirut was ringed by 500 Israeli tanks and subjected to saturation bombing and the cutting off of food, electricity, and water. No sooner, however, had the P.L.O. withdrawn from Beirut than the slaughter began. When the Israelis finished, the Syrians began. And when



"The Arab revolution will include in its embrace the new Jewish youth..."

the Syrians stopped, the Amal militia continued.

Throughout the siege of Beirut and the devastation of the Lebanese South, the Palestinian camps were laid to waste. Thirty thousand males—from children of eight to men of 80—were rounded up in concentration camps and subjected to sustained torture.

Meanwhile, the Voice of Palestine radio station was intact in Beirut. Yet no daily message went across the Arab East to be heard by the Arab masses with their transistor radios.

No appeal to the Arab nation was sounded, urging it to rise up and resist the rulers who colluded and lifted neither voice nor weapon in defense of the Palestinian people—but remained silent as an Arab capital was pulverized from the air with impunity. No appeal went out to the Lebanese masses to mobilize as partisans to defend the nation.

The leadership of the P.L.O. occupied itself with advancing one or another diplomatic plan and with seeking the support of the very regimes which have betrayed the Palestinian cause through the long years.

Self-activation of Palestinians

The Palestinian people, however, have shown a keen sense of the terrible inadequacy of the P.L.O. leadership's reliance upon the diplomacy and state power maneuverings of its historic enemies.

Within the Zionist state itself, some 70 percent of the settler population is comprised of Eastern or Sephardic Jews. Jews from Iraq, Morocco, or Yemen have the mores, manner, custom, and appearance of their Moslem and Christian brothers and sisters.

They suffer discrimination. They lack education, since free education ends in the ninth grade. The Ashkenazi, or European Jews, consist of workers, students, and intellectuals. There is nothing inevitable about their allegiance to Zionism.

The Palestinian revolution cries out for the self-activation of the Palestinian masses. Supporters the world over, prominent persons among them, stand ready to join in the Palestinian equivalent of the salt march of Gandhi.

In the post-1967 occupied territories, a Palestinian may not plant a tomato or eggplant without a military permit. They may not sink wells or repair their homes, or wear clothing bearing the colors of the national flag, or have cassettes in their homes with Palestinian songs.

On the 92 percent of the land of "Israel," administered for the state by the Jewish National Fund, to own it or work it one must prove some three generations of maternal Jewish descent.

The variety of occasions for internally supported defiance of outrageous edicts is manifold. Palestinian mass demonstrations—vast and non-violent, with distinguished international personalities present—could prepare the way for the unfolding of a movement analogous to that in South Africa or the United States of the 1960s.

A Palestinian revolutionary movement which calls out to the oppressed throughout the Arab East to begin the process of their own emancipation will find a response. For it is difficult to envisage the masses of Arabia observing with pleasure as Yasser Arafat or Khalid al Hassan consort with the Saudi King.

The future of the Palestinian revolution passes through the portals of the Arab revolution.

When a leadership from within Palestine emerges from the struggle, it will know how to employ its anti-Zionist brothers and sisters to address the settler populace with a vision of a democratic, non-racist Palestine for Jew and Moslem and Christian.

The Palestinian revolution will be non-sectarian. The first response to the mobilization of the Palestinian masses from among the most victimized of the settler population will be, "If they can do it, why can't we."

The second response is to look around for allies. This road to a revolutionary alternative to the Zionist state is as real as the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, who will not accept an apartheid state over a smaller rather than larger piece of territory.

Even if the Zionist state were anchored off the port of Haifa, it would be an excrescence and an outrage. For a state is but an instrument of coercion on behalf of a particular social order, and the Zionist social order is racist, ruthless, and predicated upon the dissolution of the organized existence of the Palestinian people.

A new generation

The politics of Fatah no longer correspond to the needs and perceptions of a new generation of Palestinians, however empathetic they may be to the lifelong sacrifice and dedication of the generation of Yasser Arafat, Khalid and Hani al Hassan, George Habash, or Nayef Hawatmeh [leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine].

Under the headline "A New-Breed Palestinian: Trouble for the Israelis," the fervor and devotion of the Palestinian people can be discerned:

"Student unrest is a recurring feature of political life...but nowhere so much as in the occupied West Bank... Violent demonstrations...are routine... Occupation authorities treat the campuses like powder kegs. But the universities are more than maelstroms of dissent; they have become training ground for a new breed of Palestinian leader, better educated and politically more sophisticated than the previous generation." (Newsweek, April 6, 1987)

The Newsweek article informs us that even the Israelis are impressed, calling the youth "bright, tough, high-grade individuals." A senior Israeli officer stated, "They've made our work more difficult."

There is now a "grass-root ferment that you won't find in the rest of the Arab world, where institutions are created on orders from above," says Newsweek.

What is particularly noteworthy is the critical intelligence and intellectual independence which inform Palestinian political life.

"Even students who say they follow Arafat denounce him for his byzantine politicking among Arab regimes. 'Arafat's face is the symbol of the Palestinian cause, which is supported by everybody,' says a 23-year-old West Bank student-council member, 'but Arafat's politics belong in the souk [bazaar]." (Newsweek)

The most significant sentiment, which augurs well for the Palestinian revolution, was made by the student-council member, Samir: "Our parents believed that the Palestinian problem would be resolved by somebody else, but...my generation knows that no one will do the job for us." (Newsweek)

This "new breed Palestinian" is changing the West Bank's intellectual climate. Book sales have doubled; newspapers are up 70 percent in the last five years.

"They pay much closer attention to facts," stated Radwan Abu Ayyash of the Palestinian Journalists' Guild. "We used to be a highly emotional society, and an Arab leader could raise our hopes just by making big promises. We've become more realistic." (Newsweek)

The distinguished scholar, Feisal Huseini, recently detained without trial or due process, declared to Newsweek:

"A new generation of Palestinians is only beginning the search for its own answers. These youngsters are completely different from their fathers, and they think nothing of the old Arab ideals. But they are sure about two things: They are determined to build a Palestinian state one day and they insist on making it a democracy."

This generation of Palestinians will replace a moribund, exclusionist social order with a humane and generous vision of what the Arab revolution can be.

It will reach across the Arab East and include in its embrace the new Palestinian Jewish youth, moved by the dedication and fervor of the people of Palestine, the world's soldiers for justice, to whom we all owe homage.

By HAYDEN PERRY

U.S. presses fight to deport Palestinians

The case of the Justice Department seeking the deportation of eight Palestinians was thrown out of court by one judge on May 8, while another judge condemned the action of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as "bordering on outrageous."

The seven men and one woman were arrested Jan. 26. They were charged with being members of a Marxist wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.). The INS invoked the McCarran Walters Act, which makes holding socialist ideas grounds for deportation. The government charged that the defendants possessed and distributed *Democratic Palestine* and *Al-Hadaf*, two pro-Palestinian magazines.

The case has aroused concern and protests around the country. An ad-hoc group, the Committee for Justice, has gone to court to test the constitutionality of the McCarthy-era McCarran Walters Act.

U.S. District Court Judge Stephen V. Wilson, who is hearing the case, said the issue is whether resident aliens had the same rights to free speech and other civil liberties all Americans have. "I view this as the most important case I have ever had," he declared as he set May 15 for a court hearing.

Meanwhile the Justice Department was in the court of Immigration Judge Ingrid K. Hrycenko, hoping to get the Palestinians railroaded out of the country. The suit against McCarran-Walters, however, forced them to change their line of attack. They dropped charges of "communism" against six of the Palestinians and accused them only of technical violations, such as



The Los Angeles deportation defendants: (top, left) Khader Hamide, Michel Shihadeh, Amjad Obeid; (bottom, left): Ayman Obeid, Aiad Barakat, Naim Sharif, Julie Mongai. Missing: Bashar Amer.

working while on student status and overstaying their visas. These charges can lead to deportation.

Two Palestinians, Khader Hamide and Michel Shihadeh, have permanent resident

status and cannot be deported on such technicalities. The McCarran Walters Act is still being used against them, but the specific accusation has been raised to "attempting to overthrow the government

through force and violence." These last-minute maneuvers angered Judge Hrycenko, who demanded that Gilbert Reeves, the INS official who signed the original deportation order, appear for questioning. Government attorneys said he was not available. At this point Judge Hrycenko halted the proceedings. "I will no longer tolerate any of these tactics," she declared. "All eight proceedings are through...terminated."

The case has been thrown out of Judge Hrycenko's court, but the government is still determined to deport the Palestinians. Failing to produce Reeves was a ploy to take the case out of Judge Hrycenko's hands. "The cases are very much alive," government attorneys said as they moved to refile their charges.

The INS wants to try each of the six defendants separately so that the issue can appear to be solely immigration-law violations. But the eight Palestinians were arrested as a group, and they want to be tried as a group.

Opposition is mounting to INS deportation policies in general and the victimization of the eight Palestinians in particular. The *Detroit Free News* on March 27 editorialized against "Arab-bashing at the INS." The *Los Angeles Times* on March 31 called for throwing out "that embarrassingly misguided law," the McCarran Walters Act.

A hard fight is still ahead. Letters of protest should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner of the INS, 425 "I" St. Washington, D.C. 20530. Contributions for the legal defense of the Palestinians can be sent to the Committee for Justice, 2440 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90026.

...S. Africa

(continued from page 1)

meeting of the rail union, killing three people. Police killed another three strikers in another incident the same day across town. At least 16,000 Black strikers were dismissed when they defied an ultimatum to return to work. They were replaced by white scabs.

The rail strike quickly became an issue on the country's college campuses. At Stellenbosch University—the alma mater of most of South Africa's cabinet ministers—white youths knocked a policeman down after he attempted to arrest a Black shop steward they had invited to address their meeting.

The recent wave of attacks by police and government-sponsored "vigilantes" has come in response to a powerful surge of trade-union militancy—combined with rent strikes in the Black townships and protest actions among students.

The months of January and February alone saw 750,000 strike days—a far higher

rate than in 1986 and more than the total for any one of the years 1980-84. Most strikes have been over wage issues. Price rises last year were the highest in 60 years, and COSATU has made the fight for a "living wage" its major priority.

Different election strategies

Over 1 million workers stayed away from their jobs on May 6-7 to protest the white election and to express solidarity with the striking rail workers. Some 500,000 students—both Black and white—boycotted their classes. The country's two major English-language universities closed their doors in support.

The mass-based United Democratic Front (UDF) joined COSATU in issuing the strike call. Black people were urged to rally around the slogan "Down with apartheid elections."

But the UDF appealed to white voters and politicians in less clear-cut terms. Instead of asking white people to boycott the minority-rule elections (as some anti-apartheid leaders did), the UDF asked them to "pressurize the National Party and its MP's into addressing the real problems of



this country."

The exiled leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) went a step further. On the day before the polling—breaking with their traditional characterization of whites-only elections as a "farce"—they called for a "vote against apartheid." The ANC left little doubt in its statement that it wanted whites to support either the Progressive Federal Party or the "enlightened" wing of the National Party.

But both the "Progs" and the "New Nats" represent sections of South African big business. Although both groups have expressed the wish to modify the worse aspects of apartheid policy, they refuse to support the Black demand of "one person, one vote."

Unlike the ANC and UDF, the Black and non-racial trade unions have displayed no inclination to appeal to "liberal" employers' groups. The unions affiliated with COSATU have continued to reaffirm their perspective for socialism. The other major union federation, CUSA/AZACTU, likewise points out, "Only the workers can set the workers free."

Free Moses Mayekiso!

Many of COSATU's top leaders have been jailed. Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, was recently charged with high treason for his role in organizing neighborhood committees. If found guilty, he could hang.

Yet despite harassment, arrests, and killings, COSATU has continued to grow in strength because of its democratic

structure and its adherence to class-struggle principles.

Another general strike is planned for June 16, the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. But the government will attempt to head off organizing efforts. Repression is certain to increase.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has called for an emergency worldwide defense campaign for the South African independent trade unions—as well as for all the anti-apartheid organizations under attack.

Trade union delegations must visit the country to cut through the blockade of information. The unions that are fighting and suffering repression must be helped financially. South African trade-unionists who travel abroad need to get the maximum hearing and support.

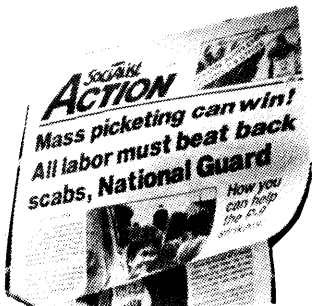
Messages in solidarity with the campaign to release Moses Mayekiso can be sent to MAWU, 6th floor, Angus mansions, 268 Jeppe Street, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

Messages of support to COSATU can be sent to P.O. Box 1019, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa.

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Gorbachev's reforms:

Where is the Soviet Union going today?



Gorbachev is on a campaign to spur production from workers who feel they should have more control.

By ALAN BENJAMIN

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's new *glasnost* campaign is generating significant changes within the Soviet Union.

Films which have been on the shelf for more than 15 years are being shown. Soviet theater has come alive with new plays challenging once-sacred cows. A number of Soviet dissidents are being freed from prison.

Even a play on the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty has been released, which for the first time portrays Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin, two of the early leaders of the Bolshevik Party murdered by Joseph Stalin. What is happening in the Soviet Union today?

Gorbachev represents the more lucid wing of the Soviet bureaucracy which recognizes the gravity of the economic and political crisis into which bureaucratic mismanagement has plunged the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev's answer to this crisis is what he calls "restructuring." It includes a campaign for greater labor discipline and against corruption, absenteeism, and alcoholism. Its aim is to increase the efficiency and productivity of the Soviet economy.

The restructuring campaign also includes a degree of political openness—or *glasnost*—which is geared at enlisting the support of the artistic and scientific intelligentsia, including the dissidents among them, for Gorbachev's reform program.

Gorbachev has called for a "revolution" to attempt to resolve the ills of Soviet society. But his goal is to preserve the bureaucratic system, not to overthrow it.

Much evidence could be cited to point out that Gorbachev's objective is to defend the bureaucratic dictatorship.

Gorbachev, for example, has stubbornly upheld the principle of the one-party system. A clear statement of this was presented on March 5, 1987, by Yegor Ligachev, a member of the ruling Politburo. In his statement, Ligachev attacked critics who demand more democracy than the party is willing to grant.

"So you see," Ligachev exclaimed, "they still cherish the hope of weakening our system by way of democratization and turning it into a channel of political pluralism. These are pipe dreams, to put it bluntly. Profound restructuring in no way signifies the break-up of our political system."

In other words, according to the Gorbachev reformers, there will be no

challenge to the single-party monopoly on political rule by the Soviet bureaucracy.

Limited release of dissidents

Equally revealing of the limits of Gorbachev's "democratization" is the manner in which political prisoners are being released.

On Feb. 14, the Soviet daily *Izvestia* announced the liberation of 140 political prisoners who, according to the newspaper, had "agreed not to pursue any further anti-Soviet activities."

(The number of current political prisoners is estimated in the thousands.)

The day after this newspaper article

psychiatric wards have been released. Moreover, the worker dissidents who had attempted in 1978 to organize an independent trade union (the SMOT) are also still behind bars or in special psychiatric wards. They include Oleg Alifanov, Vladimir Khlebanov, Alexander Skobov, and Vladimir Sytinski.

The liberation of *all* political prisoners is the demand that is being raised by the opposition movement in the Soviet Union.

Increasing labor discipline

The overall goal of Gorbachev's policy is to make the workers work harder and better. For this, various capitalist market

"Up until now, plant closures and layoffs in the Soviet Union were unheard of."

appeared, various underground papers quoted a number of the 140 political prisoners, who stated that they had never signed any statement repudiating their past activity or offering to hide their views in the future.

A week later, the Soviet bureaucracy announced, without explanation, that some of the dissidents whose release had been announced—Yossif Begun, Anatoli Koryagin and others—would not be released. Immediately these dissidents announced a hunger strike.

Meanwhile, in Moscow, a march was organized to demand Begun's freedom. Within a couple of days, the Soviet bureaucracy gave into the demands and released Begun and the others.

But even those who are being released have no guarantee that they will be permanently freed. A letter from the wife of Pavel Protzenko illustrates this problem:

"My husband was released from prison on Feb. 4, 1987," she writes, "but his file was not closed. In fact, the state still has charges pending against him. It is clear that he will be arrested once again as soon as political life resumes its normal course."

According to the underground Soviet press, none of the prisoners in the special-regime detention camps or the special

mechanisms are being introduced that will allow enterprises to fire workers.

On March 27, 1987, for example, the Soviet press agency TASS reported on the first plant closure in the Soviet Union resulting from the new bankruptcy law.

This plant, a construction plant near Leningrad, went under, according to TASS, because it was unable to "change its mode of operation."

Two thousand workers were laid off. According to the new law, all factories that are not profitable, i.e., that are operating at a loss and have had to be subsidized by the state, will be allowed to go bankrupt.

Up until now, plant closures and layoffs in the Soviet Union were unheard of.

It is estimated that about 13 percent of the country's factories ran a deficit in 1986.

The new law stipulates that the laid-off workers will obtain the wage of an average Soviet worker for three months (200 rubles). Those who cannot find a job in the same branch of industry will be "recycled," i.e., retrained for another job.

A week before the law was approved, a well-known Soviet economist, Vladimir Kostakov, wrote an article in *Kommunist*, the ideological journal of the Communist Party, in which he estimated that the

economic "modernization" program could result in the loss of between 13 million and 19 million jobs within the next ten years.

Kostakov also warned that the service sector and other industrial branches might not be able to absorb the large numbers of unemployed manual workers. "We are already experiencing difficulties with reemployment of the released work force," Kostakov stated.

The example of Hungary

To illustrate the extent to which the Stalinist bureaucracy is making concessions to the imperialists, it is instructive to glance at the Hungarian economy.

Hungary is a country which Gorbachev has pointed to as an example to follow. It offers us a look at what the Soviet Union might look like a few years down the road.

Since 1968, Hungary has been slowly moving toward a less centralized market-oriented economy. Free enterprise flourishes among small firms. The size limitation on these firms was recently raised. State-owned firms have the right to go bankrupt.

The Hungarian Development Bank has introduced interest-bearing industrial bonds to help companies raise capital from foreign investors. An active bond market now exists.

Capitalist economists say they expect the Budapest Stock Exchange, which closed in 1946, to reopen within five years after the Hungarians enact monetary and tax reforms.

In a *New York Times* op-ed article in June 1986, Thomas H. Naylor, a professor of business administration at Duke University, wrote the following about the Hungarian example:

"The Soviet Union seems eager to emulate parts of the Hungarian experience... Soviet managers of the new breed are pragmatic, nonideological and ambitious. Those who have sampled Western-style consumerism... seem to like it. Indeed, their value systems seem to be close to those of the American 'yuppies.'

"But these are precisely the kinds of incentives that have energized Hungarian economic reforms and will be required to activate the incentives on which the Gorbachev reforms are based."

Up a downward escalator

But have the new reforms "energized" the Hungarian economy, as Naylor states?

This is how *The Economist* of London described the Hungarian situation:

"To the casual visitor, perhaps even to Gorbachev, who visited there in June 1986, Hungary seems to be flourishing... Downtown Budapest [has] an impressive gloss.

"There Hungarians can buy Western newspapers and clothes by Benetton and Pierre Cardin. Smart restaurants compete with fast-food outlets....

"But outward prosperity is only part of the story. Real wages are no higher today than they were 10 years ago. Living in Hungary, says one Hungarian, is like being on a downward escalator: It is still possible to go up, for those who can work after-hours in the legal 'second' economy or the illegal 'third' one. But with an inflation rate of at least 7 percent in recent years, it has been all too possible to slide downward."

The Economist magazine does not give a full picture of the problem. A letter from a Hungarian dissident written in late 1986 gives a much better idea of the extent of the attacks on the Hungarian working class. He writes:

"Hungary has long been considered the showcase of the new reform movement of Eastern Europe....

"But in Hungary the working and living conditions of the workers worsen with each passing day. The prices of consumer goods keep rising—despite official government promises to the contrary—while wages remain the same... The level of inflation is now over 10 percent and is expected to be even higher in 1987.

"From the time Hungary joined the International Monetary Fund, the situation has not stopped deteriorating....

"The 'miracle of the Hungarian economy,' as it was commonly hailed during the 1970s, is nothing but a dream. A series of historic gains of the Hungarian working class are being attacked: Government

(continued on page 13)



Togliatti auto plant: Worker-management teams are based on production incentives and efficiency.

(continued from page 12)

funding for housing, health care, education, transportation, and culture is being gradually reduced, with workers having to pay more and more for these basic services out of their own pockets. The shortage of housing is becoming particularly acute.

"With the policy of closing non-productive factories, unemployment has now officially appeared. Layoffs are now commonplace.

"And those who are reemployed elsewhere are often recycled into a new position or skill with a much lower wage. Certain ideologues have, in fact, explained that unemployment is not contradictory with socialism.

"The large majority of Hungarian workers are forced to work overtime—or, more common, to take a second job in what is called the 'second economy.' Moreover, in this 'liberal reform' atmosphere, the polarization of society is being taken to the extreme, with the appearance of a small layer of people who are literally millionaires. These are people who did not earn their income through their work, but by contraband and official theft.

"The policy of 'economic openness to the West' has signified, in practice, that Hungary has had to implement a series of austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund—and hence has had to confront the working class in order to pay back the bankers and the capitalists in the West."

Policies meet strong resistance

Indeed, Hungary is a perfect example of what Leon Trotsky meant when he said that the Stalinist bureaucracy acts as the transmission belt of imperialism within the workers' states, undermining the gains of the planned economy.

But the resistance to the bureaucracy's attacks on the workers has been resolute.

On March 15, 3000 people marched in the streets of Budapest in a commemoration of the defeated Hungarian revolution of 1848—in opposition and open defiance of the official government celebration. The demands of the demonstrators were expressed by Gyorgy Gado, who stated: "Hungarian democracy will be reborn. For that, we will need freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press."

Another demand raised by the demonstrators was the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, a promise which was made 30 years ago and still has not been kept.

This is how a Hungarian dissident described the march in an open letter published in France in mid-April:

"Dear friends,
"This year's March 15 commemoration represents an event of great significance...

"This year, the workers who have been laid off as a result of the economic reforms of the past five years, the youth, and all layers of the population who have been hard hit by the increased cost of living, protested openly in the streets for four days. They carried with them the ideals of 1848

and of the revolution of the workers' councils of 1956."

The new dissident movement

A new dissident movement is also appearing today in the Soviet Union itself.

According to the *Soviet-American Review*, a magazine published in Chicago by Alexander Amerisov, "A new wave of Soviet dissent is in the making. The new dissident agenda is much more radical than those of the last two decades. This generation of dissidents calls for unconditional abolition of the one-party state.... They are again studying Marx, Lenin, and all other theoreticians of society and revolution.

"The new dissent, despite its infancy, is already a fairly potent force. We know of a

number of cases where people close to Gorbachev have argued that unless reform occurs soon, he can expect further radicalization. Unlike previous dissidents, who were largely separated from ordinary people, the new dissidents are not isolated and are prepared to work closely with the workers."

This view is corroborated by a Soviet dissident, Yuri Orlov, a Soviet physicist who was imprisoned in Siberia for many years for his intransigent opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy. He was released in October 1986 and now lives in the United States.

In an interview with Alexander Ginsberg published in the French-language dissident magazine, *La Pensée Russe*, Orlov states that the opposition movement in the

Soviet Union has begun to understand the need to turn its attention to the working class—to the task of organizing and seeking support from the international

"In Hungary... an active bond market already exists."

workers' movement. He states:

"The next stage of the opposition movement will be among the workers, among the common people... While in the camps, I met people who had constituted a 'Communist Party of another type.'"

When asked about the attitudes of the workers and common people in the Soviet Union today, Orlov replied:

"The common people are ready to listen to people who criticize the economy, the policies of the Soviet leadership... But what they will not accept—what they condemn—is that people resort to the Western press to issue these criticisms.

"I am certain that no bourgeois-type party will have any popularity among the Soviet workers."

Ginsberg then asked: "On what political line can an authentic opposition movement develop inside the Soviet Union?"

Orlov's answer: "In the Soviet Union today, capitalism is impossible, in particular because the return to capitalism would be a national humiliation... I am convinced that what would be most suited to the Soviet Union would be socialist democracy, with all the freedoms." ■

Trotsky revived... and reviled



Leon Trotsky, founder and organizer of the Red Army, reviews troops during May Day, 1920.

A revealing example of the limits of Soviet leader Gorbachev's *glasnost*—openness—campaign is the manner in which Leon Trotsky is being revived in the Soviet Union.

Trotsky was the founder of the Soviet Red Army. Along with Vladimir Lenin, he was one of the central leaders of the Russian Revolution.

Undoubtedly, the mere fact that the Soviet bureaucracy must acknowledge Trotsky's existence is a hammer-blow to a regime which has hidden and distorted the legacy of this revolutionary leader.

Trotsky, it must be remembered, is not even listed in the official Soviet encyclopedia. The only listing is for "Trotskyism," which is described as a set of "renegade" politics.

But though Trotsky is now acknowledged to have existed, his portrayal is straight out of the caricatures and slanders of the Stalinist epoch.

In the play, "The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk," by Mikhail Shatrov—a play written in 1962 but only recently released—Trotsky is depicted as arguing for the policy of waging a revolutionary war against Germany in opposition to Lenin, who argued for signing the humiliating peace treaty. This policy was that of Bukharin and the majority of the Bolshevik Party. (Lenin was in a

small minority.)

But this was never Trotsky's position—though Stalin persisted in attributing it to him. In his autobiography, "My Life," this is what Trotsky says:

"It was obvious that going on with the war was impossible. On this point, there was not even a shadow of disagreement between Lenin and me. We were both equally bewildered at Bukharin and other apostles of 'revolutionary war.'"

Trotsky held a middle position between Lenin and Bukharin; a position of "no war, no peace."

Shatrov then goes on to echo another Stalinist slander against Trotsky when in his play he has Trotsky promise to sign the peace treaty, but then refuse to do so. He has Lenin condemn Trotsky as a traitor.

The truth is far different. Trotsky was still not convinced of Lenin's position. This was a legitimate political difference among revolutionists. But in deference to Lenin he agreed to abstain in a crucial Central Committee vote of the Bolshevik Party, knowing full well that his abstention meant that Lenin's position in favor of signing the peace treaty would win.

This is how Trotsky explained his vote:

"I was very skeptical about the possibility of securing peace even at the price of complete capitulation. But Lenin decided to try the capitulation idea to the utmost. Since he had no majority in the Central Committee, and the decision depended on my vote, I abstained from voting to ensure for him the majority of one vote. I stated this explicitly when I explained my reasons for not voting."

Gorbachev seems to be intent on rehabilitating Nikolai Bukharin, whose economic views more closely parallel his own. In order to do this, however, Gorbachev must deal with the early history of the Bolshevik Party, and for that he can't ignore Trotsky.

But Gorbachev must know that to have Trotsky appear on a Moscow stage—even though most Soviet workers don't go to the theater—is to play with fire. All that he can allow, therefore, is a revived Trotsky—but one who is presented in a Stalinist, slanderous manner.

Trotsky will be restored to his rightful place as one of the great leaders of the world revolutionary movement. But this will be the task of the Soviet workers, who will rediscover Trotsky's legacy in the struggle against all wings of the ruling bureaucracy.—A.B.

Right-wing book-burners attack right to education

views be banished from the classroom?

Orwellian logic

A federal judge in Alabama has come to the rescue of the fundamentalists. On March 4, in a remarkable application of Orwellian logic and newspeak, Judge Brevard Hand ruled secular humanism to be a religion. Humanists are therefore guilty of spreading religious ideas in the schools in violation of the constitution.

Ironically, Judge Hand's ruling was the outcome of a suit brought by some Alabama parents against the introduction of prayers in the state's schools. The parents won that case. But Judge Hand, who claimed the Supreme Court had held humanism to be a religion, made these parents defendants in a new suit brought by fundamentalists.

Since Judge Hand's mind was already made up, he could rule without being confused by facts. Those who opposed religious dogma in schools were themselves pushing religion!

Over 40 textbooks containing ideas fundamentalists found objectionable were ordered removed from all Alabama classrooms. They include texts on home economics, history, and social studies. Only a stay of execution by a higher court saved Alabama students from losing their textbooks in the middle of the semester.

This sweeping book-banning order was ordered solely on the fundamentalists' assertion that certain passages offended their religious beliefs. Among such concepts banished from Alabama schools is the passage in a home economics book which stated, "Nothing is 'meant to be.' You are the designer of your life. If you want something you can plan and work for it."

After Judge Hand's ruling, an attorney for the fundamentalists said, "This is exactly what we have been asking for. We are overjoyed."

Throwback to Inquisition

Not overjoyed, but astounded, is the reaction of legal experts who have branded Judge Hand's ruling as "bizarre" and "far out." Bruce Fein, a conservative constitutional scholar, said, "If we accept the notion that the regular school curriculum teaches religion, one would have to revamp every school curriculum in the country."

Judge Hand's decision is likely to be reversed on appeal, but this alone will not reverse the drive of the religious right to dominate America's schools. In an alliance with the political right, the religious right intends to buttress the rule of the capitalist class by instituting a regime of thought-control extending from kindergarten through college, to every phase of American life.

The possibility of censorship in the schools is a serious chink in the armor of democracy. There is no danger in offering our youth too many ideas. In the course of open discussion, in the long run, truth will prevail.

No one would deny anyone the right to hold any religious belief and to proselytize in a free and open forum. But forcing the views of any sect on our school children is not religious freedom, but a throwback to the days of religious tyranny and the Inquisition.

rejected by Texas has less chance of sales elsewhere.

It is often uneconomic to print revised editions for other states. So Texas standards are often imposed on the rest of the nation. What these standards are was indicated by a sales representative of a major publisher. He said, "When you are publishing a book, if there is something controversial, it's better to take it out."

Science texts get the closest scrutiny. The sections on evolution are the particular target. Although evolution is an accepted fact in most of the world, the fundamentalists have their doubts. They want creationism, a literal interpretation of the Biblical version of creation, taught instead. At the least, they demand that evolution be offered only as an unproven theory.

Putting profits before integrity, major textbook publishers such as Doubleday and Macmillan have watered down their presentation of evolution.

They have dropped the name of Charles Darwin, and sometimes dropped the word "evolution." Or they have referred to it as an "assumption," "hypothesis," or "thought-provoking idea"—instead of as an established scientific principle. In other cases the publisher has put coverage of evolution at the back of the book so teachers may ignore it or say "They did not get to it."

Secular humanism

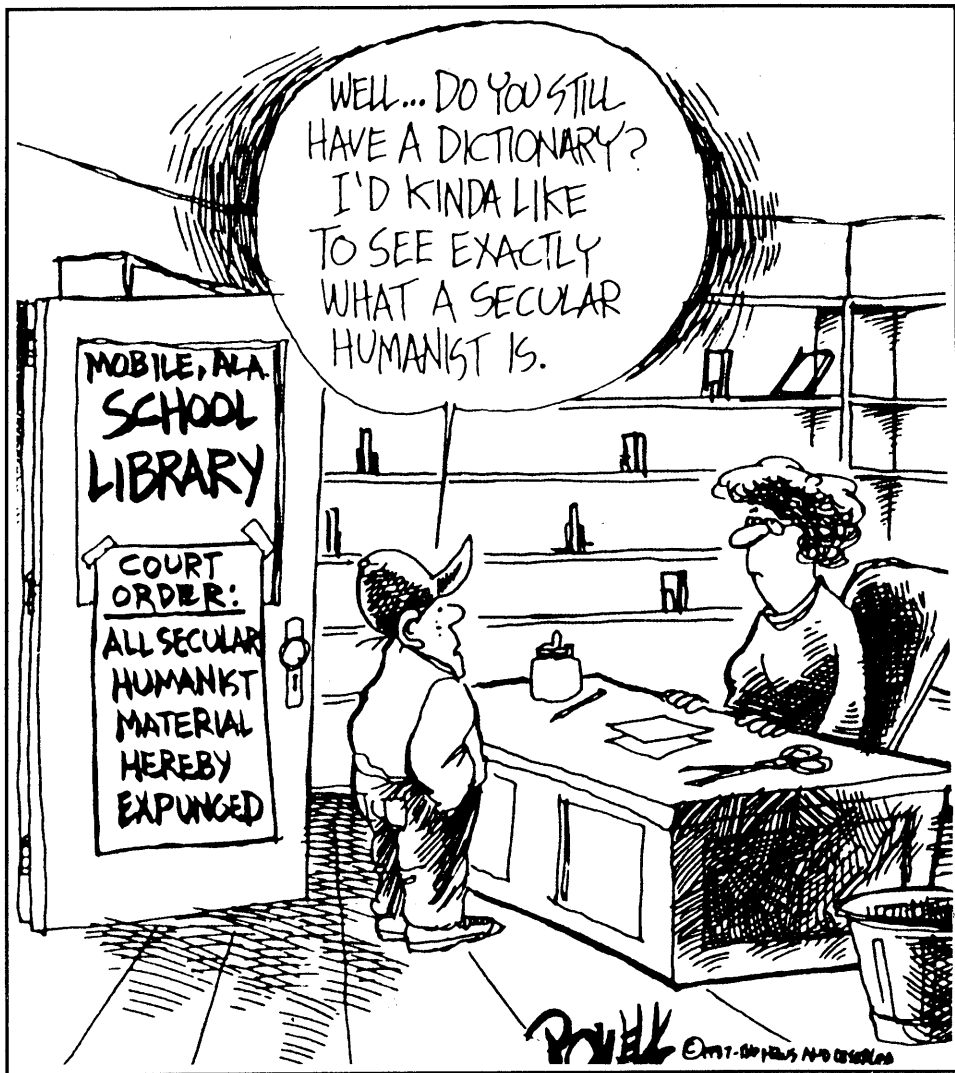
Partial success with science textbooks has emboldened the fundamentalists to launch the most sweeping attack on America's schools. The enemy they see in the classrooms is secular humanism.

Humanists have a long and honorable tradition in Western thought. A 1973 document called "Humanist Manifesto II" presented the essence of humanist belief: "As nontheists, we begin with humans not God, nature not deity... We affirm that moral values derive their source from human experience. Ethics is autonomous and situational, needing no theological or ideological sanction."

This creed is anathema to fundamentalists, who have pejoratively identified their enemy as "secular" humanists. This term puts the godless humanists far outside the religious community—for the dictionary defines secular as "Concerned with worldly or nonreligious things."

To further identify the enemy, the fundamentalists have drawn up a list of some 40 terms used by humanists. Among them are such expressions as academic freedom, human growth, parenting, world view, and self-understanding.

This sweeping characterization presents the fundamentalists with a problem. Many people do not see anything wrong with academic freedom or self-understanding. So how can such "Satanic" secular humanist



By HAYDEN PERRY

While dedicated teachers are opening their students' eyes to the wonderful world of books, self-appointed censors and book-burners are pulling books out of classrooms and libraries.

From Alabama to Anchorage, Alaska, school boards are being harassed and pressured by individuals and groups who demand the right to decide what students may or may not read.

Their objection to a book may be based on deep religious conviction or quite ridiculous grounds. In Anchorage, the American Heritage Dictionary was taken out of schools in 1983. A group called People for Better Education objected to the inclusion of such "obscene" words as bed, ball, tail, and nut, among others.

The majority of censors are fundamentalist Christians, members of the Religious Right. They are not frivolous in their attack on our right to read. They are determined to force their theology into America's schools.

They showed their intent in Warsaw, Ind., in 1984. Here the target of their wrath was a textbook, "Value Clarification," which advised students to examine, develop, and affirm their own values.

The Religious Right, who believe that

all values are immutable and determined for us by God, condemned the book as the work of Satan. After a fierce campaign that split the community, "Value Clarification" was banned from Warsaw's schools. The fundamentalists celebrated their victory by burning 40 copies of the offending book in a public ceremony.

Pressure on publishers

Local campaigns create a lot of animosity and adverse publicity, while affecting the schools of only a single community. The Religious Right has therefore found it more effective to put pressure at the point of production—in the offices of the textbook publishers.

The economics of textbook publishing gives the censors a powerful lever. Together with California, Texas buys more school books than any other section of the country. Texas buys books for the entire state school system after acceptance by a review board.

For years the Texas board has been dominated by Norma and Mel Gabler, staunch supporters of the Religious Right. Little that is offensive to the Moral Majority has slipped by these vigilant fundamentalists. The Gablers have wielded inordinate power because a textbook that is

Vietnam vet is candidate for mayor of S.F.

By CARL FINAMORE

Joseph Ryan is the Socialist Action candidate for mayor of San Francisco. He is a Vietnam vet, union activist, and staff writer for *Socialist Action* newspaper. Ryan will be challenging the Democratic Party machine which has run San Francisco for decades.

In the past, Socialist Action candidates have received over 10,000 votes in city elections.

San Francisco is considered a very liberal town. But what is going on in this city is not much different from what is going on in the rest of the country.

The strength of unions in this city has been seriously eroded by a series of broken strikes. Expensive condominiums and housing units have displaced Black and

working-class families, who are being driven out of the city. Latino and Asian families, who are forced to pay high rents for substandard dwellings, often have to cram several families into one apartment.

Almost 2000 people have died from AIDS in San Francisco. The city already has twice the per-capita concentration of AIDS victims than New York City. Medical authorities estimate that more than one-half the gay male population carries the virus. There aren't enough hospital beds to handle the crisis.

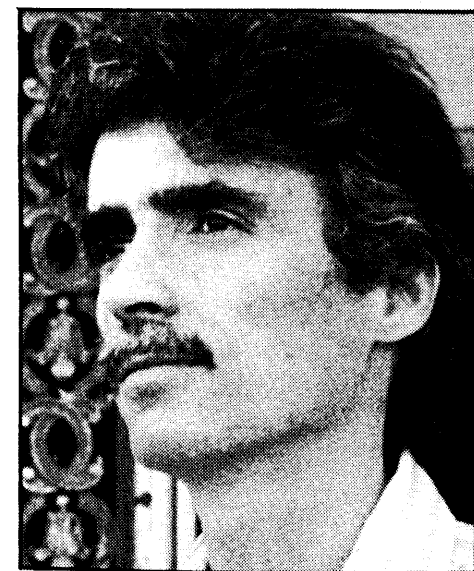
Yet, city politicians have voted to pay for the homeporting of the battleship U.S.S. Missouri. They also continue to give tax breaks to the corporations. Education, medical care, and housing take second place to the profits of the giant

corporations headquartered in San Francisco.

"I support labor strikes, antiwar demonstrations, and anti-deportation picket lines as examples of the kind of independent political actions which are needed to break the grip of the rich in this city," Ryan said.

"Out of these struggles," Ryan continued, "a genuine party of working people—a labor party based on the unions and the organizations of the oppressed—would emerge as an alternative to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties."

Supporters of the campaign will be petitioning during the summer to obtain ballot status. T-shirts and posters will be produced to help raise money. Speaking engagements are being solicited. And a campaign kick-off rally is planned for



Joseph Ryan

Friday, June 26, 8 p.m., at 3435 Army St, Room 308, in San Francisco.

Attacks escalate on education funding

By GRETCHEN MACKLER

There has been a great deal of talk about educational reform these days. But upon closer examination of the classrooms and faculty rooms it is clear that little has changed. In fact, things have gotten much worse.

The classroom teacher is still facing large classes and threatened layoffs. Salaries have not improved, and vital educational programs are facing cutbacks.

In California, the crisis in education is most dramatic. After 15 months of testimony, a statewide 17-member commission recommended 27 items that needed improvement. The most important of these were improved teachers' salaries, smaller classes, and more special and administrative support.

Yet despite these recommendations, California Gov. George Deukmejian recently vetoed an emergency bill which would have provided a 10-percent increase in school funds. Without these extra funds this is what will happen:

- an increase in class size;
- a base-revenue cut equivalent to 5 percent for half of the state's school districts;
- an \$18 million loss to Los Angeles schools;
- a \$2.9 million loss to San Francisco schools;
- a \$2.6 million loss to Oakland schools.

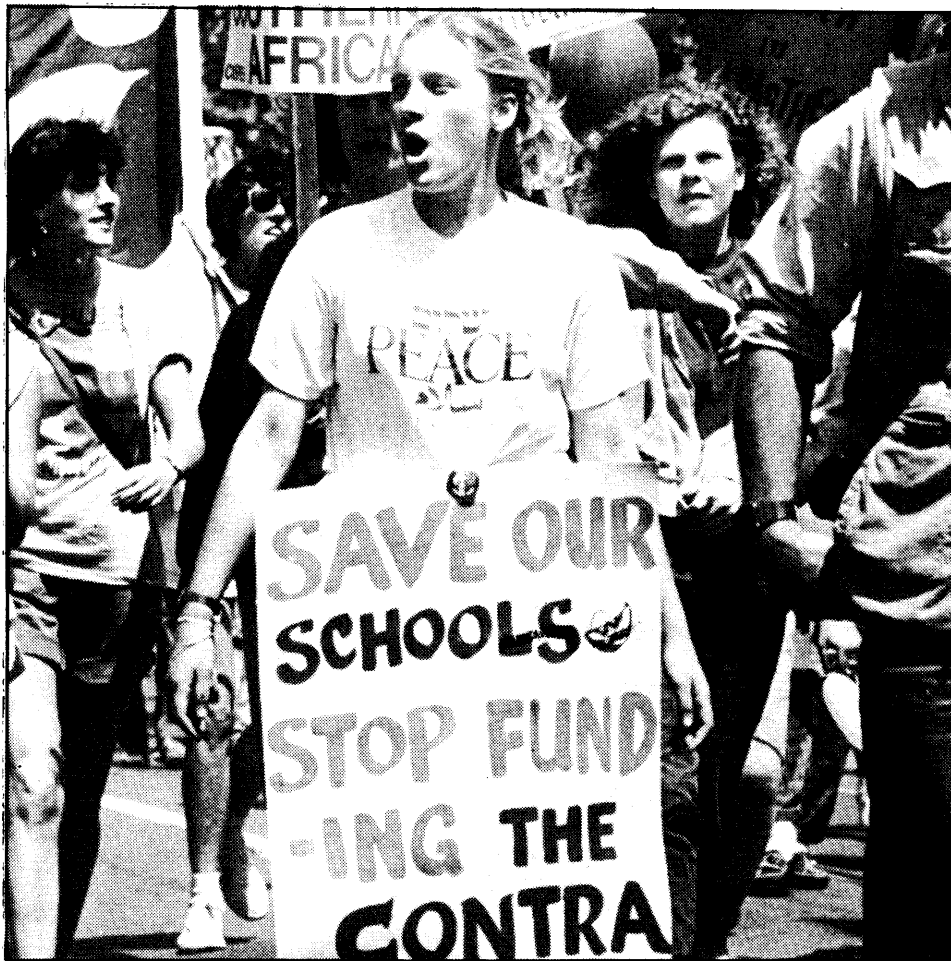
In starving California schools, Deukmejian is following the lead of the Reagan administration. Secretary of Education William Bennett has declared that, "More money does not make better schools. We have pretty well established this one in research."

Bennett does not say where his "research" has been conducted. Obviously not at the University of California's Department of Education. They have predicted an increase of 100,000 students in California in 1987 and a need for 80,000 new teachers in the next five years.

Class size

Did Bennett's research include the correlation between money for education and class size? Professor Michael Kirsh from Stanford's Policy Analysis for California Education, an independent research organization, has stated, "When you get above 30 students in a classroom, you begin to lose effectiveness."

Any classroom teacher could have told us



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

that, but it helps to have their every-day experience confirmed by research. Middle- and high-school teachers have five and six classes a day consisting of 30-plus students. This means a total number of between 150 students and 190 students a day.

Does anyone seriously believe that real education is taking place in such overcrowded conditions? When is there time to allow individual participation in classroom discussions? When is there time to correct papers?

Let's take a closer look at our student population. What do they need to achieve an adequate education? Statistics are staggering.

In California, close to half-a-million students are limited in English speaking. The national figures indicate over 15 percent of the total student population does not speak English.

Bilingual programs under attack

What these students are facing is a double battle—the lack of smaller classes to help

them become proficient in English and the lack of special programs in their native languages.

The English Only initiative, which is going on the ballot in New York and Texas and has already passed in California, is legitimizing anti-immigrant sentiments fueled by the ruling class of this country.

Long-standing bilingual programs, which are recognized as valuable by the teaching profession, are on the cutting block. The dropout rate for Hispanic students is close to 40 percent. Loss of bilingual programs will boost this rate still further.

Teachers still underpaid

While students fail to get an adequate education, teachers fail to get an adequate wage. The average salary of the starting teacher in the continental United States is \$15,548—far less than starting salaries in other professions.

It is this low starting wage for a college graduate that is driving away potential teachers. College graduates are going elsewhere, where the economic rewards are greater.

In spite of the predicted teacher shortage, the Reagan administration is proposing large cutbacks in the system of economic support to college students. Secretary of Education Bennett is proposing a 46-percent reduction in student financial-aid programs and a 30-percent cut in grants for low income students.

A proposed new loan plan would charge regular market interest rates. The rate of repayment would be set at a percentage of the graduate's income after entering the job market. Taking low income jobs would result in a longer repayment period and more interest paid.

A starting teacher making under \$20,000, for example, would have to pay nearly 15 percent of his or her income each year until the loan is paid. It is clear this plan would discourage working-class students from entering college. This would affect the number of teacher candidates and penalize those who choose to become teachers.

Gambling for education

A recent gimmick developed in California to offset declining school income is state-run public gambling. Started in 1985 as a means of partially financing the schools, the lottery produced \$272 million in revenue in the first year. The next year profits declined to \$171 million.

The lottery has made only an insignificant contribution to California school finances, or about 2.5 percent of the total school budget. It is estimated that it would take an additional \$1 billion to reduce California's class size by one student. To raise salaries and restore programs even more money is needed.

Unfortunately the lottery has tended to create the illusion that the schools' money problems have been solved. Actually the schools receive only 34 percent of the sales revenue; the rest going for administration and jackpots.

This money comes out of the pockets of those least able to pay. Surveys show that the poorest workers, grabbing at any chance to get out of poverty, buy the majority of lottery tickets.

What is needed

Our schools must not be financed by pennies from the poor, but by levies on the rich. Corporations, insurance companies, and other enterprises should bear the cost of school financing. They make their profits from the labor of the educated workers produced by the schools. They should pay for their education.

Parents and teachers, together with students, are organizing meetings throughout the state. Already 5000 people have marched in Sacramento, Calif., with their message: "Stop cutting school funds." A rally of over 1500 took place in San Francisco in May with the same message. More meetings and rallies are projected. ■

New book indicts U.S. education system

By MILLIE GONZALEZ

Illiterate America, by Jonathan Kozol, Anchor Press, Doubleday 1985, \$15.95, 270 pp.

"We want one class of persons to have, a liberal education, and we want another class of persons, a very much larger class, of necessity, in every society, to forego the privileges of a liberal education and fit themselves to perform specific difficult manual tasks. You cannot train them for both... You must make a selection."—Woodrow Wilson, January 1909

Jonathan Kozol's latest book, "Illiterate America," offers harrowing statistics on the plight of illiteracy in the United States. He is the author of the book "Death at an Early Age," which documented the failure of education in the Boston school system in the early 1960s. The book caused an uproar. Twenty-four years later "Illiterate America" has done the same.

In the past, the U.S. Department of Education and the Bureau of the Census gauged illiteracy by the results of

questionnaires. This method wasn't very precise since there were no actual figures to go on. And the few studies that did exist did little more than establish "simple literacy." A more in-depth study was needed.

In 1973, the University of Texas, under the direction of Dr. Novell Northcutt, conducted a study on Adult Performance Level (APL).

Using Dr. Northcutt's standards, the U.S. Office of Education calculated during the early 1970s that 57 million Americans did not have the skills required to perform most basic tasks. Twenty-three million didn't have the skills to perform at all, while the remaining 34 million had marginal skills.

All in all, the number of functionally illiterate people in the United States add up to 60 million—well over one third of the adult population.

The largest number of illiterate adults are white, native-born Americans. In proportion to population, however, the figures are higher for Blacks and Hispanics than for whites.

Sixteen percent of white adults, 44 percent of Blacks, and 56 percent of Hispanic citizens are functionally or marginally illiterate. Forty-seven percent of Black 17-

year-olds are functionally illiterate. (That figure is expected to climb to 50 percent by 1990.)

Fifteen percent of recent graduates of urban high schools read at less than sixth-grade level. One million teenage children between 12 and 17 cannot read above the third-grade level. The list is endless.

What is to be done?

Most of Kozol's book takes up the question of what is to be done.

In contrast to his biting expose of the failure of American education, Kozol's proposals to eradicate the problem are disappointing. One proposal cited is to create a volunteer corps of students and senior citizens who help teach illiterates to read.

Cuba and Nicaragua have done this with great success. But the virtual eradication of illiteracy took place simultaneously with the revolutionary transformation of their societies.

Kozol offers essentially band-aid-type solutions to a problem that is deeply embedded in capitalist society. As long as we have a capitalist society that places profits before human needs, illiteracy will never be eradicated.

What is needed is a restructuring of the economy which would provide funding for education. We need to make education a national priority.

Federal funding for education can be raised by taxing the corporate profiteers, the banks, and the rich—and by using the \$289-billion war budget for education and other social services. ■

AIDS research must put people before profits!

By MAY MAY GONG

"We must begin to see AIDS as the greatest natural tragedy in human history," says Harvard biologist Stephen Jay Gould.

By the time science finds a cure for AIDS, Gould warns, it may already have run its course through the world's population, killing a quarter of us. Over one billion people could lose their lives.

Some health officials estimate that there are now 1.5 million to 4 million people nationwide infected with the AIDS virus. Of these, at least two-thirds will actually develop AIDS and, in all likelihood, die. Meanwhile the testing of new drugs for AIDS proceeds at a snail's pace.

The one drug which researchers say holds the most hope for asymptomatic people—that is, people who carry the AIDS virus but are still healthy—is AZT, also known by the brand name Retrovir.

Extremely toxic in high doses, AZT in lower doses in healthy AIDS carriers may be able to hold the virus dormant without causing side effects. But AZT today is still reserved for those who are considered terminally ill with AIDS or AIDS-related complex (ARC). Researchers say widespread use of AZT is at least three years away.

Drug companies reap profits

In the last six months, at least half a dozen drug companies have held press conferences to announce they were "seeking FDA permission to do clinical studies" on the effectiveness of certain drugs against AIDS. Besides raising false hopes among AIDS victims, these press conferences accomplish nothing except to raise the price of the company's stock.

Last fall at the first national conference on AIDS and profits, it was stated, "An effective vaccine would bring \$1.6 billion back to the maker—and we aren't even talking about the heterosexual population."

The real race among the drug corporations then is not so much to simply find a quick, one-time cure for AIDS. If all AIDS victims could be cured so quickly and easily, there would no longer be a market for future AIDS products.

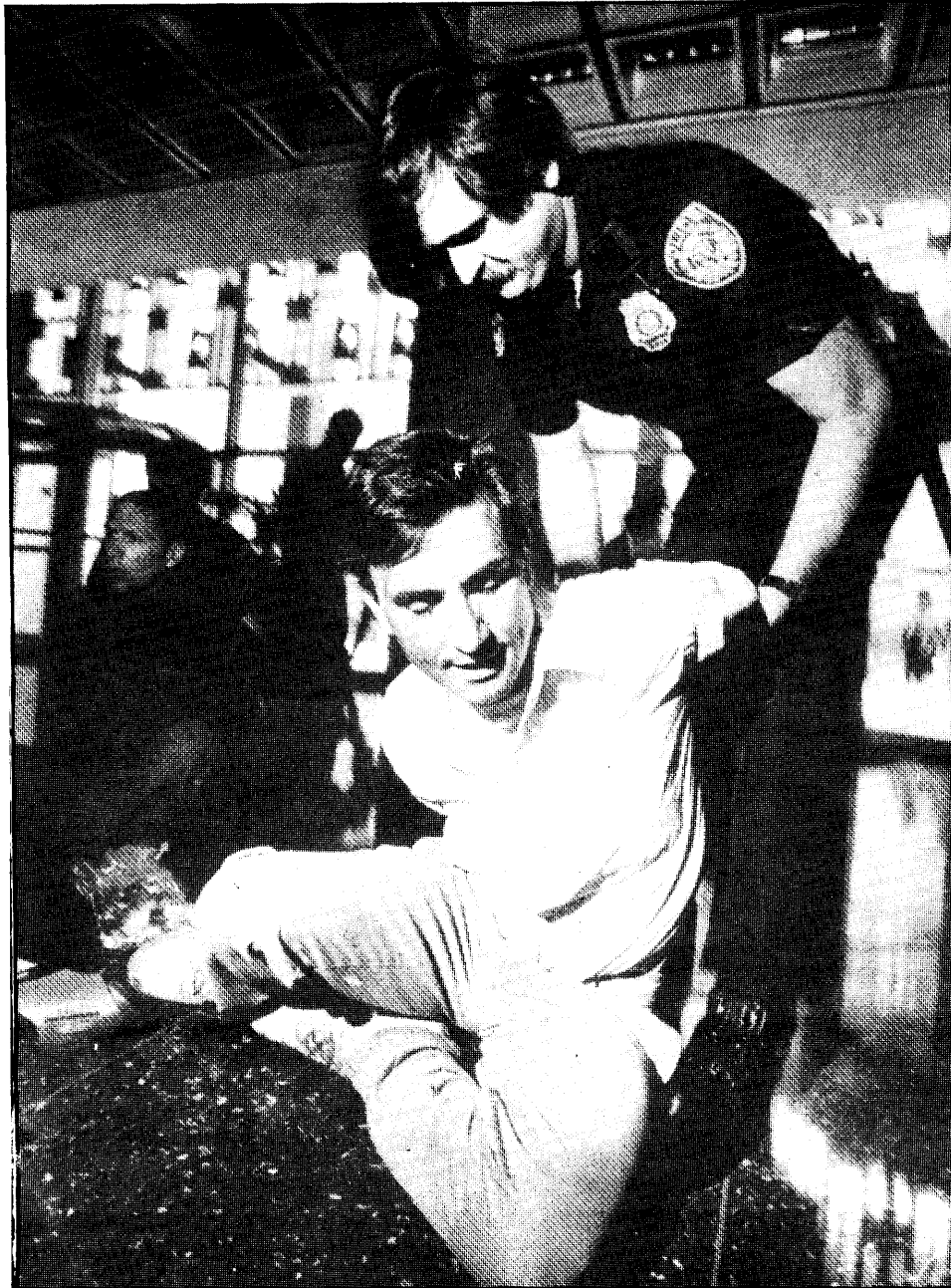
Where the real money will be made, the big profit, is when researchers discover a drug that must be taken not once but continually—once a day or once a week—for the patient's lifetime. It would be a life-prolonging therapy rather than a curative therapy.

Only then will there be a guaranteed steady market for such products. AZT, for instance, is expected to cost \$10,000 per year per patient—making it the most expensive prescription drug in history. As it stands now, it's "very likely," scientists say, that an infected person will have to stay on the drug for life.

Withhold insurance coverage

In the United States, caring for an AIDS patient typically costs about \$35,000 a year or \$70,000 from first diagnosis to death. Thus, most patients become paupers. According to federal authorities, about 40 percent of all AIDS patients will have neither the means nor insurance to pay for their treatment.

Benjamin Schatz, an attorney and founder of National Gay Rights Advocates, says he has received hundreds of calls from insurance policy holders who charge that they are unable to get their AIDS claims paid. Insurance companies will look for any loophole to avoid payment, often focusing on any signs of an illness that could be



Gay activist arrested in San Francisco during protest of federal Jobs Corps policy requiring mandatory AIDS testing

labeled a "preexisting condition" of AIDS.

Insurance companies that refuse to pay on claims are "betting that people will die before they have a chance to litigate," Schatz says. "The lifespan of an AIDS patient is shorter than the life of a lawsuit."

According to a recent survey cited by *The Wall Street Journal*, a majority of the 26 largest health- and life-insurance companies make use of questionable or even illegal methods to deny coverage to "potential" AIDS victims.

The insurance industry often refuses to write policies for single men and for men designating male friends as beneficiaries. Whole neighborhoods with large gay populations are "redlined."

About half of all insurance companies try to require AIDS antibody tests for individual health and life policies—at times defying the law, which prohibits the practice in most states. Confirmation of a positive test usually means they will deny coverage.

In a recent survey by the American Council of Life Insurers and the Health Insurance Association of America, 91 percent of companies said they consider an AIDS-infected applicant "uninsurable" at any price.

Benjamin Schatz points out that AIDS antibody tests risk a breach of confidentiality that can cost insurance applicants their jobs and homes.

According to the *Village Voice*, the Justice Department has sought to allow employers to fire workers with AIDS or the AIDS virus. Presumably, the government

and employers could attempt to subpoena the results of AIDS antibody tests in order to victimize gays and militant workers.

Mandatory testing urged

Surgeon General C. Everett Koop has stated that mandatory testing for AIDS would only hinder the task of educating the public. People who might test positive would be driven underground.

But despite Koop's opinion, several government agencies—backed by President Reagan—are already moving toward mandatory testing. Immigration officials have said they are considering adoption of AIDS testing for about 3.9 million "illegal aliens" applying for amnesty as well as for all future immigrants to the United States.

The Department of Labor, which

oversees the Job Corps program, has implemented a mandatory testing policy for its minority youth residents. Thirty states are considering mandatory testing in order to get a marriage license. Utah has already passed a law prohibiting anyone with AIDS from getting married.

More and more businesses are beginning to make an AIDS blood test part of the requirements for employment. But these policies ignore the findings of medical researchers which have revealed that existing methods are not accurate enough to justify widespread screening programs.

Writing in the journal "Law, Medicine, and Health Care," researchers at Harvard University reported last month that the most widely used AIDS test produces about two false negatives and 220 false positives for every 100,000 low-risk people tested. Such inaccuracy could falsely reassure high-risk people, the researchers pointed out, and actually increase the spread of the virus.

The zeal for mandatory AIDS testing far exceeds the campaign for sex education in our schools. Education Secretary William Bennett, for example, argues that only abstinence from sexual activity should be taught in schools. Bennett's policy will serve to keep young people—and the public in general—uninformed and therefore highly vulnerable to AIDS infection.

"Biggest moneymaker ever"

Wall Street, as usual, has put the whole AIDS issue into proper perspective: "If proposals to give AIDS tests to all pregnant women and everyone being admitted to a hospital or applying for a marriage license are enacted, the market for tests...could more than double," analysts said.

Genetic Systems Corporation of Seattle has said "the market for AIDS testing alone is worth \$100 million a year." The AIDS test could be its biggest moneymaker ever, company executives announced.

Such is the tragedy of the AIDS epidemic. AIDS victims are unable to afford over-priced medical treatments. At the same time they are unable to get any health or life insurance. They have been left at the mercy of a system that places corporate profits before human needs.

The drive for mandatory AIDS testing must be halted while information on safe sex and AIDS is dispersed in our schools and throughout the general community.

The billions of tax dollars this government squanders on a military arsenal that is capable of destroying our world hundreds of times over must be re-routed and put into AIDS research, education, and free medical care. These basic human needs are our right.

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