

A Socialist ACTION



**Hands off
Panama!**

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APRIL 1988

Vol. 6, No. 4

50 CENTS

Nicaragua cease-fire: Is the war really over?

By ALAN BENJAMIN

MANAGUA—After the 60-day cease-fire agreement between the Sandinista government and the contras was signed in the border town of Sapoa last March 23, the CIA-funded daily *La Prensa* and the right-wing internal opposition bloc of 14 political parties were quick to hail the accord.

The pro-contra internal front pointed out that the Sandinistas were forced to make concessions which gave the contras their main objective—keeping their troops armed in the field while at the same time allowing contra representatives to enter political talks with the Sandinistas and the internal political opposition.

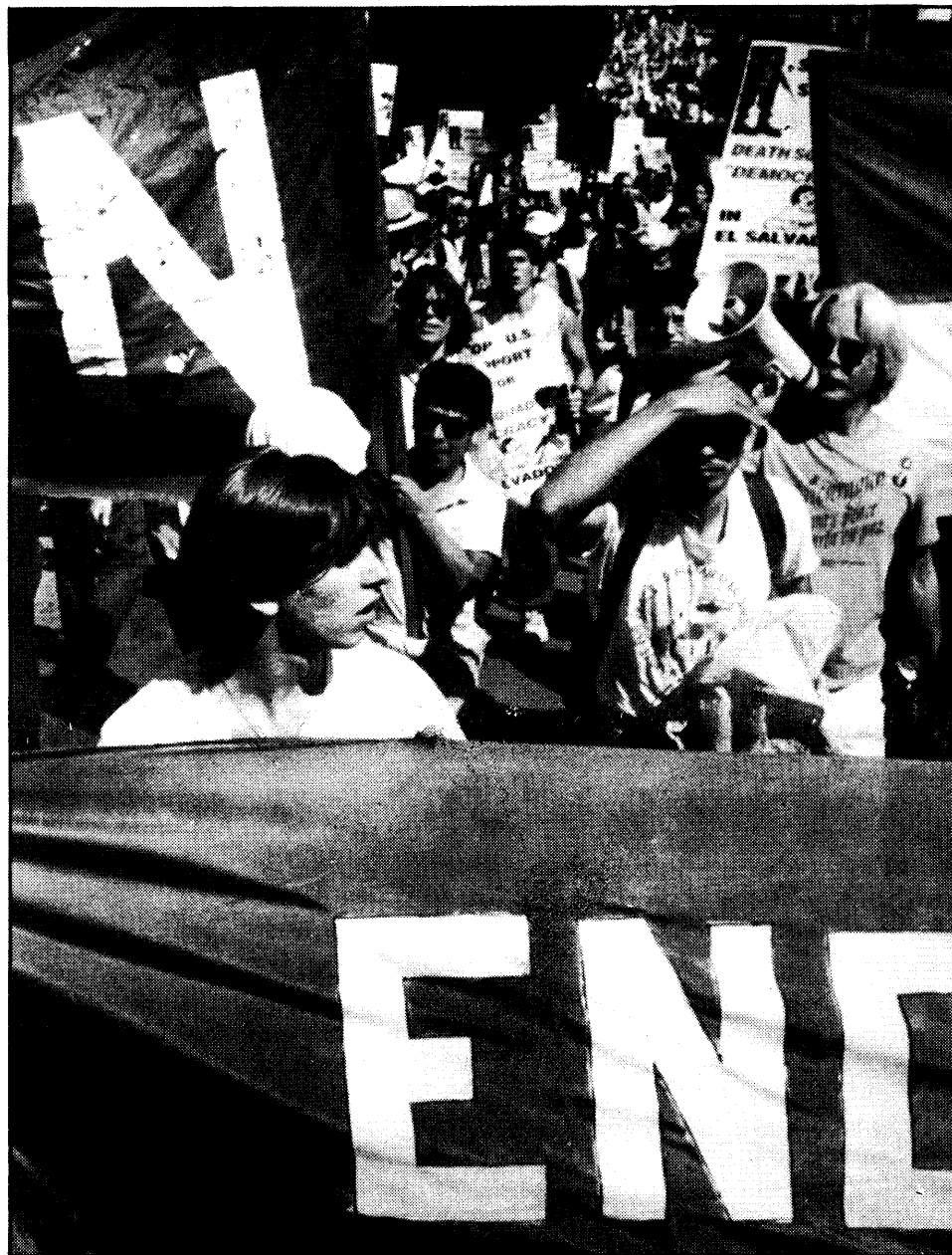
Prior to the Sapoa agreement, the Sandinistas had vowed they would not talk to the contras or allow them to return to Nicaragua until they had put down all their weapons and agreed to end their dirty war against the Nicaraguan people.

The new accord, however, allows the contras—arms in hand—to press the Sandinistas for political concessions in the framework of a "national dialogue" scheduled to begin April 6.

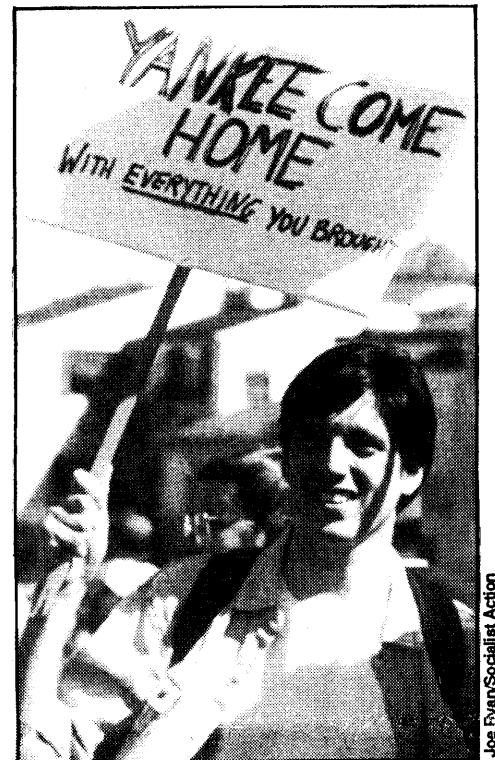
"If the Nicaraguan Resistance [i.e., contras] does not feel the Sandinistas have met the demands for democratization stipulated in the Esquipulas II Accords," contra leader Adolfo Calero told *La Prensa*, "the Sapoa agreement will be nullified and we will be ready to fight again. If they do comply, then we have won our goal of democratizing Nicaragua."

The contras' chief military negotiator with the Sandinistas, Comandante Fernando, put it similarly: "We are not going to lay down our arms until Nicaragua has a democracy. The Nicaraguan people don't

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The response to U.S. troops in Honduras was swift: March 26 in San Francisco



Joe Flynn/Socialist Action

Antiwar mov't must not be demobilized

By CARL FINAMORE

In mid-March, a Nicaraguan military offensive captured the world's attention. In a matter of hours, the U.S.-funded contras were in total retreat. Less than 2000 Sandinista troops sent the main complement of mercenary forces inside Nicaragua running back to Honduras.

"It was like the battle of Bull Run," said a congressional source. "The contras just broke and ran in disarray."

It's not that the contras didn't have supplies. They were stocked with guns, ammunition, mortars, and even Redeye missiles. "They just didn't have the will," a congressional defense expert told *Newsweek*.

It was another devastating political setback for the contras, who hadn't yet recovered from the damage caused by the Iran/Contragate scandal. The defeat of two back-to-back aid requests promoted by Democratic and Republican leaders in Congress only served to spotlight their problems.

The U.S. airlifts troops

Suddenly, on March 16, the United States airlifted 3200 troops into Honduras to stop "the invasion of Honduras by Sandinista troops." Major press reports openly described the airlift as a transparent attempt to gain support for contra aid and to divert attention from the federal grand jury indictments of Lt. Col. Oliver North and other Contragate figures.

Other commentators predicted that the U.S. troops would "come back in their skivvies," leaving behind millions of (continued on page 3)

Israel's isolation increases as Palestinian revolt grows

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

On his arrival in Washington to meet Secretary of State George Shultz last month, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir characterized the Palestinian uprising as "a war against the existence of the state of Israel."

Within a week of this declaration, the Israeli government admitted to the arrest of 2000 people, bringing the acknowledged total to 4000. The real figure is far higher.

A Palestinian professor informed me by telephone from Amman, Jordan, that the number detained by the weekend of March 27 had exceeded 13,000.

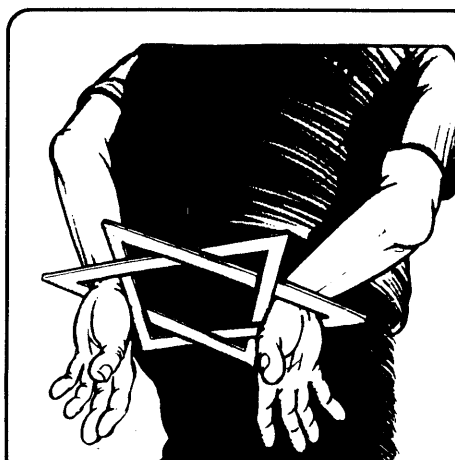
Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a placed the total held solely in a hastily constructed barbed-wire encampment at Dahariah at 10,000. Israeli lawyer Leah Tsemel informed the *Los Angeles Times* "that at least seven new detention centers have been

set aside for Palestinians picked up in connection with the unrest."

The Israeli onslaught has been savage.

Met wherever they go by an outpouring of masses of protesting villagers, Israeli army

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**Struggle for a
Democratic
and
Secular
Palestine**

See supplement
pp. 7-11.

Fight back!

Let's care for all our children!



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

There is a major crisis in this country! A crisis borne by the children of this country every day of their young lives. It is the crisis of childcare.

There are now 10.5 million children under the age of six who are cared for by people other than their parents. By 1996, two-thirds of all pre-school children and four out of five school children will have both parents in the work force.

The vast majority of these children are cared for by underpaid, overworked, ill-prepared caretakers in private homes—which often are fearfully inadequate and unsafe facilities. There are not enough investigators to cover even the licensed daycare homes, let alone the unlicensed ones. What care there is is expensive and takes a large chunk out of the parents' income.

We have been assaulted with assorted "childcare plans." Corporate childcare, family-day

private home care, group co-op childcare, and so on. All of these forms of childcare will not provide quality childcare. In fact, there are numerous studies which have shown that these are usually cheap. "Kentucky-fried children" childcare.

At the present time, there is a childcare measure being nursed through Congress which would provide \$2.5 billion toward programs that already exist. This miserly-stingy bill is called the Act for Better Child Care (ABC).

This bill would start up a national infrastructure for daycare based on what the states are already doing. Of the money, 75 percent would be targeted to help moderate and low-income families pay for childcare. Another 15 percent would go to training providers, setting up standards, and trying to keep people in the profession. The final 10 percent would go to administrative costs.

Star Wars' cost

Although I support the ABC bill, I'd like to point out that \$2.5 billion dollars is just a spit in the ocean as far as the needs of parents and children are concerned. Let's just look and see what the government is willing to waste on its "Star Wars Program..."

In a letter to the syndicated columnist Ann Landers, a reader wrote in to explain what a trillion dollars really represents. He says: "If you were to count a trillion \$1 dollar bills, one per second, 24 hours a day, it would take 32 years."



And he goes on: "Or to put it differently, it has been figured that with \$1 trillion you could buy a \$100,000 house for every family in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Iowa. Then you could put a \$10,000 car in each one of those houses."

"There would be enough left to build 10 million-dollar libraries and 10 million-dollar hospitals for 250 cities in those states. There would be enough left over to build 10 million-dollar schools for 500 communities."

But there is more: "And there would still be enough left to put in the bank and, from the interest

inside the public-school system, with early childhood developmental programs geared to the alone, pay 10,000 nurses and teachers, plus give a \$5000 bonus for every family in those states."

He concludes, "Worth noting: President Reagan's fanciful Strategic Defense Initiative, the Star Wars anti-missile scheme, carries a price tag of \$3 trillion."

Public schools

Now you know why \$2.5 billion for child-care is a spit in the ocean. We know what is really needed. Childcare should be

needs of each child.

We should simply lower the school age of all children, regardless of their parents income, to two years of age.

We already have the public-school system upon which to build an excellent program for first-class educational childcare to meet the needs of all parents and all of our children. And a childcare program was developed by the American Federation of Teachers back in 1974.

We have the teachers, many of them unable to work at their profession and forced to become clerks and office workers because this government (which includes both political parties) refuses to spend the money for adequately educating our children.

What we need to do—parents, teachers, labor, and students—is to demand that the government scrap the "Star Wars" plan—along with the entire military budget—and use that money for human needs.

This will take a massive movement. But we have the numbers and the ability to do just this. In the past, we were able to fight and win public schools, unemployment insurance, social security, trade-union rights, and women's suffrage. We were able to end child labor in the mines, mills, and sweat shops of this land; end Southern Jim Crow Laws; and were even able to stop the Vietnam War.

So it can be done. If the human race is to endure, we must fight for all our children and all our children's children. ■

By RICK MITTS

Several meetings have taken place in recent weeks at the University of Cincinnati protesting the school administration's severe restrictions on demonstrations and other political activities on campus.

On Feb. 25, Students for Socialist Action sponsored an open forum titled "Free Speech at the University of Cincinnati." We reprint below excerpts from a speech that Socialist Action member Rick Mitts gave to the forum.

The schools and universities are community resources and should be open to all points of view. However, while great emphasis is placed on teaching skills that will satisfy the needs of employers, very little effort is made to develop informed, critical-minded citizens.

Everyone is taught two things about this society which are drilled into our heads throughout high school. One is that the profit system, euphemistically dubbed "free enterprise," is the best and highest form of economic social organization. The second is that the two-party system of the United States is politically superior to all others.

What you're not taught, however, is how to think critically.

'Schools must be open to every point of view'

I remember listening to a combination football coach and government teacher (he had a Marine-style haircut that I'll always remember) fulminate against Karl Marx and the Communist Manifesto.

I asked him during the discussion, since the Communist Manifesto was obviously so flawed and awful, if it wouldn't be good for the class to read it themselves. Without hesitating, this "teacher" instantly demanded that I get on the floor and do 20 pushups as punishment for my apparent impertinence.

Court upholds censorship

Since those days, students have become less willing to submit to such summary punishments for the crime of free thought. And so, the courts have had to act as bulwarks in defense of the controlled environment inside the high schools. On Jan. 13, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public-school officials have broad powers to censor school newspapers, plays, and other "expressive activities."

Students who escape high school without having their minds sufficiently dulled and trained to stay within the limits of safe thinking are regarded as dangerous. They are watched by the political police with suspicion.

A particularly odious example of this is an FBI program called the Library Awareness Program. The way this works is that college librarians are requested by the FBI to report to it the names of students who check out books by Karl Marx and other radical writers. I don't know if those who agree to do this dirty work get paid as government informers or not.

The head of the FBI, William Sessions, recently admitted that the agency had been spying on the Committee In Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights, which exposed the FBI "probe" into CISPES, says that information it has uncovered through the Freedom of Information Act reveals that the investigation "covered hundreds of groups and individuals who were engaged in activities protected and encouraged by the U.S. Constitution."

"The price of freedom"

The point of my remarks is simply that the exercise of democratic freedoms is a threat to the tiny minority of people who have the wealth and power in our society. Since the days of the first American Revolution, they have acted accordingly.

The failure of the government to act on the basis of the popular will on such issues as putting an end to aid to the contras in Nicaragua reflects the fact that the large corporations control society through their two-party political monopoly.

Throughout American history, only social struggle has led to reforms, such as

extended voting rights. And only social struggle will protect and advance our basic rights today. One of the ideas of the French Revolution (that the early American ruling class felt compelled to suppress) is that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

What should be considered at the University of Cincinnati is the immediate formation of a broad-based ad-hoc committee that can discuss and implement a campaign to win a reversal of administrative policies that violate First Amendment rights. On that basis, the university can move forward as a recognized bastion of open, free, and critical thought. ■

SWP suit—Victory for all of us

A victory that will hearten every supporter of civil liberties was won by the Socialist Workers Party in federal court last month. After 15 years of litigation, the U.S. government has accepted a court ruling that it illegally spied on and harassed the SWP. The party was awarded \$264,000 in damages.

While the government will undoubtedly find ways to continue harassing antiwar, labor, and civil-rights groups, this victory forms an important basis for fighting government spying and intimidation.



Closing date: March 31, 1988

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Socialist Action (ISSN 0747-4237) is published monthly for \$6 per year by Socialist Action Publishing Association, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Second-class postage is paid at San Francisco, Calif.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

RATES: For one year (12 issues)—U.S. 2nd Class: \$6, 1st Class: \$9; Canada and Mexico 2nd Class: \$9, 1st Class: \$12; All other countries 2nd Class: \$12, 1st Class: \$24. (Canada money orders or checks should be in U.S. dollars.)

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Socialist Action. These are expressed in editorials.

By AMANDA CHAPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Seven major anti-intervention protests in 11 days climaxed here with a march and rally on March 26. It was the country's largest demonstration against the airlifting of U.S. troops to Honduras.

Activists in the Bay Area's Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice are hopeful that last month's strong outpouring of protest will continue—culminating in a mass march and rally planned for April 30.

The March 26 event was part of a National Day of Emergency Protests to End The U.S. War in Central America, which was organized around the demands: Bring U.S. Troops Home from Honduras; End U.S. Support for the Death Squad Government in El Salvador; and No Contra Aid.

Protesters assembled at the San Francisco City Hall and marched past the U.S. Army Presidio military base to a rally of about 8000 people on the nearby Marina Green.

Two of the speakers at the rally were co-chairs of the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice: Albert V. Lannon, president, ILWU Local 6; and John George, a member of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors and the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement.

The march was sponsored by three national organizations, the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the Nicaragua Information Center, and the Pledge of Resistance, in conjunction with the major local coalition, the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

Organizers of the March 26 demonstration, although enthusiastic about the turnout, had originally expected more people to participate. The press's praise of the Nicaraguan cease-fire accord probably lulled many potential protesters into thinking that the war is ending.

Support for April 30

The Mobilization, however, will continue to energetically build the April 30 march and rally, which has been planned since December 1987. The demonstration has been called around the demands: No U.S. Intervention in Central America; End U.S. Support for South African Apartheid; Freeze and Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race; and Jobs and Justice, Not War.

The march will go through San Francisco's predominantly Hispanic neighborhood, the Mission District, and will have a lot of Afro-Latin musical groups, dancers from the Carnaval Latino Festival, and a large contingent of farmworkers participating in the march.

A special train will bring protesters up from San Jose. Busloads will come from

Momentum grows for April 30 demo

Salt Lake City, and carpools are being organized from San Diego and Sacramento. New endorsements come in from peace, labor, and community groups every day. The Northern California District Council of the Service Employees International Union recently endorsed and donated \$500 to the

Mobilization.

The Mobilization has had regular working-committee meetings to organize fund-raising, publicity, logistics and recruitment of volunteers as well as other aspects of the Mobilization's work.

It's crucially important to build on the

Joe Ryan/Socialist Action



Over 8000 antiwar activists—mostly young people—demonstrated in San Francisco on March 26 to protest the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras.

momentum against U.S. intervention that has been built in the last week. Unfortunately, U.S. imperialism still has many options left—especially if the antiwar movement believes that "peace is at hand."

That is why the Mobilization has distributed over 100,000 leaflets, including Spanish-language leaflets, and leaflets addressing the concerns of the labor movement, the homeless, and AIDS patients. T-shirts and buttons have also been produced to help raise money for the demonstration and to build this important march and rally. To contact the Mobilization, telephone (415) 626-8053.

... Antiwar

(continued from page 1)

dollars of military supplies for the contras. The military escalation prompted immediate protests in 200 U.S. cities. The largest emergency actions occurred in Boston and San Francisco, where 7000 demonstrated in each city just three days after the airlift of troops.

Nonetheless, the anti-intervention movement was caught off guard. With few exceptions, local protests were not very large. There was no effective national coordination because there was no nationally authoritative coalition in existence.

Effects of Arias peace plan

A number of false assumptions contributed to the demobilization of the movement over the last several months.

First, many activists believed that an end to the war was just around the corner. Serious illusions exist in the Arias peace plan. It is not generally recognized that Costa Rican President Oscar Arias continually places demands on the Nicaraguan government which reflect contra objectives.

Arias has, for example, demanded that the Sandinistas separate control of the army from the government. What government in the world would tolerate such a suggestion?

Second, some major national anti-intervention organizations further confused the situation by relying on Democratic Party liberals to bring peace to Central America. Amazingly, several major national anti-intervention organizations supported a recent \$30 million "humanitarian" contra-aid package proposed by House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Texas).

The lack of an authoritative coalition that could call mass-based nationwide anti-intervention protests makes the movement more dependent on this dead-end strategy.

Cease-fire poses new challenge

The cease-fire agreement signed on March 23 between the government of Nicaragua and the contras is a desperate move by the Sandinistas to gain a respite from the devastating impact of the U.S.-funded war.

But the terms of the truce continue in the tradition of the Arias peace plan which, itself, has been used to extract more concessions from the Sandinistas. The contras will, for example, be able to keep all their weapons, be given safe haven inside sections of Nicaragua, and be permitted to receive "humanitarian" supplies all through the 60-day truce period.

The contras will never voluntarily give up their weapons because they realize that the gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution can not be reversed by talk alone.

In fact, the terms of the agreement are extremely generous to the contras and pose serious dangers to the Nicaraguan Revolution. [See accompanying article by Alan Benjamin on page 1.]

Nonetheless, Paul Reichler, a U.S. lawyer and negotiator representing the Nicaraguan government, called the agreement "a virtual end to the war." This theme was repeated in the capitalist press. False euphoria can only create more political confusion among anti-intervention activists.

Effective anti-intervention protests can only be organized if activists fully grasp the nature of the "peace" maneuvers aimed at reversing the social gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The anti-intervention movement should prepare itself for more serious attacks against Nicaragua. ■

Chicago rejects Guard in C. America

By GREG GIBBS

CHICAGO—By a two to one margin (289,000 to 141,628), Chicago voters passed a non-binding referendum opposing the use of the Illinois National Guard in Central America. The referendum was initiated and organized by the National Guard Out of Central America Coalition, an alliance of local peace, antiwar, and solidarity groups.

Aldermen Jesus Garcia and Danny Davis sponsored the resolution in the Chicago City Council, which led to the referendum being on the ballot.

Six Illinois National Guard units have been involved in road construction in Honduras—ostensibly to ease travel to markets for peasants, but also easing travel for military vehicles. Illinois Governor Jim Thompson sent the Guard to Central America at Reagan's request. Legally, the president is the ultimate authority with regard to deployment of the National Guard, which explains why the federal government has given the Illinois National Guard over \$566 million in new equipment and arms—not exactly the needs of a local militia.

Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich, who refused to send the Minnesota National Guard to Central America (but did send the Guard to Austin, Minn. to break the P-9 strike against Hormel), is currently in court challenging the president's authority over the Guard.

The Chicago press virtually ignored the issue, stressing the referendum's advisory nature. The *Chicago Sun-Times* ran a vicious editorial claiming that—on this issue—people's advice wasn't needed. As the 3200 American GIs sent to Honduras can tell you: people's advice on either this issue or the issue of contra aid has never been heeded by the bipartisan consensus for war in Central America. ■

SPECIAL EVENTS THIS MONTH:

BOSTON

FANEUIL Hall Speak-Out:
End U.S. War in C. America
with: S. Brian Willson, John C. Ryan, David MacMichael, and other speakers
Sat. April 9, 1:00-4:00 p.m.
Sponsored by CASA, Veterans for Peace, and others

SAN FRANCISCO

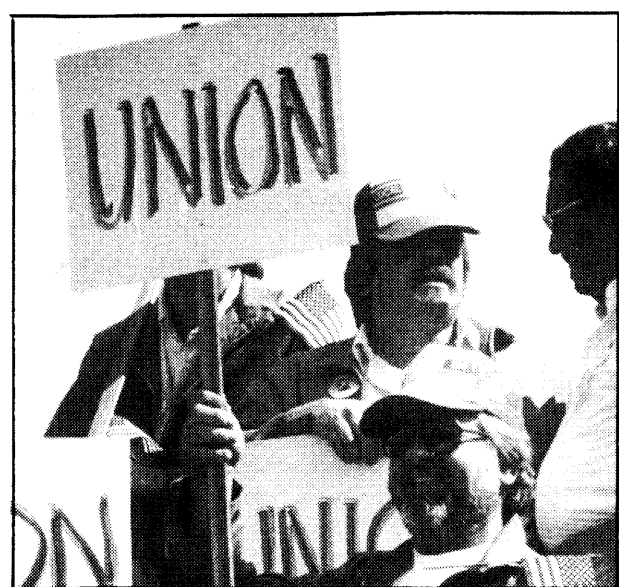
Hear: ERNEST MANDEL
'The World Economy after the Stock Market Crash'
Wed. April 13, 7:30 p.m.
New College of California
777 Valencia (bet. 18th & 19th Sts.)
Sponsored by Socialist Action and New College of California

BOSTON

Socialist Action East Coast Educational Conference:
'The Dynamics of World Revolution'
Three classes on Political Revolution in Workers' States, Permanent Revolution in the Developing Countries, and Prospects for Socialism in the U.S.
Sat. April 23, 12 p.m. — 5 p.m.
For more info, call: 617-497-0230



Photos by Joe Ryan/Socialist Action



Bay Area unions mobilize to protest scab steel mill

By JOE RYAN

PITTSBURG, Calif.—Shouting "scabs go home!" and "we shall not be moved!" over 15,000 union members marched to the main gate of the USX-POSCO steel plant here on March 19 to protest the hiring of non-union labor for a gigantic reconstruction project. The demonstration was the largest action ever in Contra Costa County labor history.

USX-POSCO Industries is a joint venture between the USX Steel Corp. and Pohang Steel of South Korea to complete a \$350 million modernization project on the Pittsburg U.S. Steel mill—once the main employer in this working-class city.

All the construction work is being done by the non-union BE & K Construction Co.—an Alabama-based outfit that pays its workers well below union scale.

Over the last decade, the building trades have been increasingly pushed out of new construction projects by non-union contractors, who now feel emboldened to challenge this once-impregnable union stronghold. The USX-POSCO project is the latest expression of this war

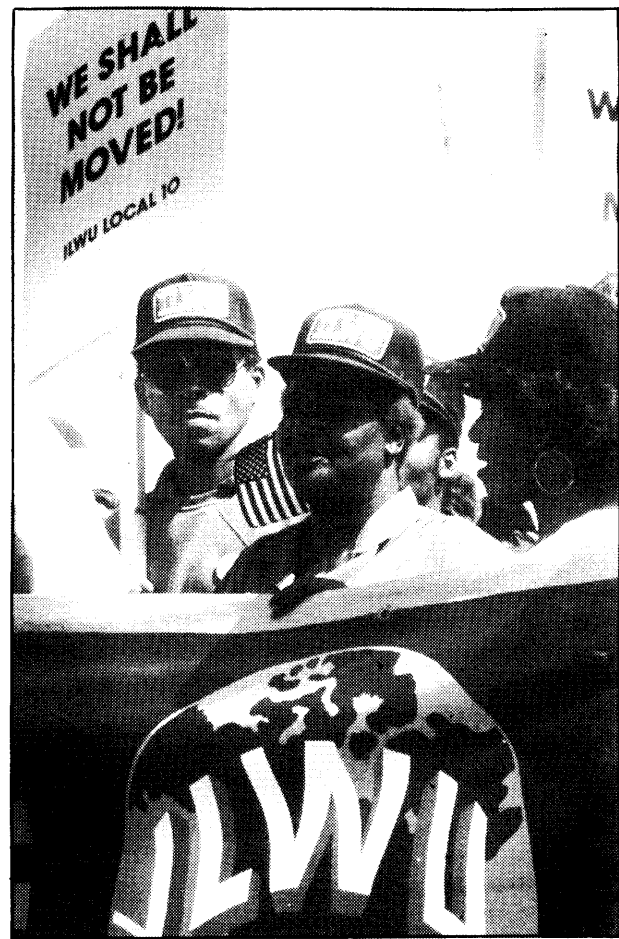
against workers.

The march was spearheaded by the Bay Area building trades unions. Thousands of construction workers, carpenters, painters, pipefitters, steamfitters, and electricians also mobilized to demand an end to the conspiracy of the South Korean Government and the USX Corp. to break unions in Northern California.

The largest union contingent in the spirited march was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), which mobilized over 5000 members from ports up and down the West Coast, from Seattle to San Diego.

At a rally held earlier, the assembled unionists heard Democratic Party presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson give a rousing pro-union speech.

Knowing the audience he was playing up to, Jackson waxed demagogic and gave a good speech concerning the need for American and foreign workers to support each other against corporate greed, both locally and abroad. But Jackson had nothing to say concretely about the USX-POSCO project and he offered no concrete program to turn his words into deeds.



By JOHN HALL

Unionists rally to support GE strikers

CINCINNATI—About 3000 people rallied here on Feb. 27 to support workers on strike against the General Electric Aircraft Engine Plant in Evendale, Ohio, a nearby suburb. Dan Radford, executive secretary-

treasurer of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, called the event the largest labor rally in Cincinnati's history.

The strike began on Feb. 16 when 6700 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 647 and International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 912 walked out over job reclassifications and subcontracting out of union work.

Before the day was over, an injunction was granted limiting picketing at plant gates to no more than four people. GE and the big-business-controlled courts want to make sure that the thousands of people in the community who support the strikers do not also show up unexpectedly at the plant gates.

The immediate cause of the strike was a major reclassification plan that GE insisted be implemented on Feb. 22. This plan would reduce 84 separate job classifications to 32 and would go into effect four months before the UAW and IAM contracts expire.

This major reorganization of work in the plant is necessary "to ensure its [GE's] competitiveness in the years immediately ahead," states George Krall, GE vice president and general manager of the Evendale Production Division.

But GE already produces the majority of jet engines worldwide, and its Aircraft Engine Group (of which the Evendale plant is a part) was 15 percent more profitable in 1987 than in 1986.

GE Spokesman Ron Hess said there would not be any layoffs because of job consolidation. "Nobody is going to be laid off," he promised. "There will be job reductions, but that will be handled through attrition."

Despite the company's claims, the workers see GE's plan as a threat to their

workforce as a result of job combinations. One of the signs at the rally read: "GE Brings Layoffs To Life."

First, nothing is said about the 325 union members already laid off in January of this year. Second, on Aug. 17, 1987, the company admitted to the union that there would be a 10 percent reduction in the

workforce as a result of job combinations.

At the rally, John Angrela, president of Local 571 of the Sheet Metal Workers in Cicero, Ill., addressed this issue. He said that in the last 10 years GE has closed 20 plants and laid off 125,000 workers. He added that these plant closings and layoffs were directly related to job reclassifications.

Also at the rally, Kevin Mahan, president of Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers in Lynn, Mass., said his local struck for a month over similar issues last year. No wonder GE does not want to negotiate the job-reclassification plan during this year's national contract talks!

'Divide and conquer'

The 102-day national strike in 1969-1970 gave birth to coordinated bargaining by all the 13 national unions within GE. Since that time, the company has been out to break this united approach that concentrates the full force of the unions against the employer.

On Feb. 18, members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) at six GE motor plants voted to accept an agreement that will cut wages by \$1.20 per hour over two years and prohibit any cost-of-living increases until Dec. 1990.

The agreement will exclude motor-division workers from any general increases that may be negotiated in the national contract talks. An "open season" has now begun in which GE will try to "pick off" other divisions one by one in order to destroy any possibility of a strong, united resistance by all 13 unions involved in the national negotiations.

GE was able to obtain takebacks from the motor-division workers after the company announced that two plants will be closed down. GE then threatened further closings unless concessions were obtained. The "take cuts or lose jobs" threat will now be used to get wage cuts and work-rule changes in all the divisions.

Mobil goons injure strikers

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

TORRANCE, Calif.—On March 15, a pick-up truck hit two strikers on the picket line at the Mobil Oil refinery here, critically injuring one. The driver of the truck was an off-duty security guard who had been hired to protect the gates from picketers during the strike.

Juan Canizales was thrown onto the hood and through the windshield of the speeding truck, sustaining severe head trauma. He remains on the critical list and is in and out of a coma. The other striker who was hit, Evert Jenkins, sustained injuries to both legs and one hand, but was released from the hospital that day.

An off-duty police officer saw the driver, Onna Brown, hit Canizales and Jenkins. He chased Brown at high speed with a drawn gun for more than a mile and had to radio for assistance before Brown stopped. But Brown was not charged with fleeing from the scene of a crime, with resisting arrest, or with attempted murder.

Steve Sullivan, president of the Oil, Chemical, & Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 1-547, to which the strikers

belong, said, "There have been many other strikers hit by cars during this strike. We have filed police reports on five of the most serious injuries, including on the 14-year-old son of one of our people. The police refuse to protect us."

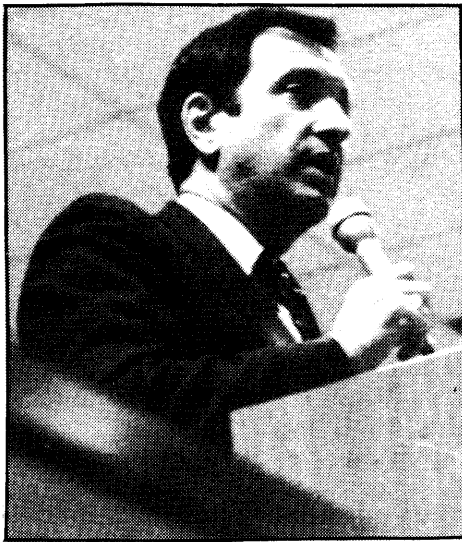
"It is a sad day," he continued, when union members who are out there fighting for their families are treated more harshly by the megabuck oil industry than are hit-and-run drivers who try to mow down our picket lines."

The OCAW strike began on Feb. 3 after the union refused to accept Mobil's proposal to change console-operator jobs to supervisory jobs.

"The head operator is the last remaining buffer between the profit demands of management and the safety concerns of workers," Sullivan says. The company has refused to negotiate with the union unless their proposal is accepted.

The workers have good reason for their safety concerns. An explosion and fire rocked the refinery on Nov. 24. An investigation of the causes still has not been released to the union or to the public.

S.F. budget deficit 'crisis': Pretext to attack unions



S.F. mayor Art Agnos tells union members they have to 'bite the bullet' to solve budget crisis...

By JOE RYAN

San Francisco city-workers unions are being attacked by their purported "friend," newly-elected Mayor Art Agnos. One month after taking office, Democrat Agnos announced that the city faces a \$172-million budget deficit in the 1988-1989 fiscal year.

The deficit, described as the worst budget crisis in San Francisco's history, is being used to launch an attack on the living standards of all local working people. Those specifically targeted are San Francisco's 26,000 city workers.

Agnos, who was elected on a promise to "make the city affordable for working people," is leading this attack.

His proposals for balancing the budget are Draconian. They include: a minimum of 2500 layoffs for city workers, a wage freeze, a shorter workweek with a commensurate loss in pay, forced early retirements, and cutbacks in all city-services departments.

His "affordable" ideas for generating new revenues for the city include: raising MUNI (bus) fares from 75 cents to one dollar, increasing the toll on the Golden Gate Bridge to \$5, and charging higher entrance fees for the zoo, swimming pools, and other facilities.

How has all this come to pass in a city that only two years ago bragged about a \$152-million budget surplus? Agnos has a ready-made answer: he blames the workers. He says that the city's income has decreased because of lower property-tax revenues and cutbacks in federal subsidies combined with the increase in the number of city workers and their higher wages.

Agnos added that one item contributing to the crisis is a \$40-million settlement won by the unions against the city because

they underpaid city workers for over two years.

Big business's proposals

The corporations certainly have their proposals for trimming the deficit. And their starting point is identical to that of Mayor Agnos. As BankAmerica Corp. Chairman A.W. (Tom) Clausen stated in a *San Francisco Chronicle* survey, "Business should not receive the brunt of covering the deficit gap."

Clausen added that what is essential is the creation of "a business climate to attract new businesses, as well as keep the ones that are here." This is the traditional capitalist code language for "get rid of the unions."

Some of the other "enlightened" proposals advanced by the ruling rich include:

- Rescinding a comparable-worth agreement for women and minority city workers.
- Eliminating many MUNI bus routes.
- Stopping the practice of paying workers for accumulated sickness and vacation benefits when they retire.
- Removing the city's pension costs from the operating budget.
- Raising property taxes.
- Increasing the local sales tax.

Conspicuously absent from all these proposals, of course, is the idea of taxing the rich minority to pay for the human needs of the working majority.

Consequently, in a city with over 6000 homeless persons haunting the streets, a spreading AIDS crisis that is second only to New York City's, and some of the highest apartment rents in the nation, working people are faced with a further erosion of already deteriorating living conditions.

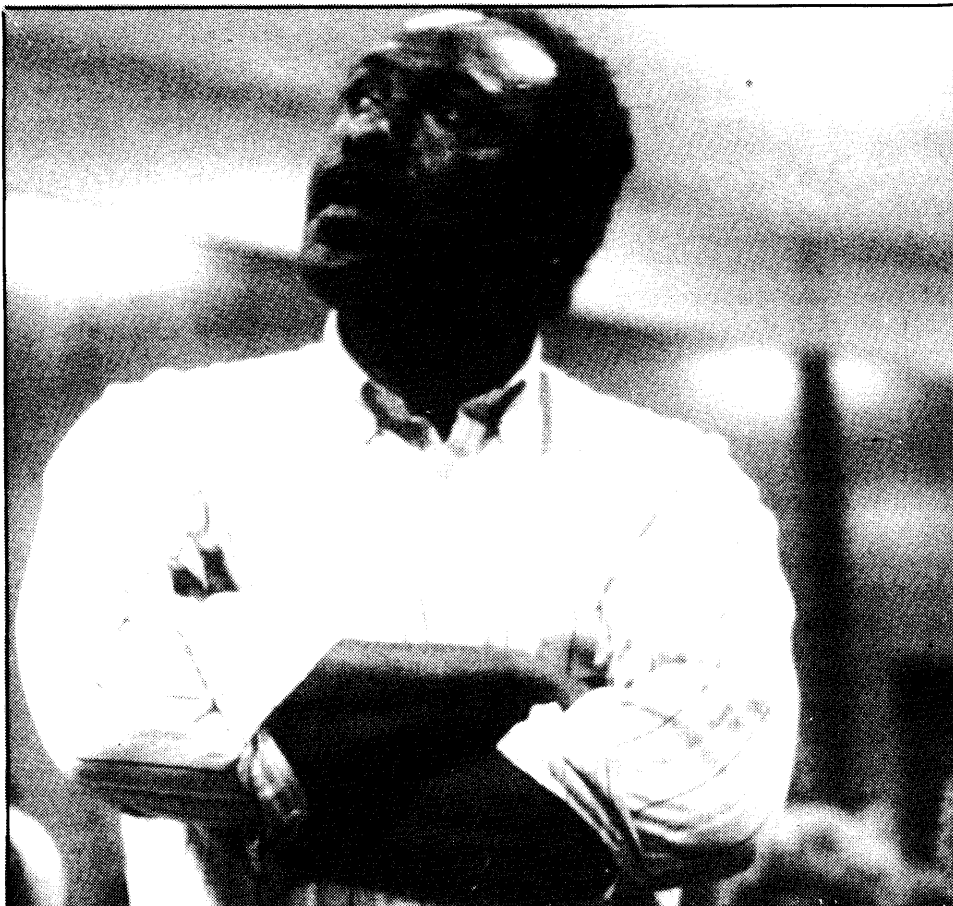
Response of the unions

The response of the leadership of the city-workers unions, which include Service Employees International Union (SEIU) locals 790, 660, and 535 and Hospital Workers Local 250, has been less than inspiring.

Agnos, endorsed in the election by these unions, has sought the union bureaucracy's collaboration in the austerity drive. Because the bureaucrats are politically tied to his coattails, Agnos knows they will be reluctant to attack him. And so far, he's been right.

Paul Varacalli, executive director of Local 790 lauded the mayor, stating that "no other mayor has asked labor to come in and give advice." He said that the budget summit meetings with the mayor mean that "we want to be a cooperating partner."

In early March, Agnos was invited to present his proposals to a mass union meeting of all SEIU locals. Over 600 union members (the majority of whom were women and minorities) listened with



... but a member of the union negotiating committee disagrees with the proposals.

Don't make workers pay for the rulers' 'budget crisis!'

The deterioration of social services in the cities is a national problem that requires a national response. But a beginning could be made in San Francisco.

A campaign against the impending cutbacks can only be implemented if the unions decide to break with Agnos. Relying on the Democrats means that the labor movement will have to swallow the takeaways without a fight.

The labor movement must begin to flex its muscles by organizing a political fight—based on mobilizing its membership.

The unions must formulate a program that challenges and opposes the idea of putting the burden for taxation and cutbacks on workers.

Labor's demands and strategy should include:

- Tax the rich, not workers!
- A moratorium on the \$100 million in interest payments to S.F. banks.
- Run independent labor candidates in the elections!

irritation and fear written on their faces, as Agnos proposed layoffs, wage freezes, and forced early retirements.

When he mentioned that he would ask big business to make their "fair share" of sacrifice, a moan punctuated by the word "Bullshit!" rose from the audience. Whereas his entrance to the union meeting was greeted with friendly applause, his exit was ushered by a chorus of boos.

On March 21, the mayor and the S.F. Board of Supervisors voted ten to one to put the wage-freeze proposals on the June ballot. The unions, rebuffed by their so-called "friends" in the Democratic Party, are now fighting for their lives.

A phony issue

The "budget crisis" is being used by the employers and their bipartisan representatives in City Hall as a pretext to attack the unions, thereby driving down the living standards of all Bay Area workers.

In the last analysis, Agnos wants to force the older, more union-conscious, and higher pay-scale city workers into early retirement. This will set the stage for two-tier agreements for new hires, less benefits, and more part-time workers. In this respect, the city bosses are no different from any other employer—they want to drive down their labor costs.

If the unions are to defeat this attack, they will have to reach out to all working people in San Francisco—who are being asked to foot the bill for the so-called budget crisis. If not, they will find themselves defeated by a ballot initiative that will cut their throats. After all, how many times do you have to be punched in the nose before you realize you're in a fight?

By ROLAND SHEPPARD

Defend Black firefighters!

Through court cases, Black firefighters in San Francisco have proved the fire department guilty of a long-standing pattern of racist practices in hiring and promotion.

At the same time, the Black firefighters charge, Local 798 of the firefighters union has sided with the city in upholding a "white job trust." The union has opposed an affirmative-action consent decree, which would establish quotas in promotion and hiring. (See the article in the March 1988 issue of *Socialist Action* for more background information.)

We reprint below portions of *Socialist Action* member Roland Sheppard's testimony before the fire department's Human Relations Committee on March 7, 1988.

If the Human Relations Committee had been doing its job,

there would be no need for the present consent decree or for the Black firefighters to go to court to defend their rights. If the firefighters union had been doing its job, there would also be no need for the present consent decree.

The major responsibility of a union is to unite and to defend all workers in their common interests and present a united front to the employers.

Historically, unions have needed the support of all working people in order to organize. Unions that did not defend the rights of Black workers were readily broken prior to the rise of the CIO [in the mid-1930s]. A divided working class only served the interests of the employers.

The organization of basic industry in this country was accomplished by the CIO on the

basis of equal rights for all. And through the course of struggle, white workers learned that it was not in their interest to act in a racist manner. The CIO became a social movement that defended all workers (union and non-union) and championed the rights of all of the oppressed.

With the present budget problems, the only way for the city workers and their unions to prevent layoffs is to return to the methods of the CIO and organize all workers in the city against all cutbacks in city services.

It's in the interests of city workers, and workers in general, to maintain and expand services that are needed by the vast majority of the population that can not afford these services—such as transportation, housing, education, etc.

Thirteen years ago, when there last was a budget crisis, the city singled out the firefighters and the building-trades workers for the initial cuts. They were singled out because of the visible opposition to affirmative action by the union officials who were defending the racist hiring practices of the city officialdom.

Now, 13 years later, the firefighters union is making the same mistake. By opposing the consent decree, they are defending their employer—the heads of the fire department—against the Black firefighters.

Once again, they are isolating themselves from the community, and their reward from the city is proposed cuts in jobs and wages in the fire department. This self-defeating policy must come to an end.

In the consent decree, the city

states an intention to hire more firefighters. It is now evident that the city had no such intention when it signed the decree since it has now come out for budget cuts which go contrary to the consent decree.

The firefighters union should change its position and support the decree and demand that the promised 50 percent affirmative-action hiring goals be carried out by the city and its fire department. The union should explain to its membership why it's not in their interest to tolerate any acts of racism within the fire department.

The union should go further and join with the other city unions who are trying to unite with the communities to stop the budget cuts. Such action would help to eliminate institutionalized racism from the fire department and wherever racism raises its ugly head.

Civil-rights leader murdered 20 years ago

Why Martin Luther King opposed the Vietnam War

On April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis, Tenn. The great civil-rights leader was in Memphis to build support for a sanitation workers strike.

Many people believe—and rightfully so—that Dr. King became "expendable" for America's rulers when he publicly opposed the Vietnam War and began to lead struggles for economic justice.

In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Dr. King, we are reprinting an abridged version of a speech he made exactly one year to the day before he was killed. This speech was Dr. King's first public condemnation of the U.S. war in Vietnam and was presented at Manhattan's Riverside Church on April 4, 1967. It was titled: "Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam."

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path.

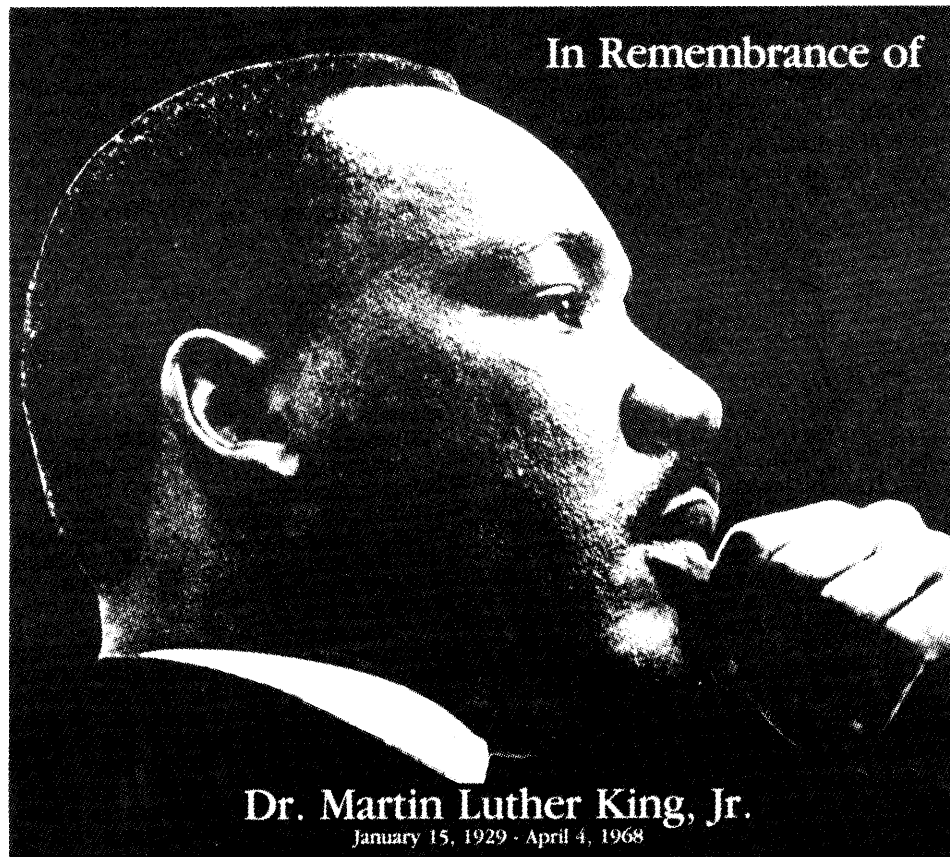
At the heart of their concerns, this query has often loomed large and loud: Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King? Why are you joining the voices of dissent? Peace and civil rights don't mix, they say. Aren't you hurting the cause of your people, they ask. And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment, or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live...

Since I am a preacher by trade, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America.

A few years ago, there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor—both Black and white—through the Poverty Program. Then came the build-up in Vietnam, and I watched the program broken...as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic, destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population.

We were taking the young Black men who had been crippled by our society and



sending them 8000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would never live together on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years—especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through non-violent action.

But, they asked, what about Vietnam? They asked if our nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government...

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three decades...

They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers destroy their precious trees. They wander into the hospitals, with at least 20 casualties from

American firepower for each Viet Cong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them—mostly children.

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe...

At this point, I should make it clear that while I have tried here to give a voice to the voiceless of Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called enemy, I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war

where armies face each other and seek to destroy.

We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for our troops must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the most sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy and the secure while we create a hell for the poor. Somehow this madness must cease...

In 1957, a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past 10 years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which now has justified the presence of U.S. military "advisors" in Venezuela. The need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Colombia and why American napalm and green-beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru...

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken—by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. When machines and computers, profit and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. True compassion is more than just flinging a coin to a beggar... It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring...

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wombs of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before...

Now let us begin. Now let us re-dedicate ourselves to the long and bitter—but beautiful—struggle for a new world... The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history. ■

... Jackson

(continued from page 16)

block the united struggle of the exploited and oppressed against their class enemy.

Jackson's real message

It's true enough that when Jesse Jackson speaks before audiences which are largely Black, worker, or farmer, he plays up to their instinctive anti-capitalism. But on national television, Jackson strains to communicate an opposite message—his real one.

He strains to convince the viewer of the impossible: that he is a "statesman" who will defend the interests of all Americans—rich and poor, mortgagee and mortgagor, landlord and tenant, employer and employee.

Further, Jackson presents himself and his fellow Democratic Party presidential candidates as part of a team working together to defeat Reaganism and advance the common interests of "all the people." And finally, Jackson's message serves to bolster the illusion that electoral action alone can advance the interests of working people.

This goes against all experience. It was the independent labor offensive at the factory gates and in the streets in the 1930s and 1940s that led to the greatest advances for working people in history. It was the independent mass civil-rights movement in the streets of America that defeated Jim Crow in the 1960s.

And it was independent action in the streets by millions of anti-Vietnam War protesters in the 1960s and 1970s that helped force American imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam.

A genuine political representative of workers, Blacks and other victims of capitalism would follow a political policy the exact opposite of Jesse Jackson's. Genuine working-class political leaders would utilize the electoral process to educate and mobilize workers and their allies for united mass action in their common class interests against their class enemy.

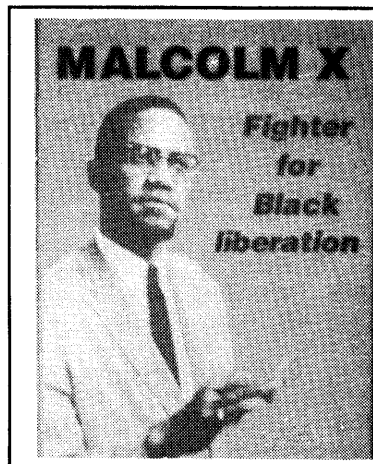
Independent political action and the unions

Despite Jackson's pro-capitalist orientation, his background as a prominent Black participant in the civil-rights struggle has guaranteed him a favorable hearing from Blacks. He has built on this base with a deceptive line of "anti-establishment" demagoguery designed to appeal to the most oppressed and exploited victims of capitalism—including workers facing plant shutdowns and farmers facing foreclosure.

But the favorable response to the Jackson campaign—although badly misplaced—proves once again what a genuinely independent working-class political movement would accomplish.

A labor party based on the unions, and in alliance with truly independent Black leaders, has unlimited potential for fundamental change. Moreover, there is an existing infrastructure for a mass workers' political movement in the form of local and regional labor organizations in virtually every town and city in the nation.

Such a union-based, independent political organization, with a clear class-struggle message, would swiftly and far more effectively inspire a potentially irresistible movement against capitalist exploitation and social injustice. ■



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Struggle for a Democratic and Secular Palestine

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

In May 1948, nearly 40 years ago, the settler-colonial state of Israel was established through the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland. Through sustained massacres, the Palestinians were dispersed in the neighboring Arab states, where they were consigned to refugee camps.

Twenty years after the establishment of the Israeli state, the Palestinian resistance movement formulated its demand for self-determination in the call for the replacement of the Israeli state with an independent, unitary Palestine.

In 1968, the leadership wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Fateh, set forth the program for the establishment of a "democratic, secular Palestine." This slogan called for the dismantling of the Zionist Israeli state and the establishment of a new state in Palestine in which Jews, Christians, and Arabs would live as equals without discrimination.

What was notable about this brave proposal was that (1) it categorically rejected any accommodation with or recognition of the Zionist state; and (2) it rejected the proposal for a Palestinian "mini-state" on the West Bank and Gaza.

P.L.O. Chairman Yasir Arafat described his proposal as follows in a remarkable biography written by journalist Alan Hart:

"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 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." (quoted in "Arafat: Terrorist or Peacemaker," Sidgwick and Jackson, 1985, p. 275)

"'Yes' to Jewish people"

A document submitted by Arafat's Fateh organization to the Second World Congress on Palestine in September 1970 spells out the profile of a democratic and secular Palestine even more clearly. The 1970 Fateh document states:

"Pre-1948 Palestine—as defined during the British mandate—is the territory to be liberated... It should be quite obvious at this stage that the new Palestine discussed here is not the occupied West Bank or the Gaza Strip or both. These are areas occupied by the Israelis since June 1967. The homeland of the Palestinians usurped and colonized in 1948 is no less dear or important than the part occupied in 1967.

"Besides, the very existence of the racist oppressor state of Israel, based on the expulsion and forced exile of part of its citizens, even from one tiny village, is unacceptable to the revolution. Any arrangement accommodating the aggressor settler-state is unacceptable...

"All the Jews, Moslems, and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right to Palestinian citizenship... This means that all Jewish Palestinians—at the present Israelis—have the same rights provided, of course, that they reject Zionist racist chauvinism and

Ralph Schoenman is the executive director of the Campaign to End All Aid to Israel/For A Democratic Secular Palestine, which sponsored the ad which appeared in the March 13, 1988, New York Times. [See page 11.]



Anthony Suarri

fully agree to live as Palestinians in the new Palestine...It is the belief of the revolution that the majority of the present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the new Palestine, especially after the oligarchic state machinery, economy, and military establishment are destroyed."

Role of Soviet bureaucracy

The Soviet bureaucracy reacted sharply to Fateh'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.

According to Alan Hart, whose biography of Arafat was "written in cooperation with Yasir Arafat and the top leadership of the P.L.O.," 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)

Two of Fateh's principal leaders, Khalid al Hassan and Abu Jihad, went to Moscow to explain Fateh'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)

"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

Fateh'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. The paper proposed "To establish a national authority on any lands that can be wrested from Zionist occupa-

tion." (ibid., p. 379)

Arafat and the majority of his Fateh colleagues 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.

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 Yasir 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. 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.)

Isolating the P.L.O. "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, "out-maneuvering and outwitting those [in the P.L.O. "left"] who were opposed to the 'mini-state.'" Hart explains:

"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 Pales-

(continued on page 8)

SOCIALIST ACTION SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

... Democratic-Secular Palestine

(continued from page 7)

tine National Congress, George Habash and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) had endorsed the "mini-state" plan. Indeed, by 1979, all components of the P.L.O. had adopted the call for a "mini-state" on the West Bank and Gaza.

From 1974 on, all wings of the P.L.O. demonstrated they were incapable of formulating a strategy independent of the rotten capitalist regimes of the region. The P.L.O. leaders at one moment curried favor with imperialism and its agents, the country-selling regimes of the Arab East, and at another indulged in random acts of force. Each course was designed, misguidedly, to induce imperialism into endorsing the establishment of a Palestinian "mini-state."

Indecent exceptionalism

There are over five million settlers of European origin in South Africa. The Afrikaner population and those of British descent have lived in South Africa for many generations. Yet very few people, let alone those purporting to be advocates of self-determination for Blacks in South Africa, propose two states—a European white settler state with guaranteed security alongside a demilitarized African state.

If this is understood in the case of South Africa, why this indecent exceptionalism when it comes to Israel?

Those who would foist upon the Palestinian people the demand that they recognize an apartheid state—which they must do in exchange for a "mini-state" on the West Bank—know full well that the national rights of a colonized people do not extend to their colonizers.

In reality, the supporters of Palestinian human rights who urge acceptance and recognition of the Israeli state are, however disguised, acting as lawyers for the colonial state in Palestine. Their advocacy carries the pseudo-left cover of self-determination for "both" people, but this specious employment of the principle of self-determination translates into a covert call for amnesty for Israel.

Many so-called realists argue that Palestinian acknowledgment of the "right" of apartheid Israel to exist will hasten the day when a Palestinian state would be permitted by the Zionists to come into being. But this rationalization does not carry much conviction. The Zionists do not depend upon verbal acceptance for their state, but upon armed force.

For Palestinians to accept, recognize, and thereby legitimize the murderous conquest of their land would merely permit the Zionists to contend that 40 years of intransigence on the part of the oppressed are responsible for their suffering. It would sanction the claim that Israel was a legiti-



'Recognition of the Israeli state would invalidate retroactively the right of resistance of the oppressed [Palestinians].'

mate construct from the start.

Rather than acting as a bridge toward the establishment of a unitary Palestine, as some in the P.L.O. leadership argue today, the establishment of a "mini-state" on the West Bank—and the recognition of the Zionist state, which is a precondition for its creation—would represent a giant obstacle in its path.

Recognition of the Israeli state would invalidate retroactively the right of resistance of the oppressed and would provide cover for the Zionist demand that only Palestinians who had capitulated and sanctioned Israel in the past, accepting its le-

gitimacy, have the right to negotiate with Israel.

What of the Palestinians who live inside the 1967 borders, and what of the Jews themselves? Would apartheid end in South Africa, or the state be transformed, by recognizing its right to exist?

"Serving Israel's interests"

Despite the obvious answers to all these questions, there are, nonetheless, an increasing number of people who, today, are pushing for an international peace conference on the Middle East with the goal of establishing a Palestinian "mini-state" alongside the Israeli state.

A revealing example of the dangers for the Palestinian revolution of such a proposal comes from the pen of Jerome M. Segal, a research scholar at the University of Maryland and a founder of the Jewish Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Peace.

Segal, who represents the "left" wing of the Zionist movement, writes the following in a Feb. 16, 1988, *Los Angeles Times* article titled, "A Palestinian state serves interests of Israelis, too:"

"Ironically, of all the alternatives an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza is the one solution that best serves Israeli security..."

"A Palestinian state would be the fullest possible satisfaction of the demands of Palestinian nationalism... It would win the support of the P.L.O. and is the only likely basis on which the P.L.O. would formally abandon the right to return to the land and villages lost in 1948. As the recognized embodiment of the Palestinian cause, only the P.L.O. can compromise in the name of the Palestinians..."

"A Palestinian state would be a demilitarized mini-state. It would be completely

enclosed by Israel on one side and Jordan on the other. No military supplies or forces could reach it without passing through Israel or Jordan.

"The foreign policy of such a mini-state would be dominated by its links to the Israeli economy and by its national-security realities. In the event of a war, its very existence would be in jeopardy... Israel would not be seriously threatened if hostilities broke out..."

"For Israel, a Palestinian state is not a charming prospect. It is simply better than the alternatives."

Segal's call for what amounts to a "rump Palestinian state in the West Bank" is a mockery of Palestinian self-determination. The rights of the Palestinian people can never be advanced in this way.

For a socialist Middle East

The alternative before us is in the upsurge of the Palestinian masses. The struggle awaits a political strategy which poses the need to dismantle the Zionist state of Israel and to establish a democratic and secular Palestine. Such a strategy also entails a challenge to the country-selling



regimes of the Arab East, which stand in the way of the struggles of the Arab masses.

A P.L.O. faithful to its original program would include in its leadership those anti-Zionist Jews who have fought the colonial-settler state. In this way, the Jewish masses themselves would be able to see who really speaks for them, and who offers them a way out of perpetual war, insecurity, and deprivation.

The Palestinian revolutionary movement can only advance by hammering out a new strategy based on combining the Palestinian national struggle with the struggle of the workers and peasants of the whole Middle East for liberation from both capitalist and imperialist domination.

New Socialist Action pamphlet!



The hidden history of Zionism

by Ralph Schoenman

This pamphlet by Ralph Schoenman, former executive director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and author of the U.N. report 'Prisoners of Israel,' discusses the origins and sordid history of Zionism.

With thorough documentation, it shatters the myths that color the consciousness of most people in this society about Zionism.

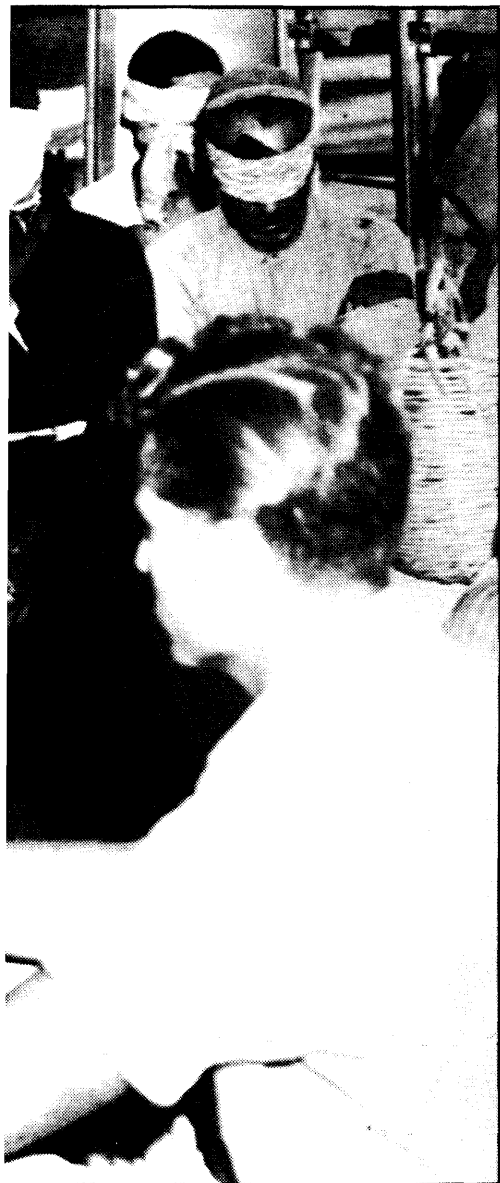
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Palestine



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[Palestinians].'**

enclosed by Israel on one side and Jordan on the other. No military supplies or forces could reach it without passing through Israel or Jordan.

"The foreign policy of such a mini-state would be dominated by its links to the Israeli economy and by its national-security realities. In the event of a war, its very existence would be in jeopardy... Israel would not be seriously threatened if hostilities broke out...

"For Israel, a Palestinian state is not a charming prospect. It is simply better than the alternatives."

Segal's call for what amounts to a "rump Palestinian state in the West Bank" is a mockery of Palestinian self-determination. The rights of the Palestinian people can never be advanced in this way.

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P.L.O. speaks self-determina

The following are excerpts from an interview with Riyadh H. Mansour, deputy permanent observer to the United Nations of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The interview was conducted by Socialist Action reporter Jonathan Halabi.

Question: All that is going on in Palestine raises the question of what sort of program you have. Twenty years ago, the P.L.O. was raising the slogan of a democratic, secular Palestine.

Answer: The P.L.O. has not abandoned that idea. On the contrary, the P.L.O. indicates that this is its strategic, ultimate solution. But since 1973, it has developed a transitional, specific solution moving in

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That transitional solution is the attainment of inalienable national rights for the Palestinian people. This means that refugee people should be allowed to return to their homeland. This is whether they were in the area before 1967 or after 1967.



Donald McCullin

gitimacy, have the right to negotiate with Israel.

What of the Palestinians who live inside the 1967 borders, and what of the Jews themselves? Would apartheid end in South Africa, or the state be transformed, by recognizing its right to exist?

"Serving Israel's interests"

Despite the obvious answers to all these questions, there are, nonetheless, an increasing number of people who, today, are pushing for an international peace conference on the Middle East with the goal of establishing a Palestinian "mini-state" alongside the Israeli state.

A revealing example of the dangers for the Palestinian revolution of such a proposal comes from the pen of Jerome M. Segal, a research scholar at the University of Maryland and a founder of the Jewish Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Peace.

Segal, who represents the "left" wing of the Zionist movement, writes the following in a Feb. 16, 1988, *Los Angeles Times* article titled, "A Palestinian state serves interests of Israelis, too:"

"Ironically, of all the alternatives an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza is the one solution that best serves Israeli security...

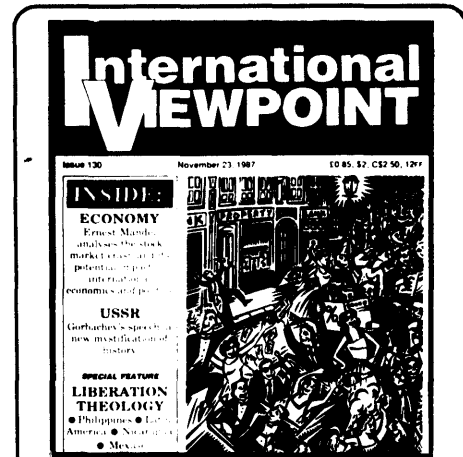
"A Palestinian state would be the fullest possible satisfaction of the demands of Palestinian nationalism... It would win the support of the P.L.O. and is the only likely basis on which the P.L.O. would formally abandon the right to return to the land and villages lost in 1948. As the recognized embodiment of the Palestinian cause, only the P.L.O. can compromise in the name of the Palestinians..."

"A Palestinian state would be a demilitarized mini-state. It would be completely

regimes of the Arab East, which stand in the way of the struggles of the Arab masses.

A P.L.O. faithful to its original program would include in its leadership those anti-Zionist Jews who have fought the colonial-settler state. In this way, the Jewish masses themselves would be able to see who really speaks for them, and who offers them a way out of perpetual war, insecurity, and deprivation.

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The following are excerpts from a letter written by members of the leadership of the Palestinian underground resistance in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The letter was sent to a rally in Paris, France, on March 3, 1988, organized by an ad-hoc committee of supporters of Palestinian human rights. The translation from the French is by Socialist Action.

Dear friends,

We send you this letter from inside our beloved land—our land of honor, of dignity, courage and defiance—from our Palestine, from Jerusalem, the sacred city.

We send you this letter in the name of our people, a patient people who are today standing tall and are waging a struggle unparalleled in our entire history.

We want you to know that the Palestinian people have not been defeated. They are alive. They are struggling. They are saying that they will not accept humiliation and submission.

The confidence of our people in the legitimacy of their struggle is immense. And our people know that their victory is certain—whatever the sacrifices, whatever the price that must be paid.

Today, our people are suffering. They are shedding their blood to win their freedom, dignity, and honor; their right to determine their own destiny; their right to live in their homeland and to build a free, democratic, and sovereign state in all of Palestine.

To all free men and women, to all our comrades, we say the following:

The Palestinian people have been the victims for many decades of an international plot—of vicious attacks—aimed at

Message the barric

exiling them and chasing them from the lands upon which they have lived for centuries.

We have been expelled from our lands—lands which have now been settled by foreigners in accordance with the aims of colonialism and imperialism. This settlement has been imposed by the laws of oppression promoted by the Western nations and the Eastern totalitarian regimes. These oppressive laws are also those of international Zionism.

We have been subject to terror, assassination, and torture. Today, we are deprived of even our most elementary and legitimate rights.

They have wanted to make of us an exiled people, destined permanently to refugee camps. They have wanted to physically destroy and eliminate us.

Through the wars of 1948 and 1967, they carried out the occupation of all of Palestine. But they forgot that by occupying all of Palestine they also unified the entire Palestinian people in their struggle against oppression.

That is what is happening today as the children, the elderly, the women, and the youth have risen up as one single person, without arms, to face the military machine of Zionism and imperialism—to face the violence of the guns, the clubs, the kidnappings, and the assassinations.

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P.L.O. speaks on self-determination

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Donald McCullin

And it would allow the Palestinian people to exercise self-determination and to establish their own independent Palestinian state on their national soil under the leadership of the P.L.O.

The establishment of an independent Palestinian state on part of historic Palestine would constitute a historic, decisive development that will enable their situation to develop later on in the direction of a democratic state in all of historic Palestine.

[The democratic state] would permit the two people to live together without one oppressing the other one, without one dominating the other one, and with sensitivity to all the things that are cherished by the Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish population in the same area.

Question: If you present this demand, what will be the reaction of those Palestinians whose homes are not in the West Bank or Gaza? Would they not say a partial state is no solution at all?

Answer: The struggle of the Palestinian people cannot be seen in the way that the person is struggling for a house in Jaffa or Haifa...The struggle is not only for these things.

The struggle is for having an independent political presence for the Palestinian people, to reflect itself in an independent Palestinian state for all Palestinians, regardless of where they are living, regardless of whether they would return to that state or not.

Because, for example, the Zionist movement, when it succeeded in establishing a Jewish state in Palestine—Israel—is said to be the defender of all Jews. Actually, they do not have more than 3 million Jews living in Israel. There are about 10 million additional Jews living outside. In fact, there are half-a-million Israelis living in other states.

Yet they look on Israel as being their

state. They can return to it any time that they wish, and they can look at it as fulfilling the dreams of the Jewish people from the point of view of the Zionist movement.

Now, for us it is the duty of all Palestinians, regardless of where they live—even Palestinians who are inside Israel—to allow our independent political-national being to be reflected in an independent Palestinian state on Palestinian national soil.

Once we succeed in doing that, then we will be creating a material base in order to actualize the rest of all our legitimate aspirations and rights in that area—taking into consideration that realities have been created there regardless of our wishes.

The biggest reality is the fact that there is another society that has been brought onto the same piece of land (and here I am talking about the Jewish population). A just solution to the conflict has to take into account that they are there and they have legitimate claims.

That is why we believe that the democratic state for the two people is the just and possible solution sometime in the future.

But that solution cannot be imposed by one party on the other. That solution needs the appropriate atmosphere to develop in order to create the necessary and sufficient material forces on both sides to struggle for it and to actualize it.

To put that process on the correct track, we need an independent Palestinian state. We need a massive material force to be on the ground to reflect the interests of the Palestinian people in order to set this process in the correct direction.

Without that, for even those who dream of having a democratic state inside Palestine—it will remain a dream.

Question: What are the positions of various currents in the P.L.O. on the feasibility of such a mini-state?

Answer: We don't call it a mini-state. This is the dominant position of all sections of the P.L.O. This is the official position of the P.L.O. We had some discussions over this issue for a few years, but for the last 10 years it has been settled. All significant sections within our movement are united behind this program.



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Message from the barricades

Our weapons come from our homeland. They are the stones with which our people have built up a wall to defend their combatants and the Revolution.

Dear friends: You should know what is going on in our homeland. Two weeks ago, the forces of occupation buried eight young Palestinians alive after having beaten them savagely and broken their limbs. Four of them were saved by the people; the other four were never found.

Three days ago, Israeli military forces dropped three live Palestinian youths from a helicopter flying at a high altitude. One of the youths was only 13 years old.

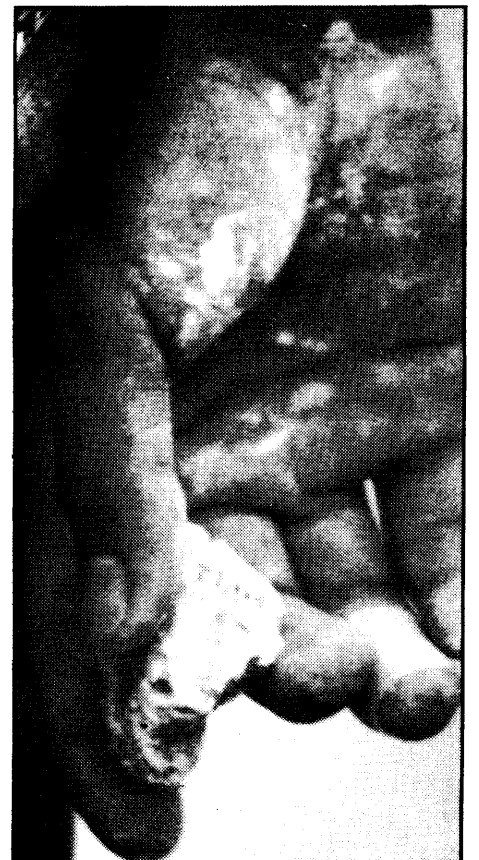
This is what they are currently doing to our people.

Dear friends: We want you to know that we reject all so-called solutions and peace projects that some people would like to impose on us through international conferences. We want you to know that we are committed to continuing our revolution until the total liberation of all of Palestine, until the establishment of a democratic and free state in which all free men and women, from wherever they may be, are welcome to live so long as they accept to live with us as equals on our land of Palestine.

We are no longer on our knees. We are standing tall. We will not yield. We feel that it is legitimate for us to demand aid and assistance from people throughout the

world who are struggling for the freedom of all oppressed peoples.

We ask of you not only that you speak out in support of our struggle in your speeches and protests but that you demand that your governments take a clear position in opposition to the repressive and criminal methods of Zionism. We ask for your moral and material support for our Palestinian people, who are struggling to obtain their final victory. ■



We are reprinting below a copy of the ad which appeared in the March 13, 1988, New York Times. We urge our readers to support this Campaign and to send money to the address listed below to help publish more such ads.—Ed.

THE TIME HAS COME END ALL AID TO APARTHEID ISRAEL!

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We cannot stand silently by as we watch young men and old, women and children murdered daily in cold blood — shot at point blank range, savagely beaten unto death with heavy staves, their heads, hands and limbs smashed.

We cannot permit a ruthless state to poison people with toxic gas and bury young men alive.

We shall never accept an entire people denied the elementary democratic and human rights we insist upon for ourselves. Were we subjected to a brutal occupation, daily humiliation, military rule, mass imprisonment and institutionalized torture, we too would rise up in revolt.

The rebellion of the Palestinian people has been a long time coming. Twenty years of occupation are but one dimension of their tragedy. They were driven from their original homes, villages and land by sustained massacre, condemned to miserable camps, subjected in a far-flung Diaspora to renewed slaughter, saturation bombing and unending persecution.

The tyranny suffered in the West Bank and Gaza is but the little continuation of how all of Palestine was colonized. Between the time of the partition of Palestine in 1947 and the formation of Israel, Zionist militia seized 75% of the land and drove out 800,000 Palestinians through a series of massacres.

When the state of Israel was declared, there were 475 Palestinian cities, towns and villages. Of these, 385 were razed to the ground — disappearing from the map. The 90 remaining were denuded of land, confiscated without compensation.

Today, the Jewish National Fund administers 93% of the land of Israel. To live on land, lease it, share-crop or work on it, one must establish four generations of maternal Jewish descent.

If, in any country, people had to prove they did not have generations of maternal Jewish descent in order to enjoy elementary rights, no one would mistake the quintessentially racist character of such a state.

Israel is an apartheid state, founded on pillage and predicated on exclusivity. Rights flow from ethnic and religious identity.

How is this to end?

There are over five million settlers of European origin in South Africa. The Afrikaaner population and those of British descent have lived in South Africa for many generations. Yet, very few people, let alone those purporting to be advocates of self-determination for Blacks in South Africa, propose two states — a European white state with guaranteed security abutting a demilitarized, subordinate African state.

A dependent Bantustan alongside an apartheid state is a mockery of self-determination — whether in South Africa, colonial Rhodesia and Algeria — or apartheid Israel.

In Israel, no less than in South Africa, minimum justice requires dismantling the apartheid state and replacing it with a democratic secular Palestine, where Jews and Arabs, Christians and Moslems, live together with equal rights and opportunities.

Apartheid Israel cannot exist without the U.S. treasury. Since 1948, \$92 billion of U.S. tax money — \$6 billion in 1987 alone — have financed Israel, a state built on expulsion, dispossession and subjugation. The American people have no interest in subsidizing the world's fourth largest military power or the torment of the Palestinian people. **End all aid now!**

The response to four decades of outrageous tyranny exists — in the stone throwing children of Jabaliya, the Beach Camp, Balata and Dheisheh. It is echoed in those Israeli Jews who resist the oppression of others.

Theirs is the struggle, slingshots in hand, of David against Goliath.

Theirs is the passion for a life without oppression.

Theirs is the vision of a country shorn of racist domination.

Palestinians and Jews, free at last from discrimination and injustice, will forge lasting peace only in a democratic and secular society where elementary rights are accorded to all.

- Extend your hand to the heroic people of Palestine.
- Support the campaign to end all aid to apartheid Israel.
- Join the worldwide call for a democratic and secular Palestine.

JOIN OUR EFFORTS — OPPOSE ISRAEL'S ONSLAUGHT

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... Palestinian revolt grows

(continued from page 1)

units, in full battle dress and armoured vehicles, open fire at will on unarmed crowds.

Virtually every village has been assaulted. A March 21 Associated Press dispatch described Israeli methods:

"Soldiers entered Tarqumiya, a village of 9000 people about 4 a.m. and took over the school, throwing all the desks out of the classroom; then about 500 youths marched to the school and started throwing rocks."

Israeli radio admitted that 13 Palestinian children were shot at the school in Tarqumiya, which was converted into an army headquarters.

Nearby in Hebron, soldiers rushed Alia Hospital. Many youths had been deliberately shot through the testicles. The AP account was graphic:

"Khalid Hassan Ahmed, 18, died of a gunshot wound in the stomach... Walid Abdul Falata, 18, was shot in the heart... About 200 villagers accompanied bodies to the cemetery, waving a large Palestinian flag and shaking their fists. 'We will all join you, our martyrs. Our spirits and our lives are with you,' they chanted gathering around freshly dug graves... Hospital officials said 50 soldiers fired gas into the Alia Hospital compound before storming it."

Throughout the West Bank and Gaza toxic gas has been used, causing miscarriages, vaginal bleeding, and asphyxiation.

In Nablus, soldiers poured boiling water over a 2-year-old, who was later brought into Ittihad Hospital "catatonic."

In the village of Maythalun (between Nablus and Jenin), three youths were shot dead, and the entire village massed at their funeral. In Beit Sahur, near Bethlehem, soldiers arrested every young male, sealing the houses.

"Quelling the protests"

New York Times correspondent John Kifner called the systematic roundups "part of a series of tough new measures, including economic sanctions and collective punishment, that the Israeli army and other officials are imposing in hopes of quelling the protests, which have grown into an increasingly organized Palestinian mass movement in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip."

The army's new orders allow detention without any specific charge or trials, even in military courts. Moreover, according to the March 23 *New York Times*, "the new procedures do away with judicial review of the administrative detention sentences and allow local commanders to order the arrests."

Immediately after the order, people were seized overnight in more than a dozen refugee districts, villages and towns in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin announced that "Israeli civilians have the same authority as soldiers to shoot." He added, "Soldiers need not fire warning shots before shooting Palestinians."

Newsweek (April 4) was more explicit:



In four months the Palestinian uprising has done more to challenge Israeli control than had been achieved in 20 years.

"The decree meant Israeli soldiers could shoot to kill Palestinian youths... Yitzhak Rabin [was] effectively deputizing settlers."

The decision, according to *Newsweek* would "open the floodgates of the 60,000 settlers' pent-up frustration (sic)."

Dual power emerges

In four months the Palestinian uprising has done more to challenge Israeli control than had been achieved in 20 years.

The entire infrastructure of Israeli rule has unraveled. Spies are asking forgiveness, confessing their deeds, and exposing the apparatus of control. Police are resigning.

The Village Leagues, Israeli organizations of collaboration, have collapsed. The *Los Angeles Times* reports that challenges by the "Unified National Leadership of the Uprising" have led to resignations by municipal, village, and town councils.

Before the uprising, 20,000 Palestinians worked under Israeli army and police control, providing services to the West Bank and Gaza. They were teachers, clerks, and administrators. Most have resigned.

Increasingly, dual power is emerging in the West Bank and Gaza. The Israelis close the schools; the resistance organizes classes. The Israelis order shops to open; the resistance keeps them closed. The Israelis close the shops; the resistance opens them.

Protest's economic weapons

The West Bank and Gaza are trapped in what *Newsweek* (March 28) calls a "colonial setup." *Newsweek* cites Israeli demographer Meron Benvenisti as follows: "The Occupied Territories became a source of cheap labor and a captive market for Israeli goods."

Israel's trade surplus with the West Bank

and Gaza, Benvenisti reveals, is \$500 million a year. The government takes a further \$80 million a year in taxes above what it provides in meager social services. The territories import \$780 million a year of Israeli goods at high prices.

But the uprising has changed everything. *Newsweek* states:

"The Palestinians have some economic weapons of their own. Thousands of Arab workers had long since walked away from jobs at Israeli farms, factories, and construction sites. Palestinian shoppers cut back their purchases of

Israeli goods. Arab merchants and self-employed professionals struck a more direct blow at the occupation; they refused to pay Israeli income and commercial taxes."

Thus, as *Newsweek* acknowledges, the economic sword cut in two directions. Israel's construction industry which drew 42 percent of its workforce from the Occupied Territories "has been hobbled by Arab walkouts." Hotels in Jerusalem report a sharp drop in spring bookings.

Israeli Economic Minister Gad Yaacobi estimated that the first three months of "rioting" cost Israel's economy "at least \$300 million"—10 percent of U.S. aid for a full year.

"Liberated zones"

No respite can be expected for Israel.

The villages in the West Bank and Gaza have responded defiantly to Israel's barbaric onslaught, declaring themselves "liberated zones," barricading their streets, and flying the Palestinian flag.

Newsweek reports: "Their protests are adroitly coordinated through leaflets issued by the shadowy Unified National Command of the Uprising. Their leaflets are the law of the land."

Despite the massive repression, Palestinian spirits have never been higher

This spirit is perhaps the factor of greatest concern to the Israeli state. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told Israeli television:

"The people who are throwing stones, the inciters, the leaders, they are today in a situation of euphoria, of great enthusiasm. They think that they are the victors."

Middle East editor of the *Jerusalem Post* Yehudi Litani reported that "[Israeli] security forces estimate the army has now detained the majority of those now pulling the strings of the uprising"—and yet the uprising continues, the leaflets continue to appear, and a mood approaching panic is settling in among Israeli leaders.

Uprising galvanizes Palestinians

On March 30, Land Day—the day Palestinians inside pre-1967 Israel protest the confiscation of their land—a general strike of Palestinians inside the pre-1967 borders was called. This action renewed a general strike in support of the uprising which was first held on Dec. 22, 1987.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising in the Occupied Territories called for "huge demonstrations against the army and settlers" to coincide with the general strike.

For the first time since 1948, Palestinians throughout Lebanon—joined by Lebanese in Sidon, Beirut, and other cities—also staged their own demonstrations and general strike in solidarity with the uprising.

The uprising has galvanized not only the so-called Israeli Arabs, but the Palestinians in the Diaspora. The participation of the Palestinians of Lebanon and of thousands of Lebanese themselves was felt throughout the Arab world.

Israeli reprisals

This new phase of the Palestinian revolution was not lost on the Israeli authorities.

In an attempt to counter coordination between the Palestinians inside the "Green Line" (pre-1967 borders) and the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, the Israelis completely "sealed off" the West Bank and Gaza.

"Since Intifada (Uprising) is taking place both in the West Bank and in Israel," (emphasis added) a senior military source said, "we decided to separate the two and to prevent large-scale public disorder." (*Los Angeles Times*, March 29)

"We want to signal very clearly that we are not going to hesitate to use whatever measures are necessary," Defense Minister Rabin said.

But the Palestinians, entering their 40th year of occupation since the founding of the Israeli state, have not been deterred.

The "revolutionary war" of the Palestinian people is recruiting the hearts and minds of youth in every Arab country and in capitals across the world.

For, as *Newsweek* (March 28) concluded, "In what could be a long war of attrition, the Palestinians may prove to have the kind of staying power that money can't buy." ■

Scientists launch appeal to free Mordechai Vanunu

By MYA SHONE

Linus Pauling and Carl Sagan are among the 27 world-renowned scientists (including 18 Nobel laureates) who have launched an appeal on behalf of Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician convicted by an Israeli tribunal of treason and aggravated espionage and sentenced by the court to 18 years.

Vanunu has been held in solitary confinement since his kidnapping from Italy by the Mossad, Israel's secret service, 19 months ago.

Vanunu provided the *Sunday Times* of London with information and photographs which led the paper to conclude that Israel had built hydrogen bombs, stockpiled as many as 200 nuclear weapons, and had a long-range delivery system capable of reaching all parts of the Arab world and the borders of the Soviet Union.

Israel, the world's sixth-ranking nuclear power, has always refused to acknowledge its nuclear weapons capability, insisting that the facility at Dimona, where Vanunu worked for nine years, was merely a nuclear power plant providing electricity.

The scientists launching the appeal, many of them nuclear physicists and some of whom developed the first atomic bomb, expressed their support for Mordechai Vanunu as a man of conscience moved by the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons to new arenas of conflict.

Vanunu's conviction will be appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court. Meanwhile, Vanunu's brother, Mair, has sought political asylum in England, after the Israeli government threatened to arrest him for making public information surrounding Vanunu's kidnapping by the Mossad. ■

Ralph Schoenman Midwest Tour on 'Palestine Today'

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'Revolt in Palestine' Augsburg College Wed. April 6, 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by Global Awareness Community

Cincinnati:

'Revolt in Palestine' Speaker: Ralph Schoenman U. of Cincinnati Thurs., April 7, 7:00 p.m. Old Chemistry Bldg. Rm. 527. Sponsors: Organization of Arab Students, U. Chapter; General Union of Palestinian Students; UC Students for Socialist Action

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For more information about this tour in these cities, check the Socialist Action directory on page 15.



U.S. Hands Off! Panama: 80 years of American domination

By HAYDEN PERRY

Once again the United States is strong-arming a small Central American neighbor. "That guy has got to go!" Secretary of State George Schultz bellowed. He was not referring to one of his subordinates, but to a leader of a presumably sovereign state—Panama.

This presents no problem to the arrogant head of the State Department, who views the Caribbean as an American lake.

In the past, the U.S. government wanted "that guy" or "those guys" out in Grenada, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Chile—among other places. And in those cases, it exerted America's tremendous financial and military pressure until a government it approved of was installed.

The United States is having a harder time with Nicaragua, and it has grim recollections of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. But the United States thinks Panama can be more easily brought under control. This is partly because of the "special relationship" established with Panama at its birth in 1903.

Originally a province of Colombia, Panama was established—under U.S. sponsorship—as an independent state when Colombia was reluctant to accept Washington's onerous terms for cutting a canal through its territory. Several days after an independent government was established, Panama was saddled with a treaty that cut the country in two.

Panamanians not consulted

President Theodore Roosevelt did not negotiate with the Panamanians over the future of their country, but signed a treaty with a French adventurer, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, who had a financial interest in the canal project. When he went to Washington to "represent" Panama, he was described by a U.S. senator as "the comic-opera representative of a comic-opera country."

The result was a treaty "that no Panamanian signed," described by another senator as "very advantageous to the United States, but disadvantageous to the Panamanians."

The disadvantages rankled in their souls

for over 80 years, as Panamanians saw the Canal Zone become a foreign enclave bisecting their country. They were further outraged as they saw the Zone become a military base from which the Americans dominated the entire continent.

However, with the colonial uprisings, the Cuban Revolution, and Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956, liberation of the Panama Canal became an irresistible idea whose time had come.

After mass demonstrations of students, who occupied the Zone to plant the Panamanian flag in 1964, it became obvious to Washington that it could not continue to exclude Panama from the canal.

Negotiations dragged on for over a decade, with Washington reluctantly yielding, step by step. Under the treaty finally signed in 1977, the United States does not relinquish control till 1999, and even then it reserves the right to intervene should Washington judge it necessary.

A new army is created

Student and worker unrest in the 1960s not only led to a new canal treaty—it also alarmed the American and Panamanian ruling classes.

For 80 years, Panama had no standing army. Panama could rely on the thousands of American troops in the Canal Zone, Washington said. But now a Panamanian army was needed, Washington decided, to defend the canal and to control unruly demonstrators.

A Panama Defense Force (PDF) was created out of elements of a national guard and a police force. This new military force of 12,000 soon learned the old game of overthrowing civilian governments.

Until 1968, Panama was ruled by a commercial elite, intent on enriching itself, and neglecting the rest of the country. The country was sliding downhill economically, and nothing was being done.

At this point, Gen. Omar Torrijos, commander of the PDF, ousted the civilian government of Ardufo Arias and ruled with army support for a decade. As a populist, Torrijos pushed for a new canal treaty and maintained relations with Cuba. On the other hand, Torrijos repressed student protests and imposed anti-labor legislation.

On July 31, 1981, Torrijos died in a mysterious plane crash. Some charge the CIA with complicity. It was no secret that Torrijos was showing increasing independence from Washington.

Gen. Manuel Noriega was Torrijos's second-in-command. He seized power and maneuvered Ardilo Barletta, a conservative economist, into the president's office.

At the same time, Noriega tightened his hold on the army. He enlarged it to 15,000 men, created more officers, and opened the way for them to profit from their positions. The officers in turn formed a major power base for Noriega, which was cemented by mutual corruption.

Rumors of Noriega's connection to the drug trade had been rife for years. As an international banking center, Panama is an ideal place for laundering drug money.

The most specific accusation against Noriega was made by Dr. Hugo Spadafora, known as the international guerrilla doctor, who had served with Sandinista guerrillas fighting Somoza.

Spadafora publicly condemned Noriega's drug connections, declaring that it was a disgrace that Panama was ruled by an international drug trafficker. Soon after this, on Sept. 15, 1985, Spadafora's decapitated body was found. No one has been charged with the murder. When President Barletta attempted to set up a commission of enquiry, he was ousted by Noriega.

Vice President Eric Arturo Delvalle, heir to a sugar fortune, assumed the presidency. One of his first acts was to revise labor laws to weaken the power of the unions and to lower labor costs. Noriega helped push Delvalle's program, and Delvalle collaborated with Noriega for several years.

Drug traffic condoned

Washington knew of Noriega's drug dealing for years, but allowed it to flourish so long as he served the administration's aims.

As a *New York Times* article (June 12, 1986) put it: "They had overlooked Gen. Noriega's illegal activities because of his cooperation with American intelligence and his willingness to permit the American military extensive leeway to operate in

Panama."

The article also stated that CIA operatives were assured that Noriega was "our man." Others expressed concern that a successor to Noriega might not be so willing to tolerate the American military activities that are now conducted in Panama.

Nevertheless, Noriega puts himself forward as the heir to Torrijos's nationalist policies. He is forced to take this stance in response to the anti-Yankee sentiment of the Panamanian people. When Contragate conspirators Oliver North and John Poindexter were dispatched to enlist his aid in the war against Nicaragua, Noriega refused to cooperate.

Soon afterward, the United States decided "that guy has got to go." It was only necessary to select a few weapons from America's imperialist closet to do the job.

The New York Times reported that in 1986 some administration officials suggested a simple assassination to eliminate the Noriega problem. This method was then rejected in favor of a drug indictment and an economic strangulation operation.

The Panamanian ruling class appears to have no power to make decisions. Their presumed leader, Arturo Delvalle, has scarcely been seen, and acts only as a puppet of the CIA.

Workers are radicalized

It was the Panamanian workers who were throttled in order to put the squeeze on Noriega. It was the workers who went hungry while Noriega bargained with the United States over the time and terms of his departure. And many working-class soldiers, enlisted to "defend the people," were bewildered to find themselves guarding the streets against the people.

Although workers may be losing confidence in Noriega, they have little reason to support the opposition National Civic Crusade, a coalition of bourgeois forces. The commercial elite has been campaigning to weaken the unions through new anti-labor laws. As president, Delvalle pushed this legislation through the Assembly.

Nevertheless, when the Civic Crusade called for a general strike beginning on March 21, thousands of workers responded. Due to Washington's economic strangulation, they were not getting paid. Both the Panamanian commercial elite and the American ruling class must feel some anxiety, however, since the workers are also striking against their own bosses.

The workers know that Washington is pushing Noriega out only to install a more compliant puppet. A striking longshoreman in Colon expressed this view when he said, "We are for the people. We want the United States to stop intervening in our problems."

Installing a successor is a problem for Washington. It wants a sanitized Panamanian Defense Force purged not only of Noriega but of all the nationalists in its leadership. But weakening the PDF threatens stability.

There are indications that the U.S. government is prepared to intervene militarily if it cannot regain control of Panama any other way. Some 10,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Panama. In mid-March, 400 additional soldiers and military police were sent there.

Again the American people must demand that U.S. troops be brought home now. Let the Panamanian people choose their own government. Hands off Panama! ■

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Gordon Stone/Examiner

... has peace really broken out?

(continued from page 1)

want the Marxist democracy of the Sandinistas."

Alfredo César, another contra leader and negotiator, told the *The New York Times* how pleased he was with the Sapoá agreement. "Our troops get a two-month rest with supplies while we test the Sandinistas' willingness to comply with their promises," César said. "It's an agreement we couldn't turn down."

According to the Sapoá agreement, the contras will be allowed to receive "humanitarian aid" through "neutral channels" during the 60-day truce.

As we go to press, the Democratic-controlled House just approved a \$48-million aid package to the contras to be administered through the U.S.-funded Agency for International Development. The package includes aid for food, clothing, and communications equipment.

The contra-aid legislation, according to the March 30 *Los Angeles Times*, reflected a bipartisan consensus "that the Nicaraguan government cannot be forced to make concessions in the peace talks if the United States unilaterally halts aid to the contras." White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that Reagan was anxious to sign the contra-aid legislation.

Democratic Party House Speaker Jim Wright (D.-Texas) also wrote a letter to House minority leader Robert Michel (R.-Ill.) in which he pledged to give "timely consideration" to a military aid request for the contras in the event the Sandinistas do not meet the contras' political demands.

Pressing for concessions

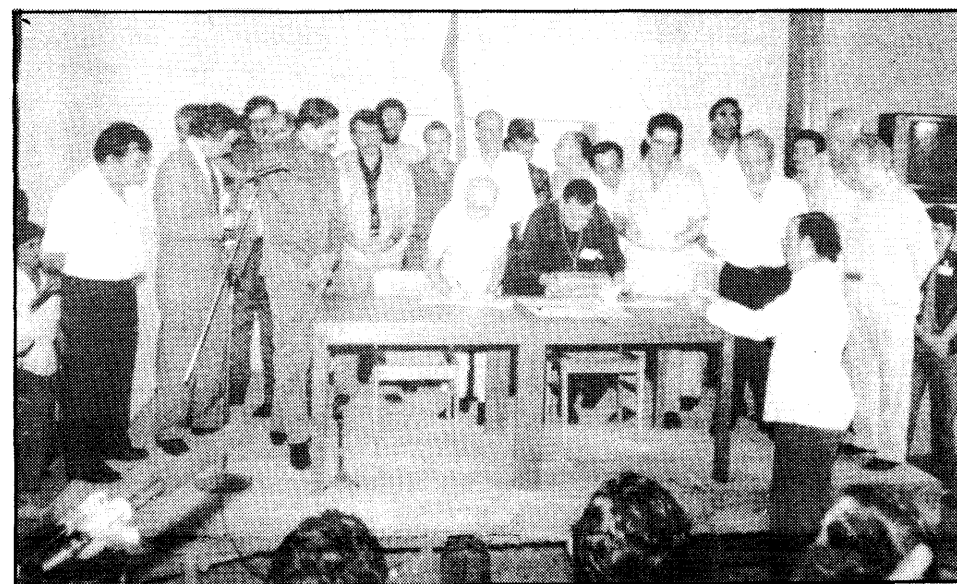
In an editorial dated March 25, the Nicaraguan right-wing daily *La Prensa* gave an account of what the contra leadership, the U.S. government, and the Nicaraguan capitalists mean by "democratization."

"The Sapoá agreement provides for 60 days during which the basis for democratizing the country will be approved; a process without which this agreement is worth absolutely nothing," *La Prensa* stated. "This means that the Nicaraguan government must now approve the 17 constitutional reforms which constitute the

foundation for remodeling our political institutions."

The 17 constitutional reforms *La Prensa* refers to were first put forward last December by a bloc of 14 political opposition parties—including the two pro-Moscow Stalinist parties, the PSN and the PCdN. The package "of reforms necessary for the democratization of Nicaragua" includes:

* full amnesty for all political prisoners and ex-Somoza National Guardsmen;



Signing of the cease-fire accord in Sapoá, Nicaragua, on March 23

Barricade

* an end to Sandinista party control over the armed forces, the electoral process, and the judiciary;

* the creation of a non-Sandinista army and police;

* a limit to presidential power (a president could not succeed himself);

* an end to the military draft;

* a prohibition from voting for members of the armed forces;

* full access by the contras to the media (including the right to open radio and TV stations);

* provisions to strengthen guarantees to private property.

Demands to capitulate

These 17 constitutional reforms amount

to a call for the Sandinista government to undo the gains of the revolution and capitulate to the U.S.-backed mercenary army. What the contras were unable to secure on the battlefield for lack of support among the Nicaraguan people, they are now demanding at the negotiating table.

The determination of whether or not the Sandinistas have met these imperialist demands, moreover, will be in the hands of two "arbitrators" long known for their open support to the contras: Cardinal Obando y

Bravo and Organization of American States General Secretary Joao Clemente Soares.

[The Sandinistas had proposed that the Sapoá verification commission be composed of government officials from Spain, Italy, Sweden, and Canada. But at the Sapoá meetings, the Sandinistas backed down and accepted Obando and Soares, the two men proposed by the contra negotiators.]

The importance of these two men for the cause of the contras is not lost to U.S. imperialism. A *New York Times* editorial dated March 25 put it this way: "The national dialogue [between the Sandinistas and the contras] could be dismissed as eyewash except for the guarantors: Cardinal Obando y Bravo and General Secretary Clemente Soares."

Indeed, if Obando and Soares decide that the Sandinistas are unwilling to "democratize"—that is, provide the Nicaraguan capitalists with free rein to reverse the revolution—the war will continue, the contras will receive military aid, and the onus for "sinking" the peace talks will be placed on the shoulders of the Sandinistas.

And if the Sandinistas are compelled to make the concessions demanded by the contras, to paraphrase Adolfo Calero, the contras will have won the war. The adoption of the 17 constitutional reforms would represent a fatal blow to the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Arias's real plan

The contras know they can also count on help from Costa Rican President Oscar Arias for their cause. Arias, in an interview with the *Washington Post* on Feb. 7, openly admitted that the real aim of his "peace plan" was to kill the Nicaraguan Revolution by placing pressure on the Sandinista government to adopt "democratic reforms." [See March 1988 *Socialist Action*.]

Arias's true colors are showing through more clearly with each passing day. On March 17, for example, Arias condemned Nicaragua for "invading Honduras" and for its "lamentable attitude of seeking to force its adversary to the bargaining table on its knees."

Arias has remained silent on the continued contra incursions into Nicaragua. But he was quick to jump to the aid of the contras when the Sandinistas, in legitimate self defense, pursued the contras across the border into Honduras in mid-March.

And on March 24, Costa Rican Ambassador to Nicaragua Farid Ayales gave an interview to the Nicaraguan daily *La Prensa* in which he (1) urged the Sandinista government to meet the contras' demands for "democracy," (2) condemned the Sandinista militants (whom he called "mobs") for demonstrating against the contras, and (3) urged the Sandinistas to return land and property taken by the workers and peasants to their "lawful" owners.

Role of Soviet bureaucracy

Nor can the Nicaraguan Revolution count on the help of the Soviet Union. The Soviet bureaucracy, in fact, has been one of the forces most responsible for pushing the Sandinistas to the negotiating table with the contras.

A March 27 *New York Times* article by Stephen Kinzer points out that the Soviet Union has become a "maddeningly unreliable ally" of the Sandinista government. "It has become increasingly clear," Kinzer notes, "that the Soviet Union is not interested in taking on another charity case."

Specifically, in mid-February, top Soviet officials announced they would not continue to underwrite the Nicaraguan economy and would only provide half of Nicaragua's total requirement of about 900,000 tons of oil in 1988.

An article in the Feb. 6 *Christian Science Monitor* fully captures the role of the Soviet bureaucracy:

"One of the more interesting facts on the world scene now is that Moscow is not saving Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

"Mr. Ortega, the president of Nicaragua, is in political retreat under the pressures that forced him to lift his 'state of emergency,' permit opposition rallies, release some of his political prisoners...

"None of this would have happened had Moscow given him the economic and military support for which he has repeatedly asked. The Soviets' biggest omission has been in the supply of oil...

"Soviet oil or Soviet money for oil would make it possible for Mr. Ortega to defy his neighbors and the Arias peace plan that he has been forced to accept. He has not been able to defy them."

No Contra Aid!

The Nicaraguan Revolution is in grave danger. Antiwar activists in this country should oppose all contra aid and all U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

It is one thing for the Sandinista government, which has a gun placed at its head by the imperialist brigands, to be compelled to make concessions. But we in this country are under no such obligation.

Those who support the clause in the Sapoá agreement which allows for "humanitarian" contra aid "through neutral channels," do a great disservice to the revolution and to the right of self-determination of the Nicaraguan people.

To argue, as some Nicaraguan solidarity organizations do, that "Absolutely no U.S. aid may be sent to the contras, unless it is administered through neutral channels," is to prop up the gun that is being aimed at the heart of the Nicaraguan Revolution. It is to keep the contra forces alive (with "a two-month rest with supplies," to quote contra leader Alfredo César) in order to help them wrest more concessions from the Nicaraguan government.

This position must be rejected. It is time to organize mass demonstrations against the U.S. war on Nicaragua such as the one being organized in San Francisco on April 30.

Not one penny for the contras! U.S. hands off Nicaragua! ■

This is the first of a two-part series on the Nicaraguan Revolution today.

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Speeches by Daniel Sheehan Daniel Ortega

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Rally demands justice for victims of Moscow Trials

By PETER ATWOOD and EMMA SILVER

NEW YORK—On March 19, some 200 people attended a rally to publicize and broaden the support for a campaign to clear the names of all the accused in the Moscow Trials of 1937-38. The rally, held at the New School for Social Research, was organized and sponsored by the Moscow Trials Campaign Committee.

The event represented the successful culmination of a several-months-long campaign in the United States to gather signatures of academics, unionists, and other prominent people who support the demand for rehabilitation of all the Moscow Trials victims while opposing the cold-war policies of the U.S. government.

This effort has been part of an international campaign which has generated broad support and has been widely endorsed.

Several signatories—including Paul Siegel (author), Juliet Ucelli (New York Marxist School), Morris Schappes (editor, *Jewish Currents*), Conrad Lynn (NAACP lawyer), Marilyn Vogt-Downey (translator, "Samizdat"), and Esteban Volkov (the grandson of Leon Trotsky)—came to speak at the rally.

Messages from supporters Bill Henning, George Saunders, and Noam Chomsky were also read.

The Moscow Trials, engineered by Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, were a shameful parody of justice. Absurd charges and extracted confessions were devised to obliterate the historical stature of many of Lenin's comrades in the victorious October 1917 Revolution.

Following the show trials of famous Communist Party leaders, millions of people from every walk of life were killed in the purges that ensued. Moreover, the ideals of socialism and the prestige of the Russian Revolution were indelibly tarnished.

Today, the Gorbachev regime, confronted by economic near-paralysis, is pushing for restructuring (*perestroika*) and openness (*glasnost*). In the process, several of the Moscow Trials defendants, among them Nikolai Bukharin, have been cleared.

But the rehabilitation must not be reserved only for those with whom Gorbachev finds himself in ideological agreement. The rehabilitation must include Leon Trotsky, who while in exile was presented as the "mastermind" of the conspiracy, and other members of the anti-Stalinist Left Opposition. The rehabilitation must be total.

As the chairperson, Naomi Allen, stated in opening the rally, the fight for rehabilitation is urgent today. There is no solution to the problems faced by Soviet society without a "thoroughly democratic participation by the Soviet people."

'Stalin staged show trials to stamp out open debate'

We reprint below portions of Paul Siegel's speech given to the March 19 rally on behalf of the victims of the Moscow Trials. Siegel is an author and professor emeritus at Long Island University.

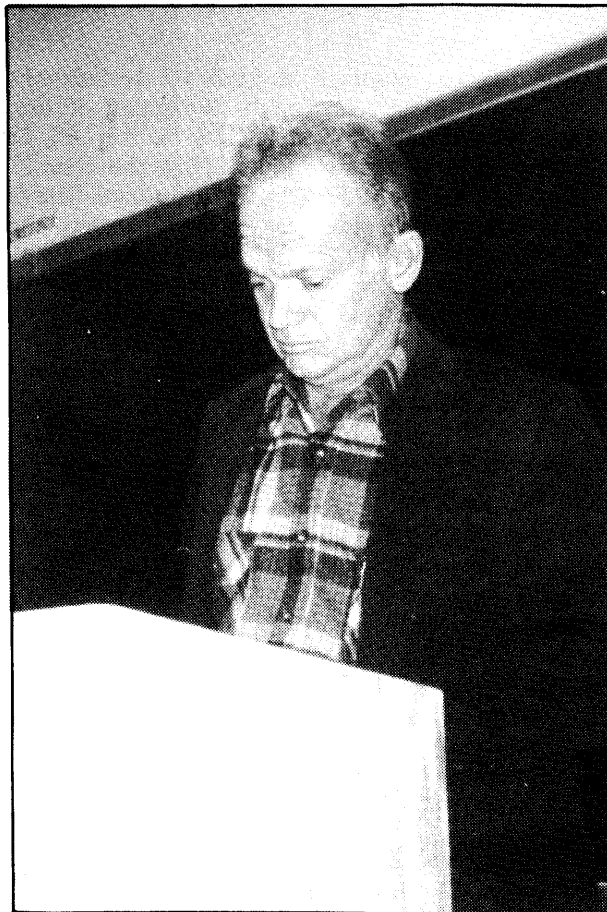
The Moscow Trials of 1936-38 were a turning point in Soviet history, marking the consolidation of Stalin's autocratic rule. They were also a gigantic frameup on a scale that has few if any historical parallels.

Virtually the entire surviving Bolshevik leadership, including all of the six surviving members of the October Revolution Political Bureau with the exception of Stalin, was charged with having made secret agreements with Hitler and the Mikado to destroy and dismember the Soviet Union.

It was necessary for Stalin to stage show trials in order

to destroy all those capable of leading opposition to him by branding them as traitors and agents of enemy powers and to stamp out the Bolshevik tradition of a full and open debate and the right to fight for ideas diverging from those of the leadership.

It would be wrong, however, to attribute the trials simply to the malevolence of one man. This would be the "cult of the personality" in reverse. The cumulative effects of the war, the Allied blockade and military



Esteban Volkov

intervention, the civil war, famine, and typhus were devastating for a backward country subject to the pressures of its barbaric past and of imperialism's barbaric present.

Under these conditions, workers' democracy receded and a bureaucracy faithless to the ideals of the revolution achieved supremacy. Stalin based himself on this bureaucracy, whose privileges and power he extended.

Today, Soviet society—as Gorbachev has freely admitted—has reached an impasse. The command structure built under Stalin has become increasingly a brake on the economy, especially in the spheres of quality and of creative initiative.

The section of the bureaucracy now dominant in the Soviet leadership, in seeking to cope with these crucial problems, has found it necessary to pursue a policy of greater openness. This means, among other things, taking up past history—the official version of which Soviet historians have admitted the Soviet people do not believe.

The historian Yuri Afanasiev has said, "Let us talk about the past, but it is the future of socialism that is in question." Afanasiev, however, came under sharp attack and has lost his post in the Communist Party. It is very far from certain, therefore, that complete rehabilitation of all the victims of the Moscow Trials will take place.

A great international campaign for such rehabilitation is being conducted in solidarity with the courageous people in the Soviet Union who have spoken up on the matter. It has obtained the endorsements of 97 representatives of socialist, labor, and radical parties in

the parliaments of 19 countries and of leaders in the trade-union, cultural, academic, and civil-libertarian fields in these and 17 other countries.

The U.S. Moscow Trials Campaign Committee salutes all those engaged in the campaign and urges all of you to join in the effort.

'Trotsky became the revolution's fiercest defender'

We reprint below portions of Esteban Volkov's speech to the March 19 rally on behalf of the victims of the Moscow Trials. Volkov is the grandson of Leon Trotsky.

First, I want to thank you for the invitation to speak in this very important historical event, because really we are assisting in a very important and decisive historical moment.

The original idea of socialism in its empirical form and letter, its most articulate and scientific form—that is to say Marxism—arose in response to the social conditions of exploitation, injustice, and alienation of the human being.

This condition, which has prevailed in all societies accounted for by history, and has taken its most sophisticated and extended forms in capitalist society, still persists, unfortunately, in post-capitalist and pre-socialist societies with their stratified economies under bureaucratic dominion.

If Gorbachev and his leadership really want to succeed in achieving *perestroika* and *glasnost*, and return to the road of authentic socialism, it is *sine qua non* that light should be cast on all the crimes of the Stalinist era. All the names of the innocent victims have to be made known and must be cleared. The historical truth must be reestablished.

Among these long lists of victims, we have to emphasize once more the indomitable Russian revolutionary and Marxist theorist, Leon Trotsky. He was a key protagonist in the triumph of the Russian Revolution, and afterward he became its fiercest defender in a deadly fight against the Stalinist counterrevolution.

Leon Trotsky will show us how far *glasnost* will advance. The avalanche of lies, falsification, and calumnies that have covered the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries for more than half a century have to be exposed and eliminated forever. Free and open discussion has to be reestablished, as it was at the beginning of the Bolshevik Party.

The last pages of history have shown us that the abolition of private property over the means of production is not a magic formula that will automatically take humanity into an earthly paradise. A second element of great importance to reach socialism is the solution of the equation of power; like property, it has to be shared by all the working sector of society.

If the power is only in the hands of one social group, chances are that this group will sooner or later keep the best and the most of what society offers and will not have very much concern about what is left over for the remaining groups.

The third important factor is to establish an adequate level of abundance which would permit the fulfillment of all human needs. Scarcity will always generate stratification of society, with inequalities on a national and international scale.

The fourth factor will be the prevailing of internationalism. "Socialism" within national borders will always be a potential source of conflicts and wars.

Man came out of the cave semi-naked. He has reached the moon, has freed the energy of the atom, developed the super-computer, and has created the new science of genetic engineering. Is he then unable to create a more just and harmonic social organization on the earth, or has human history reached its last page?

Until the present, the train of history has not reached its final destination: authentic socialism. It had to make a previous stop in an inhospitable desert. Fortunately, little by little, the train is resuming its forward motion.

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The following is an interview with photojournalists Danny Burke and Sean McKernan of Belfast, Northern Ireland. They are the creators of a non-partisan, community-based photo exhibit, "Belfast Exposed," now on tour in the United States. The exhibit was begun in 1983 to document the situation in Belfast through the eyes of its working people—Catholic and Protestant, nationalist and loyalist. The interview was conducted by Suzanne Forsyth on March 21, 1988.

Poverty and repression fuel Belfast protests

Socialist Action: The images in your exhibit powerfully illustrate the economic and political oppression resulting from British rule. Can you describe the current living conditions in the North of Ireland?

Danny Burke: Belfast is a city in a state of war. That comes across very strongly in our exhibition. Basically, since British troops were put on the streets in nationalist areas of Belfast in 1969, the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) has been fighting a war against the British. They and their supporters—and their support is quite considerable—are demanding that the British withdraw from Ireland and that a united Ireland be allowed to develop.

The British Army and the police are in a state of siege in nationalist areas. They only leave their barracks in armored cars, large numbers of soldiers and police. The police, for example, will not patrol on their own without the assistance of the British Army.

Photographs in the exhibition show British soldiers pointing guns at people, at their houses. It is reminiscent of scenes one might associate with a Central American country with a dictatorship and huge military presence on the streets. Effectively, nationalist areas are under martial law and have been for 20 years.

But other images come across as well. The underlying theme is of huge working-class areas of Belfast, with very high unemployment amongst the nationalist people. Statistically, if you are Catholic your chances [of unemployment] are two-and-one-half times greater than if you are Protestant.

Heavy industry, the aircraft factories, the shipyards, are all located in Protestant areas. Therefore, unemployment of Protestants is far less. Although, with the mounting economic crisis in Britain and worldwide, there is increasing unemployment among Protestants.



Belfast Catholics dive for cover at funeral for slain IRA members. Loyalist gunman hurled grenades and opened fire, killing three and wounding over 60.

Women in struggle comes across as well. In the women's prison there are a lot of Republican political prisoners—who undergo things like strip searching. You see a lot of photographs of marches against strip searching. You see groups of women in demonstrations with arms linked to protect the men and to protect the children from attack by the army or police.

S.A.: You mentioned in a previous conversation that although the South of Ireland has its own government, it is still a country very much dominated by Britain economically. Can you comment on the effects this has had, especially on the youth of your country?

Sean McKernan: The biggest export from the South of Ireland is its young people. They are the symptom of this problem and they end up over here in America. One of the ironic things is that American multinationals come over to the South of Ireland, open up a factory, maybe get a 10 million or 20 million-pound grant from the South of Ireland government, and overnight they can decide to leave, putting

the people they've employed for maybe a few years back on the dole.

So the South of Ireland government is left with a massive debt to the taxpayers; large, modern factories totally empty; and all the people back on the dole and leaving the country and going to places like America to find work.

Danny Burke: In the North and in Belfast where we live, you have this incredibly high level of unemployment in nationalist areas running to 85 percent. Even in loyalist areas, you have maybe 25 percent unemployment in working-class areas. There has been no attempt at all by the British to tackle unemployment in the six counties of Northern Ireland.

In nationalist areas, the young people have nothing to look forward to except a life on the dole or emigration. The continuing frustration of those young people is sowing the seeds of continued "troubles" and agitation.

And in the South, apart from the huge level of emigration of young people, there have been a lot of young people taking to

the streets, and there are increasing demonstrations against the policies of the Southern government.

S.A.: There was a conference in Coalisland, Northern Ireland, on Feb. 7, 1988, which resulted in the formation of a 1968 commemoration committee that plans to carry out broad-based activities on the anniversary of the Irish civil-rights movement. What can you tell us about the committee's upcoming activities?

Danny Burke: I was at the conference in Coalisland, which was called by Bernadette [Devlin] McAliskey, who was a prominent leader of the civil-rights movement in 1968-69.

The conference was interesting because there was the general feeling that here they were in 1988, and certain demands of the civil-rights movement had been granted. But although people had marched on the streets for these issues in large numbers—peacefully—they were battered off the streets by the police. Plastic bullets and tear gas were fired at them, and the leadership was jailed.

Basically, over 20 years, repression had increased and civil rights had diminished.

"Belfast Exposed" has been asked by the '68 Committee set up at the conference to do an exhibition of photographs which examines the history of the past 20 years, an important historical documentary.

There are going to be a number of seminars and lectures, and they are hoping to get a prominent leader of the Black civil-rights movement of the '60s [in the United States] to come and give a lecture, and possibly some members of the ANC as well, and other civil-rights groups across the world. They may even have an international inquiry into the situation [in Northern Ireland].

There will be commemorative marches, demonstrations, and meetings—such as marches in commemoration of such events as the October the 5th march in Derry, of course, the major civil-rights demonstration in the North of Ireland that was attacked by the police. It's going to be a very interesting year.

Our readers speak out

Alice Snipper, a member of Socialist Action, died on Dec. 31, 1987, at the age of 73. We are reprinting below messages from Canada and Ireland that were sent in tribute to Alice. The first, from Ruth Bullock, was sent to the Feb. 28 memorial meeting in San Francisco.

Canada

Dear comrades and friends of Alice Snipper,

I join with you in paying

tribute to Comrade Alice and in appreciation of her decades of faithful daily service to the Trotskyist cause.

We all come to the time when we must leave—but not everyone has done so with such a fine record as the one Comrade Alice leaves us. Let it be a worthy example to those who follow and a source of comfort to those who will miss her personally.

Ruth Bullock
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada

Ireland

Dear editor,

I read Asher Harer's article in the February issue of *Socialist Action* about Alice Snipper. She really was a dedicated campaigner. Our sympathy to her companion, Henry, and to her comrades. I am enclosing a poem I wrote for Alice.

"A socialist for 50 years," the paper's headline said,

A lifetime dedicated to a dream.

On the workers' side when things were good, and when the going got tough

A willingness to swim against the stream.

To the shipyard and the factory, the campus and the street

She took a message workers understand

That the wrongs and the oppression that workers daily face
Won't be put right except by workers' hand.

There were those who promised victory if workers were to take

The opportunist's shortcut now and then

"Be moderate, be reasonable, and play it by their rules

Back the Democrats—the only way to win."

But Alice trudged the narrow road that's revolution-bound

And set aside the plots and schemes and cant.

And on behalf of workers she raised the battlecry

"We're moderate—the Earth is all we want."

Though half a world divides us, her passing makes us sad

Our Comrade—though we never knew her name.

But the dedication of her life to the cause of the oppressed

Has given us another guiding flame.

Joe Harrington
Member, Limerick City Council
Limerick, Ireland

Malcolm

Dear editor:

I read with interest Michael Schreiber's review of the Oakland Ensemble Theatre's production, "The Meeting" [February 1988]. I am always pleased when reviewers provide interesting information to readers—background material they may not know. The knowledge of Malcolm X was illuminating. Thank you.

Victoria Kirby
OET Public Relations Director
Oakland, Calif.

Really shows

Dear editor,

I have recently moved. Please send the rest of my *Socialist Action* subscription to my new address. I also want to compliment you on the high quality work that goes into the paper. It really shows.

Kevin K.
San Jose, Calif.

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Why Jesse Jackson's political star is rising

By NAT WEINSTEIN

At this point in the 1988 presidential election campaign, Jesse Jackson is running in second place in what has become a two-person race for the Democratic Party nomination. Four years ago, in contrast, Jackson remained far behind throughout the Democrats' presidential-selection process.

Newsweek magazine credits Jackson's Black vote percentage "in the high 90s." This national magazine notes that while his white vote during the "Super Tuesday" primaries in Southern states was "slightly disappointing, averaging 7 percent, it runs higher in Northern states."

Exemplifying Jackson's growing appeal among whites, *Newsweek* reports, "In Alaska, a state whose population is only 3 percent Black, Jackson won last week's caucuses outright with 35 percent of the vote."

The same magazine's March 21 edition featured Jackson on its cover in an article characterizing him in its title as "The Power Broker." The article concludes that Jackson's new white support comes from limousine liberals, yuppie liberals, younger voters, and workers and farmers.

The report is highly dubious of Jackson's chances of winning nomination on the Democratic Party presidential slate. But the magazine believes he has emerged as a political leader capable of forcing election-campaign platform planks on the Democratic Party.

Jackson, *Newsweek* says, favors "such divisive issues as gay rights and higher taxes [on the wealthy]...health and child care, education, a higher minimum wage, and legal protections for workers fighting plant closings and farmers faced with foreclosures."

Although Jackson, like all the other capitalist candidates, is vague as to how such programs will be put into effect and financed, he has come out for cuts in the military budget to pay for a portion of these costs. But, just as he is careful to make clear his support for a strong war machine—including the military defense of imperialism's allies against "communism"—many other of his proposals contradict his "progressive" stands.

One such Jackson gimmick, for instance, is his plan to pay for "reinvestment in America" with the interest earned by workers' pension funds.

Why liberals support Jackson

The article also unintentionally reveals that support for Jackson from sections of the ruling class comes as a result of his ability to bring Blacks, workers, and farmers—alienated from both capitalist political parties—back into the Democratic Party, and into the capitalist political fold.

They correctly see his highly ambiguous campaign rhetoric as mere lip-service to the aspirations of working people. They also know that Jackson's demagoguery is designed to sidetrack and defuse the increasingly explosive mood of discontent building up in the face of mounting economic setbacks for the most exploited layers of American society.

Jackson's appeal among these victims of American capitalism is due to his seemingly anti-capitalist demagoguery. His speeches are laced with winged attacks against the "economic violence" suffered by millions.

His "ideology," *Newsweek* says, divides society into "those who perpetrate the 'violence' and those who are victimized by



it." But *Newsweek*, which is in step with a general media policy of building Jackson's image, is not turned off by such hints of "class-struggle" rhetoric.

Jackson's purely demagogic aim comes through in this article. The magazine shows that he focuses his attacks exclusively on "Reaganites" as the "perpetrators" of economic violence while covering up for the Democratic Party and capitalism as a whole.

Candidate of the oppressed?

The reason for Jackson's rising presidential star in 1988 has two elements. First, unlike four years ago, Jackson has made absolutely clear, well in advance, his commitment to whichever Democratic presidential slate the party chooses. This contributes to the ruling class's growing confidence in a "responsible" Jesse Jackson.

Secondly, last October's stock-market crash, registering the entry of world capitalism into a new period of economic and political destabilization, has changed everything. The real decision-makers for American capitalism know that the coming period will see the eruption of economic and political crises that will radicalize wide layers of workers and their natural allies.

They now need to accelerate the admission of a broader layer of "leaders" from the most oppressed layers of society into their stable of capitalist politicians. They have a more pressing need to co-opt talented demagogues like Jackson to more effectively divert the masses from taking the road of genuinely independent anti-capitalist political action.

They are thus prepared to risk raising expectations by giving an impetus to the notion of an American president "representing" the most oppressed portions of the working class. The mass media's generous coverage of the Jackson campaign contributed heavily to his rising star—as a capitalist politician.

And Jackson, for his part, makes certain that there is no misunderstanding regarding

the class nature of his political campaign: He has named his so-called "shadow cabinet"—those whom he would push to be included in the presidential cabinet if a Democrat wins in November.

The list of "respected" representatives of the U.S. ruling class he has drawn up includes former President Jimmy Carter; Felix Rohatyn, the banker who "saved" New York City from financial ruin in the 1970s at the expense of working people;

and Jim Wright, the leader of the Democrats in the House of Representatives.

Newsweek notes also that Jackson doesn't hesitate to be identified with figures like Selma, Ala., Mayor Joe Smitherman, who 23 years ago unleashed the police on Blacks marching across the Edmund Pettus Bridge for the right to vote.

Jackson campaign harms workers

There is only one thing standing in the way of an effective defense of working people's interests. It is the false conception systematically imposed on workers by their misleaders that harmonious and mutually beneficial relations between exploiter and exploited is merely a matter of policy.

This is the gimmick labor's misleaders have traditionally used to justify supporting the "friends" of labor (in the Democratic Party) against its "enemies" (in the Republican Party).

This is the basic falsehood that serves to block an effective movement against capitalist exploitation and oppression. This is why American workers, objectively the most powerful in the world, have suffered one setback after another in recent years.

The working class and its natural allies are the overwhelming majority of the population. When united around their common class interests, "there is no power greater," as the labor song goes. This class solidarity is impossible to achieve, and is in diametric opposition to the notion that a partnership is possible between the capitalists and their victims.

The Jackson campaign for the Democratic Party nomination works to perpetuate the myth of a community of interest between capitalists and their victims. Jackson's political message is entirely designed to hang the hopes of the masses on the good will of "good" capitalist politicians.

His message works objectively as well to

(continued on page 6)

Free Mayekiso campaign grows

A defense campaign is proceeding for Moses Mayekiso (the general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa) and four other trade unionists who are on trial in South Africa for "treason and sedition."

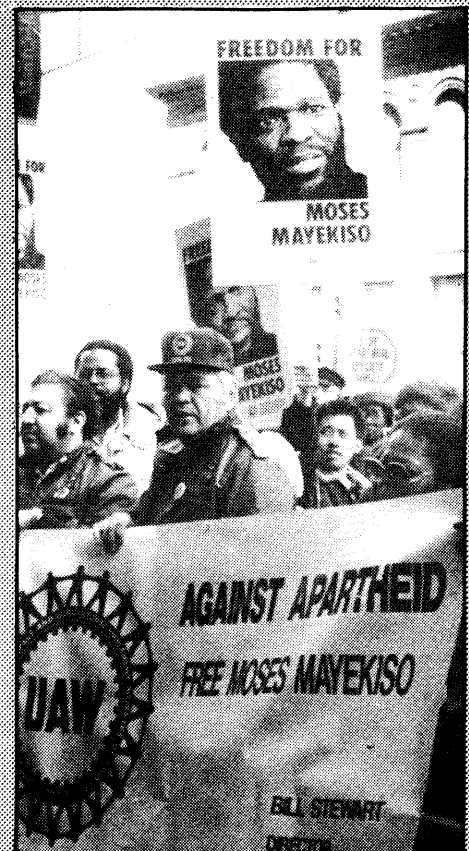
These charges, which stem from the defendants' militant community-organizing activities in the Black township of Alexandra, could carry the death penalty.

In the photo at right, about 250 unionists rally for Mayekiso in Chicago. The March 18 event was sponsored by the United Auto Workers union (UAW), which is spearheading nationwide defense activities.

On March 25 in New York City, about 200 people heard representatives of the UAW and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) speak on behalf of Mayekiso. The meeting was sponsored by the Labor Committee Against Apartheid and the Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council.

Mayekiso's trial takes place against a deepening reign of terror in South Africa. Reports indicate that thousands of leaders of the 17 anti-apartheid groups banned by the government on Feb. 24 have gone into hiding.

The South African government has embarked on an unprecedented policy of jailing central anti-apartheid leaders without



charges. On March 17, for example, Nkosi Molele, president of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) was arrested.