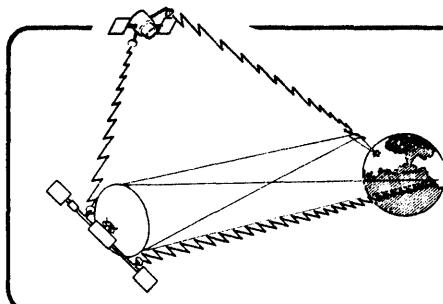


A Socialist ACTION



Former Star Wars Director Speaks Out. See pp. 6-7.

JUNE 1989

VOL. 7, No. 6

50 CENTS

China's Beijing Commune shakes the entire world

By ADAM WOOD

Singing the "Internationale" and chanting "Workers of the World Unite!" students and workers have shaken China to its foundations. Demonstrations have ranged from 10,000 to 1 million. A movement that began in January with a small group of intellectuals demanding amnesty for political prisoners has

Discussion with exiled Chinese student leaders, See pp. 8-10.

now drawn every layer of the Chinese population into motion.

One thousand soldiers dressed in military fatigues joined in a May 17 demonstration of 1 million in Beijing. When asked why they joined the upsurge, one soldier said, "We're just regular soldiers. We want democracy and freedom, too."

Despite continuing threats of a clampdown, the Chinese government has been unable to use the 200,000 troops deployed around Beijing against demonstrators occupying Tiananmen Square. Soldiers sent to Beijing have been influenced by the masses of factory workers surrounding their troop vehicles who urged them to support the students' demands for democracy.

Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and other Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders advocating repression against the mass movement have temporarily gained the upper hand in the party, but the huge scope of the upsurge has prevented them from acting. Martial law, declared in mid-May, has so far remained a paper proclamation.

Political commentators throughout the world are increasingly referring to the April-May events in Beijing as the "Beijing Commune," a reference to the Paris Commune of 1871 in which the workers took over Paris and ruled the city through their own independent institutions.

Independent workers' organizations

Half-a-million people demonstrated in Beijing on May 30 in the face of new troop deployments and threats from the CCP's central committee. Workers and intellectuals have announced plans to keep up a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square until June 20, the date set for a national conference of the CCP.

As student leaders returned to the campuses, independent workers' organizations have stepped in to organize the protests. The government has attempted to stop this development by arresting leaders of independent trade unions, but new unions have organized spontaneously in factories across the country.

Claims that the demonstrators are demanding the restoration of capitalism have been contradicted by protesters' demands against inflation, low wages, and by the organization of independent unions by factory workers. In fact, the demonstrations have spread widely throughout the population in response to pro-

(continued on page 10)



Peter Turnley

Outmobilize anti-choice fanatics!

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

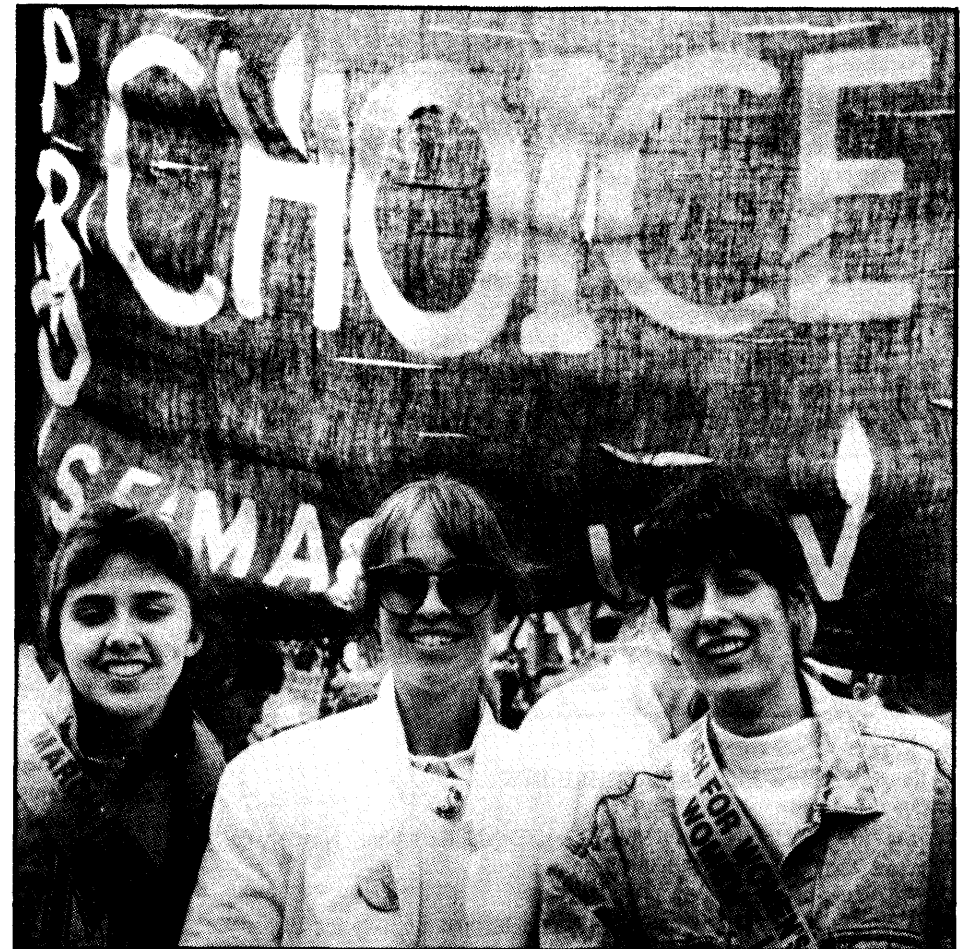
Alert! By the end of this month, the U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the *Webster v. Reproductive Services (Missouri)* case. Most people predict that the Court will in some way impair the historic *Roe v. Wade* decision, which guaranteed a woman's right to abortion.

The Supreme Court could throw the issue back to the state legislatures—where it was prior to the 1973 *Roe* decision. Most state legislatures have already cut public funding for abortions on the basis of their opposition to the right to choose.

If the Supreme Court returns the issue to the states, women will again face severe risks—including death—from illegal, unsafe, back-alley or self-induced abortions. The coathanger, which has reappeared at all recent pro-choice demonstrations, symbolizes this very real danger.

Any restriction on the right to abortion will fuel the anti-woman fires spread by Operation Rescue and other anti-choice forces. Operation Rescue is the vigilante outfit that is attempting to close down family-planning clinics that offer abortion and birth-control services.

For the most part, they have been unsuccessful in closing clinics. But their efforts to intimidate women from receiving abortion services in privacy and to create a media splash have had a big impact—so



Alexei Folger/Socialist Action

much so that every important pro-choice organization is actively involved in mobilizing opposition to them at the clinics.

Operation Rescue can be expected to grow if the Supreme Court undermines a woman's constitutional right to abortion. The pro-choice movement must be prepared for this likelihood.

The most important response to the Supreme Court and Operation Rescue was the April 9 Washington march of 600,000. Now the movement must make it clear that April 9 wasn't a one-shot response, but part of an ongoing strategy of massive demonstrations in

(continued on page 3)

Playing the game of 'Stop thief!'



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

Everyone knows this old comedy routine: A thief has just robbed a bank. The cops chase him down the block, yelling "Stop thief!" Suddenly, the thief stops on his heels, points his finger, and also yells, "Stop thief!" The cops run right past the thief in the direction he is pointing. The thief then makes his escape.

The American capitalist class has developed this trick to an art. Not only have they stolen from us the product of our labor, but they have dumped industrial wastes in our air, water, and land, in their greed for ever larger profits.

But who gets the blame? The capitalists use their control over the media to place the blame on the ordinary people of this planet for ecological destruction. They say we use too much of the earth's resources in our "foolish" consumerist drive.

The destruction of the world's natural resources in the course of normal capitalist profiteering is threatening the very existence of humankind. The ozone layer which protects the earth's climate is being eroded, contributing to the "Greenhouse" warming.

The world's oceans have become garbage dumps in the service of the oil corporations and other giant business conglomerates. Our forests, which supply the earth with oxygen, are being depleted in order to keep the corporate boardrooms happy.

And to top it off, the energy corporations continue to dump nuclear wastes into the oceans, rivers, and the atmosphere itself in their blind quest to reduce costs and maximize profits.

The thieves are yelling, "Stop thief!" by pointing the finger at individuals instead of at those who are really responsible for poisoning our planet and its entire population.

War on drug victims

The "big war on drugs" is one of the finest examples of the "stop thief" trick. Every newspaper con-

trolled by the ruling class carries screaming headlines on the "drug crisis." The government's so called "war on drugs" is proving to be a war on the victims hooked by the bigtime international network of drug importers.

Meanwhile, the Contragate scandal has showed that the U.S. government itself secretly played footsie with drug dealers—which include Latin American and other "free-world" military dictatorships in their ranks.

Military "boot camps" are being proposed to incarcerate drug users—not dealers. Parents, whose teen-age children have been found using drugs, are arrested and charged with being "accessories."

Workers in all occupations are being tested for drug use. The fact is that rail owners have insistently pressured railworkers to violate safety regulations and are steadily reducing crew sizes in their unholy drive for bigger profits. But whenever a rail accident happens, the company blames the railworkers—usually by charging them with "safety violations." And even if there isn't a shred of evidence, they are almost invariably charged with drug abuse as well.

At the same time that the bosses and their government holler their

heads off about the threat to society of drug addiction, victims who are hooked on drugs are denied help because the few drug treatment programs that do exist are overcrowded. (In San Francisco alone, there are over 4000 people who are waiting for an opening in a treatment center.)

Raising our taxes

"Sin taxes" have become the rallying cry of the politicians.

Instead of forcing the tobacco companies to pay for the costs to society of the poison they push, they keep raising taxes on the hooked victims.

Gasoline, alcohol, and cigarette taxes are increased to punish the consumer for pollution. Clean, efficient, mass transit which could qualitatively cut pollution is ruled out so as not to cut into the profits of oil, gas, and automobile companies.

Multimillion dollar tax-deductible advertising campaigns push the sales of autos, tobacco, wine, liquor, and beer. But their taxes are cut and ours are raised to pay for advertising campaigns primarily designed to hook people into smoking more, drinking more, and driving more.

Unfortunately, the government campaign has paid off. A large layer of workers and the middle class has fallen for the "blame-the-victim" message of the mass media and the capitalist class.

Human needs, not profits

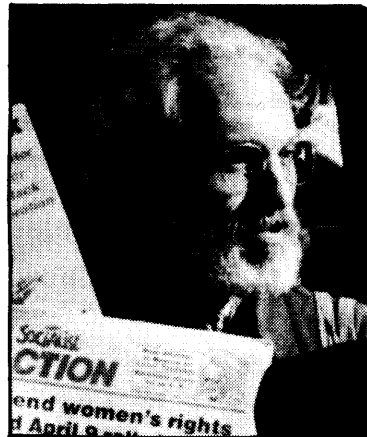
Karl Marx warned over a hundred years ago that humanity is faced with a choice between socialism or barbarism. The threat of capitalist barbarism has been underscored by the increasingly scary threat to the ecology of our planet, as well as by the unresolved danger of nuclear annihilation—despite the Soviet Union's demonstrated willingness to defuse this calamitous threat.

Workers and their allies must turn their fear and anger on the capitalist class—which puts profits above human needs. We really do live on the edge of "socialism or barbarism." We must take the profit motive out of the system and save our planet from destruction.



BEHIND THE LINES

'Refugees from a war-torn nation'



By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

The most tragic victims of this country's drug epidemic are children. They are victims twice over. Born in poverty to drug-addicted parents, they are then cruelly sacrificed to inadequate and misguided healthcare policies.

These children are often born with severe medical problems. In

New York City, for example, one out of 61 babies is born with the HIV virus. About half of them will get AIDS and probably die by the time they're three.

Recently, I discussed this issue with several health workers. They pointed out that the majority of women addicts are also single mothers. Their children's care is closely related to the mother's own treatment and rehabilitation.

Unfortunately, most low-cost drug programs require long waiting lists. And even then, women are often rebuffed by the programs that exist. Very few programs, for example, make provisions for childcare.

In fact, most residential clinics require a woman to give up her children in order to come in. But women are afraid that if they turn their kids over to the welfare department, they'll never get them back.

They have good reason for their fear, said Stacey Samek, a specialist at a San Francisco pediatric clinic. "If the mother continues to take dope," she told me, "her baby is taken away from her by the authorities. She is never given the chance to take care of her child."

The myth persists that these children will then be sent to "better homes." But the children of addicts, Samek pointed out, "usually aren't the pretty, white, blue-eyed babies that most middle-class families like to adopt. They may have diseases or birth defects because the mother was malnourished or didn't receive proper medical care."

"And so, the children are passed from foster home to foster home—which ends up repeating the cycle of poor upbringing from their parents' generation to their own."

Treatment or punishment?

In general, women addicts seek treatment less often than men. One reason is the type of treatment available, which is often designed to confront, humiliate, and punish the addict. (This is in line with the Bush administration's "get tough"

EVENTS THIS MONTH

SAN FRANCISCO

"UPHEAVAL IN CHINA"

Hear: Nat Weinstein, national secretary, Socialist Action
Friday, June 16, 8:00 p.m.
3435 Army St. #308
(415) 821-0458

LOS ANGELES

"THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID TODAY"

Acclaimed film:
Last Grave at Dimbaza
Hear: Carl Finamore, national committee, Socialist Action
Friday, June 16, 7:00 p.m.
Patriotic Hall
1816 S. Figueroa, 6th Fl.
(213) 396-6945

BOSTON

"CHINESE STUDENT SPEAKS OUT"

Hear: Pei Minxin, Chinese student political activist
Friday, June 16, 7:30 p.m.
Cambridge YMCA
7 Temple St., Cambridge
(617) 497-0230

CHICAGO

"DEFENDING ABORTION RIGHTS"

Hear: Cherie McDonald, Canadian leader/activist
Alexei Folger, Boston Socialist Action
Olga Vives, NOW leader
Saturday, June 24, 7:00 p.m.
656 W. Barry
(312) 327-5752

policies—ship drug users off to military bootcamps!)

Punitive measures, which are counterproductive for men, are doubly so for women. Women are more likely to have been battered by their "partners," or to be victims of rape, incest, and child abuse.

And women—especially mothers—carry an additional social stigma, which often accuses them of being prostitutes and child-abusers, even if they're not. They don't need more humiliation by the doctors, the police, and the welfare authorities.

Pam Kirby, a caseworker at San Francisco's Haight Ashbury Free Clinic, told me: "Women with children, more than any other group, refuse to admit that they're addicted to drugs. Instead, they'll say, 'Oh, I smoked it once or twice.'"

"They often feel guilty," she pointed out, "about what they did to their babies. And so, it's harder to get them into a program."

An effective drug program must treat clients like human beings—not faceless "criminals." There is a need for free medical, dental, and nutritional care as part of the treatment. Education up to the university level should be available—along with job-training and placement services, and 24-hour childcare facilities.

But the opposite course is being taken in cities around the country. Los Angeles has a three-month waiting list to enter its drug program; yet funding has been cut 20 percent since 1980.

The model drug "treatment," according to Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, is to boot drug users out of their apartments—like Chicago is doing in its "Operation Clean Sweep."

"Bang bang, shoot 'em up," is the government's answer to the drug epidemic. Mothers and their children, like refugees in a war-torn nation, must pay the price.

Socialist ACTION

Closing date:
May 31, 1989

Editor: ALAN BENJAMIN

Asst. Editors: MICHAEL SCHREIBER
JOE RYAN

Staff: Paul Colvin, May May Gong, David Kirschner, Hayden Perry, Kwame M.A. Somburu, Sylvia Weinstein.

Business Manager: KATHY SANDS

Socialist Action (ISSN 0747-4237) is published monthly for \$8 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: \$8, 1st Class: \$12; Canada and Mexico 2nd Class: \$12, 1st Class: \$15; All other countries 2nd Class: \$15, 1st Class: \$30. (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.

TV drama puts spotlight on Roe abortion rights case

It's not very often that we are able to witness major historical events such as *Roe v. Wade*, the case that led to the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion. The Court's landmark decision profoundly affected the lives of millions of women in this country.

It's almost as rare to see a made-for-TV program that portrays such an event in a favorable light. That is what the program "Roe vs. Wade," which was aired by NBC on May 15, was able to do.

The "real-life" Jane Roe, Norma McCorvey, is called Ellen Russell in this program and is played by actress Holly Hunter. Hunter's Jane Roe is a rough-and-tumble, beer-guzzling street survivor. According to the "real-life" Sarah Weddington, Roe's attorney, this is "a fairly close portrayal."

The program begins by showing Russell at her job as a carnival barker, hawking at the animal freak show. We learn that she is pregnant with her second unwanted child. (The first child was adopted by Russell's mother.) From this point on, we begin to get a picture of life before legalized abortion—the helpless, powerless humiliation and sense of futility that women had to endure.

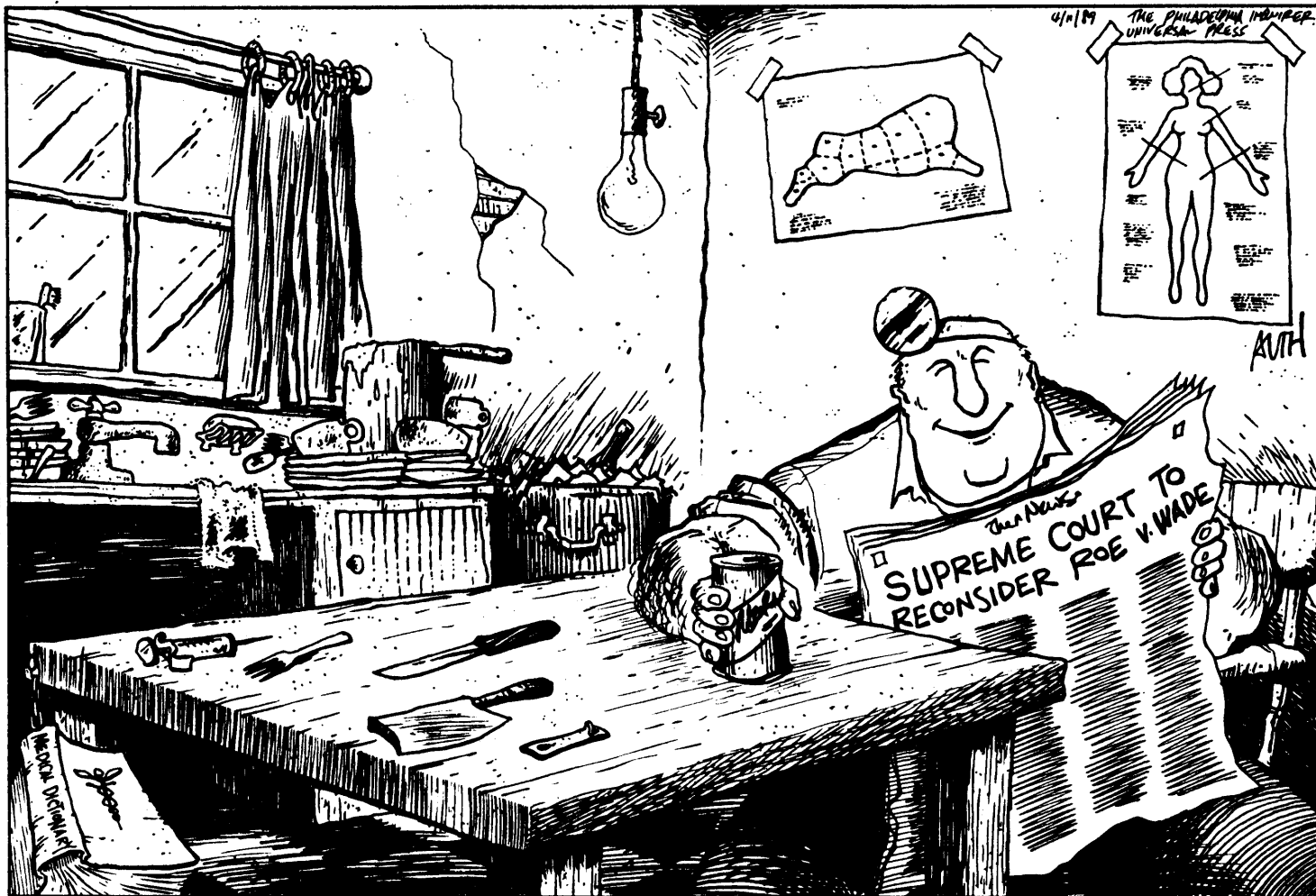
Inside a torture chamber

Perhaps the hardest-hitting scene is when Ellen, in her desperation for an abortion, seeks out a back-alley abortionist. She enters a dim, disheveled room, scattered with various pieces of medical equipment. But the room bears a closer resemblance to a medieval torture chamber than to any modern-day medical facility.

Ellen flees for her life at the sight of this room. Her sense of frustration is that shared by all women in similar situations. She cries out, "I got no money. I got no place to go. I got nothin'. I don't want to have another baby."

Through her adoption lawyer, she is put in touch with a pair of young lawyers, Sarah Weddington and Linda Coffey. The lawyers are looking for the right plaintiff with whom to challenge the Texas law banning abortion except under special circumstances. They plan to sue Henry Wade, district attorney of Dallas, for enforcing the law and thus infringing on a woman's right to privacy in deciding to terminate a pregnancy.

The remainder of the program focuses on the courtroom battles waged between Weddington and Texas Attorney General Jay



Floyd. The court hands down a surprise decision in favor of Jane Roe, but won't issue an injunction to enforce the law. Any doctor who performs an abortion still can be arrested.

Eventually, the case is fought all the way up to the Supreme Court, concluding with the historic Jan. 22, 1973, decision.

It is interesting to learn, for those of us who didn't know (myself included), that Jane Roe's actual role in the case was quite marginal and that, ironically, she was never able to take advantage of the Supreme Court

ruling that finally legalized abortion.

If one had to make a criticism of this show, it would be that it did not fully portray the background to the case. It might have helped us to better understand how thousands of women, like Jane Roe, had had their lives drastically altered and devastated by unwanted pregnancies.

In addition, the dramatization might have included reference to the large women's rights movement and other radical movements of the period—the demonstrations in the streets—which were instrumental in pressuring the

courts to ease up on abortion restrictions.

NBC attempted to downplay the program's political theme, aiming for an "even-handed" and "non-controversial" approach. But the network failed to appease the right-wing "pro-lifers," who denounced the drama as "prime-time propaganda for the pro-choice movement."

The misnamed "pro-life" forces are continuing to chip away at the hard-won right to safe and legal abortion. The *real* pro-life forces must redouble our efforts to see that the *Roe v. Wade* decision is never lost.

... Outmobilize!

(continued from page 1)

the streets to give voice to the pro-choice majority.

Planning should begin now for the next national mobilization for a woman's right to choose. At the same time, the clinics must remain open. The pro-choice movement must outmobilize Operation Rescue in sufficient numbers to prevent them from blockading any clinic.

What if the Ku Klux Klan surrounded a voting booth in an African-American neighborhood on election day to intimidate Black people from exercising their right to vote? This would be intolerable; any supporter of civil rights would understand the need to remove the Klan immediately.

The struggle at the abortion clinics presents the same challenge. We must outmobilize Operation Rescue and remove them from the

clinics as swiftly as possible so that the doors are cleared *before* the patients arrive. As long as a client has to be escorted through crowds of yelling and intimidating anti-woman fanatics, we have not sufficiently defended her rights.

The larger the counterdemonstrations by pro-choice supporters, the more Operation Rescue will become demoralized and the more pressure we exert on the police to remove the terrorists from the clinic doors.

Building broad coalitions

The Supreme Court's hearing of the *Webster* case and the right-wingers' attacks on the clinics are the immediate threat before us. In order to mobilize the numbers necessary to beat back these attacks, the movement should focus on the single issue of abortion rights. This is the area of broadest agreement among the diverse groups and individuals within the women's rights coalitions. It is also the best means to draw in new forces.

"Keep abortion safe, legal, and accessible" is, and should continue to be, the battle cry of this struggle.

The membership rolls of NOW and all the other pro-choice groups are growing. But the 600,000 who marched in Washington, D.C.—many for the first time ever—showed that many thousands who did not belong to any organization were now joining the pro-choice fight.

To build an effective movement to defend the right to choose, we must involve these new activists in coalitions where their voices can be heard. For this reason, the movement must strive for democratic forms of organization—mass decision-making meetings, open committees, majority rule.

It is widely recognized that the abortion-choice issue is fundamental to the lives of women. Our success in defending the right to abortion now will enable the women's rights movement to grow and win other demands such as passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, childcare, and equal pay. If we fail, not only our rights, but our very lives are in jeopardy.

Minnesotans rally for choice

By RUBY WATERS and BRIAN SCHWARTZ

ST. PAUL, Minn.—On May 13, about 7000 demonstrators converged on the Minnesota State Capitol to demand that abortion remain legal in the United States. The rally sent a clear message to both federal and state legislators that Minnesotans will not tolerate an overturn of *Roe v. Wade*.

Mary Jean Collins of Catholics for Choice urged the demonstrators to defend the abortion clinics from right-wing attack. "If they bring 100 people, let's bring 500 people," she said. "And if they bring 500 people, let's bring 1000 people. We must keep our clinics open."

Other speakers included Dixie Riley, regional coordinator of NOW, and mayors George Latimer of St. Paul and Don Fraser of Minneapolis. The good weather helped attract both men and women from all over the state.

This demonstration could have an effect on a bill before the the Minnesota legislature allowing physicians and the state to determine whether or not a fetus could be aborted after 20 weeks. It would be legal even if *Roe v. Wade* were upheld by the Supreme Court.

County workers rally

In a related development, on May 16, the County Board of Hennepin County voted five to two to stop the funding for elective abortions. County employees responded to this decision immediately with a 200-strong protest demonstration at the County Government Center in Minneapolis.

Dixie Riley, Minnesota regional coordinator for NOW, said to the crowd: "Never mind that 1200 Minnesotans went to Washington to rally with 600,000 people to keep *Roe v. Wade* intact! Never mind that 7000 Minnesotans rallied at the state capitol!

In spite of all this, five men have determined that 8000 employees and their dependents will not have the right to choose."

David Peasley, business agent for AFSCME Local 34, pointed out: "What the county board has done is to strip away rights obtained through collective bargaining. Our rights are not a gift from the county. They are an obligation. We will take whatever action we can to stop this illegal act."

The commissioners hope to use the abortion issue as a cover, while setting an important precedent for future employer take-backs. This event showed how the struggles of women and of all workers are fundamentally linked.

S.F. clinic victory

By JONI JACOBS

San Francisco Bay Area pro-choice supporters racked up another victory against Operation Rescue (OR) at the Women's Choice Clinic in Redwood City, Calif., on May 13.

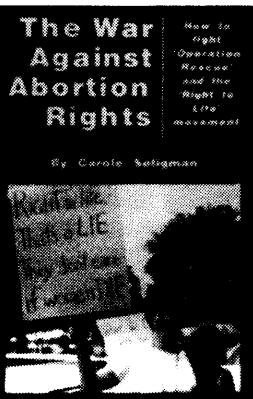
Backed by a pro-choice demonstration of more than 300—which outnumbered OR by a margin of two to one—clinic defenders stopped the right-wingers from blockading the clinic doors by forming a human barricade between them and the clinic doors. At no time did OR gain control of the clinic.

Patients were escorted into the clinic only by surrounding them with 20 pro-choice supporters singing "We Shall Overcome" at the tops of their lungs. Meanwhile, the police stood idly by.

Police refused to enforce a statewide injunction prohibiting OR's "sidewalk counselors" from harassing incoming patients with their "baby killer" taunts and literature.

The Redwood City victory comes on the heels of a victory on April 29, when more than 1000 pro-choice clinic defenders in the Bay Area forced OR to take its blockade to a closed clinic in Sacramento, two hours' drive away.

New pamphlet on women's liberation!



The War on Abortion Rights: How to Fight 'Operation Rescue' and the 'Right to Life' Movement
By Carole Sellman
Price: \$1.00

Mail order to: 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Va. miners defy courts, build mass picketlines

By HAL KRIEGSMAN

Southwestern Virginia and parts of West Virginia have been the scene of a militant strike by members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). About 1700 employees of the Clinchfield Coal Co., a subsidiary of the Connecticut-based Pittston Co. conglomerate, have been on strike since April 5.

Pittston, Virginia's biggest coal producer, is the biggest U.S. exporter of the metallurgical coal that fires the blast furnaces of steel mills, shipping 65 percent of its coal overseas.

Miners have worked without a contract since January 1988. This was intended to pressure Pittston into signing a joint industry negotiating agreement. Pittston's refusal, coupled with a tremendous accumulation of grievances filed by miners against the company, put the miners on the picketlines.

This is not a strike about wages. The walkout was precipitated by cuts in benefits and proposed changes in work schedules. Last year, Pittston cut off retirees' pensions and a number of healthcare benefits, leaving the costs to be picked up by a trust fund run by the union and other coal companies.

The work schedule issue strikes at the heart of the lifestyle of Appalachian miners. Pittston has demanded that it be allowed to operate the mines on Sundays. Michael Odom, the top official of The Pittston Coal Group, complained to the press that miners were "using church as an excuse" to not work on Sundays.

The coalfields have been the scene of strike-related violence. Over 2000 arrests have occurred at the mine entrances and elsewhere, including 140 felony arrests. Scabs, in the blue uniforms of the company's so-called "Asset Protection Team," have joined state police at the mines. The Asset Protection Team has been videotaping strikers for use, according to Pittston, "in later litigation."



David Vita/Impact Visuals

Miners have taken to wearing camouflage fatigues to make them less recognizable.

The scabs are hauling out only a small fraction of Pittston's normal annual production of 13.6 million tons.

This strike, which has just entered into

federal mediation, is being watched nervously by the rest of the coal industry. Low coal prices and unstable markets make the coal companies hungry for ways to lower labor costs. Pittston, claiming to be in "survival mode," threatens its workers with claims that

the U.S. coal industry will have to fold up in the face of foreign competition if the miners don't give in.

The courts have issued injunctions against the miners with heavy fines—\$20,000 a day—and limits on the number of pickets. [At press date, the total fine was \$600,000.]

Despite this, the UMWA has continued to exercise its First Amendment rights to free speech and assembly by building mass picket lines. The union has shown it intends to put the rights of its members above the short-term interests of the union treasury.

The strikers' slogan is "as long as it takes." With a union strike fund that pays \$200 a week plus health insurance, it will be a tough road for the miners, requiring every bit of solidarity the rest of the labor movement can offer.

Eastern strikers rally

BOSTON—Close to 1000 Eastern Airlines workers and supporters rallied at East Boston Stadium on the edge of Logan Airport here on May 21. Striking machinists, flight attendants, and pilots marched into the stands as unionists and their families from throughout the metropolitan area sang "Solidarity Forever."

The theme of the rally was "One Day Longer," demonstrating the resolve of the strikers to outlast Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo's latest union-busting drive.

Arthur Osborne, president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, called on the crowd to support a boycott of Eastern and Continental Airlines, and petitions were passed out for distribution in neighborhoods and at workplaces.

George Kourpias, international president-elect of the Machinists Union, characterized the Eastern strike as "the most important struggle of working people in America in many years."

Judy Coughlin of the flight attendants union introduced Joe Jurczak of the United Mine Workers, whose union is waging a militant strike in the Appalachian coalfields against the Pittston Co. Coughlin told the audience that miners said they were inspired in their struggle by the Eastern strikers.—H.K.

Labor Notes conference charts 'New Directions'

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

DETROIT—The 1989 Labor Notes Conference, held in Southfield, Mich., on May 19-21 (with an official registration of 1010), reflected both the developments inside the unions and the thinking of the most progressive elements of the labor movement today.

The new situation is expressed, for example, in the prospects opening up for Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) inside the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and in the recent victory of the Team for Democracy in the Mailhandlers Union.

TDU, in the light of recent changes that make the Teamsters as a whole more open to change by the rank and file, poses itself the task of becoming "not a dissident movement but an opposition party" by the next convention in 1991.

The Mailhandlers Union is a division of the Laborers International Union of North America, a notorious gangster-run organization. The sweeping victory scored by the opposition slate in the recent elections marks a real membership revolt against a union leadership that combined criminality with criminal sell-outs.

Throughout the conference, the presence of representatives from unions in other countries helped to widen the perspective of American unionists. So when the Brazilian participant in the final panel on Sunday said that he wanted the workers present to take back one old idea—"We are an international class"—his remark was greeted by prolonged applause.

The conference was held under title of "New Directions for Labor," borrowing from the name given to the broad opposition movement inside the United Automobile Workers (UAW).

In recent weeks, under the impact of the growing realization that New Directions leader Jerry Tucker will not be re-elected



Mailhandlers Pres. Glenn Berrien

director in Region 5 and that Don Douglas will not win the directorship in Region 1-1B, there has been a certain demoralization, with all hopes placed in court suits and legal actions.

By the Saturday afternoon sessions, however, New Directions supporters felt new wind in their sails as they began to realize that setbacks in two regions were being offset by the ouster of three UAW-appointed leaders at the new Mazda plant in Flat Rock, Mich., and the winning of five out of seven convention delegate slots at the GM plant in Van Nuys, Calif.

By the evening, the discussion focussed on organizing a long-term opposition inside the UAW, with a paper, a staff, etc. If New Directions comes away from the union's June convention in Anaheim, Calif., with the feeling that it has waged a good fight—despite all the blows against it—there can be a profound change in the American union movement.

One truly new direction for labor would be to head toward a labor party. Here too, the conference revealed some changes. While the Friday night panel revolved around how much labor should support Jesse Jackson, with one

speaker flatly opposing a leading role for workers and counterposing a "people's party" to a labor party, the balance began to shift during the conference.

The Saturday night speech of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (O.C.A.W.) Secretary-Treasurer Tony Mazzocchi made a contribution. Despite all the murkiness and indecisiveness of his propo-

sals, the idea that a labor party should be considered came through.

By Sunday afternoon, even Victor Reuther (who, together with his late brother, Walter, helped to scuttle the labor-party movement in the 1930s and 1940s) came out in favor of a labor party. Hundreds of militant unionists left the conference with this new idea firmly planted in their minds.

L.A. teachers win militant strike

By BRAD WIEDMAIER

LOS ANGELES—Public education has won a victory. Facing arrests, strikebreaker violence, and non-stop threats from the school administration, teachers stood their ground for improving the dismal state of education in this city.

On May 25, after an 11-day strike, members of United Teachers Los Angeles (UTLA) voted to approve a new contract that granted almost everything they had sought.

The teachers will have an 8-percent pay raise for each of the next three years. Unfortunately, they will lose the pay docked earlier this year when, after management provocations, they withheld grades.

They also won their demand for decision-making councils at each school. Half the members will come from the teachers' ranks and the other half will be made up of administrators, other staff, and parents. Now teachers may be able to develop more say over their work, becoming involved with budget decisions, textbook and curriculum selection, and other self-management issues.

For elementary teachers, a regular 40-minute preparation period and the elimination of mandatory unpaid yard duty emerged as integral demands in the strike—and were won. This cut across the district's increasing trend toward unpaid extracurricular duties and insufficient preparation time.

School administrators tried to paint the teachers as greedy, implying that the teachers were only interested in money. The union's focus on educational issues, however, exposed the district as the faction uninterested in education.

Spending priorities of the school board and administration can be seen by comparing the \$3 million spent for luxury automobiles for school officials to the \$1 million spent on drop-out prevention programs.

The L.A. school board seems content to be ranked 33rd in spending among major urban centers, while poorer regions spend much more. The district is rated as one of the most management top-heavy in the nation.

Budget "shortfalls" exposed

California is testing new strategies in public-service cutbacks. Each year, revenue shortfalls are projected when the budgets are prepared. This precipitates cutbacks in many social programs. Later, the money is mysteriously "discovered" (this year, \$2.5 billion). But the cuts wrung from services often stand, and the money is refunded mainly to the big corporations and the wealthy.

This year the strategy backfired. Because of the timing of the strike, the claim of "no money" was exposed, and the teachers won a victory.

The L.A. strike was carried out with great public support, winning the backing of students and parents in militant support actions. Teachers overwhelmingly backed the strike, staying out and maintaining strong picketlines at schools and district offices.

Large rallies kept spirits high and the membership informed. A strike newsletter appeared regularly. One retired teacher out supporting the strike remarked that the spirit matched the best period of labor militancy, which she had experienced in the 1930s and '40s.

Twenty years since Stonewall: Gays and lesbians step up fight

By BRAD JUDD

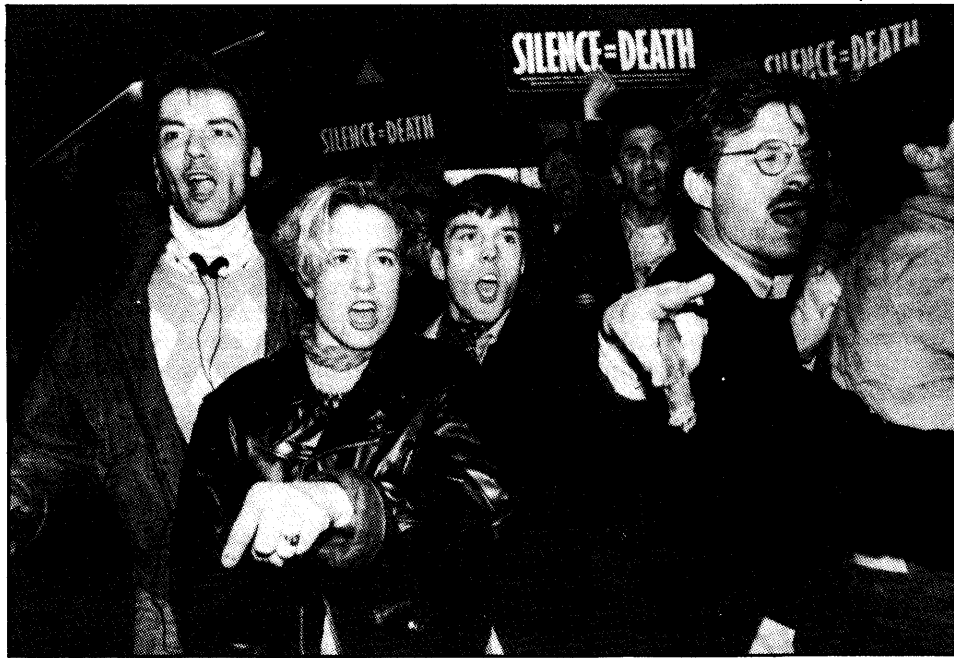
This month marks 20 years of lesbian and gay political struggle since the Stonewall riots of June 1969. In the atmosphere of social protests of that time, lesbians and gays took up the fight for civil rights more openly.

New York City authorities provoked more than the patrons of a single bar when they harassed the Stonewall Inn. They touched off days of rioting and demonstrations. Soon, hundreds of new community organizations appeared across the country, and a new national level of activity and awareness developed.

Today the struggle for lesbian and gay rights is regaining the momentum of the years following Stonewall. In the face of mounting anti-gay violence and government assaults on rights, and the health crisis around AIDS, gay and civil rights groups are stepping up their political organizing.

AIDS-activist organizations are exposing the fundamental inability of this society to address the myriad problems aggravated by AIDS. The disease reveals the utter failure of the corporate healthcare and health-insurance system. While vast numbers of people have no care or coverage whatsoever, cutbacks in county hospitals, and other public facilities increase.

The legal assault on women's reproductive rights threatens efforts to limit sexually transmitted diseases. This contributes to the failure of this society to even begin to slow AIDS. In San Francisco, where activists have won somewhat better AIDS-care, shortage of money is cutting into city health services.



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

New York Tax Day protest demanding "money for AIDS, not war"

AIDS activists have found that to fight AIDS, we have to fight the underlying forces of the system. The profit motive of the drug, insurance, hospital, and health maintenance corporations prevent real progress. Government inactivity and hostility only increases the number of AIDS fatalities.

Insurance companies are moving to suspend coverage of all HIV-positive policy holders and to deny all benefits for their children and relatives. Health-insurance policies generally exclude needed AIDS-related drugs. AIDS

activists have successfully reversed some of these trends.

U.S. government policies compound the crisis, and must be fought every step of the way. The federal government has resisted Medicare funding for proven drugs like aerosolized pentamidine.

Military harassment

U.S. military policy continues to dishonorably discharge all personnel suspected of being lesbian or gay. This includes indivi-

duals who have lesbian or gay friends (even of the opposite sex!)

The military compounds this injustice by considering all HIV-positive military persons as lesbian or gay, and immediately wastes money investigating and trying to discharge them. Also it denies them any medical benefits.

The overturn of constitutionally guaranteed privacy rights was initially given a boost by the *Bowers v. Hardwick* case in 1987. *Hardwick* overturned lesbian/gay privacy rights. The court sent the issue back to the individual states for decision. *Hardwick* is being used in arguments for the *Webster* abortion-rights case before the Supreme Court this month.

The strategy of opening up a state-by-state assault on reproductive rights has already been successfully used against lesbian and gay rights. The establishment is allowing forces in unorganized areas, like South Carolina, to pass laws which prohibit anonymous HIV antibody testing and establish quarantine provisions for some people with AIDS.

Although these policies have been defeated in some states, there are moves on the local level to block rational AIDS-care programs. AIDS activists must move nationally to form a more closely coordinated country-wide structure to reach out and better organize these outlying areas.

The AIDS crisis has placed other important civil rights issues off center stage recently. But other problems of gay and lesbian life are being confronted.

Anti-gay violence and hate crimes, police misconduct, domestic-partner rights, and immigration exclusion and deportation laws are subjects of concern.

The urgency of responding to AIDS has galvanized lesbian and gay activists and their supporters to a new level of activity that will spread to civil rights for all. Even with the increase in attacks on the lesbian and gay community, the momentum for change—started 20 years ago at Stonewall—has not been reversed, but is gaining ground. ■

Victory for CCNY students

By PETER ATWOOD

NEW YORK—On May 2, 10,000 students of the City University of New York (CUNY), took to the streets of Manhattan. "Education is our right!" they chanted.

A central demand was no tuition hike. But spokespersons indicated that other demands were equally important: no budget cutbacks, no layoffs, more support services such as childcare, a rollback of non-resident tuition, and a four-year status for Medger Evers College (which serves mainly foreign students).

A few moments before midnight on that same day, New York State Governor Mario Cuomo finally vetoed the rise in tuition fees.

This victory was imposed on the governor after a battle that lasted several months. In early January, the state legislature cut \$52 million from the budget for the 12 CUNY senior colleges. This would have caused an estimated 1000 layoffs.

In March, \$38 million were "restored," but \$10 million were to come from college revenues. This would have translated into a \$200-a-year tuition increase. The city itself proposed a \$21-million cut in city funding, which would mean an additional \$125-a-year tuition increase. CUNY students already pay \$1250 a year.

On April 24, students shut down the City College campus in Manhattan. Within a week, the protests had spread to 15 other campuses, culminating in the May 2 demonstration.

Currently, negotiations are taking place on all the other issues, including amnesty. The students know quite well that the "struggle will continue." After all, Cuomo administration officials themselves reportedly were advised not to rule out a tuition increase at a later stage.

During their mobilization the students got the support of faculty members, striking Eastern Airlines workers, and unions like the United Federation of Teachers. Similar actions also took place in the SUNY (State University of New York) system and other campuses around the country.



F.M. Kearney/Impact Visuals

'People are fed up with all the cuts.'

The following is an interview with Mark Torres, spokesperson for Students for Educational Rights-Takeover Committee at City College of New York. The interview was conducted by Peter Atwood for Socialist Action.

Socialist Action: The type of student mobilization such as we've seen here in the last three weeks has been unusual during the last 20 years. What is the background?

Mark Torres: What we're talking about here is an error. It's an error where social services are being given a back seat to tax breaks for the rich and military buildups. The Reagan years are now the Bush years, and there's a feeling that nothing is going to improve, but instead will get worse.

I think these mobilizations are appropriate now in light of all that's happened in the last several years. People are just fed up with all the cutbacks.

What you're looking at is a two-party system where the Democrats and Republicans are Tweedledee and Tweedledum. You get Republican budget cuts from Democrats and you get Democratic rhetoric from Republicans, and so people are becoming more and

more alienated and isolated.

S.A.: What's the current situation?

Torres: The students have a whole list of demands. There are campus demands, university demands and, of course, budget demands. On those levels where you have severe budget cuts, it means tuition increases. It also means layoffs of faculty and staff—which means the deterioration and destruction of the university system, which until 1976 had been free.

There's a racist overtone to this. As soon as you have people of color entering the universities, you have the imposition of tuition. And as the numbers of people of color grow, you have more budget cuts, more layoffs.

Racism has become more apparent. You can tell a government's intentions by its budget. You can tell a college administration's intentions by its programs.

S.A.: How are you keeping the students mobilized?

Torres: We've had a lot of open air meetings and updates, factsheets have been distributed, live music, general discourses between students and faculty, and just a lot of hard work.

S.A.: You got a lot of support from unions—such as the striking machinists at Eastern Airlines. How did you accomplish this?

Torres: What we've tried to reiterate and what a lot of the papers didn't pick up is that this is not just a student fight. We realized that a lot of social programs were also being cut, and these social programs affected unions directly because their workers are the ones who give these services.

Also, these workers are part of the community that receives these services. So we understood that it was not just an attack on students, but part of an overall attack on the working class. We appealed to the working class and all people who have a direct stake in this.

Our main goal, of course, is to make sure our campus demands are met. But we also want to raise the whole issue of access, the issue of racism, the issues of classicism and sexism, and bring them to the forefront. We want to have the labor unions, the workers, students, and community activists address these issues.

This society is alienating more and more people. We've got to take action on that. If you don't say "stop" and if you don't act to put that stop in place, they'll just steamroll over you. So our vision is not so much just a vision of a better campus or better university but of a better society as a whole. ■

Dr. Robert Bowman, former U.S. Air Force space development director:

'Star Wars is an attempt to gain military superiority with new offensive weapons'

The following is an interview with Dr. Robert Bowman, president of the Institute for Space and Security Studies.

Culminating a 22-year Air Force career in 1978, Dr. Bowman was Director of Advanced Space Programs Development for what is now the Air Force Space Division. In that capacity he directed the "Star Wars" programs under Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerry Ford. He is currently one of the most severe critics of the U.S. government's nuclear weapons and Star Wars programs.

The interview was conducted in San Francisco in early May by Socialist Action National Secretary Jeff Mackler.

Socialist Action: Two central questions both opponents and supporters of Star Wars (Strategic Defense Initiative) have asked are: Can it work and is there such a thing as a "peace shield?"

Dr. Robert Bowman: Most of the criticism of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) has centered on the idea that it won't work. I think this criticism is wrong and misguided. Chances are that given a reasonable amount of time and perhaps an unreasonable amount of money, it will work. And in so doing, it will make us more insecure—and make nuclear war more likely.

What the American people don't realize, largely because they've been lied to so massively, is that the argument over the technical feasibility of the defensive shield is irrelevant because Star Wars has nothing to do with defense. Star Wars is an attempt to regain absolute military superiority through the development of new offensive weapons disguised as defense.

You asked about a "peace shield." That's a very different question from "Will it work?" I don't know anybody who thinks it will work as a "peace shield." None of the proponents of the system—certainly nobody in the Pentagon working on Star Wars—believes that you can develop a system to make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. That is, you cannot create a defensive shield that would protect us from attack and make it unnecessary to threaten massive retaliation against the Soviet population.

That kind of program, the one promised by President Reagan, is a total fantasy and a cruel hoax. And that kind of a program isn't being worked on. There is no attempt being made to investigate technologies which even have a theoretical chance of providing such a system. What is being done in the SDI program is that technologies that we already know are absolutely unable to accomplish that objective are being built into weapons for other purposes.

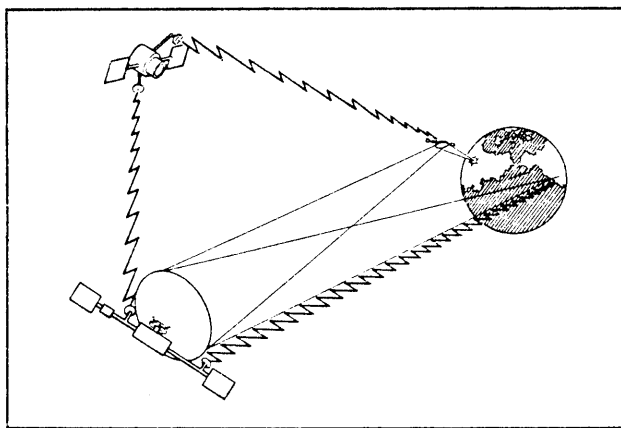
In the first place, Star Wars is so incredibly vulnerable that it's useless in the hands of an innocent party. To avoid having the system disabled means that you have to shoot first. You have to have the element of surprise on your side—you have to be the aggressor. That gives you several other advantages at the same time, including the ability to destroy the majority of the other side's nuclear weapons in their silos before they're launched. That reduces the complexity of the problem significantly.

There are people who believe that given enough time and money you could get Star Wars weapons good enough to

intercept a relatively small number of nuclear missiles such as might be fired at us in retaliation after we hit the Soviets with a massive first strike. But even in that much easier role, Star Wars would not be perfect. The proponents of the newer version of Star Wars estimate that if it worked as designed it would be able to intercept 10 to 20 percent of Soviet missiles fired against us—80 to 90 percent getting through.

Therefore, there would be some losses if the United States were the aggressor in a nuclear war. Even with a substantial superiority such as we already enjoy—increased by the continued deployment of MX, of Trident II, and the deployment of Star Wars—even if we engaged in nuclear war with the Soviets by shooting first and giving ourselves all the advantages of surprise, the proponents of such a scenario estimate that there would be about 20 million Americans dead.

Now, according to these proponents, this is a relatively small percentage of our population. A good bit of our industry, they add, would remain intact and we could therefore rebuild and we would win. This is not my definition of victory—it's theirs. This is one thing that you could possibly do with a Star Wars system. Its purpose



would be to partially shield yourself from retaliation after you initiate a first strike.

S.A.: And the first strike would be initiated with the ICBMs, not the Star Wars?

Bowman: It would be initiated with a combination of MX, Trident II, and some of the Star Wars weapons that are potentially capable of destroying hardened military targets from space without warning. There are these space bombers on the drawing boards in the technology laboratories. If we're not very vigilant, they will be in space as a result of highly classified military programs, most of which even members of Congress don't even know about.

S.A.: Theoretically, the SDI program is designed to shoot down missiles that come into outer space before they reach their target. What about the technical possibility of a space-based weapons system being used to shoot through the atmosphere at targets on earth? Is that a possibility at this

point?

Bowman: It is. There are essentially two classes of Star Wars weapons: the directed-energy weapons and the kinetic-energy weapons. The directed-energy weapons are things like lasers and particle beams and X-rays that travel at or near the speed of light. The kinetic-energy "kill vehicles" are things that are rocket- or gun-powered. They're essentially bullets, "smart rocks," "precocious particles," "brilliant pebbles," etc.

There are specific weapons in each category capable of being used against targets on the surface of the earth. In the directed-energy weapons, the long wavelength lasers have the capability of going through the atmosphere without significant degradation, and that power can be deposited on the surface of the earth.

Studies done for the Department of Defense concluded that before a system of laser battle stations gets good enough to be really useful against ballistic missiles, it would be powerful enough to incinerate cities in minutes and cause the kind of firestorms that consumed Dresden, Hamburg, and Osaka in World War II.

Now if we go to the other category of Star Wars weapons, the kinetic-energy "kill vehicles,"—the ones that are being developed in relative openness like "brilliant pebbles"—we do know that these are not being designed specifically to penetrate the atmosphere.

S.A.: What are "brilliant pebbles?"

Bowman: Well, they're rocket-powered interceptors that orbit the earth. When they spot a target they want to go after, they ignite and go after it and collide with it, destroying it. Of course what they're supposed to be designed to do is to collide with Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). It turns out that's a very difficult job because they have a very short time to intercept them.

Being rocket-powered instead of going at the speed of light, they can't go very far in a limited amount of time—so they can only cover quite a small area. It would take thousands and thousands of "brilliant pebbles" to intercept even a handful of ballistic missiles. But there are other things that they can do. For instance they can collide with satellites. That's a very easy job. So these things would make excellent anti-satellite weapons.

But there are alternate designs for these systems based on the same kinetic-energy principle that can be used against targets on the surface of the earth. What you do is you take out the sensors and the computers and all of the "smarts" and you just have a hunk of metal properly shaped, made of an appropriate material to survive re-entry into the earth's atmosphere. You fire it at the earth from space and it will impact like a meteorite, dig a crater, and at least in theory be capable of destroying hardened military targets like missile silos and command bunkers totally without warning.

S.A.: So Star Wars, together with missiles such as the Trident and the MX, could hypothetically be used as a cleanup operation to prevent retaliation? Theoretically, a first strike would wipe out most of the [Soviet] ICBMs and if there are enough left to retaliate, then a space-based system might effectively cut most of them out?

Bowman: That's right. Now, I must point out that that's not the only possible use for these things. There are other related missions that can be performed. There are people who do not talk in terms of a first strike, although what they're doing leads ultimately to the same thing. They talk in terms of "extended deterrence." What that means is they need Star Wars to make our nuclear weapons useful again.

By allowing us to even theoretically have the capability of nuking the Russians and protecting ourselves from retaliation and surviving, it means the threat to use nuclear weapons has to be taken more seriously by the Soviets.

The proponents of SDI point out that in 1956 Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev threatened to intervene in the Suez crisis. In 1973 Soviet leaders threatened to send troops to the Middle East. And in both these instances, the United States was able to stand off the Soviets with threats of nuclear reprisal. In other words we were able to tell the Russians, "If you do that, we're going to nuke you." And they would back down. We could control their behavior because we had sufficient superiority. Our willingness to use nuclear weapons was believable.

As the Soviets approached parity with us, that threat got less and less believable. Today when our margin of superiority over the Soviets is relatively small, maybe 3000 strategic nuclear weapons, and with neither side having the shield to accompany the sword, neither side can make such threats believable. But if we had Star Wars, then that situation might be changed.

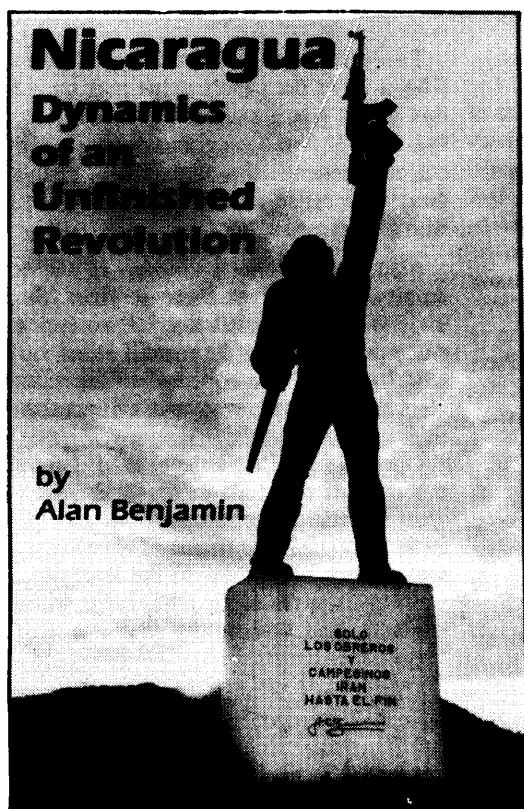
That is perhaps the most prevalent rationale for Star Wars—to make our nuclear weapons useful again, at least as instruments of political coercion. So that once again we can dictate Soviet behavior, threaten them with nuclear attack, and get away with it.

S.A.: What about the argument that the Soviets are really ahead in the arms race?

Bowman: Well, we are told that the Soviets have achieved superiority in nearly every measure of military

(continued to page 7)

New book on Nicaragua!



Available June 15

A penetrating analysis of 10 years of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

"*Nicaragua: Dynamics of an Unfinished Revolution*" provides the key to understanding the grave perils facing the revolution in the aftermath of the military defeat of the contras and the signing of the Arias peace plan.

Written by Socialist Action editor Alan Benjamin (in collaboration with researchers at the ITZTANI Institute in Managua), with an introduction by Jeff Mackler. 186 pp., glossary and index, \$7.95.

To order, write to: Walnut Publishing Co., 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Include \$1 for postage.

(continued from page 6)

strength. We're told the Soviets have overwhelming conventional superiority, nuclear superiority, and that they're ahead of us in Star Wars—so we don't have any choice but to catch up. All of those assertions are lies. The American people are being deliberately deceived. That's the kindest way I can put it.

Secretary [of Defense] Caspar Weinberger used to use this line all the time. Yet he knew better. I was in the same room with Weinberger when he heard his top military advisers tell him that the United States has a 10-year lead in Star Wars technology. Furthermore, the Soviets have never started testing bits and pieces of such systems in space—in violation of the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty—the way we have for the last eight years. And finally, the Soviets have agreed to on-site inspection of everything that goes into space before it's launched. So there's absolutely no threat of deployment of Star Wars weapons from the Soviets—only from the United States.

Now what about nuclear superiority? The graphs and charts that President Reagan used to show the American people on television involved selective statistics which showed a very misleading picture. If you take the entire strategic nuclear arsenals of the two sides, then you find that the United States has always been ahead in total strategic nuclear weapons. We're still ahead now by some 3000, at least. Moreover, ours are more accurate. Soviet missiles and nuclear payloads tend to be bigger. Both characteristics tend to cancel each other out as far as military utility goes.

The only factor where there is a real striking difference between the arsenals of the two sides is in survivability. And there we have a staggering edge. The United States has 10 times as many strategic nuclear weapons and submarines at sea in survivable basic modes; that is, a situation where these weapons are not vulnerable to a first strike.

Finally there's a difference in the technological sophistication of the missiles of the two sides. Our submarines are better than the Russian submarines. Our bombers are better. Most important, Soviet missiles are the antiquated liquid-fuel variety that the United States discarded about a quarter of a century ago.

These antiquated missiles cannot be fired at the turn of a key like ours can. They have to be refueled, they have to spin up their gyros, and they have to initialize the guidance systems. This means that it takes them up to three days to prepare a missile for launch. And these activities can be detected by our spy satellites. The joint chiefs of staff have testified to Congress that we know up to three days in advance every time the Russians are going to launch a missile.

So not only are the Soviets more vulnerable to a first strike than we are, but they are incapable of launching a massive surprise attack because of all the preparations they would have to make to launch their missiles.

S.A.: You have said that with the announcement and the publicizing of the Star Wars program, the nuclear freeze movement went into a tailspin because of illusions people had that SDI was a peaceful system and that it would perhaps be offered to the Soviets.

Bowman: The whole purpose of Reagan's Star Wars speech on March 23, 1983, was to destroy the freeze movement. It was not to announce a new program because the program was already going full speed ahead. It was essentially the same program that I had directed in the 1970s. But starting in 1981, under President Reagan, its objectives changed from being a research program to a crash program to develop and deploy weapons as part of the overall drive for military superiority.

The speech did what it was designed to do—which was to destroy the nuclear freeze movement, seize the moral high ground, and confuse the arms control community.

The Reagan administration argued, "Isn't it better to save lives than avenge them?"—which of course was a total falsehood. And by doing that and making an argument for Star Wars, it allowed the rest of the Reagan buildup to proceed without opposition.

S.A.: On a related question, it seems that whenever the

United States and the Soviet Union sign a treaty such as the ABM Treaty, it is portrayed to the world as another great step toward peace. When one evaluates what weapons are negotiated in regard to disarming or removing them, it seems that the agreements over the past decades simply codify the abolition of weapons that are obsolete, that are not a threat. The door is left open for future weapons.

How would you assess the last treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union in this regard? Have any of these negotiations actually resulted in the lessening of the danger of nuclear war—or are they part of the Star Wars peace scenario to psychologically disarm a public that has grown to fear and hate nuclear war and all those who propose that it is a realistic policy alternative?

Bowman: Actually, arms control has never ended the arms race. The INF Treaty will result in some 3 to 4 percent of our nuclear weapons being disassembled. I won't say destroyed because the warheads won't be destroyed. They'll be there to be put into new kinds of weapons.

But I support arms control nevertheless because I think it has accomplished its primary objective of making nuclear war less likely. There are several possible objectives for arms control. One is to control the nature of weaponry so

larger scheme of things from the military point of view.

The next one that seems to be coming up is the START Treaty—a 50 percent cut in nuclear weapons. And everybody thinks, "Wow, if we could get that! That really means that this business is over and we can go to sleep." That's not true.

The START agreement would provide lower numerical limits on nuclear weapons on both sides while allowing both sides to continue to modernize within those numerical limits. This means that both sides have fewer weapons but they're modern, accurate weapons, with first-strike capability. Instead of START, the peace movement should demand a complete halt to nuclear testing and a halt to the testing of new delivery systems—submarines, missiles, and bombers.

With these two steps we cripple the nuclear arms race and make it difficult to design new nuclear warheads—because they can't do nuclear testing. We make it difficult for them to design new delivery systems, to put the old warheads in because they can't test them.

But it's almost impossible to get together and work out safe and stable ways of getting rid of existing weapons when there's always new weapons even more dangerous being

'The American people are being lied to on a massive scale about practically everything.'

that you eliminate those weapons that give enormous advantage to the aggressor and thereby make war less likely.

That is the most important objective of arms control. The other objectives are to reduce the cost of preparing for war and to make one's losses in war less catastrophic. In the nuclear age, I think those last two objectives of arms control are relatively meaningless.

To my mind the major objective of arms control is to make nuclear war less likely. And I think it has succeeded in doing that to a certain extent, particularly the ABM Treaty, which prevented both sides from getting into the deployment of destabilizing [anti-missile] defenses.

The 1972 ABM Treaty, which was part of Salt I, is a permanent treaty that is still in force and is supposed to be in force forever. And it was a very significant advance. The other part of Salt I was a limit on the number of launchers on either side for intercontinental missiles. This was relatively innocuous—meaningless.

Salt II was a little better. Again the limitation on nuclear weapons on the two sides was relatively meaningless. It sort of gave official blessing to the existing arsenals of both sides and allowed both sides to continue developing the weapons systems they had in progress. But it did impose numerical limits that have caused both sides to have to throw away some obsolete weapons as they put new weapons in.

The failure of these agreements has been that they do not outlaw other kinds of weapons that are also destabilizing—for example MIRVs (Multiple Intercontinental Re-entry Vehicles). In 1972, in Salt I, we had the opportunity to ban multiple warheads on missiles, and if we had done so we would have been much more secure today—and the possibility of a first strike by either side would have been lessened considerably.

S.A.: Again it seems that the real effect and goal of these arms agreements is to disarm public opposition to nuclear weapons.

Bowman: I think that was the reason why the Reagan administration was engaging in the Geneva negotiations. They were going through this charade to shut up the peace movement. They wouldn't have even been at the bargaining table if there hadn't been a public outcry for it.

The INF Treaty was just enough to keep the arms-control process alive while making practically no progress in the

deployed all the time. That's really why START is not the next first step.

S.A.: What was the central reason for the formation of your institute and what are its central priorities today?

Bowman: The original purpose of the Institute for Space and Security Studies was to bring the truth to the American people on Star Wars. I knew the incredible dangers of these weapons in space; how they would make nuclear war more likely.

But while I've been doing this—I've been doing this for the last nine years, seven years full time—I have found that it is but one piece in a much larger puzzle. The deception of the American people, perpetrated by announcing the Star Wars program, was but a part of a pattern that encompasses the Challenger explosion, the KAL 007 shootdown, the descriptions of the Soviet threat, the characterizations of Soviet treaty compliance, the hiding of our CIA activities in the Third World and even in friendly governments like Australia and New Zealand.

What I uncovered in my research into the government is that all these other things were interrelated and that the American people were being lied to on a massive scale about practically everything. Some of it has come to light recently. For example, the way the government with its nuclear-weapons production activities has poisoned our land, our water, our air. It's probably caused thousands of cases of cancer while denying responsibility.

And so the mission of our institute has gradually grown to where I guess it is broader today. Originally we described ourselves as an independent, non-profit, tax-exempt organization providing research and education—an independent voice to the American people on high-tech issues involving space and other areas of national security.

Our activities are geared toward demystifying the arms race and attempting to provide the American people with the knowledge and understanding they need as a basis for informed democracy and common security. Common security meaning more than just military security but environmental security, and economic security as well.

This is a new concept that's spreading like wildfire in the United States and indeed around the world among the peace groups, the social-justice groups, and the environmental groups as they find each other and find that the causes that they work for are one and the same. ■

Socialist Action Summer Educational Conference



Kent State University, Ohio August 3-6, 1989

Partial list of classes:

- 'The Nicaraguan Revolution Ten Years Later,' by Alan Benjamin, author of upcoming Walnut Publishing Co. book *Dynamics of an Unfinished Revolution*, and Nicaraguan economist Rolando Urrutia.
- 'Report Back on Soviet Tour: The Meaning of Gorbachev's Reforms,' by Carl Finamore, Paul Siegel, and Ralph Schoenman.
- 'Marxism and Feminism,' (teachers to be announced).
- 'Marxist Economics and the Current Crisis of Capitalism,' by Lynn Henderson.
- 'Marxist Dialectics and its Application to the Class Struggle Today,' by Cliff Conner.



If you are interested in attending this conference, contact the Socialist Action branch nearest you or call (415) 821-0458.

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

Exiled Chinese students assess key role of workers in national upheaval

It was seven o'clock in the evening of May 20. Mya Shone, Guo-cang Huan, and I were fighting traffic on the Brooklyn-Queens expressway heading for Elmhurst in Queens, New York. But as we tried to weave through the jammed lanes, backed up by construction and the aftermath of New York rush hour, our thoughts were 9000 miles away as we drove on, glued to the short-wave radio broadcasting the news from Beijing.

Guo-cang Huan, a founder of the Chinese democracy movement during the 1970s, inaugurator of the first theoretical journal of the movement, known as *China Spring*, had first become known to us shortly after he managed to leave China, one step ahead of the secret police.

It was 1981 and he had just managed to leave with an exit visa for Tokyo, en route to the graduate program at the University of Denver. At the end of the year, martial law was declared in Poland, and Guo-cang heard of our newly formed American Workers and Artists for Solidarity. He wanted to join with left trade unionists and writers in the United States who were showing their support for the Polish workers' movement, Solidarity.

In Denver, he spoke from our platform, drawing the lessons of the Polish workers' movement for a future struggle of China's workers and students—for independent unions, independent student organizations, and democratic control of society.

Seven years later we were en route to what had been set up as the Contact Office of the Chinese People's Movement in Queens, as the news from Beijing, uncharacteristically unfettered, came through to us in emotionally charged Chinese. Workers in the state radio and the party press had taken over and were freely reporting the mobilizations taking place throughout China, notably in Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

Meeting with Jun Chen

On arrival at the Contact Office we were greeted by a slender, quiet-spoken man in his twenties. Guo-cang introduced us to his friend and comrade, Jun Chen, already famous in China and the United States.

Only weeks before, Jun had been the principle organizer in Beijing and Shanghai of Amnesty 1989, sending a Manifesto that was addressed to "All Delegates of the National People's Congress; to Wan Li, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; and to Yang Shangkun, Chairman of the People's Republic of China."

Referring to a book published in Moscow in 1980 titled "A Socialist Human Rights Perspective," Jun had called for the release of all political prisoners, citing "the special significance of this year, the 40th anniversary of the founding of the State and the 70th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement."

May 4, 1919, had heralded the mass mobilization of the Chinese students and the spread of their protest to the general population—a movement revered in China and regarded as the opening note of the Chinese Revolution.

Jun had predicted that the call for amnesty for political prisoners would sweep the students and intellectuals, reaching into the population, who looked to May 4 as the beginning of a new mass movement in China.

Jun's report was dated March 18, 1989. Within weeks the Chinese government arrested him. Because his wife, Jenny, was British, he was expelled from China instead of being imprisoned.

Unfolding student movement

Jun and Guo-cang described the unfolding of the student movement that built toward May 4 and the planned mobilization in the capital. "How could we dream that our student movement and its call for an end to corruption and for democratization would evoke so immediate a response?" Jun said.

The phones at the Contact Office were ringing continuously—from Shanghai and Beijing. Student leaders in teams were telephoning—to Queens. From Beijing they asked about student and troop movements in Shanghai. From Beijing they checked with Queens on the latest thinking in Tiananmen Square about strategy. They were cut off from each other, Beijing and Shanghai, but the Contact Office in Elmhurst, Queens, was coordinating the struggle!

Jun relayed to us what he was hearing now from Tiananmen Square:

Over 1 million had mobilized in the center. Twenty tanks moving on the center of the



Peter Turnley

capital were being blocked by brigades of nurses who had come streaming out of the hospitals at the urging of—factory workers!

Forty trucks carrying army units had been stopped by the population. Handicapped people and the blind had been organized and were lying down in front of the army trucks, placing their heads under the wheels.

Soldiers were crying and calling to the population. "We are the people's soldiers, we shall never oppose you, we shall never turn our weapons on you."

Factory workers were moving from army truck to army truck, disassembling the automatic weapons of the soldiers who handed them over to the workers. Workers declined the weapons but removed firing pins to the encouragement of the rank-and-file soldiers.

On another telephone in the next room came a further report from another part of

Tiananmen Square. The subway workers had shut down the subways and were blocking access to them by soldiers to whom they were appealing to join the people's movement. Workers were commandeering the buses—and the bus drivers, instead of carrying soldiers to the center, were using the buses as barricades, defending the mass mobilization to waves of chanting and cheers.

Demonstrations spread

News came over the first telephone: Deng Xiaoping had given orders to use any force necessary to restore order. The troops had been ordered to clear the square and move against the population. Students were now roaming through Beijing, declaring the formation of the Committee to Urge the People No Longer to Recognize the Current Government.

With the hanging up of the phone, a call came in from Shanghai. Over 200,000 had mobilized, and the demonstrations had extended to 28 cities. Word was spreading like wildfire in the provinces. Newspapers all over China were publishing freely, and, with impassioned language of support, the news of the mass movement spread. Troops had been sent to close down the newspapers. The journalists and printers massed to confront the troops, and the soldiers refused their orders.

The *People's Daily* in Beijing and China News Agency had been taken over by journalists who refused to print party orders and carried glowing, emotional accounts of the "rising of the people." Worker demands were proliferating, calling for mobilization, an end to corruption, the right to strike, and the right to organize independent trade unions. Jun, Jenny, Guo-Cang, Mya, and I now

began a discussion. The critical question was organization, leadership, program, and a strategy for the long term.

"Power to the people"

Jun walked over to a desk and pulled out a sheet of paper on which he had written the text of a declaration that was circulating among students throughout Europe and the United Kingdom. It had already been printed in Beijing and was being distributed there as well. People were adding to it and the text was literally in flux as revisions and additions came in from Beijing, London, Copenhagen—and Queens.

The declaration stated: "People of China. The country is in crisis. Our masses are already bleeding. By suppressing the people and attempting to subdue the nation, Chairman of the Military Committee Deng Xiaoping, President Yang Shang-kung, and Premier Li Peng—this small clique of bureaucrats—have already become the common enemies of the Chinese people.

"We appeal to all Chinese, to all sectors of society who have a sense of conscience: Repudiate this dictatorial government. (1) Deng Xiaoping must resign. (2) Li Peng must go forever. (3) Yang Shang-kun must be removed. (4) Long live democracy. (5) Long live freedom. (6) Long live the people to whom power must belong."

The declaration bore the name Contact Office For The Support of the China Democracy Movement. As we are attempting to discuss the elaboration of a program, the telephones are ringing. Guo-cang, Jun, and Jenny are taking the phones. Chinese are coming into the apartment with Faxes from Chinese cities and from student groups in the United States.

Guo-cang cups his hand over the phone and leans over: "It's Shanghai. Five generals, including three-star generals [the highest rank], and two marshals have written to Li Peng." Their joint statement declares that it is wrong to use the military to suppress the people. They urge Li Peng to pull back while time permits. "It will never work," they advise Li Peng.

Shanghai is asking for a Fax back on the Contact Office's assessment of the ability of the mobilization in Beijing to prevent the army from moving on the center of the capital.

We begin discussion about the content of a programmatic declaration, about the possibility of an International Committee of Support for the Chinese People's Movement for Democracy. Mya and I urge concrete calls for the right to strike, for independent trade unions, and for workers' democratic control of the factories. We ask about the attitude of workers to the market reforms.

People, we are told, do not know fully what the government intends, but they are crying out against corruption, inflation, high prices, unemployment, and job insecurity. Are there, we ask, calls for socialist democracy? "The regime has appropriated the word 'socialist,' and people associate it with bureaucratic sloganeering," is the response. "Workers' democratic control is concrete and people will rally around such a demand."

"Can such demands be taken from factory to factory?" we ask. "It is very difficult, Jun replies. The workers are arrested and repressed immediately, far more ruthlessly than are the students."

We are interrupted with news from Beijing about the unfolding struggle with the party bureaucracy over how to cope with the crisis. One faction wants to attempt to co-opt the mass movement by agreeing to discuss demands. Another wing fears the contagion of mass mobilization, the disaffection of the soldiers, the explosive potential of any sense of triumph among the masses.

The caller from Beijing says that she has heard that Disciplinary Commission Vice-Chairperson Chen Pei-jin is attempting to prevent the resignation of Party General-Secretary Zhao Zi-yang, who is being attacked for going among the students in Tiananmen Square. Rumors are sweeping

Beijing that such talk is a cover for plans to move the army in and clear the center by brute force.

Flying squads organized

Students and workers are organizing flying squads, including motorcycle units, to monitor all troop movements and to maintain watch-units for the "disappearance" of any prominent student, intellectual, or worker leaders.

The caller reports that some among the bureaucracy are desperately afraid of a split in the party bureaucracy and a bitter struggle for power. They fear that the short term may bring an attempt to attack the mass movement. But the consequence could be a generalized uprising throughout China, including the unthinkable—a general strike.

"They," Jun tells us, "may try to reconcile the Zhao and Li factions, but someone among the top leadership will be made to 'pay' for the crisis. They are addicted to scapegoating because they dare not acknowledge that it is the bureaucratic regime itself that is the root of the crisis."

"We must struggle for more than the resignation of this or that bureaucrat," Jun continues. "We don't want to replace one bureaucrat with another. They are cut from the same cloth. Deng Xiaoping is the architect of the 'reform,' but he is also the father of the mass repression of 1957 when the One Hundred Flower period was crushed by arrests and armed force."

We all agree. The question is to formulate a program around which organization can occur. "After the uprising," says Guo-cang, we must make very clear that it is not just a question of a few leaders, however they attempt to resolve the current crisis. It is the entire system. So the question facing the mass movement is, 'How do we change the system, how do we remove the bureaucratic dictatorship?'"

We discuss forming independent union branches in factories and independent organizations among students, writers, artists, farmers, and soldiers to coordinate with them. We all agree the workers' movement is the key.

The Beijing Commune

Jenny and Jun describe the dramatic calls from Beijing of two days before: The students had become convinced the military was about to move and that martial law would be ruthlessly imposed as in Poland. Their numbers began to shrink rapidly. They were down to 10,000 who were left in Tiananmen Square. The word began to spread to the population. Two hundred thousand workers poured out of the factories and the worker districts.

Fifteen thousand workers from the Beijing Steel Company formed special teams to take charge of the organizing of the demonstrations, of maintaining order. Worker patrols were formed to maintain unity of purpose and coordination among the population. Within one day, 10,000 students had mushroomed to 1 million people through the intervention of the workers.

Mya and I say to Jun and Guo-cang: "This is the Beijing Commune. No matter the immediate outcome it is a historic turning point. The example of the Chinese masses—transforming a rank-and-file army overnight into sympathizers and taking charge of a movement that has paralyzed the regime—will reverberate throughout China and the world."

Talk turns to the spontaneity of the mass movement and of the crisis itself. We revisit the theme of organization, program, and leadership.

We begin to discuss the importance of the Contact Office itself, the opportunity to send to Beijing programmatic formulations and proposals. The workers, Guo-cang says, want job security, low prices, the opportunity to decide which jobs they wish, the ability to move freely. The Chinese workers feel strong now that they have mobilized and know that they can be in touch with forces outside China. They are studying the conditions of Hong Kong workers, many of whom travel from Hong Kong to Beijing.

Again a call from Shanghai. People are talking about drafting a new constitution for the country, calling for democratic control by the people. Everyone is talking about which way forward as if the regime is already a thing of the past. In their hearts, it is.

Jun says, "Yes, it's true, but some people will want only a cleaner version of the present party group. Most want deeper change. Every indication is that the great majority of people in China are furious about the generalized corruption among the elite.



The Gorbachev-Deng summit was upstaged by the upsurge of the Chinese workers and students.

They hate the bureaucracy and bureaucratic privilege. So the critical question is how do we achieve this?"

The phones continue to ring. The information flows. Everything is in flux. We agree that we must get an international support apparatus, keep the Contact Office going, and brainstorm about the way forward.

"These 10 days will shake the world," I tell Jun, Jenny and Guo-cang. We embrace. Guo-cang, Mya, and I drive to Brooklyn, and the strategizing continues.

Independent unions formed

Ten days later, the Associated Press reporter, Terri Jones, files a report, a story from Beijing datelined May 30. The headline in the *Santa Barbara News-Press* is "China Union Leaders Reportedly Arrested." The story opens:

"Members of a new independent labor union said today that police had arrested three of their leaders, the latest sign the government was getting tough with non-student participants in the democratic movement."

The story takes precedence over the unveiling of the 33-foot-high Goddess of Liberty statue in Tiananmen Square which has brought 200,000 back, belying the stories of the crumbling of the student movement and the imminent purge of intellectuals supporting the mass movement. Even the claims that the Zhao faction would be purged begin to recede.

Instead, the lead story cites Zhao Pinglu, head of the Beijing Independent Workers' Union, who describes the attempts to arrest three union leaders, including an official of the national airlines and two worker leaders of the railroad workers.

"The independent trade union claims 3000 members, the *News-Press* story continues. "It was formed May 19 in defiance of a government ban on all but the Official All China Federation of Trade Unions." Workers who joined the demonstrations and support the movement are fined, have their pay docked, and are threatened with losing their jobs. The student Goddess of Liberty statue is supported by the workers. "Here is a new symbol for China," says a worker at a machine tool factory.

As the workers assert their will to organize, the student leaders who proposed ending the occupation of the square are overruled. The regime rails against "conspirators and bad elements," in the words of Peng Zhen, former chairman of China's moribund legislature. The population appears to be defiant.

By May 31, the story out of Beijing is dramatic, "China Labor Activists Emulate Solidarity," reads the headline in the *Los Angeles Times*:

"Standing out in the babble of loudspeakers haranguing the crowd in Tiananmen Square at around 3 o'clock this morning were the energetic voices of the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation. This is a plucky band of workers who say they organized

spontaneously during pro-democratic protests and dream of building something akin to Solidarity, the Polish independent trade union."

Jun and Jenny continue to be in direct touch with events in China. The Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation, they tell us over the phone, is entirely distinct from the Beijing Independent Workers' Union. Workers are forming organizations and unions spontaneously in factories across China.

The *Los Angeles Times* story is compelling. It quotes workers like Liu Qiang, 27, a printer who went into Tiananmen Square to help protect the students from military intervention. He tells reporter, Karl Schoenberger:

"What we're doing represents the voice of the people. There must be someone who stands up first for worker rights and democracy." The reporter writes ruefully that the number of students in the square had been in steady decline to a few thousand Tuesday night but "the sudden emergence of the labor activists is a new twist in the six weeks of raucous agitation."

Like the moment before the workers poured out of the factories to revive the flagging student movement, the entry of the workers turned the tide again, only this time at a higher level—that of independent worker organizations with their own leaders and their own demands.

"Hundreds of people crowded around the folding table at the northwest corner of the square, where union members took turns holding a microphone and getting things off their chests," the *Times* article continues. "A visitor from the nearby city of Tianjin warned that members of another labor underground organization had disappeared."

The union members in the northwest corner of the square had strength among the state railroad workers. Liu stated, "Like the Polish union, ours is illegal at the beginning. We hope that after the facts are known, the laws can be changed." Liu earns \$37 a month, a typical wage. He makes clear, however, that it was not economic complaints alone which "drove him to the barricades."

The *Times* reporter seems surprised that Liu has worked out his own ideas and is at once articulate and passionate:

"We must overcome the slavery of workers," Liu said. The reference, the reporter informs us, is not to exploitation by capitalism nor to the Communist system, "which Liu and his comrades say they are happy to work within. Like the students laying siege to Tiananmen Square, they espouse a commitment to greater democracy and an end to official corruption."

The reporter is astonished to find that the militant worker to whom he speaks regards himself as a communist who wants to struggle to overcome the slavery of workers because "the government is aloof and out of

(continued on page 10)

... Beijing Commune shakes the world

(continued from page 1)

capitalist economic reforms launched by the Chinese CP, which have drastically lowered the standard of living for Chinese workers and peasants.

Zhen Ying, a 20-year-old journalism student from Hefei told Western reporters, "What we want is to make communism good and perfect. We don't think the government we've got can do that, and that's why we want it to go."

The mass movement that has shaken China this year is the result of growing economic insecurity and lack of confidence in the Chinese ruling bureaucracy.

Ten years ago, the CCP under Deng Xiaoping began a process of economic reform which undermined many of the gains of the Chinese Revolution. The overall goal of the bureaucracy was to revive a stagnated economy through increased privatization of the nation's wealth and capitalist competition.

The reforms were first applied in the countryside, where peasants were told to "enrich themselves." The government removed many of the incentives it had previously provided to collective farms and it encouraged individual peasants to become entrepreneurs.

This resulted in wealthy peasants acquiring increasing amounts of land from the collective farms and from poorer peasants. The peasants displaced by this process were compelled to either work for the new landowners or to leave the land and find work in the cities.

Centralized planning without democracy led to bureaucratic inefficiency and stagnation in the economy. The bureaucracy's only other option has been to allow the penetration of world capitalism into China and allow market relations to develop without the check of workers' democracy.

The government has encouraged private and joint-enterprises by lifting price controls and subsidies on a number of commodities. The result has been staggering inflation.

Inflation reached 50 percent in the first six



Peter Turnely

months of 1988. Food products have been some of the worst hit by inflation. In Shanghai, fresh vegetable prices have shot up 89 percent. A situation now exists in which the majority of the Chinese people are unable to maintain a standard of living even on the level of pre-economic reform China.

End state ownership?

The Chinese bureaucracy is committed to the strategy of pro-capitalist economic reforms. A planned economy operated democratically by the workers is not an option for the CCP, because such a strategy would not allow them to maintain the bureaucracy's special privileges. For one thing, government officials would be accountable to mass organizations that could recall them at any time.

By providing world capitalism with a foothold in China, the CCP has increased the danger of capitalist restoration.

In early January, three prominent Chinese economists submitted a proposal to the CCP leadership that called for an end to state ownership of industry. Hua Sheng, one of the three economists, said that he thought the proposal would meet opposition, but he also said, "When the economy is stabilized, perhaps by the middle of this year, the

proposal is likely to be considered and eventually to be adopted." (*The New York Times*, Jan. 9, 1989)

Gorbachev and the Soviet bureaucracy are launching economic reforms in the Chinese mold. In fact, China's course has gone much farther than the most adventurous proposals of the Soviet *perestroika*.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, however, has accompanied his austerity measures with political openings and reforms. These political reforms are meant to soften the blow of austerity. The Chinese CP has allowed no such political openings. Movements for democracy—such as the student demonstrations in 1986-87—were smashed by the government.

Another factor undermining confidence in the government is the rampant corruption practiced by CCP leaders. While millions of people are working in sweatshops seven days a week, or are forced to work two jobs just to feed a family, the Chinese bureaucracy is wining and dining itself and foreign guests and sending its children to the finest universities.

The amount spent by the government administration on banquets and luxury items last year was equal to the entire education budget. In 1987 alone, the CCP was forced to

expell 109,000 members on corruption charges.

"Thank you and goodbye"

The Chinese CP now faces the biggest challenge ever to its rule. Chants of "overthrow the bureaucracy" and banners reading "Deng Xiaoping—thank you and goodbye" have been features of every demonstration.

The use of force, even if it succeeds temporarily, will only serve to further erode the government's authority. Martial law will only add fuel to the development of future protests.

One section of the bureaucracy is searching for another course to stabilize the political situation. Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CCP, appears to be grooming himself as a Chinese Gorbachev by stating his support for a fight against corruption and his willingness to discuss political reform.

While Zhao has been isolated by more conservative bureaucrats for now—some reports indicate that Zhao and his supporters are under house arrest—his political star may rise again if martial law remains impossible to enforce. The bureaucracy will have to find some figure like Zhao who appears less tainted in the eyes of the students and workers.

Zhao and other more sophisticated bureaucrats would like to channel the demands for democracy through official channels and thereby defuse a movement that challenges the CCP's power. In this way, like Gorbachev, they could also win broader support for their austerity program among the intellectuals.

While this strategy might succeed in co-opting a layer of the movement's leadership, the Chinese bureaucracy faces a much more difficult task than Gorbachev faces in the Soviet Union.

Most important, Gorbachev's political and economic reforms were timed to head off a working-class upsurge. Gorbachev is attempting to put forward the Soviet CP as the vehicle for reform. In China, the upsurge has already taken place. It is more difficult to pull a movement with its own demands off the street than to prevent such a movement in the first place.

The promise of 1949

Overall, the government is isolated and faces a crisis of leadership as it decides what to do next. This provides the students and workers with an excellent opportunity to push forward.

The next step for the workers must be to strengthen their own independent organizations as the students have done. Trade unions, factory committees, and workers' councils will give the semi-spontaneous movement organization and more effectively defend it from the attacks of the government.

Independent working-class organizations can also put forward a program and set of demands that act as a political anchor against maneuvers by layers of the CCP bureaucracy that seek to co-opt the movement.

Ultimately, the workers need to create organizations which challenge the CCP's power and lead a political revolution against the decayed bureaucracy.

This year's upsurge is the most significant and historic event in China since the 1949 revolution. And it has shaken the world. The revolution launched this year has paved the way toward fulfilling the promise of 1949—a socialist society ruled by the workers themselves.

Save the Uppington 26!

An emergency defense campaign is underway in order to save the lives of 26 Black anti-apartheid activists convicted in the death of a police officer near Uppington in South Africa's Western Cape.

On May 26, a judge sentenced 14 of the group to hang. As we go to press, another 12 defendants are awaiting sentence.

The convictions stem from a Nov. 13, 1985, incident in which a Black constable was driven from his house and stoned to death by a crowd of angry demonstrators. The Uppington 26 were charged as a group—according to the doctrine of "common purpose."

In a similar case, that of the Sharpeville Six, the defendants were reprieved from hanging as a result of the worldwide outcry of protest. We must do no less in defending the Uppington 26. Send telegrams to the South African Embassy, 3051 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20008. ■

INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT

Subscribe today!

International Viewpoint is a biweekly magazine published under the auspices of the Fourth International. A one-year subscription costs only \$47. Write to:
International Viewpoint,
2 rue Richard Lenoir,
93108 Montreuil, France.

... Students

(continued from page 9)

touch with the workers it purports to serve through institutional revolution. Union organizers have a keen sense that they are a threat to the rigid party system."

This story is being repeated throughout China. The mass movement has suddenly leapfrogged as the workers register their own strength and the central role they have played in rescuing the students and generalizing the mobilization into a movement which embraced the entire population and the soldiers in uniform.

"The government is afraid," states Zhao Pinglu, 33, the railroad worker from the Beijing Independent Workers' Union and a member of its standing committee. "They are afraid because the truth is in the hands of the people."

I cannot help recalling the long years of Maoism, when activists in the "radical" movements in the West celebrated the bureaucracy, lauded its leader cult, and hounded all who were not sufficiently and

conspicuously obsequious before it. The truth has proven stronger than all the power of the Mao bureaucracy, deified by sycophants everywhere and fawned over by not a few revolutionary pundits.

The workers, as Zhao Pinglu reveals, are providing their own answer, eloquent, impassioned, unrelenting, and confident as the long unfinished Chinese revolution, betrayed cruelly by Stalin in 1927 and derailed for six decades, bursts forth in the Great Square of the People before an impassive, discarded icon of the unmentioned and unheralded ex-chairman Mao. ■

Post Office Box 404830
Brooklyn, NY 11240-4830

IMPACT VISUALS

212-966-9619

Affordable photos, cartoons, caricatures and illustrations for the movement and the progressive press

Self-determination for Panama; U.S. hands off!

By HAYDEN PERRY

Once again the U.S. administration is confronting General Manuel Noriega in Panama, and once again the dictator appears to be an immovable object.

"That man has got to go," Reagan and Bush declared in 1987. They backed up their edict with military threats, internal subversion, and economic strangulation of this Central American country. Now Washington has upped the ante with the dispatch of 2000 additional troops to the Canal Zone.

Noriega is one of the more unsavory specimens of military dictators. His political philosophy does not extend beyond his personal aggrandizement. He sold out his country's interests by serving as a CIA agent, utilizing his relations with Fidel Castro to gather intelligence. He even offered to assassinate leaders of the Sandinista government.

Noriega "legitimized" his power through a fraudulent election in 1984. Bush approved the vote-stealing in this case, and attended the inauguration ceremonies. Because Noriega was "our man in Panama," the administration covered up his drug dealing and other corruption.

It could do this up to the point where Noriega proved unreliable for U.S. interests, threatening the stability of Panama at the same time that operation of the Canal was being turned over to that country.

In order to squeeze Noriega out, Reagan and Bush clamped an economic chokehold on Panama's economy. For the last 18 months, Panamanian assets in U.S. banks have been frozen and toll charges on the Canal are not paid to Panama. American firms in Panama are told not to pay taxes.

Panama's Gross National Product has fallen 22 percent.



Internal bank deposits are down 35 percent, and public revenues have dropped 44 percent. This hurts. But not enough to topple Noriega.

The Panamanian business class has proven incapable of ousting Noriega. The opposition candidate in the aborted May 7 elections was bankrolled by the United States. Even so, the general strike called by the opposition on May 17 was a failure.

The working class has little confidence in the bourgeois leadership—but it lacks strong leadership of its own. And

Noriega has appealed to the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Panamanian masses by coming out against the austerity measures of the International Monetary Fund and the threats of the United States to abrogate the Panama Canal Treaty.

The Noriega regime also has protested interference by the Organization of American States (OAS), which Washington had prodded to demand Noriega's immediate departure. On May 17, the OAS decided to send a delegation to Panama to try to work out a deal in which Noriega would leave after a period of two years.

If all else fails, Washington holds the military option. Bush has sent close to 2000 troops to beef up the 10,000 soldiers already there. "It's to protect American lives," Bush says. Weren't 10,000 troops enough?

A Grenada-style operation would be difficult in Panama and would create immense problems in running the Canal. Bush would prefer that the Panamanian army overthrow its commander in chief. On May 13, he called on the Panamanian Defense Force to stage a coup. But the officer corps is closely tied to Noriega and shares in his drug operations.

That is one of Bush's problems in Panama. He wants Noriega out, but American domination to remain. Bush announced that the moment Noriega is ousted, "normal American relations with Panama will be resumed." But "normal relations" have meant 85 years of U.S. economic and military domination.

The Panamanians don't want that anymore. They want an end to dictatorship—and an end to American domination. The American people can best help Panama by demanding that Bush withdraw all U.S. troops and let the Panamanians decide their future for themselves. ■

Teachers in Mexico hit austerity

By SCOTT ADAMS-COOPER

Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is facing a militant challenge to his government's austerity measures in the form of wildcat strikes by half a million teachers. The striking members of Mexico's teachers' union (SNTE)—which, at 1.1 million members, is the largest union in Latin America—are demanding a 100 percent wage increase, the ouster of a leadership they describe as "a Mafia," and the right to choose their own leaders.

The strikes began April 19. Teachers demanded the dismissal of SNTE president Carlos Jonguitud Barrios, who they charge has stolen \$9 million from the union treasury in his 17 years of rule. Jonguitud is a long-time lackey of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), delivering teachers' support through votes and campaign donations.

El Norte, the leading newspaper in Monterrey, Mexico, recently reported that the SNTE had been used as the primary instrument of fraud in Salinas's slim election victory last summer.

Jonguitud, in collusion with the PRI, has held teachers' wages below \$200 a month, and has used terror tactics to keep SNTE members in line. Since 1980, over 150 dissident teachers have been murdered, mostly in the states of Oaxaca and Chiapas, where the strikes have been most intense.

Salinas dismissed Jonguitud a week after the strikes began, but it was too late. Elba Esther Gordillo, a Jonguitud functionary named to replace him, was not acceptable to the strikers. And a government offer to raise salaries 25 percent was soundly rejected.

Teachers have seen their buying power decrease by more than 50 percent over the past 7 years, while the union leadership has padded its investment portfolio through \$12 million a year in dues from the membership.

The PRI has, over many years, given the SNTE increasing influence over national educational policy and key official posts. Any interest on the part of the PRI or the teachers' leadership in educating children, however, has been subordinated to their interest in political control. The PRI's need for both votes and support for economic austerity has come first, and Jonguitud always complied. The SNTE was rewarded with Jonguitud's Senate seat, 16 seats in the lower House of Congress, 42 seats in state legislatures, and over 100 mayoralties.

The Mexican government has a lot at stake in this strike. The 100 percent wage-increase demand strikes at the heart of efforts to renegotiate Mexico's crushing \$100 billion foreign debt. The capitalist lender nations are



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

demanding that Salinas hold the line with workers, something the PRI has been able to do through appointed crony union leaderships. The teachers' demand to choose their own leaders is perhaps the more frightening one for the Mexican ruling class. If the teachers win, who might be next?

Business Week, stating Washington's position in an article entitled "Why Salinas must tame the teachers," bluntly said, "He

needs to quell their strike before it sparks other protests."

The government fears a spread of the teachers' strike to other sectors, especially to the 1 million-strong government workers' union. A demand for union independence there would be very disruptive to Mexico's plans. *Business Week* notes that "rising unrest could push Salinas to use force, an option he has so far avoided."

The PRI rulers and their banker and government friends in Washington and beyond are very nervous about the prospect of a truly independent Mexican union movement. *The Christian Science Monitor* wrote soon after the strike began: "Salinas is now finding that some Mexicans have reached the limits of their patience. Unless he can ease the economic burden, the political situation may soon turn uglier." ■

Death squads get green light from Salvador gov't.

By SCOTT ADAMS-COOPER

A new campaign of brutality, directed against trade unions and the mass movements, has been launched in El Salvador. This puts the lie to the portrayal of new president Alfredo Cristiani as a "moderate." He has already hinted at invoking a state of emergency, giving legality to the army's continued murders, torture, and disappearances.

Cristiani, a leader of the ARENA party, visited Washington during May. He had quite a public relations task before him. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) has changed the political landscape with its peace proposals, and Cristiani faces increased scrutiny. The U.S. government is finding it more difficult to justify aid to El Salvador. [See March 1989 and April 1989 *Socialist Action*.]

Cristiani has been "warned" by Vice President Quayle and Democratic congressional leaders about human rights abuses. Washington is afraid of a backlash here if ARENA and the army, aided by U.S. dollars, unleash further repression. El Salvador faces a potential bloodbath, with an army which looks at the ARENA victory as a green light to finish off the FMLN.

The Christian Science Monitor put it

euphemistically in its May 14 issue, noting that "Cristiani has been fighting ... to persuade Congress to give him the benefit of the doubt and not impose conditions on the United States' massive subsidy to his country."

But Sigifredo Ochoa, ARENA vice president of the Salvadoran Legislative Assembly, gave a clue recently to his party's real agenda. "The methods of political solution are exhausted. Only violent means remain. Let us not kid ourselves. That's what the Armed Forces are there for.... In 1945 the decision was taken to end a war by dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

Meanwhile, the FMLN has stepped up its military operations, while calling on Cristiani to declare his government transitional. The FMLN is still pushing for cease-fire negotiations and new elections in which they would participate.

The latest round of repression represents a tactical shift. The Salvadoran army and death squads are targeting mid-level activists in the unions and mass movement, avoiding the international outcry that would come with better-known targets.

One example is the case of Cristina Gomez, a first-grade teacher in Santa Lucia who was recently murdered. Gomez was an

activist and organizer with the militant teachers' union, ANDES, but was not nationally known. One observer described the effect to the *Monitor*. "She was taken from in front of her school on a busy street in the middle of the day. With her murder [her killers] were sending a message—that they can get anybody they want, any time they want."

Meanwhile, harassment of the unions has increased. The National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) charges that the army has been capturing and torturing more workers since the elections. Troops surrounded the UNTS headquarters in San Salvador on election day, and now harass visitors to the union office on a regular basis, checking their bags and identities.

Over 100 people were arrested on the evening of April 19, in raids on human rights, labor, and women's organizations offices in the capital. At the Christian Committee for the Displaced of El Salvador (CRIPDES) and the National Repopulation Coordinating Committee (CNR), soldiers and police ransacked the offices, clubbed those inside, and arrested 75 people—including five pregnant women, 30 children, and even a three-day-old baby.

This latest repression is probably just the beginning of an all-out offensive by the Salvadoran government to smash the opposition. And both the Bush administration and Democratic Congress are working hard to figure out how to assure ARENA and their henchman of U.S. dollars to finance their death-squad government. ■

Polish Solidarity is legalized - But at what cost for workers?



By ZBIGNIEW KOWALEWSKI

On April 5, after nine weeks of roundtable negotiations at the Magdalenka Palace, Solidarity President Lech Walesa and Interior Minister (and head of police) General Czeslaw Kiszczak announced they had concluded an agreement.

On April 17, the court of Warsaw assigned a place in the register of trade unions to the Independent Self-Managing Trade Union Solidarity. It was, in a word, legalized, after seven years in which its members and the masses of workers had kept up a harsh underground struggle.

Calm reigned in the factories and the streets during the days following the legalization. The Polish workers did not rejoice in the reconquest of their trade-union freedom. The fruits of victory for them were bitter.

The bureaucratic regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, despite having dealt a cruel setback to the working class and the Polish revolution in December 1981, had never been able to "normalize" this class. The bureaucracy's only remedy was to appeal to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, in hopes that he would be the one who would make the working class governable again.

"Holding back rebellion"

On Dec. 18, 1988, Andrezej Gwiazda, former vice president of Solidarity and an opponent of Walesa's line, warned the Polish

'Walesa and his colleagues at the roundtable condemned the strikes as a provocation.'



workers in a dramatic declaration: "Thanks to the support of the American State Department, a policy of reconciliation and reform has been imposed in Poland. Today, this policy enters the phase of its most successful fulfillment.

"Its base will be a pact that will permit the conciliating group—labeled the 'constructive opposition'—to obtain certain political concessions in return for guaranteeing the economic interests of the regime. This means that a portion of the opposition groups will assume responsibility for holding back society's rebellion against the low standard of living."

On Jan. 17, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski asked the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) for the green light to open negotiations with the "constructive wing" of Solidarity and of the opposition. The majority of bureaucrats were scandalized by this perspective.

Then Jaruzelski put his resignation on the table. He walked out of the meeting, followed by the prime minister and the ministers of police and defense. Jaruzelski declared: "If you think we can maintain ourselves in power in this country without the help of Walesa—then govern. But don't count on me."

Faced with this extreme gesture by Jaruzelski, the Central Committee reluctantly accepted the plan of "national reconciliation."

"Springtime will be ours"

After the setback to the Polish revolution in December 1981, rank-and-file activists

spontaneously raised the slogan: "The wintertime is yours, the springtime will be ours."

Solidarity's spring arrived not when they expected it, but many years later in May 1988. In the Lenin Steel Works at Nowa Huta, a worker, Andrzej Szewczuwaniec, unleashed the strike in his department. Twenty-four hours later, 20,000 steelworkers from Nowa Huta were on strike. The central demand was the sliding scale of wages for all workers—manual and intellectual, including pensioners.

General Kiszczak (the same one who later, with Walesa, sponsored the roundtable discussions) launched his elite troops, called the "antiterrorist brigade," to break the strike by breaking the bones of the strikers. Students in almost every university went on strike in order to solidarize with the workers and protest the savage repression.

A second, larger strike wave began in August 1988. This time it was launched by the miners of Upper Silesia, a sector that had formerly been considered rather quiescent. It expressed the entry into the struggle of a young generation of workers—which surprised and roused the entire country.

This generation hadn't known the glorious days of Solidarity in 1980-81. But this time it was they who took the banner into their hands, unifying the strike movement under the slogan, "There cannot be liberty without Solidarity."

The spectacular awakening of the youth led several of the regime's sociologists to believe

that the situation was rapidly evolving toward a dynamic similar to that of the Palestinian Intifada.

If we don't put the brakes on this dynamic, they declared from the pages of the official press, the Polish political scene will degenerate. It will be reduced to two forces, the youth with stones in hand and the police with their truncheons.

"The man from Providence"

It was then that there appeared a "man from Providence." Lech Walesa met with Kiszczak, the head of the police. On the strength of a promise of opening negotiations, Walesa forced the strike committees in Gdansk, in the mines of Upper Silesia, and in the entire country to proclaim an end to the strikes.

The workers' leader Walesa showed a capacity to demobilize and disorient the workers that was 100 times more effective than that of General Kiszczak's "antiterrorist brigades." Many strikers threw a terrible accusation into Walesa's face—that of treachery.

Meanwhile, Jaruzelski named as new prime minister one of the key players on his team, Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The Jaruzelski-Kiszczak-Rakowski wing of the bureaucracy then undertook a political initiative of strategic dimensions—to arrive at an agreement with Walesa before more strike waves could explode in the factories and universities.

On Jan. 28, 1989, the influential weekly *Polityka*, linked to Rakowski, gave a stern warning: "We confront the question of to be or not to be.... The danger of loss of power by our party is real."

At this same moment, the third strike wave burst forth. According to the government's figures, in January 1989 there were 170 industrial conflicts in the country, three times more than in December. In the first three weeks of February, there were 800 conflicts, including 50 strikes.

Lech Walesa and his colleagues at the roundtable condemned the strikes as "provocations." They mobilized to put down the strikes in the name of "the good of Poland" and of "social peace." This was necessary, they said, for a successful outcome to the negotiations.

Radical market reforms

The basic premise of the roundtable negotiations—and agreement—was the common goal of the Jaruzelski wing of the bureaucracy and the "constructive" wing of Solidarity to implement a radical market reform of the economy.

The Jaruzelski leadership proposes expanding private initiative, dismantling a part of the state property in industry, opening the country to investment by Western capital and control by the International Monetary Fund, and subordinating the workers to the instruments of control and discipline lent by capitalism.

Jaruzelski and his cohorts want to atomize the working class in order to destroy their solidarity and their capacity for collective resistance and mass mobilizations—introducing among them great social inequality, bitter rivalries, and insecure employment.

Another aspect of the project consists in the formation of a new trade-union bureaucracy. The present one, during the strike waves of 1988, showed itself unable to rein in the workers. The Jaruzelski team has understood that an efficient sellout leadership can be consolidated only if this task is shared by the leadership of the independent workers' movement.

Finally, Jaruzelski's political project is looking to restructure bureaucratic rule itself, in order to base it directly on the needs of world capitalism. It is evident that the Polish bureaucracy's current governing team counts on Gorbachev's approval.

The West plans to "save" Poland

The international bourgeoisie, with the rulers of the White House at its head, is ready to pitch in its support. Its major worry consists in making sure that Poland avoids a revolution whose victory could possibly upset the "order of Yalta"—that is, the system of domination established on the continent at the end of World War II.

Already, in February 1981, at the highest point of the Polish revolution, a common

(continued on page 13)

New South Korea?

A section of the Gdansk shipyards, the birthplace of Solidarity, is to be leased for five years to a Polish entrepreneur who has teamed up with an Anglo-Polish company named Durainsul. According to the May 18 announcement, the K2 yard, which formerly employed 1000 workers, will be reduced to 100 workers, and any worker who joins a union will be fired.

"There will be no strike trouble in private yards," said Jerzy Piskorz-Nalecki, the entrepreneur heading up the project. "We will get the unions out of the yards."

Piskorz-Nalecki said he was confident that the Polish shipyards had a bright future as the "South Korea" of Western Europe. "Our attractions are low-cost production, good workers, and experience in building all kinds of vessels."

The privatization of the K2 yard is just the beginning of what the Polish bureaucracy—now with the blessing of the top Solidarity leadership—has in store for the Polish workers. The increase of capitalist penetration will mean further unemployment, non-union labor, and an overall assault on the living standards of the Polish workers. This is the real meaning—and danger—of the roundtable agreement.

strategy of the "communist" bureaucracy and capitalism was proposed by Professor Richard Portes of the influential British Royal Institute of International Relations.

This plan foresaw an economic reform of the Hungarian type (radically market-oriented), a restructuring of the ruling PUWP, the concession of a certain degree of pluralism within restricted spheres of social and political life, and the "bureaucratization of solidarity" by means of its integration into limited "joint-management" tasks of the system.

According to Portes, this would permit an effective blockage of the "disruptive forces of syndicalism and workers' self-management" and arrange a joint plan between East and West to "save" the Polish economy.

Today, this old plan of Portes seems to be reaching fulfillment. President Bush was the first one, immediately after the conclusion of the roundtable agreement, to lavish millions of dollars and numerous other initiatives of economic "salvation" on Poland. His example was rapidly followed by the ministers of the European Economic Community.

A Self-Managed Republic

The national congress of Solidarity—which met in September 1981, three months before the state of siege was implemented—democratically adopted, through representation by the workers of the entire country, a plan for economic reform and a new system of state power. This project foresaw the construction of a Self-Managed Republic, which would be characterized by the widest democracy possible and by a real socialization of the economy.

After the imposition of martial law, in the autumn of 1984, the clandestine leadership of Solidarity reneged on this project, turning their backs on what had been the expression of the will and aspirations of the immense majority of the Polish people.

This leadership completely abandoned all reference to democratic planning, reducing the idea of workers' self-management to a caricature. It came out for economic market reforms.

It's true that there was, in this period after the defeat, an inevitable regression of social consciousness and an expansion of illusions in the "values" of the market economy. But this regression was much more limited than may seem.

According to a confidential report, produced by the Institute of Investigations of the Working Class of the Academy of Social Sciences (a body associated with the Central Committee of the PUWP), in 1985 more than 40 percent of workers declared themselves, more or less clearly, for a "workers' self-management-oriented economic reform."

Some 60 percent of the workers were for an economy oriented worldwide toward the satisfaction of social needs—and not for the satisfaction of the imperatives of the market economy.

Other studies carried out in 1988 by sociologists at Warsaw University reveal that within the working class, after 1984, one could observe a precipitous lowering of illusions in the market economy. The explanation for this turn of events is simple. Growing sectors of the working class were already experiencing the social effects of market reforms.

In November 1987, this tendency expressed itself in a surprising manner. The Jaruzelski leadership organized a national referendum to give legitimacy to its economic reforms. More than 60 percent of Polish citizens boycotted the referendum or went out to vote "no."

But Walesa and his followers had decided to continue on their own path. In order to clear the way, they proceeded more and more openly toward a purge of the national and regional leaderships and staffs of Solidarity.

The list of top trade-union leaders who have been fired because they didn't meekly follow the Walesa line is quite lengthy. Andrzej Gwiazda and Anna Walentynowicz in Gdansk head it up. Among others are Marian Jurczyk in Szczecin, Seweryn Jaworski in Warsaw, and the entire historic team of Lodz, headed by Andrzej Slowik.

State bodies are revamped

The accord signed on April 5 in the Magdalenka Palace is very broad. Its complete text is around 200 pages. The regime has accepted, with many reservations, the limited measures of social protection of the workers proposed by the Solidarity leadership.

But the sliding scale of wages (a major demand of the Polish workers) was not defended by the Solidarity delegation. Instead,

it declared itself from the beginning in favor of an index that would institutionalize the low standard of living of the masses.

The roundtable accord has produced a restructuring of state institutions. The State Council, of a completely decorative character, will be supplanted by a new institution—the President of the Republic—elected by the National Assembly and endowed with strong powers.

Jaruzelski, who obviously will be the first president, will enjoy among other things the right to decree a state of emergency. This will signify the institutionalization of a power that Jaruzelski had assumed in December 1981 in order to put down the revolution.

Parliament (the Diet), until now composed of a single chamber, will become bicameral. In addition to the Diet, a Senate will exist.

The next general elections, which will take place this summer, will be free for the Senate. But this chamber will have very limited powers. In regard to the Diet, the pact guarantees that the PUWP and its satellites receive 65 percent of the seats, while the

definitive rupture between the "constructive" or "moderate" wing and the "destructive" or "extremist" wing. This objective seems to be completely achieved.

In the Polish mass movement there are many activists who—some in a rather confused manner and others in a more politically and ideologically defined manner—declare themselves for an intransigent defense of "the rights, dignity, and interests of the working class" (the historic statutory objective of Solidarity) by means of mass mobilization and struggle.

As a result, they defend the idea of a mass trade union, unified and democratic, loyal to the traditions of 1980-81; they refuse to renounce full employment and workers' solidarity; and they aspire to a social order without bureaucrats and capitalists—under a collective democratic power of the working class and an economy that would be oriented toward the satisfaction of collective needs.

Those activists who are most advanced politically are today organized in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revo-

Combatant Youth (FMW).

Yet others can be found in such groups having dissident points of view in regard to the Walesa line as the Regional Strike Committee (RKS) of Solidarity in Wroclaw, the Interfactory Workers' Committee (MRKS) of Solidarity in Warsaw, or the Intercity Anarchist Federation (MA).

There are also many rank-and-file activists, strongly committed to the defense of the interests of the workers and of the basic principles of workers' democracy, who are active in the "official" structures of Solidarity, which follow the Walesa line.

Tasks that lie ahead

The radical dissidents tended to group themselves around two central demands in regard to the Walesa line and the roundtable agreement: the defense of the immediate interests of the workers and the fight for full democracy.

The socialists of the PSP-DR raised more advanced slogans—concerning the plan of construction of a Self-Managed Republic (a state based on workers' democracy) that had been adopted by Solidarity in 1981.

They confronted illusions in the possibility of a democratic reform of the system of bureaucratic power by raising the alternative of a democratic workers' revolution. To the reprivatizations and the openings toward capitalism, they opposed the slogan of "the factories to the workers."

The slogan (put forth by the socialists as well as by other diverse radicalized currents) of full state democracy is tightly linked to the demand of full democracy in Solidarity itself. All these currents share the sentiment that those who have accepted 65 percent of bureaucracy and 35 percent of democracy in the state will also try to impose a line establishing 65 percent of bureaucracy and 35 percent of democracy in Solidarity.

This is the reason for the division that one observes today: While Walesa and his followers couldn't care less about rebuilding a legalized Solidarity in the factories—concentrating instead on organizing the electoral campaign in the Diet and the Senate—the PSP-DR and several other radicalized sectors are calling a boycott of the "35-percent democratic" elections. They want to reconstruct Solidarity from below, on a democratic basis.

To achieve these tasks and to point the way forward, socialists must build a party of the anti-bureaucratic revolution, of workers' democracy, and of international socialism—counting on the programmatic and political support of socialists of the entire world.

Walesa, Kuron, Michnik, Geremek, and others who today monopolize the Solidarity leadership say "no" to revolution. It is necessary instead to dare to say "yes" to revolution. This is what members of the PSP-DR already have done—with admirable courage.



opposition can compete freely for the rest of the seats.

The inclusion of the representatives of the opposition in the new National Assembly is a concession as spectacular as the legalization of Solidarity. But in reality, it rips to shreds Solidarity's historic demand—the formation of a self-management chamber based directly on the institutions of workers' democracy.

Jaruzelski splits the opposition

The openly declared goal of the roundtable was, for the Jaruzelski team, the division of Solidarity and of the mass movement—the

lution (PSP-DR), led by Jozef Pinior, who was one of the national underground leaders of Solidarity after the implementation of the state of siege.

Others are operating inside the Fighting Solidarity Organization (FSO), in the groups of workers and radicalized youth in Gdansk that support the anti-Walesa dissident positions of Andrzej Gwiazda and Anna Walentynowicz, in the radicalized sectors of the antiwar youth movement Liberty and Peace (WiP), in the Independent Union of Students (NZS), and in the Federation of

PSP-DR calls for election boycott

In its leaflet for May Day 1989, the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution explained its attitude toward the new elections provided for in the roundtable agreement. The following are excerpts from the leaflet.

Since the establishment of the state framework of the People's Republic, the elections to parliament and the National Councils have served to legitimize the Communist Party's [Polish United Workers Party, or PUWP] monopoly of power...

As a result of the accords at the roundtable, some opposition groups will be participating in the coming elections. They have agreed to do this, despite the fact that the function of the elections has remained the same. The opposition's role will be to help the Communists' regime acquire a new legitimacy. The function of the new parliamentary groups, which will be kept to a minority of 35 percent, will be even more limited because their members, for obvious reasons, will represent a range of views, while the so-called Coalition [the PUWP and its satellites] will vote as a bloc on the important questions.

The Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution calls for boycotting the elections to the Diet and the Senate for the following reasons:

1. You cannot have democracy by percentages. Either it exists, and in that case we elect a Diet that represents us, or it does not, and in that case the only response is a boycott. Thirty-five percent opposition in the

Diet is enough to legitimize the electoral farce but too little to influence the fate of the country.

2. The creation of a Senate whose powers are too limited and too poorly defined will not change the parliamentary relationship of forces.... Instead of a Senate, we demand a return to the program of the Self-Managed Republic and the creation of a Self-

Management House that would directly represent the workers' interests.

3. The establishment of the office of president guarantees the continuity of the present system. The president will be elected by the parliament controlled by the PZPR [the ruling PUWP] and not the voters. This institution makes it possible to make arbitrary decisions such as dissolving parliament, imposing martial law, and changing laws.

The struggle for free elections continues!

Warsaw, April 10, 1989,
General Council of the PPS-RD

Socialist Action pamphlet!

POLAND: The fight for workers' democracy

By Zbigniew Kowalewski, with an introduction and article by Carl Finamore

This 52-page pamphlet contains an abridged translation of three chapters from Kowalewski's 1985 book, "Give Us Back Our Factories: Solidarnosc and the Struggle for Workers' Self-Management in Poland," as well as three articles by Kowalewski on the meaning of the current events in Poland.

Price: \$1.50. (Please send additional 65 cents for postage.)

To order, and for list of all 17 Socialist Action pamphlets, write to:
3435 Army St., Rm. 308, SF, CA 94110

Denmark last month joined Sweden in legalizing gay marriages. Now Danish gays and lesbians will be granted most of the same legal rights as heterosexual married couples. They still cannot adopt children, however. Nor can they legally demand a wedding in the predominant Lutheran Church.

Many folks in southwestern Ohio thought the Feed Materials Production Center near Cincinnati had something to do with animal husbandry. Actually, it's a uranium-processing plant, notorious for spewing radioactive discharges into the air and water. But last month it was revealed, after all, that the plant's employee medical services were headed by a veterinarian.

Three out of four Americans believe that Congress favors "special interests" over the needs of average citizens, a *Washington Post/ABC* poll reported last month. In addition, 76 percent believe that Congress members will lie if they think the truth will hurt them politically. And 79 percent think there's not much difference between Republicans and Democrats "when it comes to ethics and honesty."

Which industrial country has the highest rate of poverty among children? The United States. The main reason, say researchers, is that



this country spends much less than other nations for low-income families with children. Since 1966, child poverty here has risen from

17.6 percent to 20.6 percent.

Workers at the Exxon credit-card center are wearing special

gloves to handle protest letters purposely soaked in oil. They've been sent by some of the 17,000 angry card holders who have cancelled

their accounts in protest against the Alaska oil spill. The crisis is taking its toll among Exxon employees, who have to apologize for the company dozens of times a day.

Money may not buy happiness, but it certainly can reduce stress. A Louis Harris telephone survey uncovered this fact. "The more money you make, the less stress you report," said psychology professor Sheldon Cohen. Unfortunately, he didn't indicate how stressed-out people might attain that soothing income level.

For years, the Koch Oil Company made millions by under-reporting the amount of oil it takes from storage tanks on Indian land. Company executive Charles Koch defended himself by saying: "Oil measurement is a very mysterious art." Indians might ask, "How come all the errors benefit the company, and never the Indians?"

The Main Street Dance and Exercise Studio in Santa Monica, Calif., is offering free aerobic sessions to homeless people. According to one of the participants, Lloyd McCloud, aerobics help keep him in shape to face the problems of homeless life. "I don't know how many times I have been thrown up against a car or down on the ground, handcuffed," he pointed out.

On June 1, workers in the Philippines began a general strike. For background on this strike, *Socialist Action* reporter Shirley Pasholk interviewed Roberto T. Ortaliz, secretary general of the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) trade-union federation. The interview was conducted in Detroit on May 21.

Ortaliz is on a speaking tour in this country. Tour dates and phone numbers for more information include Seattle, June 1-4, (206) 722-7631; San Francisco, June 4-8

Philippine unionist speaks

(415) 658-1147; and Hawaii, June 8-9 (808) 595-7362.

Socialist Action: Could you briefly describe what led to the formation of the KMU?

Roberto Ortaliz: Together with the formation of the Trade Union Congress of the

Philippines, the Marcos government started a scheme to restructure the labor movement in the country—meaning one union, one industry.

Eighteen progressive federations opposed this move of the government. They are not against restructuring per se, but it must come from labor itself, not from an imposition by the government.

So out of these 18 federations, which formed a very loose alliance, the KMU was organized on May 1, 1980. (So the name is Kilusang Mayo Uno or May First Movement.) It started with about 50,000 members. It was then sort of a movement and eventually became a political and economic center for the workers in my country.

S.A.: What has the situation been since Aquino took power?

Ortaliz: When Aquino ascended into power by way of the people's overthrow of Marcos, we thought that injustices and repression were over. But with recent events, I can now say the new government is worse than Marcos.

The media hype created during the uprising was that this new government is a liberal and democratic government, but the many human rights and trade-union rights violations surpass the last five years of Marcos. And, of course, the economic policies being followed now by the Aquino government are just a recycling of the economic policies of Marcos.

S.A.: What is the situation facing Filipino workers today?

Ortaliz: There are still very low wages because one of the impositions of the IMF and World Bank is the wage freezing policy. So, the minimum wage is very low. The industrial workers are receiving about \$3.37 a day and the agricultural workers are receiving about \$2.57 a day—if implemented. So the minimum wage is just a starvation wage because the poverty threshold is about \$8 a day for a family of six.

S.A.: What has been the role of the U.S. government?

Ortaliz: The Philippines was supposed to be given political independence by the United States in 1946, but with lopsided treaties and agreements, we have been dominated by them economically, politically, culturally, socially, and even militarily. We consider ourselves now as a neo-colony of the United States.

S.A.: Could you also go into the problem with right-wing vigilantes?

Ortaliz: There is now a proliferation of various vigilante groups or death squads. Basically, this came when the big landlords opposed the land-reform program of the

government. Now many of these vigilante groups are being sanctioned by the military. They are now "retrained" and have become the civilian armed forces geographical units.

S.A.: What about some of the recent crackdowns on democratic rights?

Ortaliz: There is no banning of people's organizations at present, but many of their leaders and members were either illegally arrested, tortured, or just disappeared—and many were summarily executed.

S.A.: What are your union's plans to combat these problems?

Ortaliz: Well, we have been educating, organizing, and mobilizing workers to face these problems—meaning the parliament of the streets is now again back in our country.

As a result of these low wages and the new impositions of the IMF and the World Bank resulting from the new loans contracted by the government, the workers are demanding an increase of about \$1.50 a day. The government is more or less hesitant in giving in to this demand because there is too much pressure from business.

Now the conservative Trade Union Congress of the Philippines and the KMU are united on having a general strike on June 1. So, it's impending and we think there might be some sort of crackdown either before, during, or after the general strike.

S.A.: You said that originally you were hopeful Aquino would be better than Marcos. What do you think is necessary now?

Ortaliz: The solution to the nation's problem depends on the people. So people must be organized. They must be educated and they must be mobilized.

S.A.: What type of political action are you looking toward?

Ortaliz: Well, during Marcos's regime we had been engaging in the so-called parliament of the streets—meaning marches, rallies, and demonstrations—and we will continue this open mass movement to counter the repressive action of this government.

S.A.: Have the recent upsurges in other Asian countries like Korea, Burma, and China had an impact on workers in the Philippines?

Ortaliz: I would say yes and, in fact, I would say that these people in other countries may have been influenced by the so-called People's Power during the 1986 uprising in the Philippines.

S.A.: How can people in the United States help?

Ortaliz: We need all kinds of solidarity support in our struggle, especially during the strike. We need an immediate response network, condemnations, and protests. Of course, I could say generally, we need all your moral, political, and material support.

Our address is Jopson Building, 3rd Floor, 510 M. Earnshaw Street, Sampaloc, Metro Manila, Philippines. ■

Subscribe today to Socialist Action!



- one year for \$8. 6 months for \$4.
- Enclosed is a _____ contribution.
- Send me more information about Socialist Action.
- I'd like to join Socialist Action.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Tel. _____

Send order to 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Fran, CA 94110.

On strike!

Dear editor,

"On strike!" These words were crudely written with a marking pen on a piece of paper approximately 12 inches by 24 inches. This is what greeted workers as they came to work on the afternoon shift at Brainard Strapping in Warren, Ohio.

Brainard Strapping is a division of Sharon Steel, whose profits were siphoned off to other companies by financier Victor Posner. The bankruptcy reorganization has not gone well. At Brainard, every day that the employees enter the plant, they are not sure if it will be their last day to work there.

There are only 135 production employees left. The workers are represented by United Steelworkers of America.

A day or two before the work stoppage, a plant guard on routine rounds found an opened cash box left on a desk. The guard called one of the supervisors. It seemed that nothing was missing.

The security guard called the police and filed a report. A day or two later, the guard was given a five-day suspension, with intent to discharge.

Now this is ironic, because the thieves at this company have been stealing from these workers in the form of concessions for over eight years—and now one of the workers is accused of being a thief!

Of course, the company said that the reason for the discharge was that the guard did not perform his job properly. When one of his fellow workers found out about this injustice, he made the sign I described above.

No one crossed that picketline for the duration of the strike. These workers have had enough lying, cheating, and stealing done to them. When the company threatened them with job loss and suits, it was like trying to threaten a condemned person.

It can become a problem for a company when their employees have nothing left to lose. Evidently, these workers recognized that they had more in common with one another than they do with the company.

Leonard Grbinick,
Youngstown, Ohio

Black party

Dear editor,

The article on the Chicago election which appeared in the May issue of *Socialist Action* correctly analyzed Tim Evans's "independent" campaign as a "limited tactical break" with the Democrats, with no perspective for building a truly independent movement.

I agree with the author on the need for mass action in the streets, but it's important to recognize that Evans's candidacy posed the question of an independent Black political party. *Socialist Action* should address itself to the same

sentiment that Evans was trying to tap and raise the demand for such a party in the discussions following these past elections.

A truly independent Black party would base itself on the real struggles in the community and organize the fight for Black rights 365 days a year. It would also give political expression to these fights during elections.

This would be counterposed to Evans's and others' phony "independent" projects, which just show up around election time and disappear the day after the votes are counted.

By breaking with the Democrats, such a party would also be an example to the labor movement. Its existence would help raise the discussion of forming an independent labor party.

A.W.,
San Francisco, Calif.

School club

Dear editor,

The Socialists of Redwood is a high-school club formed entirely by students in Marin County, Calif., interested in learning more about the ideas of socialism. After months of discussion, we have issued our first official statement to our student body and community. An abridged version is below:

"The Socialists of Redwood is a club that formed in December of 1988. We feel that the time is right to explain the underlying motivations that have caused this group to emerge. The primary concern of our group is the establishment of a fair and flexible political and economic system in which people have not only the right but the outlet to pursue their personal goals and to be sovereign as individuals.

"In order to achieve this, it is highly apparent that all people must be able to equally take part in governing and setting the goals of society to insure that one person's personal pursuits do not infringe on the basic rights of others. In a very general sense this is the idea we are committed to realizing.

"If our vision of the future existed in this country or anywhere else on the earth, then our club would not need to exist. Our country is plagued by countless political and economic practices that are in serious need of reform.

"Extreme discrepancies in wealth distribution, deficit spending, environmental abuse, spiritual despair, a military-industrial complex, and the alienation of the individual in the democratic process are situations that only scratch the surface of what we feel to be a problem of immense proportion.

"Our club wishes to open a dialogue, both among ourselves and within the general community, concerning the problems of our society and the possible remedies to the problems. Our intent is not to overwhelm people with what is going wrong today, but more to suggest a vision of the future that

people may or may not wish to pursue, or in short, to make people aware of their alternatives.

"Although we have assumed the title 'Socialists of Redwood,' we have no affiliation with other socialist organizations, nor do we necessarily support the systems existing in other 'socialist' countries such as China, Sweden, Yugoslavia, or the USSR. We are not concerned with defending the actions of these governments or in

following their visions of the future. We look upon them as living experiments that have as much to teach us as do our experiences here at home.

"Lastly we wish to extend a warm invitation to all those interested to come and be a part of our work. We meet Thursdays at lunch in room 202."

Greg Jackson,
Larkspur, Calif.



What greater greed?

Dear editor,

The article on the oil spill by Michael Schreiber in May's issue was very good. I would like to add a few points of interest. Each year, there are thousands of oil spills worldwide. The idea of oil companies drilling off Alaska's northern coast is a gamble not worth taking. This area is not only ecologically sensitive, but has some of the roughest seas on the planet.

After we drill—things get even worse. When corporations refine oil, they create tremendous amounts of toxic waste. Most toxic waste cannot be safely disposed of, so it is dumped in some of the poorest communities around the world.

Once oil is produced and then consumed, we create air pollution.

Along with burning coal, it produces the Greenhouse Effect. The ramifications of global warming, in fact, will prove catastrophic for people and various other life forms.

Yet the White House regularly alters scientific reports on the facts, while they squelch information on safe alternatives of energy. With centralized energy, their profits remain high, while their false economy is fed.

Safe, renewable energy means life, yet they prefer our dreams to drown in a sea of oil. What greater greed and insensitivity can there be when they kill all life forms—and even themselves—in the orgy for wealth.

Jeffrey Goldman,
San Francisco, Calif.

Hunger strike demands Garcia's release

By HAYDEN PERRY

Four leading members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), Mexican section of the Fourth International, have staged a hunger strike since May 10 in front of the National Cathedral in downtown Mexico City. They are demanding the release of Jose Ramon Garcia, a leading RWP member who "disappeared" Dec. 16, 1988.

There is evidence that Garcia is still alive and in the hands of the government. For five months, mass marches and rallies in Mexico—and thousands of telegrams from supporters internationally—have been demanding that the government release Garcia, but they have been ignored.

To exert pressure in a more dramatic way, four RWP leaders—Manuel Aguilar Mora, Edgard Sanchez, Leslie Serna, and Simon Castillejos—are on hunger strike. They have been joined by Carlos Piedra, son of the 1988 RWP presidential candidate Rosario Ibarra.

The hunger strikers are also demanding the release of RWP member Eladio Torres Flores, and Amanda Arciniega—a member of the Liga Comunista 23 Septiembre (LC-23). Both have been imprisoned for close to 10 years.

On two occasions this year, the government has issued an amnesty for political prisoners. But according to Rosario Ibarra's Eureka Committee, which has closely monitored the lists of those being released from jail, the government has only freed common criminal prisoners from public jails. The hunger strikers are protesting this fraud perpetrated on the Mexican people.

In New York, on May 17, a six-member delegation of the Ad-hoc

Committee for the Reappearance of Jose Ramon Garcia was received by a representative of the Mexican consul. The delegation submitted a letter demanding Garcia's safe return.

Letters of protest should be sent to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Palacio Nacional, Mexico, D.F., Mexico. Please send copies to the National Front Against Repression, Medellin 366, Col. Roma Sur, 06760 Mexico, D.F., Mexico. ■

Curtis denied books in Spanish

By AMANDA CHAPMAN

Mark Curtis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is serving 25 years at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory on trumped-up charges of rape and burglary. At the time of his arrest, he was involved in defending co-workers against deportation by the INS.

Recently, prison officials denied Curtis further access to literature in any language other than English. This was done after Curtis requested a Spanish-language dictionary and a book of Spanish verbs.

Later, prison administrators generalized the ban to include all pris-

oners, effectively instituting an "English only" policy for written materials. The prison administration claimed that non-English-language materials would pose a "security problem."

Prior to the ban, there had been no language restrictions on literature. The prison library included Spanish-language materials. For many inmates, English is their second language.

Curtis and his fellow inmates are also denied the right to share literature that is not from the prison library. These restrictions should be opposed by all supporters of democratic rights. ■

Where To Find Us

Baltimore
P.O. Box 16005
Baltimore, MD 21218

Boston
P.O. Box 1046 GMF
Boston, MA 02205
(617) 497-0230

Chicago
P.O. Box 578428
Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 327-5752

Cincinnati
P.O. Box 21015
Cincinnati, OH 45219
(513) 272-2596

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

Detroit
P.O. Box 32546
Detroit, MI 48232

Los Angeles
P.O. Box 862014
Los Angeles, CA
90086-2014
(213) 250-4608

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

New York
P.O. Box 20209 Ca. Finance
693 Columbus Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10025

San Francisco
3435 Army St., Suite 308
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 821-0458

Santa Barbara
P.O. Box 90644
Santa Barbara, CA 93190
(805) 962-4011

For information in other cities call 415-821-0458.

A look inside Operation Rescue: Pro-lifers or new-style terrorists?

By PAT WESTIN

When Operation Rescue (OR) announced that it planned to hold a "Holy Week of Rescue" over Easter Week here in Los Angeles, I decided to try to find out more about this so-called "pro-life" movement.

I've always been a believer in the direct approach to solving problems in general and wanted to see with my own eyes what OR looked like on their own turf (not just as the pretty picture they try to present in the media).

I also wanted to see what its "new leadership" was like and to compare their approach and style with the misnamed "right-to-lifers" that I'd confronted in the late 1960s and early '70s as a member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

But, I wondered, how safe was it to do that? Could I, as a pro-choice activist, pull off going "under cover" in order to observe them without their knowledge of who I really was?

Opportunities abounded, as they had hired a huge church for a series of night-time rallies held the night before each of the three morning "rescue blockades." I decided to try to attend a few of these rallies.

After a great deal of thought, I chose a set of appropriate clothes, picked a name, made some partial identification papers, stripped my car of any tell-tale leaflets and newspapers, and selected an Evangelical Church—complete with a pastor's name—as cover.

Rally at Melodyland

Driving into the parking lot at Melodyland, an enormous church in Orange County, I was struck by the fact that it is directly across from one of Southern California's biggest tourist attractions, Disneyland.

On one side of the street, people were gathered to have an evening of fun with their children on amusement-park rides. On the other side of the street, people were gathering to organize against the rights of women to choose what to do with their own bodies.

I was nervous as I parked my car and repeated my cover story several times to myself, expecting to be grilled at the door. I even had memorized a fake social-security number in case I was asked. Much to my surprise, there was no problem getting in. The problem was forcing myself to appear to be on the side of the anti-choice crowd throughout the evening.

I had expected to come home that evening enraged (but also to be laughing) at the pathetic antics of the preachers and other speakers on the program. Instead I went home very sobered by what I had seen. The methods used by OR are quite different from the fundamentalist "holy roller" style I had seen years earlier. They were appealing to a different crowd and had honed their techniques to perfection.

All is not rosy for them, however. The enormous church was filled to about one-fourth of its capacity, with only about 1200 people in attendance. This was a far cry from the 3500 to 5000 people OR had announced would be there.

"Christians, we must try"

But who was there? This was what I had come to find out. After going through a phalanx of ushers handing out psalters (a pamphlet of anti-choice prayers and hymns) and a smaller group called a "Rosary Brigade," I came to a row of literature tables.

They sold several books, a large variety of buttons with grotesque photographs of fetuses, and audio and video tapes. The hottest item being hawked was a new video on and by OR—which was touted as the "most



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

'This fight will end when Terry and his allies realize that pro-choice is the majority'

important video ever made."

After finally making my way through all the OR vendors, I found a seat and waited for the show to begin. A group of a dozen or so angelic-looking school children were ushered onto the stage. They sang a *capella* with the chorus: "Hear them cry/ Won't someone save the children/ Don't let them die/ Oh Christians, we must try."

While I had to suppress gags of revulsion at this exploitation of children and the unabashed sentimentality, most of the audience was transfixed. Many pulled out handkerchiefs to wipe their eyes.

Despite this heart-tugging ploy, there were a number of surprises in store for me. The first one came when the moderator asked for all of the pastors and assistant pastors from all the churches represented to stand to be acknowledged and to show that the "churches are behind their congregants."

Only 30 professional church officials were there, and there was no hiding the disappointment of the organizers—as bravely as they tried to hide it. I too was surprised, until I realized that the powerful churches behind OR need not be blatant about their support so long as they have an adequate number of foot soldiers to do their dirty work for them.

"You are the revolutionists!"

The next surprise came at the type of speakers on the platform. The first was a Black minister, Pastor Martin, who used a bit of street lingo and jive in his rhetoric, saying, "This is not the time to walk the walk and talk the talk. No! It is time to put our bodies on the line. To put our lives—if that's what Jesus wants—on the line!"

He was well received, especially by the very small number of middle-aged Blacks present among the overwhelming white audience.

Other speakers followed, like Jamey Brey, who claimed to be a *real* feminist, "unlike those in the National Organization for Women, who don't know what it's like to be a real woman and to love anyone, especially

children."

Having heard from a Black and a woman, we now heard from a medical doctor, Bernard Nathanson, a born-again Christian. Nathanson had been active 20 years ago as a pro-choice activist, but when he was "saved" he "got out of the child-killing business," as he put it.

He worked up the crowd when he demagogically proclaimed: "You are the freedom fighters! You are the Maccabees! The French revolutionists! The American revolutionary fighters! The civil rights activists! The antiwar students! The anti-apartheid fighters!"

"Twenty years ago," he declared, "I marched in the streets for the other side. This was won on the streets and will be again. But by the other side this time—our side. Amnesty for the unborn!"

He and others repeatedly called on "the memory of Martin Luther King to guide us," before introducing the keynote speaker of the evening, Randall A. Terry.

"Make up for your mistake!"

A former used-car salesman, Terry founded Operation Rescue in 1988, using this quote from the Bible as its motto: "Rescue those who are unjustly sentenced to death; don't stand back and let them die."

Terry consciously cultivates a yuppie, New Age, and political-activist style. Thirty years old, he speaks of the shame of "our" generation for not having stopped the "25 million murders of kids and the exploitation of their mothers."

He told the rapt crowd that "those among you who were misled by the National Organization for Women, Planned Parenthood and others, by having had an abortion, can now save yourselves if you rescue one baby, if you stop one abortion, if you prevent one murder. You can make up for your mistake—and end your own exploitation."

This part of Terry's rhetoric was especially galling. Response to earlier speakers had made it clear that at least 40 percent of the women under 50 years of age had, in fact, had

abortions. Numerous teenage women were also at the rally, fearfully holding their mothers' hands.

Terry's appeal to their guilt was quite effective. The tragedy of this is that many do feel guilty about having abortions. Unfortunately, there are no post-operative or counseling centers—except for the wealthy. These same women need to be able to have confidence in their decisions and to be supported by society as a whole.

Instead, some fall into the clutches of the likes of Randall Terry. He said that evening in Melodyland: "We have a vested interest in ending the holocaust of baby-killing because God is upset with us. God is saying, if we don't want to protect babies, I'll hand you over to your enemies. Blood guilt is not only on the hands of the baby-killers, but on the hands of those who don't prevent it."

"We must get angry at our enemies," he went on. "We must get angry about dead babies and exploited mothers! If not, we are dead inside."

At the end of the rally, I headed home to gather a few hours sleep before joining the 5 a.m. clinic defense team in my area. In the wee hours of the morning, thinking about the rally, I realized that there actually was one small part of one of the speeches with which I agreed.

Dr. Nathanson was right when he said that this battle will be won in the streets. But he was wrong about which side will win.

I and others who "penetrated" OR, along with thousands upon thousands of other women and men, have become even more determined to protect the rights of all women to control their own bodies. We have been in the streets defending clinics, defending women, defending the right to choose. We will stay in the streets and at the clinics for as long as we have to—for as long as the Terrys of this world force us.

The fight will not end with the Supreme Court decision on the Webster case, but only when Terry and his allies realize that pro-choice is the majority and is here to stay. ■

* The author's true name has not been used. Operation Rescue claims to be non-violent, but individual members have taken credit for bombings of clinics and other acts of violence.