



Democrats close ranks against working people



Brooklyn, N.Y.—Palestinians protest the recent visit of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. For more information on events in Palestine see special interview on pages 12-13.

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

The word was "harmony," as Jesse Jackson and Michael Dukakis brought the Democratic Party's three-ring vote-catching show to the Mid-Atlantic industrial states.

Between the two candidates, "there are distinctions but not divisions," Jesse Jackson emphasized to a television audience in Philadelphia.

"Dull but practical" Gov. Michael Dukakis became the party's frontrunner for

**Jesse Jackson and
the 1988 elections.
See pp. 7 - 9.**

the presidential nomination after winning a majority of New York State's Democratic delegates.

But Jesse Jackson, who finished in first place in New York City, received by far both the most enthusiastic applause and the loudest "Bronx cheers."

The tone of the New York campaign was set by Mayor Edward Koch's racist broadsides against Jackson. On the eve of the election, for example, the city's tabloids ran banner headlines quoting Koch's latest edict—that Jackson had lied about his role in Martin Luther King's assassination 20 years ago.

On the other hand, Jackson was able to win the support of almost all of New York City's Black and Hispanic leaders. He also lined up more local trade-union officials behind his campaign than either of the other candidates.

On election day, reportedly, some 10,000 volunteers fanned out throughout the city's neighborhoods ringing doorbells for Jackson.

Nevertheless, some in New York's Black community expressed reservations about the Jackson "phenomenon." *The City Sun*, an influential Black newspaper, stated that "after weeks of agonizing, sometimes heated, internal debate," its editorial board would not endorse Jackson this year, as it had in 1984.

"The ideological maverick of 1984 has
(continued on page 9)

Israel's iron fist fails to roll back Palestinian uprising

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

The Great Uprising of the Palestinian people—the "Intifadeh"—is now into its fifth month. Although the Israeli reprisals against an unarmed people have been barbarous, the repression that once filled the people with despair now fuels their will to push forth in their struggle for self-determination.

On April 16, the Israeli government took a step which it hoped would help behead and ultimately quash the uprising: It sent its commandos to assassinate P.L.O. Commander Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) in Tunis.

But rather than demobilize the insurgent Palestinian masses, the assassination of the P.L.O. commander only angered and emboldened the population, provoking the largest mass protests in the West Bank and Gaza since the uprising began in mid-December.

The Israeli press unanimously ascribed the murder operation to Israeli Navy commando units and the Mossad—an assault involving 30 people. The Israeli newspaper *Davar* reported on April 18 that the decision to assassinate Abu Jihad was approved at the cabinet level while Secretary

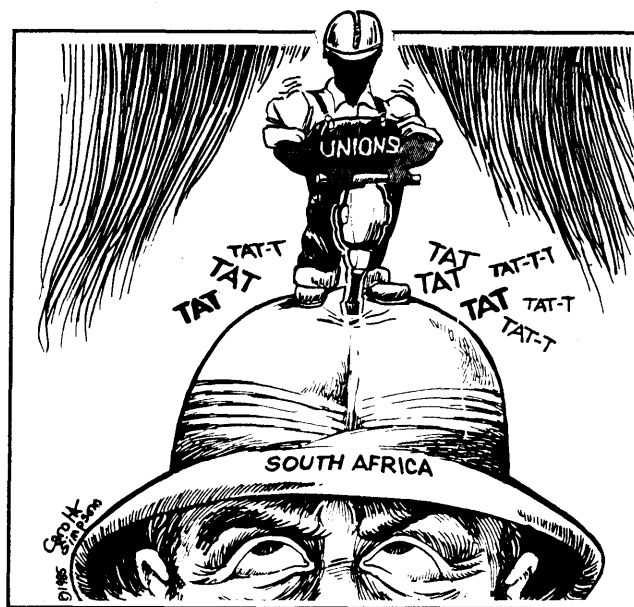
of State George Shultz was in Jerusalem. The article stated that the operation proceeded after receiving a green light from the United States.

Such an operation, with all its implications, could not occur without U.S. sanction. It reveals the real nature of the Shultz "peace" proposals. They are a cover

for preparations to crush the uprising and for a new war.

Over 180 Palestinians have been reported killed in the West Bank and Gaza over the past five months; 20 of them alone in the two days following Abu Jihad's death.

The Israeli government has admitted to
(continued on page 11)



South Africa: A Black trade unionist speaks

See interview on page 10.

Hunger strike against Iran-Iraq war



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

Ardalan is a 25-year-old Iranian who has helped organize and participate in a hunger strike against the war between the Iran and Iraq governments. For nine days and nights they have camped out at San Francisco City Hall and denied themselves food to protest the murder of over 4000 men, women, and children in Halabja, a Kurdish city in the Iranian-occupied region of Iraq.

The Iraqi military dropped both chemical bombs and massive doses of cyanide gas on Halabja, which instantly snuffed out the

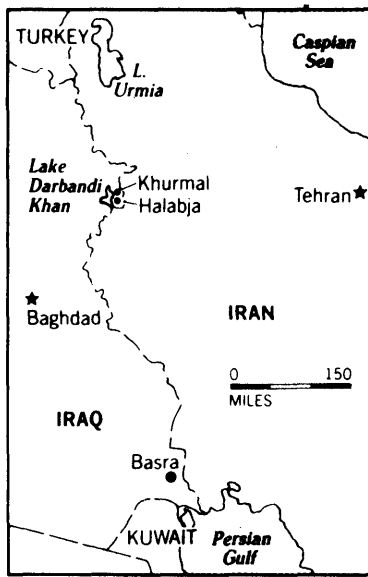
lives of Kurdish civilians where they stood.

Newsweek magazine (April 4) printed this report by Theodore Stanger, one of the few reporters allowed in to view the horror:

"At ground zero in this once-teeming market city, death struck in seconds. Bodies of Halabja's Kurdish residents lay scattered in the dirt streets, in back yards, in living rooms. Like the dead of Pompeii, some were frozen in escape attempts, at the wheel of a car, in doorways. One woman was huddled protectively over her baby, also dead. Nearby, a lifeless father vainly shielded his son. A family sheltered in its cellar was killed by the heavier-than-air fumes that seeped down. Everywhere, the stench of rotting corpses was overpowering."

The young Iranians who organized the fast in San Francisco were not only protesting this mass slaughter but also the eight-year war between the countries of Iran and Iraq. They are far away from their families, mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters who are suffering bombing and destruction in their homeland every day.

They organized this fast to



educate the people of the United States on conditions in the Middle East. They also oppose Khomeini, who they say is opposed to ending the war with Iraq.

Their demands are simple. They say: "We seek an immediate ceasing of bombing of civilian targets. We denounce any use of chemical weapons or other bacteriological methods. We denounce pursuance of political

objectives through military invasions. And we support an honorable peace that can be accomplished through the Algerian Pact of 1975."

I asked Ardalan how their vigil had been received by the people of San Francisco. He said he was very pleased, because most had been sympathetic to their cause and had taken their educational leaflets. Some had even tried to donate money, and one woman had brought them fruit and juice.

He felt that one of the reasons for the good response was the changed American attitude toward Palestinians. The fact that millions of Americans have been viewing the terrorist methods of the Zionist government against the Palestinian people on television every day has had the effect of creating more sympathy toward the people of the Middle East.

Of course, another reason is that the Iran/contra exposé revealed the fact that for years all of the imperialist nations, especially the United States, have used all the people of the Middle East as a football to obtain control of the wealth of those countries.

The capitalist powers have used the tried-and-true method of divide and conquer to place their puppets in power and to block working-class movements in these countries. They have imposed upon the people of the Middle East the most ruthless governments and have installed the Zionist government in Israel as their own private watchdog.

The U.S. government has now thrown off its mask of "neutrality" in the war between Iran and Iraq. In recent days, over 40 U.S. warships have been moved into the Persian Gulf in order to "lay down the law" to the Iranians.

Almost any Iranian naval activity is now subject to U.S. armed intervention.

Ardalan's last words to me were that they would be marching in the demonstration for Peace, Jobs and Justice in San Francisco on April 30. He has every hope of getting the truth to the people of this country.

Just as the vast majority of people in this country oppose intervention in Central America, so will they come to oppose imperialist intervention in the Middle East. ■

Faneuil Hall Speak-out: 'U.S. Out of C. America!'

By JIM HENLE

BOSTON—On April 9, between 600 and 700 people attended a speak-out here against intervention in Central America. The event, held in historic Faneuil Hall, was co-sponsored by the Central America Solidarity Organization (CASA) and the Smedley D. Butler Brigade of the Veterans for Peace.

The speakout represented a major expression of the breadth of the anti-intervention movement. For the first time, the anti-intervention movement took the platform at this "cradle of liberty." Faneuil Hall was Boston's historic meeting place of the American Revolution and of the abolitionist movement in the 1830s.

Commenting on the appropriateness of the setting, the meeting's co-chair, Alexei Folger of CASA, said:

"In March of 1770, the day after the

Boston massacre, Samuel Adams spoke here and demanded, 'British troops out of Boston!' And he won. We're here to demand, 'U.S. out of Central America!' And we're going to win too."

The event's featured speakers included peace activist and Vietnam veteran Brian Willson and John C. Ryan, a former FBI agent who was fired for refusing to investigate Willson as a "terrorist."

Willson spoke clearly of the need to maintain protest actions in defense of Nicaragua's right to self-determination. Noting the parallel to the early years of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, he stated that—according to Nuremberg rules—citizens can and should take direct action against violations of international law.

Willson lost his legs when he was hit by a train operated by Navy personnel during a protest at the weapons depot at Concord, Calif., in September 1987. His personal sacrifices have symbolized the dedication of the antiwar and Central America solidarity movements. Willson was welcomed by the Faneuil Hall crowd with a standing ovation.

John Ryan's speech was an indication of how far the anti-intervention movement can reach. Ryan, who was speaking alongside Willson for the first time, described his personal odyssey from FBI agent to peace activist. His contact with the antiwar movement and with liberation theology led him to conclude that the kind of peaceful protest Brian Willson was engaged in was not only legitimate but necessary.

David MacMichael, a former CIA analyst of Latin American affairs, spoke to the meeting on behalf of the Christic Institute. In a landmark lawsuit against the U.S. government, the Christic Institute has provided evidence of undercover operations, drug-running escapades, and assassination plots carried out by a "Secret Team" within the government.

Tess Ewing of the Massachusetts Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in Central America spoke to the meeting about El Salvador.

The meeting raised over \$3700 for the Veterans' Peace Convoy to Nicaragua. The Convoy is planning an overland journey through Central America in trucks filled with oats to help feed the Nicaraguan people. ■



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Ernest Mandel, a prominent Marxist economist and leader of the Fourth International, speaks to a San Francisco audience of over 200 at April 13 Socialist Action forum titled, "The World Economy After the Stock Market Crash."

Socialist Action Spring efforts open new ground

By ALAN BENJAMIN

Socialist Action is two months into its Spring 1988 publication and recruitment drive, and already some important gains have been registered.

Twelve new Socialist Action pamphlets on a wide range of political topics have been produced, with four more titles due out by the end of May. (The new titles are the following: *Lessons of the P-9 Strike*, *Philippines: Reform or Revolution*, *Stock Market Crash: Its Meaning for Working People*, and *Lessons of Working Class Defeats: An Analysis of the Popular Fronts in Spain, Chile and Peru.*)

Socialist Action members have sold a combined total of 3500 pamphlets. By far the highest-selling pamphlet is Ralph Schoenman's "The Hidden History of Zionism," which has sold over 900 copies. Due to the mounting demand for this work on Zionism, Walnut Publishing Co. has decided to reprint the pamphlet in an expanded 160-page version, which is due out by mid-May.

Socialist Action's Spring forums have

also met with success. Ralph Schoenman's three-city Midwest tour in early May reached close to 300 college students, many of them Palestinian Arabs.

In San Francisco, on April 13, Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, spoke to more than 200 activists at the New College of California. Over \$130 worth of literature was sold at the Socialist Action book table.

A week later, Efraim Calvo, a member of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) of Mexico and a deputy in the Mexican congress, addressed a San Francisco Socialist Action forum on the current situation in Mexico.

And in Boston, a Socialist Action East Coast Educational Conference was held on April 23, attracting Socialist Action members and close sympathizers from Baltimore; New York; Rochester, N.Y.; Bath, Maine; and Boston. Forty-five activists spent a full day assessing the dynamics of the world revolution today. After the enthusiastic conference, several participants expressed interest in joining Socialist Action. ■

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April 30 actions point way for antiwar mov't

By AMANDA CHAPMAN

There has been a decided shift in the antiwar movement away from mass demonstrations and toward electoral activities inside the Democratic Party.

Many leaders of the movement are promoting the idea that if Jesse Jackson wins the presidency he will somehow manage to significantly alter U.S. foreign policy. They forget that when Jackson failed to win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984, he came out in support of Walter Mondale—who had called for a quarantine of Nicaragua.

Another reason for the general demobilization of the movement is the widespread belief that the war in Nicaragua is over. Even many long-time activists believe that the contras are prepared to end their war on the Nicaraguan people without having reversed the gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

In fact, the demands for "democratization" that contra leaders insist the negotiations hinge on would constitute such a reversal for the Nicaraguan people.

Contra leaders have hailed the Sapoá agreement as a chance for "a two-month rest with supplies while we test the Sandinistas' willingness to comply with their promises." While the negotiations are going on, the contras have begun to receive "humanitarian" aid through the U.S.-funded Agency for International Development.

What the Nicaraguan people need most right now is continued pressure on the U.S. government to immediately stop all forms of intervention in their political and economic life—no matter which representatives of the ruling class win the November elections.

Independent mass action

The only way to apply that kind of pressure is through independent mass demonstrations like those planned for April 30 in Kansas City and San Francisco.

The Kansas City march and rally will focus on two demands: U.S. Out of Central America and No Contra Aid. It is sponsored by the Coalition for Non-Intervention in Central America.

The San Francisco march and rally is

sponsored by a broad local coalition, the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

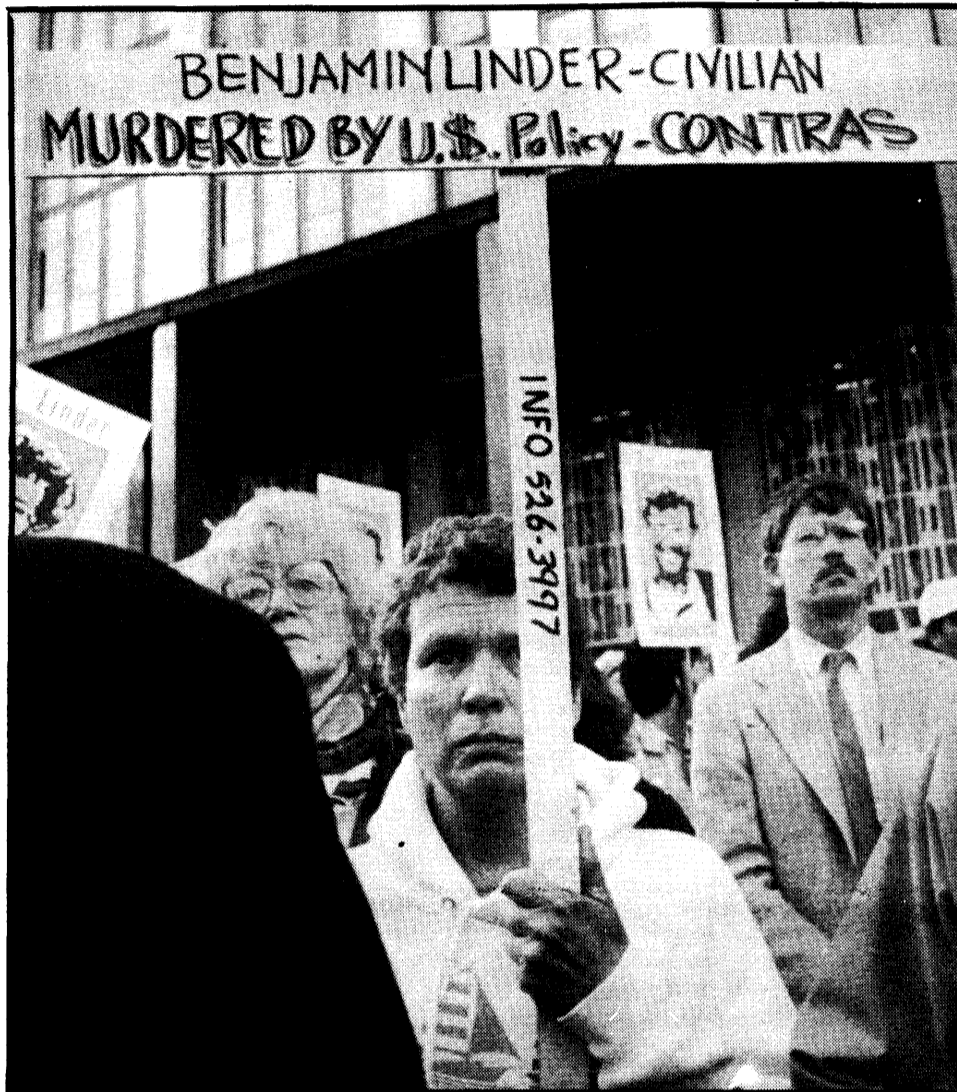
The four demands of the San Francisco Mobilization are becoming more urgent, not less. The first demand, No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, has become more important as the Nicaraguan Revolution faces its most difficult trial yet.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement has been gaining popular support in El Salvador. But the victory of the ARENA

party in the country's recent bogus elections signals the return of right-wing death squads to political activity. Antiwar and civil-liberties activists here should respond by continuing pressure on the U.S. government to end all aid to the death-squad regime.

The increased repression of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa underlines the continuing importance of the demand for an end to U.S. support for South African apartheid. We should connect

Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action



On Thursday, April 28, the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice organized a rally at the S.F. Federal Bldg. to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Ben Linder.

this issue with the increase in racist attacks in this country.

Recent negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet governments reflected the level of popular opposition to the nuclear build-up. But the talks were a sham. The United States agreed to miniscule reductions in its nuclear stockpile in return for broad concessions from the Soviet Union—including a reduction of the Soviets' aid to Nicaragua.

For this reason, the demand to freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race has the potential to mobilize masses of people.

The fourth demand of the San Francisco Mobilization is for jobs and justice, not war. This demand makes the very important connection between our government's foreign policy and its domestic policy.

The demand points out the links between a massive defense budget and cuts in health, education, and welfare services; between the \$3 trillion Strategic Defense Initiative and the relative lack of funding for AIDS research and to help the homeless; and between U.S. support for counter-revolutionary movements abroad and for union-busting at home.

June 11 protests

The Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice is also sponsoring a demonstration in San Francisco on June 11 to mark the United Nations Third Special Session on Disarmament. On the same day, a demonstration will be held in New York City.

San Francisco protesters will march from United Nations Plaza, through the downtown area, to Justin Herman Plaza, where there will be a rally with speakers and entertainment. The demands of the demonstration will be the four demands of the Mobilization, with an emphasis on the demand to freeze and reverse the nuclear-arms race and the demand for jobs and justice, not war.

The New York City demonstration will focus on the call for the total abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and for the shift of military funds toward satisfying human needs. A Central America contingent is being organized to participate in the march.

For more information, in New York, contact: SSDIII National Coalition (212) 608-8155. In San Francisco, contact: Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice (415) 626-8053. And in Kansas City, contact: Coalition for Non-Intervention in Central America (816) 523-2151 or 361-1101.

The following are portions of a program broadcast on radio station KPFA in Berkeley, Calif., on March 23, 1988. Interviewed were Carl Finamore (staff director of the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice) and Seymour Kramer (a member of the Mobilization's steering committee).

KPFA: What do you think is going to be focal in this year's mobilization on April 30?

Carl Finamore: Well, ever since we started [the Mobilization] in 1985, the war in Central America has dominated. But the other three issues of the Mobilization are also important—freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race, end U.S. support to South African apartheid, and trying to take those foreign-policy issues and relate them to the erosion of jobs and the standard of living of working people in this country.

They're all important, but the U.S. government's attempts to overthrow the Sandinista regime and to reinforce the

Duarte regime [in El Salvador] has dominated almost every one of the mobilizations—and that's certainly going to be true this year.

KPFA: In the past, you've organized some large rallies at the Civic Center, which give us an indication of the breadth of this kind of coalition. Let's talk about how broad a coalition this is.

Finamore: This coalition is broad because the issues we selected enjoy majority support in the American public. We consciously selected those issues, though many more issues are covered with various contingents and banners and speakers, which go beyond what just our

four slogans can address. We realize that.

The breadth of our coalition is maintained by political choices we make in maintaining our slogans and by our conscious selection of leadership, which we place in the hands of the broad church, labor, and community forces. That makes us unique.

Our leadership is not just a list of prominent individuals who endorse what radicals conceive. It's actually those broad leaders who conceive, develop, and help plan—in conjunction with the radicals and others—the program of the coalition.

KPFA: Could you address the issue of coalition politics and why it's so important to compromise. How do you decide when to compromise without diluting the purity of an issue? And on what basis do you make these decisions?

Finamore: That's an important point. Any radical knows that we can find a hundred reasons why we disagree with a labor official, a religious person, or a prominent community figure. But the real trick for anyone interested in social change is to find a basis of agreement upon which the broadest number of people can act together against this government's policy.

And within the context of that unity, you take those steps that you consider prin-

ciplined, that enable the coalition to go forward. I think we've done that by preserving intact a coalition that has four very powerful demands—which are very timely.

Seymour Kramer: I'd like to stress a special feature of the upcoming march and the Mobilization. As a trade-union member and one who's been active in the peace movement for more than 25 years, I'm aware of the real difference between this mobilization against war and the fight against the Vietnam War.

The labor movement has taken the lead in trying to put together this kind of a broad coalition and to speak to not only trade-union questions but also to questions of peace, questions of funding for AIDS, questions of discrimination, questions of South Africa. I think that's very important.

There still are debates within the trade-union movement nationally, with significant leaders of the AFL-CIO refusing to go along with this new orientation. But in the Bay Area, labor councils and leading members of the largest unions in our area have fully supported the Mobilization.

And I think that's what gives it not only its breadth, but its continuity, so that we don't have to reconstitute a Mobilization every six months to face this or that emergency.

Mobe leaders discuss united front approach

Socialist Action Forums:

New York

'Women at Work: Today's Struggle for Liberation'

Speakers: Sandy Rosen, former member Local 34 (Yale), and Margaret Kelley, former USWA member (Cinti).

Friday, May 13, 6 p.m.

Loeb Student Ctr., NYU, La Guardia Pl.

San Francisco

'Nicaragua Cease-Fire: Is the War Really Over?'

Speakers: Alan Benjamin, Editor, Socialist Action, recently returned from Nicaragua. Other speakers to be announced.

Friday, May 13, 8 p.m.

3435 Army St., Rm. 308

Oil Workers force Chevron to back off

By DAVID W. CAMPBELL

EL SEGUNDO, Calif.—At 12:01 a.m. on March 19, 1988, workers in local taverns near Chevron's oil refinery here were jubilant. A few minutes earlier, word had been received that their union—Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (O.C.A.W.) Local 1-547—had reached tentative agreement on a new two-year contract.

As International Representative Kevin Geddes and other negotiating committee members joined the celebrants at one packed tavern they were given cheers.

Earlier that week, the union had issued handbills that urged workers to empty their lockers and to turn in their tool boxes on their last shift before contract expiration and to start gathering at plant gates eight hours before the contract lapsed.

The workers were also informed that unless word was received from the union by 12:01 a.m. on March 19, they should start striking.

At the gates, workers were met by line coordinators. The line coordinators had clipboards with which to record the names of any possible scabs and also had loads of prominently displayed picket signs in their cars parked across the street.

Contact between line coordinators and the negotiating committee was maintained by a 30-person communications committee. One worker, Dennis Den Ouden,

David Campbell, a member of Socialist Action, served as Organizing Committee Chair during the El Segundo oil workers' organizing campaign. He currently serves as O.C.A.W. Local 1-547's Chevron Unit Chair, chair of the Grievance and Negotiating Committee, local union delegate, and is on the local union executive board.

said he and his co-workers were impressed with the preparations and that "it looked like a military operation." He added that this inspired confidence among the rank and file in their own ability and in the leadership.

Chevron demands takeaways

The company committee had come to the table with only two proposals—both takeaways. They wanted a six-month probation period for all new hires. Currently there is no probation period. The company also wanted "flexibility" (cross-crafting) between O.C.A.W. maintenance workers and those of the small International Brotherhood of Boilermakers union.

The Boilermakers' contract expires a couple of months after the O.C.A.W.'s, and in the past their international leaders have told the Boilermakers to cross the O.C.A.W. picket lines. They then have accepted a "me too" contract based on what the O.C.A.W. achieved.

The O.C.A.W. mobilized the rank and file, distributing ribbons which read "FLEX MEANS STRIKE!" Almost all of the union workers wore them, including the rank-and-file Boilermakers, who didn't savor the idea of being ordered by the bosses to do the O.C.A.W.'s maintenance work during a strike.

At 9:45 p.m., March 18, the union negotiating committee gave strike notice to the bosses and retired to their caucus room.

Messages from the communications committee indicated that a number of crucial operating plants within the refinery were in dire shape due to faulty maintenance and were about to shut down. The bosses, in a rush to revitalize the plants ahead of the O.C.A.W.'s dead-line, had made extensive use of low-paid, non-union, out-of-

state contractors and had received the quality of work that they had paid for.

Additionally, the line coordinators' "scab count" was 10 for the bosses versus 710 strikers for the union. This contrasts with the '86 contract expiration, when a weak union had to accept serious concessions as carloads of scabs created a traffic jam around the refinery.

"People who are united!"

At 11:10 p.m., the bosses withdrew both of their proposals and agreed to the general wage and benefit terms of the national pattern, which was set at most locations on Jan. 31. These included a \$900 bonus, a 30-cent-per-hour wage increase in the first year, and a 3 percent wage increase in the second year.

The Chevron Unit, in addition to fighting off the takeaways imposed on most other oil-bargaining units, achieved the highest training wage rates within the Chevron Refining System. These rates, which apply to all new employees in their first three years, had been substantially reduced in '86.

At the March 21 ratification meeting, Negotiating Committee Member Dan Snuffer said, "What we've proved is that a multi-billion-dollar corporation cannot defeat 650 people who are united."

In a two-year period, union members had recruited 324 new members, doubling the union's size from 45 percent to 90 percent of the work force in this open shop. The leadership, with the support of the international union, put forth a militant program which rejects the sell-out principles of "business unionism" and counterposes mass-struggle strategies in the daily fight between workers and bosses.

Little by little, as sell-out leaders were swept aside, as workers saw the increased visibility of a militant union in the plant, and as they experienced small victories in shop floor-tactics, they gained confidence in themselves and flocked into membership and increased activism.

As the union has stated in a leaflet titled "Empower the Union," the rank and file's will to struggle and to strike if need be is what puts the squeeze on "the money man." The El Segundo workers did just that, and in this age of concessions they turned the tide. ■

Master Freight pact angers Teamsters

By AL LONDON

On March 31, the Teamsters International (IBT) and major freight carriers announced a tentative agreement on a new National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA) covering some 200,000 workers. (Other companies are holding out for a still better deal.)

Neither the carriers nor IBT leaders anticipated the angry reaction their proposal is receiving from working Teamsters and many local officers.

During Jackie Presser's discredited stewardship of the union, members in other major Teamster jurisdictions revolted against concession contracts. And a NMFA rider was voted down in 1983. But nothing like this has ever happened before in the history of the master freight agreement.

Strong opposition is coming from the New York and New Jersey area, where nine locals are mobilizing members to reject the contract. A joint statement was issued that, "Teamsters all over the country should reject this agreement....Don't be fooled like you were three years ago....VOTE NO."

On April 18, Local 707 members at four carriers in the New York area walked out, citing failure of the companies to bargain in good faith and in order to "light a fire under the International's ass."

A majority of the larger contract meetings voted to oppose the contract. Some 1200 at Detroit Local 299 and 900 at New York Local 707 voted it down unanimously. However, the response in other locals was uneven, making passage still possible—especially with the top officials able to invoke the "two-thirds rule" to declare the pact ratified if less than two-thirds vote "no."

The International alienated many local officials by not backing them in their negotiations over the 11 area supplements to the NMFA. The employers took key local issues to the national level, where the International granted them new concessions. Under IBT rules, the mem-

bership does not get to vote separately on its area supplement, something that could be done while preserving national bargaining power through the master contract.

The 12,000-member national rank-and-file group, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), is well represented at the major freight carriers. It has played a big role in preparing the ranks—particularly through its ongoing campaign against the big concessions made in the 1985 contract—and by articulating the workers' concerns in widely distributed, regular contract bulletins.

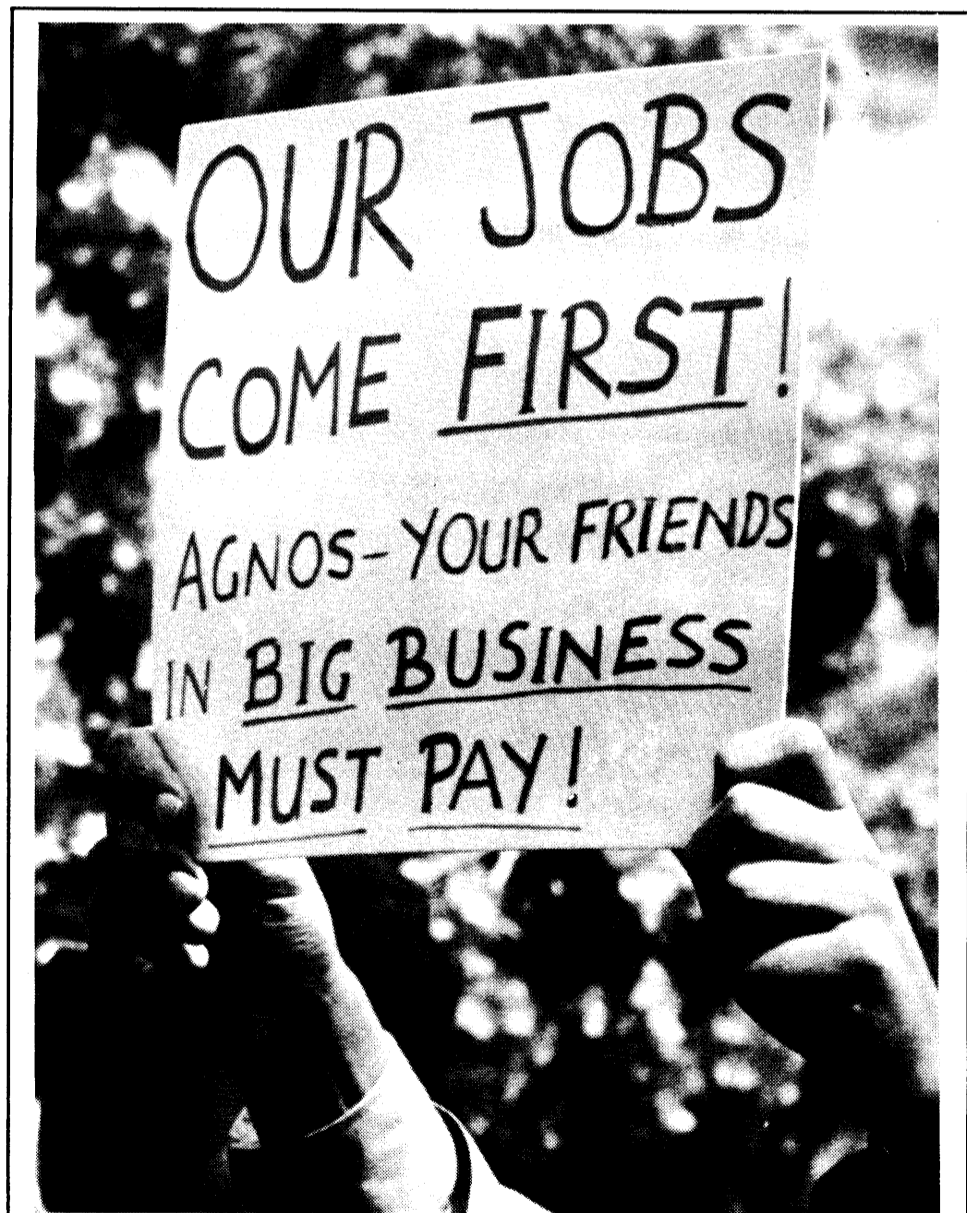
There are some improvements in this proposed agreement over the existing contract: The two-tier wage of 70-80-90 percent over three years has been compressed to 85-90-95 percent over 18 months, in the face of workers' demands that it be abolished. The disastrous drug-testing procedure has been improved, but not ended. And there are improvements in safety procedures.

However, there have been no improvements on key issues such as job protection through an end to subcontracting, double-breasting and heavy railing of freight, full equality for casual (temporary) employees, and preferential hiring for displaced workers (since deregulations some 114,000 jobs were lost as companies went bankrupt).

If inflation is 5 percent to 6 percent per year over the life of the contract, real wages would fall about 10 percent, since a meaningful COLA (cost-of-living allowance) has not been restored. Moreover, employers may cut wages by 15 percent, if 75 percent of its employees agree, and then all will be forced into it.

Workers are particularly angry about provisions to force Teamsters on workers compensation to have to do "modified work" at \$5 an hour, to pay for damage or theft if they are found "negligent," and to pay excess insurance charges if they are considered to be an assigned risk!

These unresolved issues and new concessions have working Teamsters fight-



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

On Monday, April 18, over 100 city workers rallied outside of San Francisco's City Hall to protest impending layoffs, wage freezes, and cutbacks. Liberal Democratic Party Mayor Art Agnos had vetoed a previously approved pay raise for city workers just days before.

The city workers unions are now faced with the task of waging a campaign against a city ballot initiative (Prop. B), spearheaded by Agnos, which would codify freezing wages, permit layoffs, and raise fees for city services to offset a projected \$179 million city budget deficit.

If they are to win, the unions will have to mobilize their membership, pose an alternative program (tax the rich!), and be prepared for a test of strength with the local government, corporations and banks.

ing mad. The sentiment is that their bargaining power is high and that a much better contract is possible.

A mail ballot vote is to be completed in

early May. The hope is that a "no" vote will pressure the IBT tops to renegotiate significant improvements, and that the members, if necessary, are ready to strike.

Chrysler retreats on Acustar, concession demands remain

By DAVID MARK

DETROIT—After a demonstration of 2000 United Auto Workers union members outside Chrysler world headquarters in February and threats by the UAW to selectively strike local plants, Chrysler announced it would abandon plans to sell its Acustar subsidiary.

The March issue of *Solidarity*, a UAW publication, claimed a victory for workers, stating, "Chrysler backed down in the face of widespread worker opposition."

Acustar was set up last year as a division of Chrysler, grouping together its parts and trim plants representing 17,300 workers in the United States and 13,000 in Canada and Mexico.

The *Solidarity* article goes on to say that Chrysler's plan was to sell Acustar to Harvard Industries, an anti-union company already notorious for setting up a scab operation at a UAW-organized factory in the city of Union, N.J.

With the Acustar sale, Chrysler, which now outsources 70 percent of its parts to outside companies—much more than GM (30 percent) and Ford (50 percent)—intended to secure the ability to outsource 100 percent of its parts and trim requirements, busting the unions at these plants in the process.

Chrysler abandoned this attempt after the UAW threatened local strikes and unilaterally suspended participation in joint union-management cooperation programs. However, at the same time, the company announced it would have to close four Acustar plants employing 2100 workers—Detroit Trim, Detroit Forge, Trenton Chemical (in Michigan), and Amplex Van Wert (Ohio)—within 18 months.

UAW leaders seek compromise

In a thinly veiled request for the cooperation of the UAW tops, Chrysler promised it would not close the plants until after the Sept. 14 contract with Chrysler workers was concluded. In addition, the company announced it would go ahead with plans to set up Acustar as a completely independent subsidiary competing with Chrysler's outside parts and trim suppliers.

In response to this, Marc Stepp, a UAW vice president, convened the UAW National Chrysler Council and asked it to approve early contract talks with the company.



Herbert Slodounik

The threat of plant closings is being used by Chrysler to wrest concessions from auto workers.

Labor-management schemes were immediately resumed and plans to strike local plants were shelved.

With this maneuver, the UAW tops are prying the initiative away from the locals and the ranks of the union. The contrast between the militancy of the demonstration at Chrysler world headquarters and the drive of the UAW bureaucracy to seek a compromise with the auto companies could not be clearer.

But Stepp puts aside any doubts in an article in the *Detroit Free Press* (March 6, 1988): "In the old days we would sit down, strike or slow down. We're not going to slow down now. We're not going to strike. We're just not going to cooperate."

Contract negotiations begin

If this is Stepp's plan for negotiating with Chrysler, workers had better hold on to their wallets. In the contract negotiations, which began on April 18, the bargaining platform is centered on the pattern agreement reached with GM and Ford in 1987.

According to news reports, the UAW is also bargaining for a two-year agreement

with Chrysler so that its next contract will expire at the same time as GM and Ford workers. It is also asking that the Chrysler national contract cover 1000 former AMC workers in Kenosha, Wisc. (Chrysler bought AMC in 1987 and closed the Kenosha plant. Under UAW workers' pressure, it agreed to maintain 1000 workers there to produce engines).

Chrysler wants the UAW to agree to reduced benefits for 5600 unionized salaried workers (non-unionized salaried workers have already had their benefits cut as at GM and Ford). The company also would still like a free hand with its Acustar subsidiary.

The GM and Ford patterns

Chrysler workers should remember that GM and Ford also announced plant closings prior to the 1987 contract round. The pattern agreement was negotiated so that these closings were part of the deal.

The pattern agreement was rammed through the locals in lightning-quick fashion, supposedly guaranteeing jobs for autoworkers in return for softer work rules and union-management cooperation plans

to boost productivity (read "speedup").

Then GM and Ford announced that the fine print allowed them not only to close the plants agreed to in the negotiations, but to "idle indefinitely" (as opposed to "close") other plants.

In essence, the job guarantees in the GM and Ford pattern agreement are good only in the case of a period of economic upturn. If sales go down, the plants will be "idled." Asked if the UAW would try to plug this loophole in the Chrysler agreement, Stepp replied, "You can't plug it...if there is a sales catastrophe, what can you do?" (*Detroit Free Press*, April 3, 1988)

A house built on sand

The UAW tops have consistently given in to demands for concessions. Only the pressure of the ranks has stopped them from giving away the whole house. Along with the reality of concessions, came the battle to win the workers minds to the idea that profits for the Big Three meant jobs and security for autoworkers.

The October stock market crash is a warning to workers. The capitalist economy is a house built on sand. The impoverishment of the working class is the fuel of this economy. The crash shows that even the concessions that have been extracted from workers over the last decade—beginning with Chrysler workers—will not stop the capitalist economy from running out of gas.

The working-class means of fighting the capitalists' attack, that Shepp considers outmoded—the slowdown, the strike, the sitdown—were powerful because they relied on the initiative of the workers, the only class truly capable of junking the bankrupt machinery of the capitalist economy.

Even before the crash, autoworkers were beginning to fight back against concessions. Regrouping under local leaders, in local struggles, and partial victories, they have defeated the most vicious aspects of the drive for concessions—as the Chrysler workers have done in stopping the sale and union-busting of Acustar.

With the stock market collapse and the period of unprecedented attacks on the workers that it announces, the stakes are even higher.

Whatever the outcome of the Chrysler negotiations, unionists need to go back to the "old days," beginning with the unifying weapon of the national strike, and take the initiative away from the labor "statesmen" and the management piranhas. This is the way for autoworkers to turn partial gains into permanent victories. ■

By JOHN HARRISON

CINCINNATI—At an April 8 general membership meeting of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 647, about 75 percent of the more than 5000 members who voted approved a settlement with General Electric.

The agreement, which was recommended by the union's bargaining committee, ended an eight-week strike at the General Electric Aircraft Engine Plant in Evendale, Ohio. The strike began on Feb. 16 over the issue of combining job classifications.

Striking members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodges 912, 162, and 789 have also returned to work following the settlement with the UAW. "We settled the grievances we were out on strike over," an IAM business representative told the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. He pointed out that IAM rules did not require a vote by union members to end their walkout.

No details of the UAW settlement were released to anyone, including the membership, before the April 8 meeting. Local 647 President Bill Adams, who supported the settlement, was reported to have said at the meeting that the union "saved face." He also said, "The main issue is job security, and we got that." (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 8, 1988)

But some union members expressed a different opinion. "I don't feel good about going back because we went out for job combinations," one striker told reporters. "I believe that most of the members feel we

Striking GE workers approve new contract

did not get what we went out for."

GE's original proposal was to reduce 84 classifications to 32; the settlement provides for a reduction to 40. The settlement did include (according to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*) "a written guarantee by GE that a program to combine dozens of job classifications would not result in layoffs."

Unfortunately, this guarantee is only on paper. Despite the establishment of a joint union-management committee to monitor the provision covering layoffs, further layoffs could occur as engine contracts expire. These are not covered by the settlement.

In fact, immediately upon returning to work, about 200 UAW members were temporarily laid off for up to two weeks—and there are rumors of a permanent layoff soon.

GE justified the layoffs by claiming a lack of work due to jobs that were farmed out during the strike. GE also claimed that strike-breakers working at the Evendale plant "got too far ahead" in some areas of production. Company representatives boast that, despite the strike, the plant continued to operate seven days a week for two 12-hour shifts a day.



Dick Swaim/Cinn. Enquirer

At the April 8 meeting, a member of the Local 647 bargaining committee praised the membership for its unity and determination during the strike. But the only effective measure that the union took to ensure unity was a solidarity rally on Feb. 27. About

3000 people participated in that event—the largest labor rally in Cincinnati's history.

There is a good chance that the issue of job reclassifications will resurface this month when negotiations begin for the national contract, which expires in July. ■

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

Brother Malcolm would be 62 this month. Malcolm X was born on May 19, 1925. He was killed by an assassin's bullet on Feb. 21, 1965.

When Malcolm was gunned down, the movement for Black liberation—nationally and internationally—lost one of its most capable, courageous, and totally committed leaders.

Throughout this country's history, the purpose of the U.S. government and the two major political parties of its ruling class has been to protect and increase the wealth of the rich and to put down all rebellions against their rule—domestically and internationally.

As a result of his experiences and studies, Brother Malcolm developed ideas that dovetailed with this analysis.

On June 28, 1964, at a public rally called to launch the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm revealed the vast gulf in consciousness and commitment between himself and the many political hucksters and misleaders of Black people. He stated: "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out."

In his famous "Ballot or the Bullet" speech, he said, "You put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last." He

Happy Birthday, Malcolm X

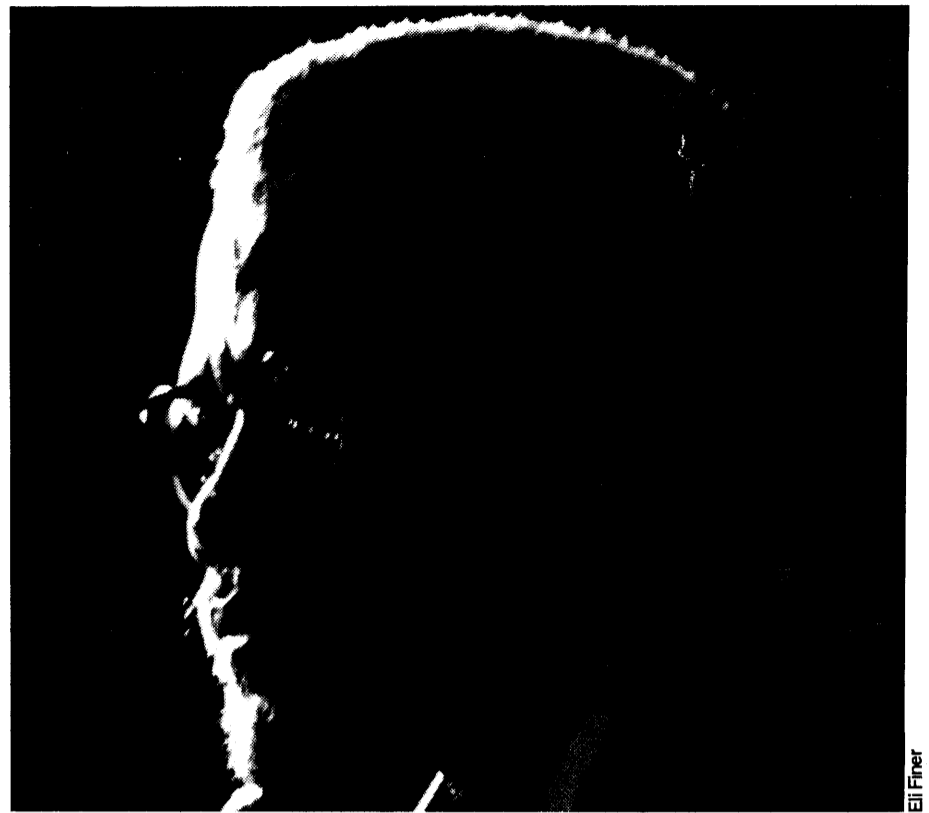
characterized the role played by different segments of the Democratic Party as "a giant political con game" that keeps Blacks politically impotent by keeping them in its clutches.

Malcolm was also anti-capitalist. He characterized capitalism as a system that "needs some blood to suck" in order to survive. He realized that the capitalist system dominates the political structure in this country and that it must be eliminated here and in the world in order for real liberation to come into existence.

If Malcolm were alive today, his record proves that he would be involved in the many local, national, and international battlefronts against oppression—from Harlem to Central America to South Africa to the Middle East.

Above all, Malcolm was an uncompromising revolutionary. He advocated that the world's oppressed free themselves totally from all forms of oppression and take control of their lives and destiny *By Any Means Necessary*.

—from the pamphlet, "Malcolm X: Fighter for Black Liberation"



Eli Ffner

Interview with Robert F. Williams

'Malcolm was an advocate of armed self-defense'

Robert F. Williams was a prominent symbol of the 1960s civil-rights movement. He was one of the few Black leaders who advocated and practiced armed self-defense on the part of Black victims of racist violence.

In 1961, while leading a struggle for civil rights in his hometown of Monroe, N.C., Williams was framed-up on a kidnapping charge after a racial disturbance (Blacks arming themselves after being attacked by whites).

Declared a fugitive by North Carolina authorities, Williams lived in exile in Cuba for five years. He also lived for a period of time in the Peoples Republic of China during the height of the Cultural Revolution.

Now based in Detroit, Mich., Williams had to fight a battle to prevent his extradition to North Carolina on the trumped-up charges.

The following interview was conducted by Socialist Action staffwriter Kwame M.A. Somburu.

Socialist Action: You were very active in the late '50s and early '60s around racial and political issues. When did you first become aware of Malcolm X, and what influence, if any, did he have on your development and activities?

Robert F. Williams: Strangely enough, people who didn't know him then—who didn't understand him—would ask the question in a different way.

I advocated armed self-defense. We had a rifle club in the '50s, and at that time Malcolm was with Mr. Elijah Muhammad and they had a Muslim newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*. They were very much interested in news, and as a result, when the Associated Press and the UPI carried information about our rifle club and some of our shootouts, Malcolm became interested.

I used to come to New York on speaking trips, because many people in New York and especially in Harlem used to raise money to buy guns for us in North



Carolina. And Malcolm invited me to his temple when he was a minister on 116th Street.

He used to invite me to speak after the religious service had ended. He'd always say, "We have a brother here from North Carolina, and I'm sure you want to hear what his message is." Malcolm advocated and supported armed self-defense, but we practiced it.

S.A.: Did Malcolm ever come down to North Carolina to speak or meet with anybody?

Williams: He never came down there for us, but he did eventually have some people organize down there. In fact, some of the members of our group became Mus-

lims, so we had a close relationship.

Now some people would be shocked to find out that some people rewrote history: the fact is that Malcolm was an advocate of armed self-defense, but he hadn't practiced it in the manner that we practiced it.

He did have some experience with self-defense with the Muslims when he broke with them, but he never had to struggle against the local or national power structure from the armed point of view. So a lot of people would find this disturbing to them, but it's the truth.

S.A.: Are you aware of any people or groups that you were in contact with during those years that were positively influenced by Malcolm?

Williams: He really had influence and impact on the whole movement nationwide. He was an articulate advocate of what we believed in. He had an impact on everyone except for maybe the pacifist movement. Some people just don't understand the ramifications of what we represented.

S.A.: What effect do you think Malcolm's assassination had on the Black Power movement that was just developing in 1965?

Williams: It had a stunning effect. It was shocking and it also served to demoralize the movement.

S.A.: During his last years, Malcolm became very political and espoused strong negative opinions on the Democratic and Republican parties and the capitalist system—and favorable views on socialism. What do you think his position would be today on those institutions or ideas?

Williams: I'm sure he would, to some extent like the rest of us, feel some disappointment in the socialist movement. He would believe in socialism as the only way out. But it doesn't mean that what he would see today would be pleasing.

As far as the Republican Party goes, we can see what has happened to the poor, the middle class, and civil rights. The only ones who really made out have been the rich.

S.A.: Do you think that Malcolm would have given Jesse Jackson support as a Democrat trying to get the party's nomination?

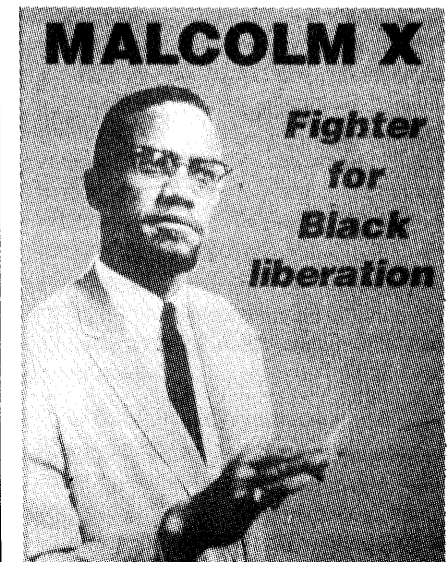
Williams: Well, I doubt he would have given him too much support as a Democrat. He would have given him support as a Black man. There's hardly anything left to the Democratic Party that would please those who advocate the rights of poor people.

S.A.: In other words, Malcolm is against the Democratic Party as a whole regardless of whatever individuals might be in it and whatever they might be advocating.

Williams: Yes. There were some years when we supported the Democratic Party and we did make gains. But those gains are being swept away. I don't know of any strong protests that the Democratic Party is making.

S.A.: How do you feel that the racial situation in America is now compared to what it was in the '50s and '60s during the real height of your activities and Malcolm's—during the height of the civil-rights movement?

Williams: During the '50s, they beat our brains out with baseball bats. Now they choke us to death, slowly, economically. Our people have made some gains but we're still at the end—the bottom end of everything. We're still being brutalized, we're still being discriminated against, and we're still denied the dream that Martin Luther King said he dreamed. ■



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By CHRIS BUTTERS

NEW YORK—On Nov. 28, 1987, Tawana Brawley, a 16-year-old high-school student and cheerleader from Wappingers Falls, N.Y., was found barely alive, partly naked, and wrapped inside a plastic bag. She had been missing for four days. Patches of hair had been cut from her head and she had been smeared with dog feces. The words "nigger" and "KKK" had been written on her stomach and chest.

In the brief police investigation, Brawley stated that she had been abducted by a group of white men, one of whom had identified himself as a police officer. The family alleged she had been raped, sodomized and beaten.

From the start, police and government officials have shown no interest in seriously investigating the case. Only the Black and left presses initially covered the case, linking it to a pattern of KKK, racist vigilante, and police violence in the Hudson Valley area.

"Justice for Tawana Brawley" was a prominent demand in Martin Luther King Day demonstrations around the country.

"Special prosecutor"

Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason, two attorneys retained by the Brawley family, have called for a special prosecutor in the case—operating independently of the local district attorney's office.

Maddox and Mason point to facts implicating local law officers in the Brawley case. They contend that the local D.A.'s office cannot be relied on to undertake the wide-ranging investigation that is needed.

After meeting with Maddox and Mason, Gov. Mario Cuomo appointed State Attorney General Robert Abrams special prosecutor in late January. Soon after his appointment, however, Abrams abruptly announced that he had no intention of assuming personal, day-to-day responsibility for the case.

Instead, Abrams said he was assigning the case to District Attorney John Ryan, the very officer that Maddox and Mason, in their negotiations with Cuomo, had previously rejected as being inexperienced.

Maddox and Mason, with the support of Brawley and her family, have withdrawn the cooperation of their client until such time as a new special prosecutor is appointed. Despite threats by the D.A.'s office to jail Brawley for any refusal of subpoenas, the attorneys are holding fast.

Democrats avoid the heat

Meanwhile, there has been very little action in the case. In the absence of any breakthrough, *The New York Times*, among other newspapers, has published

Justice for Tawana Brawley! Anti-racist mov't impeded while case is deadlocked



David Vita/Impact Visuals

articles questioning whether the incident "really happened," conveniently taking the heat off Cuomo and the DA's office.

Rather than calling on the D.A.'s office to investigate the leads that already exist, Democratic Party tops have spent most of their energy seeking to divide the anti-racist movement through attacks on Maddox and Mason. It is the attorneys, they argue, who are preventing the case from going forward, rather than Cuomo, Abrams, and other Democratic Party officials.

A division of labor has emerged, with Cuomo taking credit for appointing a "special prosecutor," even though day-to-day work is assigned to District Attorney Ryan. Jesse Jackson, when he was campaigning in New York state, added his own words of "confidence" in Cuomo's

handling of the affair.

Meanwhile, Ryan can sit on his hands, citing the non-cooperation of Brawley. This, despite the fact that, according to Maddox and Mason, numerous leads exist, gained through Brawley's statements to police in the days immediately following the incident.

Several important demonstrations have occurred in this period. In Brooklyn on March 17, over 2000 people demonstrated for justice for Brawley. In a smaller but no less important show of support, 350 women—white, Black, and Latino—marched in midtown Manhattan on March 11. The demonstration was called by a feminist organization, New York Women Against Rape.

But increasingly, the legal maneuvers

behind closed doors have left activists confused about what to do. In one two-week period, for instance, Maddox and Mason's statements on the case shifted from notes of defiance, to praise of Cuomo, to expressions of hate for Cuomo's racism.

This case and Howard Beach

In the Howard Beach lynch-mob case, it was the fear of an independent mass movement that drove Cuomo to agree to the demand for a special prosecutor, after having used every opportunity to play one group of Black officials against another and against community organizers.

Special prosecutor Charles Hynes' work led to manslaughter convictions of the Howard Beach defendants. Maddox and Mason's praise of Hynes was widely publicized in the big-business media. Of course, the real hero in the case was not Hynes but the energy and vigilance of the masses in the streets, without which even the shred of justice obtained in the trial would not have been possible.

Maddox and Mason have not been so successful in pushing for an independent prosecutor in the Brawley case. This is partly because the facts of the case are not so clear. But another reason is that the ruling class has skillfully integrated into this case some of the lessons (from their point of view, to be sure) of the Howard Beach mobilizations

Key has been their use of the demand for a special prosecutor in such a way as to at least partially separate the case from the struggle in the streets. They have also, to some extent, separated the movement around justice for Brawley from the larger fight against all acts of racist injustice.

Given the present impasse in the case, some activists are pointing to the limits of such a strategy. Of special concern is the perceived loss of momentum in the anti-racist movement since New York's "Days of Outrage" mobilization in December.

Reassessment of strategy and tactics by the lawyers, in consultation with the anti-racist movement, may yet end the deadlock in the case. Prosecution by an "anti-racist" special prosecutor appointed by Cuomo may yet lead to convictions. But the anti-racist movement must keep up the pressure—in the streets, if need be. ■

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Human Care Not Warfare" 8000 people marched here on April 9 from downtown's Skid Row to City Hall to hear a rally organized by a new organization—Coalition '88. The march and rally commemorating the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was built as a multi-issue demonstration endorsed by nearly 200 organizations.

The Coalition '88 organizers had solicited issues from various movements in Los Angeles which, when compiled, resulted in a brochure of 61 different demands upon the U.S. government on 20 separate items of social concern.

The issues, which appeared on a full page of the printed brochure and program, ranged from Central America, Southern Africa, the Middle East, to the rights of students, gays

Coalition '88 program has built-in pitfalls

and lesbians, and immigrant workers, just to name a few.

All were supposedly united under "a single concept calling for government programs which meet human needs, not spending for militarism and destruction."

This method of organizing captured the interest of many in Los Angeles, including those among the left who have favored a multi-issue approach in the antiwar movement.

However, the built-in pitfalls of such a wide-ranging program became apparent two days before the rally when several prominent religious leaders publicly withdrew from the coalition. They stated that they had come to this decision after "discovering that the event's agenda included abortion, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and other controversial issues."

Undoubtedly this had a significant impact upon participation in the rally, not only within the religious community, but also among others who had similar questions about the nature of the coalition.

The major projection of the rally was to "kick-off an extensive precinct network campaign throughout Los Angeles County.

The coalition encouraged movement activists to become precinct captains in order to "register people to vote in their own way with their own group agenda." About 960 marchers signed up as precinct captains to do door-to-door work to "get out the vote in '88."

The diversity of the agenda was evident by the signs carried. But the underlying reality of the coalition's obscured agenda was also made clear by a sea of signs, T-shirts, buttons, and bumper stickers supporting one candidate: Jesse Jackson.

Carried not only by the Rainbow Coalition *per se*, pro-Jackson banners such as "Gays and Lesbians for Jackson," "Senior Citizens for Jackson," and "Arab-Americans for Jackson" abounded.

The latter was perhaps the most ironic, as Jackson himself was in New York at the time, giving a speech in which he "moderated" his position on the Middle East. (The next day, Jackson pledged on PBS's *Face the Nation* that he would not meet with P.L.O. leader Yassir Arafat unless the P.L.O. reversed its historic position and agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist.)

The real question facing the left today remains pivoted around the nature of the Democratic Party, including the Rainbow Coalition and Jesse Jackson. While the sentiments of many supporters for Jackson reflect an unequivocal stance in favor of the rights of working people and of the oppressed throughout the world, Jackson himself continues to shift to the right on virtually all issues in an attempt to garner votes from so-called mainstream Americans.

There can be no doubt that as November approaches this trend of reversals will continue. It is predictable that many original supporters of Jackson will eventually see Jackson's candidacy in a traditional "lesser of two evils" manner. They will again realize that the Democratic Party and all of its caucuses defend the interests of the capitalist class and not the working class.

A sentiment shared by many marchers was that something needed to be done about "the way the whole world was going." But neither Jackson nor any wing of the Democratic Party can do that. Only the working class—and its allies—can organize an effective fight to end the injustices created by capitalism.

But to do this, the labor movement and all other organizations of the exploited majority must break with the Democrats and Republicans and form a labor party based on the unions and open to all the oppressed. ■

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The real meaning of the 'Jackson phenomenon'

As long as the oppressed class—in our case, therefore, the proletariat—is not yet ripe for its self-liberation, so long will it, in its majority, recognize the existing order of society as the only possible one and politically constitute the tail of the capitalist class, its extreme left wing.

But in the measure in which it matures towards its self-emancipation, in the same measure it constitutes itself as a separate [political] party and chooses its own representatives, not those of the capitalists. Universal suffrage is thus the gauge of the maturity of the working class. (Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State")

By JOE RYAN

Jesse Jackson's campaign to win a place on the Democratic Party presidential ticket has had a big impact on the American political scene. Millions of workers and farmers have given an enthusiastic reception to Jackson's "anti-capitalist" rhetoric.

Unlike his nomination bid in 1984, Jackson has been able to expand his constituency beyond the Black community. What's new in 1988 is the remarkable response of white working people to Jack-

son's populist message of social reform. With the worsening economic conditions as a backdrop, this is clear evidence that discontent among America's workers is reaching dangerous levels.

Favorable coverage

Jackson has worked feverishly to pose as the candidate—not only of the millions of disenfranchised and super-exploited Blacks and other oppressed nationalities—but, in the first place, as the workers' candidate, the farmers' candidate, the poor peoples' candidate, the candidate of the unemployed, and the women's candidate. By successfully doing this, he has been catapulted into a two-man race for the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

Even more phenomenal than the Jackson "phenomena," however, is the calculated decision by the top ruling circles of American capitalism to grant him equal media coverage with all the other "major" candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties.

In this media-dominated world, Jackson would have been in a much more difficult position if he didn't receive ample and favorable TV, radio, and press coverage. What motivated the ruling elite to allow an

equal hearing for Jackson and his radical-sounding speeches? Only the naive would argue that this is simply the result of American "democracy" in action.

Neither is it enough to say that the ruling class's purpose is to bring the millions of alienated and disenfranchised working people back into the arena of the electoral shell-game. While this is partly true, it is only a relatively small part of their motivation. After all, the trend toward voter abstention has been occurring for the last 40 years—paralleling the drift to the right of both the Democrats and Republicans.

Economic downturns

Turning over the TV and radio networks to a man whose message would feature loud lip-service for an end to "economic violence" by the rich against the poor could be risky business for the capitalist class. The only factor that could justify such a gamble by America's rulers is their conviction that an explosive rise in working-class combativity is not far down the road.

As the October stock market crash indicated, the coming period of economic destabilization will qualitatively worsen the living standards for a substantial number of the working and middle classes. And the

capitalists have good reason to fear the impending groundswell of resentment and rebellion these economic dislocations will trigger among working people and the oppressed. That is why the capitalists are now in the process of making political preparations for this inevitable explosion.

Just as the Supreme Court's ruling against *de jure* school segregation put the rulers in a position to best ride out the Black freedom upsurge of the 1950s and 1960s, their promotion of Jesse Jackson as prime leader and spokesperson for the poor and exploited masses will also help them ride out the stormy rise of the working class.

After all, the ruling class has nothing to fear from Jackson. He has made his loyalty to the Democratic Party and the capitalist system absolutely clear. They are fully confident that Jackson, far from capturing the Democratic Party, is doomed to be a captive of the class which it serves.

Growing consciousness

The Jesse Jackson campaign, and the support it has won, is a contradictory phenomenon. On one hand, the growth in consciousness of American working people is reflected in the votes Jackson has received during the primaries—especially from white industrial workers. On the other hand, this consciousness still remains trapped within capitalist political channels.

Jackson's purpose and value to the rulers is twofold. He can only be effective by appealing to the needs of workers, farmers, and the oppressed through demagoguery. If he didn't do this, he would have no authority in the eyes of this powerful constituency.

But at the same time, Jackson must fuel the illusion that fundamental social change can only occur within the framework of established political institutions—like the Democratic Party. Jackson's role is to short-circuit the historic necessity of working people to form their own political party. As long as the disenchanted millions are trapped in the Democratic Party, they can't raise their own program, solutions, and demands. They remain the left-wing tail of the ruling rich.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels always pointed out that the economic emancipation of working people can only occur through their self-liberation from the political parties of their bosses. While no time-table can be set in advance on when the economic bubble will burst, one thing is certain: The first instinct of workers and the oppressed will be to step forward with their own political banner and party.

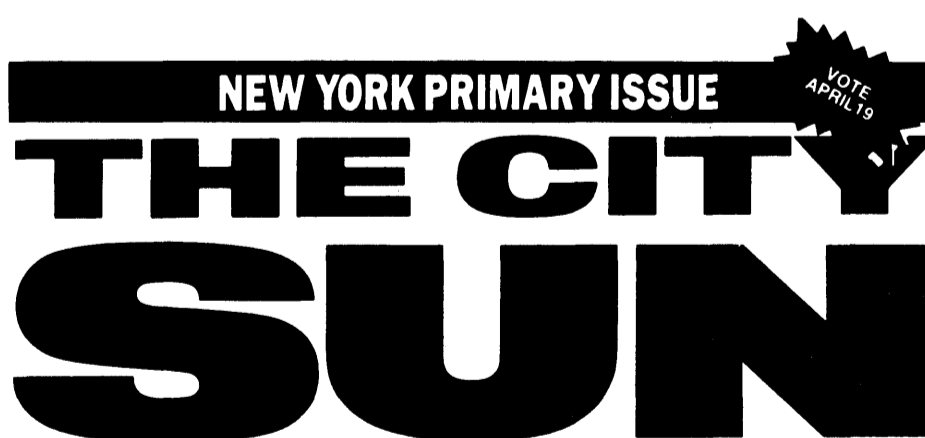
In this sense, the "Jackson phenomenon" is a symptom that the nearly 40-year period of relative working-class conservatism is coming to an end. ■

Following are excerpts from an editorial that appeared in the April 13-19 issue of The City Sun, a major Black-oriented newspaper in the New York City area.

Although Socialist Action does not necessarily agree with all of the opinions stated in the article, we are reprinting the portions below as an example of criticisms of Jesse Jackson's campaign that are expressed by some forces in the Black community.

The City Sun has observed and pondered Jesse Jackson's presidential race for months. After weeks of agonizing, sometimes heated, internal debate, we have come to a conclusion we are sure would anger many: We do not endorse any of Jesse Jackson's opponents in the primary and we do not here repeat the ringing endorsement we gave him in 1984.

Our disenchantment with Jesse Jackson stems from what we see as a clear-cut abandonment of his political ideals for the expediency of the moment and, more profoundly, the setting aside of an agenda he had enunciated in 1984 that



spoke primarily, not exclusively, to Third World people.

The thing he's trying to prove in 1988 was proven beyond a reasonable doubt back then: There is a large, growing population that is shut out of the mainstream—most of them Third world people—who can and want to be organized so that they can mount a political counteroffensive to the oppressive circumstances that end up governing their lives.

Jackson's spectacular showing in 1984—he commanded the Black vote nationwide—proved the idea had tremendous merit. Instead of building on that idea in 1988 and installing the Rainbow as a political reality in every state that could sustain his and others' candidacies, we came to know that Jackson intended to run again—but as a full-fledged Democrat.

The man who excoriated the Democratic Party's policies in 1984 are

playing by its rules in 1988. And now, four years after he launched the Rainbow, Jackson can neither point to its actual existence nor its ability to carry his own candidacy, far less anybody else's.

In 1984, when he was a maverick, Jackson had to take on not only the white political establishment—that was a given—but the Black political establishment as well. Today in major cities with significant Black populations, the Black political establishment—to some extent, the white power structure—is now firmly entrenched in the Jackson campaign.

In New York City, for example, many of the people closest to the Jackson campaign were the unapologetic protectors of the status quo, the folks who in the wave of grass-roots protests and movements voluntarily placed themselves between the people's quest for justice and the system's unwillingness to give it.

What would a politically correct Jesse Jackson be doing with these people so close to him? What message does he think he's sending to Black New York?

... Democrats

(continued from page 1)

become a political hostage in 1988, trying to win white approval at the expense of the broader Black imperatives that should have guided him—and us—all along," *The City Sun* noted in its April 13-19 issue.

"If winning means having to yield on principles, having to toe the line, then being a loser is a far more honorable alternative."

Jackson's "number-one goal"

Jackson is the first to admit that his "maverick" days are over. "I'm in the center," he said on ABC television before the New York primary. "My number-one goal is the victory of the Democratic Party."

For that statement, a large portion of the party's "prime movers" are shaking his hand. "Jackson is not giving a liberal or radical message," former Democratic National Chairman John C. White says. "He's giving a traditional Democratic Party message."

Faced with an increasingly disenfranchised and sceptical electorate, the Democratic leaders see Jackson's civil-rights background and populist slogans as their ace-in-the-hole to entice new voters onto the party rolls.

Jackson boasts that he has been responsible for registering 2 million people into the Democratic Party. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo heartily agrees. "Jesse is a very important person for this party," Cuomo said. "His Black votes made me governor."

Guess who came to breakfast?

But Jackson "isn't only talking to the people in the ghettos," House Speaker Jim Wright points out, while dangling the possibility of a vice-presidential nomination for Jackson. "He's talking to the most socially prominent families in America."

Indeed, in the midst of the New York campaign, Jackson found himself at a swanky hotel breakfasting with some of the Democratic Party's "elder statesmen"—all

of whom have ties to the highest circles of the capitalist class.

"The meeting has been devoted to listening to Jesse Jackson tell us about his contact with the American people," millionaire lawyer Clark Clifford, who served as Secretary of Defense under Lyndon B. Johnson, told reporters in the hotel lobby.

"The Democratic Party has always been the party of innovation," Clifford dead-

opponents as tools of "Wall Street gluttons." The bureaucratic leadership of the CIO and the AFL union federations gladly took the bait, going all out to secure a Democratic Party election triumph.

After he received the unexpected news of his presidential victory, Truman's first words were, "Labor did it!" But within 24 hours of the election, Truman began to renege on his promises; he put forth proposals for a new strike-breaking law to supersede Taft-Hartley.

As in 1948, Clifford's current talk about "innovation" is just for show. Jackson is being groomed as the "responsible" politician who can most effectively divert social

and white working people who flock to his campaign meetings to help him roll back the clock to the days before "Reaganomics." He told ABC news: "We would do well to look on the [Jimmy] Carter years as perhaps the years of most inclusion of the American people in running the government."

But Jackson's memory is short. Carter, a graduate of David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission, a pro-imperialist thinktank, filled his cabinet with representatives of U.S. corporations and foreign-policy strategists left over from the Vietnam War years.

The wealthy corporations rejoiced when Carter cut their taxes and when he tried to use the Taft Hartley Act to break the miners' strike of 1978. But by 1979, when Carter engineered a phony "oil crisis," barely 25 percent of the population was willing to give him a "positive" rating.

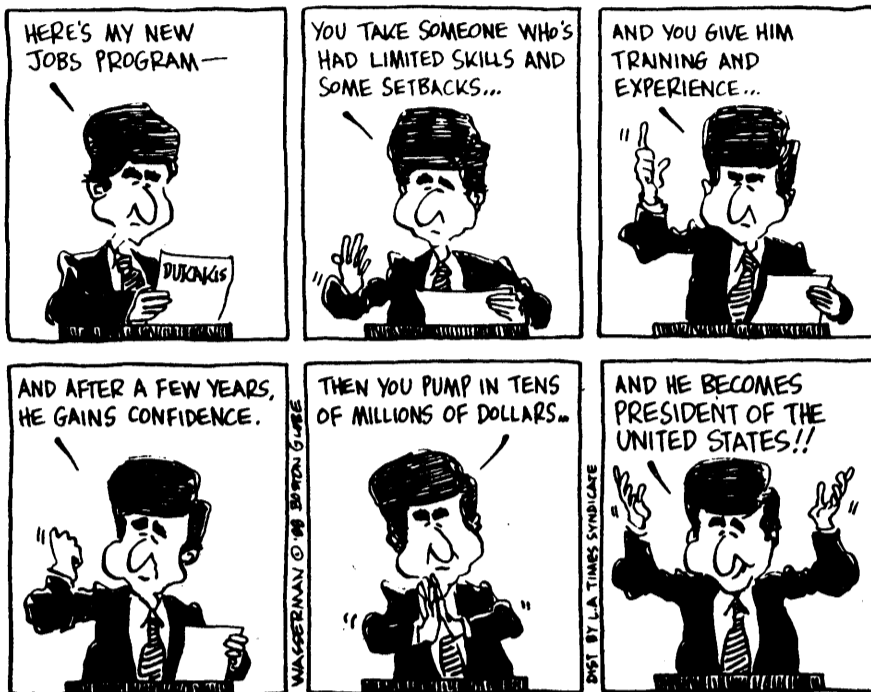
In spite of the antiwar sentiment of the American people, Carter drastically increased the military budget, authorized the MX and cruise-missile program, initiated disruption campaigns against Nicaragua and Grenada, and brought the United States to the brink of war in Iran.

Yet Jackson favors Jimmy Carter for the next Secretary of State. Rather than "innovation," it's business as usual for the Democratic Party. And when the time comes, Jackson states, he will tell his supporters to vote for the frontrunner for president. He'll back Dukakis just as he backed Mondale in 1984.

What will Jackson get in turn for his support to Dukakis? Big-wigs in Washington have suggested several prizes, including chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee, an anti-drug czar, a foreign-ministry-without-portfolio—or even a cabinet post.

The May 2 issue of *Newsweek* points out that these "delicate negotiations require maximum delicacy, if not outright deception. Dukakis must not give the impression he's cutting a seamy deal, or 'kowtowing' to Jackson. On the other hand, Jackson must convince Black voters he extracted enough, by way of concessions, to justify his acquiescence."

"It's going to take the whole party to put that relationship together," a top Democratic Party leader told *Newsweek*. "That's what most of the next few months will be about." ■



panned for the reporters. "It's possible that Jesse Jackson may be the one to bring innovation to our party."

Clark Clifford, before he became a Vietnam War hawk, was the architect of Harry Truman's 1948 presidential campaign. In order to facilitate endorsements by Black and trade-union leaders, Clifford drew up a demagogic campaign platform that emphasized civil rights and promised to repeal the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law.

At whistle stops throughout the country, Truman denounced his Republican Party

struggles into the machinery of the Democratic Party.

Praise of the working class and swipes against "Wall Street pirates" have been constant themes in the Democratic Party's pronouncements this year. But like the other Democratic candidates—past and present—Jackson concentrates his fire on the Republicans.

The Democratic Party, which joins the Republicans in sacrificing the interests of working people to those of the capitalist class, is let off the hook.

Jackson counsels the Blacks, Hispanics,

S.F. socialists will run in upcoming city elections

By ADAM WOOD

On Nov. 8, 1988, San Francisco's working people will get a chance to vote for two of their own. Socialist Action is proud to announce that Joseph Ryan will run for Board of Supervisors and Sylvia Weinstein will run for Board of Education.

San Francisco is facing a budget deficit of \$179 million. The current Board of Supervisors, all Democrats, are loyally standing beside the corporations and banks their party represents. Based on a request by labor-endorsed Mayor Art Agnos, the Board of Supervisors voted 10-1 to put a ballot initiative (Prop. B) on the June ballot calling for a wage-freeze for all city workers.

Hundreds of lay-offs are expected within the next few months, while the city's rich are actually getting more tax-breaks and "incentives" in order to make San Francisco profitable for the few at the expense of living standards and jobs for the majority of its residents.

Joseph Ryan ran for mayor of San Francisco last fall, and spoke to hundreds of unionists and students. Everywhere he spoke, he warned that the candidates of the rich would have no choice except to force

working people to pay the city's bill. Now that the Democrats and Republicans have made their intentions clear, Ryan will put forward a fightback strategy for the labor movement.

Topping the list, Ryan calls for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and for the formation of a labor party based on the unions. Only such a party can truly represent labor in the political field.

Joseph Ryan has been active in labor and social protest movements for 16 years. A founding member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Ryan served in the U.S. Navy from 1962 to 1966. In the Bay Area, Ryan has been active in strike solidarity campaigns for the Retail Clerks and Oil Workers unions. Ryan has also helped build four Spring Mobilizations for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

Weinstein for Board of Ed.

Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Action candidate for Board of Education, is one of the best known socialists in San Francisco. She ran for Board of Supervisors in 1984 and 1986, and received over 10,000 votes in each election.

In a city with the largest AIDS crisis in the country outside of New York City,

where poverty and unemployment are pushing more and more Black and Latin American youth to drug abuse, where thousands of homeless people roam the streets of every neighborhood—no demand gets to the heart of things better than "Human Needs, Not Profit." And there isn't anyone better qualified to wage an effective fight around that slogan than Sylvia Weinstein.

Weinstein served on the Executive Board of the National Organization of Women from 1975 to 1982. She was active in building the N.O.W. sponsored March for Women's Lives in 1986.

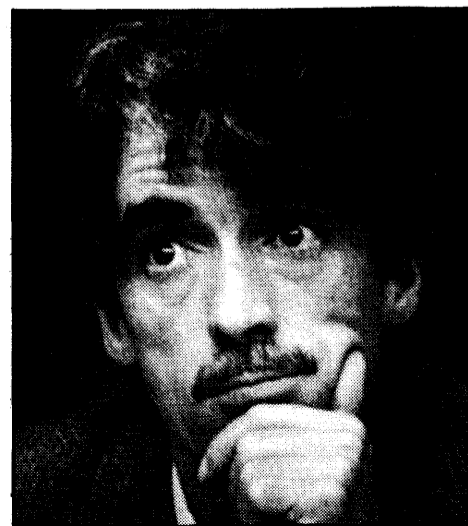
Weinstein served on the Childcare Initiative Task Force and the Health and Childcare Committee of the Commission for the Status of Women. She also served on the Children's Center Expansion Committee of the school district.

Both Weinstein and Ryan are founding members of Socialist Action and staff writers for *Socialist Action* newspaper.

Today's labor movement needs fighters, and Weinstein and Ryan are just that. Vote Socialist Action in November. For information write to Socialist Action, 3435 Army St. Room 308, San Francisco, CA 94110 or call (415) 821-0458. ■



Sylvia Weinstein



Joseph Ryan



S. African unionist speaks on increased gov't attacks

The following are excerpts from an interview with a leader of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), one of the largest and most militant Black unions in South Africa. The CCAWUSA, with a membership of 70,000, is affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The interview is reprinted from the March 23, 1988, issue of the French-language socialist newsweekly Informations Ouvrieres. The name of the South African trade unionist was withheld for reasons of security.

Question: What is the meaning—particularly for the trade unions—of the repressive measures adopted by the South African government on Feb. 24?

Answer: These measures ban 17 anti-apartheid organizations from carrying out all forms of political activity. This means, in essence, that the major political organizations opposed to the apartheid regime have been outlawed. These include the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the various local defense, civil-rights, youth, and student organizations that are linked to these two mass organizations.

As far as the trade unions, it is now illegal for them to conduct activities which the regime considers to be "political." But you must understand that in the current situation in South Africa the line that separates what is "political" from what isn't, is very difficult to establish.

Under the new measures, the trade unions do not have the right to carry out a national campaign for a minimum wage. They cannot campaign for the release from prison of all the detained anti-apartheid activists. This is considered to be "political."

But the unions are the organizations that have been most acutely hit by the repression. For example, in the aftermath of a series of incidents provoked by some strikebreakers, one unionist was killed and a delegate of our union was convicted and sentenced to death. His name is William Ntombela. He is the father of two children.

In addition, these new measures must be understood in relation to a new law concerning labor relations which

was recently adopted by the whites-only parliament. This law is geared at taking back all the concessions the regime and the bosses had been compelled to grant over the past few years.

Specifically, the right to strike has been so curtailed that today in South Africa it is very difficult for a strike to be legal. All sympathy strikes are illegal. It will also be illegal for workers to go out on strike more than once in a one-year period for the same demands.

All spontaneous strikes will henceforth be declared illegal. In fact, the bosses will be able to sue the union for losses incurred during a work stoppage. This will create an extremely difficult situation for us because in a union like ours, which must confront all different types of employers, there is scarcely a week when a work conflict does not result, here or there, in a work stoppage.

Question: Why have these repressive measures been enacted today?

Answer: To understand the current situation, you have to go back to the events of 1984-85, when you had a genuine rebellion of the Black population in the industrial townships like Soweto, the factories, and the schools.

The state responded in 1985 by instituting a state of emergency for one year. This greatly restricted the rights to free speech and assembly. In June 1986, the state of emergency was extended. In fact, it is still in effect today. Only this time the main targets of the increased repression were the Black trade unions, which had rapidly developed during this period. A wave of terror, of mass arrests and detentions, followed shortly thereafter.

I must say that our union played an important role in the resistance. The CCAWUSA waged the first strike against the state of emergency. Then, at the close of 1986, we waged an 11-week strike against the major supermarket chain in the country: OK Bazaar.

We were able to win wage increases and other job guarantees which had not existed previously. This was the first of a series of strikes that mobilized the main bastions of the working class throughout 1987: the railworkers, the postal workers, the municipal employees, the metalworkers, and the miners.

In the course of our strike, the workers began to see

how the struggle against apartheid is combined with the struggle against capitalist exploitation. A number of the bosses against whom we were striking, people like Anton Reilly and Tony Blum, belong to that wing of the white ruling class that defines itself as "liberal." They are the ones who participated in the meetings with representatives of the African National Congress (ANC).

The workers began to see right through the hypocrisy of these "liberal" capitalists. They painted union banners which stated: "Even the bosses who say they are against apartheid are not our friends."

This movement was very deep. The government was unable to roll it back. The regime, for example, was unable to break the rent strikes in the townships. It is precisely this movement which the government wishes to attack and defeat today. By outlawing the opposition organizations, it seeks to create a situation where only the few "collaborators" will be allowed to represent the Black majority.

Question: Could you tell us more about your union, your conception of trade-union unity, and your assessment of the role of the unions in the anti-apartheid struggle?

Answer: Our union, with its 70,000 members, is the third most important union in COSATU. More than 50 percent of our members are women. These women are triply oppressed: as women, as Blacks, and as workers. They have raised a series of very specific demands. For example, there were virtually no maternity protections. Our union was able to win a 10-month maternity leave.

I mentioned our strike in December 1986. If that strike was able to hold out and succeed, it is because we consciously strived to act democratically. In each department store and local section, the membership elected their shop stewards, who were directly accountable to those who elected them.

It was the local and regional councils of elected stewards which, in turn, elected the strike's executive committee, the body responsible for implementing the decisions of the membership. The union's full-timers were associated to the strike leadership bodies, but could not make the decisions on their own.

It is inevitable that our union should participate in political struggles: the struggle against apartheid, against repression, against the state of emergency. It is, after all, the state which is attacking us. In this sense, all the political questions are before us in our trade-union organizations.

We believe in the need for workers' democracy, for workers' control, for socialism. When we speak of these necessities, we say what we mean by them. We have already seen what happened in Poland. For us, socialism means socialist democracy.

But it is not up to the trade unions to divide their members along political lines according to the various political organizations they may support. There are workers who support the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Freedom Charter [the guiding document of the African National Congress], which is not a socialist document. Other workers support the Azanian Manifesto [the guiding document of AZAPO], which links the struggle against apartheid with the struggle for socialism.

In June 1987, we held our congress. The leadership of our federation, COSATU, is politically close to the UDF. It supported the Freedom Charter and wanted to impose it on our union. Democratically, a large majority of our elected delegates at the congress, after a lengthy discussion, rejected support for the Freedom Charter.

After this, the leadership of COSATU supported the [pro-Freedom Charter] minority and organized a split in our union, which pretended to create a new CCAWUSA. This was a serious blow to our union. It permitted the bosses to refuse to negotiate with us.

The fight lasted six months. Stalinist methods of all types—slanders, lies, pressures of all types, physical violence—were used against the legitimate leadership of our union.

In the end, because the members of the union refused to buckle, an agreement was reached—at least on paper. This was after an attempt to seek the assistance of the courts in condemning us. A whole series of local and regional union meetings are currently under way to resolve this dispute. A congress of CCAWUSA is scheduled in May.

The Johannesburg region is our union's largest. Forty thousand of the 70,000 members are in this region. Despite the new repressive measures, a delegated membership meeting of the Johannesburg region recently took place. Of the 8000 elected delegates, 7800 reaffirmed their confidence and support for the national leadership of the union. Only 200 voted for us to support the Freedom Charter.

We are therefore more convinced than ever that the respect of trade-union democracy is indispensable to unity within our ranks. There are today two major federations of Black workers: COSATU and NACTU [the National Council of Trade Unions, whose leaders generally identify with the views of AZAPO].

We are for united actions with NACTU. We think this is more necessary than ever. And we think that the leadership of COSATU is making a mistake which is harmful to the interests of the working class with its sectarian attitude toward NACTU and its privileged political relations with the liberal capitalists. ■

U.S. drive to oust Noriega hits snag

By HAYDEN PERRY

The U.S. government is facing unexpected difficulties in its campaign to oust Gen. Manuel Noriega from power in Panama.

The plan hatched in the White House promised a speedy victory: Throttle the Panamanian economy by cutting off its supply of dollars, and starve the Panamanian people a little bit. In a few days, the enraged Panamanians would persuade Noriega to board a plane for comfortable retirement in Spain.

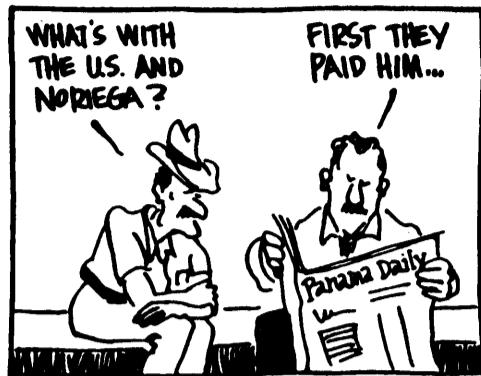
The "few days" have stretched into six weeks. The Panamanian people are suffering, but Noriega remains in power. Things are not going as Washington planned.

The administration's miscalculations started with Noriega himself. When Secretary of State George Schultz bellowed, "That guy has got to go," he viewed Noriega as an employee who had outlived his usefulness. Noriega's indictment on drug charges was intended as a threat to speed him out of office.

But it had the opposite effect. Noriega felt he could be safe from extradition only so long as he remained in Panama. The virtual kidnapping by the United States of his fellow drug dealer in Honduras did not reassure him.

If Noriega cannot be persuaded to leave, Reagan has decided, he has to be forced out. The administration is now applying harsher economic measures. No canal revenue is to go to Noriega's government. No American companies in Panama may pay their taxes, and every source of dollars is cut off where possible.

The problem for Reagan is that mild economic measures will not budge Noriega, but more severe sanctions may permanently wreck Panama's economy. Already, foreign



deposits in Panama's banks have dropped from \$35 billion to \$19 billion. U.S. companies may move out if they cannot operate normally. It would be a case of "destroying the country in order to save it."

Opposition lacks power

The U.S. administration is in the difficult position of pretending that Artur Delvalle, a man despised as a stooge of Noriega for years, is now the government of Panama. The man is in hiding in his own country, and has not addressed his fellow citizens for weeks. However, an American official assures the public that Delvalle is maintaining "videotape contact" with the American embassy.

The American ruling class prefers to rely on local military forces as a base for puppet regimes. In Panama, it would like to see the Panama Defense Force (PDF)—purged of Gen. Noriega and corruption—support a compliant civilian government.

But Panamanians point out that to take the PDF out of the drug business, at least a dozen other high ranking officers would have to go.

Noriega is widely despised in Panama as a drug dealer and a despot, but the opposition has so far lacked the power to dislodge him. Panama's political life has been stultified for decades by the overwhelming presence of U.S. troops and personnel.

No powerful bourgeois or working-class

parties have emerged. The present opposition, centered in the National Civic Crusade, is dominated by the elite merchant class—with the CIA pulling the strings in the background.

It is an all-white organization in a country where Blacks and Mulattoes form the majority of the working class. The lukewarm response of the workers to the two-week general strike called by the Civic Crusade reflected the workers' distrust of their ruling class.

Noriega, on the other hand, has courted Black and Mulatto Panamanians. He has reportedly recruited 600 workers, including 50 women, into a military formation called the Dignity Battalion. They are prepared to resist a U.S. invasion.

The National Civic Crusade serves as a very weak base for Washington's plans for Panama. The Panamanian merchants are afraid of a mass movement strong enough to oust Noriega. It prefers that the United States do it for them. They are mad at Washington—not for landing more troops—but for hesitating to use them.

A U.S. "surgical strike?"

The U.S. State Department has put forward the idea of an armed "surgical strike," possibly a kidnapping, that would quickly remove Noriega. Although Noriega seems to have been careful not to create incidents that could lead to excuses for U.S. military action, American troops seem to be falling over themselves to create an incident.

A platoon of marines who had just arrived in Panama engaged in a two-hour fire fight with imaginary "intruders" at a fuel tank farm. In another encounter with a non-existent enemy, a U.S. soldier was accidentally shot by his own buddies.

These episodes have given the Panamanians a good laugh, as the stumblebums thrash about in the jungle. But soon, the situation will become deadly serious. Panama and the Canal are too important to the American imperialists to let temporary setbacks divert them from their long-range goal.

Whether they will make another deal with Noriega or embark on a bloody confrontation remains to be seen. It is the task of people in the United States to call for an end to this country's intervention in Panama. U.S. troops out now!

... Palestine

(continued from page 1)

the arrest of 2000 people, bringing the acknowledged total to 4000. The real figure, however, is far higher. The avoidance of hospitals by the injured—and the ban on news coverage in the West Bank and Gaza—have prevented accurate reporting of the vast scale of the savage beatings and of the deaths of those who endured them.

In spite of the media blackout, news reports giving a glimpse of the scale of the repression have been able to filter through.

New York Times correspondent John Kifner, for example, reported on April 4 that "Hundreds of refugees were treated in United Nations clinics for gas inhalation." On April 15, Kifner wrote, "gas has been thrown inside homes, clinics and schools where the effects are particularly severe."

Kifner's report was the first, after four months of the use of such chemical weapons, to acknowledge this fact:

"Agency doctors have seen symptoms not normally connected with tear gas," Kifner wrote, "and U.N.R.W.A. [United Nations refugee relief] is seeking information on the contents of the gas...to provide antidote...especially for the most vulnerable groups...pregnant women, the very young and elderly."

Gas canisters recovered by Bassam Shaka'a, the deposed mayor of Nablus; Yoosef al-Masri, chief of Ittihad Hospital; and American author Alfred Lilienthal bear the markings "560 cs. Federal Lab. Saltsburgh, Pa. USA MK2 1988." Biochemists are studying their properties as casualties mount.

Kifner later reported, "Warnings on the canisters say the contents can be lethal."

Throughout the West Bank and Gaza, cases of miscarriages, vaginal bleeding, and asphyxiation were occurring after the use of the gas.

Provocation at Beita

In order to attempt to quell the protests of the Palestinian people, the Israeli government enacted a series of new measures in late March which allow detention without any specific charge or trials, even in military courts. Immediately after the order, people were seized overnight in more than a dozen refugee districts, villages, and towns in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin also announced that Israeli citizens had the same authority as soldiers to shoot.

Newsweek (April 4) reported: "The decree meant Israeli soldiers could shoot to kill Palestinian youths.... Yitzhak Rabin [was] effectively deputizing settlers." The decision, according to *Newsweek*, would "open the floodgates of the 60,000 settlers' pent-up frustration [sic]."

It was not long before an attack occurred. On April 6, settlers engaging in a clear provocation shot in cold blood a Palestinian working in his field outside the village of Beita. Attention, however, focused on the death of Tirza Porat, a 15-year-old settler girl among the group.

The settlers reported Tirza Porat had been stoned to death by the Palestinian villagers, but an army autopsy report revealed she had been shot in the head by the Kahane follower acting as her nominal guard. [Rabbi Meir Kahane is the founder of the Jewish Defense League.]

Despite the autopsy report, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir used the occasion to vow that Palestinians "would be crushed like grasshoppers...heads smashed against the boulders and walls."

In Beita village, the scene of the inci-

dent, 30 houses were blown up. The number of houses destroyed was confirmed by Hamdi Faraj, a noted Palestinian journalist.

New strategy needed

The tragic death of Abu Jihad is particularly instructive in its timing. The Mossad has had the ability to murder major figures, such as Abu Jihad, in the past. His killing is the equivalent of a declaration of war. It underlines, once again, the necessity for a new strategy on the part of a revolutionary Palestinian leadership, one based on a political program directed to the Palestinian and Jewish masses for the replacement of the Zionist state.

The Palestinian masses are in motion. The extraordinary will to struggle on the part of the entire population has shown that there is no going back. The Intifadeh needs to focus on specific features of oppression and to challenge them by reclaiming the land, planting forbidden crops, sinking wells and withholding labor in the course of demanding unconditional Israeli withdrawal.

A revolutionary Palestinian leadership will need to devise a program for inside the Green Line (pre-1967 borders) which addresses the Jews within Israel as well as the Moslems and Christians. In short, what is necessary is a blueprint for a post-Zionist society which inspires people and associates the inequities of their lives with the Zionist state.

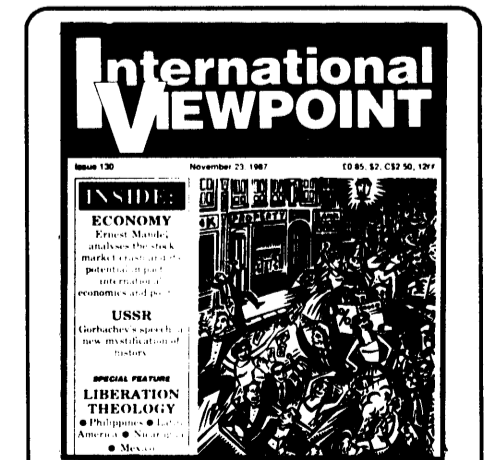
As the Zionist state is at once a species of capitalist class rule and an extension of U.S. imperial power in the region, the struggle against Zionism becomes, programmatically, a struggle for a socialist Palestine and, as the dawn follows the long night, a struggle for a socialist Arab East—from the Mediterranean to the Gulf.

A P.L.O. faithful to its promise of a democratic-secular Palestine would include

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

A clear call for a democratic and secular Palestine is essential to uniting mass social forces capable of dismantling the Zionist state and replacing it with a humane society dedicated to the ending of class and national oppression.

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



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Anti-Zionist *Times* ad spurs controversy, wins support

The following is an interview with Ralph Schoenman, executive director of the Campaign to End All Aid to Israel/For a Democratic and Secular Palestine. The Campaign published an advertisement in the March 13, 1988, *New York Times*, which was signed by over 300 prominent individuals. [See text below. The full list of signatories appeared in the April 1988 issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Socialist Action: What has been the response to the ad you published in *The New York Times*?

Ralph Schoenman: The response has been quite substantial. We've had some 1500 people write in overwhelmingly in support of the text. Only about 10 letters were hostile. We've also been able to raise a considerable amount of money from their contributions.

This response is important because it facilitates developing a network across the United States. Each of the 1500 people who has written us is being sent five copies of the text of the ad and being urged to contact five people for their support. Each of those five will be asked in turn to contact another five on a chain-letter principle.

This way we hope to obtain the basis for repeating the ad in other newspapers. We've already reprinted the text of the ad in the largest English-language Arabic newspaper in Detroit, *Sada Al Watan* (Voice of the Nation).

Some of the people who have written us asking that they be listed among the signatories in future ads are of some renown. They include Kurt Vonnegut, the author; the former director of the United Nations Refugee Aid in Gaza; and a number of prominent university professors from around the United States.

I've also been interviewed by the Associated Press, which is apparently doing a piece on our ad and on other ads which have appeared in *The New York Times*, apparently in response to our own.

S.A.: *The New York Times* printed two letters to the editor attacking the Campaign's ad. Have you responded to these attacks?

Schoenman: Of course. The letter by the B'nai B'rith, which was published on March 20, was responded to immediately in a letter signed by Rabbi Elmer Berger, Prof. Shawkat J. Dallah, and me. But our letter to the *Times* was not published. The editorial page director told us that if we reduced the letter in half there was a good likelihood that it would be published. We did that, but they still haven't published it.

Instead, the *Times* published a further attack by the director of the Jewish National Fund, who challenged us on two fundamental issues. First, the JNF stated they only control 17 percent of the land of Israel—and not 93 percent of the land, as is stated in our ad. The second issue of challenge was that the right to land does not depend on generations of maternal Jewish descent.

We again responded to these charges in a letter to *The New York Times*, but again they refused to allow us to respond. We are outraged that they have not given us the right to reply—which is a normal practice of journalism.

S.A.: How did you respond to the Jewish National Fund?

Schoenman: We quoted from the text of the U.S. State Department's report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for 1985, '86, and '87, in which it is stated that "93 percent of the land in Israel is held by the state and by quasi-public organizations in reserve for the Jewish people alone."

In addition, we quoted from the regulations of the Israeli Land Administration, which is an agency of the Jewish National Fund. These regulations stipulate that the lands that are under their control are reserved for the Jewish people.

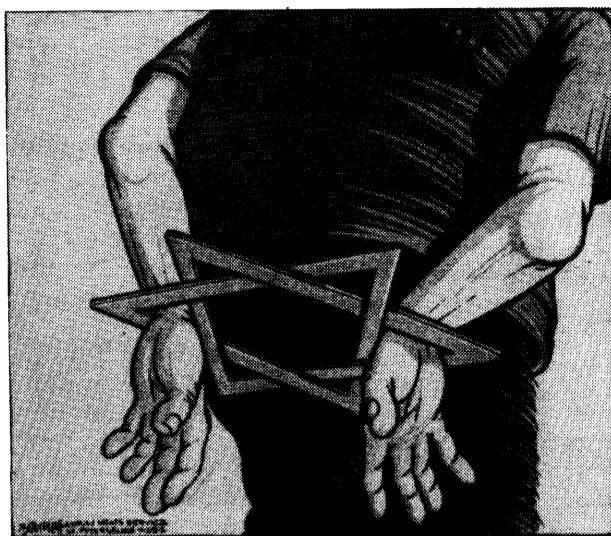
The Jewish National Fund is attempting to hide behind the fact that the Israeli Land Administration has jurisdiction over the land—not the Fund *per se*. But the Land Administration is officially acknowledged as an agency of the Fund.

We also pointed out that the Israeli Supreme Court has stated that Israel is the sovereign state of the Jews. The legal definition of who is a Jew is dependent on the determination by the orthodox rabbinate. This body has stipulated that either an orthodox-supervised conversion or four generations of maternal Jewish descent are the prerequisite to enjoy legal rights.

S.A.: Have there been any other responses to the ad in the major media?

Schoenman: A Harvard law professor named Alan Dershowitz, who is best known for his defense of Klaus von Bulow, wrote an absolutely scurrilous column in *The Washington Times* and 400 other newspapers titled, "Destroying Israel: Immoral, Against U.S. Interests."

In this column Dershowitz asserts that the signers of the text of our ad are all terrorists or supporters of



terrorism. He singles out Gore Vidal as a "Jew-hater" and "anti-Semite." He states that one of our signers, the Palestinian writer and poet Fouzi El-Asmar, "served in an Israeli detention center as a suspected terrorist organizer after a captured Jordanian terrorist fingered him as very active in the field of sabotage and terrorism."

Fouzi El-Asmar was held in Israel a decade ago under administrative detention and has never been charged, tried, or convicted of anything. There is a particularly interesting history to this case.

Ten years ago, when Fouzi El-Asmar was imprisoned in Israel, he received a visit in prison from a person who said he was a member of the "American New Left." Fouzi was questioned by this person about Yasser Arafat and the liberation of Palestine.

Fouzi said to this visitor, "Look, I'm not even allowed

to see members of my own family. Anybody who came in here pretending to be of the 'American New Left' would not be permitted to see me, and if brought here would be monitored. I don't want to continue this discussion."

Whereupon this visitor left, went outside, and gave a press conference in which he stated that administrative detention without trial or habeas corpus was essential in Israel. He also stated that Fouzi El-Asmar was a terrorist and should never be released from prison. That man was Alan Dershowitz.

There were two other attacks of note in the established media. One was in *The New Republic* by Leon Wieseltier, who is an avowed Zionist and right-wing Democratic Party commentator. He wrote a piece titled "Abu Vidal"—a play on words which creates an amalgam between P.L.O. dissident Abu Nidal and Gore Vidal. His main point is that people who are calling for a democratic and secular Palestine are seeking the destruction of the Jews.

The bourgeois press, when it is hostile, attempts to equate the state with the Jews as a people and to ignore the fact that the text of the ad speaks of Jews and Palestinians having full rights as equal citizens in a democratic and secular society.

The other instance is that of a talk-show host for a live radio program in Cleveland who is known as an insult specialist. His name is Merle Pollis. He called up two of the sponsors of the ad to abuse them in a scurrilous fashion, calling them "Jew-hating, anti-Semites." He also harassed and slandered the signers in this manner on the air.

When I heard about this, I telephoned Pollis while he was on the air. I was on his program for a half-hour. He

(continued on next page)

The New York Times

Sunday, March 13, 1988

The Time Has Come End All Aid to Apartheid Israel!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How is this to end?

There are over five million settlers of European ori-

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

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

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

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

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

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

Theirs is the passion for a life without oppression.

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

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

Extend your hand to the heroic people of Palestine.

Support the campaign to end all aid to apartheid Israel.

Join the worldwide call for a democratic and secular Palestine.

(continued from previous page)

abused me but I responded with the history of the Zionist movement and with the facts. He couldn't cope with the data or with the fact that somebody was ready to confront his slanders.

After the half-hour discussion, Pollis and the following talk-show host were besieged with telephone calls. For two hours, people from all over Ohio were telephoning in. Virtually every phone call was in support of what I was saying.

Pollis followed this discussion with broadcasts in which he said on the air that seven of the signers of the text of our ad, including myself, had been convicted of painting swastikas on synagogues. This amusing

"It is important to speak the truth about the colonial nature of Zionism and the genocidal ways in which Palestine was colonized."

example of the hysteria of the Zionist defenders, of course, enters the realm of actionable libel.

Another rather extraordinary and sad example of slander and unprincipled behavior is that of David Finkel, the editor of *Against the Current* and a member of the Political Committee of the radical organization called Solidarity.

David Finkel took it upon himself to write a private five-page diatribe to about 50 signers of our ad, behind the backs of the campaign organizers, in which he accuses us of willfully deceiving the signers of the ad.

In a cover letter to one of our signers, he further states that our campaign and text "was worth tens if not hundreds of thousands of dollars to Zionist organizations." He goes on to say that "Ralph [Schoenman] knew this would be the result; he doesn't care."

This resort to slander is right out of the Stalinist tradition.

S.A.: What do you suppose motivated this attack?

Schoenman: Finkel's politics. They are unambiguously for support to a Zionist state. He wrote, for example, "Some solidarity activists like myself prefer to see the P.L.O. explicitly and unambiguously recognize the existence of an Israeli-Jewish nation and assert the Palestinians desire to coexist with it on the basis of mutual recognition."

Finkel is referring explicitly to the state of Israel. Of course, the equation of a settler state with a people is at the heart of the Zionists' attempt to preclude characterization of the Israeli state as racist and unjust. The state is not co-extensive with the people, nor does it become a wit less oppressive if it commands less territory or fewer inhabitants.

Socialists have never been commanded to become lawyers for oppressive states. Socialists have always called for the replacement of such states. There is no reason why there should be an indecent exceptionalism when it comes to Israel.

But what is more significant and disturbing than the political issues involved is the fact that Finkel has resorted to such willful lies and slander in order to defend his views. In his letter, for instance, he states that the signers were duped and did not know or understand what they were signing.

Finkel states outright that the 50 Palestinian scholars; 60 Jewish academics and writers; numerous members of parliaments and senates; and distinguished figures such as Linus Pauling, Gore Vidal, Kurt Vonnegut, Jessica Mitford, Kay Boyle, Alice Walker, Rabbi Elmer Berger, Alfred Lilienthal, Jim Guyette, Muhammad Hallaj, Fouzi El-Asmar, and Paolo Freire have been deliberately deceived.

This is an example of contempt for people whose opinions differ from his own—as if people of this distinction can be used for texts they don't understand.

S.A.: A front-page opinion-piece article in the April 13 issue of *The Guardian* newspaper attacks the ad as an "ultra-left mistake" which "veers far from the concrete political tasks at this stage in the struggle in favor of idealistic and voluntarist impulses."

Specifically, the author of the article lambasts the ad for failing to call for an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza and for failing to call for a United Nations international peace conference. What would your response be to this writer?

Schoenman: Let's apply this same logic to South Africa. Is it "ultra-left" or "idealistic" to say that the apartheid state is incompatible with the self-determination of the South African people? The Bantustans that are existing adjacent to South Africa are the best example of what is in store for the Palestinian people if a rump-or mini-state were ever to come into existence.

No part of the spectrum of the Zionist movement is in favor of any form of self-determination for the Palestinian people that has meaning of any kind. At best they

Bill Biggart/Impact Visuals



Palestinian woman at Nablus Hospital after her hand was broken by Israeli soldiers.

talk about a demilitarized, economically dependent territory in which the Israeli settlements will not be dismantled and Israeli inspection posts will continue to be in place.

No Zionist is prepared to allow or sanction an independent Palestinian state which has the right to pursue its own economic, political, and foreign policies. Moreover, the absolute pre-condition for being granted even some form of limited autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza is the recognition of the legitimacy of Israel and the guaranteeing of its secure borders.

For Palestinians to be put in a position of legitimizing the Israeli colonial-settler state, which is built upon the dispossession of their lands and rights, is to invalidate their entire national movement. It would also permit the Zionists to say, retroactively, that the conflict in the region over the past 20 years was due to the intransigence of the Palestinians in not acknowledging the legitimacy of an Israeli state.

At one time the entire Palestinian resistance movement considered it a betrayal of their struggle to acknowledge the legitimacy of the colonial-settler state. It is a measure of the retreat of the political orientation of the P.L.O. that this policy, once scorned, is now viewed as the politics of practicality.

S.A.: You just returned from a tour in the Midwest sponsored by Socialist Action. What was the response to your tour?

Schoenman: It was a big success. In Saint Paul, Minn., I debated the chairman of the history department of Macalester College before 120 students. The meeting was attended by many Palestinian and Arab students.

It was instructive to me to find that when the issues are aired at all, virtually every Palestinian Arab student responds immediately to the call for a democratic and secular Palestine—even people who have been active in organizations like the General Union of Palestinian Students, which has been advocating a two-state

solution. They have no expectations that the Zionist state will permit them any rights.

I also found this to be the case in Cincinnati and Detroit, where I was able to have deeper political discussions with Palestinian Arab students.

The large turnout in these three cities was indicative of the fact that there is a growing consciousness of the oppressive nature of the Israeli state.

In my opinion, never has it been as important as it is today to speak the truth about the colonial nature of Zionism and the genocidal ways in which Palestine was colonized.

This is the moment when we have the chance to reach out to the American people and to say that they have no interest in subsidizing this oppressive state. This is the moment when we should be discussing the plight of the Palestinian people and a decent future for the Jews of Israel in revolutionary terms, and not in the unprincipled language of the acceptance of the Israeli state.

One of the encouraging things that took place at the meetings during the Midwest tour is the support for our call for an end to all aid to Israel and the emotion with which people responded to the simple vision of a democratic and secular society in which rights are not based on discrimination or race.

S.A.: What can our readers do to help?

Schoenman: I would urge people to distribute copies of the text of the ad to as many people as they know and to send money to place the ad in more newspapers.

I would also encourage *Socialist Action* readers to read my pamphlet, "The Hidden History of Zionism," because I think it is important that those who support this effort be well-equipped with a documented record of the real history of Zionism and the practices of the Israeli state.

This is necessary to build a broad-based educational campaign to reach the American public with the message that all aid to Israel should be stopped and that a democratic and secular Palestine is the only way forward.

Cecil Frank Glass: 1901 - 1988

A key founding member of the Fourth International—a socialist till the end



By MILTON ALVIN

Cecil Frank Glass—an internationally known Marxist, Trotskyist, scholar, teacher, orator, activist, and highly skilled journalist—died March 21, 1988, in Los Angeles from pneumonia and other medical complications. He would have been 87 years old on March 25.

One of the key founding members of the Fourth International, Glass is better known under his pen names of Frank Graves, Li Fu-jen, and John Liang.

Glass was born on March 25, 1901, in Birmingham, England. When he was 10 years old, his family moved to Johannesburg, South Africa. In 1919, he joined the "Industrial Socialist League" of South Africa. In 1921, at the age of 20, he was the youngest member of the founding congress of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), Third International, in Cape Town.

Early in his CPSA membership, Glass chanced upon a pamphlet which led to his first knowledge of Trotskyist Left Opposition writings on the policies of the Third International. These ideas, his initiation into debates on political discussions within the Soviet Union, was a revelation to Glass—and never forgotten. He soon won the confidence and political support of other CPSA members.

When Glass and his supporters raised questions in party meetings on Third International policies, they were warned not to question party doctrines. When they persisted, they not only received no answers to their questions but were expelled from the CPSA.

Chinese Revolution

Glass held a steadfast Trotskyist position ever since, culminating in his playing a key role in the formation of and as a member of the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist League of China (Trotskyists) in the mid-1930s, as well as his becoming a founding participant in the Fourth International.

He came to China in 1930, the first of several residences there. During a lengthy

trip up the Yangtze River, he held protracted talks with the late American journalist Harold R. Isaacs. They witnessed at first hand the continuing Kuomintang reign of terror against suspected "communists" in Wuhan, where brutal executions were held almost daily in the public square.

Glass was the inspiration, though this is not widely known, for the writing of Isaac's classic book "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," originally published in England in 1938, which is a documented analysis of the fatal policies imposed upon

Chinese communists by Stalinists in Moscow and their representatives in China. These policies led to the defeat of the 1925-1927 uprising in China.

Glass read the original manuscript of "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," and many of his suggestions, especially in the first chapter, were incorporated by Isaacs. The introduction was by Leon Trotsky, who highly recommended the book.

Years later, a second edition was published in the United States, but by this time Isaacs had left the Trotskyist

movement. This edition omitted Trotsky's introduction and contained some major text changes.

On his return to Shanghai from his Yangtze trip with Isaacs, Glass worked briefly for the Soviet TASS news agency, but quit "because of the meaningless content of TASS news." He then served as a correspondent for the Anglo-Asiatic Telegraph Agency and traveled widely in China.

Subsequently, he was employed by the English-language dailies *The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, *The China Press*, and *The Shanghai Times*, respectively American, Chinese, and British-owned.

Well-known in Shanghai as a brilliant, skilled, and acerbic writer, he was also editor of *The China Weekly Review*, an influential journal published in Shanghai by the American J.B. Powell.

His work with Trotsky

Glass made a brief visit to New York in 1937. Before returning to China, he spent about a month in Coyoacán, Mexico, to visit Trotsky in the "Blue House" on Avenida Londres, edited some of Trotsky's articles, and served briefly as a guard.

When Trotsky was writing the program that was adopted by the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, he asked Glass to write the section on China, which he did. Frank was looked upon by virtually everyone in the Trotskyist movement as an outstanding authority on China, and his help was frequently sought by those who needed his opinions and Far Eastern expertise.

Glass managed to flee from Shanghai a few days before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (Dec. 7, 1941) and the Japanese occupation of Shanghai. After a circuitous and dangerous route taken by freighter, he returned to New York City. He was then divorced from his first wife, Fanny Glass, and he established a home with Grace Simons.

Soon thereafter, he was appointed editor of *The Militant*, at that time the chief Trotskyist publication in the United States and circulated worldwide. He held this post for several years, sharing the work with Harold Isaacs and others. At about this time, he was elected a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, a position he held for many years.

But Glass was not a U.S. citizen, and government authorities constantly harassed him with threats of deportation. As a result, he was prevented from public appearances and activity on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party.

Eventually, Frank and his wife moved to Los Angeles, where they lived until their deaths. For 20 years, Frank was the Associate Publisher of *Laging Una*, an English-language newspaper for Southern California Filipinos.

Glass made a major contribution to the building of a revolutionary socialist party in China and in the United States. Those who knew him and his work will be forever grateful to him.

In a discussion a few days before his death, Glass told a friend that "the faint-hearted among us who proclaim Marxism is dead don't understand Marxism. Marx set no timetable. Unless the enemies of social progress destroy the world, Marxism, socialism, communism will triumph. It is inevitable."



Photo: Courtesy of Ada Farrell

For over 100 years, on May 1, workers around the world have marched through the streets to celebrate labor's past victories, commemorate proletarian martyrs, and prepare for struggles to come.

The time will soon come when American workers, who proclaimed the first May Day in 1886, will once more take to the streets on Labor's Day of Solidarity.

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300th anniversary of England's 'Glorious Revolution'

A new era for the men of property

By CLIFF CONNER

This year marks the 300th anniversary of an event that many generations of English schoolchildren have been taught to regard as their country's "Glorious Revolution."

There was, indeed, a forced change of regime in 1688; James II was overthrown and replaced by William and Mary. But was it really a revolution? When Marxist historians write of "the English Revolution," it is not what happened in 1688 to which they refer, but the profound social upheaval that took place in the 1640s.

That was the republican revolution in which King Charles I was executed and the monarchy was replaced by the Commonwealth. Although essentially a bourgeois revolution in that it brought the moneyed class to the fore, it could not have been accomplished without the mass action of artisans, small farmers, and others of the less well-to-do classes.

Their representatives, the left-wing Independents, gained considerable influence within the New Model Army and struggled to create a radical democracy.

The breakdown of the royal censorship during the 1640s allowed an unprecedented freedom of the press; levellers, ranters, seekers, diggers, and other radicals were able to attract mass followings for their revolutionary views.

The word "revolution" had not yet been coined, but contemporaries called it "the world turned upside down"—for ordinary people a wonderful time to be alive; for propertied people not so wonderful.

The Restoration

Although bourgeois forces had supported and worked for the overthrow of Charles I, the plebian bid for power terrified them. Their retreat, and the eventual exhaustion of the mass movement, paved the way for the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

Charles II, oldest son of the deposed ruler, was invited to take the throne, but the nature of the monarchy had fundamentally changed. The king's power and capacity for independent action were considerably restricted.

With the suppression of the radical mass movement, however, a power struggle ensued between two factions within the propertied classes, to which the labels "Tory" and "Whig" loosely apply. The Tories were the reactionary, monarchist faction, while the Whigs were, generally speaking, the bourgeois parliamentarist faction.

In 1681, Charles II dismissed parliament and carried out a partial counterrevolution by elevating the Tories at

the expense of the Whigs. The Whigs began to organize an armed rebellion, but their plans failed and some of the prominent Whig leaders were executed.

Charles II died in 1685 and his brother took the throne as James II. The new monarch was even more blatantly reactionary, stimulating not only greater Whig hostility but a mass opposition as well.

Monmouth's rebellion

The Duke of Monmouth, bastard son of Charles II, tried to turn the revived mass movement to his own advantage. In 1685, he landed a military contingent in Southwest England in an attempt to assert his claim to the crown by force. Thousands of weavers and small



William III

farmers rallied to his banner, and Monmouth naturally expected the Whigs to embrace his cause as well.

The men of property, however, remembered the frightening experience of the 1640s and had no desire to encourage a mass uprising. They reckoned that James II's support was so weak that they could get rid of him without a mass movement, and their calculations proved correct.

Not only did the Whigs withhold support from

Monmouth, they called on their champion, William of Orange, to help suppress the rebellion. After Monmouth's defeat his followers were subjected to savage reprisals.

Marxist historian A.L. Morton observed that the defeat of the Monmouth rebellion, "by crushing the left wing, made it possible to stage in safety a revolution that could afterwards be hailed as 'glorious' precisely because the masses had no part in it."

In 1688 the Whig leaders invited William of Orange to bring his troops and chase out James II; they then placed William and his wife Mary on the vacated throne.

"The small voice of prudence"

Assessing this episode from a pro-Whig point of view, the historian G.M. Trevelyan preferred to call it the "Sensible Revolution." To Trevelyan, "the merit of this revolution lay not in the shouting and the tumult, but in the still, small voice of prudence and wisdom that prevailed through all the din."

For 300 years, this has been the historiographical line of the English ruling class. By glorifying their peaceful triumph of 1688, they hoped to obliterate the memory of the real revolution of the 1640s.

Nonetheless, the events of 1688 did serve to consolidate and expand the bourgeois rule initiated by the earlier revolution.

Karl Marx summed up the consequences: "The 'Glorious Revolution' brought into power, along with William of Orange, the landlord and capitalist appropriators of surplus value. They inaugurated the new era by practising on a colossal scale thefts of state lands, thefts that had hitherto been managed more modestly."

Marx continued: "The bourgeois capitalists favored the operation with the view, among others, to promoting free trade in land, to extending the domain of modern agriculture on the large farm system, and to increasing their supply of agricultural proletarians ready to hand."

"Besides," said Marx, "the new landed aristocracy was the natural ally of the new bankocracy, of the new-hatched haute finance, and of the large manufacturer, then depending on protective duties."

Further reading:

Among the best books on the English revolution are Christopher Hill's "The World Turned Upside Down" and "The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714." For a Marxist survey of English history from Celtic times to the First World War, see A.L. Morton's "A People's History of England."

Our readers speak out

'Loved I not justice more'

The following letter was sent originally to *The New York Times*, which did not see fit to print it. Paul Siegel refers in the letter to an advertisement that appeared in the *March 13, 1988*, issue of the *Times*. See the article on pages 12-13 of this issue of *Socialist Action* for more on this topic.

Dear editor,

Mr. Abraham Foxman of the [B'nai B'rith] Anti-Defamation League in his letter of March 20—responding to an advertisement calling for a democratic, secular Palestine in which Jews and Arabs could live together harmoniously on the basis of equality—does not seek to refute a single one of the charges that were made against Israel.

Instead, he adjures those supporters of Israel "who are so quick to criticize" it to forget about their criticisms and rally around it.

American Jews and those sympathizing with a people whose long history of being persecuted culminated in the horror of the Holocaust would be better advised to ask themselves

some fundamental questions about how it came about that a government of this people has perpetrated such atrocious brutalities.

Is it not due to the establishment of a state in which those of a single ethnic and religious identity have official dominance and from which 1.25 million of the original inhabitants were driven out?

Must not the remaining Moslem and Christian Arabs living in a country called Israel, whose flag bears the Star of David, be second-class citizens? I ask my fellow American Jews: Would you like to live in a country called the United Christian States of America whose flag bore the cross as a sign of the dominance of a single religion?

Israel's law of return provides that any Jew settling in Israel instantly becomes an Israeli citizen—no other persons, let alone the dispossessed original inhabitants, having this right. Does this not outdo the racist immigration quotas of the United States in the 1920s which discriminated against would-be immigrants from Southern and

Eastern Europe, including Jews?

Palestine, unlike Israel, is the name of an area without reference to the racial and religious identity of its occupants. Why can there not be a pluralistic Palestine in which Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs live together without the dominance of one over the other? Only in such a land of justice and equality will the survivors of the Holocaust.

their children, and their grandchildren find peace.

Zionists have habitually called all critics of their enterprise either anti-Semites or, if they were Jews, self-hating Jews. This kind of intimidation will no longer work. Witness the fact that the advertisement bore the names of such distinguished humanists as the Nobel Peace Laureate Linus Pauling, Alice Walker, and

Jessica Mitford, and of many Jews from the United States and other countries—including Israel.

Just as the Cavalier poet wrote to his mistress, "I could not love thee, dear, so much, loved I not honor more," the Jewish signatories could say, "I could not love my people so much, loved I not justice more."

Paul N. Siegel,
New York, N.Y.

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3435 Army St., Suite 308
San Francisco, CA 94110
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'Living hungry' in the land of plenty

By HAYDEN PERRY

Living Hungry in America by Dr. J. Larry Brown and H. F. Pizer. Macmillan Publishing Co. 212 pages. \$18.95

Hunger in Africa arouses concern and compassion in thousands of Americans. But hunger in America, real hunger with children slowly wasting away, arouses skepticism. Surely, in a country with such productive farms and such material wealth—no one actually goes hungry!

"Yes they do," says Dr. J. Larry Brown and H. F. Pizer. Their book "Living Hungry in America" brings the hungry right into our living room.

Dr. Brown, a member of the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health, was approached in the spring of 1983 by the staff of Project Bread Hunger Hotline. They wanted help in responding to the growing number of Boston families running out of food each month.

This led to a task force of physicians, social workers, and others embarking on a three-year expedition to the North, South, and Midwest regions of the United States. Their mission was to find the hungry and learn what was being done for them.

The Physicians Task Force held hearings in cities and towns and interviewed welfare workers and their clients. They also roamed the urban slums and the back-country roads seeking the hungry where they live. They entered their kitchens, and peered into their refrigerators.

What they found is documented in their book. It is a powerful indictment of a government that has abandoned millions of needy Americans to malnutrition and sometimes to slow starvation.

Hunger around the country

From Alabama, the doctors filed this report: "Alicia Jones had recently moved from Georgia with her three-year-old son. The mother opened her refrigerator at my request. It contained three eggs, a slice of cheese, a container of water.

"I asked if her son ate the corn flakes I saw atop the refrigerator. 'Yes sir, sometimes,' she answered, 'but he don't much like them with water.' How long, I inquired, since he had milk to drink? 'Three weeks,' she answered."

In the Midwest, the nation's breadbasket, the physicians met 86-year-old Effie Alsop. "Her husband took us into the kitchen. I looked into the refrigerator, finding some dried beans and several pieces of bread. 'Do you and your wife ever go a day without eating?' I asked. The response: 'Yes sir, I'd say several days every month.'"

Why do 80-year-olds have to stop eating several days in each month? The reason is simple. Their social-security checks are too small to cover basic necessities.

Laura MacAfee and her retired son, who live in the Southern Piedmont region, have a combined income of \$315 a month, plus \$28 a month in food stamps. "We live kind'er hard, but we ain't hungry." Laura told the investigator as he looked into the kitchen to find some white beans and potatoes.

When he pursued the matter, she conceded there were times when she had nothing to eat. "I been thinking," she said, "that maybe I could get myself some sort of job to help make things stretch." Mrs. MacAfee is 93 years old!

This is the plight of citizens who have contributed 40 years of productive labor to the nation. Those thrown on the industrial scrap heap before their retirement years fare



George Cohen/Impact Visuals

little better. In 1986, only 25 percent of jobless Americans received any unemployment compensation—or any other aid.

Inadequate relief programs

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is the major federal relief program for financially distressed families. In half the states (which administer the program) it is illegal to hand out these funds if the father is living with his family, even if he has no income at all. A government that extolls the virtues of the family, destroys it by forcing the father to leave home!

A father has to leave home so that his family can get as little as \$91 a month in Mississippi, or \$177 in North Carolina. In California, a family of four may get \$660, but rent can eat up over \$400 of that. AFDC real income continually drops as it is not indexed for inflation.

Inadequate AFDC payments are sometimes supplemented by food stamps. This is part of the safety net that is supposed to guarantee every citizen an adequate diet. "All recipients have to do is

to fill out a simple little form," a government spokesman has declared.

Far from being a "simple little form," food-stamp applicants are confronted with a stack of forms that even state legislators cannot fill out correctly. They tried in California.

The Task Force cites a North Carolina applicant who was given 11 forms to fill out. She turned to her minister for help. He could not complete them correctly, and the poor woman was refused stamps because her application was faulty.

Another applicant made innumerable trips to the welfare office, 14 miles away, only to be told each time that she had to fill out another form or turn in yet another document. Finally, after two months of hassle, she was awarded food stamps—at the rate of \$10 a month.

Even if all the forms are filled out correctly, other regulations keep hungry people from getting food. One desperate woman sold her grave plot for money to eat on. When she exhausted that income, she

was denied food stamps because, they said, she had sold assets in order to qualify.

Food programs slashed

Hurdles to getting food stamps have been raised ever higher because the government wants to cut the number of people on the program. They have succeeded all too well.

Starting in 1982, \$12 million has been slashed from food-stamp programs and school meals. Three million children were dropped from lunch programs. A million adults lost their foodstamps.

Another source of food is the federal surplus-food program. This was started in the 1930s to dispose of excess farm crops. Over the years tons of surplus butter, cheese, dried milk, and other products have been given to the poor.

While this has improved the diet of many needy families, delivery of the food has been erratic. This is because the program has been run by the Agricultural Department, which is concerned with the interests of the big farmers—not the hungry poor.

In March, the Department of Agriculture announced that distribution of dried milk would be halted for the month of May, and that rice and honey were no longer in surplus. Few can predict what products will be available next winter. Basing a diet on America's left-over farm crops seems a sure road to malnutrition.

All these programs are cut at a time when some 6 million newly impoverished Americans are looking for help. The Task Force estimates that from 10 million to 15 million needy and eligible Americans are denied food stamps, resulting in as many as 20 million men, women, and children going hungry at some time each month.

The government counterattacks

When the Physicians Task Force made its preliminary report public in 1985, it received wide publicity. Major TV networks made documentaries on the problem. The White House then counterattacked.

Reagan said people were hungry only because they were too ignorant to find the food programs. At the same time, he barred the use of any federal funds for outreach programs for the poor. He suggested that private citizens, with help from generous corporations, could feed their hungry neighbors.

Important sections of corporate America do not agree. William Woodside, President of American Can Co., said it is ridiculous to expect industry to do the job. Industry exists to make a profit, he concluded, whereas the government exists to help people. The government created hunger, and only the government can solve it.

But the government refuses to acknowledge that the problem exists. Instead, it offers false statistics and outrageous comments like that of Attorney General Edwin Meese: "People are in soup lines because the food is free."

The Physicians properly indict the Reagan administration. But they put too much reliance on the Democrats to put things right. More food stamps and adequate levels of AFDC may make poverty more bearable—and this must be done. But eradicating poverty itself involves the most fundamental overturn of our exploitative society.

This is beyond the scope of "Living Hungry in America," but it remains a valuable documentation of the problem. After reading this book, no one can claim there is no hunger in America. ■