



Where is Gorbachev going?

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Contragate hearings cover-up war policies



Contragate's victims in Nicaragua—31,200 have died in a U.S.-financed war that the majority of Americans oppose.

S. Koreans are wary of betrayal

By ADAM WOOD

The summer of 1987 has been shaken by massive uprisings around the globe. From general strikes in Haiti, to militant demonstrations in Brazil, the workers and peasants of the world have been testing their strength against that of their ruling classes.

One of the most significant developments in recent world politics has been South Korea.

The current Korean upsurge began over opposition demands for direct presidential elections and a liberalized constitution. The election process used until now has functioned through an electoral college weighted in favor of the ruling party.

President Chun Doo Hwan of the ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP) had ended all negotiations on these issues on April 13, declaring that no major changes could take place until after the Seoul Olympics in September 1988. This would have caused the upcoming February presidential elections to take place under the electoral college system and ensure another term for the ruling party.

The first major demonstrations began on June 10 and carried on throughout the



month of June. Police, who had proved so effective in the past, were overrun by thousands of protestors on several occasions.

The base of the demonstrations was the student movement. But, as the struggle increased, broader layers of the population were drawn into action.

Middle-class Koreans and professionals began to participate in the urban demonstrations. More significantly, the Korean working class became inspired by the militancy of the students and held joint

actions with them.

Police repression, combined with the constant flow of unemployed from the countryside, has so far prevented the Korean workers from forming an independent trade-union movement. The participation of workers in the recent protests could lead to a more general working-class uprising in the near future.

The ruling Democratic Justice Party displayed indecision throughout most of June. Then, on June 29, party chairman and

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The fortunes of individuals may rise or fall, but the cold facts remain the same—the Contragate hearings have done nothing to restrict the secret operations of the U.S. government.

U.S. support for the contra war against Nicaragua continues unabated. In fact, President Reagan will soon ask Congress for about \$140 million in contra aid—the largest aid package ever.

The House/Senate hearings were flawed

Editorial

from the start. The investigation looked for scapegoats and purposely avoided a discussion of government policy for fear of exposing bipartisan responsibility for U.S. war plans.

This approach actually earned Lieut. Col. Oliver North, who was intended as a scapegoat, the misplaced sympathies of millions of Americans. Despite North's televised mock-heroics, however, a majority of the population holds fast in its opposition to funding the contras.

There is a strong possibility that public opinion will force the government to rein in a few individuals and undertake a few face-saving measures. But neither the government's terrorist policies nor the secret mechanisms that implement these policies will be altered.

Above the law

The CIA and the National Security Council (NSC) will continue to operate as before—above the law and without any control by the American people. Frank Carlucci, who was named by Reagan to "clean up" the NSC and to succeed John Poindexter as head of the council, has a 20-year record of involvement in CIA black-bag operations.

In 1964, Carlucci participated in a plot to overthrow Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. In 1973, he helped coordinate support for the conspirators who engineered the coup against Chilean President Salvador Allende.

In the first years of the Reagan administration, Carlucci helped to cover up illegal gun-running operations by Gen. Richard Secord and other key figures in the Iran/contra arms network.

Nor is it reassuring to learn that President Reagan has devised new procedures regulating covert operations aimed in part at "making sure that the president reviews them and makes the kind of judgments that only the president should make."

It is Reagan, after all, who was compelled to admit that "keeping the contras alive" after congressional funding had been cut off, was his idea in the first place.

The hearings also left untouched the government's policy of concealing major

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"Sacramento Gang" preys on children



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

On July 17, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that California's state legislators have finally agreed on something. They have agreed to raise their salaries 10 percent.

This act was carried out in concert by the two big-time gangs, the Democrats and Republicans, who run this state. The Democratic mob is headed up by Democratic Assemblyman Willie Brown (Speaker of the House) and Republican Governor "Duke" Deukmejian. Is the following story what really happened?

My youngest grandson, three years old, was robbed at his childcare center this spring. He is a hefty-looking little kid and loves to eat.

While all the kiddies were waiting for their morning snack, their school was surrounded by big limousines and the mob from Sacramento came in and lifted their mid-morning snack. The mob, led by Willie "the Speaker"

Brown and the Duke said they needed *our* money for other interests.

The kids were upset, but they don't have much pull with the Big Guys. Most of the children come from poor families whose parents are single women, and you know how much weight they have on the mob. None!

Teacher nabbed

Then, if that wasn't bad enough, my older grandson's teacher was snatched from his classroom. She was just in the middle of the math lesson when the Sacramento mob came and hauled her right out of the class, saying that the kids had too many teachers anyway.

Of course, the kids doubled up for the next math class, which, I'm sure, is driving that lucky teacher nuts.

I've heard that other teachers are disappearing right and left and that most of them are working as sales clerks in Macy's or The Emporium or some other store. Johnny sure misses his teacher. All the other children are complaining too. But you know how much pull they have with the Sacramento Gang. None!

And talk about crime on the street! My friend, who is on welfare, has a 15-year-old daughter. Unfortunately, her daughter got pregnant and was on her way to get an abortion when she was mugged by the Sacramento mob, who robbed her of her Medi-Cal funds. She will just have to be an un-wed mother.

People on the street tried to

appeal to the better nature of the Sacramento mob, but they stopped when they found out that Willie "the Speaker" and the Duke had no better nature. Duke and Willie said they had more important things to do with *our* money.

Million-dollar heist

This mob's grip extends into every city, village, and county of California. They do help some of

their friends. Take millionaire clothier Wilkes Bashford, for instance. He is a good friend of Willie "the Speaker" Brown. Now, he's got connections!

Bashford heisted \$1,719,798 from the people of San Francisco in unpaid rents for his hotel-district showrooms. Guess what the judge gave him? He was sentenced to do a fashion show for charity!

When I heard that, I went to

the judge and asked if instead of paying my three alternate-side-of-the-street parking tickets, perhaps I could hold a fashion show in my neighborhood to pay my fine. Well, you know how much pull I have with the judge and Willie. None!

You may wonder how the mob gets away with this high crime? I'll tell you. When you complain to Willie, he just lays it all on the Duke. And if you complain to the Duke, he just lays it all on Willie.

I mean, you can't win. It looks like they are the worst of enemies, but I've got a feeling that this well-oiled machine really works together.

Just rewards

So, they are stalking the streets. They are preying on the poor, the elderly, and our children. And then they make a get-away to their Sacramento hide-out. What did they do with *our* money, you may ask? Well, they just voted to give themselves a raise.

Even the Godfather couldn't have done it better!

Anyway, that's my story. I hope someday that Willie "the Speaker" Brown and the Duke have to pay for snatching my grandson's teacher out of the classroom, for confiscating their mid-morning snacks, and for forcing my friend's daughter to have a child when she is just a child herself.

I have a feeling they will get their just rewards. It's coming to them!



By CARL FINAMORE

"Death Squads" assault L.A. antiwar activists

The notorious "Death Squads" that have terrorized union, peasant, student, and human-rights activists in El Salvador for years have apparently made their appearance in Los Angeles.

Death threats have been received by a Catholic priest and over 20 solidarity activists, most of them Salvadoran exiles. Many have been targets of vandalism and harassment over the last three months.

The most serious incident occurred when a Salvadoran woman was kidnapped at knifepoint on the evening of July 7 as she left a meeting organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The woman, named Yanira, was found by police five hours later under a bridge. Badly

beaten, suffering from repeated sexual assaults with a wooden object, and with razor cuts on her body and tongue, she was rushed to the hospital. She is now recovering from the terrorizing ordeal.

During the five-hour assault, the two Salvadoran assailants repeatedly threatened her and other exiles and CISPES supporters because "you are members of the FMLN" and "everyone in CISPES is a communist."

Ten days later, on July 17, a Guatemalan woman, Ana María López, was kidnapped while on her way to a meeting at the First

Unitarian Church in Los Angeles. López said that her abductors interrogated her at gunpoint and warned her not to continue working with Salvadoran refugees. She was finally released about five hours later in Pomona, Calif.

Another Los Angeles activist, Marta Alicia Rivera, an exiled leader of the Salvadoran teachers' union (ANDES), recently received a letter stating in Spanish: "You are a traitor to the fatherland, you will die along with your comrades."

On July 17, the Rev. Luis Olivares, pastor of Los Angeles' largest Latino parish, disclosed that he too had received a death threat. The letter to the Rev. Olivares was signed "E.M.," the initials of El Salvador's Escuadrón de la Muerte (Squadron of Death).

Repression in El Salvador

The violence in Los Angeles follows on the heels of increased repression in El Salvador. On two occasions in July, government police and army troops fired into peaceful demonstrations of workers demanding higher pay and benefits.

Kathy Sutor, a Los Angeles CISPES staff member who, like all other staff members, has had her car recently vandalized, told *Socialist Action* that "the popular movement in El Salvador is growing, with the situation becoming more desperate for a government which is becoming increasingly isolated."

The attacks have received widespread media attention. Under this pressure, the FBI announced on July 17 that it was looking into the incidents. But CISPES continues to demand a full public investigation, which could uncover the connection between these death-squad

attacks and U.S. support to the Duarte regime.

Tax-deductible donations can be sent to the Southern California Interfaith Taskforce on Central America (SCITCA), 1010 S. Flower, 5th floor, Los Angeles, CA 90015. For more information, call (213) 265-3303.

Messages demanding an investigation can be sent to Rep. Don Edwards, chair, Congressional Sub-committee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, 2307 Rayburn Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Women celebrate suffrage victory

Aug. 26 is designated as Women's Suffrage Day. On this day in 1920, the 19th Amendment was passed, which gave women in the United States the right to vote. That victory came about after 50 years of struggle by women.

The leadership of the suffragist movement, however, made an understandable mistake. They thought that all that was necessary to advance women's rights was to be able to elect decent representatives who would address their concerns.

But once they won the vote, they saw it wasn't that simple. The first wave of feminism crashed into the dead end of a political system dominated by two sexist, racist, capitalist parties.

In the 1960s, a new wave of feminism erupted. Once again women took to the streets in the fight for reproductive rights, for the Equal Rights Amendment, and for full equality in education and on the job.

Abortion was legalized in 1973. Affirmative action programs were won, opening the door, a little, for women and Blacks to hold jobs formerly monopolized by white men.

But now, all of these victories are in danger.

The women's movement, headed largely by careerists, is bound hand and foot to the same two capitalist parties responsible for our oppression. Unless we break with this dead-end policy and return to the streets in the hundreds of thousands, women will suffer more defeats.—S. W.

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Jesse Jackson campaign: Frontrunner shifts to the "right" lane

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

A year ago, following the bipartisan congressional vote of \$100 million to the contras, Nicaraguan Commander Omar Cabezas commented in *The New York Times* that the difference between the Democrats and Republicans was like the difference between drinking Coca-Cola with strychnine as opposed to Pepsi-Cola with arsenic.

But lesser-evil politics—the view that arsenic is preferable to strychnine—continues to hamstring the trade-union, antiwar, women's, and Black and Hispanic rights movements of this country.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has pledged that delegates to the federation's national convention in October will line up behind *whomever* the Democratic Party nominates for president. In the meantime, however, labor leaders have approached the presidential race with a glaring lack of zeal.

Most of the leading presidential candidates of the Democratic Party have proposed higher taxes, cost-cutting in social programs, and gimmicks such as tying pay scales to productivity and eligibility-testing for federal benefits. Labor leaders realize it will be difficult to "sell" any of these potential nominees to working people.

A few trade-union officials, however—such as William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists—have stepped onto Jesse Jackson's presidential bandwagon.

Jackson's calls for "economic justice" provide a left cover to the union bureaucrats. It is easier for them to try to justify their orientation to one of the parties of the capitalist class now that Jackson, who identifies with many social issues, is touted as the "frontrunner" among possible Democratic Party nominees.

Left groups join the Rainbow

Most organizations on the left also advocate working inside the Democratic Party—the lesser evil approach. This has been the position of the Communist Party (CP), for example, since the 1930s.

The Communist Party, however, has not come out wholeheartedly for Jackson. Since a Black person is not likely to get the Democratic Party nomination, the reasoning goes, it will be difficult for Jackson to carry through what the CP considers "a meaningful alternative to Reaganism."

A stronger (if somewhat apologetic) pro-Jackson perspective is found in the April 27, 1987, issue of *Frontline*, published by the Line of March organization. The editors admit that Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is "reformist and occasionally ambivalent," but urge their readers to support Jackson anyway. They state:

"We believe that progressive forces must prepare to function over the next period 1) in the electoral arena; 2) on the terrain of the Democratic party; 3) in support of the peace and justice platform now articulated by the Rainbow Coalition and the Jackson candidacy."

The *Frontline* editors ridicule the call for an independent working-class party as "the almost obligatory platitude of left politics." They write:

"Simply to repeat the virtually self-evident truth that an independent working-class party in the U.S. is a historical necessity does not by itself signify any



particular measure of historical vision. The real challenge comes in recognizing the objective motion toward that goal in a period when the conditions for such a formation to appear have not yet developed.

"In our view, this is the potential embedded in the impulse which has given rise to the Jesse Jackson phenomenon and the Rainbow Coalition."

Goals of the Rainbow

But work in the Rainbow Coalition in no way contributes to the goal of independent working-class politics. *Frontline* applauds what it calls the Rainbow's "peace and justice platform," but overlooks the coalition's failure to attempt to mobilize people for the antiwar, anti-apartheid, and pro-labor demonstrations of recent years.

Some Rainbow organizers have called for the group to become involved in broader political issues. But Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party's nomination still gets top priority. Rainbow affiliates are therefore obligated to uphold whatever concessions Jackson's campaign advisors consider necessary to bolster their

candidate's footing inside the Democratic Party.

In their June 8, 1987, issue the editors of *Frontline* warn that Jackson is liable to "compromise" his previously stated positions and "accommodate himself to the dominant forces in the party." But they once again offer Jackson their backing, ignoring the fact that Jackson has already made several drastic "compromises" indeed:

Following his defeat at the Democratic Party convention in 1984, Jackson switched his support to Walter Mondale, the "lesser evil" who campaigned to increase taxes, vowed to quarantine Nicaragua, railed against the "dangers of big labor," and otherwise tried to serve the interests of big business.

Jackson continues to stress the theme of "conciliation" with the mainstream power blocs inside the Democratic Party. He has pledged his support to whomever the party nominates for president—offering to settle for the vice-presidential nomination in 1988.

Last month, Jackson told a group of Democrats that "the party has a progressive wing and a conservative wing, but it takes two wings to fly."

Jackson counsels moderation

"It's important," Jackson said after a recent road trip, "not to be so radical that the truck jackknives." Jackson was referring to his position on Star Wars; he has refused to support the demands of disarmament activists that he advocate an end to research in this area.

Jackson has counseled moderation in other struggles as well. During the Hormel packinghouse workers' strike last year, Jackson sought to appear as a friend of the embattled union fighters. But in a well-publicized visit to Austin, Minn., he refused to support the strike. Instead, he offered himself as a mediator.

On Nicaragua too, Jackson maintains his "impartiality," taking a swipe at the Sandinista government when it dared to defend itself against the U.S.-backed counterrevolution by closing the contras' mouthpiece, the newspaper *La Prensa*.

Workers mistrust both parties

The *Frontline* editors justify their orientation to the Democratic Party by arguing that the conditions for the formation of a labor party "have not yet

developed." This is only partly true. Working people are today angrier and less trustful of the two capitalist parties than in recent memory.

Seventy-six million eligible Americans—21 million more than voted for Reagan—abstained in the 1984 election. The overwhelming majority of these abstentions are working people who have concluded that their interests are not served by either party.

The Iran/contra arms scandal and other recent U.S. foreign-policy setbacks have only deepened popular mistrust of Republican and Democratic officials.

But, with few exceptions, the leadership of the labor movement devotes its resources to thwarting the crystallization of this sentiment in the form of a mass independent political movement led by labor.

This disparity between the millions of workers who are developing a clearer perception of their class interests and a *misleadership* working to block this development is the great contradiction in U.S. politics today.

Independent political action

Less than 1 percent of the population owns 35 percent of the wealth in the United States. This ruling elite decides which plants will be closed, which cities will become rustbowls, and which wars will be waged. This same wealthy minority finances and controls both the Republican and the Democratic parties.

But while the working class and its allies are handicapped, having no political party of their own, they have had a profound impact on American politics when they acted independently. The movement against the war in Vietnam and the Black struggle against Jim Crow—which involved millions in the streets—are two examples that give testimony to this fact.

The Democratic Party has led none of this country's mass movements for social justice. It has worked to derail them or limit their impact. This is one of the lessons of the fight of the Hormel packinghouse workers, who were dealt a body blow when Democratic Party Governor Rudy Perpich ordered the National Guard to break their strike.

A new generation of union fighters will come to understand that victories on the picket line can only be maintained and expanded if union power is also expressed independently in the political arena.

This power will be fully unleashed when the illusions in the two capitalist parties have been overcome. But support to the Rainbow wing of the Democratic Party only perpetuates and reinforces these illusions.

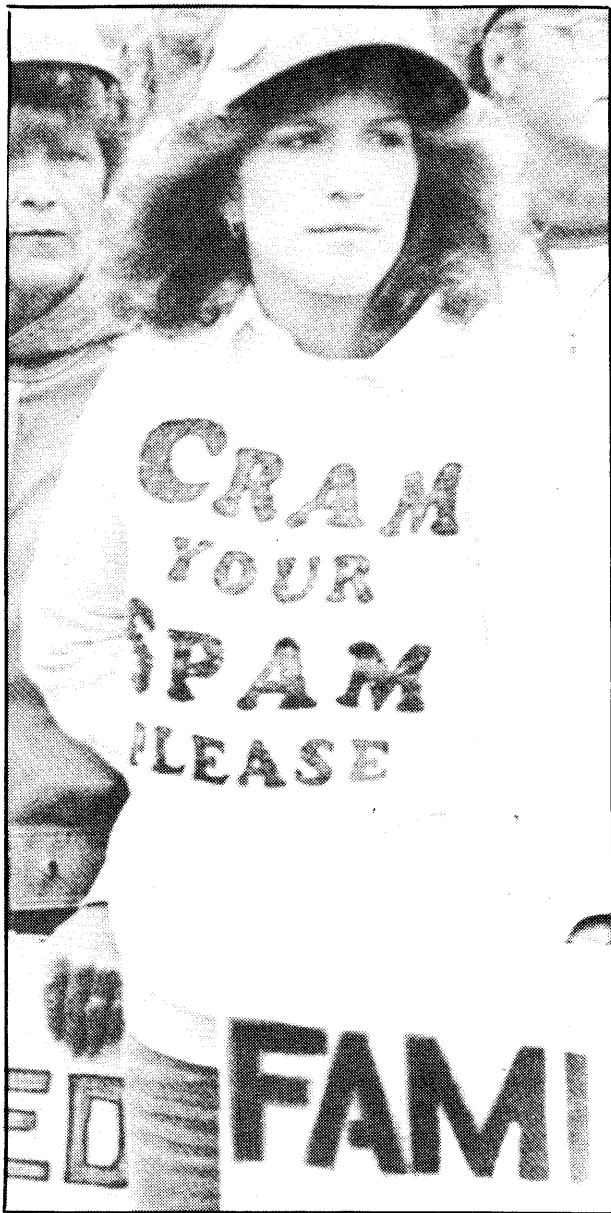
Our strategy must be to help mobilize oppressed people in this country in independent mass actions. These struggles will build the confidence and experience necessary for the working-class majority to ultimately raise its own political banner. ■



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By LINDA KELLAM

AUSTIN, Minn.—Two years ago, in August 1985, the members of Local P-9 (since reorganized as the North American Meatpackers Union, NAMPU) went on strike against the concessions on wages and safety issues demanded by the Hormel meatpacking company. Hormel is the major employer in this town.

On the weekend of July 4th, Hormel celebrated its victory over the striking workers. The celebration took place in the guise of events marking the 50th anniversary of its canned-meat product, SPAM.

The corporate media around the country embraced Hormel's appropriation of the 4th of July. Numerous articles prattled on about "healing the wounds" of the strike. The company and SPAM were glorified as the symbol of corporate heroism in the '80s.

Instead, what this visitor to Austin saw (I had joined 100-or-so Twin Cities strike supporters who came down

Hormel celebrates SPAM; workers don't give a damn

in a car caravan) was a town brought to its knees by the strike-breaking tactics of Hormel and its collaborator, the international leadership of the United Food and Commercial Workers union. In the midst of the strike, the UFCW top officialdom cut off benefits to the strikers. In June 1986, the UFCW placed Local P-9 in receivership.

"Now we are dwindling"

The fact is, every time Hormel has extracted a concession from its workers, the revenues of businesses in the town have gone down by an almost exactly corresponding amount.

Buck Heegard, an out-of-work member of the original P-9, had this observation to make: "I don't know what this town has to celebrate. When I began work at Hormel 38 years ago, we had 4000 workers. Now there are 700 in the plant. We had a thriving town of 35,000 and now we are dwindling [to 23,000]."

Indeed, there was very little celebration here. The 4th-of-July parade, which was to be the highlight of the weekend, was not held on Main Street because the Chamber of Commerce did not wish to have the TV cameras show how many stores have gone out of business. About every third or fourth business has closed down, according to Pete Winkels, a former P-9 executive-board member.

The population that—according to the media—had rallied behind Hormel and against the strikers was subdued and weary. It was apparent to everyone (except the corporate media) that, rather than healing, the wounds had yet more salt rubbed into them.

Boos competed with cheers as five carloads of women in SPAM T-shirts went by. The lead car bore the sign "Hormel Girls," although all the women appeared to be at least 25 years old. Interestingly, none of the local residents seemed to know who they were. Did Hormel have to go out of town to find these paid shills?

Many children were pressed into service as corporate standard-bearers. One float of children was called the "Spamwich Mobile." Mickey and Minnie Mouse were flown in on the Hormel jet to represent the company in the parade.

A long record of harassment

Police with videotape cameras stood above the clusters of NAMPU supporters in the audience. They filmed everyone's face, presumably so the company could make sure that no one from Austin would speak out against Hormel who had not already been fired or persecuted in some appropriate manner.

Hormel has a long record of harassment of militant workers and their supporters:

- A federal-court injunction enforcing the UFCW's trusteeship was interpreted by local

authorities as forbidding any pro-union or boycott activity by the workers, under the penalty of contempt charges. The contract negotiated by the UFCW has a clause forbidding similar activity by workers in the plant and those on the recall list.

•Between 40 and 50 people have been harassed, including Frank Collette, who was fired for having a boycott bumper-sticker on his car. Charles Norris put a small boycott sticker on his forehead when he had his picture taken for his driver's license. The Iowa Department of Motor Vehicles reported him to Hormel, who subsequently fired him.

•Farmers around Austin have been told by the County Commissioners that if they don't paint over pro-P-9 slogans on their barns and silos, their land will be rezoned as commercial and the structures with the slogans considered billboards.

•There has been widespread vandalism against the strikers. Former executive-board member Kathy Buck had to replace her car engine three times due to sugar being poured into the gas tank. The company and its errand boys in the Austin police department use these instances of vandalism to spread rumors about the unionists' "violence."

Boycott Hormel products!

Surrounded by 850 crosses and a flag-draped coffin to represent those left out of the plant, Jim Guyette, former president of Local P-9 and current president of NAMPU, later told the press, "Hormel has plants in South Africa and Mexico where the company employs people under brutal conditions. They would like to see us live like that. They would like to see us in a coffin like this. Well, it's not going to happen."

Madeline Kruger of the United Support Group announced that Pizza Hut and Burger King had been added to the boycott list because of their use of Hormel products.

A Solidarity Tent City was held on a farm just east of town. There were about 25 tents and five campers. One of the owners of the farm, whose husband was a P-9 loyalist, told me that their property was being foreclosed—partly as a result of their activism in support of the strikers. She didn't know what the future held, now that they had donated their land to Solidarity City.

Hormel is not satisfied with having broken the union and the lives of its workers. It had to put on this obscene spectacle as a way of gloating over its anti-labor policies. However, we were able to return to the Twin Cities knowing that the spirit of the remarkable people of Austin, Minn., has not been broken. ■

By FRED VIRTS

Postal workers have reached a tentative contract settlement with the U.S. Postal Service that will provide raises of between \$1700 and \$1866 over the next 40 months.

The 580,000 members of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), the two major unions, will get an immediate increase of 2 percent. Subsequent across-the-board increases in 1988, 1989, and 1990 will raise wages 7 percent.

Postal workers now earn between \$20,094 and \$27,089, not including benefits.

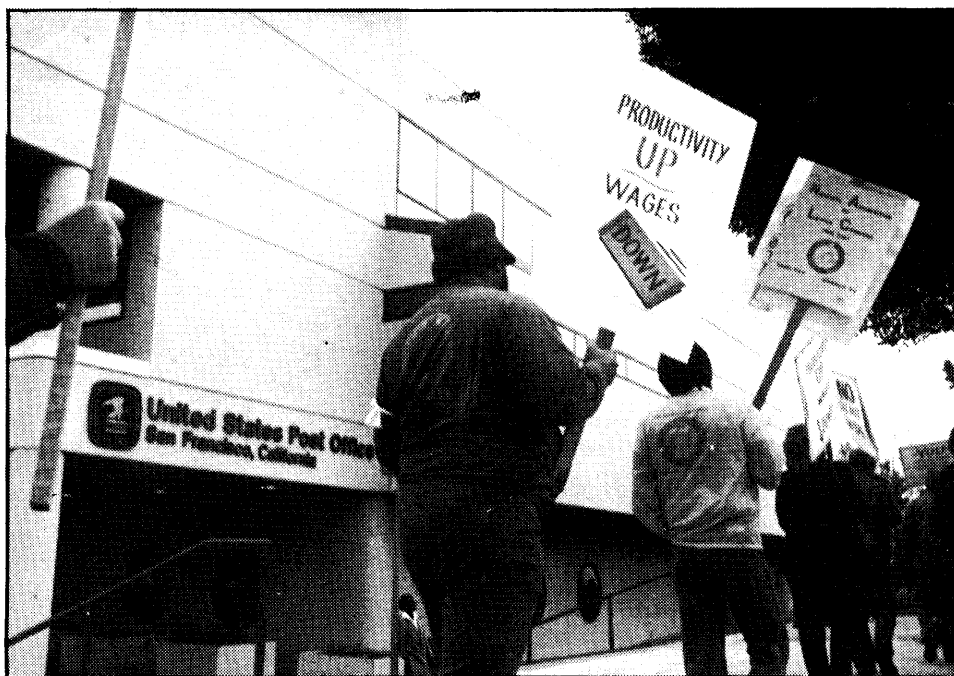
While even small wage raises are gratifying when so many workers are forced to take paycuts, a more important issue concerned the postal workers.

Part-time "two-tier"

Since contract negotiations began on April 21, management's main demands have been for the establishment of a large, low-paid, part-time workforce. The Postal Service would like to follow in the footsteps of the United Parcel Service—where most of the workers are part-time and most will never get to become full-time employees.

The Postal Service's planned new workforce would consist of two parts. The number of "casuals" permitted to work would be doubled by the new proposals. Casuals are temporary part-time workers whose term of employment is not supposed to exceed 89 days at one time. Casuals are paid only \$5 an hour and have no benefits or rights to union representation at all.

Postal workers repel concessions demands



The other part of management's projected workforce was the establishment of permanent part-time employees. At present there is a very small number of career employees who work part-time. Management wants to create a huge force of part-timers at substandard wages and benefits.

The two unions came out strongly

against the part-time scheme—which is simply a two-tier wage plan designed to depress the wages and benefits of all postal workers.

In the June issue of *The Postal Record*, Vince Sombrotto, president of the NALC, writes: "We have no intention of agreeing to any form of a two-tier system, no matter

how well they may disguise it."

Union negotiators remained firm against this scheme through three months of bargaining, and Postmaster General Preston R. Tisch finally yielded. There will be no increases in the number of part-time or temporary workers for the life of the contract.

Pressure on the union

Two weeks after contract talks began this year, the Postal Service announced that it would seek to increase postage rates to cover its costs. It hinted that the 22-cent stamp would cost 25 cents by next year.

The unions' Joint Bargaining Committee saw this cheap ploy for what it was—an attempt to use public opinion to pressure the unions to settle for less.

The Postal Service's announcement came in spite of the fact that in 1984 the Postal Rate Commission scolded management for not waiting until the conclusion of contract bargaining so that an accurate idea of operating costs could be projected.

Among the other demands of management was the elimination of double-time pay after 10 hours' work. This provision is particularly galling to the Postal Service because it came out of the arbitration of the 1984 contract after management had refused to continue negotiations any longer.

The unions were successful in retaining the double-time provision.

The postal workers have demonstrated they can resist takebacks even when the bosses are in a general offensive against labor. ■

New INS rules attack all working people in U.S.

By DAVID WALTERS

On May 1, 1987, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) put into effect new rules and guidelines for undocumented immigrant workers in the United States. These new rules represent a new level of attacks on the rights of immigrant workers, oppressed national minorities, and the working class as a whole.

To be able to fully assess these new measures, it is necessary to understand the role of immigration in capitalist society.

The U.S. ruling class, like its counterparts elsewhere, has never been anti-immigration. It has been anti-immigrant, yes, but not anti-immigration.

The capitalists have used and incited anti-immigrant racism against various sections of immigrants (Irish, Jews, Italians, Asians, and Latinos) throughout U.S. history.

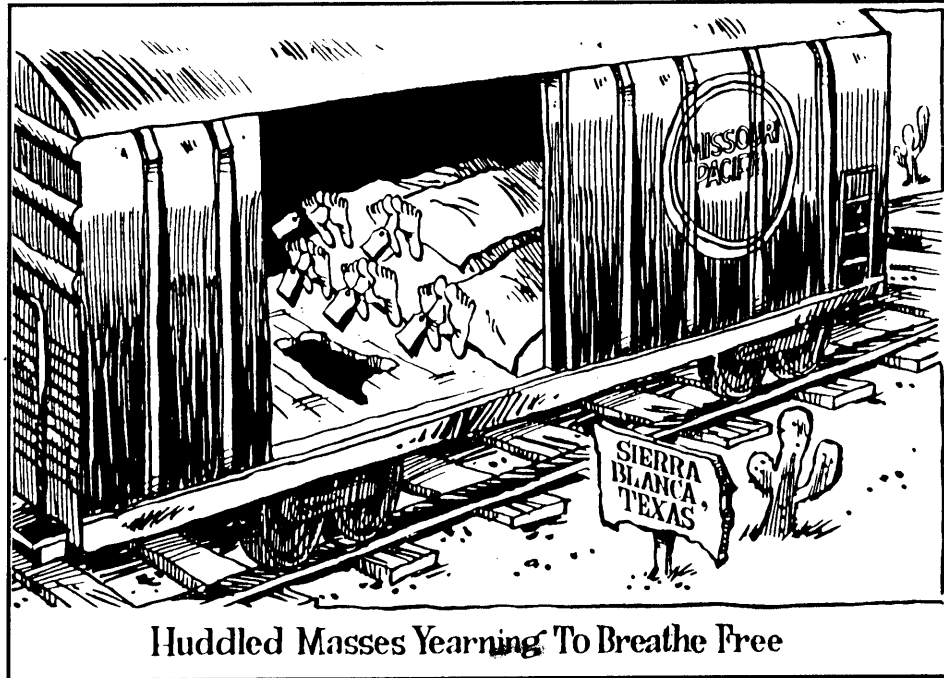
These immigrants became the scapegoats for the problems of the working class; problems which were caused not by the immigrants but by the inevitable contradictions of capitalist society.

At times, some of the immigrant groups were made to seem "undesirable," if not downright seditious. The deportations of thousands of Italians, Jews, and Russian immigrant workers during the labor upsurge following the First World War was initiated by then-Attorney General John Palmer as a way of stemming the growing radicalization in the labor movement. Palmer perceived this radicalization as a direct export of the successful Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

Reserve army of unemployed

Immigration, however, has always been a key factor in maintaining what Marxists call the "reserve army of the unemployed." Such an "army" has been used to maintain an overabundance of wage earners who remain unemployed—usually at a minimum rate of 4 percent when the capitalist economy is in an upswing, and higher during periods of recession and depression.

Immigrant workers, a number of whom are always part of this "army," traditionally fill the lowest-paid and most dangerous jobs that the native-born section of the unemployed will not fill. In addition, since



BY MARGULIES FOR THE HOUSTON POST

a large number of these workers are undocumented, they are subject to super-exploitation by bosses who hold the threat of deportation over their heads.

The ruling rich also use unorganized immigrant labor to stymie union organizing and break strikes.

Simpson-Rodino

The Simpson-Rodino law, and its codification in the new INS rules, is especially insidious because it would now require unions to police their own membership. It would place the same fines and regulations demanded of the employers on the unions—especially unions that have hiring halls.

The INS, moreover, is still discussing the institution of a National Identification Card, which every worker would have to possess in order to prove citizenship. This card would contain a computer chip with enough memory to store a record of the holder's political activities, work record, union affiliation—and any information the ruling class deems necessary to exert total control over the work force.

Such an internal passport system, similar to the one used under South African

apartheid, would also make the defense of working-class interests—through organizing, strikes, and political action—infinitely more difficult.

As socialists and internationalists, we in Socialist Action do not believe it is anybody's business—not the boss's or the state's—where a worker is born.

The Simpson Rodino law is an attack on the working class as a whole—not just its most oppressed sectors.

Although the trade-union movement has begun to grapple with some of the problems and implications of the INS rules, no section of the labor movement has a clear fighting program to defend the working class and its most exploited section—immigrant workers.

The ideologues of capitalism are correct when they declare that we live in a global economy. They argue for universal free trade and an unhindered ability to export capital in order to promote their own class interests.

The socialist program

In this same spirit—but from the standpoint of the defense of working-class interests—our socialist program calls for:

1. Complete open borders as a fundamental right of workers of all lands to live where they please.

2. Working-class solidarity. If the workers' movement in the United States is truly interested in building unity among working people then it has to recognize that we are united in a class—documented or undocumented—by a common enemy that exploits all of us wherever we live.

3. A united front of labor unions, legal-aid organizations, and immigrant self-defense organizations. Such a front must agree on *what it is* we want to fight.

The starting point is not to decide to accept the Simpson-Rodino law in a more palatable form, but to fight it in its totality. Once we start to accept limited amnesty or a liberal interpretation of the statutes we accept the ruling-class premise upon which the law is based.

4. The fight for full rights of all immigrant workers to receive unemployment compensation, medical aid and education for their children, and the right to vote.

5. Organizing the unorganized. We must begin to rely upon ourselves and our own organizations—not Democratic and Republican "friends" in the legislature and the judiciary. Only through trade-union organization will workers—immigrant and native born—begin to take back from the bosses a little bit of what we produce for them.

6. Independent political action. The Democratic Party is our class enemy, not our friend. Socialist Action believes that one sure road to failure is continued reliance upon the Democratic Party.

The example of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) in California should serve notice that such a policy is a disaster. The UFW helped elect a Democrat—Jerry Brown—to the governorship of California. Brown in turn established the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which soon after began to victimize the UFW.

The farmworkers' union grew when it focused on its own mass organizing and mobilization. But it shrank when it started to rely upon an instrument of the state as a way of protecting its membership.

The unions and their allies must break with the Democrats and launch a Labor Party based on the working class and all the oppressed—not on "friendly" bankers, capitalist politicians, and back-stabbers.

Only in this way, can immigrant workers—and their American brothers and sisters—protect themselves from victimization and a further erosion of their economic and democratic rights. ■

Harlem coalition protests police violence, cutbacks

By CHRIS BUTTERS

NEW YORK—The anti-racist and labor movements took a small but important step forward on June 11 with a demonstration at Harlem Hospital protesting a police assault on Dr. James Gibson while he was treating a patient.

Gibson, who is Black, was shoved against a wall by police in the hospital's X-ray lab. When Gibson objected to a prisoner being moved while he was under treatment for a cerebral concussion, a cop pointed a gun at the doctor's head and called him a racist epithet.

In addition to calling for the four officers involved in the attack to be brought to justice, speakers at the rally linked the racist attack to cutbacks in health care.

Health-care union representatives denounced the "increasingly separate and unequal [health-care] systems—one for the rich and one for the poor." Signs carried by the 300 largely Black hospital workers and neighborhood residents included, "Cure racism!" and "Give us health care, not hardware!"

The demonstration was called by the Coalition to Save Harlem Hospital and included a number of church, labor, and community organizations. Particularly significant were the presence and support of the American Federation of State, County,

and Municipal Employees District Council 37; the Committee of Interns and Residents; and Local 372 of the Social Services Employees Union.

The City Sun, one of New York's leading Black newspapers, called the demonstration "a new development in a labor-church-community coalition, both born out of necessity and common interest."

The Coalition to Save Harlem Hospital was initiated by labor and community organizations three months ago, upon the publication of a report by the state's Health Systems Agency calling for cutbacks at Harlem Hospital.

Harlem Hospital is the only hospital remaining in central Harlem, and many of the community's 250,000 residents depend upon its clinics and emergency room for care. Here, in the shadows of Wall Street, tuberculosis is 10 times the national average. The infant mortality rate is twice the national average—roughly on a par with Chile's.

Assaults in the city's ghettos are standard operating procedure for the N.Y.P.D. when its authority is questioned. The acquittal of the cop who shot and killed Eleanor Bumpurs while she was being forcibly evicted from her apartment—which is only one of many cases of police brutality in the

ghetto—has sent a message to police that they can continue to get away with violence.

Thousands of working people—Black, white, Latino, and Asian—have marched

against apartheid with their trade unions in recent years. Many believe it is high time they march with their unions against South Africa-style racist attacks here in New York. ■



Dr. James Gibson at June 11 Harlem Hospital rally

William Bliggart

What is the "secret" of Col. North's success?

By NAT WEINSTEIN

How is it possible for Lieut. Col. Oliver North to come away from his five days of testifying before the congressional committee investigating the Iran/contras scandal with such a shining image when most Americans are sharply opposed to the policy he defended?

Why are the most overtly reactionary political forces triumphantly gratified by this page of the congressional investigation of Contragate?

Even President Reagan momentarily felt constrained to indicate a positive response to North's testimony. But why are the decisive editorial writers and other capitalist spokespersons straining to probe deeper, reaching closer to Reagan for a scapegoat?

The "secret" of Lieut. Col. North's success, of course, is no secret. He had been portrayed as a "loose cannon," a low-ranking officer making high-level policy.

This articulate officer caught his interrogators off balance by admitting virtually every charge made by them that he couldn't evade and insisting that he acted under orders from those higher up in the Reagan administration.

The lieutenant colonel selected to be the fall-guy proved refreshingly believable, confirming a widely held belief that Reagan and those directly under him knew everything from the beginning.

But North's political defense of the contra-aid program was his real ace in the hole. Rather than deny the lying and profiteering carried out by him and his cohorts, he glibly justified it all politically.

Turns tables around

North was repeatedly able to turn every question concerning illegal activities around into an indictment of congressional hypocrisy. He hammered away on this political justification without a single serious political challenge from the congressional committees or their attorneys.

He had Congress—which had voted for arms-for-contras *before* and *after* the Boland amendment ban—against the wall. Indeed, even during the "ban," Congress had

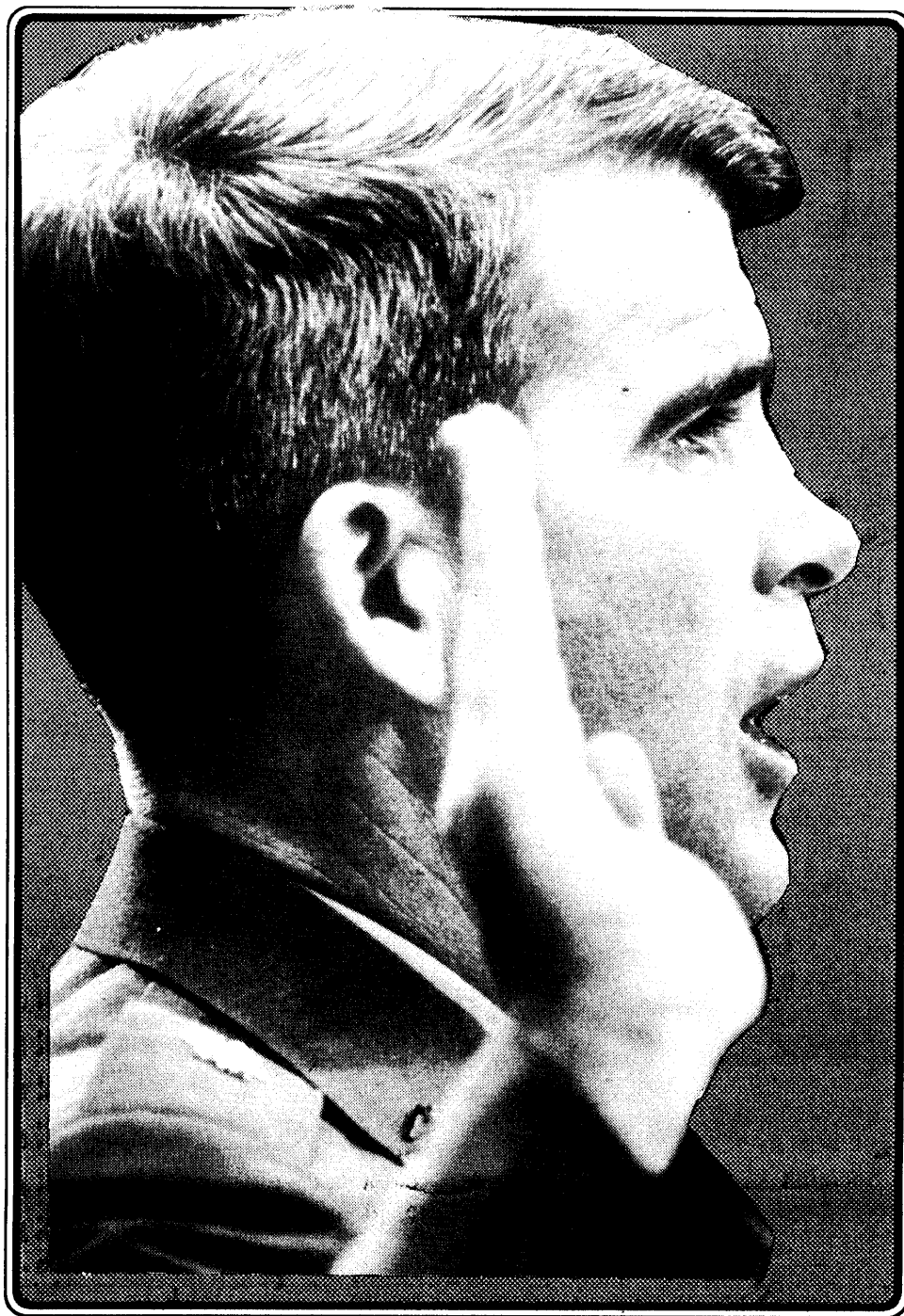
"...Col. North's political defense of the contra-aid program was his real ace in the hole."

authorized \$30 million in "non-lethal" aid to the murderous contra terrorists.

Congress throughout this entire period—to this day—operated on the basis of North's strategic rationale—that the contras are "freedom fighters" in the front ranks of the global struggle "for democracy against communist tyranny."

The legislators found it extremely difficult to refute North's political justification without also indicting themselves for recruiting, fielding, feeding, arming, and providing logistical support for the contras. This hated counterrevolutionary force is headed by the National Guard officer caste of former dictator and hangman-in-chief of Nicaragua, Anastasio Somoza.

The only half-hearted note struck during



North's interrogation that pointed in the right direction was by Representative Ed Jenkins of Georgia, who noted that of all the "unnamed" states that contributed to the lieutenant colonel's contra-aid fund, only one—perhaps—could be considered democratic.

The states, referred to mostly by numbers, include Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, and South Korea—none of which can even remotely qualify as supporters of democracy.

Jenkins was apparently stung by North's repeated insinuation that the heads of these states were more sensitive to the "threat to democracy" in Nicaragua than was Congress. But neither Jenkins nor the congressional committees, along with their high-powered lawyers, followed up on this significant contradiction to the Reagan administration's political rationale.

In search of a scapegoat

This also answers the second question posed at the beginning of this article.

Certainly, the "obedient" lieutenant colonel's testimony creates problems for those under whose command he served; a "more senior" scapegoat will need to be found.

North said that CIA Director William Casey told him that he "wasn't senior enough" to take the rap. It appears at this point that Rear Admiral John Poindexter, former national security adviser and the lieutenant colonel's boss, has been elected to take the heat...along with the late CIA Director Casey.

North's line of defense—putting the finger on his bosses—against threatened criminal charges is also intended to mobilize mass conservative support behind U.S. imperialist aims in Central America. This would help Reagan.

But according to a *New York Times/CBS*

News poll taken when North first testified, Reagan was no hero to three out of four Americans. About the same proportion believed Reagan was lying about not knowing of the diversion of Iran funds to the contras. These polls hadn't changed significantly by the fourth day of North's testimony.

Nevertheless, North's insinuations and outright assertions that the war in Vietnam was won in the battlefield but lost in the political arena serves to justify the contra aid effort.

North's central theme was that the National Security Council "filled the gap" by providing military aid to the contras during the period of the congressional ban. Otherwise, he repeatedly lectured the Congress, the "freedom fighters" would have been crushed by "Soviet surrogates."

But while North's testimony has not made any significant impact on the overwhelming majority opposed to the contras, it will function for some time to come as a banner for the most unrestrained rightist currents. The theme, "the politicians lost the war, not the generals," has been used effectively by fascist and other right-wing demagogues more than once before.

The ruling class and Contragate

The more perceptive representatives of U.S. capitalism know full well that the big majority of the American people find the portrayal of Somoza's heirs as "freedom fighters" to be incredible.

Many are appalled by the congressional committee's incapacity to answer North's crude rationalizations. Many see the lieutenant colonel's "eloquence" to be the product of a Congress made mute by its own support of the contras.

While the American ruling class has shown no hesitations when it comes to

supporting despotic regimes like those of Batista in Cuba, Somoza in Nicaragua, Marcos in the Philippines, or the Shah in Iran, these high-placed critics of Reagan's policies don't want a premature "rogue government" in this country.

Despotic rule may be indispensable for the defense of capitalism under the conditions then prevailing in those benighted lands, but in the United States today it would cause more problems than it solves.

Military-minded people, like most of those running the contra-aid operation, tend toward impatience with even the present capitalist form of democracy. They can't easily comprehend why their political representatives in Congress vacillate in their support of the contras. But the ruling class has good reason to vacillate:

- The contras have shown little capability to be more than a hated band of terrorists, uniting the people behind the Sandinista government.

- The rulers fear that the logic of continued support to the contras leads inexorably to direct commitment of American troops. They know that this means millions protesting in the streets even before maimed and dead American boys are shipped home.

- They know, too, that the U.S. economy is already under severe strain. Take-backs have ignited simmering resentment in the working class. The costs of a military adventure in Central America would lead to further reductions in living standards that would contribute to the explosive power of a mass antiwar movement.

Much as these politicians may prefer the road of military intervention in Central America and elsewhere, this massive opposition is a factor they must take into account.

Holding back the rush

The most authoritative representatives of capitalism in Congress and in the corporate board rooms and editorial offices believe it would be a serious error to jump over the present forms of capitalist democracy.

They are intent on stopping the rush by the Reagan administration toward a crisis-regime that would be free of control by the capitalist class as a whole.

Capitalist democracy is the most flexible and reliable form of capitalist rule. It is also the cheapest. Political dictatorship is in order for the capitalist class only when it can no longer rule with the consent of the ruled.

A premature short-circuiting of capitalist democracy would be counterproductive under present conditions of relative stability. It would serve to strip working people of the illusion that they decide much more than which bunch of capitalist scoundrels control the government. It would bring us closer to the time when workers realize they must take control of society into their own hands.

Meanwhile, the real decision-makers have clearly decided to rein in Reagan's crew. But that doesn't mean the contras will be cut off as well. The Reagan administration is hoping that North's testimony will help in securing additional contra aid next fall.

Opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America must remain on guard. ■

If you support ...

- The antiwar movement
- The Nicaraguan Revolution
- The fight against racism
- A woman's right to choose
- An end to apartheid
- The fight for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe
- The need for a labor party
- A socialist America

... you belong in Socialist Action!

Contact the Socialist Action branch nearest you. See branch list page 14.

Ben Linder's brother explains national tour

Socialist Action interviewed John Linder while he was on a recent speaking tour in Northern California. John is the older brother of Ben Linder, who was murdered in a contra ambush in Nicaragua on April 28, 1987.

Ben Linder built one power plant in the rural town of El Cua and was working on another hydroelectric plant near San Jose de Bocay when he was killed. Medical evidence and press reports now confirm that Linder was assassinated at point-blank range as he lay wounded.

The interview, by Carl Finamore, was conducted on July 18, 1987.

Socialist Action: How did people in the United States respond to the murder of your brother?

Linder: Andrew Young [mayor of Atlanta, Ga.] summarized it best the day after Ben was killed. He told an audience in Nicaragua that "the people of the United

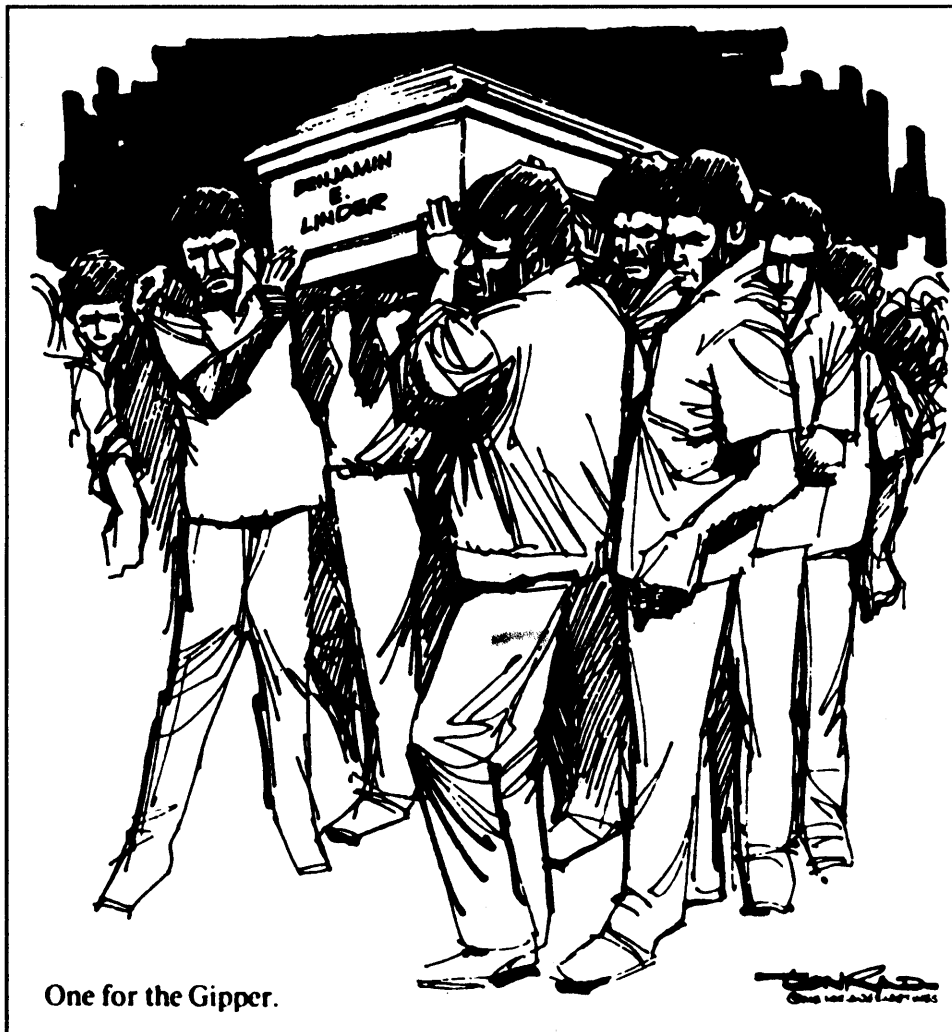
"Ben's death has hit home."

States are the people of Ben Linder, and not the people of Ronald Reagan."

I found that to be very true. In the week and a half following Ben's death, tens of thousands of people participated in memorial meetings, condemning not only his murder and the murder of the two Nicaraguans who were working with him, but also the entire policy which led to those murders.

Socialist Action: Your whole family has been very outspoken against the government's pro-contra policies. What kind of feedback have they received?

Linder: My parents' house is filled with eight boxes of support-letters from throughout the country. Many of them are simply addressed to the "Family of Ben Linder, Portland, Ore." Over \$40,000 was received almost immediately after the announcement of a Memorial Fund to continue Ben's work.



One for the Gipper.

We have now raised \$80,000 toward our \$200,000 goal. [Tax-deductible contributions should be made out to: Ben Linder Memorial Fund/Earth Island, P.O. Box 6443, Portland, OR 97228.]

Socialist Action: Has this positive reaction continued throughout your tour?

Linder: I have spoken in several cities like Miami, Fla., and Wichita, Kan., where the anti-intervention movement is not very strong. The organizers in those places have been flabbergasted at the large size of the meetings.

My meetings in Northern California have been standing-room only.

Socialist Action: Who comes to these meetings?

Linder: We are talking to people who have not necessarily been that interested before. I think the death of Ben has hit home.

Socialist Action: Then how do you account for the polls which claim increased support for contra aid in the wake of the Contragate congressional hearings?

Linder: There is a lot of hype about "Olliemania." First of all, there was more media attention given to the 400 people who said "We love Ollie" outside the White House than to the 200,000 anti-intervention activists who demonstrated on April 25 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

But there is a certain enthusiasm for

[Lieut. Col. Oliver] North and I think it's based on several things. One is that North took a stand and nobody challenged that stand. He argued politics and ideology while the congressional-committee members argued legality.

There was nobody to say, wait a minute, 48 out of 50 contra military commanders are ex-Somocista National Guardsmen. What about the 15,000 to 20,000 Nicaraguans who have died as a result of your "neat idea?"

What about the role of the CIA in organizing the contras in 1981—which the contra commanders themselves concede is the way they were pulled together into the FDN (National Democratic Force)? What about the CIA murder-manual written in 1983?

I didn't have five days on television, but if I had even five minutes I would bring before people in the United States some of the 15,000 Nicaraguan families who have lost relatives to the contra war. I would like to have them describe the thousands of rapes, kidnappings, and tortures that the contras have carried out.

And then I would like to ask Oliver North, Ronald Reagan, and every congressman who voted to aid the contras, if they think that's a "neat idea."

But, unfortunately, nobody challenged North. As a result, there was only an appearance of a two-sided debate between him and the congressional committee. In fact, it was a one-sided debate as far as the contra war is concerned.

Socialist Action: Undoubtedly, there was a certain amount of confusion caused among the American people by the fact that North and the other Contragate witnesses were not politically challenged when they openly campaigned for pro-contra policies. How deep do you think this confusion goes?

Linder: The American people have been polled saying that they believe Oliver North. Well, I also believe Oliver North—on two counts.

One, he said that he lied and lied repeatedly. Second, he said that he is a "fall guy." I believe that also. He is a criminal, but the crimes were initiated by the highest officials in the land.

The majority of Americans already believe, more than ever, that the government is lying to them.

Socialist Action: What impact will the Contragate exposés ultimately have on the American people?

Linder: Eventually, the government will pay a price for its secret and illegal contra war. The American people have gotten a glimpse of not only an outlaw colonel but of an outlaw government. ■

... Contragate

(continued from page 1)

foreign-policy initiatives from the American people. Nobody, for example, challenged Rear Admiral John Poindexter's contemptible statement that "the American people don't want to know the details" of the government's foreign affairs.

U.S. foreign policy follows the needs of the capitalist class to safeguard its economic and political interests. Secrecy in carrying out these objectives becomes more necessary in those circumstances where the government is unable to mask its imperialist forays with "democratic" or "freedom-fighting" coloration.

Several recent inquiries related to Contragate—especially the pre-trial investigations for a \$22-million lawsuit brought about by the Christic Institute, an interfaith center for law and public policy—have unearthed a 27-year web of crimes woven by top government officials.

Assassination squads, illegal spy units,



and drug-smuggling rings have operated in the pay of the U.S. government since the years of the "liberal" Kennedy administration. [For details on the Christic Institute's suit, see "Contragate's hidden history" in the July 1987 *Socialist Action*.]

North's invasion plans

Last month, the *Miami Herald* revealed the existence of a "secret contingency plan that called for suspension of the Constitution." The plan, drawn up by Oliver North and his cohorts in the White

House, would have turned control of the government over to a little-known department, the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

The proposed state-of-emergency decree was intended to facilitate sending U.S. troops to invade Nicaragua. According to testimony before the Iran/contra congressional committee and the Tower Commission, North proposed that the contras claim a portion of the northeastern coast of Nicaragua as a "liberated territory." The land would then serve as a beachhead

for a U.S. invasion.

An official familiar with North's proposal told the *San Francisco Examiner* (July 18, 1987) that North had "dreamed it up some time in late 1985 after it became clear that the contras could not oust the Sandinistas without American troops."

Although the Contragate committee was informed of these proposals for an invasion of Nicaragua and for emergency rule in the United States, it refused to question Oliver North any further. All of the committee members share North's goal of rolling back the Nicaraguan Revolution. In fact, over two-thirds of the committee panelists voted for contra aid in Congress.

The tasks ahead

The anti-intervention movement can address the mass confusion caused by the congressional "investigation" by launching a campaign to bring the full truth to the American people.

The Christic Institute has been invited by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice for a one-week tour of Northern California in November. Included in the tour will be a major teach-in, which organizers expect will attract 4000 to 5000 people.

These educational meetings and teach-ins can be duplicated around the country in hundreds of unions, churches, neighborhood centers, and campuses. A broad-based educational campaign will help lay the groundwork for mass protest demonstrations to counter the government's call for more aid to the contras. ■



"Contragate's hidden history"

4-page supplement from July *Socialist Action*. Still available! \$.50

BY AUTH FOR THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Pacific Ocean imperiled by U.S. weapons build-up

By GRETCHEN MACKLER

Travel posters of the Pacific Islands paint sun-drenched beaches of white sands, sparkling waters, and pink sunsets. Beneath this glossy picture, however, lies the brutal reality—malformed plant and animal life, nuclear killers, and a cancer called U.S. imperialism.

World power, both economic and military, has shifted toward the West—and specifically toward the Pacific region.

No longer is Wall Street the center of world finance. Asian banks, especially Japanese, control more than a third of all financial assets in the world. The United States controls only 19 percent. Since 1983, the United States has been trading more in the Pacific than in the Atlantic by about 30 percent.

In 1985, the U.S. military budget in the Pacific was over \$47 billion. The largest American military command post in the world, Mandarin Chief Pacific, is located in Honolulu. It controls some 630 bases and 320,000 military personnel over nearly half of the earth's surface—from the coast of Alaska to China and the Soviet Far East.

After a limited withdrawal in the wake of the Vietnam war, the U.S. government is seeking military supremacy in the Pacific region. Plans have been made to increase the U.S. naval fleet to 660 warships and 15 aircraft carriers.

The administration is also raising the number of nuclear-powered attack subs from 74 in 1981 to 117 by 1989. One Navy report summarized U.S. objectives as, "to be able to sail into Vladivostok [a major Soviet coastal city] within the first five minutes of a war."

Nuclear-missile buildup

A recent best-seller in Australia, "The American Lake" by Peter Hayes, Lyuba Zarsky, and Walden Bello, describes in clear detail Washington's plans to increase its nuclear weapons and political control in the Pacific. The most significant nuclear weapons are the Trident I missile and the Tomahawk Cruise missile.

The Trident I missile is deployed aboard Ohio-class submarines. Each sub can fire 24 of these missiles over 7700 km. to rain 240 warheads within 500 meters of targets in the Soviet Union. The plan is to increase these subs by one a year until there are 10 in the Pacific.

These new subs, which cost about \$1 billion each, are very quiet and very hard to detect. They have nearly doubled the operating range of the old Polaris submarines.

On the agenda for 1989 is the Trident II missile, with even greater accuracy and lethality, which are designed to be used primarily to knock out Soviet land-based missiles before they can be fired.

The second nuclear deployment is even more risky—the sea-launched Tomahawk Cruise missile,

"In 1985, the U.S. military budget in the Pacific was over was over \$47 billion."

operational from American aircraft carriers off the coast of the Soviet Union.

These are the same nuclear missiles that triggered mass protests in Europe in recent years. They can travel 2500 km. with great accuracy before exploding over Soviet land targets, yet they appear no larger than a seagull on radar screens.

The idea behind these missiles is to "get the archer before he gets the arrow" and render Soviet forces inoperative. The present plan is to increase the number of Tomahawk-launching ships from five to 50 by 1990.

The authors of "The American Lake" point out that these new armaments will worsen what Theodore Postal, former advisor to the U.S. Navy's Nuclear Warfare Division, calls a "pathological instability."

"First-strike" capability

U.S. military strategy includes the ability to destroy Soviet firepower through the "first use" of nuclear weapons. Navy Secretary John Lehman has stated, "Who



gets to shoot first will have more to do with who wins than any other factor."

U.S. military forces have already considered the first use of nuclear weapons in at least a half-dozen instances—including in the Korean War and the Vietnam conflict. In 1958, the United States came close to launching a nuclear missile at China during the Taiwan

Straits crisis.

U.S. Commander-in-Chief Pacific Harry Felt recalled in 1974, "It's true that at that time [in 1958] we had plans for use of tactical nuclear weapons. Most of us believed in those days that the use of tactical nuclear weapons wouldn't key off the big war, and we didn't have any plan to do it any other way."

Nevertheless, the notion of a "limited-nuclear war" remains in the designs of military strategists today. In his 1980 campaign, President Reagan said, "I can see a situation where you can have a nuclear exchange without it necessarily turning into a bigger war."

"Nuclear tripwire" in Korea

According to "The American Lake" co-author Peter Hayes, the "first-strike" doctrine provides a particularly nightmarish scenario in Korea. In a recent issue of the Oakland, Calif., *The Tribune*, Hayes emphasized, "Korea is the only place in the world, besides Germany, where nuclear war could conceivably erupt with little or no notice."

In Korea, on each side of the so-called demilitarized zone, there are half-a-million troops on full alert. Some 41,000 U.S. troops are included in the number. The American forces are reportedly armed with 150 nuclear weapons.

The U.S. military has a "nuclear tripwire" in this zone, Hayes pointed out. As soon as South Korea is fired upon, the U.S. is authorized to wage war immediately—without consultation with Congress.

In June, the United States and South Korea conducted joint war games. The operation was a dry run of an "air-land" battle in which both nuclear and conventional weapons would be used to strike deep inside North Korea.

Those of us living on the West Coast of the United States have recently been dramatically reminded of the perils of the government's nuclear threat in the Pacific. The Navy plans to homeport the USS Missouri—which is equipped to carry 32 Tomahawk nuclear missiles—and its accompanying fleet of 10 cruiser-destroyers in San Francisco Bay.

Additional plans envision the berthing of nuclear carriers in every major West Coast port city capable of accommodations. Thousands of Americans are protesting this project; we don't want to be a part of the American Lake. ■

Fiji Island: Tale of a covert action

By HAYDEN PERRY

Lieut. Col. Oliver North has revealed how American foreign policy is sometimes formulated and executed by "Rambo" operatives behind the backs of Congress and the American people. North tells us that secrecy and deception form the essence of covert operations.

Anything goes, including assassination, so long as you can deny it! Governments may be overthrown, so long as you can say you "don't recall" or "can't recollect."

Covert operations are not confined to Iran and Nicaragua but range over the entire world, from the shores of Libya to the far Pacific. Wherever America's ruling class is challenged, hit-squads are dispatched to herd the "natives" back into line—by any means necessary.

Recently, the people of the island of Fiji joined the movement for a nuclear-free Pacific. On April 12, 1987, they elected a coalition government that included the Fiji Labour Party.

Dr. Timoci Bavadra, the new Prime Minister, declared Fiji a nuclear-free zone, where no nuclear ships from any nation would be permitted. He also announced a non-aligned foreign policy. On May 18, only six weeks after taking office, he was overthrown by a military coup.

Lieut. Col. North may consider the Fiji coup a model operation that can be disowned by Washington. However, too many clues have been left lying around, and the conspirators have been identified.

There is overwhelming evidence that Bavadra's overthrow was masterminded by American agents.

After losing the election, former Prime Minister Rastu Mara went to Honolulu where he called on the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet and other officials.

Just before and after the coup, retired Gen. John Singlaub and Iranian arms-merchant Adnan Washoggi were in Fiji. These two participants in the Iran/contra operation were observed meeting with Lieut. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, who later led the coup. About this time, a group of Black U.S. marines were seen on the island.

The Bavadra government was overthrown when 10 armed and masked men, wearing gloves, burst into the capitol building and arrested Dr. Bavadra and other members of his government. Witnesses declare that six of the 10 men were Americans.

If the U.S. government plans to wipe out every nuclear-free zone, the hit-squads will be very busy. The neighboring island of Vanuatu has declared itself a nuclear-free zone. Is this tiny island the next target for a hit?

The Labour government of New Zealand has barred nuclear ships from its harbors. Are U.S. moles working right now to destabilize that country's elected government? Is this one of the ongoing covert operations that North alluded to?

The hearings in Washington did not give us the answer. Both the Democrats and Republicans support the CIA and other Rambo-type operations.

But the vast majority of Americans oppose this policy that forces American nuclear power into every corner of the world. Like the people of the Pacific, we too want a nuclear-free zone—one that will encompass the entire world. ■



Palau islanders fight U.S. nuclear blackmail

BY HAYDEN PERRY

Since 1979, through seven plebiscites and two elections, the citizens of the tiny island archipelago of Palau in the Western Pacific have told the United States: "Keep your nuclear weapons and waste off our islands, please."

After eight years of pressure and threats, Washington has not persuaded the 13,500 residents of Palau to knuckle under and abandon their goal of a nuclear free zone in the Pacific.

Palau is part of the vast region of islands and atolls known as Micronesia. It consists of 1100 islands scattered over three million square miles in the western Pacific. Only 100 of the islands are inhabited, and the total population is only 78,000.

Since 1683, various islands of Micronesia have been ruled successively by Spain, Germany, Japan—and now the United States. Colonialism was in bad repute after World War II, so the Micronesians were designated as temporary wards of the United Nations while they were prepared for independence.

With no consultation with the Micronesians, the United States was appointed the "administrative authority." The responsibility of the U.S. was "to transfer all powers to the people of these territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire...to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

"Absolute power to rule"

The U.S. government, however, does not see their mission in Micronesia as preparing anyone for independence. American policy was expressed in 1946 by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. He said:

"Acquisition of Micronesia by the United States does not represent an attempt at colonization or exploitation. Instead, it is merely the acquisition by the U.S. of the necessary bases for the defense of the security of the Pacific for the future world.

"To serve such a purpose, they must belong to the U.S. with absolute power to rule and fortify them. They are not colonies; they are outposts."

As "outposts" of American imperialism, Micronesians have suffered 40 years of colonial poverty, oppression, and more nuclear pollution than any place since World War II.

Bikini Island was the site of 66 nuclear explosions, as the U.S. military tested nuclear weapons with no regard for the environment. The island is now a nuclear desert, uninhabitable for the next 30 to 60 years.

Thousands of Micronesians have been exposed to deadly nuclear radiation. Like the survivors of Hiroshima, the islanders and their offspring are suffering lingering deaths and deformities. For decades, these victims have tried to get adequate compensation for their suffering.

Washington has resisted, stalled, and procrastinated. Last month, the U.S. Supreme Court dashed all hope for

the islanders. It ruled that the U.S. government cannot be sued for nuclear injuries.

Kwajalein atoll is a shooting gallery pounded by missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Base in California, 4200 miles away. Nine thousand islanders have been moved from Kwajalein to the island of Ebeye, where they are crammed into a dirty, arid community often referred to as the "slum of the Pacific."

Plans for a naval base

No nuclear projects have yet been established on Palau, but the residents have observed the fate of Bikini and Kwajalein. They know that the U.S. plans to establish a huge naval base on Palau. They also know that the military would seize one-third of Palau's land for bases and firing ranges.

The Palauans knew this was not the way they wanted to go. In 1979, they included in their constitution a clause that prohibited the use, testing, storage, or disposal on Palauan territory of "harmful substances such as nuclear, chemical, gas or biological weapons" without the express approval of 75 percent of the voters in a referendum.

Palauan voters approved the world's first nuclear free constitution by 92 percent. But the U.S. government had no intention of accepting the democratically expressed will of the people of Palau. Washington said the anti-nuclear clause was "unacceptable."

Again in 1980, the voters rejected a pro-nuclear constitution presented by Washington. Seventy-six percent of the voters said "no," and reiterated their demand for a nuclear-free zone around Palau.

A new name for colonialism

The U.S. administration saw it had problems. It isolated Palau from the other islands of Micronesia. Three groups—the Marianas, the Marshall islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia—were established to negotiate with Washington separately. The U.S. did not want a united front of all Micronesians confronting the American colossus.

Secretary Byrnes' crude expression of American intentions in 1946 clashes with international sensibilities in 1980. "Outposts" and colonies are out of style. It was necessary to find a new name for a relationship that would give the United States complete military hegemony over Micronesia.

The new formulation that Washington favors is "A Compact of Free Association with the United States."

The Compact severely curtails freedom for the Micronesians. They have to accept all the military bases, missile sites, and nuclear weapons Washington cares to pile on them. There is no provision for terminating the Compact if the Micronesians prefer complete independence. The degree of sovereignty is purposely left vague.

To secure a favorable vote on the Compact, the U.S. dangled the carrot of economic aid and jobs. Since unemployment runs as high as 50 percent on many of the islands, this was a strong lure. The three federations

signed the Compact, leaving Palau isolated.

Then they discovered that the promise of new jobs carried a sting. Under the Compact, the American minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour would no longer apply. The Micronesian minimum wage would now be \$1.50.

Voters reject weapons

For the obdurate Palauans, the U.S. had several heavy sticks. Like obtuse children the Palauans were ordered to vote again and again on the Compact, "until they got it right." In 1983, 1984, and twice in 1986, the Palauans were forced to vote on the same issue. Each time they refused to accept nuclear weapons.

The voters went to the polls each time under increasing pressure from Washington. In 1983, the U.S. administration spent \$315,000 for a "voter education program." This worked out to \$45 for each voter. That year the Compact got only 62 percent of the votes—not enough to override the anti-nuclear clause.

In 1986 Washington poured in \$400,000. Still only 66 percent voted for the Compact.

Obviously greater pressure was needed. But the U.N. Trusteeship Committee was watching, so obvious rough stuff was not possible. The Palauans had to be put in such an economic bind that they would beg Washington to rescue them. In a truly Machiavellian scheme, the U.S. administration decided to clobber the islanders with a generator.

Palauans depended on old Navy generators for electric power. The American administrator proposed they buy their own generator and worked out a contract with a British company. It was presented as a very good deal to the Palauans.

What they did not know was that they had been committed to a \$32 million debt for a huge plant that would generate five times as much electricity as Palau could possibly use. They can't even afford the fuel to run it. It sits idle most of the time, while the citizens use oil lamps and candles. The Navy has taken their generators away.

Distressed Palauans are told by U.S. officials, "Vote for the Compact by 75 percent, and we will take care of your money problems." They do not add that the oversized generator will be just right for the massive military base they plan for the island.

Assassination and frame-up

In 1985, President Haruo Remelik was prepared to expose the whole scheme to the citizens. At that moment he was assassinated—the first political killing on an island where murder is almost unknown. There were no witnesses, but the son and nephew of another anti-nuclear politician were arrested.

They were tried and convicted in a non-jury trial solely on the testimony of a woman who reported she "had heard a conversation." Sensing a serious miscarriage of justice, the American Civil Liberties Union has sent out lawyers to defend the two young men.

The assassination eliminated one antinuclear leader, and the arrests put a second leader out of action. The way had been opened for a pro-nuke, pro-American politician, Lazarus Sali, to become president in August 1985. Sali had negotiated the pro-nuclear Compact in Washington behind the backs of the citizens.

With Sali exerting pressure through power cuts and layoffs, and the U.S. dangling a promise of a billion dollars in aid, the voters trooped to the polls again last June. It was their fifth vote on the Compact, and the eighth on the nuclear-ban issue. Again they voted for a nuclear free zone, and for keeping American weapons and bases out.

Washington should get the message by now. But more likely the government is preparing even heavier assaults on the heroic people of Palau. They can't let this tiny Pacific island defy the mightiest nuclear power on earth. As one U.S. official put it, "If Palau gets away with being a nuclear-free zone, everyone else will want to do it, too."

The vast majority who want to end the nuclear nightmare cannot let the people of Palau go down to defeat. American citizens have the heaviest obligation to force our government to accept the decision of the people of Palau—and to leave Palau alone. ■

San Francisco Forum:
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Walden Bello, author, "The American Lake"
Hayden Perry, writer, Socialist Action newspaper
Friday, August 14 at 8 pm
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New laws shed light on Gorbachev's "reforms"

By ALAN BENJAMIN

Two recent policy decisions by the ruling Soviet bureaucracy provide new insight into the reactionary character of the "reforms" promoted by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The first decision concerns economic restructuring (or *perestroika*); the second concerns Soviet policy toward Nicaragua.

In late June, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union announced plans to partially dismantle central economic planning and radically modify the nation's subsidized pricing system.

The goal of these economic measures, according to Soviet economists closely allied to Gorbachev, is to increase productivity of the workforce by promoting inter-factory competition, unemployment, and market-pricing mechanisms.

According to the new law, which will go into effect next January, the country's 48,000 state enterprises must henceforth fund their operations from their own profits. If they are "unprofitable," they will no longer receive government subsidies to keep afloat and will go bankrupt.

It is estimated that 13 percent of Soviet factories ran a deficit in 1986. If all these plants are closed, high levels of unemployment will inevitably result.

Under the new law, moreover, workers are to get pay raises, or cuts, based on performance. In his speech to the Central Committee, Gorbachev stated: "It is particularly important that the actual pay of every worker be closely linked to his personal contribution to the end result, and that no limit be set" (emphasis added).

This measure is bound to increase social inequalities in a nation where bureaucratic privileges already set millions of Communist Party functionaries apart from the rest of society.

Another aspect of the new law is the decision to lift retail price controls on food, clothing, and housing. At present, government subsidies on such items run to \$114 billion a year.

According to leading Soviet economists, the cost of living for the average worker will increase sharply within two or three years, as the government subsidies are gradually phased out.

Resistance from workers

Leonid I. Abalkin, a Soviet economist who helped draft the new economic guide-



"How can you call that communism? This democratization smells like capitalism to me."

—63-year-old teacher from the Ukraine

lines, conceded in an interview with *The New York Times* (July 4, 1987) that "the idea of market prices goes against the sentiment of the Soviet people."

Abalkin noted that persuading the Soviet people to give up their job security and their low-cost, subsidized housing and food will be "a most formidable problem."

Already there are signs that Soviet workers are uneasy with Gorbachev's economic plans.

A woman living in a working-class housing block near Moscow is quoted in *Time* magazine (July 27, 1987) as saying:

"Whenever meat is available, the price is too high. If they raise the rent on this apartment, we will not be able to afford it. The authorities cannot raise prices because the people would have even less."

A 63-year-old teacher from the Ukraine is quoted in *Time* as follows: "I don't want life to turn into a race for rubles. How can they call that communism? This democratization smells like capitalism to me."

Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, explained in the 1930s that the fundamental tendency of the bureaucracy that usurped power under Stalin is to sap the foundations of the Soviet workers' state.

In the "Transitional Program," the founding document of the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote:

"Either the bureaucracy, becoming more and more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the bosom of the workers' state, will overturn the new property forms and precipitate the country towards capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and will open a way out towards socialism."

Trotsky's words ring truer today than ever before.

Applause from imperialists

Meanwhile, the ruling classes in the imperialist nations loudly applauded the new Soviet law on economic restructuring.

A *New York Times* editorial (July 1) stated: "The Communist giant now sets out to undo the Revolution of 1917 with the

Revolution of 1987... Western leaders can welcome such a trend... They can even encourage the process with agreements, where interests coincide."

A good indication of what the U.S. ruling class means by "common interests" was spelled out by Peter G. Peterson, a one-time U.S. secretary of commerce and now the chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations.

In an article in the *New York Review of Books* (June 25), Peterson wrote: "I believe it is in our interest for the Soviets to concentrate on domestic reform and on ways to create links with the international economy."

By "links," Peterson was referring to decrees on foreign trade and investment adopted by the Soviet government during the last year.

One decree, adopted in September 1986, granted 20 industrial ministries and 70 large-scale enterprises the chance to directly trade with the capitalist nations. This measure opened the first significant breach in the state's monopoly of foreign trade.

Another decree, adopted in January 1987, authorized joint-ventures with U.S. corporations, thereby opening up the borders of the Soviet Union to imperialist investment capital. [See June 1987 *Socialist Action*.]

Time magazine (July 27, 1987) put its support for the Gorbachev "reforms" in similar terms:

"Gorbachev may represent the West's last chance, at least in this century, of better integrating the Soviet Union into the world economy. There it could come under pressure to behave like a Western country, competing for capital and markets, lowering the barriers to foreign investment, and even making its currency convertible."

"Peaceful coexistence"

For Mikhail Gorbachev, the goal of economic restructuring is closely tied to the Soviet Union's foreign policy. At a recent forum on peace and disarmament in Moscow, Gorbachev stated: "Before my people, before you, and

before the world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to promote our country. This is why we need lasting peace, predictability, and constructiveness in international relations."

Gorbachev then went on to spell out what this policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism meant in concrete terms:

"Settlement of regional conflicts is a dictate of our times. We say, 'Let us search and act together. This applies to the Iran-Iraq war, the Central American crisis, the Afghan problem, and the situation in the South of Africa and Indochina.'"

A revealing example of Gorbachev's commitment to "search and act together" with imperialism was the Soviet Union's decision in late May to sharply reduce its shipments of oil to Nicaragua.

On May 30, Nicaraguan Cooperation Minister Henry Ruiz said the Soviet leadership had told the Sandinista government that it would henceforth provide Nicaragua with only 40 percent of its crude oil needs—a reduction of 40 percent from its previous shipments.

A Mexican newspaper, *Excelsior*, reported on June 3 that the Soviet ambassador to Mexico, Rostilav Sergueev, had told journalists that the Soviet move to reduce Nicaragua's dependence on Moscow for oil would "demonstrate that [the conflict in Nicaragua] is a conflict within the American continent, and not an East-West dispute."

The *Washington Post* reported on June 4 that Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez had informed top Mexican officials that the Soviet reductions would leave Nicaragua virtually with no oil by the end of June. Mexico had suspended oil shipments to the Nicaraguan government in 1985 after the Sandinistas fell behind in payments. Nicaragua reportedly owed Mexico \$250 million.

"Good-will" gestures

On June 6, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega announced that the government was cutting oil consumption by 5 percent and raising the price of gasoline by 177 percent to 500 córdobas (or \$7.14) per gallon. Due to the need to increase the price of gasoline, Ortega said, it was necessary to raise the price of 54 basic consumer goods. The yearly inflation rate is currently estimated at 777 percent.

According to Nicaraguan economists cited in the U.S. press, the move to cut fuel consumption came immediately after the Soviet Union said it was cutting oil shipments to Nicaragua. (*Facts on File*, June 15-22, 1987)

Another "good-will" signal by the Soviet bureaucracy to the U.S. government came in May, when Gorbachev told Mexican Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepulveda that he disclaimed any interest in encouraging "socialist revolutions" in Latin America. Gorbachev, according to *The New York Times* (May 25, 1987), "took pains to say he did not want to meddle in Latin American relations with the United States."

A dramatic demonstration of this approach was the announcement that Gorbachev would make a long-awaited tour of Latin America this fall that would not include a visit to Cuba or Nicaragua.

The New York Times reported that Gorbachev is expected to use this visit to "curry favor with moderate countries [Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay] and show greater willingness to rein in Moscow's troublesome clients."

These highly significant gestures by the Soviet bureaucracy can only make the Nicaraguan Revolution more vulnerable to the continued attacks and pressures from U.S. imperialism and its "moderate" capitalist allies in Latin America. ■

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... S. Korean masses fear betrayal

(continued from page 1)

presidential candidate Roh Tae Woo shocked the nation with a series of reform proposals that included the key opposition demand of direct presidential elections before the Seoul Olympics. On June 30, President Chun agreed to the reform package.

This move temporarily took the steam out of the demonstrations. Roh was portrayed as an independent voice within the party who could be responsive to the people.

The movement, however, leaped into motion again on July 9. An estimated 600,000 to 1 million people demonstrated in Seoul to mark the funeral of a student injured by police. Over 200,000 demonstrated in other cities the same day.

These were the largest South Korean protests in over 25 years. Ironically, the U.S. State Department had issued a statement the week before stating, "The situation in Seoul has returned to normal."

The situation in Seoul and South Korea is far from "normal," and its ultimate outcome is impossible to predict.

"People Power"

The slogan of "People Power" has been a big part of the Korean demonstrations. This slogan refers to the mass mobilizations which swept Ferdinand Marcos out of the Philippines in February 1986.

The use of this slogan is a good sign insofar as it reveals the solidarity the Korean demonstrators feel toward the Philippine workers and peasants.

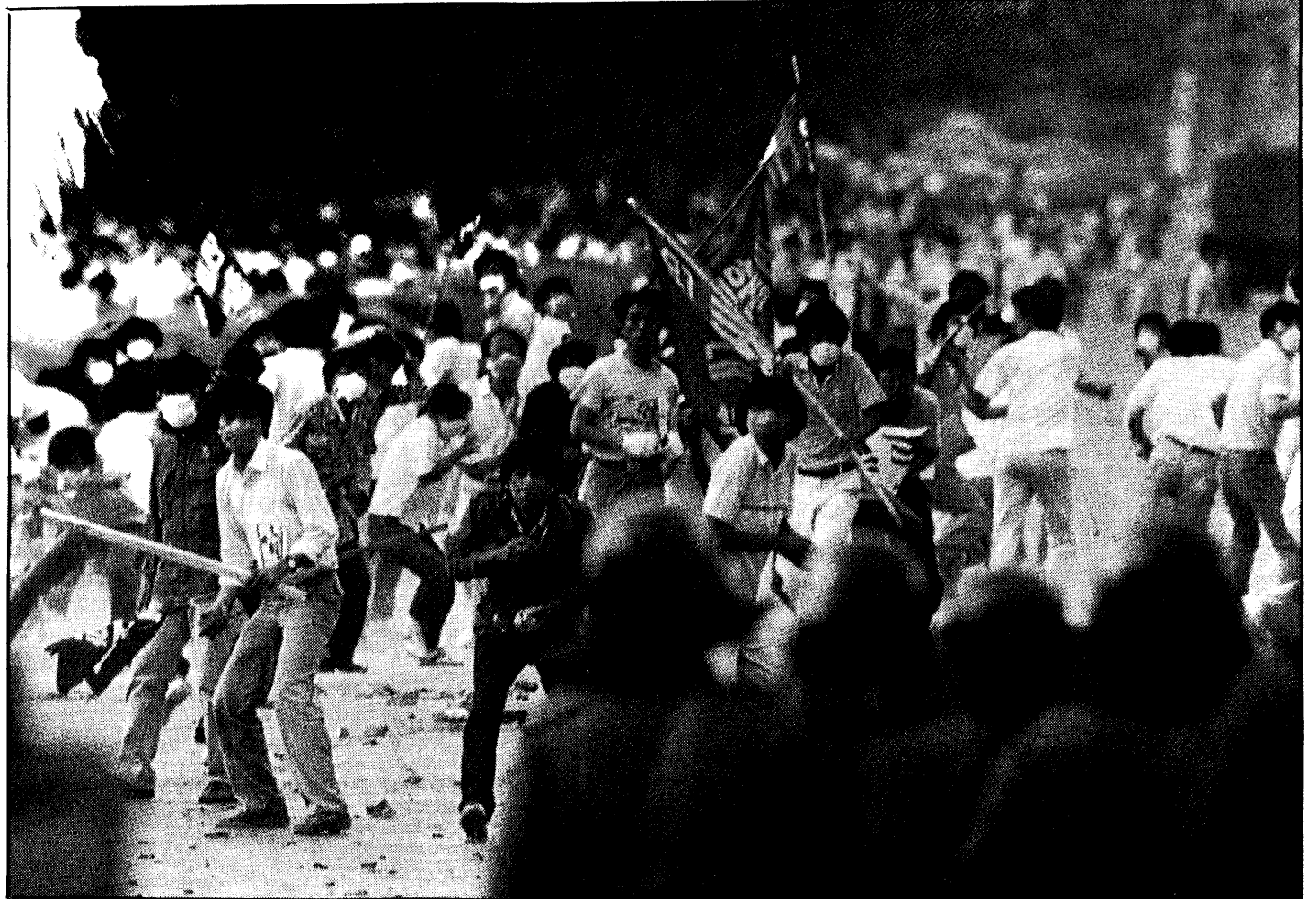
But the movement of the Filipino masses was derailed into support for a capitalist politician, Corazon Aquino. If the lessons of the Philippine experience are not fully absorbed by the Koreans, identification with "People Power" could also lead to some serious mistakes.

The government established by the February insurrection in the Philippines revealed itself to be anti-working class, using the military to break strikes and disperse peasants protesting for land. The land reform package put together by Aquino, one of the largest landowners in the country, has been criticized by the capitalist World Bank as "too conservative" and "unworkable."

The workers and peasants of the Philippines must rise up again to achieve fundamental change in that country.

The danger of a similar result in South Korea is compounded by the presence of two major capitalist politicians who seem to hold a political monopoly over the mass movement.

Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, leaders of the opposition Reunification



Democratic Party, are quite similar to Aquino in their political and economic policies for the region.

The two Kims, while preferring a more liberal atmosphere, have little difference with the country's current economic policies. Yung-Hwan Jo, a professor of political science at Arizona State University who has close ties to opposition leader Kim Young Sam, told the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

"Both the main opposition political party and the ruling military-backed party have the same views on this question [economic progress]... Even if the opposition comes to power, it should not affect the economic directions pursued by the country."

"Economic progress" in South Korea has meant increasing attacks on the Korean workers' standard of living and increasing dependence on the world market. The current South Korean debt is \$47 billion.

Power sharing and diplomacy

Politically, the opposition has shown a large capacity to make concessions to the ruling party. Kim Dae Jung, supposedly the more liberal of the two Kims, proposed on June 30 that an interim government be formed to supervise national affairs until

Chun steps aside next February. The plan would include Chun as head of a "pan-national" cabinet that would include opposition members.

The opposition's willingness to share power with the ruling party has alienated many activists, who see it as unprincipled and a sign that there may be little difference between the major capitalist parties.

Another question which has distanced many activists from the two Kims is the role of the United States in South Korea.

Throughout the Korean crisis, anti-imperialist and anti-U.S. slogans have rung out alongside demands against the government. On June 17, hundreds of students forced the U.S. Consulate in Pusan to close. American flags were burned at different occasions.

In addition to opposition to U.S. support for South Korea's string of military governments, many Koreans resent the dependence of the Korean economy on the United States. *Newsweek* reported that in 1986 South Korea exported \$34 billion worth of goods, 40 percent of which went to the United States.

At the same time, Korea was forced to import numerous U.S. products which could have been manufactured domestically at a much lower cost.

The two Kims have failed to address this issue. During the height of the June crisis, moreover, both Kims showed a willingness to come to terms with American diplomats in Korea. Many Koreans condemned this "hotel-room diplomacy."

The U.S. role

The fact is that continuing the current economic direction in South Korea requires the continued support—economically and militarily—of the United States.

The United States, through the State Department, kept a close eye on the Korean crisis throughout its development. Department spokespeople admonished both sides to stop the violence and reach a political solution, while Secretary of State George Shultz and later Assistant Secretary of State for East and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur held top-level meetings with government and opposition leaders.

President Reagan's administration declared that it preferred a policy of "quiet diplomacy." After the ruling party announced its sweeping reform package, Sigur said, "We very much welcome coming forth with proposals to open the process of reform in Korea." He then stated, "All the credit belongs to the Koreans."

This hardly seems likely. In fact, the DJP only arrived at a united position on reforms after extensive discussions with Sigur. The United States apparently sees

reforms as the most expedient way to defuse the mass movement at present. But the U.S. government's longstanding support to South Korea's repressive governments indicates that a change of tactics could occur should the political landscape change.

South Korea holds a very important position for the United States' global policies. Besides being a source of cheap labor and an important market for surplus American goods, Korea is a base for American military and political maneuvers throughout Southeast Asia and the Pacific. [See articles pp. 8-9.]

The United States currently stations over 40,000 troops in South Korea. In addition, South Korea is the third largest recipient of U.S. aid since World War II, coming after Israel and U.S.-occupied South Vietnam.

The United States has every interest in maintaining order in South Korea at any cost. It is not an ally for those struggling for an independent, democratic Korea.

Turn in Korean history

The students and activists in South Korea have waged an important struggle and have set the stage for a major turn in Korean history. The upsurge has the potential to move forward toward building a democratic, independent, unified, socialist Korea.

The key problem to be solved if the struggle is to progress is the problem of leadership.

The present opposition leaders have proven themselves ready to concede questions of principle in order to gain power. They are inadequate to meet the demands of the masses struggling in the streets.

Unless a new leadership comes to the fore in time, the two Kims may be able to lead the movement into the hands of the imperialists and the South Korean military.

The student and workers' movements must put forward people with a clear vision of what is necessary to make the next step: The workers' needs must be addressed, and the movement must remain independent of the liberal capitalist elements of the opposition.

Unfortunately, many of the most radical student leaders have been imprisoned since late last year, following demonstrations in Seoul and Inchon. These students may be among the political prisoners recently released by the government, but that information is not available at present.

Korea's future depends upon the question of leadership. Observers can only echo the fears of a Seoul mother of a college freshman who told the *San Francisco Examiner*: "I just hope the students weren't sacrificed for nothing." ■



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Does anti-Zionism equal anti-Semitism?

The following article is reprinted from the May/June 1987 issue of *Socialist Outlook*, a new Marxist journal in Britain. We have shortened the article for reasons of space.

By JOHN TURKIE

There is more confusion surrounding the "Jewish Question" than possibly any other. Surely, some may think, Jews are entitled to a "homeland," and to attack Israel, for not being right-wing or capitalist, but for being a Jewish state, runs the risk of developing into an anti-Semitic argument.

Even left-wing Zionists denounce anti-Zionists as anti-Jewish for supporting the Palestinian people's right to national self-determination while simultaneously not supporting this right in respect to "the

as a "threat"—and the working class who, suffering from permanent unemployment and poverty, blamed Jews for their problems.

Governments and capitalists engaged themselves in organizing anti-Jewish sentiment. In Poland in the 1920s, the state organized an effort to "de-Judify" and "Polanize" all professions.

Western and Central Europe were also soon to become theaters of a frightful rise in anti-Semitism. After World War I, these countries saw tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants—most of them destitute poor from Eastern Europe.

The Jewish bourgeoisie in Western Europe viewed this mass arrival with alarm, and began lobbying for the colonization of Palestine—not for themselves of course, but to help the "poor

myth—which is why it was so easily "vanquished."

A capitulation to racism

Zionism came about in response to virulent anti-Semitism, its "solution" being to remove Jews from among non-Jews and concentrate them in a country exclusively their own.

It is often claimed that Zionism is "the national liberation movement of the Jewish people," a claim which assumes that the 16 million Jews around the world constitute a national entity. Yet, a liberation movement of any oppressed group of people should exist, by definition, to fight their oppressors.

According to Zionism, however, rather than waste time in a futile fight against anti-Semitism, Jews should simply

other modern settler-colonization movements is that it wanted not simply the resources of Palestine but the country itself, for the establishment of a new national state which through immigration would create its own classes, including a working class.

In order to implement the aims of Zionism, it was necessary to dispossess the Palestinians and to violate not only their national rights as a people but also their human and civil rights as individuals.

The rationalization of the colonization of Palestine at the expense of its Arab inhabitants created an ideology and society which is racist to the core.

From the start, it was clear to the Zionist leaders that in order to colonize Palestine they would need the backing and support of the major imperialist powers. Accordingly, they worked hard in order to obtain from these powers a "charter" for the colonization of Palestine. It takes two to tango, and Zionism had to offer something in exchange for such a charter.

In the bible of the Zionist movement, "The Jewish State" by Theodor Herzl, the author explains what that "something" would be: "For Europe, we shall serve there as part of the rampart against Asia, and function as the vanguard of civilization



Jewish children in Nazi concentration camp

Galina Sankova



Malnourished Palestinian child in Israeli-occupied West Bank

Donald McCullin

Jewish people." Left-wing Zionists, in common with all Zionists, believe that Jews constitute a nation and are, as such, a race.

Zionism is a very young movement, but this fact does not prevent it from pretending that it draws its origins from a past more than 2000 years old—asserting that it constitutes a reaction to the state of things existing since the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in 70 A.D.

Zionism's recent birth [following the Russian pogroms of 1882 and the anti-Semitic Dreyfus Affair in France] is naturally the best reply to these pretensions.

Zionist claims to Palestine derive from a distortion of Jewish history and are based on the false assumption: Zionism equals Judaism.

A product of its time

Zionism was born in Eastern Europe when the feudal system broke down and the persecution of the Jews began in earnest. It developed and came to maturity with the spread of fascism in Western Europe. Zionism could not gain a foothold until the social conditions for its emergence were ripe. It is a product of its time.

The tragedy experienced by Jews in Eastern Europe in the early twentieth century was due to a combination of the decline of feudalism and the degeneration of capitalism. Hardly born, the capitalist system was already showing all the signs of senility.

The general decay of capitalism manifested itself in crises and unemployment throughout Eastern Europe. Jews began to face great hostility from both the petty bourgeoisie—who saw them

Ostjuden" (Eastern Jews) return to the land of their ancestors. In other words, the Jewish bourgeoisie, who with reason feared the rise of anti-Semitism, wanted them to go as far away as possible.

Myth of "Jewish capitalism"

The seeming post-war prosperity permitted many Jewish immigrants to penetrate branches of business and artisanry. But not for long. The economic catastrophe of 1929 threw the petty bourgeoisie into a hopeless situation.

The primarily commercial and artisan character of Judaism, heritage of a long historical past, made it the principal enemy of the middle classes on the domestic market. The concept of "Jewish wealth" was (and probably still is) solidly entrenched in the consciousness of the majority.

For the racists it was only a question of reawakening and giving "presence"—by means of well-orchestrated propaganda—to the image of the "usurious" Jew.

Simply, we can say that the violent racism against Jews during this period not only expressed the will of the ruling classes, it also expressed the hatred of the middle classes in particular toward "foreign" elements within the domestic market.

Capitalism used this racism and saved itself by resurrecting the Jew and the hatred of Jews. This elementary anti-Semitism of the working and middle classes was fashioned into a major component of fascist ideology.

But it is precisely because Jews did not play the role attributed to them that anti-Semitic persecution could take on such magnitude. "Jewish capitalism" is a

emigrate to the "Jewish homeland."

Zionist propaganda claims that the extermination of millions of Jews by the Nazis "proves" the necessity of an exclusive "Jewish homeland." However, many more Jews were saved from the gas chambers and the concentration camps by escaping to the depths of Russia, or to the United States, or to this country [Britain], than by going to Palestine.

The simple fact is that Jews were exterminated wherever the Nazis reached, and were saved otherwise. The *only* thing that this proves is that the fate of the Jews (as of other persecuted groups) is inseparable from the fight against racism, fascism, and reaction.

Zionism is a response to anti-Semitism. However, it is a response which capitulates to racism. According to Zionist logic, the struggle against anti-Semitism should be given up as "pointless" and the problem "solved" by segregation—exactly as the racists recommend.

Zionism as colonization

Zionism came into being in the heyday of European colonial expansion, when "colonization" was not regarded as a dirty word—certainly not in the European middle-class circles in which Zionist leaders moved.

A country whose population was not European was regarded as "uninhabited," "a land without a people." In the many places colonized by Europeans, the "natives" were used as a source of cheap and super-exploited labor power in the service of the settlers.

This practice was not to be followed by the Zionist settlers. The specific feature of Zionism which distinguishes it from all

against the barbarians...We shall keep our ties with all the European nations, who will guarantee our existence there."

Since that time, Israel's role as imperialism's cop in the Middle East—particularly after the United States took over as the major imperialist power in the area—has greatly increased in importance.

Are Jews a race?

And what of the concept of "the Jewish people" and their "right" to national self-determination? Surely, left-wing Zionists argue, Jews constitute a race and it must be anti-Semitic not to support *both* Palestinian and Jewish self-determination.

In reality, because of the diaspora character of Judaism, Jews constitute a mixture of the most diverse races. Even in Palestine, Jews far from constitute a "pure race."

There is no racial homogeneity between the Syrian Jews, for example, and the Jews of Russia. The first are Oriental in type (Sephardic), while the second are European (Ashkenazy). There are Black Jews in India, Ethiopian Jews (Falasha), and "Troglodite" Jews in Africa.

Judaism has no "racial characteristics," and it is thoroughly racist to think otherwise. In this respect however, Zionism shares many of the assumptions of the racists.

Zionism is a false solution to the problem of anti-Semitism and is based on a capitulation to anti-Semitic arguments.

Indeed, if you believe that Jews can and should live in freedom and dignity among non-Jews—that anti-Semitism can be fought and beaten—then you are thinking as an anti-racist and a socialist. ■



Racism in France spurs youth protest

Jews. The racists say immigrants are the enemy. We say they are our friends. Hands off!"

Minute of silence

In response to the March 1985 racist slaying of a young Moroccan, Aziz Madak, SOS Racism organized a nationally observed minute of silence that drew wide support from university and secondary school students and from an impressive layer of trade unionists and factory workers.

On the same day, French schools throughout the country organized what was called "a day of sensitization" during which young people discussed the negative consequences of the rise in racist activity.

Desir explained that SOS had organized several protests against the initial and unsuccessful efforts to modify France's Nationality Code, which today grants automatic citizenship to the children of all immigrants when they attain the age of 18.

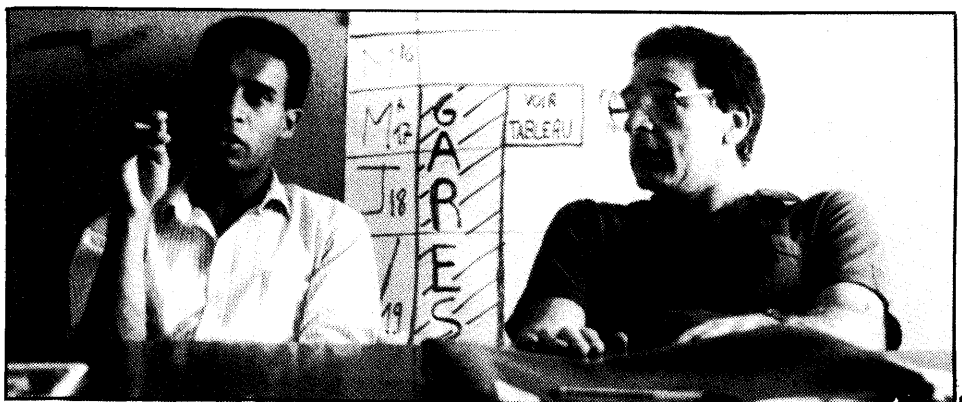
While this movement has receded for the moment, the French government has appointed a high-level commission to study possible changes in France's National Code. Desir and other SOS leaders fear that the result could be proposed alterations to the law that would facilitate the deportation of immigrants.

"The situation of French immigrants has changed considerably," Desir observed. "In the past, immigrants came and went, as opposed to the United States, for example, where there is a long tradition of immigrants making their new country their new home."

"Today," Desir continued, "there is a



French labor leaders head up anti-racist march of 20,000 in Marseilles on June 13. Fourth from left: Alain Krivine, presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the Fourth International.



Harlem Desir, SOS leader (left), and Jeff Mackler, Socialist Action national secretary, discuss alarming rise of racism in France. SOS is planning a U.S. tour.

By JEFF MACKLER

PARIS—SOS Racism is a dynamic organization of French youth formed in 1984 to mobilize against right-wing and neo-fascist efforts to blame France's social problems on its Arab and Black-African immigrant populations. While in France, I spoke with Harlem Desir, a leader of SOS Racism, about his organization.

With 300 local committees across France, SOS Racism has captured the conscience of a new generation of youth who readily identify with the sentiment expressed in the organization's popular insignia badge—a small hand, open-palmed and upraised, with the inscription, "Touche Pas A Mon Pote" ("Hands off my Buddy").

SOS activities range from helping to initiate broadly-sponsored anti-racist demonstrations in local cities to the organization of nationally televised mass anti-racist cultural events.

On June 20, 1987, SOS's third concert in

" We say immigrants are our friends. Hands off!"

Paris featured many of Europe's leading rock groups and entertainment personalities. Three hundred thousand youth attended, in a powerful and often emotional display of solidarity with the victims of racism in France and the world over.

At the Paris national headquarters of SOS Racism, Harlem Desir told me about the origins of his organization. He explained:

"SOS was formed in response to a rise in racist activity in France. In addition to increased and overt racist violence, there is widespread discrimination in housing, education, healthcare, and employment. With the formation of the National Front, the party of racist politician Jean-Marie Le Pen, the issue of racism is today part of the national debate in France."

Racists organize in Marseilles

The National Front, with its campaign to "Keep France for the French," has responded to SOS's insignia with one of its own, "Hands Off My People"—an appeal to maintain the purity of the French nation not too unlike that of the Nazis to maintain the "purity of the Aryan race."

The National Front received 10 percent of the national vote in the last national elections and 25 percent in some cities like Marseille and Toulouse.

Desir continued:

"When the National Front organized to demand that the Marseille city government expel immigrants from the city last month, 140 anti-racist groups responded with a mass solidarity demonstration of 20,000 on June 13.

"A growing portion of the French media promote a political climate that associates immigrants with criminal activity. The victims of racism are portrayed as responsible for France's mounting social problems.

"In this atmosphere, racist groups are encouraged to vent their hatred against France's immigrants as well as against

generation of immigrant youth who were born in France. While they have maintained much of their original culture and traditions, they consider themselves French and reject efforts to exclude them from the country or to otherwise treat them as less than equals."

The rise in racist sentiment has not gone unnoticed in France's major daily newspaper. In a front-page editorial last year, following the barroom murder of an Algerian worker, *Le Monde* observed the following:

"In the France of the '80s, some taboos are being lifted, some prohibitions

freed—the racism of words is passing henceforth to one of acts. Inside the trend of xenophobic agitation, of competitive bidding against immigration, a racist refrain has been liberated."

Workers' parties default

SOS Racism has been the first in recent years to call attention to and mobilize mass sentiment against the racist climate promoted initially by the far right, but with the tacit support of major circles in France's ruling establishment.

Sadly, this role was not assumed years ago by the major workers' organizations—particularly the Socialist and Communist parties.

In fact, since it assumed power in 1981, the ruling Socialist Party—with the collaboration of the Communist Party—has set up detention camps for immigrant workers and extradited foreign militants seeking political asylum in France.

These parties have the capacity to bring decisive weight into the anti-racist struggle to guarantee that the working class itself

champions the rights of the victims of racism and discrimination.

But with the default of the traditional mass workers' organizations, the road has been opened for reactionary movements to divert attention from the real cause of the decline in the standard of living of the French people: the attacks initiated by the capitalist class.

As the French capitalists, like their American counterparts, drive to reduce the standard of living of the working class to increase their profit margins, they look for every opportunity to place the blame for the misery they create elsewhere. The easiest scapegoat has always been those who are least able to resist—the most oppressed.

SOS Racism has stepped into this political void. It has demonstrated that the great majority of the French people reject racism and are prepared to mobilize in defense of basic democratic rights. It has demonstrated that the ranks of the Socialist and Communist parties are prepared to enter the anti-racist battle. ■

FSP civil rights attacked in court

By HAYDEN PERRY

A question of civil rights that affects every political organization and trade union is being argued in the courts of the state of Washington. Leaders of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) have been ordered to turn over internal documents to political opponents and court officials in a case that has been in litigation since 1984.

Richard Snedigar, a former member of FSP, is suing for the return of \$22,500 he voluntarily donated to the party's building fund when the FSP was evicted from its headquarters in 1979. Although a new building has been purchased, Snedigar wants his money back. He has appealed to the capitalist courts to get it for him.

In a ploy, characterized by FSP lawyers as "your money or your minutes," Snedigar

has demanded that the party turn over to him and his lawyers minutes of internal meetings and other confidential documents. This fishing expedition was launched during the pre-trial discovery period before the case came to trial.

Leaders of the FSP have refused to turn over minutes and other internal documents demanded by Snedigar because of the crippling effect this disclosure would have on constitutional rights, particularly on those of labor and dissident organizations.

Snedigar correctly reasoned that the FSP would refuse this totally unreasonable demand, a judge would declare the party in default, and award him \$22,500 without the case ever going to trial. Superior Court Judge Warren Chan on May 14, 1987, signed a default order that would give Snedigar the right to seize FSP property, if

necessary, to collect \$22,500.

However, while Judge Chan signed the default decree, he did not file it, pending appeal to a higher court. He recognized that no appellate court has reviewed the issue of the constitutional right to privacy in the two years that the case has been before the courts. When Snedigar complained that this would delay his case, Chan asked, "How do you weigh a claim for \$22,000 against a claim of invasion of constitutional rights?"

Judge Chan recognized that this threat to a constitutional right to privacy has aroused widespread concern throughout Washington. Heads of the Cannery Workers Union; Local 37, ILWU; King County Labor Council; and the Puyallup Tribal Council; among others, declared they too would refuse to turn over internal documents.

Contributions to the defense fund have been made by the AFSCME international union, the Hotel and Motel Trades Council, and the Seattle local of the Service Employees International Union. Those wishing to offer financial or other assistance can contact Freeway Hall Case Defense Committee, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118. ■

Backslide of "New York Intellectuals" described

By PAUL SIEGEL

The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s, by Alan M. Wald. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987. 440 pages. \$32 hard-cover, \$12.95 paperback.

"The New York intellectuals" is a phrase widely used for a group of writers who have been leading figures in the cultural world for the last 30, 40, or 50 years.

As Alan Wald shows, they were originally called the "the Trotskyist intellectuals." But in the 1950s, many of them gained national reputations, becoming identified with New York intellectual magazines that attracted others following the same path away from the Trotskyist sympathies with which they began. The phrase "New York intellectuals" then took hold.

Some of the best-known of them are Daniel Bell, Saul Bellow, James T. Farrell, Sidney Hook, Irving Howe, Irving Kirstol, Mary McCarthy, Dwight Macdonald, Lionel Trilling, and Edmund Wilson.

So widely recognized have they become as a force in the cultural history of the time that no less than five books have been written on the group since 1982. However, Wald's book is by far the fullest, most well-informed, and most analytical.

Political amnesia dispelled

Wald did an enormous amount of work, not only reading the vast literature of the subject but interviewing over 100 persons and corresponding with even more. Although Wald is a socialist who does not hide his partisanship, he was able to gain the cooperation of those of opposing views in obtaining biographical information.

He has thus been able to show how individuals interacted upon each other and how a movement grew and developed. More than this, Wald has dispelled a political amnesia that obscured the political past of many.

Wald not only describes the evolution of the New York intellectuals, but he describes the political struggles within the Trotskyist movement that influenced them. For those familiar with the history of this movement, however, opinions concerning his estimate of the tendencies and personalities involved may differ.

Accurate but incomplete

Wald finds the reasons for the course taken by the Trotskyist-influenced intellectuals to be "rooted in the post-war situation of economic boom, upward mobility [of the intellectuals], the failure of revolutions in western

Europe, and the advent of the international Cold War and domestic McCarthyism."

This course was also taken by intellectuals of all other sectors of the left, including the Stalinist sector.

Moreover, as a result of the stimulus given by the movement against the war in Vietnam, some New York intellectuals such as Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, and Philip Rahv returned to a radical critique of capitalism, if not to a revolutionary perspective.

Wald's analysis is accurate, but it would have been better if he had provided a fuller and richer background, rather than a bald analytical summary of that background.

This would have brought out clearly the existence of a stable core of proletarian leadership in the Socialist Workers Party—which provided revolutionary continuity until recent years when a new leadership junked the party's Trotskyist program.

By describing in greater detail the forces impinging upon the Socialist Workers Party and its periphery, Wald would have better informed the young radical intellectuals to whom he is addressing himself and would have made more difficult the kind of criticism his book was bound to get from establishment intellectuals.

"Extremely opinionated?"

An example of such criticism is that of David M. Oshinsky in *The New York Times Book Review*. Oshinsky acknowledges that Wald has written "a valuable book" that is "well-researched" and "insightful." But he says that Wald is "extremely opinionated"—by which he means that Wald's opinions differ from his own.

For Oshinsky, the Socialist Workers Party from whose influence the intellectuals broke away was merely an ineffectual sect. Yet this supposed sect attracted talented people who became what Oshinsky himself calls "this country's leading intellectuals."

This attraction was due to the power of the party's ideas and its leadership in such important class battles as the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934.

Oshinsky finds that the intellectuals "did not turn away from radicalism" primarily because of "Cold War pressures or economic interest," which he states is Wald's thesis. He points out instead that American capitalism "was stronger than ever" and "the war had not brought revolutions to Europe or the downfall of Stalin—both of which Trotsky had predicted."

Oshinsky fails to notice that Wald made the same point, asserting that "ad hominem attacks" on individuals as "sellouts" and "opportunists" are "a poor substitute for the searching out of social and historical factors," namely, the "continued success of U.S. capitalism."

Wald states, however, that this success was "con-



Sidney Hook

tingent" on "dominating economically underdeveloped countries," the thwarting of the post-war revolutionary threat in Europe, and a "Stalinism" that seemed "stronger than ever."

An aid in orientation

Nevertheless, Wald might well have expanded upon these points. The question is whether Trotsky provided a long-range orientation that holds good, whatever modifications of theory must be made to take into account new historic forces that have manifested themselves.

"A prognosis," Trotsky said, "is not a promissory note which can be cashed on a given date...All those who seek exact predictions of concrete events should consult the astrologists. Marxist prognosis aids only in orientation."

Those who demanded immediate payment on what they construed as Trotsky's promissory notes gave up an orientation that has proven itself to be correct.

A statement Sidney Hook made in the 1930s, when he was under the influence of Trotsky, is as applicable today as it was then. Hook stated:

"No tinkering with capitalism will enable us to avoid the evils of war, cyclical depression, and cultural perversion inherent in the existing social relations of production."

Of course, Wald's subject is the New York intellectuals, not the problems of world revolution or of building a revolutionary party in the United States. However, by painting a more detailed background giving greater depth to his treatment of his subject, he would have improved an excellent book. ■

By MILLIE B. GONZALEZ

A Sport of Nature, by Nadine Gordimer. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, N.Y., 341 pages, \$18.95 hardcover.

No other writer has written with such insight about life in South Africa as Nadine Gordimer. In her latest novel, "A Sport of Nature," the polemics are sharper, the language more descriptive, and the style more experimental than in earlier works.

Gordimer has the ability to realistically portray people caught in the moral dilemmas and dangers of South African apartheid without overpowering us with righteous overtones. Her hatred for the apartheid regime is always balanced with beautiful passages describing her country and its people.

Novel probes into S. Africa dilemma

"A Sport of Nature" unfolds as a political newsreel. Gordimer uses real events from the past and present to weave her stories and to draw conclusions. The reader develops less attachment to the main character of the novel, Hillela, than to the events that take place around her.

The author uses Hillela as a device to record the last 40 years of South Africa's history up to the near future—when apartheid is overthrown.

After her mother runs off with a

Portuguese lover, Hillela is raised by two aunts: Olga, the apolitical wife of a successful merchant, and Pauline, the personification of middle-class liberalism. Later, in East Africa, Pauline becomes the wife of a Black revolutionary, Whalia, who is assassinated.

Hillela leaves for Eastern Europe, goes to America, then returns—whereupon she is embroiled in South African politics. She then marries another Black revolutionary, who leads in the overthrow of the apartheid regime and becomes president of the new republic.

But Gordimer's novel is far more complex than this brief synopsis might indicate. Her political observations are also sharper. In one passage, for example, Whalia and his comrades have a heated exchange concerning the tactics of the African National Congress and the ANC's President Oliver Tambo:

"Tambo said the Defiance Campaign was aggressive pressure—it wasn't just lying around waiting to be arrested, you know. But what did you really do, man? Going into locations without a permit, walking around after curfew, sitting on Blankes-Allen [whites-only] beaches, trying to get served in the post office, Je-suss! The only good result was the chance to use the courtrooms to make speeches."

The novel ends with a new image. Blacks



Nadine Gordimer

have overthrown the apartheid regime in South Africa, yet the new president still retains a mixed economy. This short-sighted idea, so endemic among the so-called left, is unfortunately presented as *sensible* in Gordimer's novel.

In the past, Gordimer has been critical of tactics and polemics among the South African left. Her novel "Burger's Daughter" was an indictment of the Communist Party's course of betrayal in the 1940s. But one has to wonder whether her impatience has led Gordimer to look for shortcuts to overcome the tragedy of South African politics.

With the exception of this last criticism, I believe that "A Sport of Nature" proves to be another engrossing slice of life from South Africa by Nadine Gordimer. ■

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Write to our national office to contact Socialist Action supporters in other cities.

San Francisco mayoral race:

Socialists aim for ballot; candidate heard at debates

By DAN PATTERSON

"Hello. Would you like to sign a petition to put a socialist candidate on the ballot?"

San Francisco Socialist Action members have gotten such a positive response to this question that they have raised their goal of total signatures from 4000 to 6000.

It's all part of a campaign to put Joseph Ryan on the ballot as the socialist candidate in the San Francisco mayoral race. Over 5000 signatures have already been collected in support of Ryan's right to be on the ballot.

For the last three weeks, campaign supporters have been on busy street corners, bus stops, and shopping areas of this city introducing people to the socialist program.

"Sign up for a candidate who puts human needs before profits and is a Vietnam vet who's running on an antiwar program," was a phrase that most potential signers could not resist. With four weeks remaining in the petition period, the socialist campaign expects to easily exceed the new goal of 6000 signatures.

Ryan's campaign has also gotten off to a fast start by producing a variety of literature. Several position papers—that range from the issue of AIDS research financing to cutbacks in education—have been distributed. "Fund AIDS research, not the contras!" and "Education is a right—stop the cutbacks!" are some of the solutions being proposed by the socialists.

Two colorful posters with the demands: "Stop Union-Busting" and "U.S.S. Missouri Out of San Francisco" have been printed and will be placed all around the city. In addition, stickers and T-Shirts will be available for campaign supporters.

Ryan's campaign has been heard at several controversial meetings.



Over 5,000 signatures were collected by campaign supporters in San Francisco.

In late June Ryan spoke at a Board of Education meeting that was going to vote for a \$10 million cutback for the city's already hard-pressed schools. These cutbacks meant that city workers and teachers would be laid off and class sizes increased.

Board of Education

While over 200 concerned parents, teachers, and students listened, Ryan criticized the Board of Education members:

"The job of the Board of Education is not to play bookkeeper, but to defend the interests of education," Ryan said. "It was on that basis you were elected, and you should be organizing mass rallies and demonstrations to demand that education is

a right—and not a privilege."

Pointing to the two board members who were against the cutbacks—both liberal Democrats—Ryan said: "Instead of just voting 'no' with your hands, you should be organizing people to vote 'no' with their feet in Sacramento."

The socialist candidate's remarks received an ovation, but that did not prevent the Board of Education from voting to implement the cutbacks.

One teacher told a campaign supporter, "Ryan was the only one who made sense, and my union president agreed with me."

U.S.S. Missouri homeporting

On July 22, Ryan and his supporters brought the socialist election campaign to

the Board of Supervisors chambers. A supervisors' subcommittee was hearing testimony on a proposal to give the Navy approval for homeporting the nuclear-armed battleship U.S.S. Missouri in San Francisco.

The most enthusiastic booster for the homeporting is the current mayor, Diane Feinstein. Deviously holding out the carrot of "jobs" as the reason for homeporting the U.S.S. Missouri, Feinstein has been able to win labor's support.

Opponents of the homeporting plan include artists (who will be evicted by the Navy from the Hunter's Point shipyard), environmentalists (who have proven that dredging the bay will seriously pollute the water), and peace activists (who correctly oppose the war aims that the U.S.S. Missouri represents).

At the hearings on July 22, however, the supervisors' chambers were packed with shipyard workers—who are hard pressed for jobs. They were mobilized by the shipyard owners and union bureaucrats. Unfortunately, most opponents of the homeporting were forced to listen to the proceedings from out in the hall due to overcrowding.

With only three minutes to speak, Ryan addressed his comments to the workers:

"The most important people in this room today," Ryan stated, "are the pipefitters, shipfitters, boilermakers, and electricians. But because they don't have their own political party—a labor party—they can't formulate an alternative program for jobs—like a mass public-works program."

Ryan continued, "The San Francisco labor movement has played a big role in organizing demonstrations for jobs and peace, like April 25th. And many of the workers and Vietnam vets here know that the only ones who will really profit from this homeporting will be the Navy—who is a strikebreaker—and the Chamber of Commerce—who is responsible for the attacks against our standard of living."

As Ryan was leaving some of the workers gave him a respectful smile as U.S.S. Missouri opponents outside applauded him. Needless to say, the Board of Supervisors approved the homeporting of the U.S.S. Missouri.

This is going to be an interesting campaign. ■

Our readers speak out

Constitution

Dear editor,

A friend of mine had occasion to visit San Francisco in July, where she met Kwame M.A. Somburu, who writes for your publication. She brought back several copies of *Socialist Action* for me to read.

I find the articles very informative, timely, and accurate. I would appreciate your placing me on your subscription list.

Please inform Mr. Somburu that his article in your July issue, "Pro-slavery document: No reason for Blacks to celebrate Constitution," was excellent. While I may not be Black, I am a first-generation American of German and Irish extraction and I can empathize with his views about how the poor and minorities were disenfranchised right from the beginning.

I myself was born in New York and I have seen how one group was played off against another to enhance the goals of profit and property owners. And while this was being done, there were some property holders that beat their chests in mock humility while calling out for admiration and respect from the masses to remember a document solely created to ensure proprietary rights over others.

Joe Koenigsman,
Bismarck, N.D.

Dear editor,

This is to thank you for the fact-filled article by Kwame M.A. Somburu, "No reason for Blacks to celebrate Constitution," and to ask for more full-page or multi-page articles by this writer.

While the text of the article was a valuable correction to the hypocritical nonsense today surrounding the anniversary of the Constitution of 1789, its headline was not quite right. Socialists and working people of all nationalities have just as much reason to celebrate the historic *step forward* formalized by the Constitution as to be aware of its racist, sexist, and slave nature.

The Constitution recognized in writing the political sovereignty of "the people" as opposed to a royal breed of parasites, and it set up a broader-based political structure than the monarchy.

In this way, it *laid the basis* for the slaves to win freedom to sell their labor and for women to win suffrage. In the same way, while the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 failed to win full rights for the "freed" men and women, it ratified a major advance toward equality.

In breaking from monarchy, the Constitution also limited the power of the executive and gave Congress the power, for example, to declare war. The

White House, with help from Congress, has worked tirelessly to undermine this constitutional safeguard.

While the Constitution doesn't stop crooks in Congress from voting weapons to the contras, it slows their war down. This central feature of the Constitution is to be celebrated and defended.

David Kerr,
Needham Hts., Mass.

Reply

Fifty-five privileged white men deliberated in secret for over three months to draft the U.S. Constitution. The document was designed to serve their own narrow sector of society.

Nevertheless, I agree with David Kerr that sections of the Constitution have been "a historic step forward." Some of the amendments, in particular, were significant concessions to Blacks and other oppressed people.

Of course, these sections were not enforced through most of American history. Nor are they completely enforced at this time.

Nor are these concessions cause to join in the anniversary celebrations. Rather, we should acknowledge them as crumbs wrested through bloody struggle from the bourgeois loaf.

Kwame M.A. Somburu

Rosa

Dear editor,

Cliff Conner is to be commended for his excellent review of the film *Rosa Luxemburg*, "Red Rosa's fight for revolutionary socialism" (*Socialist Action*, July 1987).

By explaining the historical background of the period—the infamous betrayal by the German Social Democratic Party of the German (and world) working class in the face of World War I, the left-wing opposition to the party's social patriotism, the German revolution of 1918—Conner has performed a real service for many of the film's viewers who, like myself, were a little hazy about that period.

I would like very much to send copies of this review to those of my friends who commented that the film left them confused or that they didn't understand the film. Please send me five copies of your July issue.

Ruth Schein,
San Francisco, Calif.

Correction

In the July issue of *Socialist Action*, we incorrectly stated in an article about the Teamsters union, "Long history of government harassment," that Farrell Dobbs and several other Teamster militants of the early

era landed in prison in 1940 in a government frame-up.

Dobbs and 17 of his comrades, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO, were the first victims of the Smith Act, which was passed in 1940. But they were not sentenced to jail until December 1941 and, in fact, did not begin serving their 16-month sentence until Jan. 1, 1944.

We have also received phone calls from old-time members and supporters of Socialist Action, some of whom are veterans of the 1934 Teamsters' strikes, stating that Hal Leyshon's quote in the accompanying article, "Government attacks all labor in Teamsters takeover move," is misleading, if not incorrect.

In that article, Leyshon, a member of TDU's New York-New Jersey regional council, told *Socialist Action* that the "government collaborated with the mob to destroy Teamster rank-and-file democracy throughout the Midwest and sections of the South beginning in the 1930s."

According to these Teamster veterans, although there were cases of corruption in a few Teamsters locals in the Midwest in the '30s, there is no evidence of government and mob connections at the time. This did not occur until later.

The editors

Storage of nuclear waste poses dilemma for future

By MAY MAY GONG

In December 1942, Lieut. Col. F.T. Matthias and Lieut. General Leslie Groves, commander of the Manhattan Project, arrived in the small town of Hanford, Wash. After a two-week survey of the nation, Matthias and Groves chose this town on the Columbia River as the site to build the nuclear reactors that would supply plutonium for the bombs to be dropped on Nagasaki, Japan.

For 44 years now, managers of the nuclear plants on this remote bend of the Columbia River have emptied waste into 177 steel tanks, earthen ditches, trenches, ponds, swamps, underground drains, and deep wells.

They have also buried long-lived transuranic waste (known as TRU) in boxes and drums that will soon corrode. Whether the people of Hanford want it or not, their town has become a permanent radioactive-waste site.

Need for "security"

Up until a few months ago, the Department of Energy (DOE), which manages the plants, was exempt from all state and federal waste-disposal rules. The DOE and its predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, argued that the "special nature" of radioactive waste and the agency's need for security made it unwise to let outsiders get involved in monitoring the bomb factories.

But as more and more stories of spills and accidents reached the public, it became clear that the weapons plants were not meeting any standards at all. So on May 1, 1987, DOE Secretary John Herrington finally consented to at least abide by the same rules—weak as they are—that applied to everyone else.

Of course, the DOE's main concern in this is not and has never been public health but rather the financial health of the nuclear industry. It is more worried about how much money it must spend on cleaning up its radioactive mess in the name of good public relations.

According to Jerry White, director of waste management and a 22-year Hanford veteran, it would cost in the neighborhood of \$100 billion to restore Hanford to its "pristine condition."

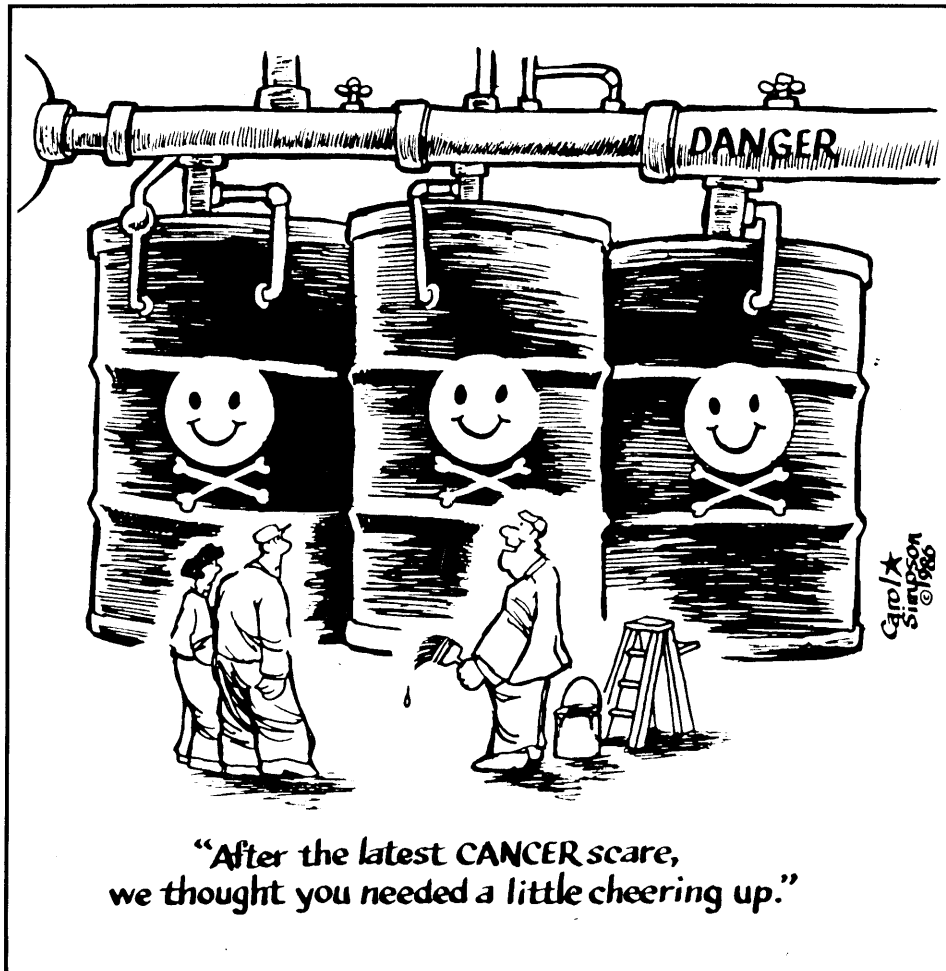
A less ambitious cleanup job, which would leave the soil-bound waste where it is while trucking the tank waste to a deep repository, would cost about \$17 billion. Even a minimal cleanup, leaving the older waste where it sits in tanks and "stabilizing" it underground, would cost \$2 billion to \$3 billion.

In a briefing last March, White stated that the "DOE does not consider total cleanup to be reasonable because its cost is well above the agricultural value of the land and costs of all other reasonable alternatives."

Was the problem "solved?"

The disposal of liquid radioactive wastes has been a problem at the Hanford Military Reservation from the very beginning of its operations. In 1950, only five years after its start-up, the volume of moderately radioactive liquids was already so great that

The article above is based in large part on an article that appeared in Science magazine (June 26, 1987) titled, "Hanford's Radioactive Tumbleweed."



it "precluded the practicability of storing them in tanks."

The problem was "solved" by drilling two deep wells. Over a two-year period, about 11 million gallons of radioactive waste were injected through settling tanks into the aquifer. Both of these wells were later closed, and plant managers substituted another cheap method of disposal known as "cribbing."

In this process, wastewater is piped into enclosed wooden structures consisting of a series of cascading tubs. The heavy elements settle at the bottom while the rest go off into the ground. This procedure was also curtailed later on when Hanford geochemists finally decided that ground

90, and 297,000 curies of other fission products. This radioactive waste is so "hot," it often boils spontaneously and continuously.

According to well samples taken by the DOE, this mass of radiation is now sitting in the soil—a mere 100 feet above the water table.

Obviously, the DOE has not yet settled on a plan for dealing with the extensive ground contamination at Hanford. One project now underway is the draining of the 149 leaking tanks. The effluent from this draining process is being put into 28 "newer" tanks.

These stainless-steel tanks are expected to last about 50 years. But what is 50 years

"Every nuclear power plant will eventually end up on the radioactive garbage heap ..."

dumping had "objectionable and unevaluated features."

Leaking tanks

Then, in the early sixties, Hanford began having trouble with its tanks. Between 1944 and 1964, 149 single-walled steel and concrete tanks were built to contain high-level waste. Within 10 years they began to corrode and leak.

According to a 1983 report, at least 26 tanks are "confirmed leakers" and over 30 are "of questionable integrity." In 1956, one tank leaked 55,000 gallons of high-level waste.

In 1973, a tank sprang a leak which went undetected until it had spilled 115,000 gallons of waste containing 40,000 curies of cesium-137, 14,000 curies of strontium-

compared to the thousands of years that radioactive waste must be kept isolated from our environment?

And this still doesn't solve the problem of what to do with the sludge and salt left in the old tanks; or what to do with the contaminated land; not to mention the effects of radiation exposure to Hanford's workers and community.

According to a report given to Congress in March, Hanford still dumps about 7 billion gallons of wastewater a year into cribs, ponds, and ditches.

Hanford is not alone

The Hanford situation applies to any and all nuclear facilities worldwide. Every nuclear-power plant will eventually end up on the radioactive garbage heap because any

nuclear plant is only good for about 20 years to 25 years before it becomes too radioactive to maintain and operate.

Once a nuclear plant's time is up, it must be shut down and "decommissioned." This involves disassembling all the equipment and burying each part or simply burying the entire plant under a mound of concrete and earth, thus creating a permanent radioactive mausoleum for hundreds of thousands of years. And larger units with loads in the 1000 megawatt range may in fact be impossible to decommission.

What should be done with nuclear sewage? At present, there is no answer.

Scientists have offered a number of ingenious suggestions ranging from solidification of high-level waste in glass containers and burial in salt formations, to lowering waste into ocean trenches, burying it under Antarctic ice, or launching rockets loaded with it into the sun. None of these techniques have been proven to be either practical or safe.

Nuclear-industry projections anticipate a total of 152 million gallons of high-level waste by the year 2000. The cost of preparing our present load of 83 million gallons for geological disposal is estimated to range from \$2 billion to \$20 billion.

The utilities want the taxpayers to foot the bill for nuclear waste. Since these utilities do not account for the costs of decommissioning or waste disposal in their present rates, the utilities can easily present a case for "cheap" nuclear energy.

Low-level radiation risk

Seen in its entirety, however, nuclear technology is neither cheap, clean, nor safe.

In the face of increasing scientific evidence that even low levels of radiation are more harmful to humans than has been officially recognized, the U.S. government and the nuclear industry are now moving to *weaken* nuclear regulation and radiation health standards.

"Today we know that the risk of radiation-induced cancer is more than 10 times what we believed it to be when the current standards were established," says health authority Dr. Karl Morgan. "It is unthinkable that permissible levels will be *increased* rather than decreased when everyone agrees the risk of getting cancer is greater than we thought."

According to Robert Alvarez, director of the Environmental Policy Institute's nuclear-power and weapons project, there are two reasons why the government is pushing to raise the permissible radiation levels:

First, if the U.S. occupational-exposure limit were dropped ten-fold, it would virtually wipe out the nuclear industry. And second, admitting that past standards were too weak would imply government liability for innumerable latent-radiation injuries among workers, "atomic veterans," and citizens who live near nuclear facilities.

Nuclear-industry scientists and engineers urge us to have faith in their abilities and the inevitable advance of technology. But even technology cannot provide all the answers we need.

Even if unbreakable, corrosion-proof containers could be designed, any storage site would have to be kept under constant surveillance in a stable, warless society, and left undisturbed by earthquakes and other natural disasters for no less than half-a-million years. That is quite a tall order, which the nuclear industry cannot fill. ■

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